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**From Davao City to Daly City: Examining Translanguaging  
and Transnationalism in the 1.5-Generation Filipin(a/o)  
Americans of Daly City**

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER IN MIGRATION STUDIES

by **Rita Ewing**

**May 10, 2018**

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this thesis project has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

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Date

From Davao City to Daly City:  
Examining Translanguaging and Transnationalism in the  
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Rita L. Ewing

University of San Francisco

May 10, 2018

Master in Migration Studies

## Abstract

In the field of migration studies, research on transnationalism has been well established. Applying an intersectional framework of post-colonial narrative and linguistic anthropology to transnational migration, this research allows us to better understand how the transnational immigrant deploys language. Through a nostalgia studies approach, this study is able to analyze how transnational immigrants place value on their heritage and second languages, and reflexively deploy their language sets to reflect their unique positionality. This paper is a case study examination of five adult members of the 1.5-generation of Filipin(a/o) American immigrants, who immigrated to the US before the age of eighteen and have academic, employment, or residential affiliation with the Filipin(a/o) diaspora of Daly City, California. Through data analysis of oral histories collected through in-depth sociolinguistic interviews, this study uses these nostalgic perspectives to better understand how the relationship between language and identity formation is affected by socio-spatial experiences. By examining the intergenerational, post-colonial and transnational interplay of the narrators' language ideologies, this study uses the archive to demonstrate the transformative power of memory to project the immigrant experience. Therefore, this thesis asserts translanguaging, or the cognizant, situational deployment of a multilingual repertoire, reflects a transnational identity formation.

*Keywords:* 1.5-Generation, Filipino American, Translanguaging, Transnationalism,

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## Introduction

To the untrained eye, Daly City, California looks like any other typical suburb. The muted rainbow colored houses reflective of mid-century design lay in uniform precision as they roll across the hilly terrain. Often blanketed in heavy fog, the sleepy neighborhood streets echo the beach town vibe evoked by life off of the Pacific Coast Highway. Just south of San Francisco, this municipality hosts all the synonymous landmarks indicative of a 2018 American suburb. In essence, from looks alone, Daly City would not be remarkable. However, if a traveler were to decide to stop and stay a while, the sounds of this city would begin to stand out.

While running errands one evening, I found myself standing in line waiting to place an order at Auntie Anne's at the Serramonte Mall. As I was waiting, two Filipina women stood in line behind me, engaged in conversation amongst themselves. As my grasp of Tagalog is practically nonexistent, I could not understand what I overheard of their conversation. That was until one line rung out clear: "Hindi. Pero, I doubt it." The intonations of the sentence followed the phonology of Tagalog. In five simple words, the speaker fluidly transitioned from Tagalog to Spanish to English to communicate a sentiment that could not be pinned down to one language alone. In this one simple line, the speaker bridged the relationship between culture and language to reflect a unique positionality.

Daly City hosts the largest Philippine diaspora in the US. With the exception of a few Jollibees and Manila Oriental Supermarkets, there is not much that stands out in Daly City that speaks to a Philippine demographic. Unlike typical ethnic enclaves, such as Little Italy, Chinatown, or Spanish Harlem, Daly City does not evoke any signs that this

is predominantly a Filipin(a/o) American and Filipin(a/o)-immigrant community. Yet, conversations like the one mentioned above are commonplace. While this form of language switching is not unique to Daly City, what is important to examine is how this locality specifically blends nationalities and languages to foster this linguistic practice. Here, in this community, it is easy to hear how languages in contact have blended and been reproduced to reflect a hybridization of culture and identity.

This thesis provides representation for the aspect of language in the field of identity research. In regards to migration studies, language is often acknowledged as a component of migration, but the degree to which language is affected by processes of migration has much to still be explored. My objective is to acknowledge that migration does have an impact on language, and examine the degree to which it does. It affects how individuals self-identify. It reflects a relationship that can bridge nations, and it breaks down the preconceived notion that it is necessary to adhere to solely one grammatical structure to effectively communicate. As we live in an increasingly globalized world, and immigration regulations are forever in flux, through emerging studies we can see how transnationalism is fostered. In examining the Philippine diaspora of Daly City, California, it is apparent that this population lives in a translocal space, a locality that bridges cultural and national divides. As the majority of Daly City residents register as Filipin(a/o), this current population is able to connect to the Philippines more easily than ever before. Because of the communication and transportation revolution, immigrants in the US and family in the Philippines are able to communicate with each other through phone calls, social media and through visits with relative affordability and ease. This promotes heritage language and culture maintenance. As Filipin(a/o) immigrants settle



into their lives in the US, their diasporic membership is developed through life in the Daly City community through shared immigration experiences, and cultural and linguistic understanding with others. I argue that because of this experience a transnational identity is promoted to form, an identity created by the process of immigration that provides for the development of multiple national affinities.

What I explore through this thesis is how translanguaging, or the integrated deployment of bi or multilingual repertoires to communicate, reflects a transnational identity. In order to go about researching this phenomenon, I must answer what is the relationship between language and identity. I believe that there is an obvious relationship between identity and language use. What is difficult to assert is the degree to which language plays a role in an individual's identity formation. Because identity is influenced by a range of intersectional factors, and language is but one of these components, I would not be just if I did not acknowledge these others in the important role they contribute. However, what I intend to prove through my research is not only the role language plays in identity formation, but also how language use *reflects* an individual's identity. Therefore, this study argues against language determinism, or the concept that states language determines thought processes, by asserting that language acts as a conduit for an individual to *portray* or *express* thoughts and identities, and is not the determining factor to produce thought (Benor; Buchotlz).

In order to attempt to answer these research questions, the best way to begin finding a resolution is through understanding the perspectives and experiences from the individuals to which this study pertains. Drawing from nostalgia studies, this research is qualitative and subjective in eliciting personal reflection on an individual's relationship to

language throughout their migration process. Through use of in-depth sociolinguistic interviews to collect oral histories, the research method for this study was ethnographically informed. Due to time constraints, this research was completed this past summer and fall. From June 2017 to October 2017 all interviews were conducted and transcribed. This study is relatively small in numbers, as the goal was solely to garner individual, subjective experiences. Five individuals were contacted to provide in-depth sociolinguistic interviews to garner an understanding of how nostalgia relates to how one values their evolving language practices. The aim was to collect more detailed biographical information for qualitative results. The research was based on inter-personal responses that were coded for common threads, but are based in the individual human experience. The study seeks to gain an understanding from these individuals on the value they place on language through how they relate and identify to the languages and how they navigate its deployment. The best way to respond to these questions is by seeking understanding from the individuals themselves through learning about their families, immigration, and integration histories as it relates to how they have applied language and navigate their language management policy. As these individuals have traversed cultural and linguistic terrains in their new homes as they immigrated to the US, the way in which they see and express themselves is bound to have changed (Basch, Blanc & Schiller; Ong; Danico; Vertovec; Erdal & Oeppen). Their stories deserve to be heard.

This study uses an intersectional framework for conducting this research. It is important to acknowledge in this case that there is a range of dynamics that influence identity formation that needs to be contextualized. For this reason, the framework used here is two-fold. It begins with a post-colonial narrative framework to establish the

background for current Philippine/US relations to be better understood in the lens of culture and language and nostalgia. Then, proceeding with the linguistic anthropology framework the goal is to examine the functions of language and identity formation in a transnational scope. I believe that it is important to acknowledge these distinct elements, post-colonial narrative and linguistic anthropology, because while it may not intrinsically seem apparent that they are related, the two frameworks are undeniably interrelated in the case of how transnational Filipin(a/o) American immigrants engage in translanguaging.

While the focus of this thesis will be primarily based on the linguistic anthropology framework, it is imperative that I begin this study by building the foundation on the post-colonial narrative. Through review of the Philippines' history of colonization and immigration relations with the US, I establish the connection between the Philippines and the US to ascertain that such cultural and linguistic impressions that were made have aided in the formation of the Filipin(a/o) American transnational identity. From this I proceed to the following section on linguistic anthropology in which I will give an in-depth examination of how identity is linguistically performed. Through the act of translanguaging I will explore how Filipin(a/o) American immigrants use race and language to perform their identity. Using the concept of transnationalism I will look at how the 1.5-generation of Filipin(a/o) Americans living in the diaspora of Daly City are able to bridge both the Philippines and the US, their dual national identities, and multilingualism, in one locality to navigate modern-day life. While post-colonial narrative and linguistic anthropology may seem unrelated, I hope to establish through this thesis how interconnected these two disciplines are in practice.

### *Post-Colonial Narrative*

The use of post-colonial narrative is to address and analyze the impact of the legacies of colonialism from a humanist perspective. In this framework I concentrate on three main elements. 1) *Spanish colonization*; through examination of Spanish colonization in the Philippines, the focus will be placed on impacts on culture, and language, and the visible impressions that can still be seen today from this period. 2) *US occupation*; I look at the period following the Spanish American War of 1898 and the impact the US had on the Philippines, mostly concentrated on the free public English based education system that was instilled, and established migration routes. 3) *Current Philippine/US relations*; study of these relations will contextualize Philippine economic development and examine the immigration boom to Daly City, California to provide precedence to study this population.

### *Linguistic Anthropology Framework*

I employ a linguistic anthropology framework to study the relationship between language and society. This framework explores the concepts of translanguaging and transnationalism. After establishing the post-colonial precedence to study this population, I explore the concepts of language and identity as products of the post-colonial narrative. In order to proceed to the following sections, I have operationalized the following terms as follows:

- *1.5-Generation*: Immigrants that immigrated during childhood, before the age of eighteen (Danico 2004).
- *Translanguaging*: Cognition of one's language repertoire to navigate socio-spatial contexts to portray identity (Tyrrell 2015; Orellana 2016)
- *Translocal*: Diaspora; Community of socio-spatial interconnectedness that uses the host community to

manifest the origin country's cultural practices (Tyrrell 2015).

- *Transnationalism*: Identity formed in translocal field that spans and identifies between two nations (Erdal & Oeppen 2013; Ong 1999; Basch, Blanc & Schiller 1994 ).

By examining the impact society has on language use and its deployment, this study will use this linguistic anthropology framework to expand upon these concepts to assert the relationship between language use and identity. The collection of oral histories through in-depth sociolinguistic interviews will allow for the analysis of how individuals value and practice their performances of language.

## **Literature Review**

The purpose of this study is to assert the relationship between language use and identity formation. Through case study examination of 1.5-generation of Filipin(a/o) American immigrants living in the Philippine diaspora of Daly City, California, I intend to illustrate that a transnational identity is reflected through translanguaging practices. The precedence to assert that this relationship exists has been demonstrated through existing literature. Using Foucault's Social Theory, analysis of the existing scholarship through historic and linguistic anthropology frameworks asserts that a transnational language identity is formed, which is evidenced in this study by the current language management practices performed by the 1.5-generation Filipin(a/o) American immigrants in Daly City.

