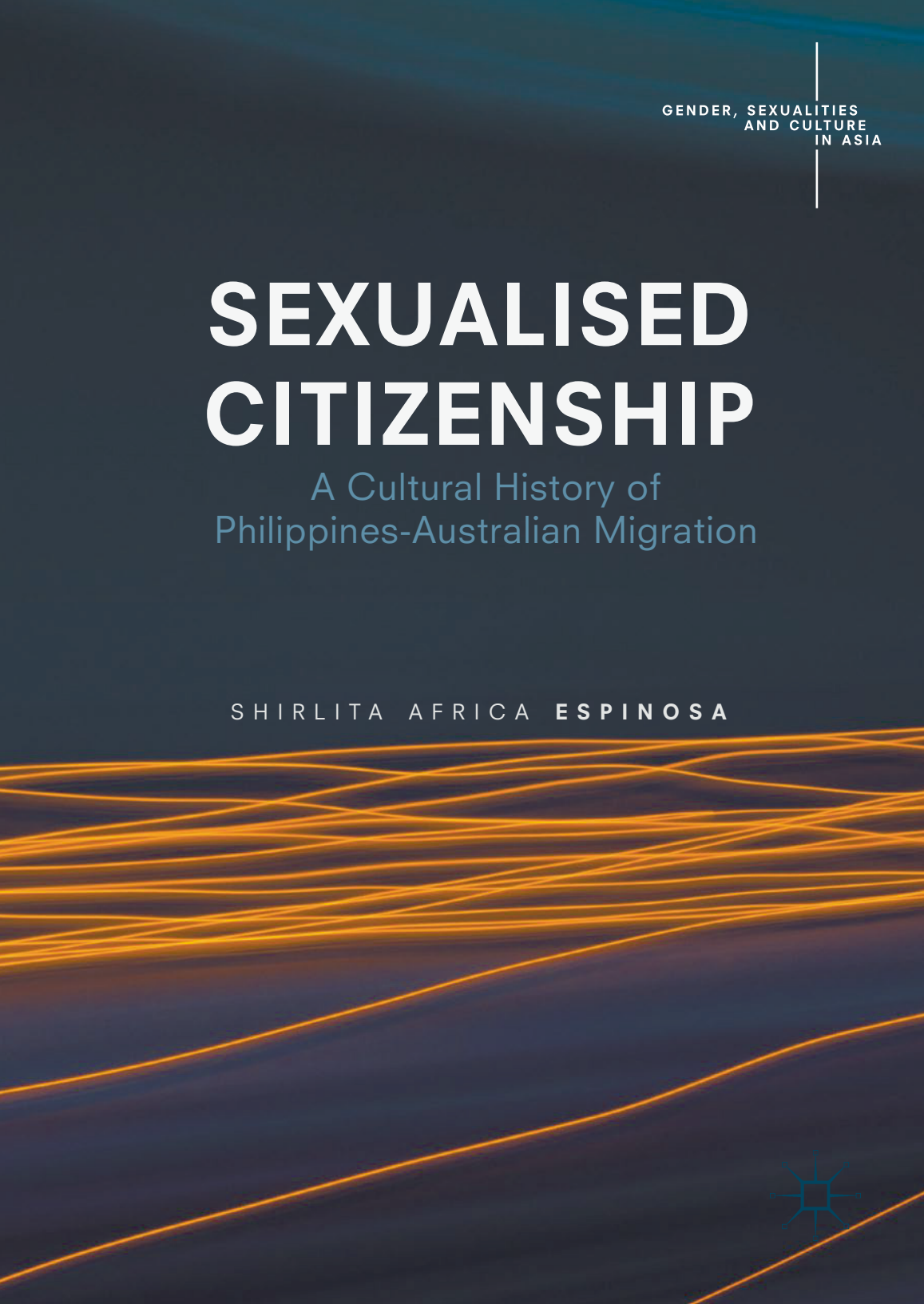
GENDER, SEXUALITIES AND CULTURE IN ASIA

SEXUALISED CITIZENSHIP

A Cultural History of Philippines-Australian Migration

SHIRLITA AFRICA **ESPINOSA**



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A Cultural History of Philippines-Australian Migration

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To Isabelo

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February 2017 Shirlita Africa Espinosa

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This book brings together analyses based on an ethnography of Filipino migrants in Australia, tracing the birth and growth of their cultural history in the last 40 years. It examines the relationship between the production of cultural materials and the sexualisation of the community due to the large number of marriage migrants from the Philippines to Australia. I interrogate the forms within which Filipino-Australians *wrote* their responses to the racialised and gendered marginalisation in Australia. Some of these cultural productions are ethnic newspapers, women's anthologies, literary works, lexical references and creative nonfiction that disclose a community's sentiments about their own migration. This is the side of the story that has never been heard by middle Australia. My reading of Filipino-Australian cultural history is shaped by the intersections of ethnic,class, gender, ideological and other intra-Philippines social contradictions that to a certain extent continue to influence Filipino-Australian formations. Through its print material culture, the community makes sense of its migration and the painful realities by which the birthing of a selfhood is forged. That migration begins not upon take-off but rather nurtured within a culture of taking flight, so that these writings are a kind of remittance sent to the old country, a sign of the 'unfinishedness' that characterise transnational family ties. Like most migrants from low-income countries who resettled in more affluent societies, Filipinos liken migration as property ownership. Their cultural history, as affective remittance, is precisely an exhibition of that ownership. Beyond the search for greener pasture for most migrants—that

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which makes migration a property, a capital acquired—migrants' experiences are a cultural history of their struggle to interpret their new environment and to remit this history to the country left behind.

Multiculturalism and marriage migrants show the problematic intersections where they meet. As 'brides', these women had been personally invited by Australian nationals to come and form part of a society where they will be wives and mothers of future Australian citizens. Yet, the visibility of non-white, 'Third-World looking persons' and females raised the question of these migrants' sexualised citizenship in the early years of multicultural Australia in the 1980s. They inhabit the private space that renders them invisible but all-too-visible as well. It is particularly poignant to mention that Filipino migration to Australia is discussed mainly in relation to gender issues, such as domestic violence, and 'mail-order brides' as a form of trafficking. The question of multiculturalism per se—as in migrants coming in bringing with them their own cultural and linguistic heritage—is not the main point of discussion about Filipinos. Their migration is documented, interpreted and analysed as a 'gendered problem'. Filipino women suffer from the lack of racial capital and are subjected to sexist scrutiny on top of racial otherness due to their type of migration flow. Thus, there is a need to ask pertinent questions on the matter.

I define and use 'sexualised citizenship' as conferment of nationality and the uses of this belonging based on the sexual division of labour and services rendered by those who receive the citizenship. The migration of 'mail-order brides' since the 1970s is readable only through what Filipino women can do with their sex and the roles attendant to this. This means performing sex, giving birth as the reproductive role of their sex, unpaid domestic labour premised on sexual differences and other affective labour that her racialised sex provides. Filipino women buy their citizenship through the exercise of their sex; a shortcut to jump the immigration queue. Sealing Cheng's expression, 'love as weapon of the weak' captures well this assignation of usability.[1] The Filipina as marriage migrant does not deserve tolerance, because she is a usable object who consents to her own objectification.

'Sexualised citizenship' is not the same as 'sexual citizenship'. My coinage, 'sexualised citizenship', refers to the feminisation of certain types of citizens in the context of global migration, while 'sexual citizenship' deals with the concept of sexual rights. 'Sexualised citizenship' takes off from the feminist thinking that question the sexual division

of labour where third-world women service men in the first-world. On the other hand, theorising on 'sexual citizenship' examines the intersections between sexuality and citizenship, the concept of sexual politics of hetero- and homosexual individuals, and the identity formation of sexual citizens.[2] 'Sexual citizenship' concerns the dominant constructions of heteronormativity in exercising citizenship; 'sexualised citizenship' interrogates the economic, colonial and racial aspects of South-North cross-border marriages, and focuses less on the fact that these are dominantly heterosexual marriages. I decided to depart from the more common uses of terms like 'gendered citizenship', 'feminine identities' and 'sexualised migrants' and use the modifier 'sexualised' because I want to emphasise the reproductive labour involved in the process of becoming a foreign 'bride' from the third-world. A 'marriage migrant from the developing world' is not just a factual description but a politically constructed notion.

As a construction, the sexualised citizen, that is the Filipino woman, is much informed by real social forces and by devastating representations that surround such identity that I discuss in this book. The Filipino woman in Australia is an embodiment of international political events and market forces, and domestic responses to these forces. The representations of Filipino women, in catalogues in the 1980s and in the Internet today, are commodities themselves that embody the fetishism of consuming westernised 'third-world women' yet personify Catholic ethos. The Filipino woman is historically determined *and* imagined to become the desired exotic other body because Spanish colonialism cloistered her well while Americanisation liberated her; in other words, the fantasy of a 'proper whore'. Popular rhetoric such as '300 years in the convent and 50 years of Hollywood' exemplify this subjective construction that both Filipinos and outsiders believe. One such fetishisation of the fantasy is from Carmen Guerrero Nakpil, who, in a widely influential essay 'The Filipino Woman' written in 1951, wrote, 'For the Filipina is a woman with a past—a long, unburied, polychromatic, delicious past which is forever returning to colour her days. There have been three men in her life: her Asiatic ancestor, the Spanish friar, and the Americano, and like Chekov's Darling, she echoes all the men has known in her person'.[3] The sexual tone of this passage hints at the image of commodified wife, a sexualised citizen.

There are approximately 10 million Filipinos who are either working or settled abroad. The economy of migration, labour, marriage, family

reunion and other flows of migrations, in the Philippines is both an effect of international and domestic forces. The specifically hyperfeminised character of Filipino migration is a symptom of patriarchal structures. When factories downsize in times of recession, it is women who first lose jobs. In disadvantaged economies like the Philippines where state support and welfare are deficient, paid income is mostly earned from informal economic activities such as street-vending, laundry service and other commodified domestic labour. Such difficult work with very little compensation is made more difficult by the need to bring along small children while doing work. When global capital and neoliberalism introduce new economic schemes, it is the women who migrate to take up the lowest forms of work overseas.[4] This is why it is women who leave to marry Australian men and not the other way, given the sexualisation specifically of 'Asian' women. This is why a certain reading of Filipino women's marriage migration misses the whole point.[5] It suggests that 'wifework' and 'sex work' are women's work using a sanitised and racialised reading of Filipino women's migration. They argue that women are status-conscious—being better educated and professionals—who would not marry below their standard, thus, marry overseas. In a similar work, the place of women under appropriative patriarchal conditions is interpreted as the Philippine society's 'matrifocal' tradition where women 'occupy an important and prestigious role'.[6] Such valorisation, leads to their 'extra-familial roles' in the economic sphere, thus, the unsurprising high participation of women in skilled work as one of the highest in the world. Hence, they go overseas to marry white males to continue fulfilling the 'matrifocal' custom. Not only that such reading elides the division of gender, it also neutralises the imbalance in the social relations (which, again, following the nativist logic, is just as fine as it has always been *that* way).

As of June 2015, 236,400 Philippines-born migrants are residents in Australia, the fifth highest sending country to Australia.[7] This figure is expected to balloon if Australians of Filipino ancestry and children from bi-cultural households are included. It is a steadily growing community integrating well and does not pose problems to the host country. Underneath this model-minority behaviour are decades of defensive measures that justify their presence. The Filipino community necessarily had to form migrant collectives and create a cultural history that revolves around, and to a degree, partly deny its sexualised citizenship. I presented in this book a history and literary examples of

Filipino-Australians' collective responses to their sexualisation and analysed how much of their responses inhabit the realm of the cultural. Instead of a politicised approach to a problem rooted in gender and racial inequalities, Filipino-Australians retreated into culture.

The culturalisation of the sexualised citizen is a symptom of the successes to plug into the larger multicultural body. If the community cannot negate the deeply entrenched negative perception, they might as well cover this up by offering what their unique culture may offer. They have their *fiestas*; they win model-minority awards; they open Filipino restaurants. Their children join Australia's television contents, win singing contests and wear their national costume in multicultural parades, too. This, however, is not the participation that successfully embeds 'Filipinoness' to an acceptable degree in Australian society nor the kind of contribution that could neutralise the role Filipino migration has played out and against which Australians define themselves: sexual enslavement, otherness, poverty. Multiculturalism, first of all, is a masculine affair; it thrives on the patriarchal operations of nationalism and heterosexual values. The migration of Filipino women, deemed as an irregular contract that violates racial and class boundaries, masculinises not only white Australia but also, by extension, the pluralist society that benefits from the stigmatising feminisation of a specific group over others. I do not suggest that other communities are not demonised. But other communities' migration is backed by legitimate discourses such as the human rights convention. Vietnamese, Lebanese, Sudanese, Sri Lankan, Afghan migrants, amongst others came as refugees of war and asylum seekers. Although the mainstream media has not stopped depicting these migrants as a source of threat and instability to the Australian way of life, their migration has, to a certain extent, greater legitimacy as international obligation than that of sexualised citizens, who are the embodiment of exchange. While colonial, class, racial and, yes, sexual relations define all these streams of migration to Australia, Philippines-born migration bears the mark of hyperfeminisation. None are depicted as 'opportunistic whores', 'household appliance with sex organs, or 'sex slaves for a visa'.

In writing a cultural history of Filipinos in Australia, I experienced the xenophobia towards sexualised and racialised 'Filipina'. Due in part to the 'cultural turn' in the managing of multiculturalism, the sexualised migrant cannot escape the gaze of her sexualisation to which she is subjected. Her sexualised citizenship is read as a 'cultural' *thing*, something

Filipinos *do* in the first place, a provocation to white masculinity or a desiring, given her 'natural' inclination. But one wonders what this culturalisation does to those who wield the power to culturalise? The culturalisation of the sexed Filipino woman—indeed, the very name 'Filipina' is almost synonymous with debased femininity—is not simply a working of culture. Rather, it coincides with the tangible benefits of keeping women as a subjugated class. In a global economic order that maximises feminised labour, whether situated in industrial free-trade zones or in the domestic confines of the first-world, the surfacing of sexualised subjects as new forms to which transnational and translational cultures give rise is, in no uncertain terms, profitable. Corralling the discourse on the level of culture is not simply productive in neoliberal capitalism but also convenient; it narrows the fields of struggle into the less rigorous, less dangerous 'cultural' arena. To a certain extent, my work is a testament to this culturalisation of the feminised subject because I analyse culture as a further participation—a validation, perhaps—in the discursive elaboration of the 'mail-order bride' community and the challenges of migrant life as 'cultural'.

