

FINDING A HOME FOR FILIPINO-AMERICAN DUAL CITIZENS: MEMBERSHIP AND THE
FILIPINO NATIONAL IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

In 2003, the Philippines passed R.A. 9225, the Dual Citizenship law, which states that Filipinos who became naturalized citizens of another country could retain their Filipino citizenship. It also grants citizens who lost their Filipino citizenship through naturalization in a foreign country the opportunity to re-acquire their Filipino citizenship. This move garnered positive and negative reactions in the Philippines because ultimately, the matter boils down to a question of belonging and loyalty. What does it mean to be a dual citizen and call two places home? Is it even possible to establish a secure place of belonging in more than one culture, society, and political government?

The purpose of this thesis was to look at the nature of how and why dual citizens participate with the Philippines, how the Filipinos in the Philippines react to them and answer this question of whether or not dual citizens really belong to the Philippines. More specifically, it examined: (1) what kinds of connections dual citizens are making to the Philippines and what role technology plays in facilitating

these connections, (2) how dual citizens fit into Filipino television culture in the form of the Filipino Channel (TFC), and (3) to what degree dual citizens invest and participate in Filipino politics.

By looking at dual citizens' participation with the Philippines in the three areas of community, culture, and politics, the strengths and weaknesses of dual citizens' connection to the Philippines become evident. The government has carved out a space for dual citizens in the nation by granting them national citizenship, and dual citizens feel that they are an integral part of the Philippines since they are able to sustain strong kinship bonds through technology. However, representations in the Filipino culture and political reactions of Filipinos in the Philippines suggest that dual citizens lack secure, validated cultural citizenship, since the authenticity of their claim to the Philippines is always in question. Thus, dual citizens' place in the Philippine nation is not as secure as they may wish it to be, as dual citizens constantly negotiate membership and belonging with the Filipinos in the Philippines.

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Chapter 1. Introduction: Finding a Home for Filipino-American Dual Citizens

Dual citizenship is a concept that is slowly becoming one of the more controversial issues in today's global arena. By definition, a dual citizen is one who holds allegiances to two different countries. While dual citizens enjoy the rights and privileges of both countries, they must also obey the laws of both countries. Ultimately, the matter boils down to a question of belonging and loyalty. What does it mean to be a dual citizen and call two places home? What does it mean to be a part of two countries, and is it even possible to establish a secure place of belonging in more than one culture, society, and political government? Dual citizenship makes governments uncomfortable because dual citizens are people with multiple, if not split, loyalties. Dual citizens must reconcile these loyalties within themselves while at the same time defend themselves against opponents from both countries who question their loyalty. For Filipino-American dual citizens living in the United States, the question comes from all sides and from within: do they really belong to the Philippines?

This thesis will explore the nature of this belonging. It will look how and why dual citizens participate with their homes in regards to the Filipino nation, culture, and community, in tandem with the actions and reactions of Filipinos in the Philippines. More specifically, it will examine: (1) what kinds of connections dual citizens are making to the Philippines and what role technology plays in facilitating these

connections, (2) how dual citizens fit into Filipino television culture in the form of the Filipino Channel (TFC), and (3) to what degree dual citizens invest and participate in Filipino politics. By looking at dual citizens' participation with the Philippines in these three areas, the strengths and weaknesses of dual citizens' connection to the Philippines become evident and one can better understand the reasons behind the differing opinions on this complex issue.

Each country has its own policy about dual citizenship. Most countries, including the United States, recognize dual citizenship by virtue of birth on the principles of *jus soli* (place of birth) and *jus sanguinis* (the citizenship of the parents). For example, a child born within the United States to non-Americans citizens would be a dual citizen (U.S. State Department, n.d.). However, only some countries, like the Philippines, allow dual citizenship by means other than by birth. On August 29, 2003, the Philippine government passed R.A. 9225, the Citizenship Retention and Re-acquisition Act. Commonly referred to as the Dual Citizenship Law, this law grants natural-born Filipinos who have lost their Filipino citizenship through naturalization in a foreign country the opportunity to retain or re-acquire their Filipino citizenship. It also states that a natural born Filipino who becomes a naturalized citizen of another country has not to have lost his or her citizenship under the provisions of the said law (Congress of the Philippines, 2003a).

The Philippine government's decision to go forward with this act garnered both positive and negative reactions within the Philippines. Supporters of the Dual Citizenship Law laud the Philippine government's formal recognition of the resilient Filipino pride in its overseas citizens. Filipino immigrants have a long-standing history of maintaining strong connections to the Philippines despite their conversion to another citizenship. Through the Dual Citizenship Law, these immigrants are able to keep those ties formally while forming new ones in other countries. Critics of dual citizenship argue that the government based its decision on purely economic reasons without consideration of the implication it has on citizenship and national identity. They argue that at any given point, the dual citizen must establish their bonds with one of the nationalities remotely; therefore, dual citizens' connection to one nation and national identity will inevitably be much shallower than to the other. Both sides have solid points and build upon their understanding of dual citizens to strengthen their arguments, and this thesis will explain how it is possible that these differing opinions could both have such strong defenses.

HOME AS COMMUNITY, CULTURE AND COUNTRY

The challenge of this topic is that there is no substantial research on Filipino-American dual citizens. Much of dual citizen research focuses on the general problems dual citizenship causes within the country they live. The research in this thesis deals

with the opposite problem: how multiple loyalties put a strain on dual citizens' connections to the country that is **not** their primary residence. In addition to this distinction, using models on other types of dual citizens is only helpful to a point, because each country has its own dual citizenship policy. Filipino dual citizenship is unique in that it allows for the re-acquisition of Filipino citizenship. Similarities between the Philippines and United States in politics and certain aspects of culture due to the American occupation further complicate examinations of Filipino-American dual citizenship. Since Filipino-American dual citizenship prior to the passage of the Dual Citizenship Law was relatively low, there is not much existing documentation or research on Filipino-American dual citizens. For the most part, the research stops at the Filipino migrant diaspora and the Filipino-American identity crisis within the United States. Virtually no research exists on the ways in which dual citizens interact with the Philippines on any level. Even composing a picture of what the typical Filipino-American dual citizen looks like is difficult because no one has collected basic demographic information in one place.

Due to this lack of research, there is no established model or way to examine or measure Filipino-American dual citizens' sense of belonging to the Philippine nation. Therefore, I have designed this thesis to look at dual citizens on three areas: community, culture, and politics. It is too hard to evaluate whether dual citizens have a

secure space in the Philippines on a singular level because interactions with individuals differ drastically from interactions with the nation. The danger of such an approach is that one might compare actions that are not related or that one may come to conclusions that other factors can explain. To get a full understanding of belonging, one must look at how dual citizens and the Filipinos in the Philippines operate on these separate areas and then put the pieces back together to get an overall picture of how secure the dual citizens' place is in the Philippine nation.

The Literature Review gives an overview of national identity construction in the light of globalization and the post-colonial Philippines and helps explain why I chose these three areas to examine. In this chapter, I define what I mean by national and cultural citizenship and examine the role of kinship in the context of membership in the fragmented Filipino national identity. With this understanding, my selection of the community, Filipino culture, and the Filipino government as topics of evaluation becomes clear as I outline the problems of how the nation decides where these lines should be drawn. Additionally, I look at how the deterritorialization of home and long distance nationalism complicate this process of belonging to a nation for the dual citizen living in the United States.

Chapter Four gives the first intimate picture of dual citizens by looking at their personal connections to the Philippines and the defining attributes that inform their

conceptualization of home. The purpose is to show how dual citizens have much stronger connections and are much more in contact with the Philippines than common misconceptions in the Philippines may suggest. Since most dual citizens already see the Philippines as home prior to arrival in the United States, survey data and interviews will look at the different methods that dual citizens use to preserve these links through reality-based and virtual methods. Analysis of this data will illustrate how dual citizens tend to gravitate towards technology that simply updates traditional methods and that the little use of new web-based media tends to be based in reality rather than the virtual world. The chapter concludes by examining the implications of the constantly updated dual citizen, particularly as it applies to how dual citizens see themselves as an integral part of the country.

Chapter Five looks at why some Filipinos may see dual citizens as individuals with conflicted loyalties by examining where the dual citizen fits in the more abstract cultural framework of Filipino television. While dual citizens may use television to connect to the Philippine culture, representation of dual citizens in Filipino culture is scant at best and they often appear as Filipino-Americans in Filipino media. Therefore, this chapter focuses on Filipino-American programming in on the television cable network, the Filipino Channel. Textual analyses of two Filipino-American shows, *Pinagmulan* and *Speak Out*, interviews and data survey will demonstrate why dual

citizens do not identify well with Filipino-American portrayals since the representations often present Filipino-Americans as exiles and juxtapose American and Filipino cultures. The chapter concludes with a look at how this representation forecasts an uneasy future for dual citizens in the media and what the implications of Filipino culture's portrayal of dual citizens as Filipino-Americans are in understandings of dual citizens and conflicted loyalties.

Chapter Six illustrates how representations of dual citizens in the culture and dual citizens' interactions with Filipino communities lead Filipinos in the Philippines to have contrasting opinions on how dual citizens negotiate dual loyalties in the political arena. Dual citizens have low registration numbers and do not stay updated Philippine politics, which contradicts the statements they make about how much they care about the Philippines. Therefore, this chapter focuses on how Filipinos in the Philippines interpret these discrepancies in very different ways. A look at the evolution of the overseas voting laws will illustrate how confusion over dual citizens' voting rights factor into the equation. A case study on Theodore Aquino, a dual citizen who is currently attempting to run in the 2007 Philippine Senate election, also highlights the differences of opinion on how much conflicted loyalties come into play. By examining these aspects, I will show how both sides of the argument use dual

citizens' actions to their advantage, thus complicating the way the Filipino government dictates the rights and limits on dual citizens.

The final chapter goes back to original question of belonging and home and evaluates what these differences in the three areas of examination mean in the overall picture. By comparing dual citizens' strong personal connection to the Philippines and the uncertain place the dual citizen has in the national framework, I illustrate how different opinions lead to an unstable place in the Philippines for dual citizens. Dual citizens may have very strong feelings about their place in the Philippines and the government may have carved out a space for them in the nation, but the cultural and political reactions of Filipinos in the Philippines suggest that that place is not as secure as dual citizens may wish it to be.

Chapter 2. Literature Review: “The Nation as Home”

Before evaluating what place the dual citizen has in the Philippine community, politics, and culture, I must first establish what dual citizens look like in contrast to Filipino-Americans and the Filipino diaspora. The term “diaspora” refers to the community of citizens who live outside the homeland. Many Filipino citizens choose to live abroad and work overseas. These individuals do not have the citizenship of the countries they work in; rather they remain Filipino citizens who are permanent residents of the country they work in, sending money home until the day that they themselves return to the Philippines (Okamura, 1998, p.118). By contrast, Filipino-Americans are immigrants who gave up their Filipino citizenship for American citizenship upon naturalization. They only hold one citizenship: American citizenship. Up until the passage of the Dual Citizenship Law in August of 2003, most Filipinos living outside of the Philippines fell into one of these two categories.

The stipulations of the Dual Citizenship Law gave way to another major group of Filipinos: the dual citizen. The government recognizes dual citizens by virtue of *jus soli* (place of birth) and *jus sanguinis* (the citizenship of the parents). With the new law, however, a Filipino citizen may immigrate to the United States and naturalize as an American, and the law allows these individuals to retain their Filipino citizenship upon taking an oath of allegiance. The law also allows Filipino-Americans who gave

up their citizenship prior to the law to reacquire their Filipino citizenship. With proof of documentation, Filipino-Americans who naturalized before 2003 may apply at the Embassy and receive their Filipino citizenship back. The act also permits American-born Filipinos whose parents were Filipino at the time of their birth to apply for reacquisition. The logic behind that stipulation is that these children would have been eligible by virtue of *jus sanguinis* to apply for dual citizenship if the Dual Citizenship Law had been in effect during their birth (Congress of the Philippines, 2003).

Understandably, the blurred lines between these three groups can cause much confusion, since dual citizens share similarities with both groups. Like Filipino-Americans, dual citizens immigrate to the United States and receive American citizenship. Dual citizens look and act like Filipino-Americans because Filipino-Americans can become dual citizens. In terms of their Filipino rights, however, the Filipino government treats dual citizens in the same way as the Filipino diaspora. As citizens who live abroad, dual citizens have the same rights and claim to citizenship as these Filipino overseas workers, including the right to vote while overseas. Dual citizens differ from these two groups because they have both Filipino and American citizenships, while the other two groups only hold one citizenship. They are more alike than they are different, most of all because all three groups share the characteristic of being outside the Philippines while still having strong ties to their mother country. This

fact binds them together as “Filipinos abroad” in the eyes of Filipinos in the Philippines.

In considering Filipinos abroad, already the difficulties in finding a singular definition for “home” emerge. Basic definitions of home point to location, the place where individuals accept one as an integral part of a greater whole, while keeping others out. It can mean the house that one grew up in, or on the macro-level, home can be synonymous with one’s country or nation. Notions of home have long been linked to the nation-state and the government. Yet as these Filipinos abroad prove, concepts of home go so much deeper than location. Home is also a constructed idea, since many associate family members with home. It is imbued with a sense of security and community, where individuals share cultures and beliefs. Culture plays a huge role in establishing home because it provides a structure of beliefs and traditions that bind together groups of people. As technology stretches, bends, and manipulates the ways people communicate and travel, home has come to mean both a physical location and an imagined space in the mind, and it has both physical and intellectual borders.

Since I am talking about dual citizens and the nation, in this thesis, I define “home” as the intellectual space where one has a secure sense of belonging through membership. When I talk about “home” in terms of the dual citizens and the Philippine nation, I am talking about the theoretical and social boundaries that define community

and nationality and determine membership into “home.” This thesis will focus on where these borders in the Philippines lie and how individuals and institutions use these borders to include or exclude dual citizens. For this reason, understanding who determines this membership and where the lines between belonging and exclusion lie is crucial in understanding this concept of “the nation as home.” As Filipino-American historian, Yen Espiritu (2003), notes, “home making is really border making: it is about deciding who is in as well as who is out” (p. 205). Therefore, before I talk about participation and home in Filipino-American dual citizens, I must first establish the ways in which nations and people create borders, define membership and examine how these boundaries break down.

NATIONAL AND CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP

The most obvious and clear borders are those associated with the physical location and boundaries of the nation-state. Collective identity forms as a result of commonalities between people, and naturally, those who are born or reside in the same area will form a communal sense of belonging through shared history and culture. However, the further apart the individuals live, the harder it is to find these commonalities. What the nation-state provides are very distinct intellectual borders that bind diverse communities together. The government-drawn lines give these communities a frame of reference to begin sorting themselves out and determine how

they will interact with each other. Despite differences they might have, individuals who live within the same boundaries are more likely to interact with each other because they view each other as fellow members.

The reason for this interaction is that the nation state carries with it a sense of validity. It has official membership in the form of citizenship. Anthony Smith (1991), one of the foremost theorists of nationalism, links national citizenship with legitimacy, arguing that nations are “the only recognized source of ‘international’ legitimacy” because “to be a citizen of a nation is to be a part of it... to become part of a political ‘super-family’” (p.144, p.161). The nation-state is central to the notion of national identity, because it provides a standard that everyone recognizes as a distinguishing mark. National citizenship is tangible proof of one’s connection to the collective whole, no matter how different the individual is from the rest of his/her fellow citizens. Furthermore, the legitimacy of national citizenship nullifies differences in race and ethnicity as the primary determining factors for national identity. Another cultural theorist, Stuart Hall (1996), argues, “no nation possesses an ethnic base naturally”, because national citizenship is not dependent on a set race or single ethnicity (p. 164). Rather its requirements are abstract notions of loyalty and belonging, which any individual can learn and take on. Because citizenship is primarily a declaration of allegiance to the nation state, it opens up the possibility for new members to become

part of the national identity, and ultimately it is the nation-state to give the final say on how valid those claims are.

Culture and race are still important factors to consider in terms of belonging to the national identity, however, because they complicate the validity of citizenship. As Hall (1996) argues, “as social formations are nationalized, the populations within (nation) divided up among them or divided by them are ethnicized” (p. 164). The nation-state loosely holds differences in cultures and races together, but it only defines membership in the broadest of terms. The different populations and subgroups still exist separately within the borders of the nation-state, and ultimately “cultural citizenship” determines the membership into these groups, not national citizenship. Aihwa Ong (1999), a professor of Social Cultural Anthropology at the University of California in Berkley, defines “cultural citizenship” as “the dual process of self-making and being made within the webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society” wherein “becoming a citizen depends on how one is constituted as subject who exercises or submits to power relations” (p. 264). Thus understanding culture and institutions becomes vital in understanding the ways people segregate themselves within the nation. Cultural theorist, Homi Bhabha (1990), suggests that to understand “the locality of national culture,” one must view the insider/outsider dynamic not as “unified nor unitary in relation to itself” or “as ‘other’ in relation to what is outside or

beyond it” but as a “process of hybridity, incorporating new people in relation to the body politic.” (p. 3). In short, one must also look at national identity as a fluid concept that institutions, individuals, and culture constantly define and redefine.

One can easily see how this applies to Filipino national identity since memory plays an important factor in the national construction of these diverse nations. As a post-colonial nation that three different countries have occupied, the Philippines is an amalgamation of multiple cultures. It has a very diverse population that brings with it a whole range of histories and cultures that must come together to form Filipino culture. Using American culture as an example, Lisa Lowe (1998), a professor in the University of California in Santa Cruz, argues, “national culture – the collectively forged images, histories, and narratives that place, displace, and replace individuals in relation to the national polity- powerfully shapes who the citizenry is, what they remember, and what they forget” (p. 7). The collective task of determining what parts of whose culture or history gets to be a part of national culture depends solely on whose voices the American public hears. In this sense, the struggle that Filipinos have experienced in terms of defining cultural boundaries and membership is the same American struggle to synthesize multiple ethnicities and traditions into a singular “American” mold. When the population has individuals of Chinese, Muslim, Spanish, and American descent, creating a Filipino national cultural identity inevitably

translates into the exclusion of certain groups. In an interview, documentary filmmaker, Marlon E. Fuentes, characterizes Filipino history as having “a short memory, one doubtless overshadowed and affected by its colonial hybridization” (Blumentritt, 1998, p. 89). While it is easier to identify those ideas that are distinctly not Filipino, deciding what characteristics are Filipino is harder.

For this reason, the question of who is constructing national cultural identity is very important. Here, race comes into play because Ong (1999) argues that racism holds “embedded notions of citizenship” with its exclusion of certain races (p. 265). Because white cultures typically hold the most power, racism within the Philippines manifests in both directions. Under colonial rule, Filipinos learned to consider white and Western cultures to be superior and they discriminated against their own indigenous tribes and Filipinos of Chinese descent (Bankoff & Weekley, 2002, p. 136-138). These attitudes perpetuate today, but at the same time, post-colonial backlash in recent years also manifests occasionally in animosity towards Filipinos of American descent. As a result, certain races are cut out of cultural representations entirely while some groups only appear marginally. Unlike the solid definitions set forth by national citizenship, however, no distinct authority figure determines the boundaries of cultural citizenship. Even if racial and ethnic inequality exists, no clear figure of authority, such

as the nation-state, can easily change the boundaries. It is a collective process, and for this reason, cultural citizenship can be far more nebulous and exclusionary.

At the heart of the matter is not just the issue of different races negotiating power, but the abstract concept of the created Other that the citizens buy into. In his famous book, *Orientalism*, Edward Said (1979) argues that Europeans invented an imaginary Orient and assigned it undesirable characteristics in order to establish their own identity by creating a contrast of East and West, with the East as “the Other.” The danger of this essentialism is that it “allowed Europeans to see ‘Orientals’ as a phenomenon possessing regular characteristics” and established stereotypes that were difficult to erase (Said, 1979, p. 42). Within the Philippines, the non-dominant races are seen as Others, despite the fact that they can claim national citizenship. They are not a part of the mainstream Philippines, but sub-groups that stand out from the rest. This situation holds true, even when the dominant race seeks these groups out; instead of being a negative contrast, however, the dominant groups are defined by their desire for a more exoticized Other. In “Eating the Other” cultural theorist, bell hooks (2001), argues, “when race and ethnicity become commodified as resources for pleasure, the culture of specific groups...can be seen as constituting an alternative playground where members of dominating races, genders, sexual practices affirm their power-over in intimate relations with the Other” (p. 425). In both cases, the problem is that “what is

commonly circulated is not ‘truth’ but representation,” representation that seems to exist for the sole reason of validating and shaping the dominant identity (Said, 1997, p.21).

To further complicate the issue, often these “Other-ed” communities do not have the opportunity to change this perception. “Can the Subaltern Speak?” one of the founding essays on post-colonialism by Gayatri Spivak (1994), argues that “the first world intellectual (masquerades) as the absent non-representer who lets the oppressed speak for themselves” while speaking for the subaltern all the while (p. 87). For Spivak (1994), the only individuals capable of speaking for the subaltern are those who are subaltern; anyone else cannot help but bring in biases and are unable to maintain a sense of “blankness” needed to resist and critique ‘recognition’ of the Third World through assimilation” (p. 82-89). One can see how these issues of invisibility and silence play out with Renato Rosaldo’s argument about cultural visibility and citizenship. Rosaldo (1993), a professor in the Cultural and Social Anthropology at Stanford University, posits that as full citizenship increases, cultural visibility decreases; “full citizens lack culture and those most culturally endowed lack full citizenship” (p. 198). For both Spivak and Rosaldo, the catch-22 of the situation is that in order to get to a position where one could have the power and voice to change

mainstream concepts, an element of assimilation and loss of their subaltern cultures is necessary.

For this reason, cultural citizenship is vital because it gives Other-ed groups the validation and right to speak. William Flores and Rina Benmayor (1997), professors in California State University, argue, “Culture interprets and constructs citizenship and the activity of being citizens, in the broad sense of claiming membership, affects how we see ourselves, even in communities that have been branded second-class or “illegal” (p. 6). Flores cites the example of undocumented Mexican immigrants who carved out a space for themselves in the United States through participation with Chicano-American citizens. In that example, these immigrants were able to get immigration rights because they were an integral part of the Chicano-American community, despite their lack of American citizenship. Because cultural citizenship is “the various processes by which groups define themselves, form a community, and claim space and social rights,” their arguments had clout and the support of the Chicano community (Flores and Benmayor, 1997, p. 256). This recognition by other valid citizens made the illegal status of these immigrants irrelevant.

Thus, membership within the national identity depends on the empowered, recognized citizens, not just the nation-state. In national cultural identity, the recognized, empowered citizens are usually the ones to appear in cultural products and

representations. These individuals count as “the people” of a nation. In the political arena, governments create laws with “the people” in mind because they will be the ones to accept, validate, and enforce these laws or reject them and render them useless. These points are very important to note in discussion about the Philippines and its citizens, because the fragmented Filipino national identity complicates this process of determining membership.