It is imperative to begin this study by first analyzing the historic connection between the Philippines and the US. In order to understand current cultural and linguistic connections between the Philippines and the US, we must also understand the history behind it all. I will explore the literature surrounding the history and legacies of the Spanish colonization, US occupation, and examine the impact immigration relations had on recent waves of immigration. Through ethnographically informed research of individuals who experienced migration to the US as young children, I aim to attain their reflective and reflexive perceptions of how they currently value their language usage decades after resettlement. Later expanded upon in the methods section, the use of qualitative oral histories draws on subjective nostalgia and lived experiences to give agency over to the participant narrators in telling their stories. The goal of employing a

post-colonial narrative framework is for the reader to understand the cultural and linguistic impacts colonization had on the Philippines.

After analysis of the historical connection between the Philippines and the US, I demonstrate how the impacts of colonization and the connection between the two countries affect how immigrants use language to reflect an evolving set of identities with which to balance and negotiate. The linguistic anthropology framework will examine the concepts of translanguaging and transnationalism. By looking at the example of the 1.5-generation living in a translocal community, I want to understand the perspectives of individuals who have experienced both worlds and how their connections are linguistically fostered and expressed dependant on the context. As the Philippines is still culturally and linguistically tied to the US, I want to demonstrate how these ties are therefore expressed through diasporic relations in an American context. By living in a translocal community, and linguistically bridging the spatial divide between the Philippines and the US, a transnational language identity is portrayed.

The rationale for using two frameworks, post-colonial narrative and linguistic anthropology, is to understand the factors that have fostered translanguage usage and identity formation within a certain population. By analyzing the literature that asserts both how identities have formed in migrant populations, and illustrates how individuals use language, I build upon the assertion that there is a relationship between language and identity.

### **What is the Relationship between the Philippines and the US?**

From Spain, the US and Japan, the Philippines has an extensive history of colonization. Evidenced by the education system, religious practices, and languages

spoken, the legacies of colonization in the Philippines are still apparent and prominent. In order to study current language management practices in a Philippine diaspora in the US, it is imperative to first examine the relationship between the two countries. By providing an historical context, this will provide for a more encompassing scope to understand how this relationship affects how individuals place value on their languages spoken and further balance this language identity in a translocal frame. The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the historical relationship between the Philippines and the US to understand the effects colonization had on modern language practices, migration streams, and national identity negotiation.

The Spanish Empire held control over the Philippines from the 16<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Ocampo (2016), while a number of Tagalog words and phrases were influenced by the Spanish language, the Spanish Empire asserted linguistic control over the colony by communicating with the vast majority of Filipinos in the local language. Rafael (2000) argues that this form of control by not providing a national lingua franca was intended to keep the colony linguistically divided to prevent resistance movements. Despite this, the legacy of Spanish colonization is still blatantly evident. Forever asserting this legacy, the Philippines takes its name after King Felipe II of Spain. Likewise, the implementation of Spanish surnames to the natives was asserted for tax collection purposes. While Spain has had lasting influences in practically all facets of life in the Philippines, perhaps the most prominent influence the empire had was on religion. Catholicism was brought to the archipelago by the empire, and today, the majority of the population is reported to practice the faith (*The World Factbook*).



After the Spanish American War in 1898, the US took control over the Philippines. Despite the failed Philippine revolution of the Philippine American War, the US claimed the Philippines as a territory. This occupation lasted for nearly fifty years. Ocampo (2016) reports that during the time of US occupation in the Philippines, migration streams for military men and day laborers opened up and brought the first Filipinos to the continental US. Rafael (2016) reports that under the benevolent assimilation of President McKinley, the US began Americanizing the Philippines through education as a form of pacification. Despite 70 years since US occupation in the archipelago, Dorothy B. Fujita-Rony (2010) argues the legacy of their presence is still evident, and this lingering presence continues to foster streams of Asian American communities.

Today, English is the second recognized official language of the Philippines alongside Filipino (also referred to as Tagalog), and English is still the language of instruction in schools across the nation. As both languages are recognized and spoken across the Philippines, it is common to see the languages blend into one another. Taglish, or a mixing of Tagalog and English, in code-switching discourse is seen being spoken by the general population and seen expressed in digital and print media. According to Rafael (2016), though English is the language of instruction in the Philippine school system, those who actually possess and practice a full command of the language are often of the upper class, which, therefore, creates linguistic inequality between classes. Dominance over the English language is seen to reflect a higher class. However, as Bautista (2004) and Rafael (2016) report, the use of Taglish and Taglish-slang are seen as discourse resistance against conforming to one language to reflect participation within society.

According to Batalova (2015) there have been three waves of immigration to the US from the Philippines the most recent being during the 1990s. While the original wave was from agricultural laborers and military men, Ocampo (2016) states that the second wave during the 1970s was to bring in medical professionals. The Philippines benefitted from this demand in high skill labor as after several decades of institutionalized public schooling in the Philippines allotted for an English-speaking and tertiary educated population. Most currently, the influx of Filipin(a/o) immigrants to the US is as a result of family reunification visas. Today, Daly City, California boasts the highest percentage of Filipinos per capita, making it the largest Philippine diaspora in the US (Vergara, p. 24). Situated just outside of San Francisco County, Vergara (2008) refers to Daly City as “an invisible ethnic enclave” (p. 36) with no real visible indications that this locality is primarily populated by Filipin(a/o) immigrants, apart from the demographics. Vergara (2008) reports that Daly City is well-known in the Philippines because of transnational communication with this proportion of Filipin(a/o) immigrants residing there. As a once affordable suburb of San Francisco and host of Seton Hospital (a large employer to Filipin(a/o) medical professionals), Daly City has established itself as a prime destination for Filipin(a/o) immigrants. With globalization, improved communication technologies, more affordable and quicker modes of transportation, the connection between the Philippines and the US has never been stronger. As life in this translocal community of Daly City is assisted by media- and techno-scapes (Appadurai, 2003), the facilitation of ethnic and cultural identity markers, such as language, is nurtured. Therefore, this study seeks to answer: how does this preservation and nurturing of immigrants’ heritage

language and their adaptation of English as a primary means of communication in this translocal space reflect a balancing, bridging, and negotiation of national identities?

### **Language Related to Identity**

#### *Translanguaging*

The study of language ideologies seeks to understand the value individuals place on language use in society. While Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity (1998) detail the various approaches to language ideologies, the colonial language ideology asserts “[colonial] linguists constructed rather than discovered distinctive language varieties” (p. 49-50). Understanding the colonial legacies left on the linguistic practices in the Philippines, Rafael (2016) examines the role of language during the time of Spanish colonization and US occupation used as a tool of pacification and suppression. Relating back to Rafael’s earlier point, Bernard Cohn (1996) agrees that language was and is used as a class marker to indicate those with a command of the colonial language as having better education and more political capital.

By comparing the macro expectations and micro realities of family language management policies in Spanish-Estonian families in Tallinn, Soler and Zabrodskaia (2017), seek to understand how language is portrayed between “the ideological and the practical” (p. 563). The authors build off of Elana Shohamy’s previous work by looking at the family as the agent that effects language control. According to Shohamy (2006), “language policy falls...between language ideology and practice. It is through a variety of overt and covert *mechanisms*, used mostly...by those in authority, that languages are being manipulated and controlled so as to affect, create and perpetuate ‘de facto’

language policies” (p. xv). Thus, language is controlled and manipulated to assert agendas and delineate linguistic membership.

Moreover, the edited book by Reyes and Lo (2009) offers linguistic representation for the ethnographic studies of the Asian Pacific Americans. The chapters navigate ethnic and language identities as languages come in contact through migration. By inserting the facet of race into the discourse of language identity, the edited book by Alim, Rickford, and Ball (2016) further complicates the study of how individuals situationally balance and linguistically perform their multiple identities dependant on context. Bucholtz (2009) and Benor (2016) build off of Kathryn Woolard’s concept of “bivalency.” While Benor (2016) uses the example of Black Jews’ deployment of their linguistic repertoires to perform their identities, Bucholtz (2009) argues that bivalent forms of expression can be used either strategically or habitually as a performance conduit. Leanne Hinton (2009) equates first language attrition to a loss of ability to express one’s identity. Furthering this concept of identity loss, Bucholtz (2016) looks at indexical bleaching as a form of deracialization. The Anglicization of names is used to strip individuals of identity markers and connections. Adrienne Lo (2016) then uses racial discourse to assert how expressions of Asian languages are positioned in White community discourses to label Asian Americans as “foreign,” “newcomers,” and “the other.” From these selected chapters, we can see how expressions of raciolinguistic identity can be stripped from individuals under the guise of assimilation, and as consequence intergenerational communication and heritage cultural connections are lost. Ocampo (2016) explains, “Despite their linguistic advantages, some Filipino immigrants still feel that they are discriminated against because of their accents, which peg them as ‘forever foreigners’ to

the people they encounter in their everyday lives” (p. 33). He argues that because of their racial minority status, first-generation Filipin(a/o) American immigrants struggle to assert their American identity. Therefore, the following sections will explore how members of the 1.5-generation develop linguistic strategies to assert their belonging.

Coining the term *transidioma*, Marco Jacquemet (2005) looks at a de/reterritorialization of language as consequence of globalization and developing media and technological practices. As modes of communication interconnect people across the globe, Jacquemet (2005) examines the evolution of language exchanges and hybridization in the supranational environment of the media- and techno-scapes.

Using the lens of globalization to examine language development in children, Tyrrell (2015), and Orellana (2016) study how children use language in translocal communities. The methods Orellana and Tyrrell include language analysis and ethnographies. Both methods do well in providing qualitative findings, but as the studies look at children’s language practices, they are limited in determining how these practices change and develop as the children mature into adulthood. They also fail to encompass historical legacies that influence the relationship with language and identity formation. While Orellana (2016) examines how children living in immigrant communities are able to develop their language repertoires, Tyrrell (2015) brings children’s language development into the scope of identity studies. Tyrrell builds off of Orellana’s previous work to demonstrate how children use translanguaging as a reflective and reflexive portrayal of multiple identities. This translocal environment allows children to become familiarized with their heritage language, as well the host country’s language(s). By living in a translocal space, children develop the intuition to determine with whom and

under what contexts to deploy certain language sets. This developed intuition allows children to develop their linguistic repertoires and possess the capability to mix language deployment in order to match the context of this translocal spatial reality.

### *Transnationalism*

While many studies on language identity look either look at first-generation adults or second-generation children, there is limited research on the effects migration during childhood have on linguistic deployment. The longitudinal studies of the 1.5-ers seek to understand how transnational rearing affects identity formulation. Danico (2004) looks at the 1.5-generation of Korean American immigrants in the Korean diaspora in Hawaii to understand the strategies this population employs to develop, negotiate and portray an identity reflective of their newfound sense of belonging.