This cultural history of a sexualised citizenship is based on my ethnographic project of Filipinos in Australia conducted from years 2009 to 2012. The contribution of this study to the larger scholarship on migration and cross-cultural studies rests on its uniqueness of focus to take on research on Philippines-Australian migration, an under-researched field, but in particular to draw attention to sectors of the community such as the elderly and women. Furthermore, I raise questions about the politics of being 'Filipino', being a woman, being working class, being old, being 'ethnic' and being 'Australian' in Australia. The analyses unsettle common perceptions of the immigrant and avoid a valorising approach to the Filipino-Australian as a subject. By choosing to work on newspapers, literature and other print production, I bring to fore the very existence of materials that, ironically perhaps, most Filipino-Australians hardly know about. Anthologies that had been meticulously put together but circulated poorly, newspapers of social importance that were produced in some states but remained unread in other states, novels that are a compelling read but inadequately distributed, are examples of migrant efforts to build a cultural history that are not widely disseminated or discussed. This work undertakes to salvage some works from oblivion and contextualise their materiality within the broader narrative of Filipino-Australianness.

The fieldwork took me to many places in Australia and exposed me to Australians' ways of life. But most interactions with Filipino-Australians mostly took place in the Blacktown area of Sydney in New South Wales. Because of the centrality of Blacktown in the cultural history of Filipinos in Australia, I found myself gravitating towards it, a reference point to most queries about the community. Taking up residence in the Blacktown area prepared me for fieldwork. It concretised to me what it means to be 'ethnic' in Australia. Interacting at various times with young professional migrants, a working class couple, an interracial family, amongst others, in six different suburbs in Sydney allowed me to compare Filipino communities within Sydney but more importantly, it showed the manifest power ethnic enclaves possess in propping up the violence of racism and alienation of the everyday. Living in different suburbs taught me 'post code politics' inasmuch as it showed me what it means to be non-white in white suburbs that characterises migrant settlement in Australia.

Writing a cultural history of a feminised migration made the research both personal and political. I was confronted by how much of this embarrassment I share with or refuse to share with Filipino-Australians. Given the fact that I am from the Philippines—a *kababayan* (ungendered 'countryman/countrywoman') so to speak—I assumed that researching 'Filipinoness' in diaspora would be easy. This is not the case. Inasmuch as many aspects of Australia are unfamiliar to me, Filipino migrants—their ways of living, habits, celebrations, religious activities, entertainment preferences, social classes—are not any more familiar just because I share with them a sense of origin. The 'insider' position is a fallacy because looking like 'them' and speaking their language imposed limits that inhibited responses. On the other hand, the 'outsider' position that I take in the field is insufficient for I become 'one of them' in Australia. This book, therefore, is very much informed by my being non-white, immigrant, female *and* Filipina, and the struggles of being such in a country that is deeply divided by race.

Along with the epistemic advantage comes the difficulty in shedding prejudices about Filipinos who left the Philippines. There is a strong sentiment that migrants have abandoned the nation, despite the economic and cultural remittances they send. This perception applies more to permanent settlers in the first world rather than temporary labour migrants. As a class who are citizens of the affluent world, or simply, as people who have greater access to resources, migrants inhabit a position

of antipathy yet of admiration. In this era of intensified disparity between the north and south, Filipino first-world migrants are the new *mestizos.* My use of the conceit 'new *mestizos*' is to refer to Filipinos who emigrated, specifically those from the United States, Canada, Australia and Europe who feel or behave as entitled citizens, just like the racially mixed or *mestizos* in Spanish Philippines. The figure of a cashed up *kababayan* who finds everything back home to be faulty and substandard is also enjoying the privileged subjectivity of the *bagong bayani*(modern-day hero)discourse. They are the ones who send money that allow the rest of us—the left behind—to keep our heads above water: both a despised caricature and a beloved relative. And this is something, I argue, that 'first-world' Filipinos have internalised as well. The Philippines, as a labour-exporting country dependent on foreign currency remitted by migrants, has experienced a restructuring of local economies and transformations in the lives, practices and social relations of Filipinos. What I tried to do as a researcher is to overcome this critical distance and be critically distant in a research sense, no matter how hard it is to both despise and desire the subject of one's research.

One of the ways by which I practice this distancing is by using the term 'mail-order bride' rather than avoiding it all together. I use the term 'mail-order bride' in the context with which Australian media used it: economic migrants from the Philippines who married Australian nationals whether they met through a catalogue, in person or through a 'matchmaker'. The primary sources I consulted from the 1980s and 1990s use the derogatory term without quotation marks, whereas I deliberately use quotation marks to express my discomfort due to its connotative meaning. In writings by Filipinos in Australia and the Philippines, 'mail-order bride' is simply not used. Coming from the Philippines, I know that this is a term hardly ever used to refer to women who left the country to marry a foreign national. I insist on using the term to remind myself and the readers of the cynical subjectification of Filipino women migrants. Second, my use of the term 'white Australia' may refer to two faces of Australia depending on the context of my discussion: one, that time when restrictive immigration laws did not allow non-white peoples from coming in; and two, the general belief that I share with other scholars and activists that Australia holds on to its social structures that benefit the white majority, structures which may not be inscribed in laws but are felt as dominant social mores.

At a time when countries and peoples are fraught with anxiety with the presence of the foreign, I believe that there is always space to accommodate others and the stories of their culture. I dedicate this work to all Filipino migrants all over the world who continue to make sense of their stories of flight and of exile, those who are restless and those who are homebound.

Notes

1. Sealing Cheng, "Romancing the Club: Love Dynamics between Filipina Entertainers and GIs in U.S. Military Camp Towns in South Korea," in *Love and Globalization: Transformations of Intimacy in the Contemporary World*, ed. Mark Padilla et al. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 2007), 245.
2. Diane Richardson, "Constructing Sexual Citizenship: Theorizing Sexual Rights." *Critical Social Policy* 20, no. 1 (2000): 105–135.
3. Carmen G. Nakpil, *Woman Enough and Other Essays* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999), 7.
4. Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 184–185.
5. Grace Soriano, "Filipino Families in Australia." In *Families and Cultural Diversity in Australia*; Catharina Boer, *Are You Looking for a Filipino wife?: A Study of Filipina-Australian Marriages*; Celia Camara, *An Expose of Filipino Culture: Spirituality and Religiosity vs Myths and Fallacies.*
6. Raul Pertierra and Deborah Wall, "Filipinos," in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and their Origins,* ed. James Jupp (NSW: Angus and Robertson, 1988), 469.
7. Australian Bureau of Statistics, "Overseas born Aussies highest in over a century." Accessed http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/lookup/3412.0Media%20Release12014-15.

CHAPTER 2

Philippine Migration in Multicultural Australia

In 1995, in the Sunday magazine Good Weekend, widely circulated in Australia as a supplement to the Saturday edition of The Sydney Morning Herald and The Age, Filipino women were categorically described as disposable wives.[1] The cover illustrates a balding, heavy-set Caucasian man slouching, apparently watching television, reaching for a drink. Right next to the couch is a six-pack, not of beer, but of tiny brides in their white wedding gowns. The article features the fate of women who ended up as quadriplegic, dead, missing, abandoned and beaten up, among other forms of tragic end. In the same period, in The Pilipino Herald, a Sydney-based tabloid, was a front-page article 'talking back' to the Australian-produced magazine: 'The over emphasis given to breakdown of marriage between a Filipino wife and an Australian husband gave way to a stereotype perception that such relationship is creating a "social problem" in Australia'.[2] In the same issue was an announcement promoting the play 'Inday: Mail-order Bride' staged in Darwin, Northern Territory, and another article on 'Successful Filipino-Australian Marriages'.[3] These are clear attempts of the community to create a dialogue, to counter the racist and sexist representations and to have a say at all. However, in the same issue was a page promoting 'Mrs. Philippine-Australia Beauty Pageant'95'… A collage of photographs of married migrant women vying for the title: one of them would win the title for which they were collectively denigrated, a paradox that is not hard to miss.

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The example above gives a clear depiction of two phenomena: first, the gendered migration and the racialised, feminised and colonialist relations that describe migration from the Philippines to Australia and second, the emergent print culture of a community in making an effort to respond to the challenges of its marginality. As a result of such migration flow, the cultural history of Filipino migrants in Australia has been unusually more gender focused and their cultural citizenship overtly sexualised than other migrant communities. The contemporary dispersion of Philippines-born nationals either as temporary labour migrants in the Middle-east and East Asia or as permanent residents in the United States, Europe, Japan, Canada and Australia is very much characterised by a feminisation of labour where women migrate as nurses, maids, carers, entertainers, sex workers, and as wives. The face of poverty in the Philippines is particularly feminised, partly due to former President Ferdinand Marcos' policy to export labour. Many of these workers are women. On top of this, many Filipino women have moved to the First-World through marriage migration. Almost half a million Filipinos are married to foreign spouses as of 2014.[4] Although there are many possible reasons that account for marriage migration, marriage migration is a form of economic migration. This type of gendered migration from the Philippines to Australia specifically attracted negative attention in the media due to the spate of domestic violence and murders that involved Filipinos. The Centre for Philippines Concerns-Australia (CPCA) counts at least 44 Filipino women and children victimised since 1980.[5] Moreover, the presence of introduction agencies and 'mail-order bride' catalogues that facilitate migration did not sit comfortably with Australia's history of xenophobia. The alarmist tone of The Good Weekend article exemplifies that alarmist logic that certain types of migrations spell trouble.

As a collective undertaking, Filipino–Australian cultural history opens up a dialogue from the two ends of the spectrum to make the connection between Philippines' and Australia's social realities as embodied by the marriage migrant. For the fora of culture through which the community's works found expression—as resistance to sexualisation—is fundamentally based on the conservatism that undergirds the success of the Australian multicultural nation. Within multiculturalism, the political is culturalised. This resulted in the dilution of meaningful resistance as mere expressions rooted in the personal. Since the growth of the Philippine migrant community in Australia is a consequence of women's reproductive labour in the global economy, and that women's voices

are significant in expressing discontent to a system that extracts such labour, this book serves to present a migrant cultural history crucial in recovering what is political in the cultural.

Migration Down Under

There were 236,400 Philippines-born migrants in Australia as of June 2015, that is 1% of the entire Australian resident population.[6] This number does not include those of Filipino ancestry who were born in Australia and New Zealand, approximately at 224,725 persons in the year 2011.[7] Philippines–Australian community is one of the fastest-growing groups along side the Vietnamese–, Indian– and Chinese–Australians. Most Filipinos reside in the states of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland. They prefer to live in major urban areas, although they are more demographically dispersed than other immigrant groups, a legacy of the marriage migration flows that brought Filipino women to isolated mining towns, cattle farms and in the remote outback. Filipinos in Australia, although the arrival rate in the last 30 years had been high, had had a long history dating back to the late nineteenth century.

The 'first wave' of Philippines-born migration was in the 1870s, a labour migration of divers in the pearling industry. Before the end of the nineteenth century, there were around 700 people in Australia from Las Islas Filipinas (not yet the Philippine nation-state).[8] Brought to Australia as pearl divers in Western Australia and Queensland, these 'Manilamen' as they were called, together with Japanese and Chinese labourers, participated in the mix of races to form a small community of Filipinos. A successful *ilustrado* businessman named Heriberto Zarcal was a pioneer in the pearling industry in the Northern Territory. An *ilustrado* in Spanish Philippines—a member of the native elite class—Zarcal was even considered as the Philippines revolutionary government's 'diplomatic agent' to Australia to link the new nation to its neighbouring countries.[9] This 'first wave' of masculine migration integrated well with the local Aboriginal communities, marrying into and raising families; one such example are the Cubillos whose life stories are preserved in Inez Cubillo Carter's rich narrative.[10] Her family bears the name of a Filipino pearl diver who had ten children with a Larrakia–Scottish woman. These nineteenth-century migrants such as Carter's forefather, Antonio, were male, peasant class and 'native': the 'ideal' subject position to travel overseas for work. Antonio entered Australia

in 1895 under the Indentured Labour Scheme and subsequently established a cross-cultural Filipino-Aboriginal family.[11] These men had been at one point racially targeted during the years of 'white Australia' policy, forcing them to leave the country.[12] By 1947, the number of Philippines-born in Australia dipped to a low of 141 individuals as a result of the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act, restricting non-white peoples from entering Australia.[13]

Following the trickle of Spanish–Filipino *mestizos* (racially mixed) who migrated in the late 1960s after the relaxation of immigration law, thousands of Filipino women started to arrive in the 1970s. Either through friendly correspondence with the intention of pursuing a relationship or a casual encounter during a visit to the Philippines, this gendered migration flow had been established. The highest percentage of arrivals was in the years 1981–1990; the increase was twice as much as that of the percentage of all overseas-born migrants.[14] This proved to be the most definitive of diaspora exits from the Philippines to Australia.[15] This 'second wave' of Philippines-born migration was to significantly expand through the family reunification policy. Mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, aunts and uncles have come and formed their own families, thus exponentially expanding Filipino settlement in Australia, which peaked in 1987–1988. One study displayed panic and anxiety regarding the influx of the so-called 'mail-order brides', women from the Philippines who, whether they met their husbands via a catalogue or not, were assumed to be.[16] The report also offered preventive social policy strategies to mitigate the problem, which Australian authorities singularly associated with Philippines-born migrants.