KINSHIP AND FILIPINO NATIONAL IDENTITY

Within the Philippines, the empowered, recognized citizens of the Philippines have problems agreeing and finding commonalities due to their heterogeneous ethnicities and cultures. In his seminal work, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (*Community and Civil Society*), Ferdinand Tönnies (1955/2001) argues that in *gemeinschaft*, individuals naturally aggregate into “organic” communities where they are “united from the moment of (their) birth with (their) own folk for better or for worse” through bonds of kinship (p. 18). By contrast, *gesellschaft* is a “purely mechanical construction” wherein individuals create artificial relationships to form civil society (Tönnies, 1955/2001, p. 17). When one applies these terms to national identity construction, *gemeinschaft* is extremely important. One of the leading theorists on nationalism, Benedict Anderson (1991) argues, “the beauty of *gemeinschaft*” is that the nation binds together different groups to the point that recognition of their common

citizenship becomes as inherent, “unchosen” and “natural” as parentage (p. 143). Essentially, *gemeinschaft* makes nationhood into a “natural” inherited characteristic and serves as a powerful binding force for the nation. Nationalism theorist Ernst Gellner (1994) supports this claim, arguing that prior to nationalism, kinship plays “a major part in the mechanism of allocating individuals to their positions in society” but that national ethnicity replaces “kinship as the principle method of identity conferment” (p. 46). Unfortunately, Philippine *gemeinschaft* does not operate well at the national level.

Given the history of occupation, first by the Spanish, then by the Americans, and briefly by Japanese, Filipino national identity is not cohesive enough to cultivate a natural understanding of “nation-ness” at all times (Anderson, 1991, p. 143). Centuries of colonization by the Spanish, Japanese, and Americans, and influence from trade with the Chinese created an incredibly diverse ethnic population in the Philippines. Filipino culture reflects this diversity since Filipino names and food are very Spanish influenced, conservative values draw on a heavy Christian and Catholic tradition, and collectivist attitudes about family and elders share elements of Chinese and Japanese culture. Under colonial rule, these differences of culture and race manifested in very strong competition and rivalries over what little power that was available rose among certain groups of Filipinos. Centuries of occupation ingrained this internal conflict

within the Filipino psyche, and even after the Philippines gained its independence, its citizens perpetuate these attitudes. The geography of the Philippines allows Filipinos to segregate themselves and stay apart, and the widening economic differences between the rich and the poor only help foster these regional rivalries. Post-colonial theory also suggests that Filipino tendency toward self-hatred and cultural cringe adds to these differences. Although their influence was short, American culture had a huge impact on shaping the educational system during the American occupation of the Philippines in the early twentieth century. They established English as the language of instruction. Whiteness became the desired trait, and Filipinos widely admired American pop culture (Bankoff and Weekley, 2002, p. 67). Thanks to centuries of colonizers indoctrinating them to believe in the superiority of other cultures rather than their own, Filipinos have had a hard time establishing a “natural” sense of a cohesive, national identity.

As a result, Filipinos often cling to their regional specific communities. Tönnies’ *gemeinschaft* applies well to these regional communities, but not the nation. In Philippine identity, regional pride is just as important to the Filipino’s identity as national pride because one’s community provides the borders for solidarity that the nation is unable to supply. One of the founders of symbolic kinship theory, David Schneider (1984), writes that kinship is “a strong solidary bond that is largely innate, a

quality of human nature, biologically determined, however much social or cultural overlay may be also present” (p. 166). While the nation-state may attempt to bind the various cultures together through *gesellschaft*, the individuals who share racial and ethnic homogeneity cling together and the diverse population segregates itself into distinct collectives spread out over various islands. As individuals are then born on these islands, the geography of the Philippines, as an archipelago, allows islanders to remain isolated and keep their own customs and dialects, reinforcing these kinship borders.

Regional ties and community loyalty are so strong that Filipinos created a specific word to refer to these kinship bonds: *bayanihan*. *Bayanihan* literally means, "being of a *bayan*," which is Filipino for town or community. The term refers to community solidarity and cooperation. This cooperation goes beyond a desire to help one's neighbor. Filipinos feel obligated to help because they accept it as a part of one's duties as a community member and believe that the community does not function without each person's contributions. To illustrate this point, one of the most common explanations of *bayanihan* is actually a visual depiction of Filipinos working together to move one community member's house:

Figure 1. “Bayanihan.” (Barcelona, 1993).



Community members do not treat *bayanihan* as a tradition but as a natural, defining characteristic of one’s place in the community. Failure to show up to help colors the rest of the community’s perception of the individual in a negative way and threatens the security of one’s place in the community. *Bayanihan* is Filipino *gemeinschaft* at work because Filipinos often refer to it as the *bayanihan* spirit, which taps into Tonnies’ description of *gemeinschaft* as a living organism.

This strong presence of *bayainhan* does not mean that Filipinos lack in national pride or unity. Filipinos are actually very proud of their national heritage, culture, traditions, and way of life. However, this pride manifests most clearly when Filipinos are defending their nation from critics or projecting a positive national image to

outsiders. During these situations, Filipinos invoke the “*bayanihan* spirit” to bolster national pride and unity. When forced to deal with internal problems caused by its own diversity, Filipinos often revert to the kinship bonds of the community and island specific identifications. Unless Filipinos see themselves collectively juxtaposed with another Other-ed group, the strength of *gemeinschaft* tends to dissipate at the national level. Therefore, on the international level, *gemeinschaft* is very strong for Filipinos abroad, because they are a minority in the global village. In their scattered isolation, Filipinos abroad cling to each other and revel in their shared Filipino heritage, forming a collective Filipino presence outside of the Philippines.

THE DETERRITORIALIZATION OF HOME

This phenomenon of building a Filipino national community outside of the Philippines has implications on home and nationalism though. In the age of globalization where more travelers have increased mobility, may cross borders and leave the physical location of home, the notion of home as an imagined geography is becoming an increasing popular, if not new, concept. Probably the most famous to make the connection between imagination and home is Benedict Anderson (1983) who coined the phrase, “imagined communities” in the title of his well-known book on nation and the nation-state. Anderson argues that the concept of the nation is wholly separate from the reality of the nation state. While a community may function

according to the rules of the nation state, it is held together as a “nation” by the way in which it envisions itself (Anderson, 1983, p. 3). Using the example of the Mexican-American border in Texas, Mexican-American writer Gloria Anduluza (1987) illustrates this point. When the United States created the border Mexico and the United States, Texas ceased to be a part of the Mexican nation. Without moving an inch, the people living in Texas became Americans; yet their cultural identification never changed. Racially, culturally and ethnically, the people living in Texas were Mexicans. She points out that the nation-state arbitrarily creates concepts of national borders, even when there is little to no foundation. Thus for Anduluza, the nation lies as much in the imagination as it does in space and location. This divorce of space and nation is important to note because the nation is synonymous with home, especially for Filipino immigrants and citizens living abroad. Espiritu (2003) writes, “home is not only a physical place that immigrants return to for temporary and intermittent visits but also a concept and desire” (p. 10). If the imagination can create communities separate from nations, then likewise, home is no longer intrinsically tied just to space, but also to the imagination and memory of the individuals.

For this reason, understanding the ways globalized individuals imagine their kinship is vitally important. Indian writer, Salman Rushdie (1992) points out the

problems of nostalgia, arguing that the memory's imperfection can lead to false notions of home. Using the example of India, he writes:

It may be that writers in my position, exiles or emigrants or expatriates, are haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back, even at the risk of being mutated into pillars of salt. But if we do look back, we must also do so in the knowledge that...we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost; we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands, Indias in the mind. (Rushdie, 1992, p. 10)

While Anderson (1983) argues that, "communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined," it is important to note the paradoxes that memory and nostalgia can create (p. 6). This is particularly true for the Filipino, whose past has been peppered with imperialism and whose memory is rooted in American culture rather than its own. Arjun Appadurai (2003) notes that although "there are more Filipinos singing perfect renditions of American songs (often from the American past) than there are Americans doing so" these Filipinos "look back to a world they have never lost," clinging onto a "nostalgia without memory" (p. 29-30). Kinship theorist Janet Carsten (2004) refers to this practice as "fictive kinship." These imagined bonds of "fictive kinship apparently have no basis in substance, but

yet are couched in an idiom of ‘natural’ ties” (Carsten, 2004, p. 136). Even though they may be completely false, they have the same performative symbolic qualities as *gemeinschaft*, because this kinship “is a sustained effort involved in maintaining relationships over time that produces chosen families and proves their authenticity” (Carsten, 2004, p. 145).

Another factor to consider is the role that family plays in the construction of home, since one’s family is typically the first group to create a space for an individual to belong. The technological advances of the twentieth century have facilitated many ways for families to stay connected. The television, telephone, and cell phone have all done their part in creating holes for the outside world to filter into the home, but the inclusion of the computer into the home has done arguably the most damage in recent years to the barrier between the “outside” and the “inside.” The advent of the Internet blew the door open because it allowed communication in both directions, thus facilitating the upkeep of the local on-goings of multiple communities all over the world. As a result, the definitions of family have been stretched to include extended family members who have been spread out across the globe. No longer tied down to locality, those members who are considered to be “family” are so because they have the ability to remain familiar with each other. Alan Wurtzel and Colin Turner (1977) refer to this concept as “symbolic proximity” wherein the media “combines the

attributes of instantaneousness and real person-to-person contact” (p. 256-60). Although they were talking about the telephone, the same logic applies to email and online communication. The computer provides families with the opportunity to stay in constant contact, especially with the recent invention of video conferencing which allows individuals to see each other. Email and instant messaging help to connect the extended family or even members of the nuclear family who are separated by long distances.

The one caveat of this phenomenon is that the more familiar the outside world becomes, the more blurred the lines between the home and rest of the world becomes. By making the barrier more permeable, what was once foreign can come into the home and situate itself as familiar, but the opposite effect can occur as well. David Morley (2000) rightly argues that “personalization of technologies” has led to the “fragmentation of families and the household,” as those families who can afford to give a computer to each family member no longer have to interact with each other and share space as much as they used to in the past (p. 91). Moreover, the personalization of computers also means that computers have increased the privacy barrier separating individuals. Differences may arise more easily between family members because they do not share the same information; one member may have information that another does not. If what is familiar on the inside and what is strange on the outside truly

define home and the family, then it is important to note that the familiarity the Internet provides to connect family members is dependent on information flow and availability. In this sense, technology can be a dangerous tool that threatens the cohesiveness of the family and sense of home. As the gateway of a constant two-way flow of information, the computer has renegotiated the boundaries between the family and the home by allowing families to remain connected despite vast distances while simultaneously threatening to tear them apart. Nevertheless, the breakdown of the barrier between the public and the private and the replacement of it by a “constantly permeable external boundary to the home” has contributed to the divorce of the family and the physical locality of the home (Morley, 2000, p. 93).

At this point, I must point out that this discussion about the deterritorialization of home does not invalidate the importance of the nation-state or location. As Morley (2000) put it, “it is not a matter of physical geography somehow ceasing to exist or ceasing to matter... rather a question of how physical and symbolic networks become entwined with each other.” (p. 176). However, the stretched definitions of home and nation have profound changes on concepts of membership. The separation of home and space allows Filipinos outside of the Philippines to establish a sense of belonging from a remote distance. Ironically, the legitimacy that national citizenship gives to them as

citizens is the very thing that allows these individuals to physically leave the nation and remain connected to home.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the Filipino diaspora. Jonathan Okamura (1998) writes, “central to the notion of diaspora is that such overseas minority communities residing in host societies maintain strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin, their “homelands” (p. 118). Their sense of nationalism is not bounded by location; rather they deftly negotiate two or more cultures at the same time without losing their connection to the home culture. The Filipino diaspora, in particular, is incredibly good at accomplishing this feat, and it remains one of the biggest migrant populations in the world.

In part, the Filipino diaspora is able to successfully maintain this link because of the tradition of the *balikbayan* in Filipino culture. The *balikbayan*, literally meaning “one who continually leaves and returns home,” is tangibly linked to the homeland through the practice of *pasalubong* (Filipino for gift giving) and remittances (Okamura, 1998, p. 123-125). The *balikbayan* tradition dates back to the first days of Philippine immigration at the turn of the twentieth century. Historically, most Filipino immigrants did not immigrate to other countries for the purpose of settling there; rather they saw themselves as “sojourners” who went abroad to make more money but would ultimately return to the Philippines (Takaki, 1998, p. 59). In the case of immigration

into the United States, they took these attitudes because they did not enter the country as aliens but as American nationals. When the Philippines was a commonwealth of the United States, Filipinos could come and go between the countries as they pleased; thus they saw their separation from the Philippines as temporary. Although a good majority of these immigrants ended up staying in the United States, their intention to return to the Philippines informed their behavior and established these attitudes that Filipino overseas workers, dual citizens, and even some Filipino-Americans hold today.

It is also due to the *balikbayan* tradition that Filipinos abroad play an integral role in supporting the economy of the Philippines through remittances. In 2006 alone, Filipino overseas remittances contributed 12.8 billion dollars to the Filipino economy (Agence France-Press, 2007, para. 1). Yet the connections and sense of belonging Filipinos abroad have with the Philippines extends far beyond the money they send. Filipinos practice these traditions out of “devotion to the family and nation and they stay connected through means other than remittances” (Mendoza, 2002, p.155). Okamura (1998) describes the Filipino diaspora as “a transnational network of social relations between overseas Filipino communities and the Philippines” and it exists as an imagined community “through various circulations of people, money, good, and information to and from the Philippine homeland” (p. 118). Maintaining communication with family members and friends and remaining emotionally invested

in their lives are just as important to the Filipino abroad as sending money, and the family is incredibly important. Filipinos abroad do not see themselves as outsiders; rather they consider themselves *balikbayans* who will someday return to the Philippines. As a result they keep very strong connections to the Philippines.

Benedict Anderson (1998) refers to this pride and connection as “long-distance nationalism.” Long distance nationalism is deterritorialized nationalism, and Anderson (1998) asserts that the nationalism that one “claims on email” is “the ground on which an embattled ethnic identity is to be fashioned in the ethnicized nation-state that he remains determined to inhabit.” (p. 74). With increased participation and symbolic proximity, Filipinos abroad feel like they are an integral part of the Philippines and must therefore carve out a space that is recognized by the cultural citizenry.

PUTTING THE PIECES TOGETHER

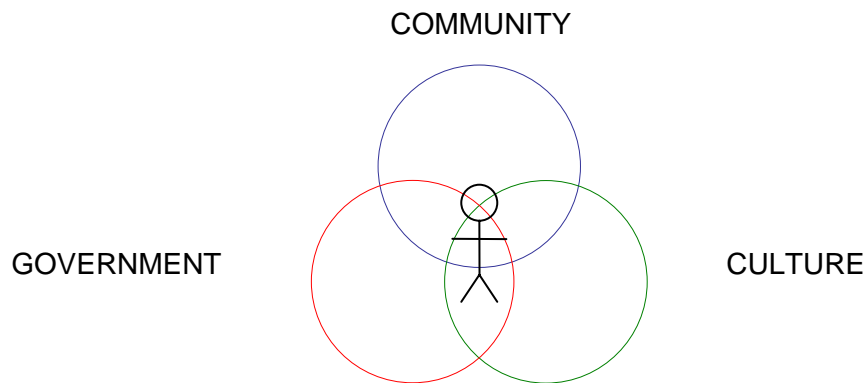
From this examination, one can more clearly understand the processes by which individuals construct the concept of “the nation as home.” Kinship bonds, such as *bayanihan*, and shared values and beliefs bind families and individuals into communities. Cultural citizenship and shared culture help citizens form the collective identity of the “Filipino people.” The Filipino government draws intellectual borders of membership so that any person lacking in kinship bonds or cultural citizenship may still be a part of the nation through national citizenship. It is important to note that

these groups do not exist separately. Regional communities determine membership through shared values and codes of conduct of kinship. These beliefs combine to form national culture, and as Gellner (1994) posited, national ethnicity replaces kinship as the glue that holds together individuals (p. 46). Collectively, the empowered citizens that represent the “Filipino people” set the unwritten rules of Filipino society and validate membership through cultural citizenship. The Filipino people inform the government and guide the selection of which rules the state should write and how to regulate these rules. These interactions dictate membership and belonging to a nation and one cannot truly belong to the Philippines unless one can claim recognized membership in all three areas.

With these insights in mind, I can now examine how well dual citizens who live in the United States fit into the Philippine nation. Like Filipino overseas workers, dual citizens do not permanently reside in the Philippines and technology allows them connect to the Philippines through symbolic proximity and maintain their bonds with the individuals in the Philippines. They may be able to keep strong nationalistic ties to the Philippines in the form of long distance nationalism thanks to their tangible contributions through remittances and the *balikbayan* tradition. Nevertheless, dual citizens complicate this process of constructing “the nation as home” because of their claim of allegiance to two countries. Therefore, I will examine how dual citizens enact

their membership within the Philippines in three major areas: community, culture, and political arena.

Figure 2. Framework



Using this framework, the driving purpose of this thesis is to examine what kind of participation dual citizens achieve in these areas:

- Within the community, are dual citizens able to establish a strong sense of symbolic proximity? What methods of technology are they using? How are dual citizens using these methods, and how they deal with the limitations of technology? Does the *balikbayan* tradition come into play? At the end of the day, how much does deterritorialization of home truly test the bonds of kinship and affect the way dual citizens see their place within the community?

- How do dual citizens respond to Filipino culture? Since cultural and national citizenship determine belonging to the nation, what kind of acceptance and recognition do dual citizens get from Filipinos in the Philippines as part of the mainstream culture? What kind of representation do dual citizens have in the Filipino culture? Does the Filipino media portray them as insiders or outsiders? How do dual citizens respond to these representations?
- What is the nature of dual citizens' long distance nationalism and how does this care translate into political activism? Do dual citizens vote and how do they reconcile dual loyalties? Is there truly a conflict of interest? Also, how do representations in the media affect how Filipinos in the Philippines interpret dual citizens' political actions?

In answering these questions about participation, I will be able to determine how successful dual citizens are in achieving membership in these three areas. By looking at these three aspects, I can get a better sense of how secure dual citizens feel in the Philippines in the big picture.

Chapter 3. Methodology: How Do We Measure Home and Belonging?

With my framework in place, I had to devise a way to measure participation, which was a challenge for two reasons. First, the overall question I am answering in this thesis is how successful are dual citizens in achieving membership in the Philippines, but the three areas I am examining require different types of methodologies. Second, participation implies two groups of people, and so this thesis has to examine both dual citizens and the Filipinos in the Philippines. For Filipinos in the Philippines, I used cultural studies and textual analysis to determine how Filipinos viewed dual citizens. For dual citizens, however, I wanted to know how they connect to the Philippines, both how much they connect and what quality those connections are. In order to address all the questions being raised in this thesis, I used four different methods to measure dual citizens' participation and determine how Filipinos view dual citizens. I used one quantitative methodology (surveys), two qualitative methodologies (field research and ethnographic research), and textual analysis.

RATIONALE: CHOOSING A METHOD FOR THE QUESTION

For the interpersonal connection, I used surveys and field research because I wanted to look at the quality of dual citizens' personal connection to the Philippine community. This question has two aspects: how dual citizens personally feel about their place in the Philippines and what are methods of communication they are using to

stay connected with the individuals. Therefore, I used quantitative and qualitative methodologies. To get an in-depth understanding of dual citizens' feelings and preferences, field research interviews with dual citizens provided explicit reasons and gave specific information on how they felt and what methods of communication they preferred. However, I also wanted to get a sense of the general trends in dual citizens' feelings toward the Philippines, and I needed a methodology that would allow me to quantify their attitudes. Therefore, I used survey methodology in order to analyze dual citizens' feelings. The survey methodology also allowed me to quantify dual citizens' communication preferences and usage and determine what the most popular methods of communications were.

To evaluate membership within Filipino culture, I used surveys, field research, ethnographic research, and textual analyses of cultural products in television to determine how dual citizens appear in Filipino culture. I selected shows from the Filipino Channel, since the Filipino Channel looks at Filipino-Americans and dual citizens through the Filipino lens. I also conducted ethnographic research for one of the shows, *Speak Out*, in particular, because the premise of the show is a debate about Filipino culture. To understand why the producers made certain choices, I watched a live taping of one of the episodes as an audience member and was able to ask questions to the panelists and participate in conversations with the producers after the show.

Finally, to measure how dual citizens respond to representations on the Filipino Channel, I used surveys to gauge general trends in attitudes and field research to receive specific reasons for their behavior.

For political activity, I used surveys, field research and textual analyses to determine what level of participation dual citizens have in Filipino politics and to gauge how Filipinos in the Philippines interpret that participation. I used a survey to quantify their registration habits, interest in Filipino politics, and potential conflict of interest. I also looked at published records of the 2004 election registration data and used field research interviews to get specific, in-depth reasons for why they behaved the way they did. In order to gauge Filipino response, I used textual analyses of Filipino and Filipino-American newspapers and the official government website's message board.

The balance of these methodologies allowed me to create an in-depth, exploratory analysis of the interactions of dual citizens and Filipinos in the Philippines for all three topics because each methodology has its strengths and weaknesses. Survey methodology allowed me to be more objective and to flesh out some of the details in quantifiable terms. I am a dual citizen and therefore have a bias, which can be problematic as I am the primary researcher of this study. The format of a survey established a check on my bias by translating information into quantitative data

through scales and frequencies. Particularly since there is no baseline of research to rely upon, I wanted to be able to quantify their interactions to answer the question of how much dual citizens participate.

Field research lends itself to this topic as well because it is purely descriptive, exploratory research. It searches for in-depth, specific answers to questions and attempts to answer questions from a certain frame of reference. With no existing in-depth research on dual citizens, field research is vital to my study because general trends that the surveys provide do not cover the scope of my questions. Long surveys with many open-ended questions invite increased drop out respondent rates, and therefore, I had to limit my questions in the survey. Interviews with dual citizens filled in the gaps that the survey could not cover and gave me insights into the reasons for their behavior that demographics or trends on the survey could not explain or account for in terms of face validity. Additionally, the most common threat to validity in survey methodology is the fact that people may lie or be confused when taking the survey, leading to faulty data. By conducting the field research using the same people from the survey research, I was able to verify that at least some of the respondents were dual citizens when I interviewed them.

I also conducted textual analyses of cultural products to gauge the cultural and intellectual climate and attitudes to the Philippines. In this study, I wanted to measure

what the Filipino people felt about dual citizens on the national level. Therefore I looked at the national cultural products of television on the Filipino Channel, an international branch of the Philippine-based television network, Alto Broadcasting System-Chronicle Broadcasting Network (ABS-CBN) and Filipino and Filipino-American newspapers. These mediums have to pass a standards test in order to make it on the air or to print, and the advantage of textual analysis is that it allows the researcher to evaluate the various components of the text to determine what representations say about the depicted subjects and the creators of the text.

Since textual analysis looks solely at the primary documents and are dependent on the researcher's interpretation and bias, however, I felt the need to supplement my analysis of the television shows with ethnographic research. Ethnographic research is an approach conducted within field research that entails the researcher to enter into an environment and become a participant-observer to understand how a group of people works. Since the opportunity to do such in-depth research was available, I conducted ethnographic research to understand how producers of certain cultural products made their choices. By combining methodologies, I attempted to account for the weaknesses in each approach.

THE SURVEY

Subjects:

For this study, only Filipino-American dual citizens could answer the survey. Both Philippine-born and American-born dual citizens of either sex could answer the survey, but because I wanted to track political activity, I had to restrict the respondents to dual citizens who were over eighteen years old, the voting age for both countries. I also wanted to track how dual citizens make connections remotely, so I limited the survey to those dual citizens who lived in the United States. To get the full spectrum of the United States rather than just a localized area, I conducted the survey online; however this move means that this study does not reflect the ideas of dual citizens who are not accessible through the Internet. The sample may also lean towards Internet heavy users. Therefore, all my findings reflect only these types of dual citizens.