The resocialization of children into a new culture is common among post-immigrant groups. These youths take part in a series of experiences that move them into adulthood. The process involves the intersection of how 1.5ers view themselves and how others see them. Thus, ethnic identity cannot be based solely on self-identification, but includes acknowledged recognition by other people in the communities. It requires a multidirectional relationship to construct a 1.5 identity... 1.5ers construct what it means to be Korean American for them and negotiate their ethnic options by switching from Korean to Korean American or local, depending on the situation, parties, and/or place. (p. 187)

What Danico (2004) fails to identify is the negotiation of national identities, as well.

While Portes and Rumbaut (2001) and Levitt (2006) do examine concepts of national identity, they do so only by looking at the second generation and examining the effects their parents' processes of incorporation or assimilation have on their children's national identity reckoning. As consequence, a gap in the literature exists in addressing how 1.5ers

negotiate multiple national affinities and the possible emergence of a transnational identity expressed through their personal language management policies.

Membership, inclusion, and formal recognition in a society drastically impact an individual's social mobility and processes of integration. As identity is to be understood as a situational, multi-layered construct, an individual's ability to be included and recognized in a social group is dependant on a variety of factors. Ong (1999) studies the concepts of transnationality, social capital accumulation, and flexible citizenship. She expresses the 'glocal' idea of globalization expressed on the local level, and argues that migrants are able to accumulate social capital to navigate the social contexts in which they find themselves to perform their situational identity. Therefore, a transnational identity can be seen as a hybrid identity equally related and informed on spatial contexts of the here and there. It is a unique identity that bridges nations through the socio-spatial realities of life in a translocal community. The facilitation of cultural and linguistic markers of both the here and the there create a unique socio-spatial identity developed by diasporic bridging.

By examining the concept of social remittances developed by Levitt (2001), we are able to understand how cultural mechanisms can be transmitted, and then reconstructed across national boundaries to reimagine cultural constructs, such as language. Appadurai (2003) studies global cultural flows through the imagined social field. These identities can be multiple, flexible and hybridized in a number of dimensions. By examining the media- and techno-scapes of global cultural flows, it is apparent in this evolving globalized world, identity can be fostered, developed, and bridged in transnational dimensions. Thus, globalization has allowed individuals to connect,

construct, foster, navigate, and reimagine their identities to advantage themselves in various social fields.

While the notion of diasporas has evolved alongside the phenomenon of globalization, to what effect diasporic membership has on the conceptualization of the nation-state is what is up for debate. Cohen (1997) states,

All diasporic communities settled outside their natal (or imagined natal) territories, acknowledge that “the old country” – a notion often buried deep in language, religion, custom, and folklore – always has some claim on their loyalty and emotions... but a member’s adherence to a diasporic community is demonstrated by an acceptance of an inescapable link with their past migration history and sense of co-ethnicity with others of a similar background... The old assumption that immigrants would identify with their adopted country in terms of political loyalty, culture and language can no longer be taken for granted. (p. 1-2)

Thus, the prevalent emergence of diasporas has turned constructs of national identity and conceptualization of integration mechanism on its head. Developing on the concept of transnationalism, Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc (1994) deterritorialize identity. Being transnational entails fluid affinity within social fields to bridge and enact subscriptions to their multi-layered identity. While Vertovec (2007, 2009) argues that ‘superdiversity’ encompasses these multi-layered social affinities seen as consequence of migration during this age of globalization, he subscribes to the notion that migration will ultimately affect the conceptualization of the culture of the nation-state.

Developing the idea of transnational identity formation, Erdal and Oeppen (2013) look at the similarities between the concepts of ‘integration’ and ‘transnationalism’. They explore the aspects of immigration that influence how an immigrant interacts within their host society. This is important to distinguish and recognize that through an actor-centered point of view of discourse analysis, different facets of accessibility to resources and



communal ties will determine the extent to which an immigrant will be interactive within a social field.

By examining the historical connection between the Philippines and the US, the colonial legacies and impact on cultural and national mechanisms becomes apparent. The 1.5-generation of Filipin(a/o) American immigrants residing in a diasporic community experience and are influenced by this colonial relationship that varies depending on spatial context. The environment in which they live circumscribes to the essence of transnationalism. Language management policies allot for communication across linguistic and territorial borders by deterritorializing identity constructs in negotiating the performance of these multi-layered identities. This language identity negotiation is a reflection of a transnational identity.

## Methods

This study gathered data from an ethnographically informed assortment of oral histories collected through in-depth sociolinguistic interviews. In these oral histories, the goal was to interview a minimum of five narrators to gain their perspectives on how migration has affected how they view themselves and how they use language to express their developed transnational identity post-immigration. The questions in this interview were biographical in nature. While the interview guide was there to direct conversation, the narrators were encouraged to do more of the leading in their interviews. The interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes to an hour. Through transcribing and open coding the narrators' interviews, I hope to establish the relationship between language and identity and understand the process of change endured through migration. The oral histories collected through this method I hope will demonstrate how the social capital accumulation of translanguaging skills has helped the narrator traverse his/her new surroundings and navigate a new identity by establishing membership in a community that is both old and new.

While studies on the relationship between language and identity have been established, what has yet to be explored is the intergenerational linguistic dynamic in regards to transnationalism. For this reason, it is imperative to examine this gap in the literature to better understand how the 1.5-generation navigates and express a transnational identity through reflective and reflexive cross cultural linguistic practices. Therefore, this research seeks to address how translanguaging reflects a transnational identity formation. In this section, I will review of my research design and provide explanation on how data for this study were collected and analyzed.

As this study will be used to analyze the relationship between language and identity, the analysis of biographical, demographic, and linguistic value systems data is required to understand the correlation between the ideological and the practical. In order to do so, this research design is influenced by the works of Joanna Thornborrow and Jennifer Coates, who examine the importance of sociolinguistic analysis of oral histories; Rocio Davis, who uses ethnic life writing to study how nostalgia affects one's values and practices; and Naomi Tyrrell, and Josep Soler and Anastassia Zabrodskaia, who use the family as the unit of analysis in examining language management policy. Therefore, the methods employed in this study draw from these contributors' various research methodologies to understand how adults of the 1.5-generation reflect on and utilize their own language values and practices. Due to time constraint of this study, data is drawn from ethnographically informed, oral histories. Based on Grounded Theory, in-depth sociolinguistic interviews were used as a means to understand the bridge on which individuals navigate language ideology and practice. These interviews were open-coded for categorization of emerging themes.

In the following sections the setting, participants, intervention and materials, measurement instruments, and procedure and data analysis used in the design of this research will be elaborated upon.

### *Setting*

This research took place from June to October 2017. The research was conducted in the Northern-most towns of San Mateo County, California, surrounding Daly City. This research drew input from participants from Daly City, Pacifica, Colma, Brisbane, South San Francisco, and San Bruno. These towns were selected because of their relative

proximity to Daly City. Daly City is located right outside of San Francisco, California. Daly City marks the beginning of San Mateo County and borders the Outer Sunset District of San Francisco County. Daly City is recorded as being the largest Philippine diaspora in the US. The 2010 US Census records show the demographics of Daly City as 33.3% Filipino. This percentage of Filipinos is higher in Daly City than anywhere else in the US. per capita. Therefore, this research sought input from participants who could speak on the cultural and linguistic fostering, or lack thereof, within the Daly City Filipin(a/o) community.

The sampling plan for this study drew from both Convenience and Purposive Sampling methods. Researcher positionality will be described in further detail in a later section. However, it must be made clear now that I am a non-native California resident, nor a Filipino-speaker. This positionality necessitated that I rely on Snowball Sampling from pre-established contacts to make connections with research participants. For the purpose of this study, participants were required to be of the 1.5-generation of Filipin(a/o) American immigrants, and were affiliated in any point of their lives to the surrounding Daly City community.

### *Participants*

As described above, in order to participate in this study, individuals had to describe themselves as members of the 1.5-generation. The 1.5-generation indicates migration before adulthood. Experiences of the 1.5-ers are unique as they can speak to memories of being reared in home and host country contexts. Detailed above in the section on setting, research participants must have been affiliated with the Daly City area in at least one point in time. This affiliation includes residing, working, or schooling

within the area. Affiliation with the Philippine diaspora is crucial in understanding how communal ties foster transnational language identity formation.

The use of oral histories employs the agency of participants to recount their subjective, personal, and lived experiences. To further participants' agency in recounting their experiences and legitimizing their language ideologies and practices, I will refer to participants as narrators. These narrators voluntarily provided their life histories to recount their experiences in navigating the ideological and practical of language management policies to evolve their transnational identity to date. Note must also be made that while the official language of the Philippines is Filipino, which is based on the Tagalog dialect, the Filipin(a/o) language is commonly and interchangeably referred to as Tagalog. For this thesis I will refer to the official language as Tagalog as this is how the narrators all referred to as the national language of the Philippines.

I interviewed five narrators for this study. Although the study was small, I met the research objective to collect the subjective experiences of members of the 1.5-generation to garner a preliminary understanding of the language ideologies and individual language management policies deployed in Daly City. Three males and two females were interviewed. Ages ranged from 20s - 40s. Four out of five immigrated during the late 1990s and early 2000s, and one immigrated during the late 1970s. All participants interviewed migrated with their families, and had been petitioned under the family reunification visa. Depending on age of emigration, narrators' fluency in Tagalog varied. Three of the five narrators were fluent in regional languages, as well. One narrator also reported fluency in Japanese. All narrators interviewed reported a competent grasp of the English language before immigration to the US. All narrators reported living, working,

and going to school in the Daly City metropolitan area. After settlement in the Daly City area, only one reported moving out of the area in adulthood. One narrator reported living outside of the Philippines before immigration to the US. All narrators were above the age of five before immigrating to the US, and had schooling experience in the Philippines.