When Australia's immigration policies shifted towards skilled migration, either through professional migration or temporary labour opportunities for the most in-demand skilled workers, the profile of Filipino migrants in Australia slowly changed. This 'third wave' of migrants comprised educated, middle-class, English-speaking professionals who are found in finance, information technology, and health care. Migrants from the Philippines have experienced a 'gentrification', so to speak. In the 2011 census, 69% of Filipino migrants have higher non-school qualifications, higher than the Australian average of 56%. Moreover, Filipino participation in the labour force at 75% is higher than the Australian national average of 65%. Finally, the median weekly income of Filipinos is AU$673. This figure is considerably higher than the AU$538 average for all overseas-born, and the national weekly income average of AU$577 for all Australians.[17]

The changing economic profile of migrants meant an increase in the number of all-Filipino families, residential concentration in metropolitan areas, the sex-ratio more balanced and a greater visibility in terms of community organisations and cultural formations. In this 'third wave', the flow of marriage migrants had been restricted due to legal measures such as the Serial Sponsorship Law in 1994 by the Australian Law Reform Commission.[18] The Serial Sponsorship Law was the culmination of the triumphant inquiry by the Australian Law Reform Commission, through the collaboration of Filipino and Australian women activists. The law limits the possibility of any Australian sponsor to invite a partner based on his or her economic capacity, criminal record or lack thereof, and also psychological and social behaviour. The measure is set in place to curb human trafficking, slavery and the physical and psychological violence that come with such relations marked by force and inequalities. Marriage migrants continue to come via the Partner Migration Visa program. From years 1989 to 2014, there had not been 1 year when partner migration is less than a 1000 persons.[19] The relative lack of sensationalised treatment of the 'mail-order brides' in Australia's media today is partly due to stricter sponsorship laws, the profile of sponsors and sponsored and also the improved media practices in presenting race relations and immigration issues.

Hyperfeminised Migration

Specifically the 'bride' migration of Philippines-born nationals occupies a marked place in the Australian immigration history. In 'Family Formation: Cultural Diversity in Marriages', Filipino women marrying Australians rose 'very sharply' in 1978 and peaked in 1986.[20] From 1974 to 1998—over a period of 24 years—the figure of a migrant from the Philippines to Australia has been typically a woman who is a partner of an (white) Australian. Despite a decrease in the early 1990s, spousal migrations 'have remained high', says the report based on previously unpublished data from marriage registrations. Among first-generation migrants, 32% of 'brides' from the Philippines are married to 'long-time Australians' (Anglo-Celtic by ancestry), while 37% of them are married to 'overseas-born Australians' who could be of Southern or Eastern European, South American or Middle-eastern ancestries.[21] This leaves 30% of Filipino women who are married to Filipino men. Most overseas-born men and women have 'quite similar' patterns in

marrying someone from their own birthplace, 'with one notable exception', the Philippines. The migration pattern is evidently gendered. While the 70% of the women are married to both 'long-time' and 'overseas-born' Australians, 78% of Filipino males marry within their own group. Citing these figures repeatedly in the media has cemented the reputation of Filipino women in the Australian imaginary as economic migrants who found in Australia a demand for their sexualised bodies.

The feminisation of migration through marriage is, however, not Australia-specific. From 1989 to 2014, on a worldwide scale, 436,854 Filipino women (91.5%) and only 40,980 Filipino men (8.5%) are married to foreign nationals.[22] In Australia, 37,998 women are registered to be partners of Australian nationals from years 1989 to 2014.[23] The Philippines occupies the fourth place in the highest number of Partner Migration visa holders, from years 2001 to 2011.[24] Other major marriage migrant destinations are the USA, Japan, Canada, Germany, South Korea, UK, Taiwan, Norway and Sweden. The exodus of women from the Philippines and their eventual settlement all over Australia is coeval with and interconnected with the feminisation of migrant labour as one of the consequences of the economic difficulties faced by the developing nations in the 1970s. As Saskia Sassen suggested, 'migrations do not just happen; they are produced'.[25] What was meant to be a provisional solution to the ballooning national deficit and massive unemployment, proved to be an effective palliative to a suffering economy under neoliberal structuring interpreted by local technocrats as a kick off towards a more internationalist system.[26] In 1974, under the Philippine Labor Code during the regime of Ferdinand Marcos, the state began to facilitate the movement of labour overseas. The global economic downturn in the 1970s was followed by loans from the IMF and World Bank which meant the erosion of social services and public welfare. Moreover, the economic discontent of Filipinos was intensified by the militarised repression under Marcos, in the name of combating the red scare against mounting socialist rebellion. In a manner of speaking, labour export had been a kind of safety valve that diffused social tension with the migrant earnings pumped into the domestic economy and the new wealth enjoyed by families. For migration to prevent the collapse of the country, however, was one, but the disintegration of the family and consequences on gendered roles was another. Cynthia Enloe wrote about the historically evidenced double burden of women workers who shoulder

the more demeaning and dirtier jobs during economic downturns.[27] Soon after the early male labour migrants sent to the Gulf states to work in the construction industry, Filipino women followed suit, as nurses, carers, nannies, maids and other feminised jobs. The flight of women as labour export has both financial and social impacts to the host and sending countries, but also, to a great extent, personal impacts. Sassen calls this the 'feminization of survival'.[28] Women migrants in global cities perform 'wifely' work in high-income households, but also professionals that serve public institutions such as hospitals and homes. Because of the shutdown of manufacturing in cities utilising masculine labour and the break-up of the traditional livelihood in the countryside, women must leave for personal and national survival. While Sassen's focus on global circuits draws her to nannies and carers, women as 'brides' I believe are plugged into the broader network of circuits that service global suburbia with their reproductive labour. It is not surprising that the figure of the 'mail-order bride', the backbone of the community's migration in Australia, is also a consequence of a regional geopolitics. US-based Filipina feminist NefertiTadiar theorised about the formation of the regional Asia Pacific in the 1980s.[29] The economic powerhouse of the USA, Japan and Australia had also been a strategic military partnership in the region. It is not a coincidence that the top three destinations of women marriage migrants from the Philippines are the USA, Japan and Australia, respectively.[30] The economic power of these countries, and the modernity they represent, is translatable to their masculine posturing, while the Philippines' inferior role results in hyperfeminised migration embodied in the figures of the 'mail-order bride', the entertainer and the carer.

Sexualised Citizenship

"Filipina women are more loving" says Roy Fittler, who married a Filipino woman, in an interview for Sydney's weekly, Good Weekend.[31] It was a simple, positive statement with possibly damaging consequences. Such is the legendary submissiveness of Filipino women in the Australian public's imaginary that engendered marriage migration since the 1970s. 'They put more into a marriage than Australian women do. They don't drink, they don't smoke, they don't hang around the house with a cigarette hanging out of their mouth,' continues Fittler.[32] This statement is meant to provoke reaction: first, a defensive one from Australian women,

and second, delight from Filipino women. However, without a critical view, Fittler's logic is simply a false valorisation of the Filipino woman, false demonisation of the Australian woman and a racialisation of sexual identities for both. For 'Australian women' here meant 'white Australian women'; those who embody sexual liberation and independence are neither Aboriginal Australians nor overseas-born Australians. Put differently, the Filipino woman as a sexualised citizen is in opposition to emancipated white women but also to all other women who are not as 'loving'. 'Loving', simply put, is another name for the affective work she has to fulfil. Her citizenship, moreover, is anchored on her reproductive promise to reproduce Australians. This promise is a kind of collateral for the migration she is allowed to make in the first place. Citizens who are citizens for their sex are corralled into bodily and affective functions. A Filipino woman is of much less value than the child she has given birth to or the husband she serves.

With their identity tied to being the usable sexual other, Filipinos' citizenship in Australia is premised on that negative portrayal that has captured Australia's critical attention in such a way that reveals citizenship under multiculturalism is not only as tacitly racialist but also as sexist. Citizenship is necessarily sexualised. Yet, Filipinos suffer an unmatched disrepute because of their depiction as desperate economic migrants. The situation is hardly ever explained as consequences of global forces, women's position as the 'second sex', transnational desiring of the exotic or the specificities of the Philippines' postcoloniality. The problem of the 'mail-order bride' is a problem because the logic of sexism tells that there are women who are more prostitutable than others. Observations lacking critical perspective do not see the global effect of sexism with economic recession; instead, they emphasise individuals who are bound by the destiny of their nationalities. As new Australian citizens, these women carry the baggage of their history, thus, their presence impacting on Australian multicultural politics in very specific ways. The almost knee-jerk association concerning Filipino–Australian interracial marriages to perceptions is exemplified in the study 'Living Diversity: Australia's Multicultural Future'.[33] On the question whether Filipino migrants (represented by 406 respondents) should keep their 'cultural identity', only 65% agreed, lower than Somalis and the Vietnamese, both at 85%.[34] This, and the much higher 'intercultural social contact' (67%), was interpreted as 'may be largely due to the fact that Filipino women are more likely than other women to be in interethnic relationships'.[35] Although careful in its use

of language, the study nevertheless, is quick to assume that the issue is related to their feminised migration.

Marriage migration from the Philippines revealed specificities about the history of immigration in Australia, its colonialist and racist past. One of such particularities is the high rate of sponsorship between Filipino women and Australian nationals from non-English speaking backgrounds, who occupy the lower rung in the hierarchy of Australianness. Filipino women are married to men from Italian, Eastern European and Greek backgrounds who found it less easy to settle with Anglo-Australian women, given their lower socio-economic status. This reveals that non-Anglo-Australian males—their subsequent stratification as working class and racialisation as not-really-white—were drawn to find foreign partners. Called 'wogs', denoting inferior class and racial standing, these men have at least the basic economic means necessary to participate in bringing in foreign women transnationally. Nevertheless, the traffic of 'brides' that ensued is a kind of emasculation by the dominant Anglo-Australian culture. Moreover, this is telling of the serviceability of these women on a personal level to individuals, but also contributive as reproductive and economic citizens to Australia's diversity.

More specifically, the arrival of marriage migrants underlined the sensitive race relations in Australia and the economic logic that undergirds this. The narrative of the 'mail-order bride' is tied to the power of white masculinity. The privilege of racial and economic right—such as to sponsor a wife from overseas—does not extend to Aboriginal Australians. When a 'mail-order bride' flies in by invitation of an 'Australian', it almost always is a racial claim, an entitlement available to white people. Indeed, in my 4-year stay in the country, I have not made the acquaintance of a Filipino women married to an Aboriginal Australian. While I do not say that there are none, a Filipino woman married to an Aboriginal Australia is a rarity. International marriage migration as racialised privilege tacitly implies the disenfrachisement of Aboriginal Australians as a class, which inhibits them from the First-World exercise of 'buying' wives, at least economically. While I do not suggest that Aboriginal Australians would not harbour Asian-exoticising fantasies, it is generally believed that white males are in a position to participate in transnational exocitisation of the Asian female. This difference does point out to the unevenness in the power relations that define 'whiteness' (or for that matter 'blackness') in Australia. On the other hand, the singular choice of most Filipino women to marry 'white'

(Anglo-Irish) and 'wog' Australians (non-Anglo-Irish men from immigrant backgrounds) might be a result of their own understanding of race relations in the Philippines. There are two possible explanations to this: First, the privileging of whiteness traceable to Spanish Philippines' racial hierarchy, fetishism for whiteness and mestizoness as a legacy of the Philippines' colonial history. One proof of this is the use of bleaching skin products prevalent among Filipino women of diverse social classes and belonging. Second, there is the inferior status of Philippine indigenous peoples in a society dominated by Malay–mixed-race Filipinos.

The stream of marriage migrants taking chances by writing letters to foreign men or by publishing personal information in catalogues and newspapers as it was in the 1970s and 1980s, continues today through the Internet and match-making by relatives. The international marriage migration that this form of intimacy leads to reflects the situation of the economic situation of the Philippines and its position as a postcolonial, peripheral nation in global geopolitics, on the one hand. On the other hand, it also reveals specificities about the history of immigration in Australia and its colonialist and racist past. The treatment that Filipino women migrants received had been an effect of xenophobia in multiculturalism, a contradiction no less. Scholars have critically evaluated the impact of official multiculturalism that sublimates racialist practices that govern the everyday lives of non-white immigrants. In particular, Ghassan Hage articulated how the failure to understand a paradigm shift of the ruling racial class to a pluralist one results in 'white multiculturalism'.[36] Everyday neo-fascist expressions of white-dominant culture, especially amongst the working class, are an effect of an Edenic loss: the displacement of the legitimacy of white rule but without the rhetoric to articulate the loss.[37] The slipping away of power as a symptom of the ravages of neoliberalism on the white working class was exhibited in the shaping of public opinion, for example, of 'mail-order brides' as social menace.[38] Thus, the constant reminder to tolerate people indebted to the (white) Australians' generosity: the gift of citizenship. Citizenship as gift means that those who received the 'gift' do not belong in Australia in the first place, thus, tolerating those who do not rightfully belong to the national body. The question of racial citizenship—to be part of the political, civic and social lives of ordinary Australians—is necessarily conditioned by the limits imposed by 'white multiculturalism'. One's proximity to whiteness is almost already premised on racial capital in the era of multiculturalism.

As sexualised citizens, the Filipino woman is portrayed as the sexual other of Australians, both men and women. The uproar that sexualised citizens caused was exemplified in a series of debates published in the *Australian Journal of Social Issues* from 1982 to 1983. This exchange clearly frames the debates around gender and multiculturalism. The exchanges reflect everyday opinions in letters to editors or television programmes only to a certain degree; non-academic opinions are often much less careful. The debate involved an Australian male, an Australian female, and a Filipino woman. The arguments they put forth reveal not only their own subject positions but also sectors in Australia that they represent. First, the Australian male academic initially suggested that 'Filipino brides are likely to be well educated, timid, modest and family oriented' in his defense against Filipino women's representation as desperate economic migrants.[39] An Australian academic Kathryn Robinson critiqued Watkins' near-sighted view of the migrant woman as 'support[ive] [of] the stereotype' was not a critical analysis of the 'mail-order bride' phenomenon.[40] Her comment focused on the class positions that Philippines-born migrants occupy, but that which is not deep enough to involve geopolitical relations to explain structural gendered violence. In a further comment, speaking from the 'authentic insider' voice as a Filipino–Australian woman, she claimed that both Watkins and Robinson 'seem to miss the point' on the two arguments.[41] First, the Australian male academic failed to realise that not all Filipino women are 'mail-order brides' such as herself, and second, that the Australian female academic failed to question the brand of feminism she espoused due to her resentment that white women could have 'something to learn' from subservient Filipino women.[42] The argument of the Filipina is another take on the asymmetry of relations within the women struggle between white and non-white women. While one view defends 'mail-order brides' as victims of structural injustices, another perceives that marriage migrants participate in their own victimisation. For one, they are characterised as desperate women who marry equally desperate, often underprivileged Australian males, a rather elitist response from white women who see marriage mostly from an economic prospect. Finally, the Australian male academic's rejoinder defended his position with a tangential 'wives have the real power' answer and stated that no woman must suffer at the hands of men.[43] This repartee where three subjectivities are represented—the Australian male academic married to a Filipino woman, the Filipino woman married to an Australian and the white

Australian female—exemplifies how exchanges were conducted along the limited narratives of opportunism, gender roles and cultural stereotypes while evading debate on structural inequalities.