I had to use snowball sampling in order to find respondents. The respondents found my survey through referrals because I emailed solicitation letters to various Filipino community organizations in California, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Hawaii and the metropolitan Washington, DC area. I also sent emails to the Philippine Embassy in Washington D.C. and the Philippine Consulate in San Francisco. Additionally, I posted information in the profiles of my own social network through MySpace, Friendster, and America Online Instant Messenger. All these letters and

emails linked to a website that gave information on the study and a link to the survey. To generate interest in the survey, I also included the incentive of a raffle for an iPod shuffle, which may affect the type of respondents that completed the survey. While not ideal, these factors were necessary to get a decent response.

In the end, fifty-one respondents took the survey, out of which one respondent dropped out after the second section (the political section), most likely due to the length of the survey. Respondents were 52.9% male, 43.1% female. Their ages ranged from sixty-five to twenty-one, and respondents hailed from fifteen states across the United States.

Table 1. “What state do you live in?”

	Valid Percent
Virginia	14.3
Massachusetts	2.0
New Jersey	10.2
California	40.8
Minnesota	2.0
Ohio	4.1
Maryland	6.1
DC	2.0
New York	4.1
Connecticut	2.0
Texas	2.0
Florida	4.1
Hawaii	2.0
Illinois	2.0
Nevada	2.0
Total	100.0

Fifty one respondents is enough of a sample to make generalizations about dual citizens, but one must be aware that the sample is far from representative. Dual citizens are hard to find and one of the limitations of this survey is that my sample is not representative of all Filipino-American dual citizens.

Materials:

With these research questions in mind, I designed the survey to cover all three topics: interpersonal (section 1), political (section 2) and cultural (section 3). I also included a fourth section, general information, to get basic demographic information. Rather than create a survey from scratch, I modeled my questions after existing surveys. For the media use questions in the interpersonal, cultural, and political sections, I modeled the questions after the Kaiser Family Foundation's "Kids and Media @ the New Millennium" survey from November 1999. In the political section, I modeled registration and voting questions after San Francisco State University's "SFSU Student Survey" from December 2004. Respondents of my survey answered questions on their real and virtual social networks, communication habits, voting habits in American and Filipino politics, and opinions on representations on the Filipino Channel.

The first section included eighteen questions on how Filipino-American dual citizens interacted with the Philippines and the quality of their connection to the Philippines. This section asked dual citizens to:

- (1) List Personal information such as place of birth, knowledge of Filipino dialects, self-identification (Filipino versus American versus Filipino-American).
- (2) Evaluate their contact with the Philippines, including listing frequency of contact, whom dual citizens contact, the most popular modes of communication.
- (3) Indicate their use of web-based technology as a communication tool: amount of usage of chatting and social networks, self-evaluation of how effective the media keeps them updated with personal relationships.
- (4) Indicate their social network composition: American versus Filipino contacts, percentage of individuals whom the subject has met in real life versus percentage of virtual acquaintances, and where investment in American and Filipino networks compete with each other.

To minimize the risk of respondents dropping out and quantify participation, I put the bulk of the questions on a seven-point Likert scale. For “frequency of use” and percentage type questions, I labeled “1” as Not at All,” 4 as “Somewhat/About Half”

and 7 as “All the Time.” The only exceptions to this scale were when the questions asked the number of visits to the Philippines and frequency of contact with the Philippines because I wanted more specificity. In those cases, I listed increments of days, weeks, months, or years. Since I had no idea what modes of communication they were using, I provided possible choices taken from the Kaiser Family survey and left an open field blank for them to add any other suggestions. In this section, I also asked dual citizens to list the order that they received their citizenships as a check to ensure that these respondents were in fact dual citizens. All questions in this section were mandatory.

The second section of the survey deals with the political activity of dual citizens. This section included twenty questions that asked:

- (1) Activity in politics, including knowledge of Filipino politics, modes of accessing Filipino political news, overseas registration and reasons for not registering.
- (2) Opinions on amount of care and say dual citizens should have in Filipino politics.
- (3) Whether or not dual citizens felt conflicted about American and Filipino politics.

In order to get a sense of the general political orientation of the sample, I included questions about interest and level of participation in American politics as well. I quantified all opinions and frequencies of use on a seven-point Likert scale. For the questions asking dual citizens to list their primary “reason for not registering” in the 2007, I gave some possible answers, taken from the San Francisco State University survey, and left an open field blank for answers I could not anticipate. All questions in this section were mandatory.

The third section covered cultural interactions and included fourteen questions. Respondents indicated:

- (1) Interest in Filipino entertainment: frequency of staying up-to-date, and use of various modes of accessing Filipino culture.
- (2) Filipino Channel viewing habits: subscription, frequency of viewing, favorite show.
- (3) Opinions on representation in Filipino-American programming on the Filipino Channel, including *Speak Out*.

I did not make all the questions in the cultural section mandatory because response was dependent on watching the Filipino Channel and not everyone watches the channel.

The final section looked at demographic information and asked respondents to list their year of birth, education, and sex. As a check to ensure that respondents did

live in the United States and were dual citizens, I asked them to list what state they lived in and asked them to list the primary reason why they applied for dual citizenship. Individuals who did not apply for dual citizenship and obtained it by birth indicated their circumstances in the blank field provided. To conclude the survey, I asked respondents if they would be willing to do an interview for the field research.

Sampling and Study Design:

The survey was open to respondents between January 29, 2007 and March 5, 2007. I hosted the survey on a trusted server, Survey Monkey, using a password-protected account to preserve confidentiality. In order to analyze the data, I had to code certain questions that were open-ended questions. To establish trends, I divided “year of birth” into sequences of five years. For the language spoken, I combined the answers of respondents who listed “Tagalog and Ilocano,” “Tagalog and Pangasinan,” “Tagalog and Bicol,” “Tagalog and Ilonggo” and categorized them as “Tagalog and Other.” Since a significant number of respondents listed “Tagalog and Bisaya,” I let that group stand by itself. For Filipino television shows, I combined *TV Patrol* and *Radio Patrol* because these programs were news programs. I combined *Eat Bulaga*, *Wowowweee*, and *Game Ka Na Ba* as “variety or game shows” and *Sana Maulit Muli*, and *Maalala mo kaya* as telenovela soap operas. As an entertainment talk show

and an entertainment news program, I filed *Korina Today* and *The Buzz* under the same category as “entertainment news.” For the question about applying for dual citizenship, I combined “protect assets” and “own land” into one category. Additionally, I coded reasons of “Because I am a Filipino” and “I wanted to vote” as “patriotism” and “nationalism” and combined those two categories into one category. By coding these factors this manner, I was able to conduct frequencies, correlations, and crosstabs on SPSS, a statistical package for the social sciences.

FIELD RESEARCH

Sample:

For more even specificity in dual citizens’ response, I also conducted personal interviews with fifteen dual citizens. Once I got respondents to the survey, respondents had the option of doing a follow up interview. Twenty-one respondents indicated that they could do an interview, but some respondents dropped out, citing time constraints. Of the fifteen interviews, eleven were Philippine-born and four were American-born dual citizens. Ages ranged from fifty-seven to twenty. Their locations included Virginia, Massachusetts, New Jersey, California, Ohio, and Hawaii, and the male to female ratio was eight to seven. This sample is a convenience sample; however, I did my best to get as diverse a population as possible to ensure coverage of most of the issues. At best, face validity and my membership as a dual citizen and knowledge of

Filipino and Filipino-American history and cultures are the only gauges to test for validity in this sample.

Interviewing Methods:

At the convenience of the interviewees, I varied how I conducted my interviews. Four interviewees preferred telephone calls; three individuals wanted to meet me in person, and the other eight preferred to conduct the interview in a series of emails back and forth. The telephone and in-person interviews lasted approximately thirty to forty minutes. The email interviews consisted of one or two emails with approximately eight to ten questions in total. In the interviews, I asked dual citizens to elaborate on their responses in the survey and were more in the style of field research than survey interviews. The conversations were casual and questions ranged from their general feelings toward the Philippines, what type of adjustment they underwent when visiting the Philippines to what their reasons were for their preferred methods of communication. I asked every single respondent, “What does it feel like to visit the Philippines?” because I wanted to know how they felt about physically being in the Philippines. I also asked, “Should Theodore Aquino, a dual citizen vying for candidacy in the Philippine Senate, give up his dual citizenship?” because this particular development did not occur during the time that I designed the survey and by the time I

conducted the survey, the issue had not yet been resolved. My dual citizenship made me an insider and allowed my interviewees to open up to me as a researcher because of our shared dual status.

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

In order to evaluate political reactions to dual citizens in the Philippines, I evaluated press releases and transcripts of Filipino Senate and Congress resolutions pertaining to overseas voting, registration, and dual citizenship from the official Philippine government website and Commission of Elections website. I also tracked discussions on the message board of the Official Philippine Government website and examined the published statistics on dual citizens' registration for the 2004 election. In terms of Filipino news and press, I tracked all coverage on the upcoming May 2007 election, and articles and editorial pieces mentioning dual citizenship reaction that appeared in the leading national Philippine newspaper, *The Philippine Daily Inquirer*. Since dual citizens rarely voice their opinions in Filipino media, I also had to track Filipino American online newspapers, such as *Philippine News*, and episodes of *Balitang America*, a Filipino-American news program on the Filipino Channel to get complete coverage of dual citizens. The articles and television pieces for both Filipino and Filipino-American news dated between August 2003 to April 15, 2007. I selected these articles based upon searches on the newspapers' online archive of the terms:

“dual citizen,” “dual citizenship,” “overseas voting,” “Aquino,” “residency,” “election,” “American,” “RA 9225” and “citizenship.” These articles are not representative of how all Filipinos feel about dual citizens; however, the function of a national newspaper is to give voice to the major opinions within the nation. Therefore, looking at these articles allows me to see what opinions are in the national debate.

For Filipino culture, I set out to look at representations of dual citizens in Filipino Channel. Unfortunately, dual citizens only appear as Filipino-Americans in the Filipino-American programming on the Filipino Channel. Outside of their appearance in election-related news on the Filipino-American news program, *Balitang America*, dual citizens only showed up once as a discussion point of the show, *Speak Out*, a Filipino-American debate show that discusses Filipino culture. As a distinct collective group, dual citizens are relatively absent in cultural representation. Given the similarities between Filipino-Americans and dual citizens and this tendency of Filipino media to present dual citizens as Filipino-Americans, I broadened my scope to look at the Filipino-American programming in the Filipino Channel to see what representation Filipino-Americans had in Filipino culture.

With this scope, two Filipino Channel programs, *Pinagmulan* and *Speak Out* stood out in terms of portraying Filipino-Americans within Filipino culture. *Pinagmulan* is a reality show wherein Filipino-Americans visit the Philippines and

Speak Out is a Filipino-American debate style program on various aspects of Filipino culture. Since *Speak Out* offered the most range of culture analysis, I focused my efforts on evaluating representations of Filipino-Americans on that show rather than *Pinagmulan*. I watched videos of two episodes of *Pinagmulan* and the entire first season and two episodes of the second season of *Speak Out* (a total of fifteen *Speak Out* episodes). I looked at how the producers presented the issues and selected the panelists to see how they fit into the context of Filipino-American representation.

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

I also had the opportunity to watch a taping of one *Speak Out* episode. The ability to observe the interactions and conversations with the audience, hosts and panelists helped give me a better idea of how the audience was responding and gave me insights into interactions that never made it to air. Conversations with one of the producers also helped me understand what goals the producers were trying to achieve.

Fieldwork

In order to integrate myself into the audience without disrupting the integrity of my research, I entered the setting of the *Speak Out* taping as an audience member. Audience members of *Speak Out* participate in the episode during a question and answer period of the show. They offer opinions and theories on the points each side

has brought up and respond to the arguments that the panelists have made. After the show, they have the opportunity to talk with the hosts, the panelists, and the producers. This role naturally lends itself to observation and participation. Therefore, I assumed the role of the audience member to observe how the audience was responding to the arguments and talked with some audience members and panelist about the show after the taping. Since I could blend in as an audience member, my question to the producers, hosts, and panels during the taping did not stand out or disrupt the natural course of the show.

Selection and Entry:

Gaining access into the audience of *Speak Out* was not difficult because the producers open the taping of its episodes to the general public. They advertise the dates, times, and locations of all their tapings in the Filipino Channel and invite the public to become members of the audience. I contacted the listed email address and emailed the producers to request a place as an audience member. I also mentioned my research and asked the producers if they had covered the topic of dual citizenship. The producers informed me that they intended to do an episode of *Speak Out* in the second season, but they were planning on taping the episode in the end of March 2007. Therefore, I flew out to San Francisco to watch a taping on the “Fil-Ams versus FOBs”

episode, which dealt with discrimination of Filipino immigrants by Filipino Americans. This topic was the closest I could get to dealing with the trials of negotiating American and Filipino cultures.

Participant Observation

While in the field, I was able to observe how the hosts, the audience members, the panelists and the producers interacted with each other, including interactions that never made it to the aired episode. As one of the audience members, I was able to ask a question to the panelists and the hosts, and although the producers cut sections of our interaction out to meet time restrictions for the episode, I was able to seamlessly integrate myself as a Filipino-American audience member.

Since I had email the producers for information about the tapings, I was able to establish relationship with the producers. I identified myself as a researcher on dual citizenship to the producers and the hosts and informed them that I was interested in incorporating their show in my research, but my Filipino-American background helped me gain their trust. My personal knowledge of Filipino and Filipino American culture and my role as a graduate student conducting research on dual citizenship gave me enough clout that at one point, they asked me if I was interested in being a panelist for an episode. Although time conflicts prevented me from participating as a panelist, they

sent me a questionnaire to fill out, giving me a more complete view of the panelist selection process.

PUTTING TOGETHER THE METHODOLOGIES

At this point, I must re-iterate that all the findings in this research are purely descriptive. They do not show causality; correlations between two or more factors in this research only show that there is a relationship of some kind exists. Any mentions of the word “why” in conjunction with dual citizen or Filipino response in this thesis are subjective opinions or interpretations of the subject. Even the conclusions I come to in this thesis are not beyond question due to my sample size and limitations of my research. The findings are merely guide markers to trends, based upon the cited motivations of the subjects and the hope is that future researchers with better funds and fewer restrictions on time will take this research and expand on it to find causality. Despite these limitations, however, this study can measure participation and describe how dual citizens and Filipinos in the Philippines operate on the areas I have specified in my framework through these selected methodologies. Therefore, I begin at the community and evaluate the membership that operates through kinship bonds, symbolic proximity and *bayanihan*.

Chapter 4. The Philippines is in the Heart: Maintaining Personal Connections from the United States

One of the biggest difficulties in characterizing dual citizens is keeping them distinct from other types of Filipinos abroad. As deterritorialized citizens, dual citizens share similarities with the Filipino diaspora. Dual citizens are major contributors to the Philippines through remittances; yet they are as physically absent as Filipino overseas workers. Dual citizens must reconcile their connections to the Philippines and the United States, and Filipinos in the Philippines sometimes see dual citizens as Filipinos who have split loyalties and who are as disconnected emotionally from the Philippines as some Filipino-Americans. Former Supreme Court Justice Isagani Cruz (2006), one of the biggest critics of dual citizenship in the Filipino media, often refers to dual citizens as “disloyal” Filipinos whom the Filipino government as “rewarded” for abandoning the Philippines. (para. 6). He associates dual citizens with those Filipino American immigrants who have cut off most ties with the Philippines and have immersed themselves in American life completely. Regardless of whether they are supporting or opposing dual citizens, Filipinos in the Philippines attribute to dual citizens some form of disconnect from the Philippines.

However, the reality of the situation illustrates that dual citizens are much more in touch with the Philippines than individuals like Cruz suggest. Dual citizens are usually born in the Philippines. They visit the Philippines often and while in the

United States, the multiple ways they use to stay updated with the news in the Philippines keep their emotional bonds to the Philippines very strong. This chapter will illustrate this point by examining the different modes by which they maintain these connections. Survey data and interviews will show how dual citizens repeatedly visit the Philippines and constantly contact the Philippines through web-based technology. Additionally, interviews and critical theory will also look at how and why dual citizens rely heavily on real connections rather than virtual links. Finally, a look at how dual citizens evaluate their own place in the Philippines will help put in perspective just how difficult or easy it is to have a sense of belonging to the Filipino people from a remote distance.

FROM THE COMMUNITY AT HOME TO THE VIRTUAL COMMUNITY

In most cases, dual citizens see the Philippines as home primarily because they were born in the Philippines. Although technically dual citizens can be born in either the United States or in the Philippines, survey data indicates that the typical Filipino American dual citizen is born in the Philippines and had Filipino citizenship first. Out of the fifty-one respondents in the survey of this researcher, only eight (15.7%) were born outside of the Philippines. The fact that for the majority of them the Philippines was their first home is highly significant because it means that their concept of the Philippines as home runs very deeply. As a whole, dual citizens living in the United

States are not establishing new connections when outside of the Philippines; rather they are only sustaining the preexisting relationships they have cultivated in their childhood.

These childhood ties are evident in the way that dual citizens talk about the Philippines. In response to the question, “What do you consider yourself?”, 21.6% of respondents marked “Filipino” rather than Filipino American (68.6%). Only 9.8% marked American.

Table 2. “What do you consider yourself?”

	Valid Percent
Filipino	21.6
Filipino-American	68.6
American	9.8
Total	100.0

In the eleven interviews I conducted with Philippine-born dual citizens, every single respondent referred to the Philippines as “home.” When asked what aspects of Filipino life were the hardest and the easiest to adjust to when visiting from the United States, all interviewees specifically used the phrase “going home,” no matter how different their responses were. The most typical difficulties dual citizens cited in the re-adjustment process are relatively superficial, such as re-adjustment to the weather and the lack of efficiency with some services. Despite these adjustments, however, they still see themselves as having a place in the Philippines to “go home.” Interestingly,

two out of the four interviews with American-born dual citizens also referred to the Philippines as “home,” citing many childhood visits as the reason for their strong affiliation with the country.

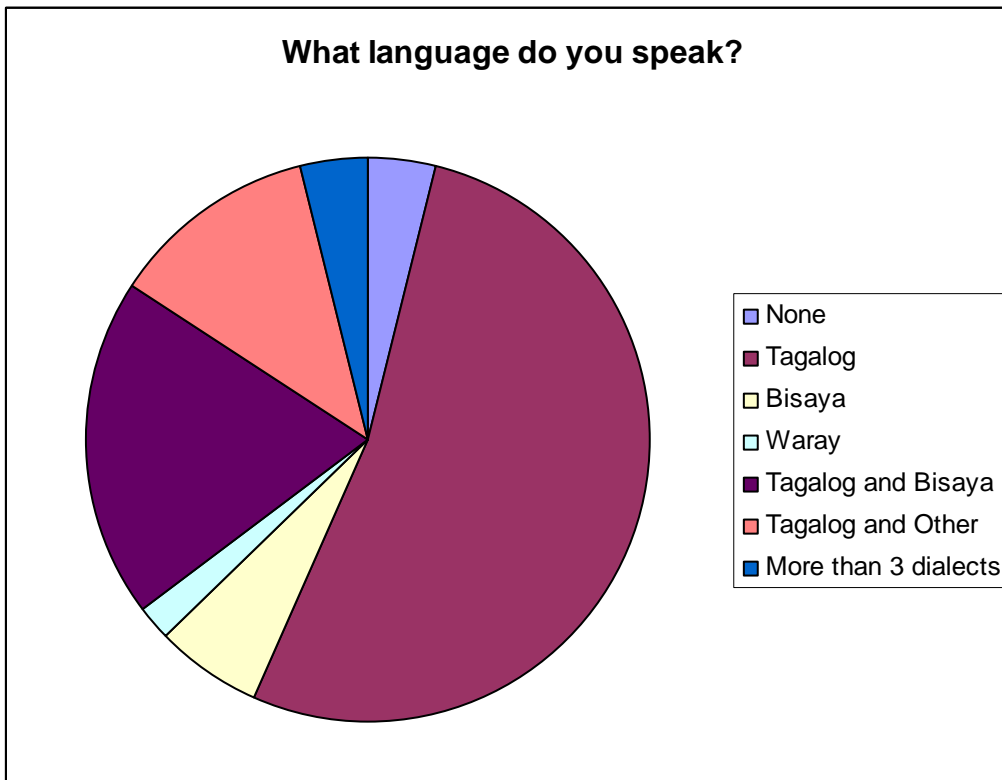
Dual citizens’ familiarity with the Philippines is often so strong that it is regional specific. Interviewees did not just talk about going home; they talked about going to a specific island. In eight of the eleven Filipino-born interviews and one of the four American-born interviews, the subject referred to himself or herself not as a Filipino but as a native of a specific region, such as “Cebuano” or “Ilocano.” Dual citizens carry over to the United States attitudes that reflect the regional differences and competition within the Philippines. When talking about retirement and investing in future businesses in the Philippines, one interviewee remarked, “how excited (he was) to go back to the Philippines and really show those Tagalogs how Illocanos do it.” Although there was no malice in this statement, this attitude is important to note because as pointed out in the literature review, regional pride is just as important in validating cultural membership as national pride.

These regional specific links are evident in the languages dual citizens speak. Tagalog is the most prevalently spoken dialect, but 35.3 % also speak another dialect in addition to Tagalog. Only two of the fifty-one respondents said that they could not speak any Filipino dialect.

Table 3. “What Language Do You Speak?”

	Valid Percent
None	3.9
Tagalog	52.9
Bisaya	5.9
Waray	2.0
Tagalog and Bisaya	19.6
Tagalog and Other	11.8
More than 3 dialects	3.9
Total	100.0

Figure 3. “What language do you speak?”



Language is a huge component in providing proof to other Filipinos that dual citizens are Filipino. One dual citizen stated, “The major area of conflict for me is the

language. I left the Philippine when I was thirteen, and I don't speak fluently anymore.” For many interviewees, the grasp of the local language determines how easily local Filipinos accept them as part of the community. One dual citizen even remarked that her Filipino accent alone gave her membership as a Filipino.

Most of all, the presence of family and friends in the Philippines helps dual citizens maintain this idea of the Philippines as home. Almost all dual citizens talked how family and friends make it very easy for them to slip back into Filipino life. One interviewee stated, “The easiest way to slip back into *Pinoy* (slang for Filipino) life is by visiting a *Pinoy* restaurant or getting together with family and friends.” No matter how disconnected one may feel from the culture or politics, having actual people to connect to provides a tangible link to the Philippines. As one dual citizen stated, “Nobody has questioned my claim as a Filipino because much of my family still lives in the Philippines and I keep in close contact with friends from high school and college.” Thanks to updates from friends and family, dual citizens speak about current Philippine affairs with great familiarity.

In these ways, we can see how dual citizens have a very strong connection to the Philippines. When distance and their dual status strain the constructed, unifying ties of national *gesellschaft* that Tönnies (1955/2001) writes about, the family and the community play significant roles in binding dual citizens to the Philippines through

kinship ties and *gemeinschaft*. Thus, the question of how dual citizens juggle notions of home is not a matter how they are establish notions of home and belonging but a matter of how well these connections stand up to the test of distance and time.