Table 1 Demographics of Participant Narrators					
Sex	Age of Emigration	Decade of Immigration	Current Age	Languages Spoken	Self-Reported Proficiency in Tagalog
Male	7	1970s	40-45	2	Fluent
Female	5	2000s	20-25	2	Moderate
Female	14	2000s	30-35	4	Fluent
Male	8	1990s	30-35	2	Fluent
Male	15	2000s	30-35	3	Fluent

### *Intervention and Materials*

The original intention of this research design was to be two-fold. The first step was to be an online questionnaire and the second step was to be the in-depth sociolinguistic interview. The intention of the online questionnaire was to circulate the study around Filipin(a/o) organizations around the Peninsula, and then make contacts to further interview for step two. The content of the online questionnaire was informed by three Filipino, Daly City residents, and approved for cultural sensitivity. The flyer for the online questionnaire began circulating in June. By the end of July, the online questionnaire had received no responses. In late July, I began approaching people in city

hubs, such as the Serramonte shopping mall, Asian supermarkets, or BART stations to spread flyers and information about the study. I would only approach people who were overheard speaking Tagalog. Problem Blindness caused the online questionnaire to ultimately fail. On one occasion at the end of July, I approached a father and son duo on the BART between Daly City and Colma who I overheard speaking in Tagalog. I introduced myself and the study, and asked the father-son duo if they would be interested in hearing more and perhaps participating in the online questionnaire. The son revealed himself to be a member of the 1.5-generation and a resident of Colma, and would have been an appropriate candidate to participate in the study. When the flyer was distributed to the duo, the father was insulted by the name of the survey engine, [www.SurveyMonkey.com](http://www.SurveyMonkey.com). He found the survey website to be derogatory. Though the son was familiar with the website and did not find it derogatory, I immediately took down the online questionnaire to avoid unintended insult. While the online questionnaire had been informed on and approved by community members, familiarity and generational disparities caused this problem blindness. Afterwards, I proceeded with only step two, the in-depth sociolinguistic interview based on snowball sampling.

### *Measurement Instruments*

For the purpose of obtaining narrators' oral histories, I developed an interview guide. The interview guide consisted of 52 questions. The questions began by seeking basic biographical and demographical information about the narrator and their family histories. As the interview proceeded, questions became more complex and asked questions relating to transitioning to life in the US, language ideologies, and identity development.

To provide insight on the typical flow of conversations elicited during the interview process, two excerpts from Narrator 1, “RC,” are provided below. The interview was comprised of two components. The first component was to establish the narrators’ varied demographics and backgrounds. Then, based on their responses, the second component acted to elude the narrators’ more in-depth perspectives and experiences. The following excerpts serve emblematic of how the interviews facilitated conversation. It is important to demonstrate how in-depth sociolinguistic interviews were conducted to establish the foundation from which to build the narrators’ oral histories.

**Excerpt 1**

**Narrator 1 confirms exposure to English in the Philippines**

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- Interviewer:** Okay, okay, so what language did you speak at home?  
**RC:** Tagalog.  
**Interviewer:** And at school?  
**RC:** When? Oh, Ta [pause] Tagalog in the Philippines.  
**Interviewer:** Did you have any English education before you moved here? Any exposure to English on media or anything like that?  
**RC:** Yeah, uh yeah, a lot. You know, a lot of our signs and our TV, uh, shows were mostly English.  
**Interviewer:** Hmm, okay. And were you, could you communicate in English [at this time]?  
**RC:** Yeah, yes. Basic. Yeah, I think most Filipinos can communicate basic, “hi” “hello” “how are you?” They know that’s pretty-just conversational.



## Excerpt 2

### Narrator 1 recounts transition to using English in school in the US

**Interviewer:** Okay, um, can you describe your transition to life in the US? Um, most specifically focusing on how was it switching um your primary language from Tagalog to English now being your primary language.

**RC:** In the first, in the actual first, yeah. And I knew you'd touch on this because it's language, right? I did, yeah, when you, when I first came here. The first, yeah... about two months. It was a, there was a barrier because kids were using slang. And that's nothing, you know, I hadn't heard that shit in the Philippines. All I know is, "Hello, bye."; "Good morning." But they were using slang! I remember clearly the first word in, uh, during lunch when this kid said, "scoot over." What the fuck is he saying? What the hell is "scoot?" [mocking] said, "scoot over" I was like what the hell is "scoot over?" I don't know. I had no clue, you know! You know and it got me into trouble. Of course they would tease you and there was bullying at the time. But that didn't last long. [mumbles] I beat their asses...

**Interviewer:** [laughs] Good for you!

**RC:** Thank you.

Examination of these two transcript excerpts demonstrates how I utilized Grounded Theory to direct the conversation. While the interview guide functioned to channel the conversation, these excerpts display how the separate components of the interview guide functioned. Excerpt 1 was provided as an example question and response to establish if, and to what degree Narrator 1 had been exposed to the English language while living in the Philippines as a child. Once established, Excerpt 2 serves as an example for how more personal, in-depth experiences related to English exposure in the US. These brief

transcripts provide validity and reliability by allotting personal, subjective reflection on lived experiences.

### *Procedure and Data Analysis*

Scrapping step one, as detailed earlier, I began yielding results once I concentrated on step two of the original research design. With the annulment of step one, the research design resulted in a concentration on ethnographically informed, oral histories collected through in-depth sociolinguistic interviews. Informed by the works of Coates and Thornborrow, Davis, Tyrrell, and Soler and Zabrodskaia, the research designed this study through Grounded Theory based on in-depth sociolinguistic interviews to investigate family language management policies and nostalgia based language policies. While both works, which informed this study, use children and families as their units of analysis, this study uses the same linguistic anthropological practices to understand how the family fostered heritage language whilst positioned in the social context. The effect of these family language management policies is then analyzed as to how the now adult 1.5ers use their linguistic repertoires to navigate and bridge transnational divides. In order to do so, I sought to collect oral histories from viable narrators to analyze the value individuals place on their language identity. These oral histories were collected through in-depth sociolinguistic interviews and then open coded for emerging themes.

The collection of oral histories relied on Snowball Sampling from community contacts to help liaise between the researcher and viable study candidates. As briefly mentioned earlier, I am a non-native to California and a non-speaker of Tagalog. I am fluent in Spanish and Indonesian, which share some common words and phrases in the

Tagalog language. I currently reside in a Filipin(a/o) household in Pacifica, California, and have access to the towns pertinent to this study. Friends of mine put me in contact with narrators, who then subsequently put me in contact with other individuals interested in participating in the study. The oral histories were collected between August to October 2017. All interviews were voluntary and had written and/or verbal consent. Ethical considerations were taken into account for these interviews. The University of San Francisco Institutional Review Board approved the Interview Protocol prior to conducting this study. Narrators were not harmed by participation in this research and received no direct compensation. Interviews transpired in homes, and coffee shops around the research area. For interviews transpiring in coffee shops, I offered to buy the narrator coffee as gratitude for participation. One interview took place at a local university campus, which borders Daly City to the North in San Francisco County. Interviews were conducted during the afternoons, or evening hours. All interviews were conducted in English, however, some rough translation was provided by the narrators when concepts or terms could only be expressed in Tagalog or regional languages. Interviews were recorded on an audio recorder and later transcribed. Field notes were taken during the interview process, and then later elaborated after the interview concluded. Grounded Theory helped inform the direction of the in-depth sociolinguistic interviews to produce varying questions in each interview. The data collected from these oral histories were analyzed using open coding. The themes that emerged will be analyzed in greater detail in the results portion of this thesis. All narrators asked to see the result of this study once completed, so provision of results will be provided upon completion.

As was described above all interviews were transcribed. The transcriptions were then analyzed using Grounded Theory and Open Coding to allow for the emergence of themes to be later explored. This analysis will explore the 1.5ers relationship between language use and identity. Discussion of the 1.5ers adaptive strategies, and reflective and reflexive language practices will be deployed to analyze how they linguistically navigate and bridge their national identities.

Due to the time constraints, I was not able to conduct participant observation with the narrators to corroborate their ideological to actual language practices. If there were more time to conduct this study, I would recommend enriching the study with participant observation. All this study is able to ascertain from collection of narrators' oral histories, is subjective interpretation of language ideologies and language management policies to inform their language identities. Allowance for participant observation would collect data on the practical deployment of these ideologies and policies.

## **Narrator Profiles**

This section examines the life histories of the 1.5-generation Filipin(a/o) American immigrants within the Filipin(a/o) diaspora of Daly City. Applying a nostalgia approach to narrators' life histories, this section seeks to understand the subjectivity of an individual's language policy in relating their language ideology to their lived experiences of migration. By following the narrators' life histories pre and post immigration to the US, this section aims to contextualize the narrators' positionalities to better understand both how the individual relates, values and deploys language, as well as how the individual's language use has reflectively and reflexively adapted to a postcolonial territory.

### **Narrator 1 "RC"**

I first met RC at a party almost two years ago. I was new in town and was introduced to RC through a mutual acquaintance. Since our first meeting, I have been welcomed into his home and have been introduced to his friends and family. Through getting to know RC over the past two years, I have been privileged to listen to the abundant anecdotes involving his life experiences both from his own account and from those in his inner circle. As a playfully bawdy character who easily lends his story to an audience, RC felt like a natural choice to include in this study.

RC was born in the Bicol Region of the Philippines in 1972. His mother was a stay at home and his father was a business owner. The youngest of five children, RC fondly remembers his early years in the Philippines with his family. Despite his young age when he moved to the US at the age of 7, he recalls vivid memories of celebrating holidays and playing in the streets with his friends in the Philippines. Though he states the language his family primarily used at home was Tagalog, he does remember his other

family members speaking English as well. By the time he moved to the US, RC had completed first grade. According to the Philippines Department of Education, at this grade level in the Philippines, young students have a basic exposure to the English language in the classroom. As the second official language of the Philippines, media and signage reinforce Filipinos' exposure to the English language across the nation (Ocampo, 2016.)

*Interviewer:* Did you have any English education before you moved here? Any exposure to English on media or anything like that?

*RC:* Yeah, uh yeah, a lot. You know, a lot of our signs and our TV, uh, shows were mostly English.

*Interviewer:* Hmm, okay. And were you, could you communicate in English [at this time]?

*RC:* Yeah, yes. Basic. Yeah, I think most Filipinos can communicate basic, "hi" "hello" "how are you?" They know that's pretty-just conversational.

In this transcription excerpt, RC recalls his exposure to and command of the English language prior to migration. While he reflects on "most Filipinos" English communication skills he reinforces that his own command of English at an early age was at the level to be expected of a seven year old Filipin(a/o) student. It is important to recognize RC's English skill level prior to migration to understand how language influenced the ease of his transition to his new life in the US.

At the age of seven, RC moved to Daly City, California along with his parents and three of his four siblings in 1979. His mother's parents along with her eight siblings had all moved to the US in the late 1960s. Her family had been petitioned to come to the US by her grandfather who was a lieutenant in the US Air Force during World War II and gained US citizenship as a result. Though she was too old to qualify for her grandparent's

petition, once her parents arrived in the US they had petitioned for RC's mother and her family as well. During the 1980s California witnessed an influx of migration from the Philippines due to thawed immigration relations between the two countries and an increase in family reunification visas (Ocampo, 2016).

RC's mother's family was already settled in Daly City when RC came in 1979. With only a basic command of the English language, RC had to repeat first grade once he arrived to Daly City. He mentioned that he was bullied because of his language when he first began school in Daly City. To prevent further bullying, he said in the first few months of arriving, he began reinforcing English as his primary language at school as well as at home with his family.