Complications of Multiculturalism

One in five Australians was born overseas. Australia is now one of the most multicultural countries in the world like the USA, Canada, New Zealand, Italy, Germany and France, to mention a few. The high standard of living in Australia and its liberal democratic form of government has made it one of the most attractive migration countries. In 2013, 6.4 million or 28% of Australia's resident population was born overseas.[44] As of June 2016, the total resident population of Australia was over 24 million.[45] These overseas-born mostly hailed from the UK, New Zealand, China, India, Vietnam and the Philippines.

The multicultural and multi–racial society that Australia enjoys today had been due to a series of changes that departed from it restrictive immigration policies in the beginning of the twentieth century. In the 1960s, the white Australia ideal was no longer supportable due to the increasingly influential civil rights movements in the West and also in newly decolonised countries. In 1966, Australia began to accept qualified migrants, and then in 1973 under Gough Whitlam's government did Australia abandon 'white Australia' policy. This move was formally legislated in 1975 under the Racial Discrimination Act. The new policy welcomed immigrants, not simply to populate the vast island-continent, but to provide 'employment, housing, education and social services' to its new citizens.[46] Later, in 1981, Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser announced its commitment to a multicultural Australia that is not only culturally diverse but also socially cohesive. Fraser claimed that Australia has 'built a nation which today, by any international standard of comparison, must be judged as a success'.[47] He was referring to the solid official policy of multiculturalism but not to the tenuous realities of Australia's social life. While multiculturalism is well-received in urban areas, specifically among educated, middle-class cosmopolites, it is not as popular to many (white) Australians who saw it as a breakdown of a way of life. The 1990s saw the rise of former fish-and-chips entrepreneur-turned Queensland MP Pauline Hanson and her One Nation party as the voice of 'disenfranchised' Anglo-Australians. Hanson was against the unmitigated migration of Asians into Australia and the full enforcement

of multiculturalism that siphoned millions of taxpayers' money to integrate newly settled immigrants.[48] For Hanson's right-wing party and its supporters, such unabated multiculturalism could only be successful at the expense of silencing the voices of long-time (white) Australians. But why is such an ideal vision of multiculturalism so difficult to reconcile with the existing one?

In a multicultural society, diverse communities are organised in such a way as to encourage cultural expression and for authorities to promote policies that accommodate differences and encourage integration and mutual respect. Key to the success of minority groups to integrate well is to place institutions that nurture diversity, celebrate plurality, yet cohesive in their attempt to weave together the newly arrived and the old settlers in a seamless fabric. But in theory, the political economy of multiculturalism is a challenge to the ethnically homogenous nation-state ideal. It is an alternative set-up for countries whose histories combine indigenous displacement, colonial settlement and mass migrations such as Australia, Canada and the USA.[49] Pluralism as the regulative mandate of multiculturalism demands that 'ethnic' communities occupy a role in maintaining the logic that regulates racial tolerance, economic equality and citizenship opportunities. The Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), for example, established in 1977, was to become the initiative designed to complement the mainstream Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC). The project was created to help ethnic communities with poor English skills and access to information regarding health, jobs, social security, and so on; in other words, their eventual integration to the dominant mode of life in Australia. 'SBS is one of Australia's most important cultural institutions', argues Ang, Hawkins and Dabboussy, pointing out that as a public broadcaster, SBS's significance is to strengthen cultural diversity, thus, nation-building in a country like Australia.[50]

Multiculturalism, however, faces strong opposition. In 2010, Germany's chancellor Angel Merkel declared that multiculturalism 'absolutely failed'.[51] Not only that cultural diversity is under scrutiny, given Europe's climate of anti-Muslim, anti-immigration sentiments and the rise of the extreme right, it has suffered criticism without considering the racist regime under which multiculturalism was designed. One may be tempted to say that pronouncements that multiculturalism is dead are prophesies for a regime that does not wish it to succeed. Cultural diversity is, in the first place, a flight against deep-seated racial prejudices.

Multiculturalism in Australia, for example, must struggle against a long history of white supremacy. Like other social policies, multiculturalism follows the framework of cultural accommodation and with it a vocabulary for its propaganda, mostly to pursue political correctness. However, to achieve social cohesion despite racial, linguistic, religious and cultural differences requires more than propaganda. Critics charge that the pluralism behind multiculturalism is a sugarcoating of dominant structures that has existed since Australia's occupation of Aboriginal land.[52] Omi and Winant allege that pluralism is the new racism.[53] Pluralism hides racism lurking in a predominantly white society. Multiculturalism, therefore, necessitates a fundamental withdrawal of a racist regime; otherwise, there would only be tolerance and superficially created social bonds, such as diversity in media content, national celebrations, events, among other official forms of sociality. 'Ethnics' in a liberal pluralist society offer exoticism through food culture or participate in diversity parades, but they must exhibit 'Australianness' at the same time. There must be no contradiction. Political and social citizenships are, therefore, drawn from differences and invested in the performance of being a migrant. Immigrants are, not surprisingly, often clothed literally in their ethnic/national costumes during multicultural events.

The tolerance of minority cultures is the outcome of these many complex processes. Tolerance in race relations implies power relations between the tolerating authority and the tolerated.[54] To be tolerated as non-Anglo-Australian is expressed more kindly in cultural practices than in everyday life scenario. For example, tolerance in newspaper production spells a lack of urgency: communities write and publish for the consumption of their own members which need not even cross paths with the Australian majority. Ethnic newspapers simply exist unthreateningly. Written in characters where meaning is elusive, ethnic press does not seek to offend. A newspaper in a foreign language left on the train does not invite open engagement or repressed irritation as much as people speaking their alien tongue or clothed in their 'traditional' costumes. Ethnic newspapers as a cultural production are, therefore, a medium of tolerance of the majority. Unlike in shared public spaces or a queue in a welfare office, tension is palpable due to perceptions that others are undeserving of Australian privileges. In 2013, there had been reports of racist outbursts in Sydney's crowded public transport where Asian-looking passengers were verbally attacked and, with the notorious 'go back to your country' to punctuate the insults. The torrent of abuses

in these situations—perceived to be a mark of repressed feelings—does not seem to correspond with social settings celebrating diversity and cultures, festivities that are commonplace in Australia. These celebrations extolling the successes of multiculturalism conceal the ideology of tolerance that is disguised racialism. Or, perhaps, these valorising performances are the one side of the coin, while repressed contempt for immigrants is the other side.

In sum, the racism that multiculturalism hopes to overcome is reformulated into the more subtle understandings and applications of cultural otherness. Non-white immigrants know this only too well. Cultural otherness has dislodged racial differences, the basis of colonialist expansion, to become the standard by which people are safely evaluated. People of colour are 'different' because of what they are (culturally) not because they are racialised. Racism in multicultural societies is not racism any longer but swept under the universality of cultures being different from each other. Valentine Moghadam points to this return to culture since the late 1980s as a movement that 'has taken on a weight of its own, reified, even sacralised'.[55] Culture as a kind of transcendental signifier means that ethnically diverse communities in multicultural societies are in a position to deliver change, when, in fact, they are not in charge. Most Australians' socialisation processes are centred around the lesson that all cultures are equal and beautiful, but are also tacitly taught that while this may be true in the broader scheme of things, in Australia it is almost always better to be a white Anglo-Australian.

What I have done here is to historicise the Philippines' migration flow and to introduce the complexities traceable to their sexualised citizenship. In the next chapter, I elaborate on the research questions and methodologies I applied doing the research and also how a complicated relationship I had with Filipinos in Australia brought out nuances in my writing. This chapter offers social theories on migrant material culture, oral and archival research and reflections on cultural history.

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CHAPTER 3

Writing a Cultural History

Norma Hennessy recounts a popular joke amongst Filipino-Australians in her book: 'A newly arrived Filipina immigrant had been feeling homesick that she had developed the habit of writing and posting a letter to her family in the Philippines weekly. For months on end, she had religiously penned her thoughts on stationery, sealed it in an envelope, put a stamp on it and dropped it in a box. She never received a response…She felt so disappointed. Her friend was touched. She suggested that they go to the post office and ask… [T]hey came to a street corner where a couple of huge collection bins stood. The woman stopped. *Diyan*, ('There!') she said pointing, '*Diyan ako nagbubuson*!' (That's where I drop my letters!') Glaring back under the opening of the huge green tin container, in stark bold block letters, were the words: DROP YOUR LITTER HERE.[1]

The popularity of jokes such as this one highlights the difficulties that newly arrived Filipino marriage migrants face in Australia. In particular, the joke reveals the painful reality of a feminised migration that intersects with elitism and regionalism that Filipino migrants exercise against each other. The cynicism of the passage may not be readily comprehensible to everybody. But for Filipinos, the joke stereotypes women from the Visayas as 'mail-order brides', as bar girls, as uneducated and incapable to speak English properly. 'Visayas' refers to a cluster of islands in the middle of the Philippines' archipelago and where people speak a lingua franca called 'Visaya'. This language is characterised by the inversion of the 'e' and 'I' phonetic sounds. The reference to Visayan women

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as maids and bar girls may have originated from the mass exodus of its inhabitants to Manila in the post-war years, also often attached to the mushrooming of illegal settlements all over the city. The perception that Visayan 'mail-order brides' are bar girls or shades thereof is also possibly attached to the poverty that underlined the post-war internal migration but also the intra-Philippines construction of them as lazy.

This joke is part of Philippines-Australia cultural history. It is included in published materials by Filipino-Australians, orally delivered during parties or maybe even a real-life incident experienced by a marriage migrant. What does it mean to write a cultural history of a feminised diaspora? What are the lessons learned after all the interviews, data gathering and analyses are over?

Migrant Material Culture

A cultural history of migrants negotiates the physical gesture of migration—the very materiality that translocation from one country to another entails—and the ways people are represented and their acceptance or rejection of those representations. The production of cultural materials and their consumption illuminates three facets of the Filipino community that inform the writing of its ethnography: (1) the growth of the community and the subsequent formation of an ethnic enclave; (2) the composition and differences between social groups and (3) the issues that resonate for the group and thus contribute to the writing of its cultural history. A look at the variety and distribution of migrant print culture reveals that there is not one Filipino-Australian cultural history as there is no singular Filipino-Australianness. In this section, I outline the important issues that underwrite materiality and its contribution in understanding the world. In attempting to make meaning of their migration, have Filipinos made themselves more legible, more 'material', more 'ethnic', thus, paradoxically more invisible?

'Material culture' is a term often found in the fields of anthropology and archaeology to refer to things; what these things mean to the people of a specific culture and why and how they came about.[2] Ian Woodward offers a straightforward description of 'material culture' as a term that 'emphasizes how apparently inanimate things within the environment act on people, and are acted upon by people, for the purposes of carrying out social functions, regulating social relations and giving symbolic meaning to human activity'.[3] Material culture studies makes sense of the

presences often overlooked: houses, tools, technology, food, jars, spears, grave sites, ladles, shoes, cars, books, umbrellas, Coca-Cola, mobile phones and so on; the list is infinite. The field makes sense of what things people use and how they use them to explain their attributes, identity, familial relations, consumption and production: their sociality in general. The relationship between the 'subject' who creates and the 'object' created has a deep dialectical connection because 'we both produce and are the products of these historical processes'.[4] There can be no fundamental separation between humanity and materiality.[5] This notion of materiality is not only embedded in history but also imbued with the use and creation of power. Indeed, materiality and power are combined in the introduction of colonialism and capitalism in indigenous societies. In order to make the 'natives' more visible in the eyes of colonial governments—indeed more 'material'—they are ushered into a new period: of conduct, of habits, of consuming and of doing things. The colonised needed to grasp the new set of materiality that replaced, often violently, their lives as they knew it. From naming, indexing, demographic inclusion, education, language-learning, dressing, housing, eating, amongst many other techniques, colonialism and capitalism are slowly given greater ground in the lives of the indigenous.

Things, objects, technologies and materials—tangible, visible, tactile and portable—are nevertheless a product of mental exercise.[6] Certainly, to make things from no-thing is a culmination of cognitive power rendered by the hands of a maker. This means that the performance of objectification is in itself an act of agency. By implication, this means that objects and things need not be lifeless and inanimate; they have agency.[7] Far from what Daniel Miller calls 'the humility of things', a common misconception, objects are imbued with great social power to change things, so to speak.[8] I want to focus on these last two points in relation to material culture in print: material objects are neither lifeless nor inanimate; they wield social power in immigrant settings. In my study, however, the things to be analysed—although very tangible, visible, tactile and portable—may appear to be less 'qualified' than what anthropologists or archaeologists define as 'material culture'. A review of literature reveals studies on the material culture of indigenous peoples, colonised territories, ancient periods and sites, museum collections and so on. Compared to earthenware and gravesites, books and newspapers seem to be either too 'intellectual'; less object-like for their objectivity—their thingness—is very much entwined with their non-material uses. It seems

quite difficult to see books and newspapers as mere objects in the way people see a toilet bowl or cricket bat as objects; a book or a newspaper remains to be read for its function beyond its immediate materiality. Without them being read for what they have to say, a book may cease to be a book, or a newspaper, not a harbinger of news at all.

As a facet of migrant life, print culture may be a most 'authoritative' playing field of representations. The use of the term 'authoritative' here is a self-deconstructing one for I do not believe that other forms of expression are less important. However, other forms such as fiesta, activism and money-sending practices are traceable in print, too. The permanence of printed materials over digital forms is crucial because representations are themselves highly unstable, shifting, power-negotiated and imagined. Christopher Tilley, a leading material culture theorist, asserts that the continuum of what qualify as an object of material culture studies should be expanded.[9] He suggests that the creation of meaning, the act of interpreting material culture is a form of materiality: '[e]very material object is constituted as an object of discourse. What this means is that objects only become objects in discourse'.[10] This nuanced reading of materiality and meaning-making is key: it undermines the perception of books and newspapers as quasi-matter. The production of material culture as a field is based on discourse and cannot be outside it despite things possessing physical existence. Although material culture studies claimed back thingness, the linguistic representation of things is undeniable. 'Relative materiality' is an apt term that refers to this non-equivalence wherein some objects are more material than others; some more significatory.[11] My take is that print culture is neither violence to the territory that material culture holds dear nor a rather weak claim on the materiality of read-things as the final act of consumption. Print culture, however, is necessarily an 'intellectual' culture. Books and newspapers inhabit that middle space where materiality and intellectuality intersect. It is not enough to look at, carry, touch or buy a book; one has to read it!