Thankfully, technology is very helpful in establishing symbolic proximity and fostering community. Through Internet interactions and passive communication, such as television, dual citizens are able to take the kinship ties they have with Filipinos in the Philippines and translate them into a virtual community. In his seminal work, *Virtual Communities*, Howard Rheingold (1993) defines virtual communities are “simply social aggregations that emerge from the Net when people carry on public discussions long enough with sufficient human feeling, to for webs of personal relationships in cyberspace” (p. 5). Therefore, since “people in virtual communities do just about everything people do in real life” except that they also “leave our bodies behind” (Rheingold, 1993, p. 5), these communities are very useful in looking at groups such as dual citizens and Filipino abroad. In her study of Filipino diaspora on the Internet, sociologist Emily Ignacio (2003) supports this theory noting that virtual communities allow participants “to create an identity which transcended national, racial, and gendered boundaries.” (p. 5) In short, virtual communities are very similar to their counterparts in the real world because the same rules still apply to the virtual plane.

The same issues of trust and kinship arise in virtual community building. In terms of active communication, Catherine Ridings (2005), a professor of Information Systems at Lehigh University, lists four basic ways that virtual communities can build connections. Listservs are emails that send out huge distribution lists, and bulletin boards or newsgroups are spaces where “members post messages for others to read and respond” (Ridings, 2005, p. 117). Chatting programs or conferencing systems such as webcamming constitute ‘live’ communication, and finally, multi-user domains (MUDs) are multi-player computer games such as the *World of Warcraft* (Ridings, 2005, p. 117). The practice of online social networking, through sites such as Friendster or Myspace, is also a method of community building since these networks are “gathering places that encourage their members to build explicit, hyperlinked networks of their friends and acquaintances” (Mew, 2005, p. 359). These modes provide individuals a virtual landscape to mark the creation of borders and distinguish membership. “The Internet makes possible the sharing of identities about culture and politics- but it also makes possible fierce debate over information” (Ignacio, 2003, p.7). Like the imagined communities that Benedict Anderson (1983) writes about, virtual communities are identifiable by the ways their members share ideas and values.

Legitimacy and membership also play into virtual communities because “a virtual community requires a measure of commitment to a set of shared values, mores,

meaning and a shared historical identity” (Etzioni, 1999, p. 241). An individual must decide if he or she wants to adhere to those rules in order to join, and in requiring this commitment, virtual communities are not unlike nation-states requiring its citizens to swear allegiance. Communication scholar, Anzela Huq (2005) writes:

“A community is formed, intentionally or unintentionally, when individuals who share a common interest come together and wish to share knowledge and information...a virtual community is one that is lifted from the physical boundaries and engages actively in communicating and working through the members’ common interests by electronic, digital or virtual media” (p. 193).

Thus, the key to a successful virtual community lies in the shared sense of camaraderie between its members. “The ability of a virtual community to find and/or generate innovation is due to the value of the members’ contributions, but the true power of that innovation multiples in giving away the innovations and associated knowledge to others. (Baim, 2005, p. 147). Gaining membership into these communities is very similar to the ways community members validate cultural citizenship since individuals, consciously or unconsciously, align themselves with others according to shared values and beliefs. These virtual connections can be helpful in letting dual citizens grow with the Filipinos in the Philippines rather than growing apart, thus preventing the loss of their cultural citizenship.

KEEPING UP WITH THE *TSISMIS*

In order to preserve the strength of their connections home, dual citizens maintain a very high level of contact with the Philippines and use many modes of virtual communication. Almost half of respondents stated that they contacted the Philippines at least once a week (45.1%), while 17.6% contact the Philippines once a day and 15.7% maintain contact once a month.

Table 4. “How often do you contact the Philippines?”

	Valid Percent
Once a year	3.9
Every 6 months	9.8
Every 3 months	7.8
Every month	15.7
Every week	45.1
Every day	17.6
Total	100.0

Interviewees state that one of the reasons for this high frequency of contact is to ease their transition when they go to the Philippines. One dual citizen remarked, “I split my time between the Philippines and the United States. I don’t want to have to play catch up every time I go so I have to keep up with all the *tsismis* (Filipino for gossip).” In terms of modes of communication, visits home ranked third in popularity with 74.2%, ahead of cell phone texting (58.8%) and behind email (94.1%) and the telephone (90.2%). Virtual social networks such as MySpace and Friendster (27.5%),

and blogs (9.8%). ranked lower. In terms of specifically web-based media, Yahoo Instant Messenger ranked the highest with 52.9%, far ahead of Friendster (23.5%), webcamming (21.6%) and Skype (19.6%).

Table 5. “What are you using to contact the Philippines?”

	Visits	Letters	Telephone	Email	Cellphone texting
Valid %	74.2	15.7	90.2	94.1	58.8

Table 6. “What web-based media are you using?”

	Yahoo IM	Friendster	Myspace	Skype	Webcam	AIM
Valid %	52.9	23.5	11.8	19.6	21.6	11.8

	Egroups	Message Boards	Blogs	None
Valid %	11.8	11.8	11.8	23.5

Despite the popularity of Yahoo Instant Messenger, however, survey results show that 50% of respondents do not chat online at all, while only 4% marked that they use it fairly regularly. Usage of social networking ranked even lower. Only 2% marked that they use it regularly, and 68% marked that they did not use virtual social networks at all.

Table 7. “How much are you chatting online or using social networks?”

	Chatting Online (Valid %)	Social Networks (Valid %)
Not at all	50.0	68.0
2	28.0	22.0
3	12.0	4.0

About Half	6.0	0.0
5	4.0	4.0
6	0.0	2.0
All the Time	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

To a lesser degree, dual citizens also use passive communication to stay connected to the Philippines, through newspapers, magazines, television.

Table 8. “How often do you use _____ to stay updated on political news?”

	Newspapers (Valid %)	Magazines (Valid %)	TV (Valid %)
Not at all	33.3	47.0	29.4
2	11.	11.7	13.7
3	1.9	1.9	0
Somewhat	15.6	19.6	13.7
5	15.6	11.7	11.7
6	9.8	3.9	15.6
All the Time	11.7	3.9	15.6
Total %	100	100	100

Table 9. “How often do you use _____ to stay updated on cultural news?”

	Newspapers (Valid %)	Magazines (Valid %)	TV (Valid %)
Not at all	30	40	30
2	18	22	16
3	8	10	12
Somewhat	18	12	16
5	12	8	4
6	4	4	8
All the Time	10	4	14
Total %	100	100	100

While their usage of these modes is significantly lower than the communication they have with family and friends, these forms of communication help them stay connected to the larger cultural and political frameworks in the Filipinos. Survey data and interviews indicate that dual citizens who watch the Filipino Channel (TFC), an international cable television network of the Philippine-based “Alto Broadcasting System-Chronicle Broadcasting Network” (ABS-CBN) television network, use it primarily as a way to stay connected to the Philippines. Survey responses show that the most popular programs among dual citizens were Philippine news shows, such as *TV Patrol*, and entertainment news shows. Other responses included Tagalog telenovela series and soap operas.

Table 10. “What television shows are you watching?”

Filipino Programming				
	TV Patrol/Radio Patrol	Telenovela	Entertainment news	Variety/Game shows
Valid %	35.3	17.6	11.8	11.8
Filipino American Programming				
	<i>Balitang America</i>	<i>Pinagmulan</i>	<i>Speak Out</i>	<i>Citizen Pinoy</i>
Valid %	7.8	3.9	3.9	1.9

These shows appeal to many Filipinos in the United States because they help dual citizens stay connected to Philippine culture. One dual citizen remarked, “Because I watch TFC, I still can talk with my sister about latest *tsismis* (gossip) when I go

home. Sometimes, they're so surprised that I know all about Kris Aquino's husband having that affair. Even though I'm here, I'm still in the loop." Even if representations of Filipino Americans are not as ideal as they would like, dual citizens still invest in the Filipino Channel to stay up to date in Filipino culture. It is a useful tool to maintain the validity of their membership and find common ground with Filipinos in the Philippines through their familiarity with the most up-to-date developments.

This breakdown of the various methods of communication suggests that as a whole, dual citizens tend to gravitate towards methods that simply update traditional methods of communication and shy away from new web-based media. The reasons for these preferences point the local Philippine culture as a significant factor in their selection. Although interviewees cited reliability, speed of information flow, and money as the main reasons why they preferred certain types of technology, telephone calls remain popular because they are personal and as one interviewee stated, "the older members of my family do not use email as easily." Email and texting are fast and "more reliable than the Filipino mail system" which explains why letters ranks so low (15.7%). Email and texting also eliminate "the time difference problem" since they are mediums "that doesn't require immediate attention." The time difference factor may explain why instant messaging chats rank fifth with 43.1% of respondents. In the case of cell phone texting, most interviewees who cited it as a preferred method

said that they used texting simply because Filipinos in the Philippines use it often. One interviewee said, “Filipinos have developed texting as an art form since they live in the text capital of the world. I’ve seen people who can text in one hand while carrying on a conversation with you in person.” Thus, in addition to practicality, Filipino practices also influence their choices.

This awareness of Filipino customs is significant because it illustrates how in tune dual citizens are with the Filipinos they interact with in the Philippines. With so many modes of communication, dual citizens are able to establish symbolic proximity with the Philippines very well. They are able to keep in constant touch and are updated on the current trends, attitudes and cultural customs. Despite all the new technology they have access to, dual citizens specifically choose what works best within the Filipino communities even if it means using a more low-tech means such as the telephone. As a result, they are able to integrate into Filipino society and retain their cultural citizenship within the Philippines from the United States.

THE GENERATION GAP

Dual citizens’ older age and ingrained habits may also explain why they tend to use the means of communication with which they are most familiar. Although the survey results did not show significant correlations between age and overall web-based media use, results found a correlation between age and frequency of use of chatting

(Pearson $r = .366$, significance of $p < .010$) and a correlation between age and use of social networks (Pearson $r = .294$, significance of $p < .040$). These correlations indicate that age is a component in the communication preference. Analyses of the cross tabulations between age and frequency of chatting and between age and frequency of social networks indicate that as dual citizens get younger, frequency of use increases.

Figure 4. “How Much Are You Chatting Online?”

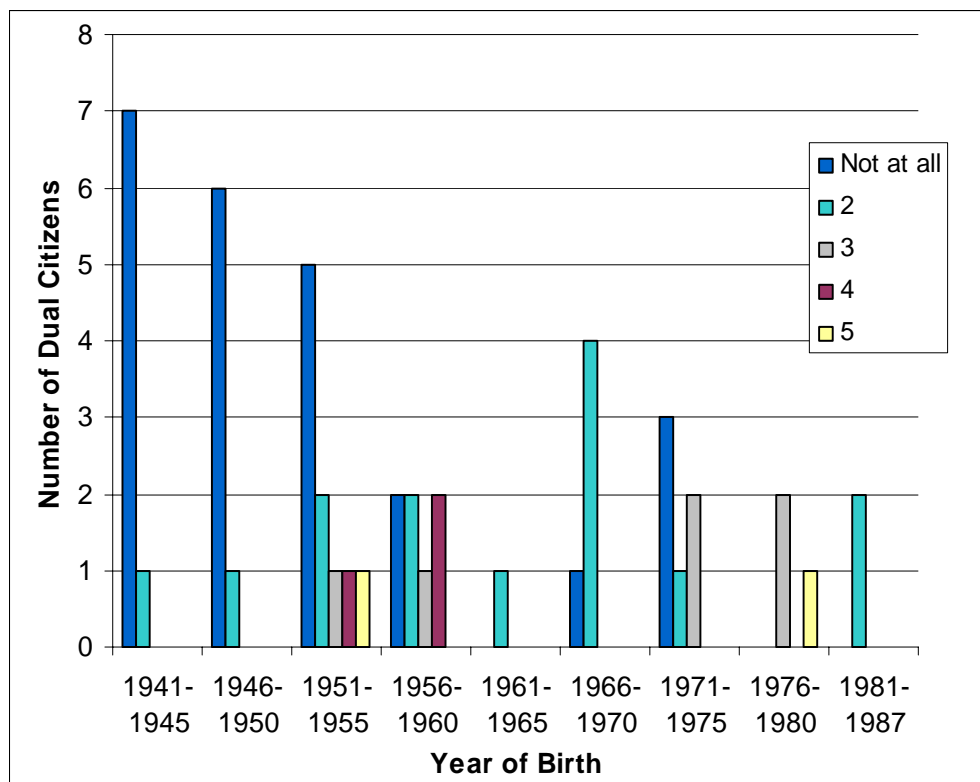
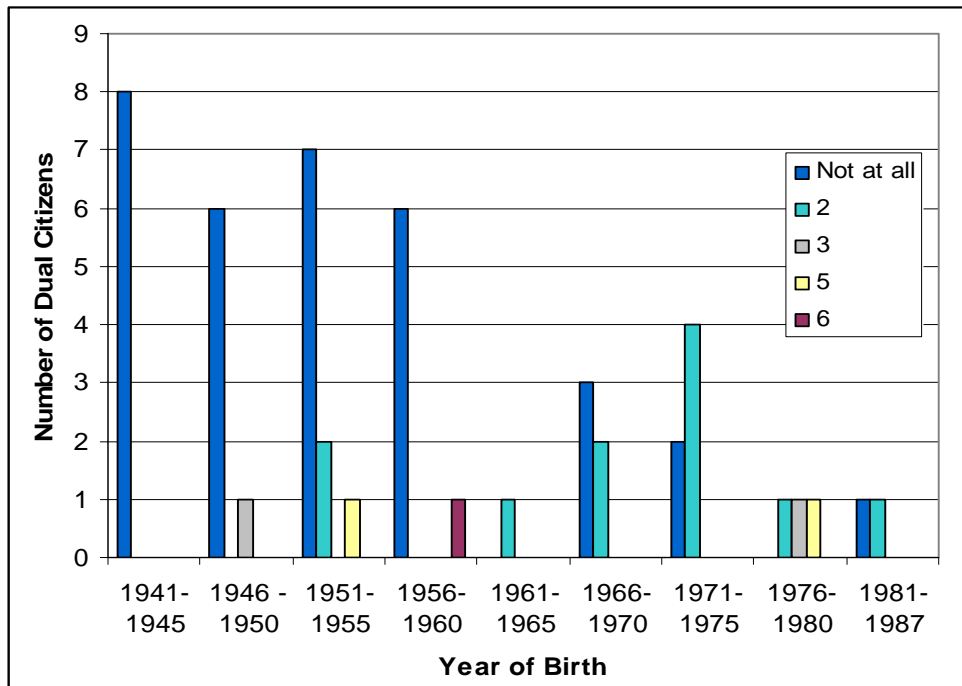


Figure 5. “How Much Are You Using Online Social Networking?”



One dual citizen remarked that he does not use social networks “simply because I am not fifteen and none of my friends and family use social networking applications.” Survey results show that dual citizens tend to be of the Baby Boomer generation, which may also account for their preferences. Almost half of the respondents were born between 1945 and 1960 (49%), and 67.3% of respondents were born before 1965.

Table 11. “Year of Birth”

	1941-1945	1946-1950	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1987
Valid %	16.3	14.3	20.4	14.3	2.0	10.2	12.2	6.1	4.1

As a generation that grew up writing letters and talking on the telephone as the primary methods of long distance communication, it makes sense that they would focus mainly on updated versions of these methods. Email is the Internet's version of a letter. Cell phone texting is akin to telegrams, particularly since in the Philippines phone companies charge by the character. Interviews illustrated that the typing component in chatting is also a major detraction. This factor may explain why 19.6% of respondents who used web-based media indicated that they use Skype, a relatively new method of voice-enabled chat. Skype combines the cheap and fast aspects of regular chatting and the personal and familiar method of the telephone. While these dual citizens are willing to use virtual technology to maintain communication with the Philippines, they are clinging to what they know.

The use of remittance websites also supports this theory. As Filipinos abroad, dual citizens consider themselves *balikbayans*, and they do not just send money home; they also practice the tradition of *pasalubong* (gift-giving). Dual citizens buy gifts that range from canned goods such as *Spam* or corned beef to brand-named clothing that cannot be bought in the Philippines and send them to family and friends in the Philippines. The most common method of transporting a *balikbayan*'s gifts is to pack all the goods into a box and ship it to the Philippines, hence the term "*balikbayan* box" (Medoza, 2002, p. 142-143). For decades, Filipino packaging companies, such as the

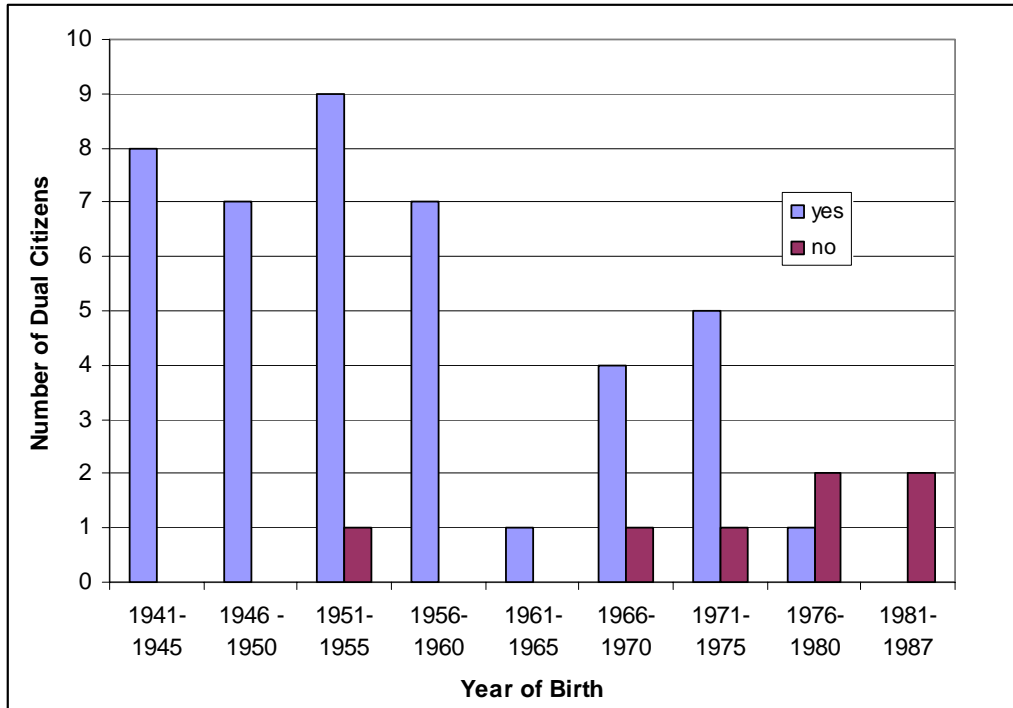
Forex company, have established themselves as permanent fixtures in the shipping business because of their particular “door to door” service. Since the *balikbayan* box tends to be very heavy and difficult to bring to the post office, Filipino packaging companies created a unique service: they would go to the house of the *balikbayan*, pick up the box and deliver it to the house of the recipient in the Philippines. These practices are perhaps the best examples of how dual citizens are able to establish a real presence in the Philippines from the United States, because their contributions to the everyday lives of the Filipinos in the Philippines are tangible proof of dual citizen’ membership.

What is interesting about this practice is that companies are beginning to update it through the websites. In six of the fifteen interviews conducted, dual citizens mentioned the use of remittance websites such as MyAyala.com and FilGifts.com, two examples of online companies who took the idea of online orders and applied it to the *balikbayan* box. Now, rather than send things through *balikbayan* boxes, dual citizens can order items online and have them delivered to their home town in the Philippines. The same principles of “door to door” service still apply, but the companies have eliminated the actual box. The products on these sites are not only American items either; one can order Filipino items and participate in family events without being there. For example, if a family is having a party in the Philippines, a dual citizen can

order a *lechon*, a traditional Filipino dish consisting of a whole roasted pig, and participate with their families from abroad. One dual citizen stated that by contributing to the graduation party for his nephew through four orders of the barbeque stick packaging, “it was like I was with next to them when I talked to them on the phone.” *Balikbayan* boxes are far from being faded out, but it is significant that online companies are updating these existing practices through technology because they know there is a market there. Older dual citizens set in their ways are unlikely to change, but companies can find success simply by updating the methods of communication upon which they already rely.

However, age may not be the sole factor to consider in communication preferences. Although survey results show no correlations between place of birth and chatting or social network usage, there is a negative correlation between age and the place of birth (Pearson $r = -.524$, significance of $p < .001$). As the age of dual citizens gets older, the number of dual citizens who were born outside of the Philippines decreases. This correlation is important to consider because interviewees often talked about the younger dual citizens and American-born citizens in the same breath when talking about chatting and social networks.

Figure 6. “Were You Born In the Philippines? and Year of Birth”



Interviews with American-born dual citizens implied an assumption that the American-born dual citizens' need to make connections makes them much more likely to seek out new and traditional methods of communications rather than simply sticking to traditional methods. Although a minority of dual citizens, American-born dual citizens differ from Philippine-born dual citizens who only need to concentrate on maintaining these connections. American-born dual citizens must work harder to create and establish connections as well. One Filipino born interviewee said, “You American-born duals, you’re young and you grew up with email and computers. I grew up with

letters and the phone. I don't have time to learn that stuff.” The American-born Filipinos I talked to were all younger than thirty years old and all four interviewees mentioned that they used Microsoft Network Messenger (MSN Messenger), America Online Instant Messenger (AIM), and Friendster to keep in touch with friends and family. One of them remarked that she felt like she “had to work harder to prove (she) was Filipino,” and blogs and social networks helped her stay connected with the culture and with Filipinos in the Philippines. Statistical analysis of just American-born dual citizens is not helpful because there are only eight American-born respondents in this study. However, this correlation between age and place and birth substantiate the claims made in the interviews and indicate that the low sample number may be a factor in this particular analysis.

REAL VS VIRTUAL COMMUNICATION

Despite the younger generation's more adventurous attitudes in communication style, all dual citizens recognize the limitations of virtual connections. Rather than using message boards to discuss aspects of Filipino culture and politics, dual citizens tend to interact with family members and friends rather than virtual “friends.” One American-born dual citizen remarked, “Why would I talk to some stranger on the Internet when I've got my family? I mean, yeah, you can go online and get the recipe for *adobo* (a traditional Filipino dish), but my *lola's* (grandmother) version will still be

better.” The use of the word “stranger” speaks volumes to the limits of virtual technology.

The caveats to virtual technology are that the same problems of ethnicity, race, and “Other-ing” still apply, in the form of virtual ethnicity and “cybertypes.” While scholars like Mark Poster (2001) might hope that “virtual ethnicity (is) an alternative to the binaries of particularism and universalism, inserting itself between nations and communities, earthly ethnicities and races,” it is important to remember that the real world does not cease to exist (p. 147). As David Morely (2000) notes “for a technology which has been lauded for its capacity to transcend geography, the Internet turns out to have a very real geography which replicates and reinforces existing patterns of social, economic, and cultural division” (p. 187). The same problems of Other-ing still exist in the virtual world. Asian American and communications scholar, Lisa Nakamura (2002), notes that “cybertypes, or virtual stereotypes,” stem from real world prejudices because they “seek to redress anxieties about the ways that computer-enabled communication can challenge old logics” (p. 5). The Internet is a double-edged sword that virtual communities use to break free from or reinforce existing stereotypes and inequalities. Users can attempt to build bridges and break stereotypes, but the conflict that stems from real life still manifests on the Internet.

Thus, for dual citizens, especially American-born dual citizens, the Internet can provide a space for them to deepen their connection to the Philippines through virtual links, but they are also subject to opposition from detractors of dual citizenship. Interactions in the virtual world can lead to the formation of online communities that are fully equipped to organize themselves into a unified voice in response to negative attacks. However, the Internet opens the same doors to detractors and opposition to these groups and can invite hostility from strangers. When frustrated by attacks from strangers, dual citizens simply shut down the connections and turn to their real friends, and if such an occurrence happens enough times, the dual citizen will abandon the method completely.