I think that I subconsciously just switched off Tagalog so that I could fit in quicker with the kids. [sic] Yup, with the fear of being continuously ridiculed I had to hurry it the hell up and understand things, which I did and then luckily I quickly befriended some neighbors at the time who were white, so I quickly assimilated to an extent.

During this time, the 1970s census reports 86.7% of Daly City's residents as white. Because RC moved into a community with limited exposure to other Filipin(a/o) immigrants or Filipin(a/o) Americans, as a young newcomer, he noted that he felt compelled to follow the linguistic and cultural norms of his new white counterparts. However, in the years that soon followed, Daly City witnessed a major demographic change to play host to a predominantly Filipin(a/o) community. In fact, by the time RC finished his secondary schooling in 1992, the Filipin(a/o) demographics of Daly City had increased from 17.6% in the 1980s to 27% in the 1990s, according to the US census.

Today, after living in the US for almost four decades, RC feels rooted in the Filipin(a/o) community of Daly City. As the owner of a construction company based in South San Francisco, RC emphasizes that his life is here.

*Interviewer:* Do you feel like you can relate and express yourself and be understood by the all cultures in the Daly City area?

*RC:* Mhm. I guess I think that's the culture within this area. Uh, it's just that we know that we live in kind of two worlds. And it happens often with the guys that I grew up with that were also second generation that immigrated. I'm on the phone with a lot of them and it's mostly for business now, but they kind of have that two lives thing too. And, but, they're- it's funny. We think American, we act American, and do business as Americans, but we still kind of you know, we joke about being Filipino – but with a Filipino twist.

In this excerpt, he asserts his connection with other Filipin(a/o) American immigrants and recognizes that this shared migration experience makes up the culture of the Filipin(a/o) American community in Daly City. Though he says he makes no conscious effort to stay connected to the Philippines, RC maintains that his social circle keeps him connected to the Philippines. In explaining how migration has affected his identity, RC expressed the importance of knowing Tagalog for future generations. While he says he now primarily thinks and feels most comfortable communicating in English, he still uses his native tongue when speaking to other Filipin(a/o) immigrants despite worries of his American accent. For RC, having full command of the English language is intricately tied to his American identity. However, by living in a Filipin(a/o) immigrant community in the US, he recognizes that he uses Tagalog to connect with other Filipin(a/o) Americans and to better understand and relate to the immigrant culture of Daly City.



## **Narrator 2 “BC”**

It was at the same party that I met RC when I first met BC. Though she currently resides in Southern California for college, as the niece of RC, I am well acquainted with the rest of her family in the Bay Area. Home from college this past summer I finally had the opportunity to meet with BC and put a face to the name I had so often heard mentioned. Meeting with BC provided the opportunity to better understand the personal and varied perspectives of one family’s migration story.

BC was born in 1997 in Marikina, Philippines. She is the daughter of RC’s eldest brother. Although her father had immigrated to the US with RC in the late 1970s, he and his wife moved back to Marikina with their eldest daughter in the early 1990s for a business opportunity. While the family only stayed in the Philippines for less than a decade, it was during their time there that BC was born and spent her earliest years.

BC immigrated to Daly City with her family at the age of five. Her memories of the Philippines are limited because of her young age but she does remember aspects of her life at home there. While she states that both parents and her older sister are fluent in Tagalog, she remembers only speaking English with her family in the Philippines.

*BC:* [My sister] knows Tagalog well - can speak it. I wish I could. I have a theory on why that is.

*Interviewer:* What’s your theory?

*BC:* Okay, so um she grew up here [Daly City]. Like she was born here and grew up here and my parents wanted to make sure she knew Tagalog so she spoke - they spoke to her in Tagalog while they were living here. So, she picked it up from them and she picked up English from school. But, since I grew up in the Philippines, and the Philippines is such an English speaking country too, my parents thought, “oh, let’s speak to her at home in English so she picks up English,” thinking that I would pick up Tagalog from school, but it just didn’t happen. So, that’s my theory.

Though BC states that she can understand Tagalog when spoken to her, she recalls always struggling with speaking in Tagalog. She remembers in the Philippines, “Kids would like try to speak to me in Tagalog and I would try to speak to them in Tagalog but I didn’t know any Tagalog, so I would like gibberish in a way. They’d be like, ‘what are you talking about?’ [laughs mockingly] ‘like yeah, I speak Tagalog!’” Because English is her first language, BC claims she had no problem communicating with her teachers or classmates when she began kindergarten in the US.

BC’s family returned to Daly City in 2002. At this time, BC already had her great grandparents, grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins settled in Daly City, so she had a well-established social network to welcome her. At the age of five, BC was enrolled in kindergarten upon arriving.

*Interviewer:* From what you can remember, can you describe your transition to life in the US?

*BC:* Man, I really don’t remember, like I don’t even remember getting on a plane and being here all of a sudden. I guess I think it was just so easy for me because I got here right at kindergarten, so when everyone was new to the whole entire school. So, I think that’s why it was so easy for me. It was literally just going to kindergarten like anyone else.

Of all the narrators interviewed for this study, BC was both the youngest and the only one to cite English as her first language. It is important to note here how age and language factor in to how BC reports the ease in which she was able to transition into her new life in Daly City.

In the two decades that transpired between RC and BC’s immigration to the US, Daly City of the 2000s had affirmed itself as a predominantly Filipin(a/o) community. The US Census reports from the 1980s to the 2000s, the Filipin(a/o) population had increased from 17.6% to 31.58% making it the largest ethnic population of Daly City.

Likewise, the 2000s US Census notes 52.4% of Daly City's population as foreign born. By understanding the demographic change in the Daly City community in this relatively short period of time, it is important to recognize that the community in which BC was raised was different from that of RC's experience. BC on several instances during her interview referred to her relationships and connection with her classmates.

*Interviewer:* Do you feel like you can relate to other Filipinos, other Americans, other Filipino Americans in the Daly City area?  
*BC:* Yeah, for sure. It's just like how when I was younger and I connected with my classmates in kindergarten. It's just an automatic, okay; we understand how our families work and stuff like that. [sic] like I can go to another Filipino house and I'll just automatically know what the drill is like what you can and can't do. Like what is polite and what's respectful and what's not.

In this excerpt, she states that through living in a Filipin(a/o) American community, she was able to foster her cross-cultural understanding of respect. This can also be seen as an example of transnational identity formation that by being raised in a translocal community, she and her counterparts were able to connect through their mutual understanding of the cultural family dynamics in other Daly City Filipin(a/o) households.

### **Narrator 3 "YK"**

YK and I were introduced through a mutual acquaintance. In a very serendipitous chain of events, YK caught up with an old friend who was visiting from Japan for drinks. At this small get together, she met an acquaintance of mine who happened to be familiar with my research. In this casual encounter, she revealed herself to be a 1.5-generation Japanese Filipina American living and working within the general Daly City vicinity. Upon hearing this perfect match for research candidacy, our mutual acquaintance put us in contact and we soon thereafter made a date to interview over coffee.

YK was born in Manila, Philippines in 1987. As the daughter of a Japanese businessman and a Filipina banker, YK was raised in a multilingual household. She claims her parents were both fluent in Visaya, Tagalog, Japanese and English, and all four languages were spoken at home. She went to a private Catholic school in Manila until the fourth grade at which time her family all moved to Japan for her father's business. While she generally looks back fondly at her childhood in the Philippines, YK mentioned she suffered from bullying during her time at primary school.

When YK relocated to Japan with her parents and older brother, the family settled in a Filipin(a/o) community located by Tokyo's Narita International Airport. Though she says it was a struggle at first to adapt to schooling in Japanese, she felt it easy to adapt to the Japanese culture.

*Interviewer:* So in Japan, how was school there? Was it all instruction in Japanese?

*YK:* No English. Japanese only. I was just - good Lord, I survived. [sic] It's actually completely different, but, um, culture wise both countries I feel that it is – they're both conservative, so [sic] language was definitely difficult. Culture wise, no.

*Interviewer:* So, it was easier to navigate the culture? But, the biggest difficulty you'd say was still the language?

*YK:* Yeah, definitely the language. Well language is always hard. But, um, cuz the level of respect that Filipinos have and Japanese have towards others is very similar. [sic] They're very organized.

Though she struggled with the Japanese language at first, she says she was happy and comfortable with her life in Japan, and saw her future living there.

However, after four years living in Japan, at the age of fourteen, YK's father tragically passed. Relocating to be with her mother's side of the family, YK moved to Daly City in 2001 with her brother and mother. While it is never easy transitioning to life

after the loss of a loved one, this time for YK was made more difficult by the move to a new country. In emphasizing her newfound sense of independence, she recalls that it was a struggle initially transitioning to her new life, but that struggle helped make her who she is today.

*Interviewer:* Where do you think you get that independence from?

*YK:* Well, cuz after my dad passed away, like my mom was a single mom and my brother was doing his own thing. I kind of had to figure things out on my own. [sic] I was pretty depressed for a while. Yeah, after my dad passed away and the bullying at school, I just told myself, “you know what, I’m going to do something!” And I don’t know what happened, I just got my stuff together. I got everything together and then I made good friends.

It is important to acknowledge the trauma associated with YK’s move in understanding the conditions that made transitioning to life in Daly City initially more trialing. Though she cannot pinpoint what exactly helped pull her out of her depressive state, she does make mention of the friends she made here. In speaking about her friends today, she estimates that between 60-70% of her friends are Filipin(a/o) and notes that this is due to the Filipin(a/o) community in which she has found herself.

*Interviewer:* When you moved here, did your language that you speak at home change?

*YK:* Um, yeah. It’s more Tagalog and English. Cuz there’s so many Filipinos here. I feel like I’m in the Philippines!

*Interviewer:* Like you’re back? And then with school and work did you completely switch to English or were you able to find in school here that you could also use Tagalog?

*YK:* English. Well English and Tagalog. Because the school I went to, well, high school- so, I went to high school that’s actually in San Francisco. There’s so many Filipino. It’s all [Filipino].

*Interviewer:* So you could informally use Tagalog over there?

*YK:* Yes, like I would say with my friends I barely used English.

*Interviewer:* Really?

*YK:* Tagalog only. And, the only time I would ever use English is when the professor – when the teacher is not Filipino.

In describing her move to the US, YK connects the Filipin(a/o) community of San Francisco to the change in how she used language. In recognizing the connection she establishes between language and community, YK emphasizes how her Filipin(a/o) community fosters her relationship with the Philippines and with others through language use. With this sense of community surrounded by friends and family, YK stresses that she uses language as a way to connect with her multiple, parallel identities.