Discussion of the 'intellectuality' of print material culture implies that printed things are much imbued with cultural signification. I say this without asserting that non-reading materials are not a result of much reflection. The material importance of print, on the other hand, is often elided because materiality itself is constitutive of printing and print implies tangible presence. The stack of ethnic newspapers piled outside an ethnic store is material enough whether copies end up in the bin

or in the garage of a suburban home. Crucial to this is the paradoxical relationship between being a mere thing and the significance of being cultural. It is as if the imagined spirit that gives soul to high culture is antithetical to being matter. In material culture where everything is cultural,—as everything is an artefact of one's "cultivation"—books and newspapers seem to attract a categorisation that leans towards culture imbued with significatory processes and representations. The intellectual capital invested in writing and publishing points not only to culture as to till, to cultivate, to take care of but also to the finesse and finality of the effects of print culture.

Benedict Anderson ascribed much importance to the novel and newspapers in the formation of the nation.[12] He coined the term 'print-capitalism' in order to describe that phenomenon that engendered national consciousness. Print culture and capitalism both created the highways of communication that linked peoples with different ethnolinguistic backgrounds that share an often-imposed national lingua franca. More so, 'print-capitalism' which according to Anderson allowed 'a new fixity to language' also created an 'image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation'.[13] Central to this communion is the novel as a genre whose readers characterise the 'solidity of a single community' and newspapers as 'extraordinary mass ceremony'.[14] Anderson explores the narratorial device in Jóse Rizal's Noli Me Tangere, the opening chapter of which discusses Capitan Tiago's *bahay na bato* (stone house) and the banquet he would host through its interior time of the novel and the exterior time of late nineteenth century Manila.[15] Jóse Rizal is the Philippines's national hero who inspired the 1896 revolution for independence against Spain. Anderson points out how Rizal assumed a community of readers who participate in the narrativisation of the events in the novel, a unique engendering of collective imagination, new to Filipino literature at the time. Newspapers, similarly, presuppose a community of readers that indulge in mass communication without being fully conscious of their communion. The material possibilities afforded by print-capitalism are central to the sameness of experience; the engagement with one thing is as pivotal as the content of the thing.

More than 200,000 citizens of Filipino ancestry in Australia would never meet each other or would know of each other's concerns. Yet, despite the distances between Sydney and Perth, or Adelaide and Darwin, the Filipino-Australian nation is imaginable. The very materiality of print culture is an imagining of this nation in diaspora where

members vicariously meet each other and may even know each other's concerns. The cogency of Anderson's formulations influenced many works on Filipino migration studies, such as those in the USA.[16] Diaspora communities are motivated by the sameness of one another and their difference from all the rest. Migrant groups are traditionally depicted as transplanted scions of a distinguishable group of people alien to the new territory, a form of distant ethnocentrism. Grounded by an imagined sameness, it is in things 'cultural' where diasporic identity always already manifests; a Filipino-Australian tabloid is still a concrete presence, more than just a symbol. The finesse, with which books and newspapers display a 'national' culture, and the finality of their efficacious materiality to bind a group of people, makes print material culture vacillate between two worlds: that of being 'Filipino' and 'not quite Filipino'. The cultural fluctuations that migration engenders subsequently give way to what Aihwa Ong calls 'translocal publics', 'the new kinds of borderless ethnic identifications enabled by technologies and forums'.[17] Filipinos from all over the globe could now engage in a formation of cultural histories without the limits of physical geography. While this kind of materiality is not within my scope, I recognise the move towards the creation of new arenas, to which Filipinos in Sydney engage in but without printing newspapers.

Material culture is a vanguard of posterity: cultural history, a documentation. Things and knickknacks keep death and forgetting at bay. Not only does material culture recreate time gone by, it also reconstructs space. Ethnic newspapers, in a similar way, have compiled a version of the community's history over the past decades, but more so, they constructed a Philippines frozen in time, as first-generation migrants knew it. They are anti-amnesiac capsules that come in monthly dosage, for free. The efficacy of print culture against collective amnesia is potent since it functions as a collection—an archive—of information, photographs, names, bulletins, telephone numbers, weddings, baptisms, graduations, advertisements, deaths and so on. Not only do migrants protect themselves against forgetting, but others are also able to visit and revisit the trajectory of their collective immigrant destiny. My experience in retrieving data from the print archives gathered from various sources made it possible to insert myself into that history many times over. The historiographical potential of print culture as an archive of knowledge (therefore of power) traces not only a group's migration history but also the development of Filipino-Australianness as a subculture.

Filipino cultural history in Australia is 4 decades old. They produced a material culture necessitated by their conditions. Indeed, Filipinos in Australia have things that can be counted as material culture such as food, visual art, José Rizal's memorial in Campbelltown, remittance centres, Filipino/Asian stores, among a few others. However, newspapers and books are cultural things produced out of the very conjunction of national/ethnic origin and migrant environment. Books and newspapers are published for the gap they fill in borne out by the conditions of diaspora. They are the migrant footprints headed in one direction, their unique material culture. Materiality also militates against forgetting, something that migrant literature hopes to do. Long after their money transfers have been spent and *balikbayan* boxes (literally 'homecoming' boxes) unpacked at the receiving end, migrants will always have their books and newspapers as evidence of their diasporic status. Only this time, books and newspapers are no longer mere things; they have become artefacts. They are constitutive of Filipino-Australian cultural history for their 'social lives'[18] are a triangulation of Australian multicultural politics, their creators' place in it and the materials themselves as they make their way to the consciousness of their readers. Interestingly, the social lives of these materials are to a great extent defined by mobility: the mobility of their producers and writers, the very history of movement within Australia and the Philippines and between them and the ease with which these objects are pushed and pulled across national borders.

Cultural History and the Multicultural Economy

The question how representations and migrant cultural history engenders the multicultural subject is pertinent in the study of Filipino-Australians. Multicultural representation is authorised fiction by white Australia on the pretext that representatives speak for their people. Such delegation of power to an 'ethnic' leader is an example of institutional racism and political containment observed in Australian multiculturalism. Such governmentality can be likened to managing a zoo, 'aim[ed] at regulating the modality of inclusion of the Third World-looking migrants in national space.'[19] 'Ethnic affairs' and 'community relations' are commonly used terms by the Australian institutions, which hints at the importance of managing its immigrant population. Omi and Winant speak of such a climate in the USA. They wrote that the making of the

multicultural subject faces a 'racial dictatorship' operating in the political system. 'Ethnics' are 'forced inward upon themselves' where 'tremendous cultural resources were nurtured among such communities… to develop elements of an autonomy and opposition under such conditions'.[20] These resources accumulate over the years to form a cultural history that is reflective of a migrant group's struggles.

Being ethnic in multicultural Australia is an everyday struggle. The stereotype of immigrants as a burden dependent on state welfare engenders racism. On the other hand, when a migrant family acquires wealth, this becomes articulated as excess, an aberration, a further validation of migrants' status as a breed of people defined by money they aspired to accumulate by migration, another stereotype. I have picked up the stereotypes where an extraordinarily decorated house in the southwest of Sydney meant it belonged to a drug dealer, or if it is a garishly decorated mansion with Corinthian columns, a Greek owned it. Amongst Asian migrants, money refers to Chinese, Japanese and partly, Koreans. When a young middle-class Filipino, Sef Gonzalez, murdered his family members, it was read as a tragic end of a migrant family by the media. His parents were depicted to aim (too) high for him to be a heart surgeon and his sister to marry well. Lee Glendinning, journalist and once a neighbour of Gonzales wrote that the house they lived in was an 'ostentatious structure which soared above the other houses on the modest street'.[21] This powerful imagery points to the incompatibility of money and ethnicity without acknowledging that it is often through money that Australia's racial others buy off the stigma of their difference. Australia's power over those it stereotypes is a way of guiding citizens in the performance of their belonging. For example, bias against of 'ethnics' in professional spheres lead to their de-skilling. Whether due to their accents or the conditional acceptance of overseas qualifications, migrants face significant challenges in gaining employment. Many open ethnicity-related businesses, which in turn resulted in entrepreneurial enclaves, often articulated as the business acumen of migrants.

The making of a cultural history in diaspora is also tied to the processes of managing ethnic relations and the production of the multicultural subject. Filipino-Australian cultural history is tainted by ethnic money. Newspapers, newsletters and anthologies are not only materials born out of migration, they are also materials with exchange value, produced and circulated as commodities. Newspapers survive because of entrepreneurs investing in ethnicity. However, there are loci of ethnicity

where the money generated is more than in print culture: beauty contests, raffle draws, remittance centres, food production and distribution, Asian stores, sports fests, religious networks, balikbayan boxes freight, international call cards and the list goes on. All of these are perceived with more materiality than intellectual work for their ability to move in and out of the market through monetary exchange. In a Filipino store in Parramatta, west of Sydney, a book is displayed behind the counter, away from the consumables like duck eggs and fish sauce. The commonness of consumables may be read as lesser symbolic signification, thus, less authoritative. Yet, like them, print commodities are suffused with the chimerical Filipino identity and weighed by the materiality of being ethnic.

The economic processes of production, distribution and consumption in selling ethnicity (and multiculturalism) are tied to the emerging capitalist class in ethnic groupings. A chain of Thai restaurants, Asian stores in malls, fiesta production companies, ethnic law and accounting firms, among others, have created a coterie of entrepreneurs selling the community's 'difference' as consumable. Even multinationals like Heinz Hamper believe in courting ethnic consumption: Heinz Hamper won an award in New South Wales for its campaign to sell corned beef to Filipino and Maltese communities, which apparently eat more canned beef than all other groups.[22] *Carne norte*, literally 'meat from the north', has a very specific history that harks back to American presence in the Philippines. It was rationed food to the US troops during World War II. The post-war years saw the mainstreaming of corned beef to the diet of the Filipino working class, thus, the specifically material culture practice of Filipinos in Australia.

Ethnic newspaper production, however, defies the common rules of commodification. None of the ethnic newspapers studied for the project is actually sold; they only need to be picked up. The contents of the ethnic newspapers, nevertheless, are commodities for advertisers investing in their significance to the reading community. Needless to say, the very ethnicity of the contents is the commodity: 'Filipinoness' is the commodity and the people behind it are what Philip Kasinitz call 'ethnicity entrepreneurs'.[23] The cycle of production in Filipino ethnic newspapers is unique in its changing 'commodity state' before, during and after production and consumption. In the same vein, books require more capital and have greater exchange value in theory.

I discuss this for it highlights the fact that while the exchange value of material things today is foremost, it is not everything, at least not in migrant communities. Moreover, the ability to be able to publish and call oneself a 'Filipino-Australian writer' is a privilege that commands far greater symbolic value in a relatively small community. The symbolic value of objects is far more prominent in things printed because print has always been conferred as the powerful medium that educates, empowers, unites and signifies, for a long period of time. Despite the dwindling exchange value of books and newspapers, their thing-ness is a strength that gives birth to a migrant identity.

Class relations are integral in the production of cultural history in multicultural Australia. Differentiation in class and education informs recognition. Cultural history implies a certain regard at what must be included in that history. The importance conferred on cultural and symbolic capital, for subjects to distinguish themselves from others, informs ethnic print culture. Filipinos behind ethnic newspapers are convinced of their own importance within the community. They believe that they influence in herding the ethnic flock and authoring its history. While material culture in diaspora is an approximation of the 'Filipino' way of life without troubling the 'real' Australians, their very lives are configured by the immediate and the tangible: of what matters most. That gravitational pull of print culture to 'distinctive' people is tied to issues of money is evident. The newness of money to a migrant, the experience of power brought about by money and money acquired to remit back 'home' are all linked to the processual ways by which money buys distinction. An almost fetishistic celebration of money is palpable in the ways ethnic newspapers juxtapose the poverty of 'home' and the affluence of (Filipino) Australians: the golf tournaments, travels to Europe, a new business, philanthropy, to mention a few.

The Uses of Oral and Archival Histories

Studying the cultural history of Filipino migrants in Australia necessitates a good measure of detective work in finding what materials are recoverable and the circumstances that engendered their production. There were three stages in data gathering: (1) the familiarisation with and accumulation of printed materials; (2) interviewing informants shortlisted from a long list of personalities and (3) the close reading and analysis of

texts. This three-tiered method of data collection, however, was predated by an informal immersion that started on the day I arrived in Sydney. The inside/outside subjectivities I vacillate to and from—for I was a migrant for the broader Australian public and yet not really a migrant for Filipino-Australians—are life-worlds I temporarily inhabited in the duration of my research.

One positive outcome of researching Filipino-Australian cultural history is the writing of the history of the community's ethnic newspapers, something that has not been attempted before. This was met by an enthusiastic response from editors and publishers who knew the importance of newspapers in community building. In fact, an editor whipped up his short version of this history in an article in his newspaper soon after our interview.[24] His gesture provoked animosity for allegedly deliberately omitting the name of another editor. A publisher/editor of a defunct newspaper threatened to sue me if I interviewed her former colleague in the newspaper with whom she had an animosity. This is a clear instance in which this research has intervened in the affairs of the community.

What was the very first Filipino community newspaper in Australia? Who dreamt and accomplished the goal of giving form to the collective story of the community? Does the spirit of publishing a newspaper that gathered the brightest and bravest of Filipino expatriates in Barcelona in coming up with *La Solidaridad* (first published in 1889) the same one that guided those in Australia? How do community newspapers reinforce their 'imagined community' amidst conditions that demand of migrants a different set of political loyalties and exercises? The research began with newspapers because they are a collective effort that draws contributions from others to document an immigrant public sphere. In the history of solidarity movements, nation-building and revolutionary struggles, the newspaper is present and potent: often a symbol of freedom of speech or the fight for it. As is often claimed, a single issue of a community's newspaper is a document of the community's past, present and its future aspirations. Although often initiated by members of the intelligentsia, the newspaper's growth tells of the eventual participation from a greater number of members and is often a source of the inner dynamics of a system. Benedict Anderson famously articulated the significance of newspapers as 'one-day best-sellers' which are consumed 'in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull'.[25] Newspapers are integral in the imagining of communal everyday life in diaspora. An ethnic newspaper in one's hands is more

than a compression of time and space; it reminds one that all is not lost despite the wages of migration.