For this reason, many dual citizens may choose to focus their efforts on establishing real connections rather than establishing new contacts in virtual communities. Survey results support this claim, since more than half of respondents visit the Philippines once a year (27.5%) or every two years (29.4%). A surprisingly high 9.8% marked that they go to the Philippines more than once a year.

Table 12. “How often do you visit the Philippines?”

	Valid Percent
Never	2.0
15+ years	5.9
10 years	5.9
5 years	19.6
2 years	29.4

Once a year	27.5
More than once a year	9.8
Total	100.0

Dual citizens are less inclined to use message boards and prefer to stick to the real connections rather than the virtual ones. The most popular web-based medium, Yahoo Instant Messenger, is a chatting program that builds one’s list of contacts off of the user’s email address book. In social networks such as MySpace and Friendster, a whopping 80% marked that at least half of their social networks were comprised of people they had met in real life. Interviews support these findings; one dual citizen went so far as to rename Friendster as “Family-ster” because family members made up at least half of her “friends” list.

Table 13. “Percentage of people whom I have met in real life”

	Valid Percent
None	6.0
2	8.0
3	6.0
4	8.0
5	10.0
6	12.0
All	50.0
Total	100.0

Friends and family also are the primary ways that dual citizens get their entertainment and political news. In comparison to newspapers, magazines, websites,

message boards, television, and radio, “family and friends” was the only choice to show a significantly large frequency in response to the question “How often do you use ___ to get your information on entertain news?” (All the time: 16%, Sometimes: 22%). In terms of political news, only websites (23.3%) and “family and friends” (25.5%) ranked significantly on “All the time.”

These real contacts are the best authorities on cultural and political information and they provide a better understanding of current Filipino zeitgeist than any website or message board, making them vital to the dual citizen. An American-born dual citizen argues:

Although (social networks) may give instant exchange of photos, videos and ideas, I feel actual physical visits to the Philippines and immersing oneself with the people and the community will help form a much accelerated bonding and connections and give a much better personal perspective and understanding of what makes a Filipino tick.

Ultimately, real connections translate into a better understanding of the culture, and in order for American-born dual citizens to establish strong connections, they must ground their experiences in reality. By focusing on real family members and friends in the Philippines and establishing familiarity with them, the “natural” bond of kinship

and *gemeinschaft* enable American-born citizens to have a stronger claim to the community than those connections established through virtual means.

DUAL CITIZENS AND THE *BALIKBAYAN* PULL

Dual citizens employ many different methods of communication with the Philippines and despite the variation in the success they achieve with different modes, this constant search for new ways reflects a strong pull to stay in constant touch with the Philippines. Their eagerness is evidence against the opinion that dual citizens who re-acquire Filipino citizenship have weak emotional ties with the Philippines. Seen in this light, their re-acquisition of Filipino citizenship reflects so strong a pull to the Philippines they took the extra steps to fill out the paperwork so that they could have the opportunity to return to the Philippines. In their language and actions, dual citizens clearly see themselves as *balikbayans* with every intention to go back home. The Filipino government recognizes this pull, which is why they developed the Dual Citizenship Law in the first place. They ratified the law to respond to the demands of naturalized Filipino-Americans wanting to own properties and invest in the Philippines, since one cannot own land in the Philippines without Filipino citizenship. However, survey data indicates that the most popular reason for re-acquisition is not to own lands or for the sake of convenience of travel but “patriotism or nationalism” (40.5%).

Table 14. “What is the primary reason for applying for dual citizenship?”

	Valid Percent
Travel	13.5
Parents	2.7
Patriotism / Nationalism	40.5
Own lands / protect assets	16.2
Business	5.4
Convenience	10.8
Retirement	10.8
Total	100.0

Respondents who indicated nationalistic reasons as their primary reason for applying for dual citizenship are almost triple the number of respondents who selected the second most popular reason, “to own land/protect assets.” As the old adage goes, “Home is where the heart is” and for dual citizens, this statement holds especially true, since dual citizens clearly see themselves as Filipinos at heart.

Thus, dual citizens believe that they have a very secure place in the Philippines. Because they send money and *balikbayan* boxes home, they consider themselves to be an integral part of the Philippines. As one dual citizen put it, “Most dual citizens are also doctors, lawyers, and highly educated professionals who contribute to the Philippines significantly. We are the middle class that Philippines lacks.” Survey data supports this claim since all dual citizen respondents completed a degree beyond the high school level, and almost half hold a degree higher than a bachelor degree (46.9%).

Table 15. “What is the highest level of education you have completed?”

	Valid Percent
Two Year Associate's Degree	4.1
Four/five year Bachelor Degree	49.0
Professional Degree in medicine, law, or dentistry	10.2
Master's Degree or Doctorate	36.7
Total	100.0

At their age, they are typically ready to retire in the Philippines, and they want to stay connected so that they do not come home to strangers. They do not see their dual citizenship or their residency outside the Philippines because they visit often, have real experiences and connections, and they hold genuinely strong ties to the communities and networks in Philippines.

Interacting on with individual, however, is very different from interacting with the imagined nation and as noted in the last chapter, *gemeinschaft* tends to break down in a larger context in the Philippine nation. Since not all Filipinos in the Philippines know dual citizens personally, Filipinos in the Philippines do not have this understanding of the fully integrated dual citizen universally and some Filipinos must rely on representations in the media to inform their understanding of dual citizens. The problem is that Filipinos in the Philippines often see dual citizens as their former Filipino-American selves, and they assign dual citizens the attributes of Filipino-Americans. Such an action leads to differing understandings of how dual citizens

operate, and as a result, finding secure places for dual citizens in the large, abstract frameworks of politics and the culture are much harder tasks.

Chapter 5. Acceptance and Exile: Filipino-Americans Membership in Filipino Culture

With a well-established notion of the Philippines as home, dual citizens can find it easy to connect to Filipino culture. Since they already have a well-ingrained knowledge of their heritage, they only have to stay up-to-date on the newest changes to Filipino culture and through technology this task is hardly a challenge. In regards to television, survey data indicates that dual citizens who watch the Filipino Channel (TFC) watch primarily Filipino programming.

Table 10. “What television shows are you watching?”

Filipino Programming				
	TV Patrol/Radio Patrol	Telenovela	Entertainment news	Variety/Game shows
Valid %	35.3	17.6	11.8	11.8
Filipino American Programming				
	<i>Balitang America</i>	<i>Pinagmulan</i>	<i>Speak Out</i>	<i>Citizen Pinoy</i>
Valid %	7.8	3.9	3.9	1.9

However, the question arises: why do dual citizens watch so little Filipino-American programming on TFC, particularly when most dual citizenship representation appears in Filipino-American programming? Since dual citizens as a large, comprehensive group are relatively new, they have little to no visible, established place in the culture. Since dual citizens share many similarities with Filipino-Americans because dual

citizens often used to be Filipino-Americans, Filipino media often treats dual citizens as part of the Filipino-American community. It does not discriminate between dual citizens and Filipino-Americans. There is no composite in the mainstream Filipino culture of what a dual citizen look like or acts out in ways that differ from Filipino-Americans. When dual citizens are in the media, often the Filipino media presents them as part of Filipino-American news.

To explore this issue, this chapter will focus on Filipino-Americans within the cultural product of television and examine Filipino-American programming on the Filipino Channel. Since the Filipino Channel is an international cable television network of the Philippine-based “Alto Broadcasting System-Chronicle Broadcasting Network” (ABS-CBN) television network, these Filipino-American shows are extremely helpful to this study because they are American shows produced through the eyes of the Philippines. I will look Filipino-American representations in the Filipino Channel programs, *Pinagmulan* and *Speak Out*, to illustrate how Filipino-Americans exist as part of the Filipino cultural narrative, but only as a separate subgroup from “true” Filipinos. In doing so, I will demonstrate how dual citizens may not identify well with these Filipino-American representations and why this fact has major implications on the dual citizen’s place in Filipino culture.

FILIPINO-AMERICANS IN FILIPINO CULTURE

Close examination of Filipino-American representation in Filipino media shows that there is a distinct disconnect between Filipinos and Filipino-Americans. At first glance, Filipino-Americans have a solid place in the landscape of Filipino culture. Within Filipino media, they are a recognized part of the Filipino community, and there is a proliferation of Filipino American actors who have gone back to the Philippines and achieved great success as Filipino celebrities. Despite the fact that both parties want Filipino-Americans to be seen as part of the Philippines, however, Filipino-American representations often exhibit a separation between Filipinos and Filipino-Americans by juxtaposing Filipino and American cultures. Although Filipino-Americans can hold some form of cultural citizenship, the credibility of their claims and validity of their membership within Filipino culture are always in question.

At the core of the matter is the problem of the Filipino identity crisis, which informs the ways in which the media shapes Filipino and Filipino-American representations. As pointed out in the literature review, there are the inherent differences in Filipino society that cause fragmentation in the Filipino national identity. Filipinos have difficulties dealing with the heterogeneity of cultures, and when confronted with their diversity, Filipinos have major problems constructing a picture of what a “Filipino” should look like. As a result, Filipinos often rely on symbols and

Other-ing their former colonizers to define their national identity more clearly. Scholars Greg Bankoff and Kathleen Weekly (2002) write, “In the Philippines, the Other, whether it be external or internal, Spaniard, American, Muslim or Chinese, has proved a useful counterpoints at times in the manufacture of national identity.” (p. 3) Rather than acknowledging its own diversity, Filipino construction of national identity clings to certain ideas and objects and turns them into symbols for the nation by attaching notions of pride and nationality to them. These symbols range from the Filipino flag to Tagalog as the national language, and citizens subscribe nationalistic meaning, despite the fact that not all Filipinos fit into that mold (Bankoff and Weekley, 2002, p. 39). In this sense, Filipino-Americans serve as another symbol of the American Other.

This problem worsens by the fact that Filipino-Americans themselves also have very fragmented cultural identities. In an interview, Filipino documentary filmmaker, Marlon Fuentes argues:

When one talks of Philippine-American history, and in a larger sphere, Philippine diaspora, you begin to see profound interaction effects. Love-hate, stranded identities, mutant longings, self-flagellations, cultural camouflage, serendipitous belongings, defibrillating communities, phantom pain, social

anesthesia, and cultural amnesia. The absence of true north (Blumentritt, 1998, p. 89).

This absence of the compass point “true north” leads to the stereotype of the lost or disconnected Filipino-American, because the problems of self-hatred and regional differences translate into many Filipino-Americans distancing themselves from Filipino culture and assimilating quickly into American culture. Likewise, rivalries manifest between Filipino immigrants and Filipino-Americans as the focus shifts from the internal conflict among the diverse groups within the Philippines to animosity between Filipinos and Filipino-Americans. In relation to the Filipino, the Filipino-American inevitably becomes the Other and thus a separate but related entity of Filipino culture.

For those Filipino-Americans who identify strongly with the Philippines, however, this issue is a major problem since they subscribe to both cultures. Filipino assumptions and attitudes about the Americanization of Filipino-Americans translate into Filipino-Americans who do identify as Filipino constantly having to prove their Filipino pride. The similarities Filipino-Americans share with Filipinos in the Philippines are enough that Filipino-Americans have a legitimate place in Filipino culture, but they retain outsider narratives because they are visibly aligned with the

American Other. Due to the tensions, their American loyalties are always a sticking point, no matter how steadfast their alignment with Filipino culture may be.

With these differences in place, it comes as no surprise then that the shows on the Filipino Channel often represent Filipino-Americans as separate entities from Filipinos, even as the media attempts to integrate them as part of the Filipino community. In an effort to expand their viewership, the Filipino Channel has developed a series of shows that cater directly to Filipino-Americans. These shows include: *Balitang America* (News of America), a news program focused on Filipino-American news and current events in the Philippines that affect Filipino-Americans, *Citizen Pinoy* (The Filipino Citizen), a show that specializes in dispensing advice on immigration to the United States, *Pinagmulan* (Where You Came From), a reality show that sends Filipino-Americans to the Philippines, and *Speak Out*, a Filipino-American debate show that centers around aspects of Filipino culture. While all these shows seek to connect the Filipino-American community to the Philippines, ultimately they stick out as aberrances, because the programming on the Filipino Channel for the most part is Philippine-based programming in Tagalog. The fact that the Filipino Channel is programming them as a block and promoting them as “the Fil-Am Sunday Experience” only serves to separate them from Filipino culture.

However, the most problematic area is in the ways that these shows present Filipino Americans as the Other in Filipino media. To be fair, some programs manage to integrate Filipino-American as part of the Filipino culture better than others. As a news program, *Balitang America* successfully manages to avoid these problems, particularly because of its concerted effort to interview Filipino-Americans reacting to current events in the Philippines. As an informational program, *Citizen Pinoy* examines Filipinos who want to immigrate to America, thus bypassing the issue by reversing the focus onto how Filipinos fit in the context of Filipino-American culture.

Where the block runs into problems and where this Other-ing process takes place the most are in its creative programs, like *Pinagmulan*. With a tag line of “the Journey Home,” *Pinagmulan* is a reality television show that takes Filipino-Americans who have never been to the Philippines or who have not been back in a long time and sends them “home.” Filipinos in America apply to go on the show, and the producers select one person around which to center the episode. Each episode opens with one Filipino-American’s story about his or her experience in the United States and lays out the reason why the Filipino-American has been away for so long. Then the host and the participant fly to the Philippines and are re-connected with family in the Philippines. However, the show’s theme is not merely to reconnect family members, but also to reconnect the Filipino-American with their Filipino heritage. Therefore, each episode

also includes a series of surprise tasks and outings that involve long forgotten aspects of Filipino culture, each tailored to the individual's "personal journey."

In many ways, this show highlights the ways in which Filipino-Americans are exiles, separated but still very much a part of Philippines. The central theme taps into the ways Filipino-Americans imagine their connection to the Philippines and the ways in which the Philippines still evokes notions of home. The stories on the shows are essentially exile and outsider narratives, because the individuals never seem to be a fully integrated part of the Philippines, even when they return. The subjects often talk about their nervousness and tentative feelings of going back and the separation between Filipinos and Americans becomes even more apparent when the subjects reunite with their families (Guingona, 2006). Often the reunions are happy and poignant; yet undercurrents of alienation and exile are also evident. In the more painful reunions, the reasons behind their separation from the Philippines get fleshed out. In one episode, a daughter and father reunite after years of not seeing each other, but there is some element of resentment for choosing the States, feelings of abandonment, and the need for forgiveness underscoring their interactions (Guingona, 2006). Even in the happier reunions, this alienation is present because inevitably there are younger relatives who do not know or recognize the subject.

This is particularly true for the participants who have never been to the Philippines. Most participants are older Filipino-born Americans who have not been home for many years, but on at least two occasions, second generation Filipino-Americans have been selected. In one show that dealt with a second generation Filipino-American who had not been to the Philippines before, the girl excitedly jumps out to say hello to her family only to be met with awkwardness. It is not until her mother shows up that the tears and hugs begin (Guingona, 2007). Where the show is more successful in showing the subjects as an integrated part of the Philippines are in the tasks that the participants perform to get to know the culture around them. Yet even then, the subjects often exhibit surprise and awe at the newness of their surroundings. Even those who are returning to the Philippines display unfamiliarity with the changes to their homes. In the end, the producers cannot get avoid the fish-out-of-water feeling from their subjects, and despite their reconnection with “home,” Filipino-Americans are still on the outside looking in. These representations make it very difficult for Filipino-Americans to be seen as part of the Philippines.

Of all the shows on the Sunday block, *Speak Out* is most conducive to a discussion of the Filipino-American’s place in Filipino culture. The show is set up as a debate among Filipinos in America as a way for them to “speak their minds; talk about what matters to them; discuss hot-button topics from a *Pinoy* point of view; and finally,

to be heard.” (Speak Out, n.d., para. 3). Although *Speak Out* aspires to show the different facets of the Filipino-American community, however, more often than not, the theme that arises in almost every episode is the authenticity of the Filipino voice in Filipino-Americans. It seems that no matter what the topic is, they keep coming back to this question of “what makes a Filipino?” because as panelists search for a Filipino voice, they are constantly having problems making arguments without a cohesive Filipino definition to serve as a frame of reference. In the end, this confusion leads many panelists to set the Filipino and American cultures against one another in an effort to draw clearer boundaries. As I examine how the participants in the show constantly juxtapose the two cultures, I will be able to see just how difficult it is for individuals like dual citizens who subscribe to both cultures to identify with these representations and why these problems in Filipino-American programming do not bode well for dual citizens’ future representation.

SETTING UP THE FILIPINO-AMERICAN DIVIDE

In some respects, this antagonism between Filipinos and Americans is a natural product of specific choices made by the producers. As a town hall style debate between two panels, the show’s structure naturally invites opposition and antagonism from the participants. The producers divide the panels by choosing polarizing topics, ranging from Affirmative Action to premarital sex, and participants are encouraged to offer

opposing view points on the issues during the filming breaks. The hosts, who prefer to go by the nicknames of “JC” (Gonzales) and “Tallulah” (David), also shape the opposition as a “Filipino versus American” conflict. The official show website (n.d.) states “JC represents the Filipino and the male perspective while Tallulah adds not only a woman’s view, but also the Filipino-American one” because JC is a recent Filipino immigrant to the United States while Tallulah is a Filipino-American (para. 6). This decision to cast these particular individuals was a specific choice by the producers, and this difference in the hosts’ backgrounds always comes up as they draw upon their own experiences to moderate the panels. In the episode about discrimination among Filipinos, for example, Tallulah’s closing remarks reflect her own experience: “We mustn’t forget the silent victims here, the Fil-Ams. We are pressured, whether you want to admit it or not... When I went back to the Philippines, I was called *inglessera* (American), I had to learn Tagalog, for six years, and I did it” (Pugeda, 2007a).

The panelists take their cues from the hosts on and off the camera as well. At the taping of that particular episode, I had the opportunity to observe the hosts’ actions as they prepared for the commencement of the show. JC counted from one to ten in English during the mike check. Playing off of his English, Tallulah did her mike check in Tagalog, counting off to *sampu* (ten) and ending with the rhyme “*Pinay ako.*” (I am Filipina). Given the spontaneity of their actions, it is doubtful that the hosts planned to

make a point about pre-conceived notions about Filipinos and Americans. Nonetheless, the panelists saw the Filipino host counting in English and the Filipino-American host counting in Tagalog and re-asserting the authenticity of her Filipino identity, moments before launching into a discussion on discrimination among Filipinos. Without even trying, the hosts placed the panelists in a certain mindset of thinking in terms of Filipino versus American definitions simply because of their different backgrounds.

In some cases, the producers deliberately set up the discussion to pit Filipino culture against American culture. The title of the first episode of *Speak Out*, “*Pinoy ako, Pinoy ka ba?*” translates as “I am Filipino, are you Filipino?” and the panelists were self-described “Pinoys (Filipinos)” and “Fil-Ams (Filipino-Americans)” (Pugeda, 2006a). As a result, the Filipino-Americans were automatically on the defensive, forced to qualify their “Filipino-ness” throughout the entire episode. One exchange between a Pinoy panelist and an audience member stated:

AUDIENCE MEMBER: “The fact that you were born in the Philippines, that makes you Filipino. You can say that’s your ancestry. But my nationality is American because I was born in America. But my ethnicity? Filipino.”

PINOY PANELIST: “Are you proud of that, man?”

AUDIENCE MEMBER: “Of course” (Pugeda, 2006a).

Although the pride was already implicit in the Filipino-American's tone, the Filipino panelist still challenged the authenticity of his "Pinoy pride." One Fil-Am panelist also remarked, "I don't think I should be faulted as not being a Filipino because of my experience in the United States" (Pugeda, 2006a). In this particular episode, the Filipino-Americans were no longer seen as part of the Filipino community, but as outsiders or pretenders because "Fil-Am" became synonymous with American.

In another episode, the producers chose to focus the discussion on the discrimination of Filipinos by other Filipinos in the United States. As with the *Pinoy ka ba?* episode, the producers pit the American culture against Filipino culture in the way they framed the discussion, specifically using the phrase "Fil-Ams versus the FOBs." The term, "FOB," refers to a new immigrant to the United States, originally meaning "fresh off the boat" but has since been updated to stand for "fresh off the Boeing" (Pugeda, 2007a). Despite the fact that they acknowledge the derogatory nature of the term, the hosts and the panelists continually use the term throughout the entire episode, and in doing so, they automatically create a hostile environment and exacerbate the differences between the Filipino and American cultures.

The episode about discrimination among Filipino-Americans was particularly polarizing, because as panelists continued to talk about "Filipino-bashing" and instances of violence between Filipinos and Filipino-Americans, JC and Tallulah

guided the conversation towards the role of the parents. This turn in the debate is interesting because the frustration over whom to blame for these problems shifted to the parents for “not teaching their American children to love the Filipino traditions” (Pugeda, 2007a). Rather than appealing to the Filipino-Americans to fix their own prejudices and self-hatred, the Filipino panelists turned to the “Filipino” parents to resolve the issue, with the implication being that Filipino-Americans cannot help it if they are raised to be too American. During the filming break, I observed that the producers specifically encouraged this notion of setting Filipinos and Filipino-Americans apart by having the “FOB” father of one of the “Fil-Am” panelists speak. By picking these polarizing topics and by pushing the discussions in certain ways, the producers help create and foster this animosity.

Even in the cases where the topics are not as overtly antagonistic, the producers were still unable to escape pitting Filipinos against Filipino-Americans due to their choices of panelists. For example, on the issue of parenting, the producers could have easily picked a mix of Filipino-born Americans and American-born Filipinos for both panels. Instead, the parent panel was comprised of all Filipino-born Americans while the children panel was made of two American-born Filipinos and one Filipino-born child who moved to the States early in his childhood. As a result, the divide was not isolated to the generational gap but was presented as the parents’ traditional Filipino

upbringing and values versus their children's notions of American parenting (Pugeda, 2006b).

Differences in West Coast and East Coast mentalities also play into this divide. Filipino and Filipino-American relations on the East Coast differ greatly from the West Coast. Higher concentrations of Filipino-Americans on the West Coast, particularly in California lead to much more animosity between Filipino from the Philippines and Filipino-Americans, whereas on the East Coast, Filipino-Americans tend to gravitate towards the Philippine-born Filipino-Americans. Immigrants to the East Coast also differ in their migrant history, since many East Coast Filipino-Americans came as white collar professionals in the post-1965 wave of immigrants, whereas the West Coast Filipinos have a longer history of working as agricultural workers starting in turn of the twentieth century and have endured more discrimination from Americans (Takaki, 1998). Since *Speak Out* is filmed and produced in San Francisco, their choice in panelists are often from the Bay Area and California, and their prejudices and the history of animosity among Filipinos and Filipino-Americans is more likely to come out.

During the "FOBs versus Fil-Am" episode, it came to the point that the thought of a Filipino-American not discriminating against Filipinos came as a puzzle to most of the panelists. As an East Coaster, I had the opportunity to ask a question to the panel.

When I mentioned that I had grown up “without hearing FOB until college” and suggested that the “Fil-Am divide” could be a California problem, many of the panelists registered surprise and confusion. Although one of the panelists supported this idea, JC remarked that “they (Filipino-Americans and Filipinos from the Philippines who get along) like a weird sort of species” (Pugeda, 2007a).