#### **Narrator 4 “RDS”**

Interested in the study and willing to help in my search for research participants, YK kindly put me in contact with RDS. As a current graduate student, RDS was familiar with the qualitative research process and quickly made time to meet with me for an interview. We had planned to meet at the library of his university on October 15. However, because of the intensity of the Northern California Wildfires, the college campus was closed due to the poor air quality. Upon arriving and quickly realizing all campus buildings were closed off to us, RDS was very amiable and made do with having the interview take place outside.

RDS was born in Subic Bay, Philippines in 1988. In the Philippines, his parents were shop owners who operated a convenience store. RDS’s memories of the Philippines are happy ones. Though he was young when he came to the US, he recounts blissful memories of having no responsibilities, playing with friends, and going to school. From an early age RDS recognized a difference between using English and Tagalog.

*Interviewer:* So at home, what language did you speak [in the Philippines]?

*RDS:* Um, to my parents, Tagalog. They don't really speak much English, especially my Dad. I had to kind of keep using Tagalog [with my family] until, well, even now.

*Interviewer:* So at school do you remember what language was spoken at school [in the Philippines]?

*RDS:* At school, well when I came here I didn't really know much English. I was put into an ESL class right away. Um, I never really – I don't recall using Tagalog at school.

In this transcript excerpt, RDS bridges past memories of Tagalog and English use with contextual deployment. Though he was only eight years old when he came to the US, he remembers using English at school and Tagalog at home with his family. His answers to the interviewer's questions bridge the past and present by saying he continued this pattern of using Tagalog at home and English at school once he migrated to the US as well.

At the age of four his mother's family, who were already settled in California, petitioned her to the US. At that time, a majority of her family were already settled across California, but primarily concentrated in the Bay Area. According to RDS, it took four more years for his petition to be processed along with his older brother's and father's. However, because two of his siblings were over the age of eighteen, they were unfortunately passed the age limit for the petition to come to the US with the rest of his family.

When RDS moved to Daly City in 1996 he was in the third grade and was placed into ESL (English as a Second Language) classes.

*Interviewer:* Can you describe your transition to life in the US? Um, you said you took ESL classes when you first got here.

*RDS:* Yeah, I took ESL classes for the first two years. Um, it was definitely very hard to adjust to the culture, especially when I was younger because I didn't know what the kids were saying and they would always make fun of me. Um, and I was a little sad actually. I missed the Philippines. I missed

all my friends for like the first, I would say first three or four years. I think after that it got a lot easier and I started making more friends. I started adjusting more.

*Interviewer:* Mhm. So after three or four years, was it easier to adjust because your language skills were improved?

RDS: Yeah, I think that's one factor of it, and I made more friends. I had people I could talk to and connect with.

In this transcription excerpt, RDS explains the difficulty he had at first transitioning to his new life in the US. Being placed into ESL classes, RDS describes the difficulty he experienced at school with a limited grasp of the English language. Like RC and YK, RDS experienced bullying at school due to his language skills. It is important to recognize how major life changes, like migration, affect young children. RDS clarifies that it took three to four years for him to feel comfortable and adjusted in his new life. With time and improved language skills, he explains he was better able to connect with his classmates to help him adjust to the culture.

After more than two decades living in Daly City, RDS states that his English skills are now stronger than his Tagalog skills, citing the reason being that he only uses his native tongue to speak to his family and rarely uses it outside of the house. When asked if living in America has changed how he sees himself, RDS replied, "I think it has. I think I see myself more American rather than Filipino. Well, I know I'm Filipino, but I relate more to our culture here and society here than probably in the Philippines." In this quote, RDS alludes to his cultural shift, where he differentiates his home life from his work life, correlating his career aspirations to his American identity. Distinguishing between his cultural, ethnic and national identities, he does not deny his Filipino identity, but rather recognizes that he possesses multiple, parallel identities.



## **Narrator 5 “DR”**

DR was introduced to me by YK, as well. After contacting him to inquire if he would be interested in participating in this study, DR was amenable and promptly made time in his schedule to lend his migration story for this research. He happened to be in the neighborhood, so we planned to meet at a cafe near to the University of San Francisco. We met before the lunch hour rush so the cafe permitted a perfectly hushed atmosphere for our interview. Amid sips of coffee, DR granted me the time to listen to his life story.

DR was born in Davao City in 1987. In the Philippines his mother was an accountant and entrepreneur and his father worked in real estate. DR spent the most time out of the five narrators in the Philippines. Already enrolled in secondary school in the Philippines, DR had years of English schooling and exposure to the English language before moving to Daly City. In Davao City the local language is Visaya, so thinking back on his language use, DR says he used Visaya at home with his family and Visaya, Tagalog and English at school.

His mother had family already settled across the West Coast and they petitioned for his family to come to the US. In 2002 at the age of fifteen he moved to Daly City with his mother and three of his siblings, leaving his father and two older siblings back in the Philippines. Having now lived in the US for more than half his life, he still thinks back on his childhood in the Philippines fondly. Remarking on a recent vacation to Hawaii, DR said, “I was just kind of reliving swimming on a beach cuz back home I would swim [at] the beach a lot. [sic] so that was nice. And, the weather, the hot weather, the humidity, it brings me back home. Yeah, and the simple lifestyle too. I lived in the city when I was young, but it was still simple.” Looking back on his past, DR makes several mentions of

simpler times, but what is important to note is his continued reference to the Philippines as home.

Much like the experience of RC, DR states that he had difficulty with slang when he first moved to the US.

*Interviewer:* So, would you say English is the language you feel most comfortable expressing yourself in?

*DR:* Ever since when I got here in high school I would speak English, yeah, all the time. Even with my friends who came from the Philippines, who immigrated as well, I'd just speak English. And that way I was like practicing and it wasn't English, it was like slang English, too [laughs]. I was talking to my friends who are like me, immigrants, and they kind of frowned upon that.

*Interviewer:* Using Tagalog?

*DR:* Yea, cuz I wouldn't speak Tagalog to them straight. But I felt comfortable cuz, you know, I was practicing it. And I was trying not to show my accent. I was trying to hide my accent, so I felt comfortable that way.

*Interviewer:* Was it difficult at all when you came here and had to switch to using English all the time and then it was slang?

*DR:* That slang I did not understand what that was. It was my cousin who kind of just showed me "oh, this is how you talk around here, in these parts" I was like, "okay."

DR and his immediate family lived with his extended family in Daly City throughout his high school years. Throughout our interview, DR referred to his cousin's guidance as pivotal in helping him navigate life as a high schooler in a new country. Though he said he was comfortable using English upon arriving to the US, he expressed difficulty adjusting to Bay Area vernacular English. Stating that most of his friends here are of Filipin(a/o) descent, both immigrant and native born, he says he was encouraged by his friends in high school to use English. While recounting his first years in the US, much of what DR expresses refers to the typical high school experience of find one's self, while trying to fit in and not draw too much attention. However, he expresses this experience

was compounded by his immigration. In an attempt to ingratiate himself into his new school community, DR says he tried hard to lose his accent.

While his language use may have changed, when asked if he still feels as connected to the Philippines and his Filipino identity as when he was a child, he replied, “Yeah, I would think so. I don’t think it will ever go away that I’m Filipino. Like I am always grateful in my situation today cuz back home I never had this, never had that, never experienced this over there. I’m like my life here is better than back home.”

Throughout the interview, DR often compares his life in the Philippines to his life in the US. Emphasizing the struggle it has been to be an immigrant in this country, he frequently justifies that to him this struggle has been worth it.

## Discussion

The narratives described in the previous section recount the varied life histories of five people as they reflect and contemplate on their individual immigrant experiences, establishing new lives in Daly City. This section seeks to connect the individual narratives to the broader sociolinguistic practices and processes to subjectively inform identity formation in a postcolonial setting. Through open coding of the narrative interviews, passages were thematically analyzed and indexed into the following subsections:

### **Theme 1: Language Ideology and Language Policy**

By looking at the narrators' profiles, it is clear to see how each narrator grapples with navigating linguistic boundaries both on the international level, as well as the personal level. Through understanding the backgrounds of each narrator, we can begin to identify how individuals develop and implement their own language management policy. This subsection, analyzes sample passages that reflect the narrators' language adaptation post immigration to Daly City.

Throughout the interview YK made frequent mention of how she values language. As Visaya is her mother's native tongue, YK used Visaya growing up in the Philippines whenever her family visited the extended family in Mindanao, where Visaya is the local language. In relating to what languages were spoken at home in the Philippines, though she expressed Visaya, Tagalog, Japanese and English were all spoken at home growing up in the Philippines, she repeatedly articulated that English was used least frequently.

*Interviewer:* Do you find what language you're thinking in changes depending on the context you're in?

*YK:* It actually depends on what I'm thinking about. So if it's something personal like, so for instance if I break up [with someone and I'm] trying to sort out my feelings-Japanese and Tagalog, sometimes a little bit of English. When I'm irritated Japanese is a no no cuz there's more swear words in English and Tagalog. That's a trick question. I have to think about it.

[sic]

*YK:* But when I'm around other people, well family to be exact, I try to speak in Visaya or Tagalog cuz not a lot of my cousins around my age (they're like in their 20s, 30s), they don't know Visaya. They only know Tagalog so I have to like mix it up.

Though what is stated in this passage cannot be confirmed without observation, from examining her thoughts on language deployment, we can begin to understand the value she places on language and how she negotiates contextual deployment. From this passage YK acknowledges that her language use changes depending on the context. While she equates this translanguaging to the emotions connected to languages in her repertoire, this sentiment is expanded when she states that she intentionally uses Visaya and Tagalog with her family in Daly City. While she states that her heart is connected to the Philippines, this calculated language deployment acts as a form of language maintenance to preserve this visceral linguistic connection to the Philippines as a place of family, home and love.

In looking at language management policy at the familial level, BC explains how her family negotiates what language is spoken at home.

*Interviewer:* How about your parents? You said at home you mostly speak in English, but do you ever speak in Tagalog or do they ever speak in Tagalog to you?

*BC:* They speak to me in Tagalog probably half of the time. Like maybe if it's (like this is funny), but if it's like more of a parental conversation like, "Oh, can you do this?", "Can you do that?", "Oh, can you help around?", it's in Tagalog, but if it's in normal conversation for some reason

it's mostly in English like, "Oh, look what I did today" stuff like that. And it sounds more powerful in Tagalog.

[sic]

*BC:* One phrase that even me and my sister joke about this too, it's a phrase that when our parents say it in Tagalog it's so much more powerful than it is in English. It's uh, "Bahala ka sa buhay mo" and in English that means like, "Good luck", like, "Do whatever you want with your life." You know? and-

*BC's Father:* -"You're on your own!"

*BC:* "You're on your own!" Yeah! And so whenever, like we always joke about that phrase specifically. We say things like "hoy!", which would be like getting somebody's attention you're like "hoy!" Like, um, or uh, there's always a thing where for some reason this happens with my grandpa he points with his lips so we pretend to do that too. Like stuff like that! Like all the funny stuff.