Archival work proved to be an essential component in cultural history recovery because sources and materials are often not readily available in established institutions. Preservation of historical documents had not been particularly important for Filipino-Australians. A Philippine Resource Centre in Melbourne was operational for a few years in the early 1980s archiving Filipiniana materials. However, there are many publications that were not archived. It was not unusual for me to write the publisher or the author for a copy of their work. The disadvantage of not having properly archived materials is, however, compensated by oral history through the availability of an active population of first-generation migrants. The usefulness of orality in cultural history is even more pronounced if official histories are not available; or if there were, oral history provides a comparative text with which written histories can be evaluated. Despite suffering marginalisation in the nineteenth century, the resurgence of orality as a method of research in the 1970s points to the 'fundamental relationship between history and the community'.[26] For the purposes of historical reconstruction, oral history has given voice, participation and representation in history to the working class, the indigenous and other cultural and political minorities—those 'hidden from history'—specifically women.[27] Those who are traditionally peripheral to the practice of documentation are recovered from oblivion, so to speak, through oral history, but more so, they are able to 'assert [their] interpretation of that past'.[28] Despite criticisms of oral history as methodologically flawed—because memories are not reliable—the proliferation of oral history societies and academic journals devoted to oral history have not ceased in promoting its serviceability. For Alessandro Portelli, the so-called flaw is a misrecognition for 'oral sources are credible but with a different credibility'.[29] This difference is precisely what makes oral history unique and useful: not because it draws out hard facts but because it departs from it. Moreover, what he calls the 'partiality' of oral sources—its 'unfinishedness' and its 'taking sides'—is what renders it as creative, interactive and revisable platform in the historiographical process.[30]

It is in this light that orality is crucial in the writing of a history of Filipino diaspora culture in general. In this study, the use of oral histories in the production and consumption of print culture of a tiny slice of Australian minority fits congruously in reconstructing the material

origins of this community life. However, oral history that perpetuates the 'community myth', often offered by the middle stratum (neither the too poor for they often are not articulate nor the too rich for they may have written their own histories), should also be reflexively considered.[31] The power of the middle stratum in monopolising the perpetuation of myths or the creation of new ones is exemplified by this example. In the 2011 census, 33,398 (43%) of Philippines-born migrants speak Tagalog while 50,496 (30%) speak Filipino. Before the 2006 census, Filipino and Tagalog speakers were counted as one. What brought about this change? My interviews with leading community leaders revealed that there was a strong lobbying from the 'middle stratum'. These were the ones who have the authority of representation in the community, which in this case were those who refused to acknowledge that Manila-centric Tagalog—the regional language on which Filipino (national language) is based—is, de facto, the nation's lingua franca. The ethnolinguistic divisions in the Philippines are exported to Australia: some would rather differentiate Tagalog from Filipino instead of adding another language amongst the hundreds listed in the census.

Writing this history through interviews among migrants with conflicting interests is also a demanding task that requires balance. Snowballing as a way of tapping potential interviewees is common. Because snowballing occurred within certain cliques, there were attempts by others to stop me from reaching out to prospective sources. This creative strategising hints at the power of speaking and representing of the 'middle' stratum with very material manifestations. I was even threatened by one interviewee if I would try to reach her former colleagues for an interview. Battling it out for the right to represent and the privilege to speak makes more sense if editors and writers are framed but also frame themselves not only as gatekeepers of the community but also as entrepreneurial agents in the marketplace of ethnicity. But this power to influence is minute in relation to Australian multicultural machinery. Despite these very privileged yet relational positions of power, my interviews, instead of making the 'subaltern' speak, reveal struggle for discursive power, forging of alliances, alignment of interests, among others, which are nonetheless very worthwhile on their own. On the other hand, they have not been entirely negative; these interviews also revealed solidarity, networking and common interests.

Weaving a written narrative from the oral accounts and interpretations of Filipino-Australians who either published, edited or wrote for a

newspaper of their own and their rivals' experiences in the industry of migrant material culture is not easy. Mostly relying on their memories of events that happened some 30–40 years ago, my interviews with the informants were characterised by uncertainty, at times self-doubt, suggesting I should counter-check through other sources and at other times followed up by an email for clarifications. This challenge of constructing history through orality is further complicated by personality differences if not openly hostile attitudes towards a colleague. Thus, validation of details via another informant's version may be unreliable as layers of misunderstandings have jaded the recollection of a past they shared. This problem makes it impossible to make an accurate claim as to the dates of publication especially when the editors or publishers themselves do not have master copies of their newspapers.

Reflections on Doing Migrant Cultural History

In the field, I had to confront the question of truth and reflexivity in doing ethnography to one's community and not being a researcher at the same time. First, interviews do not guarantee the recovery of truth or truth-values from the participants. However, it is neither an obligation of an interviewee to divulge, for instance, to admit that she was a sex worker prior to migration in Australia, nor it is the responsibility of the researcher to find out details that do not necessarily enrich the study per se. This leads to the second point, an investigator must recognise her impact as a subjective force in the research. While the analytical reflexivity that goes with 'migrant consciousness' is not easily acquired by outsiders, someone possessing 'migrant consciousness' must exercise internal caution in mapping her subjects who, in turn, map the researcher. As sexualised citizens, I suffered humiliation with the rest of Filipinos in the hands of racist and sexist instruments in Australia. Thus, I have been cautious not to fall into the trap of sexualising them as well.

My being an 'ethnic' (non-white) researcher doubles my role as a researcher-designer and also as 'the researched' in the research process. The sum of my experiences in white Australia, more specifically, the sum of my experiences as a woman belonging to the 'mail-order bride' community, allows me to have this double consciousness. While I do not necessarily argue that I was a more competent researcher on the topic than a non-Filipino, my double emplacement nevertheless deepened my involvement. Take, for instance, Olga Bursian's research on Filipino

marriage migrants in Sydney. Being the 'typical Australian', she admitted having little knowledge about the Philippines except its grinding poverty: 'absolute poverty is the Filipino life world's constant backdrop'.[32] During an interview, once she heard the name 'Subic' uttered by her informant (Melba), she made the mental mapping that she was possibly a former prostitute from the said military base. This, which the unknowing participant was not willing to reveal, Bursian tried to confirm with other Filipino women she interviewed. Bursian thus concludes that Melba experienced 'greatest poverty and had to have recourse to the sexualised avenues available for women in her country to survive'.[33] While this Australian researcher may possess fictitious 'aesthetic sympathy'—an apt term Virginia Woolf used to describe her own feelings towards working class women[34]—Bursian was not careful of her judgements. 'Fictitious sympathy' does not militate against trapping an informant as a sexualised citizen. Whenever Australians mention 'Philippines', 'sex', 'prostitutes' and 'mail-order bride' in one sentence, it is me they have in mind. (Whether or not I am a prostitute or a 'mail-order bride' is beside the point.) This pain is very real and this informs my work as a researcher-writer. I am a double agent in this project, the one searching but also partly 'the searched'. The ethnographic gaze falls upon me. The humility, the sadness and the embarrassment I referred to earlier are mine to shoulder as well. Bursian's limitations is not shared by Saroca, who identifies herself with the community, or by Tibe-Bonifacio, a Filipino woman, both of whom have deep and sensitive 'migrant consciousness' reflected in their scholarship.[35]

During fieldwork, I have experienced uncanny situations with Filipino-Australians who have taken offensive or defensive stances based on known common prejudices amongst Filipinos. Sometimes, the offense comes from the irritation that my research has bothered to take the opinions of other personalities. Indeed, qualitative research depends on many variables that do not only include my position but also the interrelationships amongst the participants within a small immigrant community and had previous dealings—good or bad—with each other. In other words, the interviewees who participated in the research have an ongoing conversation because of their shared history. The fieldwork can be considered as an interruption of this conversation where participants were given the chance to relationally evaluate not only their own contribution to the community but also that of others. On the other hand, my presence as a stranger (a temporary migrant) is also an

intervention more than just an interruption. As a researcher seen to be an agentic entity who would write a cultural history of the community, I somehow intervened in their current state of affairs. Given the fact that I interviewed first-generation migrants who have shared the same fields and habitus[36]—the same temporal and spatial marginality of being "ethnic" in Australia—this means they all participate in the same game and respond to the set of rules. While a few of them clearly distanced themselves from 'Blacktown Filipinos', the responses I received were meant to be clarificatory attempts to my discursive intervention. I, as a researcher, was put in a position of being inadvertently complicituous with one participant against another. Although I am cognizant that anthropologists and ethnographers—'we are using other people for our own purposes all the time'—I had been—to a much lesser degree than they are of 'use' to me—used as well.[37]

To conclude, designing a methodology to write a cultural history on sexualised citizenship of Filipino migrants in Australia is a challenge; to conduct an ethnography that is ethical and sensitive. More importantly, a researcher who is conscious of the sexist and racialist, not to mention class-based, prejudices that have immobilised and silenced the Filipino community is all the more challenged to factor this in the research process. While I do not suggest that there is a way that singularly guarantees an ethical project, I do imply that the adjustments, specificities and the little details a researcher designs into her work are integrally connected to the very history of migration which her subjects are constructed by and, in turn, help to construct. On the other hand, a methodological design that is fixed on the 'mail-order bride'—if such is ever possible in the social sciences—is in danger of boxing the subject in a hole wherein which it becomes impossible to come out. A 'mail-order bride' research may not only be conceptually limiting, it could also be the exact opposite of liberation to which such attempts are directed.

Notes

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CHAPTER 4

Representations of a Sexualised Citizen

Geraldo Rivera, the US talk show host, equating foreign brides to 'a household appliance with sex organs' created a vivid image of how these women are represented.[1] In 2009, actor Alec Baldwin joked how he would eventually get himself a 'Filipina mail-order bride' as he was getting older but without a wife. He later apologised to the Filipino people.[2] Even headlines like 'Filipina brides heroines of Australian outback', Richard Jackson, do not alleviate the singularity by which Filipino women are attached to the label 'mail-order bride'.[3] The onslaught of negative depictions of the hyperfeminised Filipino woman in the Australian media from the 1970s to the 1990s has pushed the entire community to a corner where shame and women have become inextricable from each other. This is why Filipino-Australian cultural history has been invested with the responsibility to counter the prevailing discourse. The negativity around the 'bride' issue has made the question of representation a great importance. The images of the Filipino woman in film, television and print media have engendered a sizeable scholarship critiquing the abuses of sensationalism[4] and policy-making responses to counteract its injurious effects.[5]

This chapter focuses on how the production of Philippines-Australian cultural history is much informed by representations of Filipino women migrants' bodies. It also reflects on the processes in the writing of such cultural history. How are these representations carved in cultural history The material culture framework I use in analysing Filipino-Australian works exposes the struggle for respect, but also puts emphasis to these

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works as representative of that struggle. While there are many sites by which immigrant cultural history could be approached—such as community festivities, food production, distribution and consumption and money remittance practices, to mention only a few of the centrepieces of diaspora life, print is an equally compelling site of materiality. Through the presentation of what constitutes Filipino print culture and the actual labour invested in it, diaspora history emerges out of this very materiality.

Being Filipino had its epistemic advantages but also the disadvantage of familiarity, a contradiction that creates tension in doing ethnography. There were times when a sense of wonder (how migrants do their 'thing') suddenly turns into doubt, sometimes mistrust. As a Filipino is aware about issues of the diaspora, I was inclined to place a new acquaintance within a socio-political framework that does not often agree with their interpretation of their own migration. Given the colonial history of the Philippines and the unequal distribution of wealth, and the intersections by which migration uses, reinforces, changes and challenges these two strong social forces, my emplacement as a non-migrant separates me from the rest of them. While my 'Filipinoness' afforded me convenience, ethnicity as 'trump card', I also cause uneasiness because I do not possess the critical distance of a foreigner yet, I was not one from their community. I attribute this cautious behaviour to what I described as symptoms of sexualised citizenship. Decades of negative representation in Australian media have engendered symptoms of distrust and shame.

The Politics of Representation

'Representation' as a term is quite common in the English-speaking world: one encounters it in everyday life. One is represented by another. One in turn represents others in an endless cyclical routine. Yet, the structures of frame constantly shift, thereby generating conflicts that flow with each other. In mass media and mainstream politics, representations happen with obvious benefits. What does it mean to *re-present*? What moral obligations are there when one solicits representation?

Representation, as in making present again, is well known in the arts where, for instance, a recognisable figure in a painting could represent beauty or truth or a national symbol. On the other hand, representation, as in standing in for something or someone, is almost always related to political life where representative democracy is all about a select few

who stand for the multitude. In many instances and forms, such as those experienced by multicultural societies, representation of a group means symbolically presenting an idea or a political stance. These two definitions of 'representation' are so intertwined that divorcing would be too reductive and simplistic. So entrenched is "representation" in Western philosophy that it self-explains its all-too-common uses; on the other hand, this comfort has resulted in a kind of epistemological discomfort giving the word semantic notoriety.

I discuss this because at the heart of Australian imagining of the Filipino is the 'Filipina', and crucial to this imagining is, first, gendered representation, and second, the understanding that the backbone of the community's cultural history to counter this imagining: the Filipino woman beside the towering white man and their children backgrounded by an affluent, picket-fence suburb where everything seems right except her presence. Indeed, a trickle of migration of Filipino musicians and nurses to Australia in the 1970s was forgotten as the image of the 'bride' to bait the white male came to fore. The sensationalism on the part of the media is heightened by the sexism and chauvinism that define the relationship between a white man and an 'ethnic' woman.[6] It does not help either to curb the barrage of bad news when Sunday magazine reading features the plight of a Filipino wife who was left half-dead by her partner in a toilet for days after an abortion, and right next to it is a story of a smiling new wife flown into help in the construction of the house of an Australian man.[7]

Any study of representation is a study of power. Representation conjures thoughts and images of *speaking about* and *speaking for* that implicate actions and actors that are empowered to represent. Behind this intricate relationship is inevitably the accessibility of knowledge to those who do the representing. To be able to speak about and speak for someone, knowledge of that something and someone must be operational. To know nothing about one thing deters one from saying anything at all. While it is logical to argue that at the heart of the representation question is power relations, and that knowledge is constitutive of power relations (in the same way that power relations are constitutive of knowledge), it is even more profound to recognise that in representation is the very significant issue of knowing and the limits of our capacity to know—or what we are allowed to know. The power of Australian media to mould what is knowable about the Filipino woman is all the more staggering if its public is unfamiliar with the Philippines and the

colonial history that has shaped its current state and status in the global stage. Indeed, written in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, in Australia 'the Philippines is known in Australia for its mail-order brides'.[8] If that is so, when an Australian man conjures in his imagination a Filipino woman to be of a certain type, is this the performative power of representation?