Other problems arose when the panelists were not Filipino. For example, in the episode on pre-marital sex, one of the panelists on the pro side was a blonde, Caucasian female. Even before considering her politics, the visual image already lends the viewer to believe that the pro-side is more American than Filipino simply by having a non-Filipino on the pro-side. That she also happened to hold very liberal views, was not Catholic, talked openly about sex in ways that Filipinos are not accustomed to only served to reinforce this notion (Pugeda, 2007b). Since the producers asked me to be a panelist, I was able to get some insight into process of panelist selection. The producers send out a panelist questionnaire to potential candidates. This questionnaire asks for ethnicity, age, occupation, and education information, and a brief biographical sketch. Therefore, in the case of pre-marital sex debate, the producers had to know going in that the woman panelist in question was American. The decision to include this particular panelist may have been due time constraints or a lack of Filipino candidates, but the placement of non-Filipinos on the

show has happened on multiple occasions, almost too many for it not to be a conscious choice.

In selection of the panels and in the framing of discussions in a “Filipino versus American” way, it is not surprising that the two cultures are often seen as opposites between which the panelists must choose. It is understandable that the producers are trying to create a show that will entertain and attract ratings. However, the danger of presenting a show like *Speak Out* without a conscious effort to limit potentially damaging aspects is that the producers are simply perpetuating the Other-ing that separates the Filipino-American community from the Philippines.

INDICATING “FILIPINO-NESS”: REAL VERSUS “HALF-ASS”

FILIPINOS

The design of the show notwithstanding, however, the problems of American-Filipino antagonism still arise in the various episodes due to the ways the panelist assign definitions of “Filipino-ness.” In the first episode of *Speak Out*, Professor Sonny Vergara of San Francisco State University cautions the panelists:

What (Filipino) ethnicity means, it is in many ways arbitrary. It is a mixture of descent, that is who your parents are, and culture, and culture usually the primary determinant is something like language...In deciding “You are Filipino enough,”

versus, “Umm, not quite,” there’s no magic essence of Filipino-ness that gets transmitted from generation to generation (Pugeda, 2006a).

Here, Vergara harkens back to the Philippines’ inability to translate *gemeinschaft* to the national level. The Filipino national identity crisis comes into play and the panelists revert to the practices of Othering and juxtaposition. They focus on certain indicators to prove validity of membership, and as a result, they created boundaries between Filipinos and Filipino-Americans throughout the entire season.

In all of the episodes I examined, knowledge of Tagalog, the Filipino national language, serves as a huge line dividing Filipinos and Filipino-Americans. In the “*Pinoy ako, pinoy ka ba?*” episode, the Pinoys automatically took issue with the Fil-Ams’ inability to speak the language. One Pinoy panelist vehemently argued that Filipinos who did not speak the language or visited the Philippines were “half-ass Filipinos.” To counter, one of the Fil-Am panelists argued that despite the fact that he did not know the language, “whether or not you have a specific word for it or not does not change whether or not you feel it.” Still, the statement was unable to change the Pinoy panelist’s mind. The whole issue of knowing Tagalog became so important that throughout the rest of the episode, the Filipino-American side was forced to find other ways to validate their Filipino identity. In her frustration over arguing about not knowing Tagalog, another Fil-Am panelist stated, “If anyone wants to judge to me

because I don't speak Tagalog, whatever, I feel proud to be a Filipino" (Pugeda, 2006a).

This association between Tagalog and Filipino identity is significant because it illustrates how Filipino-Americans continue to be excluded from Filipino membership. Despite all other ways in which they demonstrate their "Filipino-ness," the fact that they do not know Tagalog bars them from being seen as Filipino, because knowledge of Tagalog is so intrinsically tied to Filipino culture. In another episode, JC, the host, even phrased his question of when a panelist stopped speaking Tagalog as, "Is that when you lost the Filipino?" (Pugeda, 2007a). In the episode, "Commit or co-habit?" the subject centers on whether or not one should live together before marriage; yet the panelists still managed to bring in language:

(Waiting to live-in), that's part of our culture too. I keep stressing culture because it's something that I noticed growing up here, that we lose a lot of who we are because we are becoming more Americanized...if we don't stop it somewhere and it's going to keep going and we're not going to even know who we are, I mean we don't even know our own language (Pugeda, 2006c).

Here, the situation did not even call for a mention of Tagalog, but the subject was brought up because Tagalog is one of the signs of being connected to the Filipino culture.

Interestingly, it is specifically Tagalog that remains the symbol. In the “FOBs versus Fil-Ams” episode, Addie Reyes, a Fil-Am student, noted:

Filipinos from the Philippines expect us to explain (our Filipino) club, our mission statement in Tagalog. They came up and said, we don’t think you should call yourselves Filipino because you can’t speak the language. But I think a lot of that is ignorance. A lot of us aren’t Tagalog...My house mixes Bisaya and Tagalog. So who are you to say we are not Filipino because it’s not our fault we were born here and our parents chose to speak their native dialect? (Pugeda, 2007a).

In this instance, the Filipino-American attempted to learn his parents’ dialect, but was shut out because he did not know the national language. It was not enough for him to know his parents’ heritage; he did not understand the national language and therefore was not Filipino. Ironically, the Philippines is one of the largest English speaking nations in the world. Many Filipinos whose native dialects are not Tagalog speak better English than Tagalog because English is often the language used in schools. Nevertheless, Tagalog remains one of badges of Filipino nationalism.

In their attempts to find indicators for “Filipino-ness” the more Filipino panelists effectively cut out the more American panelists by aligning themselves with the Filipino culture. At every turn, the “American” panelists had to defend the authenticity of their claim as a Filipino as the “Filipino” panelists evaluated their membership in the Filipino community. To make their evaluations, the “Filipino” panelists fell back on the requirements of cultural citizenship established in the Philippines, and in doing so, they situated themselves in the middle of a self created spectrum of Filipino and American. Thus the “American” panelists grew further apart from the Philippines as discussions continued, despite their expressed feelings to the contrary.

Other problems arose when panelists decided to codify certain values and points of view as Filipino when these indicators are similarities shared by multiple countries. In most cases, these indicators often fit better into dichotomies of secular/religious, modern/traditional, or conservative/liberal, but the panelists concentrated only on the dichotomy of Filipino versus American. Although the topics were not specifically designed to be drawn along “Filipino” and “American” lines, the panelists often framed the conversations in that manner. Therefore their discussions fell short of presenting divided opinions within a singular group and instead presented differing opinions from two groups.

In the parenting episode, for example, the panelists used “Filipino” and “traditional” interchangeably, while “modern” and “American” were synonymous. Filipino became old while American became new, and as a result, the entire conversation set the American children as juxtaposition for the Filipino parents, even though there was a younger mother on the parent panel. Whenever she spoke about the differences between herself and the other two panelists, the implication was not because she was younger but because she was more American. The Filipino versus American mentality only increased when the subject on the appropriate age to date arose and JC referred to the parents’ “Filipino” ways as “backwards.” In one exchange between two panelists, they argued:

SON: “Growing up in America, there’s a time, I notice in a lot of teens that you reach a certain age that feel like you have outsmarted your parents and their strange ways.”

(Mother jokingly takes off her shoe and motions as though to spank the twenty four year old son)

MOTHER: “So being Filipino is a strange mentality?” (Pugeda, 2006b).

Being conservative and traditional are characteristic of being Filipino, but they are hardly singular to the Filipino culture. Nevertheless, the panelists still defined

themselves along these lines and anyone who appealed to “modern” ideals were seen as American.

Catholicism is also another indicator which the panelists used to separate Filipino-Americans and Filipinos. Although they are speaking about Catholicism or adhering to Catholic ideas, often what the panelist are talking about being Filipino. In the parenting episode, when one of the child panelists argues that he no longer wants to be a “Church-going” Catholic, he specifically associates being Catholic with being Filipino: “In America, they teach you independence, the story of the pilgrims and how they came to practice their own religions. She’s not letting me make my own spiritual connection to God.” JC makes the same connection when he talks about how “(being Catholic) works for us, but you come to America, and there are 10 different religions” (Pugeda, 2006b). The problem with all these associations is Catholicism is not particular to the Philippines. There are other countries who also have large Catholic populations and the Hispanic-American and Latino-American immigrant communities within the United States deal with the same issues as Filipino-Americans. Moreover, although approximately eighty-four percent of all Filipinos are Catholic, Catholicism is not the only religion in the Philippines. There are other sects of Christianity as well as a very devout Muslim population in Mindano (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2006, para. 6). The way that the show represented religion and the ways in

which the panelist talked about Catholicism made it appear as though being religiously conservative or Catholic was synonymous with being Filipino.

The “pro-life versus pro-choice” episode is another excellent example of this issue. As to be expected, the pro-life panelists quoted the Bible and spoke of the moral obligations to child as dictated by religious doctrine, while the pro-choice panelists appealed to a woman’s right to choose. Unfortunately, the argument came across as Filipinos arguing with Americans because of the producers’ choice of panelists. The most vocal panelist on the pro-life side was a Filipino male with a distinct Filipino accent. Although the other two panelists had American accents, they also looked classically Filipino. By contrast, the pro-life side’s panelist all had American accents, only one looks classically Filipina, and the male panelist, if he was not a full Caucasian, at least had to be half Filipino, half Caucasian. It puts a spin on all their arguments, especially when a Filipino accented voice invokes and quotes scripture while an American voice’s counter argument is that “the foundation of this country is freedom of religion.” Even though the panelist did not intend it to happen, the visual of a seemingly non-Filipino side arguing the pro-choice and the impact of hearing a Filipino accent arguing the pro-life side have an effect on the reading of the debate. It turns a conservative versus liberal debate into Filipino versus American debate (Pugeda, 2006e).

It is significant that the subjects where the show is most successful in avoiding the juxtaposition of American and Filipino cultures are the episodes that specifically dealt with American political topics and gender. Consider the Republican versus Democrat debate, where the producers framed the discussion as a debate over “who represents Filipinos better, Republicans or Democrats?” rather than drawing the discussion along Filipino versus American lines. Both sides acknowledged their Filipino identities as a given and made their statements or arguments without regard to how American they came across. One of the Republican panelists even argued, “I would much rather have my politicians look at me and see American instead looking at me and seeing, oh, he’s Filipino” in the same breath that he spouted the virtues of his party and how “the Democrats don’t represent Filipino values.” There was never a question of how Filipino or American he was because the topic had already provided an American Other (Pugeda, 2006d). Likewise, the Affirmative Action episode grew into a very heated debate over the inclusion of Filipino-Americans in Affirmative Action, but because the panelists were talking about Filipino-Americans as a minority in America, the debate was drawn along American sociopolitical lines rather than Filipino lines (Pugeda, 2006f). In the same way, the Gender Wars episode did not need the American side to serve as a counterpoint to the Filipino side because the division between men and women was well established enough to guide the debate. In

these episodes, non-Filipino-Americans allowed both sides of panelists to assume the Filipino identity without questioning its validity or authenticity because non-Filipinos functioned as the American Other. The Affirmative Action debate, the debate over the decision to withdraw or keep troops in Iraq, and the Republican versus Democrats debate rarely fell into a Filipino-American dichotomy because the topics specifically focused on the actions of other non-Filipino-Americans.

In all these examples, one can see how Filipinos and Filipino-Americans deal with the difficulties of cultural citizenship. Since the parameters of cultural citizenship are so vague, both parties rely on attributes such as language, traditionalism, and Catholicism to serve as constructed indicators for “Filipino-ness.” When Filipinos and Filipino-Americans disagree on the extent to which these indicators should measure “Filipino-ness,” their uncertainty over how to validate cultural membership usually results in the alienation of Filipino-Americans because Filipino-Americans have another competing culture for which they must account. In the end, it is only in the presence of a well-known, established “Other” that Filipino-Americans do not have to defend the validity of their Filipino membership and the program succeeds in being a discussion among Filipino-Americans instead of a debate between Filipinos and Americans.

THE FUTURE OF DUAL CITIZEN REPRESENTATION

With this understanding in Filipino-American representation in mind, one can see how these problems may carry over to dual citizens. These television shows present Filipino-Americans as separate from Filipino culture by juxtaposing Filipino and American culture and Othering the Filipino-American. While these issues do not necessarily apply to dual citizens, they portend bleak future and set dangerous precedents for what dual citizen representation will look like in the near future.

At the very least, the intention behind the “Fil-Am Sunday Experience” is a positive one. The premises of these shows all intend to establish connections between Filipino-Americans and Filipino culture, despite the variance of success levels each show achieves. *Pinagmulan* deals with the alienation of its subjects by stressing on the positive ways their lives have changed from their experience despite these moments of awkwardness. That the producers even title the show “the Journey Home” and actively seek Filipino-Americans who have not been to the Philippines before is also indicative of this attempt to reach out to Filipino-Americans.

Likewise, each episode of *Speak Out* starts out with the proud proclamation that it is “the first town hall program where Filipino-Americans can speak their minds” and while they encourage differences in opinions, the tone of the show seeks to be inclusive in nature. The hosts remind viewers and panelists that “the only requirement

is that you listen to each other's opinion" and as polarizing as the debates can get, each episode seeks to find remedies for the rifts and differences. In the "Fil-Ams versus FOBs" episode, for example, the show ends with a call for solidarity and an end to the violence between Filipino immigrants and Filipino-Americans. Although the show delves into Filipino and American rivalries, this opposition is tempered by the eagerness of the panelists and hosts to try to understand the other side and find solutions, and they always market it as "finding the Pinoy voice" (Pugeda, 2007a). Both *Pinagmulan* and *Speak Out* are earnest in their desire to include Filipino-Americans, even if the execution falls short of achieving the ideal. In the end, it may not be perfect, but it is a step in the right direction in validating Filipino-Americans' place in Filipino culture.

However, the reality of the situation is that Filipino-Americans are Other-ed in Filipino television. This problem is significant for two reasons. First, it does not bode well for the future representation of dual citizens. Since dual citizens and Filipino-Americans share so many characteristics, it is not too much of a leap to believe that the same Other-ing process will happen to dual citizens. For a future episode of *Speak Out* that will air in April 2007, the producers have decided to frame a discussion on dual citizenship as "Filipino-American Interfering with Philippine Issues," according to a panelist recruitment questionnaire they sent me. The questions on the questionnaire

include language and opinions that hint at the Other-ing of dual citizens in both directions. One question (“The Consulate is promoting overseas voting. Do you think citizens here have the right to vote in the Philippines?”) implies that dual citizens are not a real part of the Philippines entitled to the basic rights of its citizens. Other questions (“Do you think an individual should be given citizenship for two countries, therefore, preventing one from establishing citizenship from just one country?”) are leading questions that prompt the reader to believe that dual citizenship makes strong ties to both countries impossible. These attitudes already point to future problems dual citizens will have in the creation of fair representations because dual citizens can become an Other for both Filipino-Americans and Filipinos in the Philippines.

In the end, the attitudes of the television producers will determine the shape dual citizens take in Filipino media. On one hand, these producers want make an entertaining show. In the case of *Speak Out*, the producers’ encouragement of differing opinions to create a better debate is understandable. However, there must be some responsibility on behalf of the producers that they recognize their contributions to this Filipino-American divide. They must be conscious of their choices and be careful of the topics they choose to address and the method of presentation. If the Filipino cultural media presents dual citizens as outsiders in the future as much as they have presented Filipino-Americans as outsiders now, dual citizens will find it difficult to

identify with their representations on the screen. If audience members must constantly choose between Filipino and American cultures, there is no way the dual citizen, who subscribes to both cultures, will have place in the cultural narrative. The producers must learn how to fix these problems, or else the future space of the dual citizen in the Filipino cultural framework may prove to be very bleak, if it ends up existing at all.

The second problem with this representation is that Filipino-American representation fails to present an accurate picture of dual citizens who have strong ties to both cultures. Survey data indicates that the majority of dual citizens do not subscribe to the channel (70%). Although some respondents commented that they did not watch because it was too expensive, the outsider representation of Filipino-Americans is definite factor. When asked if Filipino-Americans were fairly represented, the majority of respondents were split.

Table 16. “Are Filipino-Americans are represented fairly on The Filipino Channel?”

	Valid Percent
Not at All	7.4
2	11.1
3	22.2
Somewhat	22.2
5	33.3
6	0.0
Definitely	3.7
Total	100.0

One American-born dual citizen said, “It’s not that they mean to, but Filipinos on those shows are always complaining about how Filipino-Americans treat them badly, and the Filipino-Americans actually back up their claims (by discriminating against Filipinos). That’s not me or my friends.” When Filipino media continually represents Filipino-Americans as outsiders and American culture is juxtaposed with Filipino culture, dual citizens cannot find positive representation with which they identify.

The problem with this situation is that Filipinos in the Philippines rely on these representations to inform their understanding of dual citizens. Dual citizens do not identify with Filipino-American representations all the time, but Filipinos in the Philippines may assign Filipino-American attitudes to dual citizens without knowing the difference. Dual citizens’ appearance in Filipino culture as Filipino-Americans is problematic because as Anderson (1983) pointed out, “imagined nations” operate in the fashion by the way in which it envisions itself (p.3). In short, Filipinos in the Philippines will not afford dual citizens validated cultural membership into the Philippines if they continue to see dual citizens in the media as outsiders rather than fellow citizens. In the framework of culture, these problems may not be too big, but when this assignment of Filipino-American characteristics to dual citizens translates to

the political arena, creating law over how to regulate dual citizens' rights becomes extremely problematic as a result.

Chapter 6. Political (Dis)Connection: Filipino Citizenship and Dual Loyalties

With dual citizens' personal connections to the Philippines and their representation in Filipino media in mind, one can understand why the political framework presents a virtual landmine for dual citizens. Personal interactions indicate that dual citizens have very strong connections and care deeply about the Philippines, but representations in the media imply that dual citizens do not care about the Philippines and often oppose the customs, traditions, and culture that Filipino citizens espouse. Thus, two understandings of where dual citizens' loyalties lie emerge. With these different opinions, the Filipino people are divided on where they stand in regards to validating cultural citizenship for dual citizens, and those problems translate into erratic and frequent changes in the Filipino law as the Filipino people debate what kind of space the dual citizen has in the nation.

Issues of residency and registration are only the beginning; the main issue lies in disagreements over to what extent the Philippine government and citizens living in the Philippines should allow dual citizens to participate, criticize, and exercise the rights of their national and cultural citizenships. Therefore, this chapter will focus on the ways in which Filipino-American dual citizens invest in Filipino politics and examines how each side has ample evidence to argue one way or the other. Since dual

citizens have strong nationalistic ties to the Filipino government but weak levels of political participation, their actions are open to interpretation. Representations in the media and personal interactions with dual citizens create drastically different understandings of where dual citizens' loyalties lie, and dual citizens' contradictory actions in the political arena give both supporters and detractors of dual citizenship fodder to use in their debate. An examination of the confusing evolution of the overseas voting laws will illustrate why dual citizens' actions sometimes contradict their expressed desire to participate. A case study on Theodore Aquino, a dual citizen attempting to run in the 2007 Philippine Senate election, will illustrate the complicated process of negotiating Filipino and American allegiances and the limits to which a dual citizen can participate with the government. In the end, examining what types of arguments are already taking place will help predict the future of the politicization of dual citizens.

DUAL CITIZENS IN FILIPINO POLITICS

Although dual citizens have a very strong sense of belonging to the Philippines, strong personal connections do not automatically translate into strong participation in politics. While the political is personal, politics are also abstract in that they deal with notions of patriotism and the act of connecting with Anderson's (1983) "imagined"

nation, bringing these issues of loyalty and legitimacy to the forefront. As one interviewee put it:

I have not been questioned about my claim as a Filipino. Perhaps I have not encountered it because I speak Tagalog fluently (as I grew up in Metro Manila) and I have relatively informed of what is going on in the Philippines. More likely it is because I have not had the chance to discuss my holding two passports with anyone outside my close circle of family and friends.

With individuals, dual citizens can choose to reveal their dual status to outsiders after building trust and camaraderie with fellow Filipinos. This feat is impossible in politics, because politics involve showing where one's loyalties lie in very tangible ways. Their dual status is always at the forefront of the discussion, and for this reason, interpreting dual citizens' actions in the political arena is much more difficult when dual citizens' political actions do not reflect their claim to have a vested interest in the Philippines.

On one hand, dual citizens have very strong nationalistic ties to the Philippines. Dual citizens rate "patriotism and nationalism" as the primary reason for applying for dual citizenship (40.5%) and survey data indicates that 19.6% of respondents said that dual citizens care completely about how the government should be run. In total, 88.5% marked "somewhat" or higher.

Table 14. “What is the primary reason for applying for dual citizenship?”

	Valid Percent
Travel	13.5
Parents	2.7
Patriotism / Nationalism	40.5
Own lands / protect assets	16.2
Business	5.4
Convenience	10.8
Retirement	10.8
Total	100.0

Table 17. “To what extent do dual citizens care about the way the Filipino government is run?”

	Valid Percent
Not at All	0.0
2	5.9
3	5.9
Somewhat	15.7
5	21.6
6	31.4
Complete	19.6
Total	100.0

In terms of political news, dual citizens prefer to stay updated on Filipino politics through friends and family the most, although a significant number of respondents also use newspapers, websites, TV, and magazines to stay somewhat informed.

Table 8. “How often do you use _____ to stay updated on political news?”

	Newspapers (Valid %)	Magazines (Valid %)	TV (Valid %)
Not at all	33.3	47.0	29.4
2	11.	11.7	13.7

3	1.9	1.9	0
Somewhat	15.6	19.6	13.7
5	15.6	11.7	11.7
6	9.8	3.9	15.6
All the Time	11.7	3.9	15.6
Total %	100	100	100

When polled on how much say they believe that dual citizens should have in the government the bulk of the answers fell in the middle ground of “somewhat” (37.3%) to “complete” (19.6%)

Table 19. “How much say should dual citizens have in the way the Filipino government is run?”

	Valid Percent
Not at all	7.8
2	7.8
3	0.0
Somewhat	37.3
5	15.7
6	11.8
Complete	19.6
Total	100.0

Clearly dual citizens believe they have a legitimate claim to the Filipino government, yet when it came to actually registering for the upcoming May 2007 election, only 23.5% said that they had registered. Respondents listed “Not interested” as the number one reason why they did not register with a total of 27.5 %. When polled

on how up-to-date dual citizens felt they were on Filipino politics, respondents were split down the middle.

Table 20. “What is the primary reason for not registering in the 2007 election?”

	Valid Percent
Registered	17.6
Forgot	3.9
Vote would not make a difference	7.8
Too busy	11.8
Did not like the candidates or issues	7.8
Not interested	27.5
Deterred by the Affidavit of Intent to Return	5.9
Did not know I could vote	13.7
Did not know the candidates or issues	2.0
Did not know how/ where to register	2.0
Total	100.0

Table 21. “How up-to-date are you on Filipino politics?”

	Valid Percent
Not at all	5.9
2	15.7
3	11.8
4	27.5
5	13.7
6	13.7
All the time	11.8
Total	100.0

Although dual citizen respondents indicate that they care and feel that they should have a say in the government, their registration for the upcoming election and knowledge of Filipino political current affairs contradict their statements.