*Interviewer:* Yeah, so it's mostly like just kind of joking how your family acts?

*BC:* Yeah, yeah, yeah.

With her father's interjection, BC illustrates the contexts in which her family preferences one language over the other. As YK referenced the emotional ties connected to language, BC uses words, phrases or actions to illustrate the power, mundaneness or humor language can possess and portray.

In further understanding family language management policy, RDS explains how technology has changed the way he communicates with his family. Establishing that he only uses Tagalog with his family, when asked if he ever uses English with them, RDS responded,

*RDS:* Um, only through text, yeah. But, it's usually mixed with like Tagalog and English. But if I'm calling them on the phone, I don't speak to them in English.

*Interviewer:* Okay, why do you think when you're texting it's in English or Taglish?

*RDS:* Um, that's a good question. I think sometimes it's just easier to convey it. I think it's just faster to type it out

rather than when you're gonna use Tagalog to like text a word and it's like super long and there's no short form of it.

From this passage, RDS justifies using English when texting as a means for short form communication. This sentiment of using English to text with family was seen throughout all of the narrators' interviews. It is interesting to recognize that this specific textual translanguaging practice is cited as a family language management policy across multiple families.

## **Theme 2: Generational Gap**

As members of the 1.5-generation, these five narrators possess a unique perspective on the immigrant experience. Being reared in both the origin and host country, these narrators bridge the experiences between first- and second-generation immigrants. By understanding the hardships innately tied to both generations, the narrators here recount what it means to be caught in the middle.

In describing the culture of Daly City, RC makes an interesting observation of the generational gap linked to a community of immigrants.

Within my group it was basically having parents who came here around the mid to late 70s up to the 80s, and what have you, and we were the latch key kids of the 80s and we had parents who were trying to adjust to this new life while working and, you know, trying to raise kids that were in transition, as well. So there's definitely a cultural clash at time. And, we joke about it all the time because there's a whole language barrier between the kids and their parents. Yup, it's a family joke about it all the time. It's funny to us, you know? [pause] And what's sad is that's starting to disappear of course within that generation. That's gone. So my generation and our kids it's not as bad anymore. It's just a memory now because obviously my generation and our kids are speaking perfect English so the ones that we were joking about- that whole era is gone. Like a generation has disappeared.

RC possesses a different vantage than the other narrators of this study. By being a 1.5er during a period of rapid demographic change, RC is able to reflect on how the community and culture of Daly City changed to echo the immigrant experience. In the passage he acknowledges that within a relatively short period of time, the experience he had growing up in a majority immigrant community of culture clashes and language barriers between parents and children is beginning to wane as more generations of Filipin(as/os) are being born on US soil.

What is important to note in this subsection is how the age of immigration affect the immigrant experience for the 1.5ers. The narrators in this study who were at a younger age when they came to Daly City cited a relatively easier period of transition into their new lives, whereas those who were older expressed greater difficulty. When asked if he thinks the whole community of Daly City can understand him, DR explains:

I would say the Americans can't understand me over here. I mean they don't know the struggles that all these- I mean everyone's an immigrant, but some of them don't understand they're immigrants as well. I don't think they'll understand what people go through when they immigrate here cuz they won't- I don't think they will understand. I feel like when I've seen a second generation and they've kind of just thrown their life away, I'm like, "dude, do you know what your mom went through or your parents went through?" I mean, granted, you don't want to- I mean you didn't ask to be born, but still, if you ever knew how hard it is.

At the age of fifteen when he immigrated to the US, DR had to assume a great responsibility at a young age in helping to support his family. Throughout his interview he mentioned how his experience has given him a unique perspective to appreciate the struggle first generation immigrants go through to establish their lives and support their families in a new country. In this passage, DR uses 'American' to refer to anyone of or passed the second-generation. He explains that by being native born to the US, many



Americans cannot fully appreciate the first-generation immigrant's struggle. In this, he more closely aligns his immigrant experience to that of the first-generation because of the struggle he has experienced to establish himself and his family in the US. Despite this, DR still acknowledges that he can relate to the second-generation experience in wanting independence, and in having the opportunity to pursue his career ambitions.

### **Theme 3: Parallel Identities**

Asked to define what it means to be Filipin(a/o), Pin(ay/oy), American and Filipin(a/o) American, the narrators came to terms and reckoned an understanding of conceptions of cultural, ethnic and national identities. Through exploring the narrators' subjective definitions, this subsection highlights the similarities and differences of the narrators' notions of identity. By establishing how the individual narrator perceives identity, this subsection asserts that each narrator has reckoned self-perceptions reflective of their immigrant history.

#### *Filipin(a/o)*

When asked what being Filipin(a/o) means, the narrators all had varied responses. Responses included 1) Being from the Philippines; 2a) Awareness of the culture, customs and background of the Philippines; 2b) Speaking Tagalog; 2c) Family oriented; 3) Being Brown. Responses all targeted cultural and ethnic identities, whereas national identity was only mentioned by one narrator. DR describes Filipin(a/o) as, "Being brown and speaking Tagalog? Culturally, just trying to remember stuff back home, like living back home. The simple life. What family means to you. The way you do things." It is important to note in this instance, DR was the only narrator to explicitly mention race in

his discussion of identity. Defining what it means to be Filipin(a/o), he primarily correlates the relationship between race and language to the construction of identity.

### *Pin(ay/oy)*

While the dictionary defines Pin(ay/oy) as someone of Filipin(a/o) origin or descent, the narrators in this study all struggled to define this term. Only two defined the term as another way to say Filipin(a/o) or as feeling more Filipin(a/o) at heart. While three of the narrators stated they were unfamiliar with its meaning, all of the narrators stated that they do not use this term.

### *American*

In contrast, when asked to describe what it means to be American, that narrators responses were more nebulous. Responses included, 1) Legal residence; 2) Diversity; 3a) Adapting to lifestyle; 3b) Education- and career-driven; 3c) Capitalism; 3d) No accent; 3e) Individualistic. The responses encompassed citizenship and belonging, as well as cultural identity. RDS describes American as, “ I think American is just you know adapting to living the lifestyle here, um, I feel like people here, at least for me, I see the people are very, um, educationally driven and career driven.” In contrast to DR’s definition of Filipin(a/o) above, it is important to note the lack of ethnic markers in RDS’s definition of American. According to RDS, American identity is defined by a capitalist mindset, or the ability to choose and direct one’s life plans.

### *Filipin(a/o) American*

In establishing what the narrators denote as being Filipin(a/o) or as being American, when asked what being Filipin(a/o) American meant, the narrators all

resoundingly agreed that it means both. For some narrators to be Filipin(a/o) American they noted that it was independent of generation of immigration. It entailed understanding the culture and customs, as well as encompassing aspects of the American culture they distinctly defined. To some, to be Filipin(a/o) American entailed an equal balancing of both identities. According to BC, being Filipin(a/o) American means,

I guess it's like both what I said individually like together. That like I know my Filipino food, I know my family dynamic and just the respect of being in a family and what you're supposed to do. I know the language. But at the same time I'm so open to all these other [cultures] and even kind of like breaking from what maybe is uh traditionally Filipino and stuff like that by just doing my own thing. Like just being a free American, you know?

After defining these identity terms, the narrators were all asked how they define themselves. While all of the narrators stated that they define themselves as Filipin(a/o) American, it is important to recognize how their subjectivities and experiences affect exactly how they define themselves as Filipin(a/o) American.

In acknowledging and recognizing the effects of immigration, YK and DR have similar perspectives on identity merging and formation. YK defines her identity as, "I can say I'm a mixture of everything. Japanese, Filipina, American because I embrace my Filipino side and my Japanese side and on top of that my American part gives me the diversity." From this passage she embraces and merges her cultural, ethnic and national identities to act as a metaphorical archive of identity construction and re-construction. DR expands on this immigrant projection when he defines his identity as, "Filipino American. I can't say I'm just Filipino and I can't say I'm just American. It's both now cuz half of my life was there and half of my life was here." In this definition he equates his equal time spent living in both countries as being equally represented in his identity.

While RDS also acknowledges the impact immigration has on his identity, he favors his American side to that of his Filipino side. RDS defines his identity as,

I think it's a hybrid [identity]. I mean like I think the Filipino identity I can't really escape that. Like at home we subscribe to The Filipino Channel, yeah, so it's always on, and I talk to my parents in Tagalog, so I think it's a mix. Like even if I feel more American just because outside of the house, you know, I use English and I don't really celebrate all the Filipin(a/o) customs, and I don't use Tagalog all that much. So I think it's a mix.

While not explicitly stated in this passage, his reference to his mixed identity coupled with a sentiment of relating closer to his American side may reflect RDS identifying more so as an American Filipino rather than as a Filipino American.

#### **Theme 4: Transnational Understanding**

As a nation of immigrants, identity negotiation in the US is a complex beast. Prior to the conception of nationalism, identity was once primarily based on kinship or religious affiliations rather than based on borders as it is today [source]. The modern conception of nationalism defines national identity by sharing the same race, language and borders; however, in the US this conception naturally becomes muddled in determining citizenship and belonging. This subsection asserts that through living in a Filipin(a/o) diaspora in its former metropole, the narrators have developed a keen sense of transnational understanding.

In describing how she uses language to connect with others, BC recounts an experience she had at a local supermarket.

I was at Pacific Super or whatever one of the grocery stores in Daly City and um like 99% of people were like Filipino and I needed to look for something for spam musubi. I went up to this Filipino man and I asked him a question and at the end of my question I said, "po," and so I feel automatically he was like, "okay, we're on the same level." So that's cool, he was very willing to help me. I don't know, I feel like once you spot a

Filipino and you speak Tagalog to them or like you let them know you are both Filipino, things just get a little easier and like fun. It's a better experience I guess.

In this passage, BC explains how she uses language and respectfully regards her elders as a way to facilitate communication and understanding. Admitting the majority of the conversation she had with the man in the grocery store transpired in English, she states that by adding the word "po," a term used to denote respect or politeness, to the end of her questions, he was more willing to help her. By using "po" she indicated to the man a mutual understanding that bridged cultural and language identities.

As referenced earlier, DR often expressed in his story how the perspective he gained through his immigration experience grounded and oriented how he conducts himself in the US.

*DR:* I see people complain about the little things and I'm like, oh man [laughs], back home we don't eat! Like a can of sardines was like our luxury. Or McDonald's was luxury back home, so I eat that when there's like a big celebration like a birthday or graduation. We go to McDonald's and eat over here it's like crap food. [laughs] I mean I still eat McDonald's, don't get me wrong.

*Interviewer:* You mentioned you feel grateful now, but is there anything else that you feel differently about yourself now than how you did when you were younger?