The critique of representation of the 'third-world woman'—as slave, a saviour of the empty Western man, a substitute to the liberated first-world woman—is engendered by the continuum of postcolonial theorising of the empire and the power of coloniality,[9] and of feminism's exposition of women as a subjugated class.[10] What follows then is the postcolonial debate with/against feminism on the primacy of either discourse in decolonising the 'third-world woman'.[11] These debates show that postcolonial movement for independence appropriate women as secondary revolutionaries and that Western feminism saved women from their men and their own ignorance. The representations of passive 'third-world women' are in the heart of these debates. Nationalists treat women as mothers nourishing the future citizens of the land, Marxists see women as fighters yet secondary to male cadres and first-world feminists surround them with iconicity of the oppressed. This raises the question of the enframing of the inside and the outside, the boundaries of interiority and exteriority and hence, politicising the making or worlding of 'us' and 'them', the Self and the Other, the man and the woman, the colonised body and the colonising system of knowledge and the Filipino and the Australian. The representations of the coloniser as both despised but desired and fantasised but debased are symptomatic of the ambivalences in colonial relations.

The question of the 'third-world woman' is at the heart, yet ironically peripheral, of the decolonisation of empires and the subsequent postcolonial independent nation-states as she suffers the 'double colonisation' by native and foreign patriarchies.[12] In the postcolonial and feminist tug-of-war appropriating the 'third-world woman', she is either a 'native' or a 'woman', either for nationalism or for feminism. She is invested with so much meaning that she is almost 'too good to be true', argues Sara Suleri.[13] The appropriation of the 'mail-order bride' in Australia oscillates between a (nationalist) ethnic ownership to be defended by the 'community' and colonial possession by the white Australian male. Like the symbol of nationalist motherhood of the 'third-world woman', the 'mail-order bride' is positioned as the figure of the oppressed *kababayan* to advance community issues. Yet, this third-world woman/'mail-order

bride' is hardly ever figured as a sister, a daughter or a mother in discourses. This phenomenon is further emphasised by Australia's self-referential mirroring as colonising master. For without the 'third-world woman',—the Filipino 'mail-order bride' specifically—white Australia's coloniality today is incomplete. The foreign wife—dark, dirty and different—contributes to the construction of Australia's modernity. The very presence of the Filipino woman circumscribes Australia *in* modernity specifically that of the white male from the outback as well as the outback itself, to a certain degree, of Australia as the 'outback' of the North Atlantic countries. This 'outback' is almost already a white outback because to transpose the alien bride in a 'black outback'—the indigenous other—would diminish the usability of the ethnic woman as antithetical to modernity. The same logic applies as to why the 'mail-order bride' problem is a 'white' problem, shouldered by white Australia alone and managed by white Australia singularly. Indigenous opinion on the 'mail-order bride' is silent—*because* they are not positioned to comment at all—because the question of 'modernity' is 'outside' of the black Australian experience; it is for those who are positioned to appropriate the representational labour of others.

The power relations between the coloniser and its other are translatable into the wealth siphoned off to the metropolitan population and proved by the immiseration of the colonised population and the disintegration of its 'local' culture. However, the ravages of colonialism are made possible both by forceful violence of the colonising power and by the consent and collaboration of the 'natives', mostly of post-colonial elite class. The world picture of the colonised and their place in it as the represented is not entirely a distorted one or incorrect. The power of colonial language and representation can be too authoritative, hence persuasive, so that those who are represented believe, reinforce and even perpetuate what they have learned as *true*. The labelling of Filipino women as wives for sale has become so entrenched that a project initiated by Ambassador Delia Domingo-Albert to honour Filipino achievers in Australia exhibits this admission of an authoritative representation. The Filipino-Australian cultural history shows that certain forms of resistance constitute a silent complicity in furthering representations as not necessarily true but not false either. This topic is more elaborately discussed in Chap. 5, showing evidences of rather problematic forms of resistance in Philippines-Australian cultural history.

The specificities of 'American' capitalism produced transnational sexual labour.[14] Because of the wealth available to white Americans, the efficient postal system and the eradication of pilferage, the speed of Western transportation and communication, the bourgeoning influence of advertising and a spurring on of a thoroughly consumerist society, the importation of women from the third-world is imaginable.[15] The gazing (the availability of choice), the shopping (the capacity to buy) and the receiving (the pleasures of being surprised) are stages in the exchange of goods that fuel the excitability of the foreign bride. The Filipino woman as the violable other becomes object-like, expected to humanise the lonely white male. The power behind imagining the representations of the *geisha* is based on real economic and social contexts.

Representations, in other words, have material realities and historical bases that are created and consumed, bought and sold, packaged and trafficked, either for ideological profit or monetary profit, or both. As a lucrative investment, representations and self-representations of the Filipina-as-an idea produce images and cultural interpretations that may be linked to certain behaviours and responses. Take, for instance, the much-discussed connection between domestic violence and women with hyperfeminised migration backgrounds. The posturing of the (white) Australian society against the invading 'mail-order bride' is to a great extent the result of this invested fetishism historically specific to Australia. The invading army of brides contaminating its social space contributes to the perception that Australia is swamped by Filipinas for sale. The language of commerce pervades. The clamp down on serial sponsorship—to protect foreign women from mentally, physically and financially incapacitated males—echoes this language of profit. Immigration policies on spousal petition seem like they function as consumer protection and regulation acts rather than interventions against human trafficking. In the states of Victoria in 1998 and Queensland in 2001, stricter policies on introduction agencies that facilitate the 'mail-order bride' migration exemplify this point. "'Due to continuing *unfair trading* practices in parts of the industry, which have led to considerable *consumer detriment*'", measures were taken to stop introduction agencies.[16] To couch state intervention using trade and consumer protection vocabulary hint at and perpetuate sexist ideology that undergirds the issue of the 'mail-order bride'.

The Filipino woman as 'mail-order bride' is also inscribed in Australian cultural history. The trash-talking, ping-pong ball-popping Filipino woman

infamously portrayed in the film *The Adventures of Priscilla: Queen of the Desert* is an example of this.[17] She is an embodiment of coloniality, orientalism, international division of labour, hyperfeminised migration, Australian media's racism, amongst others. More significantly, *Priscilla*, as one of Australia's iconic films that underwrites the national narrative of triumph against a hostile environment and of taming its black other and colonialist past, makes use of the Filipino woman to bolster a national fantasy.[18] There had been significant debates on the decision of the director to present a caricature of the gold-digging, hypersexual Filipina following the film's critical success. Later on, actions by the Filipino community against their stereotyping have somehow elicited some positive results. Take, for instance, the portrayal of another 'mail-order bride' in the film *Animal Kingdom* (2010), another celebrated Australian film. In this film, she is no longer a trash-talking Filipina prostitute.[19] The physical attributes are similar—Asian, petite, married to a lower-class white Australian—but not the same. The rejection of the garish outsider has been hidden. The portrayal was softer yet she still contributes to the Australian national narrative as 'bride'. The narrative of the sexualised citizen pervades not just film but I would say more commonly present in Australian print media, as we shall see in the following section.

The 'Filipino', the 'Filipina', the 'Philippines': A Look at Australian Dailies

For two decades, the *Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH) and *The Australian,* two known broadsheets, were littered with the name of Rose Hancock Porteous, described as the 'most famous' and the 'most infamous Filipina maid made good' in all of Australia.[20] Porteous, who married the iron-ore magnate Lang Hancock, has been variously described as a maid, prostitute, gold-digger, tacky, addicted, sex-bomb, hustler, ambitious and evil, among other evocative terms.[21] She was dubbed 'the Cinderella of cleaners. The Eliza Doolittle of maids'.[22] The saga of her courtroom battles started when Hancock died and his only daughter, Gina Rhinehart—the richest Australian in 2011 and the first woman to be so—sued her stepmother for causing his untimely death. The standing of Hancock alone plus the hackneyed narrative of money, family betrayal, murder suspicion and quick marriage to the dead man's friend were enough to stir the imagination of white Australia, journalists and

society page columnists. Porteous embodies the sexualised Filipina 'maid'/'bride' in Australia, but not for some in the Filipino community. The October 1997 issue of The Philippine Community Herald Newspaper presents a different representation of Porteous. The interviewers and writers described Porteous as 'woman of substance', 'wonderful lady', 'without any trace of hypocrisy or artificiality', someone 'whose charm, appeal and charisma come naturally'.[23]

Porteous, however, does not exactly personify the ordinary 'mail-order bride'. Porteous is purportedly from a well-to-do family, a political, rent-seeking power in the sugarcane land of Negros Occidental.[24] She is a maid but rather untouchable because of her background which 'ordinary' Filipino women do not have. No 'ordinary' bride would discredit Porteous as 'maid'/'whore'/'mail-order bride' for the sheer difference in skin colour that differentiates her from, say, Vivian Alvarez Solon (discussed below), another Filipina who made headlines. As I see it, Porteous functioned in two contradictory ways: (1) she conflates all that is exchangeable about the Filipino woman that justifies racist and sexist attitudes and (2) she shows that not all Filipino 'brides' are poor, uneducated 'natives'. But to equate her as just another bride is to flatten the striated gender and class relations amongst Filipino women in Australia.

Vivian Alvarez Solon is the *other* Filipina who is written in Australian immigration's history of notable cases. She was the 'Australian' who was deported to her country: the Philippines, in 2001, where she languished in a home for the disabled for many years before a missionary followed up on her case. Looking like a dishevelled (non-white) immigrant, inarticulate upon police questioning, Alvarez Solon was found by the police one night 'dirty, drunk and screaming in pain', then taken into immigration custody and then deported expediently.[25] Australian authorities, for some bureaucratic excuse, did not know that she is an Australian citizen, a marriage migrant after all. Her case caused furore from advocacy groups in Australia (more than from the Philippine government) against an allegedly racist immigration department, defended by then-Prime Minister John Howard as not racist.[26] She was another example of the wrong kind of migrant in Australia: drinking, ill, a social problem, a drain on the welfare state. Her 'deportation' was written long before she attracted the attention of white authorities; it might even have predated her arrival. Australian officials, although they regarded the deportation as 'deeply regrettable', never apologised to Alvarez Solon. It was alleged

that Alvarez Solon received a 'payout' of $4.5 million for the injuries she suffered as a consequence of Australia's sexualisation of her citizenship.[27]

The 'Filipina' as almost always a wife is another angle to her subjectivity not separate from the discourse around Porteous and Solon; they were—so to speak—wives of Australians before anything else or nothing else besides. The 'wifely-ness' of the Filipino woman is extraordinary because of the pathological aura that surrounds it. Apart from Porteous and Alvarez Solon, there are numerous faceless Filipino women who inhabit a lesser-known world of the domestic that dovetails with the world of the criminal. When Des Campbell was prosecuted for throwing his wife over a cliff, the new wife became 'the new Filipina wife', 'a former singer in a Japanese bar'[28]; when a Melbourne man was caned in Saudi Arabia because his wife was caught stealing, she became 'the Filipina wife caught stealing'[29]; when Steven Fraser stabbed and killed his three children, their mother became 'their distraught Filipina mother'[30]; when accused serial murderer, a Perth mayor, married, she is a Filipina[31]; when prep boys in a reunion exchanged news about the elderly gardener, he was in the 'arms of a young Filipina'[32]; when Air Philippines crashed and killed Martin Hall, Luisa Mallari-Hall and their two children, she was singularly reduced as 'his Filipina wife'[33]: no matter that Luisa was a Marxist-feminist university professor, she would have to join the rest of them in one conceptual category.[34] Indeed, the 'Filipina wife' is more than a designation; it is a term that interpellates all those who rightfully (or wrongfully) belong to the category. A woman becomes a nameless, faceless immovable caricature that evokes the 'mail-order bride' in *Priscilla* (1994).[35] She has even become a joke: when an Australian marries a Chinese woman, his mates would crack jokes, about 'taking Filipina brides'.[36]

There was a period when British politicians' sex scandals brought to Australia's attention another Filipino woman—only this time as a maid. Judging by the number of times it has been reported in both broadsheets, the name Leoncia Casalme may have been familiar (though forgettable) during the tail-end of 2004. She was not the centre of the scandal but rather a mere detail, an object of discussion, a passive mute whose voice the rest of the reading public did not hear. Casalme was the 'Filipina nanny' of Kimberley Quinn, former lover of David Blunkett, British Labour Party politician, who leaked that he used his office to fast track the visa of Casalme in England to continue serving as a nanny. This caused Blunkett to resign from the cabinet of Tony Blair, thus ending

his brilliant young career. The case pigeonholed the 'Filipina' as another 'nanny', an immigrant who indirectly engendered the fall of an English politician.[37] Casalme, with searching eyes and pursed lips, was never quoted on anything during the entire 'nannygate scandal', a term which ironically centred on her[38]; but more specifically, her presence in the affair reinforced the already-known stereotype that Filipino women are labour migrants who clean toilets and care for other people's children, other people's parents and other countries' ailing persons.