These discrepancies throw the strength of dual citizens' long distance nationalism into question. Some Filipinos read dual citizens' lack of participation as a lack of interest or disdain of Filipino politics and believe that conflict of interest comes into play. Another group of Filipinos argues that conflict of interest is not really the driving factor to consider; rather they contend that the government prevents dual citizens from participating. According to the Commission of Elections (COMELEC), the branch of the government that deals with voting laws, dual citizens can only participate with the government to a certain degree. They may stay in the Philippines for as long as they want and own land without any restrictions, but if they desire to run for office in the Philippine government, they must renounce their American citizenship. They do not have to reside in the Philippines to vote, but they may not participate in the local elections and may vote only for the President, Vice President, senators and party-list representatives. Despite the fact that the majority of Filipino American dual citizens consider the Philippines to be their first home since many were born there, dual citizens' rights are severely limited. Both sides have very different

opinions on where dual citizens' loyalties lie, which problematizes how one should interpret dual citizens' actions.

INTERPRETING DUAL CITIZENS' LOYALITIES

Dual citizens offer various reasons for not participating fully in the political arena. The survey did not poll respondents on the reasons for their investment in Filipino politics but nine out of the fifteen interviewees cited "frustration with Filipino politics." One dual citizen said, "Filipino politics are ridiculous. It's just one big popularity contest. You have all these actors running and getting elected for no good reason." Another interviewee went further to state, "I don't see the need to get involved in Filipino politics because it's so corrupt and populated with celebrities and actors who don't know what they are doing." It should also be noted that there are no significant correlations between Filipino-born and American-born dual citizens' responses. Therefore, differences in American-born and Philippine-born dual citizens cannot explain why dual citizens are responding this way through biases. At best, the history of Philippine post-colonial nationalism and self-hatred support the possibility of a love-hate relationship between dual citizens and Filipino politics, but there are no definitive answers.

Another explanation could be that the sampled respondents simply are not politically active. An American-born interviewee expressed frustration politics in

general, as she was generally “bored” by politics: “I do not even vote in the United States. Why should I vote in the Philippines?” However, survey results also indicate that most of the respondents in this sample identified as “somewhat” politically oriented, while 19.6% identified as “definitely” politically active. The low voter turnout and high political activism of dual citizens suggests that another possibility may be that something in the voting process has gone awry.

Table 22. “Are you politically oriented?”

	Valid Percent
Not at all	5.9
2	9.8
3	2.0
4	41.2
5	11.8
6	9.8
Definitely	19.6
Total	100.0

The evolution of overseas voting introduces a new possible reason for contradictions in dual citizen attitudes and actions: complete and total confusion over what rights they may have. Voting is the most basic way that a citizen can participate with the nation; yet simply ensuring dual citizens’ right to vote has taken a series of amendments that has lasted three years because of the issue of residency. For its part, the Filipino government recognizes that Filipinos living abroad care deeply and are invested in the economic and political welfare of the Philippines. Global Filipinos

(overseas Filipino workers, dual citizens, and Filipinos who are permanent residents in the United States) are of vital interest to the government, because these groups contribute to the Philippine economy significantly through remittances and investments in Filipino businesses. In 2006 alone, Filipino overseas remittances contributed 12.8 billion dollars to the Filipino economy (Agence France-Press, 2007, para. 1). The government's desire to maintain this connection became clear when the COMELEC decided to pass the Overseas Absentee Voting law in February of 2003, allowing Filipinos the ability to vote for the national positions (Congress of the Philippines, 2003b). Nevertheless, the problem of residency is the major sticking point for many Filipino lawmakers. Simply put, Filipinos living abroad do not have to deal with the actions the elected officials choose to implement, thus raising the question of what right Filipinos abroad have to elect individuals to govern areas where they do not live. The Filipino Constitution states that voters must establish one year of residency prior to registration.

To solve this of residency, the COMELEC instituted the Affidavit of Intent to Return. The Overseas Absentee Voting law stipulates that Filipinos who live abroad cannot vote unless they sign an affidavit declaring that, "he/she shall resume actual physical permanent residence in the Philippines not later than three (3) years from approval of his/her registration" (Congress of the Philippines, 2003b). The message is

clear: if you want the right to vote for an elected official, you have to be willing to come home and deal with the results of the election. By signing an “Affidavit of Intent to Return,” overseas voters promise that they will move back to the Philippines, thus justifying their right to elect the official. In the event that the overseas voter does not return, the individual in question loses his voting rights permanently. Thus the Affidavit serves as insurance that overseas voters will deal with the consequences of the election.

The problem with this solution is that unlike overseas workers and permanent residents in the United States, dual citizens inherently are individuals whose loyalties are not tied to residency. No matter where they choose to live, dual citizens can only live in one of the countries that they hold allegiance to at a time. Many dual citizens choose to split their time between the countries, and opinions in the Filipino government over whether it was fair to demand dual citizens to live in the Philippines split into two factions. One group argued that forcing them to live in one country would defeat the purpose of dual citizenship, since dual citizens were, by definition, individuals who hold allegiances to two countries but reside in one. Senate Minority Leader Aquilino ‘Nene’ Pimentel Jr. (PDP-Laban) argued “citizens are not in the same league as permanent residents or green card holders” and therefore, to limit their voting rights because of residency issues would be unfair (Commission of Elections, 2005,

para. 21). The other side argued that dual citizens should be held to the same standards as other overseas voters, because the principles were still the same and to waive the Affidavit for dual citizens would be to give them special treatment. House Representative Teodoro Locsin Jr. (Makati-1st District) put it succinctly:

The purpose of the law is to treat them as Filipinos. I don't see them as Americans at all; I see them as Filipinos flying around the United States. And if they want to vote, they either execute an affidavit of return, or, which is very lucky for them, unlike immigrants, they can take up permanent residence in the Philippines one year before the election. (Commission of Elections, 2005, para. 22).

The fear Locsin spoke about is one of the dangers that Benedict Anderson cited in his caution over long distance nationalism. Anderson argues that one of the concerns about long distance nationalism is that participants will not be culpable or answerable to the political contributions they make. He argues "Well and safely positioned in the First World, he can send money and guns, circulate propaganda...all things which can have incalculable consequences" (Anderson, 1998, p. 74). In the same fashion, individuals such as Locsin have the same fears about dual citizens.

As arguments over the residency and the Affidavit of Intent to Return raged, dual citizens grew confused by the regulations of the law continued to change. For the

2004 election, dual citizens could register but not vote due to residency restrictions. Still, the Commission of Election in the Philippines reports that 779 dual citizens registered in the United States for the 2004 election. (Commission of Election, 2004, chart 1). This number is surprisingly high for a time when dual citizenship was extremely low, just eight months after the bill was passed and the government had just set up the rules and regulations of dual citizenship. By July 2006, one month before the overseas voter registration deadline, lawmakers still had not come to a conclusion. It was only on August 17, 2006, that the COMELEC eliminated the Affidavit for dual citizens after the Supreme Court in the case of “Nicolas- Lewis versus COMELEC” ruled that requiring residency to vote when the government does not require residency to be a dual citizen was unconstitutional (Rempillo, 2007, para 3). To accommodate the last minute change, the COMELEC extended the deadlines for overseas voting, first from August 31 to September 31, 2006, then again to October 31 of 2006. By the time the last deadline passed, however, most dual citizens still believed that they had to sign the Affidavit of Intent to Return in order to vote because they had not gotten the news.

With this background in mind, understanding the reasons why dual citizens did not register becomes a little clearer. The constant struggle to get the basic right to vote may manifest in feelings of apathy and bitterness towards the system, hence the 7.8 %

who marked “my vote would not make a difference. The combination of “deterred by the Affidavit of Return” (5.9%), “I did not know I could vote” (13.7%), and “I did not know how/where to register” (2.0) illustrates the confusion and failure to educate dual citizens on very important issues very plainly.

Table 20. “What is the primary reason for not registering in the 2007 election?”

	Valid Percent
Registered	17.6
Forgot	3.9
Vote would not make a difference	7.8
Too busy	11.8
Did not like the candidates or issues	7.8
Not interested	27.5
Deterred by the Affidavit of Intent to Return	5.9
Did not know I could vote	13.7
Did not know the candidates or issues	2.0
Did not know how/ where to register	2.0
Total	100.0

One respondent wrote in “I didn’t even know there was an election this year until this survey,” while another stated, “I would vote if I knew where to go and how.” This confusion goes a long way in explaining the contradictions of dual citizens’ actions and statements. Thus the contradictions in dual citizens’ actions can stem from the complicated process by why they have obtained their rights.

IN THE SERVICE OF TWO MASTERS

The other aspect to consider in interpreting dual citizens' contradictory political actions is how much conflict of interest factors into the equation. On some level, dual citizens are conflicted. Survey data indicates that 29.4% felt somewhat conflicted about American issues, and 21.6% often felt conflicted when dealing with Filipino politics and 29.4% felt somewhat conflicted. Likewise, 23.5% felt somewhat conflicted about Filipino issues when dealing with American politics, although dual citizens feel less conflicted over all when it comes to American politics.

Table 24. "Conflict in Filipino politics"

	Valid Percent
Not at all	17.6
2	11.8
3	3.9
Somewhat	29.4
5	13.7
6	21.6
All the time	2.0
Total	100.0

Table 25. "Conflict in American politics"

	Valid Percent
Not at all	21.6
2	15.7
3	5.9
Somewhat	23.5
5	13.7
6	15.7
All the time	3.9
Total	100.0

This conflict in both arenas can be read in two ways. On one hand, this conflict gives credence to the belief that dual citizens have conflicted or shallow interests in the Philippines. This conflict may explain why dual citizens might abstain from voting. However interviews with dual citizens put these criticisms in a very different light. One respondent characterized this conflict as a result of very strong connections to the Philippines and the United States: “I’m only conflicted at times because I really care about both American and Filipino interests. If I didn’t care, I wouldn’t be conflicted.” This argument acknowledges that some conflict exists, but highlights the strong connection dual citizens have in Filipino politics.

The debate over conflicts of interest become even more interesting when one considers Theodore “Kuya Ted” Aquino, a dual citizen from California, and his attempt to run for Senate in the upcoming May 2007 election. His bid for office illustrates the conflict among Filipinos in the Philippines when presented with a dual citizen who is extremely eager to participate and fleshes out this debate on conflicting loyalties. On January 19, 2007, Theodore Aquino made history by being the first dual citizen to file for a seat in the Philippine Senate. Filipino law dictates that dual citizens cannot run for office in the Philippines; they must give up all other citizenships if one is to run for a position in the Philippine government, and Aquino refuses to do so. As

of April 10, 2007, the COMELEC had not given a final decision on how to deal with Aquino. After a series of motions and rulings, the COMELEC disqualified his candidacy in March 2007, but the disqualification is not final because Aquino has filed for an appeal. Aquino remains on the ballot, with an asterisk next to his name to indicate “pending disqualification” and his lawyers state that they will take the matter to the Supreme Court if the COMELEC rejects his motion (Dizon, 2007b, para. 1).

In this example, Aquino demonstrates great exuberance and passion for Filipino politics, and on the subject of conflicting loyalties, Aquino does not see his dual citizenship as a hindrance to serving in the Filipino people. In response to the provision that requires dual citizens to renounce their non-Filipino citizenship before they can run for public office, he argues “Does this mean that without my renunciation of my American citizenship, the oath I took to defend and protect the Philippine Constitution is no longer binding?” (Ilagan, 2007, para. 23). At a speech at a political event, he stated:

Are you asking me to choose between my mother and my father? My mother is the Philippines who gave me a compassionate heart and love of country. My father is the United States of America who gave me strength of character, tools, and wisdom to recognize what is right from wrong...a clear knowledge of what democracy is all about (Aquino, 2007, para. 16).

Here, Aquino hearkens to Anderson's (1983) understanding of the "natural" parentage the nation provides (p. 144). By using this terminology, he clearly spells out his belief that he is a functioning part of the Philippine government who has the right to run as a citizen and alludes to the belief that the American and Filipino governments are natural allies.

To a certain degree, Aquino is not completely off base, in large part because of the influence Americans had during the American occupation of the Philippines. The governments of the United States and the Philippines are very similar, to the point that the Filipino pledge of allegiance is the Tagalog translation of the American pledge of allegiance verbatim. Aspects of culture and attitudes are very similar, and the long-standing history of cooperation between the United States and the Philippines in the last century sets Filipino-American dual citizens apart from other dual citizens. As one dual citizen interviewee put it:

Filipinos have been incorporating American culture into their lifestyle since the American occupation. We've modeled the government after the American system, embraced American pop cultural icons. Hell, we've even learned institutional racism from them in the way Filipinos are prejudiced against blacks. At what point does 'American' stop being just 'American' and start being part of the Philippine culture?

The Philippines is one of the most Westernized countries in Asia, from the Spanish last names to the use of English as the medium of education, but American culture stands out because the United States was the most recent foreign influence. In many ways, American culture integrated into Filipino culture well after the occupation ended.

Figure 7. Colon Street, the oldest street in the Philippines, c.1950. (Martinez, 2007).



The American occupation is also particularly significant because during this time, the United States established a precursor to the dual citizen long before anyone had any concept of what a dual citizen meant. Historically, Filipinos' American national status allowed them more access than their Asian counterparts. Because the American government occupied the Philippines, Filipino citizens could to enter

without the restrictions of immigrant quotas set for other ethnic groups because they were already part of the United States (Takaki, 1998, p. 324). This history puts dual citizens' conflict of interest into question, since Filipinos have been negotiating American and Filipino cultures for a very long time.

Interviews with dual citizens indicate that dual citizens are split on this issue. Some dual citizens share Aquino's belief. One interviewee likened his American and Filipino allegiances as his relationship to his divorced parents. Another dual citizen argued that "except for a period during the dark Philippines-American War, Americans and the Filipinos are always really super close allies like brothers....Some Philippine government officials appear to defer to US suggestions and encouragements with their programs in governance." Yet other dual citizens disagree with the Aquino's refusal to give up his American citizenship, citing that there are limits to loyalty. While no interviewee disputed the dual citizen's right to vote, some argued that Aquino would not be able to fully protect or uphold the constitutions of both countries at the same time for some situations, such as during trade or tariff bargaining. One dual citizen remarked:

There's a difference between exercising your right to vote and actively being involved in forming legislation as an elected member of the federal government. When you are voting, you are voicing your concerns and making

decisions based on what is in your own best interest. When you are in Congress, you have to go beyond your own personal interests and consider your constituency.

The question of conflict of interest is over how much one believes dual citizens are willing to put their viewpoints and interests aside for the sake of the Filipino people. Dual citizens and Filipinos in the Philippines alike fall on both sides of the debate over conflict of interest, and despite the similarities between American and Filipino cultures, the threat of American loyalty and citizenship throws dual citizens' cultural citizenship in jeopardy.

Thus this problem of validation within cultural membership continues to come up in the political arena. Aquino's refusal to give up his citizenship is a catch-22, because Filipinos see his refusal to adhere to the rules as a precedent for how he would act in office. If Aquino gave up his dual citizenship, it would be proof that he would put the needs of his constituency first; yet if he did give up his citizenship, he would cease to be a dual citizen and any action he took would not answer the question of how a dual citizen would behave in office. The dual citizens' problem is the exact problem of the silence that Spivak (1994) and Rosaldo (1993) write about, because dual citizens lack the power and voice of the validated citizen.

DISSECTING THE DEBATE OVER DUAL CITIZENS

Underlying these disagreements are questions of loyalty and dual citizens' right to care about Filipino politics. Mistrust of dual citizens' American allegiances and feelings of betrayal that emerge as a result of post-colonial national construction fuel the debate within the Philippines. Part of the problem lies in the tentative way Filipino national identity holds together. Scholars Greg Bankoff and Kathleen Weekley (2002) suggest that the government is unable to address the nation's heterogeneous culture and create a national identity to which all its members can espouse. As a result, Filipinos often use symbols to hold its fragmented national identity together and focus on nationalism and Filipino pride as the primary ways to prove one's membership in the Philippine nation (Bankoff and Weekley, 2002, p. 39).

This pride manifests in political activism and participation with the government, but the most important form of proof is possession of Filipino citizenship itself. Holding a Filipino passport as a symbol of one's nationality harkens back to Hall's (1996) assessment about the nation-state and legitimacy: "by commanding the basic political allegiance of citizens, (nations) have become the only recognized source of 'international' legitimacy, of the validity of a system of states in each region and continent and ultimately in the world as a whole" (p. 144). In Tönnies' terms, since the Philippine *gemeinschaft* tends to break down beyond the community, *gesellschaft* takes

over as the government uses symbols to bind the various cultures together and establish artificially created legitimacy.

Dual citizenship complicates these methods of legitimacy and stretches these limits of this validity. Behind all formal actions in regards to the Philippines' policy on dual citizenship is the belief that dual citizens hold different meanings of loyalty, allegiance, and membership than those with singular citizenship. Stanley Renshon (2005), a psychoanalyst for the Center of Immigration Studies and professor at City University in New York, argues that dual citizenship creates "shallow civic and national attachments" due to "conflicted loyalties" (p. 19). He goes on to say that dual citizenship actually threatens the nature of national identity, because "no country facing divisive domestic issues arising out of its increasing diversity...benefits from large-scale immigration of those with multiple loyalties and attachments and doing nothing about it." (Center for Immigration Studies, 2002, section 2, para. 59).

Admittedly, Renshon's views are on one extreme side of the spectrum, but he does raise a point that conflicted loyalties can lead to conflicts of interest. For example, it would be very difficult for a dual citizen to hold certain jobs that advocate and protect one country's interests and security, like the military, without encountering at least one instance of a conflict of interest. Amiaty Etzioni, a professor at George Washington University, defines this as "layered loyalties," wherein the dual citizen

remains loyal to one country over another. (Center for Immigration Studies, 2002, section 4, para 3). The problem is not about how loyal dual citizens are to their countries, but the unpredictability of their choices when forced to decide between two loyalties.

This unpredictability is the very issue that worries critics in the Philippines. Detractors in the Philippines argue that lawmakers ratified and passed the Dual Citizenship Law to boost overseas interest in the Philippines without any establishing actual national loyalty to the Philippines. Filipinos opposed to dual citizenship often contend that the primary motivation behind the Dual Citizenship Law was purely monetary in hopes that dual citizens would invest in the Filipino economy. They also argue that the law does not address previous renunciation of Filipino citizenship that dual citizens performed in order to become a naturalized American citizen.

To exacerbate the issue even further, representations in Filipino media often present dual citizens as individuals with conflicted loyalties. Isagani Cruz, former Supreme Court Justice and a columnist for *the Philippine Daily Inquirer*, one of the most prominent newspapers in the Philippines, lambasted the government's support of dual citizenship:

Compared to the average Filipino who has never even left this country, the repatriated Filipino under the Dual Citizenship Law who has deserted this

country in search of a better life abroad is welcomed back by our authorities with open arms. Dual citizens are even rewarded with special privileges not accorded ordinary citizens who have never wavered in their fidelity to the only country they love with unalloyed devotion (Cruz, 2006, para 6).

The word choice which Cruz implements reveals the raw emotion behind Cruz' argument. He specifically uses words such "fidelity" and "unalloyed devotion" to denote the purity of the Filipino citizen and he juxtaposes the "ordinary" Filipino with the dual citizen by likening the dual citizen to an unfaithful lover. This metaphor brings to mind concepts of abandonment and betrayal in addition to the notions of justice that Cruz evokes by talking about "rewards" and "special privileges," revealing that problem is not just a matter of justice and fairness but also one of loyalty. Even on the message board of the Official Website of the Republic Philippines, these feelings of betrayal are evident. In one thread criticizing President Arroyo, users get into a heated debate over whether Filipino Americans should be allowed to participate in a debate over the way the Philippines runs its government. When one of the users cites dual citizenship to give legitimacy to his right to participate in the debate, another poster fires back, "You really want to 'educate us' on how to run our lives and our country? Then I dare you to absolutely and totally renounce your American citizenship and become a true Filipino whose ONLY allegiance is to the Philippines and the Filipino

people” (ReneLore, 2006). Like Cruz, this user throws accusations of shallow attachments to the Philippines.

Interestingly, questions of the authenticity also came from Filipino-Americans who convey the same feelings of betrayal in their media. In the comments of article on dual citizenship in a Filipino-American newspaper, *Philippine News*, a self identified Filipino-American user posted, “(Dual citizenship) splits loyalties and makes Americans think we came here just to grab all the opportunities it has generously offered to us, and then forget about everything” (Guerrero, 2003). Another poster from the United States posted, “the United States gave us what we need (things we cannot obtain in the Philippines) in exchange for our pledge of allegiance to the US and give them our best to help American gain global advantage economically” (Predictor Profile, 2003). Here these posters see dual citizens as ungrateful for the opportunity the United States affords them and characterize the dual citizen as opportunistic. Therefore, one can see how this mistrust of multiple loyalties manifests in opposition against dual citizenship, both from the Filipinos in the Philippines and the naturalized Filipinos who only have American citizenship. The choice of Filipino-Americans to give up their Filipino citizenship in favor of American citizenship is a sore point for Filipinos in the Philippines, and dual citizens who gave up their citizenship prior to the passage of the Dual Citizenship Law are subject to Other-ing by Filipinos in the

Philippines. On the other hand, dual citizens' re-acquisition of their Filipino citizenship provokes a negative reaction from some Filipino-Americans because in their eyes, dual citizens are invalidating their claim as an American. In short, allegiance to one nation is a slap in the face to the other nation and by claiming both loyalties, dual citizens threaten the validity of their cultural citizenship within these nations.

As a result, Filipinos form different opinions of how much right dual citizens have to care about Filipino politics based on varied understandings of where dual citizens' loyalties lie. Here, one can see how the cultural citizenship complicates national citizenship, because dual citizens do not have the validated, recognized cultural citizenship. In a sense, dual citizens' situation is the reverse situation of Flores and Benmayor's (1997) example of illegal Mexican-American immigrants (p. 256). In the Philippines, the government counts dual citizens as Filipino citizens and dual citizens' strong personal connection to the Philippines illustrates a strong sense of long-distance nationalism, but representations in the media reinforce fears and uneasiness. Thus, the empowered citizens question the authenticity of dual citizens' loyalties at every turn. This problem is a major issue in dealing with dual citizens in the law, and currently the COMELEC has problems deciding what rights dual citizens have.

FUTURE POLITICS FOR DUAL CITIZENS

With dual citizens coming into the forefront in the Philippines, the spotlight of Filipino politics is shifting the focus to the political attitudes of all Filipinos abroad. In the process of determining what will happen next, politicians and Filipino citizens are constantly changing the law and re-negotiating the boundaries between Americans and Filipinos. Dual citizens have very strong feelings toward the imagined nation, but as a collective whole, they do not actually keep up to date with the Filipino politics. At times, they express frustration with the Philippine government and choose not to participate, but their lack of participation is not always a true reflection of their political interest. Dual citizens' multiple loyalties makes many Filipinos uneasy and the fact that they do not have to feel the actions of the elected officials directly because they have the option to live most, if not all, of their time outside the Philippines does not help soothe these fears. Even those dual citizens who took the extra step to reacquire their citizenship can come across as opportunists, whose loyalties are either conflicted or shallow at best. Yet the other school of thought is that the long-standing history of American and Filipino cooperation nullifies the conflict of interest argument. They also argue that to limit any citizen's rights demotes them to second-class citizens, particularly when the government recognizes their citizenship and when dual citizens exhibit a vested desire to participate. Given their dual status, lawmakers seem to be in

general consensus that different rules should apply to dual citizens, but the extent to which the rules should be different is where the area of conflict is occurring.