*DR:* I still work hard. That's pretty much what we're striving for. Cuz when you come here you don't have shit. You're like the poor of the poor over here, so building that stability is like our main, is my main goal pretty much. Not just for myself, but for my family members. That's why I'm striving to be up there career wise and but pretty much my identity helped me where I am. It kind of oriented me cuz the struggles back was- I would say it was training. It trained me to work hard here. Cuz back home I was already working when I was young.

DR uses the example of McDonald's to illustrate his economic situation in the Philippines. He explains that McDonald's growing up in the Philippines for him was a luxury, whereas in the US it is seen as junk food. He explains that as an immigrant, he has struggled and has had to work twice as hard to sustain himself and his family here. He credits his perseverance and work ethic to his experience growing up in the Philippines, where at a young age he was already working and developed the capacity to continue striving. This experience, this perspective that only comes from immigrating is invaluable to DR to appreciate both sides of his story.

### **Theme 5: Home(s)**

The final theme to emerge in analyzing the narrators' oral histories relates to how they define home. As established in the above subsections, the narrators in this study identify how their language deployment has reflectively and reflexively adapted to their new lives in the US. By highlighting their in-between status as 1.5ers, the narrators describe the techniques and mechanisms they use to negotiate the generational divide they experience. Through developing a transnational understanding reflective of how the narrators observe immigration as affecting how they self-identify as Filipin(a/o) Americans, this subsection expands on the narrators' concepts of home(s). By examining the narrators' definitions of home, this section concludes by asserting the connection this translocal community has in relation to belonging, identity and language.

Relating language use to his connection to his home and family, RDS states,

*Interviewer:* Do you feel more connected with your home life being able to use Tagalog or do you have a sense of family or home when you use Tagalog?

*RDS:* I do. I don't think I could imagine not using Tagalog when I'm at home. Uh, yeah, I think that's my connection to my

parents whenever I'm at home. I've just always been used to using Tagalog, so I can basically correlate those two things.

From this passage, RDS confirms his connection between language, family and home.

Emphasizing throughout his story that he reserves speaking Tagalog only at home or with his family, he establishes the innate emotion intricately linked to using the language.

Expanding on the relationship between Daly City and the Philippines, RC asserts,

*Interviewer:* Would you consider Daly City as like a little Philippines?

*RC:* It is, yeah. At this point. It's like a home within a home.

*Interviewer:* Do you feel you've established connections here [Daly City]? You've dug your roots down deep here?

*RC:* Oh yeah! A little too deep [laughs]!

*Interviewer:* What does it mean to be rooted here in Daly City?

*RC:* You know if all of your memories, whether it's love, education, financial, uh good and bad on all aspects is here, then you're here. That's home.

*Interviewer:* So, do you consider the Philippines as home?

*RC:* I still do actually, yeah.

*Interviewer:* So two homes?

*RC:* Yeah!

In this passage, RC relates Daly City to be "like a home within a home." In this description, RC recognizes Daly City as projecting the essence of the Philippines within the confines of an American context. Despite decades passing since RC last resided in the Philippines, this sense of home has never dissipated. From this passage, he indicates that while he still considers the Philippines as home, he is also home, rooted and established in this Filipin(a/o) American community of Daly City.

Expanding on this idea of being rooted or feeling settled in Daly City, DR comments,

*Interviewer:* Do you think after living in the US for 15 years, you've established connections here? You've laid down your foundation here?

*DR:* No, I'm still unstable. Like financially, economically I'm still unstable. But, I think so cuz like I went to college, got a job, somewhat yeah. I have friends, my family's here-most of my family's here.

*Interviewer:* So would you say your life is here now?

*DR:* Yeah, definitely. I mean our move would be in vain if I go back. My mom sacrificed. I feel like my mom sacrificed a lot. She threw everything out the door just to come here. I mean you heard some stories like, "Oh, my mom's a dentist back home." Like [parents had] established professions and over here they're working in McDonald's and mopping floors.

Though DR states that his life is in the US, he impresses throughout his story his feeling of instability here as well. While he details the struggle it has been to keep afloat in the US, he stresses that the sacrifice his family went through to come here has been worth it. Though he may continue to refer to the Philippines as home, for DR there is no turning back. In honor of his mother's sacrifice to bring him to the US, DR concludes that he will continue to persevere here.



## Conclusion

Evidenced by the narrators' varied oral histories, it is easy to discern how life experiences and subjectivities have affected how these individuals value and deploy language in relation to identity. This study demonstrates how both language and identity have adapted, been constructed and re-constructed to reflect the immigrant experience. Using a nostalgia approach to recounts of narrators' life histories, this thesis establishes the link between memory and the imagination. Exploring concepts related to social memory and the migrant archive, Arjun Appadurai (2012) states,

For migrants, more than others, the archive is a map. It is a guide to the uncertainties of identity-building under adverse conditions. The archive is a search for memories that count and not a home for memories with a pre-ordained significance. [sic] Through the experience of the migrant, we can see how archives are conscious sites of debate and desire. And with the arrival of electronic forms of mediation, we can see more clearly that collective memory is interactively designed and socially produced. (p. 20-23)

Appadurai establishes in this passage how migrants use the archive as a collective, social project. By examining the archive as a collective tool, Appadurai affirms its use as a meta-intervention to document and intervene in the migrant's capacity to aspire (2012). Relating Appadurai's assertion to this study, we can begin to understand how the narrators use nostalgia to connect, relate, adapt, construct and re-construct identity based on their migrant trajectory. As a tool for imagination, Appadurai uses the archive to document how migrants relate to their past, but also how they adapt and project conceptions of belonging and identity in a new social field. Therefore, as established above through analysis of the narrators' oral histories, this thesis asserts this community fosters a transnational identity formation.

Furthering this, by looking at the linguistic archive, we can see how these narrators use language as a tool for meta-intervention. By using the example of the Virgin of Zapopan, Mary Louise Pratt illustrates how the archive can represent concepts of mobility and duality (2002). The linguistic archive represents an ever-evolving medium for self-replication to trace the merging and blending of peoples, cultures, languages and localities. Translanguaging, therefore, can be seen as an archive to document the immigrant experience as a tool of remembrance and merging of the past, present and future. Translanguaging reflects the transformed and transformative experience of language as affected by migration. Applying this lens to the study of language use in the translocal, immigrant community of Daly City, this thesis confirms translanguaging is reflective and reflexive of the immigrant experience.

By using a nostalgia approach with adults of the 1.5-generation this study was able to examine how these narrators reflect on their immigrant experience and imagine belonging in this translocal community. This study demonstrates how the narrators' individual subjectivities influence how they idolize and practice language in relation to their social field. Therefore, in looking at the migrant and linguistic archives, this thesis asserts translanguaging reflects a transnational identity formation.

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## Appendix

### Interview Guide Draft

#### Biographical Information

1. Birth, birthplace of narrator// parents?
2. Father's surname/ Mother's maiden name?
3. Narrator's education?
4. Place of origin: Special remembrances (holidays)?
5. Place of origin: Cultural life (food)?
6. Place of origin: Language spoken at home and school?
7. Daly City: Language spoke at home, school, work?
8. Age of immigration to the US?
9. With whom did the narrator immigrate? Why?
10. How long has the narrator lived in Daly City?
11. Has the narrator lived elsewhere in the US?
12. Narrator's profession?
13. Married? Children?
14. What language(s) do you speak or understand?
15. Language(s) spoken by Grandparents? In what language(s) do you primarily communicate with them?
16. Languages(s) spoken by Father, Mother? In what language(s) do you primarily communicate with them?
17. Language(s) spoken by Siblings? In what language(s) do you primarily communicate with them?
18. In what language do you primarily communicate with your (Spouse//Children//Friends)?
19. In what language do you primarily think? Explain
20. In what language do you feel most comfortable expressing yourself? Why?
21. What language do you most often use? Why?
22. Children: Do you/would you encourage your children to maintain a connection to the Philippines? How?
23. Children: How are your children like you? How are they unlike you?
24. Children: Is it/Would it be important to you for your children to be bilingual? Why or why not?
25. Spouse: How important is it that your spouse can culturally identify with you?
26. Friends: How important is it that your friends can culturally identify with you?

#### Change/Language/Community/Identity

1. How do you maintain a connection with the Philippines? Family still living there? How often do you visit? Participate in Filipin(a/o) cultural activities in Daly City?

2. Do you still feel as connected to the Philippines/Filipin(a/o) identity as you were a child? Has living in America changed how you see yourself? How? Why?
3. Do you feel differently about yourself now from how you felt about yourself when you were younger? How?
4. What do you think has stayed the same about you throughout your life? What do you think has changed? Why?
5. Can you describe your transition to life in the US? How was it switching your from Tagalog to English as your primary language?
6. Can you express yourself equally in Filipin(a/o) and American contexts? How?
7. What's it mean to monolingual? Bilingual?
8. What're the advantages/disadvantages of being monolingual//bilingual?
9. Do you consider yourself to be bilingual? Why or why not?
10. Have you ever experienced something positive/negative from your ability to communicate in more than one language? Can you describe what happened?
11. Have you ever experienced something positive/negative from your ability to only communicate in one language? Can you describe what happened?
12. Are there ever situations when you can describe something better in one language over another? Explain.
13. Have you ever mixed languages or switched from one language to the other to communicate? With whom do you do this? Why do you think you do this?
14. What was your first language? Did your first language affect how you learned your second language? Why or why not?
15. Do you think primary/secondary schools should teach second languages? Why or why not?
16. Do you feel you can communicate cross-culturally in Daly City by being bilingual? How? Why?
17. What does being Filipino/American/Filipin(a/o) American/Pinoy mean to you? Is there a difference between these identities? How?
18. Given that Daly City is the largest Filipin(a/o) community in the US, do you feel you can maintain a connection with the Philippines through the Filipino(American) community here? How?
19. Do you feel after living in the US for \_\_\_\_\_ years, you have established connections here? Explain.
20. Do you feel like you can relate to other Filipinos/Americans/Filipin(a/o) Americans/Pinoys in Daly City? Why? How? Can you express yourself and be understood by others in Daly City? Why?
21. Do you feel you can express yourself completely in Filipino, and American, and Filipin(a/o) American contexts in your community in Daly City? How? Why?
22. Is it important to live in a community in which you can relate to people? Why or why not?

23. Can you describe Daly City? What does it mean to be Filipino/American/Filipin(a/o) American/Pinoy in Daly City? Does language affect these identities? How? Why?
  24. How would you describe your culture today?
  25. Have you lived outside of a Filipin(a/o) community? If you did live outside of a Filipin(a/o) community, what do you think about how you express yourself (would) change?
  26. Can you describe the connection between English and Tagalog and your culture today? Is it necessary to know Tagalog to really appreciate or understand Filipin(a/o) culture?
- Questions? Recommendations?