The challenge comes when lawmakers attempt to write the regulations on dual citizens keeping the interests of all Filipino citizens in mind. It seems at every turn there is a new amendment to voting law, and if Aquino is an indication, dual citizens are beginning to recognize this fact and test the limits of their citizenship. The most interesting aspect of the Aquino case was that the COMELEC took so long to address the dual citizenship aspect. Rather than pointing out that his dual citizenship disqualified his candidacy, critics focused on his lack of residency. Filipino law requires residency in order to run of a district, and misinformation and assumptions led COMELE Chairman Abalos to declare Aquino unqualified due to his lack or residency (Ilagan, 2007, para. 3). Other attacks came when his cousin, Benigno Aquino III, who is also running for Senate, requested that Theodore Aquino be declared a “nuisance bet.” Since a good portion of Filipino citizens in the provinces are illiterate, ballot counting can be tricky and with the same last name, Benigno cited that Theodore’s candidacy would “unnecessarily create confusion among the electorate” (Dizon, 2007a, para 5). He suggested that Theodore was "a nuisance candidate who had no bona fide intention to run for public office," and whose bid for candidacy was simply an attempt to damage Benigno’s run through mistaken association (Dizon, 2007a, para 6). Only

when Theodore refuted claims of lack of residency, gained the endorsement of the newly formed Global Filipino Coalition, and agreed to concede all ambiguously marked “Aquino” to Benigno did the COMELEC address his dual citizenship (Ilagan, 2007, para. 12; Dizon 2007a para 9). The COMELEC’s delay in addressing the dual citizenship issue is an indication of uncertainty about how to approach dual citizens.

It is also important to note that dual citizens themselves rarely speak for themselves in the debate over their rights in Philippine media. Most of Theodore Aquino’s mention in the Philippine media comes in the form of Filipinos in the Philippines supporting him or attacking him. For example, one well-respected professor at Ateneo de Manila University writes in his support for Aquino in a letter to the editor in the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* (Intengan, 2007). Meanwhile, officials did not go straight to Theodore Aquino to ask him about his residency, leading the COMELEC to mistakenly disqualify his candidacy (Ilagan, 2007, para. 7). Instead he had to refute the claims through his campaign website (Friends of Kuya Ted, 2007, para. 1). Initial coverage of Theodore Aquino’s run for office only occurred when Benigno spoke out about him, and rather than question Theodore Aquino on his motives, they relied on Benigno’s opinion. Only articles in Philippine American news, such as *Philippine News* went to Theodore Aquino directly for information.

Having a voice at this particular juncture in Filipino political history is absolutely vital since the lawmakers are sorting out the details of the laws concerning dual citizens at this very moment. At the moment, the voice of the dual citizen is lacking. Whether or not that situation will change remains to be seen. With such strong nationalistic ties to the Philippines, dual citizens may eventually give rise to a new voice in the Philippines, and what will be most interesting to see is how the Philippines reacts to their growth as a cohesive group.

Chapter 7. Conclusion: Piloting New Courses of Action and Research

Putting all the pieces together, the reasons for the differing opinions regarding dual citizens are clear. Since they physically live outside the Philippines, dual citizens rely on the kinship bonds forged at the community in the Philippines and are able to find legitimacy in their connections through family visits and regional commonalities. Thanks to the strong community kinship and long distant nationalism, dual citizens feel that they have a very secure place in the community because of a high level of contact, the availability of various methods of communication and the reliance on reality-based rather than virtual connections.

However, in the larger context of the Filipino people, these bonds fall apart. Dual citizens' cultural citizenship only extends as far as the community and breaks down when they go beyond those borders. Not all Filipino people know or trust dual citizens personally and for these Filipino individuals, they must rely on representations in the media to get a picture of the dual citizen, and current Filipino media treats dual citizens as Filipino Americans. Exile narratives and constant juxtaposition of American and Filipino cultures in the Filipino Channel's Filipino-American programming indicate that dual citizens have an outsider's "Other-ed" space, at best, or no space, at worst. As a result, Filipinos in the Philippines may see dual citizens only as Filipino-Americans, former members who gave up membership in their attempt to belong to the

United States. They read dual citizens' American naturalization as "a strategy for denying Filipino-ness in favor of inclusion or incorporation into US society" (Bonus, 2000, p. 175). Others may reject dual citizens because of their dual status. Membership demands choice, and it leaves little tolerance for fence-sitters. In the end, the Filipino people are split between those who know and validate dual citizens' cultural membership, and those who do not.

The division becomes problematic in the political arena, where the government must then reconcile these differences in the rules and regulations of the laws it sets. The government's function is to represent the people, and when the Filipino people are divided, the result is a dysfunctional nation in regard to that issue. The negotiation of dual citizens' rights at the political level illustrates that the Filipino people has not yet decided if they accept or reject dual citizens. Even if the government formally recognizes dual citizens, dual citizens will find some difficulty in gaining universal acceptance from the Filipino people and their place in the Philippines is not secure until the Filipinos in the Philippines validate their cultural citizenship. Although the government has officially given dual citizens the legitimacy to call the Philippines home, conflict among reactions from the Filipino citizens and conflict in dual citizens' actions force the government to constantly negotiate how big and secure that space is.

These matters worsen because dual citizens lack a strong voice at the national level in these issues. While dual citizens are actively seeking out connections, their lack of validated cultural citizenship translates into a muted voice while the Philippines alternates between embracing them, ignoring them, and challenging their very existence. The Philippine government and people welcome dual citizens best when dual citizens operate as *balikbayans* and can speak through their contributions to the Philippine economy and interactions with family. In the larger frameworks of the media and politics where dual citizens could affect change, however, dual citizens are invisible. In cultural representation, they treat dual citizens like Filipino-Americans and attribute Filipino-American characteristics to dual citizens. In politics, detractors of dual citizenship attack them, prompting other Filipinos to defend them, but the dual citizen is rarely ever the one speaking. Most battles over their loyalties are fought over by other Filipinos. In the midst of this negotiation, dual citizens are relatively absent in the Philippines and can only voice their side of the argument through Philippine-American news outlets. The result is that dual citizens have a secure place in the community, but no place in the cultural nation and an unstable place in the political arena. They have a space, but its security is constantly in flux.

One last factor to consider is that dual citizenship is a new phenomenon. Dual citizenship stretches the limits of national citizenship and the question from some

critics is: where does one draw the line of where citizenship ends? There are no easy answers to this question and the place of the dual citizen is subject to change as the government, Filipino citizens, Filipino-Americans, and dual citizens struggle with this question. It is too easy to say that dual citizens cannot form notions of home because mobility and technology help reinforce relationships and the family is a huge factor in establishing familiarity, especially for dual citizens who are American-born. It is too simple to blame the Filipino government or the Filipino people for opposing dual citizens' participation. Simply by recognizing the dual citizen as a part of the Philippines, the government formally declares that dual citizens have a place in the country, and not all Filipinos are opposed to dual citizenship. Dual citizens do choose not to participate for various reasons, and there will be times that they abstain from Filipino politics and choose to focus on American politics. However, whether one should gauge belonging on participation on the plane of politics is another question. As one interviewee put it, "I don't see how my not voting in Filipino politics makes me less of a Filipino than someone who is only a Filipino citizen. People abstain from voting all the time, here and in the Philippines and their citizenship isn't drawn into question. Why should mine?" All parties involved are negotiating the borders every day and, in the end, this study can only begin to touch upon the complex, sometimes

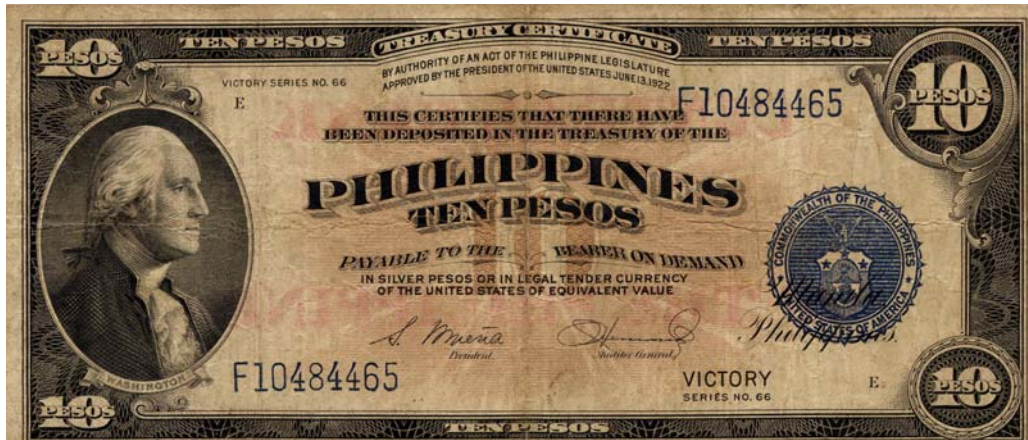
paradoxical reasons dual citizens have for participating and forming their connections to the Philippines.

As mentioned in the methodology, my research, like all studies, has limitations. The survey sample is non-representative and cannot generalize out to all dual citizens. Moreover, any correlations made in this study are not indications of cause and effect. The trends found in this study merely indicate that there is an existing relationship between two or more factors, and it is up to future researchers to deepen the investigations that commenced in this study and find causality. Future research could explore the differences between the American-born and Philippine-born dual citizens and examine whether or not age and place of birth prompt dual citizens to select new media. As dual citizen representation starts to take shape in the media, one could track how nationalistic ties to the Philippines are ignored or embraced in conjunction with the treatment of their American culture. The most obvious research to grow out of this study would be to examine how issues of residency, dual loyalties, and conflicts of interest play in the upcoming May 2007 election and more importantly, in the Presidential election of 2010.

At the end of the day, the possibilities are numerous, but they all boil down to one question: how do dual citizens and Filipinos negotiate the loyalties to both the American and Filipino nations? Dual citizenship is a question of membership and as

long as the nation exists, dual citizenship will always bring these issues of borders, loyalties, and identity construction to the forefront of the debate. For Filipino-American dual citizens, the fragmented Filipino national identity and the similarities between American and Filipino cultures further complicate the picture. At some point, the cultural hybridity that started taking shape during the American occupation blurs the boundaries between “Filipino” and “American.” Filipino Americans have been crossing those lines for a long time. During the American occupation, the United States recognized Filipinos to be American nationals, and when the United States began to set restrictions and immigration quotas on Asian immigrants in the form of acts such as the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Gentlemen’s Agreement, Filipinos continued to enter the United States with general ease as the Americans’ “brown brothers” (Takaki, 1998, p. 324). When the American occupation formally ended with the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934, they lost this dual status, but it is important to note that Filipino-Americans have been walking the line of dual loyalties even before dual citizenship formally existed. In every sense of the phrase, Filipino during the American occupation were dual citizens, and they even had the tangible artifacts to prove it:

Figure 9. Ten Peso bill, Victory Series No. 66, 1922 (Martinez, 2007).



Given this history, one could argue that Filipino-Americans have been negotiating American and Filipino dual loyalties for over a century now and that dual citizenship is only the latest incarnation of this long-standing negotiation. As of January 2, 2007, the Bureau of Immigration in the Philippines listed a total of 23,946 approved applications for dual citizenship since the Dual Citizenship Law had passed (Salaverria, 2007, para. 2). As time goes on, the new courses that these dual citizens plot out for future generations will be very interesting to track.

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Appendix: Survey Results

Section 1: Interpersonal

Table 1. Were you born in the Philippines?

	Valid Percent
yes	84.3
no	15.7
Total	100.0

Table 2. What do you consider yourself?

	Valid Percent
Filipino	21.6
Filipino-American	68.6
American	9.8
Total	100.0

Table 3. What Filipino dialect(s) do you speak?

	Valid Percent
None	3.9
Tagalog	52.9
Bisaya	5.9
Waray	2.0
Tagalog and Bisaya	19.6
Tagalog and Other	11.8
More than 3 dialects	3.9
Total	100.0

Table 4. What order did you receive your citizenship?

	Valid Percent
American, Filipino	11.8
Filipino, American	84.2
Dual at birth	2.0
Filipino, Canadian, American	2.0
Total	100.0

Table 5. I visit the Philippines every: _____.

	Valid Percent
Never	2.0
15+ years	5.9
10 years	5.9
5 years	19.6
2 years	29.4
Once a year	27.5
More than once a year	9.8
Total	100.0

Table 6. How often do you contact the Philippines?

	Valid Percent
Once a year	3.9
Every 6 months	9.8
Every 3 months	7.8
Every month	15.7
Every week	45.1
Every day	17.6
Total	100.0

Table 7. Whom do you contact in the Philippines?

	Valid Percent
Family	25.5
Friends	2.0
Family, Friends, and Business	19.6
Family and Friends	51.0
Family, friends, and scholars	2.0
Total	100.0

Table 8. How do you keep in touch with individuals in the Philippines?

	Visits	Letters	Telephone	Email	Cellphone texting
Valid %	74.2	15.7	90.2	94.1	58.8

Table 9. What web-based media are you using?

	Yahoo IM	Friendster	Myspace	Skype	Webcam	AIM
Valid %	52.9	23.5	11.8	19.6	21.6	11.8

	Egroups	Message Boards	Blogs	None
Valid %	11.8	11.8	11.8	23.5

Table 10. How much time do you spend on the Internet (total)?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	2.0
2	32.0
3	26.0
4	16.0
5	14.0
6	2.0
All the time	8.0
Total	100.0

Table 11. How much time do you spend chatting online?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	50.0
2	28.0
3	12.0
About Half	6.0
5	4.0
6	0.0
All the Time	0.0
Total	100.0

Table 12. How much time do you spend using social networks (e.g. Myspace)?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	68.0
2	22.0
3	4.0
About Half	0.0
5	4.0
6	2.0
All the Time	0.0
Total	100.0

Table 13. I spend _____ of my time chatting with people in the Philippines.

	Valid Percent
Not at all	40.0
2	32.0
3	8.0
About Half	16.0
5	0.0
6	2.0
All the Time	2.0
Total	100.0

Table 14. I spend _____ of my time chatting with people in the States.

	Valid Percent
Not at all	28.0
2	36.0
3	8.0
About Half	18.0
5	0.0
6	8.0
All the Time	2.0
Total	100.0

Table 15. Of all the people in my network, _____ lives in the Philippines.

	Valid Percent
None	6.0
2	36.0
3	14.0
4	36.0
5	2.0
6	2.0
All	4.0
Total	100.0

Table 16. Of all the people in my network, _____ lives in the States.

	Valid Percent
None	4.0
2	6.0
3	4.0
4	40.0
5	6.0
6	34.0
All	6.0
Total	100.0

Table 17. Of all the people in my network, _____ I have met in real life.

	Valid Percent
None	6.0
2	8.0
3	6.0
4	8.0
5	10.0
6	12.0
All	50.0
Total	100.0

Table 18. I feel that my connections with people in the Philippines are _____ than the connections I have with people who live outside my local area in the United States.

	Valid Percent
Very Much Stronger	18.0
Much Stronger	8.0
Stronger	12.0
Same	34.0
Weaker	6.0
Much Weaker	18.0
Very Much Weaker	4.0
Total	100.0

Section 2: Political

Table 19. Are you politically active?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	5.9
2	9.8
3	2.0
4	41.2
5	11.8
6	9.8
Definitely	19.6
Total	100.0

Table 20. Are you up-to-date with American current events?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	0.0
2	2.0
3	0.0
4	21.6
5	13.7
6	25.5
All the time	37.3
Total	100.0

Table 21. Are you up-to-date with Filipino current events?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	5.9
2	15.7
3	11.8
4	27.5
5	13.7
6	13.7
All the time	11.8
Total	100.0

Table 22. Are you registered to vote in the United States?

	Valid Percent
yes	92.2
no	7.8
Total	100.0

Table 23. Did you vote in the last U.S. election?

	Valid Percent
yes	88.2
no	11.8
Total	100.0

Table 24. Did you register to vote for the 2004 Philippine election?

	Valid Percent
yes	7.8
no	92.2
Total	100.0

Table 25. What is the primary reason why you did not register for the 2004 election in the Philippines?

	Valid Percent
Registered	5.9
Forgot	3.9
Vote would not make a difference	11.8
Too busy	7.8
Did not like the candidates or issues	11.8
Not interested	23.5
Deterred by the Affidavit of Intent to Return	23.5
Did not know I could vote	3.9
Did not know the candidates or issues	2.0
Filipino politics is too complicated	2.0
Did not know where to register	4.0
Total	100.0

Table 26. Are you registered to vote in the 2007 Philippine election?

	Valid Percent
yes	23.5
no	76.5
Total	100.0

Table 27. What is the primary reason why you did not register for the 2007 election in the Philippines?

	Valid Percent
Registered	17.6
Forgot	3.9
Vote would not make a difference	7.8
Too busy	11.8
Did not like the candidates or issues	7.8
Not interested	27.5
Deterred by the Affidavit of Intent to Return	5.9
Did not know I could vote	13.7
Did not know the candidates or issues	2.0
Did not know how/ where to register	2.0
Total	100.0

Table 28. To what extent should Filipino-American dual citizens living in United States have a say in the way the Filipino government is run?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	7.8
2	7.8
3	0.0
Somewhat	37.3
5	15.7
6	11.8
Complete	19.6
Total	100.0

Table 29. To what extent do Filipino-American dual citizens living in the United States care about the way the Filipino government is run?

	Valid Percent
Not at All	0.0
2	5.9
3	5.9
Somewhat	15.7
5	21.6
6	31.4
Complete	19.6
Total	100.0

Table 30. To what extent have you have been conflicted about Filipino issues when dealing with American politics?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	21.6
2	15.7
3	5.9
Somewhat	23.5
5	13.7
6	15.7
All the time	3.9
Total	100.0

Table 31. To what extent have you have been conflicted about American issues when dealing with Filipino politics?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	17.6
2	11.8
3	3.9
Somewhat	29.4
5	13.7
6	21.6
All the time	2.0
Total	100.0

Table 32. How often do you use newspapers to get your information about candidates, positions, and how to vote in Filipino politics?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	33.3
2	11.
3	1.9
Somewhat	15.6
5	15.6
6	9.8
All the Time	11.7
Total %	100

Table 33. How often do you use magazines to get your information about candidates, positions, and how to vote in Filipino politics?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	47.0
2	11.7
3	1.9
Somewhat	19.6
5	11.7
6	3.9
All the Time	3.9
Total %	100

Table 34. How often do you use websites to get your information about candidates, positions, and how to vote in Filipino politics?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	31.4
2	11.8
3	3.9
Somewhat	7.8
5	7.8
6	13.7
All the Time	23.5
Total %	100.0

Table 35. How often do you use message boards to get your information about candidates, positions, and how to vote in Filipino politics?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	70.6
2	7.8
3	7.8
Somewhat	5.9
5	3.9
6	3.9
All the Time	0.0
Total %	100.0

Table 36. How often do you use television to get your information about candidates, positions, and how to vote in Filipino politics?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	29.4
2	13.7
3	0
Somewhat	13.7
5	11.7
6	15.6
All the Time	15.6
Total %	100

Table 37. How often do you use radio to get your information about candidates, positions, and how to vote in Filipino politics?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	66.7
2	11.8
3	3.9
Somewhat	11.8
5	2.0
6	3.9
All the Time	0.0
Total %	100

Table 38. How often do you use friends and family to get your information about candidates, positions, and how to vote in Filipino politics?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	13.7
2	5.9
3	5.9
Somewhat	17.6
5	15.7
6	15.7
All the Time	25.5
Total %	100.0

Section 3: Cultural

Table 39. How familiar are you with Filipino current entertainment news?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	28.0
2	12.0
3	12.0
Somewhat	20.0
5	12.0
6	8.0
All the Time	8.0
Total %	100.0

Table 40. How often do you use newspapers to access Filipino popular culture?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	30
2	18
3	8
Somewhat	18
5	12
6	4
All the Time	10
Total %	100

Table 41. How often do you use magazines to access Filipino popular culture?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	40
2	22
3	10
Somewhat	12
5	8
6	4
All the Time	4
Total %	100

Table 42. How often do you use websites to access Filipino popular culture?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	36.0
2	12.0
3	12.0
Somewhat	8.0
5	12.0
6	10.0
All the Time	10.0
Total %	100.0

Table 43. How often do you use message boards to access Filipino popular culture?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	72.0
2	12.0
3	4.0
Somewhat	8.0
5	4.0
6	0.0
All the Time	0.0
Total %	100.0

Table 44. How often do you use television to access Filipino popular culture?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	30
2	16
3	12
Somewhat	16
5	4
6	8
All the Time	14
Total %	100

Table 45. How often do you use radio to access Filipino popular culture?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	74.0
2	10.0
3	2.0
Somewhat	10.0
5	2.0
6	2.0
All the Time	0.0
Total %	100.0

Table 46. How often do you use friends and family to access Filipino popular culture?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	8.0
2	16.0
3	16.0
Somewhat	22.0
5	16.0
6	6.0
All the Time	16.0
Total %	100.0

Table 47. Do you subscribe to the Filipino Channel (TFC)?

	Valid Percent
yes	30.0
no	70.0
Total	100.0

Table 48. How often do you watch The Filipino Channel (TFC)?

	Valid Percent
Not at all	54.0
2	14.0
3	4.0
Somewhat	16.0
5	2.0
6	4.0
All the Time	6.0
Total %	100.0

Table 49. What television shows are you watching?

	Filipino Programming			
	TV Patrol/Radio Patrol	Telenovela	Entertainment news	Variety/Game shows
Valid %	35.3	17.6	11.8	11.8

Filipino American Programming				
	<i>Balitang America</i>	<i>Pinagmulan</i>	<i>Speak Out</i>	<i>Citizen Pinoy</i>
Valid %	7.8	3.9	3.9	1.9

Table 50. I feel that The Filipino Channel addresses enough Filipino American issues.

	Valid Percent
Not at all	3.7
2	14.8
3	18.5
Somewhat	22.2
5	33.3
6	3.7
All the Time	3.7
Total %	100.0

Table 51. I feel that Filipino Americans are fairly represented on the Filipino Channel.

	Valid Percent
Not at All	7.4
2	11.1
3	22.2
Somewhat	22.2
5	33.3
6	0.0
Definitely	3.7
Total	100.0

Table 52. I feel that "Speak Out" appropriately represents both the American and Filipino sides of the argument.

	Valid Percent
Not at all	3.4
2	3.4
3	6.9
Somewhat	51.7
5	31.0
6	3.4
All the Time	0.0
Total %	100.0

Section 4: General Information

Table 53. Year of Birth

	1941- 1945	1946- 1950	1951- 1955	1956- 1960	1961- 1965	1966- 1970	1971- 1975	1976- 1980	1981- 1987
Valid %	16.3	14.3	20.4	14.3	2.0	10.2	12.2	6.1	4.1

Table 54. Gender

	Valid Percent
Male	55.1
Female	44.9
Total	100.0

Table 55. What is the primary reason why you applied for dual citizenship?

	Valid Percent
Travel	13.5
Parents	2.7
Patriotism / Nationalism	40.5
Own lands / protect assets	16.2
Business	5.4
Convenience	10.8
Retirement	10.8
Total	100.0

Table 56. What is the highest level of education that you completed?

	Valid Percent
Two Year Associate's Degree	4.1
Four/five year Bachelor Degree	49.0
Professional Degree in medicine, law, or dentistry	10.2
Master's Degree or Doctorate	36.7
Total	100.0

Table 57. What state do you live in?

	Valid Percent
Virginia	14.3
Massachusetts	2.0
New Jersey	10.2
California	40.8
Minnesota	2.0
Ohio	4.1
Maryland	6.1
DC	2.0
New York	4.1
Connecticut	2.0
Texas	2.0
Florida	4.1
Hawaii	2.0
Illinois	2.0
Nevada	2.0
Total	100.0