Another case where nationality, gender and class figure to conjure a specific subject is the entertainer in Japan, derogatorily called as *japayuki*. News articles about human and sex trafficking often mention the 'Filipina' in both Australian newspapers. Working as entertainers in the affective economy of Japanese industrial cities' nightlife, these women engage in escort services, performing, singing, hospitality, among others, to provide respite to the male, elite workforce of corporate Japan. Some become wives to Japanese men in the rural areas.[39] Filipino women are also known as domestic helpers in Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia who earn more than their Indonesian and Bangladeshi counterparts because they speak 'better English'.[40] The 'Filipina' as feminised labour migrant figures significantly in the discourse of the political economy of migrant remittances. These women migrants from the Philippines are the backbone of a remittance industry worth US$27 billion cash remittances in 2016. Australia, as the destination of temporary labour migration of agricultural workers and high-skilled professionals, is a participant in the global traffic of migrant labour. Feminised labour of the Filipino (but in particular the 'Filipina') is evident in the two newspapers where writers took note of her presence in the background: 'a smiling Filipina waitress brought us coffee and dates' in Dubai'[41]; 'huge groups of Filipina maids dressed for a Sunday away from work'.[42]

In both *The Australian* and *Sydney Morning Herald,* news of sex trafficking among children particularly in Angeles, Pampanga, some 60 km north of Manila and known as the prostituted city for the rest and recreation time of American soldiers, were fuelled by the culture of prostitution that followed after the eviction of the US bases in the Philippines. Occasionally, Australians are apprehended for child-sex tourism and prostitution-related cases and merits reporting in these dailies.[43] Reports show this image of the Philippines where a huge number of women and children are participants in the sex industry often do not carefully separate the discourse of the prostituted from the 'prostitutors', leaving an

image of a nation in a bad state of sexual decay. An example of this decay was evident in a 108-word article about a 54-year-old Australian man who was accused of having sex with two minors in the Philippines.

In summary, the representation of the Filipino woman in Australia as 'mail-order bride', servant, migrant labourer, prostituted and sex abuse victim is established in the reading public's consciousness. Despite a few rare showings of some positive news—such as an art exhibit by a Filipino or a Philippine company buying out an Australian—the 'Filipina' does not evoke positive images in Australia. The presence of Filipino women in Australia brings to fore the question of the 'third-world woman' as an immigrant who suffers a double colonisation from a racialist and sexist regime of the white male. The politics and economy of representation that place the Filipino woman as an unwanted alien intersect with the anxiety by which and with which they complicate (and challenge) multiculturalism in Australia.

Filipino migrants responded to these representations by establishing their own newspapers. Representations are not ideas that float about. They take form. The power of representations is inscribed in materials that give expression to the imageries they invoke and in turn the responses that they provoke. Migrants hardly make their voices heard in mainstream media. But in the discursive space that newspapers open up, Australia's sexualised citizens could defend themselves and say things they would never articulate in the white-dominated public sphere. The next chapter looks at the internal dynamics, the growth and transformations in Filipino-Australian identity towards the expansion of the community and their print media. Because permanent migration is an endless negotiation between the 'host' and the 'new arrivals', the concreteness of a lived life amidst the materiality of the familiar must always be arranged.

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CHAPTER 5

Fil-Oz in Blacktown: A Cultural Geography

Australian dirt—This refers to the realism of the battler from the outback, the harsh dry landscape of the country and images of life and qualities of Australia that veer away from the beach, surf, barbeque and koala stereotypes. In this chapter, I discuss where 'Australian dirt' and 'multicultural Australia' meets. Not quite the bush but also not the leafy suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne, I present the construction of Blacktown, west of Sydney, as socio-geographically an underclass where the newly arrived and white working class share space. Blacktown is key to this study because it is not just any other immigrant 'ghetto' but it is the 'Filipino ghetto', at the heart of Fil-Oz cultural history. I argue that the formation of 'Filipino-Australian' subjectivity has been largely a confluence of Blacktown's 'ghettoisation' in Australian public discourses and the community rising to the occasion of the 'mail-order bride' scandal. The shaming of the community in the media and the invitation for minority groups to contribute to multiculturalism both spurred the Filipinos' desire to produce newspapers. I frame the findings from my interviews and archival research as cultural history. I also argue that the continuity of social and material relations is underlined by the geography that locates human beings in their natural (domesticated) surroundings and literary works in the realm of culture.

This chapter demonstrates the interrelationships between the peopling of Sydney's suburbs, the growth of the Filipino community and the print culture's role in facilitating this expansion. First, I will foreground the discussion describing Philippines-Australian migration and the

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demographic features of the community. Second, I present the unique features of Australian multiculturalism by analysing the relationship between Australian multiculturalism and 'ghetto-formation' in western Sydney, and Australian multiculturalism and ethnic newspapers. Third, the chapter examines the spread of Filipino-Australian newspaper culture. The intimate relationship between Blacktown and the community's print is due to spatial formations that are grounded in culture and cultural formations within the rules of place.[1] The specificity by which ethnicity, and I must say, class, shapes cultural practices and thus the geography where these practices are carried out, is significant in establishing the rootedness of the producers of newspapers in imagining a 'Blacktown for Filipinos', and 'Filipinos for Blacktown'. As Tim Creswell puts it so articulately, 'class, gender, and race have so often been treated as if they happened on the head of a pin. Well they don't—they happen in space and place.'[2]

'Whites', 'Wogs' and 'Wongs'

The island-continent has been inhabited by Aboriginal Australians for more than 50,000 years before it became a settler territory where vast resources opened opportunities to millions of European migrants.[3] The land that was claimed *terra nullius* by British colonisers in 1788 became home to mostly Irish and Scottish convicts, penal officers, and colonial bureaucrats, and their families. Transportation of convicts spread from New South Wales to other states like Western Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and minimally to Victoria. By 1850s, with roughly a million people in the territory, Australia stopped receiving convicts from the UK. Docklands and port towns such as Sydney, Melbourne, Fremantle, Brisbane, Townsville and Cairns were quickly populated and consequently expanded due to commercial shipping and trading companies.[4] The arrival of free settlers later further deepened the colonisation of the island continent but central, northern and northwestern parts of Australia remained home to Aboriginal Australians even after dispossession. The presence of early non-European peoples from countries now known as China, India, Afghanistan and Pacific Islands was due to labour recruitment. After the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act, 'non-white' peoples were restricted to enter Australia, only opening up after 1966. Australia today is known as one of the most multicultural countries in the world, attracting migrants to participate in its liberal democratic society. The high standard of living in Australia has made it one of the most

attractive migration countries. Between 1945 and 1998, 5.7 million migrants have made Australia their home.[5] As of June 2016, the resident population of Australia was over 24 million.[6]

Australia's colonisation also meant the systematic murder, marginalisation and expulsion of indigenous Australians from their land; the effects of which have kept them socially and economically an underclass today. The racist immigration policies designed to keep Australia white through the notorious dictation test that barred non-white peoples, however, isolated Australia from attaining a progressive political status internationally. For it to become a modern nation-state, white Australia had to shed its official racist policies. By the late 1970s, in addition to 'white immigrants', Greeks, Italians, the Lebanese and other nationalities started to settle in Australia. Following the explosion in population, Australian social institutions are to be re-arranged and its governance rethought to accommodate the new arrivals. Filipinos' presence in Australia today is traceable to the country's relaxation of white Australia policy only in the late 1960s. Multiculturalism became the official discourse, while Sydney had to start expanding out west. In the 1980s onwards, Australia is home to 'whites' (long-time Anglo-Irish immigrants), 'wogs' (southern Europeans) and 'wongs' (Asians), racist terms that are now frowned upon. Multiculturalism has altered the 'Australian' way of life, as white Anglo-Irish settlers knew it. I will discuss below two areas, 'ghetto-formation' and ethnic newspapers, to explain how immigrants participated in the changes.

Western Sydney: Imagining a Ghetto

Officially, there are no slums and ghettoes in Sydney, only some areas with a moderately integrated population.[7] The high concentration of African-Americans in Chicago or of Indian-born in Leicester and Pakistan-born in Bradford that has become the centre of ghetto-formation debates among geographers today does not include Sydney or Melbourne.[8] Although Melbourne received the most number of overseas migrants before 1971, and then Sydney after that year, high levels of residential concentration in these cities are often followed by upward mobility dispersion. Although Cabramatta in Sydney has become the template of a ghetto-like economic enclave—for exemplifying 'cosmo-multiculturalism' or the consumption of the exotic[9] but more for

the stigma of heroin trading in the area in the 1990s—it does not qualify under the 'ghetto rule' requiring 60% concentration.[10] Similarly, at 5.9% of the entire population in the local government area of Blacktown, a suburb in Sydney, Filipinos cannot be considered to be ghettoising the place.[11] That said, and although the overwhelming majority of residents in Blacktown are Australian-born, Filipinos outnumber migrants from the UK, New Zealand, India, and Fiji.[12] The high number of Filipinos in Blacktown is also reflective of the significance of Sydney as the preferred destination of Filipinos. There are 61,122 Philippines-born migrants residing in Sydney in 2011.

So, why did Filipinos colonise Blacktown or what is it with Filipinos that 'spatialised' Blacktown over the years? The area sits at the mid-section between inner and outer Sydney; neither as insufferably far as Penrith nor as acceptably near as Parramatta to the city. Western Sydney has been suffering unpleasant representation from the media, film and literature in Australia ever since it became the frontier of expansion during the post-war years. It is imagined as a place where one is 'unlucky to live in': working class, boring, flat, treeless, homogenous, cheap housing, second-hand cars, ethnicised but also peopled by racists, truly multicultural but lacks intellectual air and so forth.[13] While western Sydney is stereotyped negatively as an unchanging vast tract of suburbia where battler Australians and new Australians (refugees, immigrants and undocumented) co-exist, it is Australia's third-largest economy and home to 47% of Sydney's total population. Its gross regional product is AUD$104 billion per year, where employment growth is projected for the next 25 years.[14] In short, when growth (overpopulation) and development (overcrowding) in Sydney is talked about, it may only be about western Sydney, not the affluent North, or the cultured inner city, or the snobbery of eastern suburbs or white South Sydney. This registered 'growth' is not only a symptom of western Sydney as dumping ground of 'ethnics' but the insistence of the North, South and inner city Sydney to maintain either whiteness or cosmopolitanism.

The cringe associated with the 'westies'—a derogatory term for those who head west at the end of the day—is semantically engraved in the very name of Blacktown. After white colonial expansion around 1820s in the area traditionally owned by the Darug tribe, this part of western Sydney was empty of Aboriginals whose hunting grounds were destroyed.[15] Governor Macquarie's vision of a return of the traditional owners was operationalised in the farm settlement and a school in the

Rooty Hill reserve. By 1833, the native inhabitants disappeared once more but the tag 'Black Town' lingered; the intensification of colonialism was sealed not only via its railways and institutions but also through the power that such a name—the place where dark people live—conjures in the imagination.[16] The impression that western Sydney is 'treeless' compared to the leafy and breezy North Shore may be historically and ecologically linked to the earlier industries that founded the west: timber and hardwood extraction for (colonial) domestic use. Years after the flight of the 'resettled' traditional owners, the return of the urbanised 'indigenous'—a socio-economically coerced return—would once again happen in the years of the area's rapid expansion from 1954 to 1976.[17]

In the 1960s, the Housing Commission engineered mass relocation from the inner cities through the public housing program that facilitated the move of 'black' Australians to Green Valley and Mt. Druitt. The Housing Commission built 6000 new properties in Green Valley and 8000 in Mt. Druitt in the 1960s.[18] By the 1970s, 100,000 properties were built. Townhouses and flats were preferred instead of single detached homes to prevent urban sprawl. In the 1980s, however, there was a tightening of ownership that prioritised those in need.[19] This is then followed by the internal migration of overseas-born migrants from inner cities whose dream to own a property coincided with the industrial restructuring and destabilisation of the manufacturing workforce.[20] Blacktown today, as is the rest of western Sydney, is characterised by a high concentration of blue-collar workers: tradespeople, machine operators and labourers. It is the direction where Filipino migrants were and are headed to: the place that could accommodate them, a community where they could make a life after migration. In the discussion above on the 'taming' of the west and internal migration of working-class Australians in pursuit of private home ownership—an imprint of post-war economic boom left in the national psyche—it appears that Filipinos in Sydney at that time did not want to be left behind. Maher and Whitelaw's study on Australia's internal migration from 1986 to 1991 shows how 'suburbanisation', the outward move from the inner city, is a result of the desire to own a home; something that is very familiar with 70% of Australians who enjoyed home ownership in the 1970s.[21] This is supported by Jaime Pimentel's recollection of the early years of the relatively small Filipino community in Sydney. According to him, the 'Filipino ghetto' in the old days was Mascot, not Blacktown. He recalled that properties were up for grabs at a bargain cost of $400 in places like

Rooty Hill and Mt. Druitt.[22] Filipinos got hold of this opportunity to own homes but then sold the properties at a profit to buy in better areas.

This flight back out of western Sydney continues to be experienced today as the formation of 'voluntary enclaves', a lesser form of 'ghettoisation', both of which are spatial and structural effects of socio-economic and racial changes in a multi-ethnic society.[23] However, a steady flow of migration from the Philippines means that while earlier migrants have moved from the enclave to more upmarket suburbs, there will be new ones to take their place, making Blacktown an 'arrival city' for Filipinos. Despite the steady arrival of Philippines-born migrants in Blacktown, however, the older ones disperse residentially after several years of economic and cultural capital accumulation. According to Burnley, Filipinos' ability to speak 'better English' than other migrants from non-English speaking background and their ties to Australian men are the reasons for their low rate of concentration.[24] The latter, once more, points to the social organisational patterns that the sexualised migration has directed for the Filipino community. While most Asian groups are in the cities, 'brides' are found in the remotest areas of the outback. Also, the community congregates in low to medium status areas of concentration, in less-affluent suburbs where East Asians reside but in better areas than the Indo-Chinese Asians. Filipinos are most numerous in the suburbs of Blacktown, Campbelltown, Liverpool, Bankstown and Wollongong, places regarded as unfashionable areas to reside in.

Blacktown is the only area where I heard Filipino and other major languages in the Philippines are audibly spoken and consistently in many corners of a mall. It is the only suburb where the main street is lined by Filipino stores. In Blacktown, Filipinos do appear, talk, walk, behave and laugh like Filipinos: once they hop on the train that takes them to work in the city, the comfort that sameness provides turns into anxiety in a white society. This shedding off and putting on is a practice that happens every day; it must be a great relief at the end of a long day to call Blacktown 'home'. A notion of 'homeplace' for bell hooks is shelter from the racism in the outside world.[25] Following a Benito Vergara's formulation of Filipino-Americans and Daly City, Blacktown is 'a Quezon City where the buses run on time'.[26] As a racialised 'ethnic' in Australia, I felt comfort couched by the familiarity that Blacktown offers what Filipino-Australians enjoy in their own little world. This bodily ease and peace of mind are what makes 'non-ghetto Filipinos' leave their

upmarket suburbs and go to Blacktown to replenish their empty cupboards; a habit kept secret from their white neighbours.

Fil-Oz, a Fair Go?

Just as Australians are not ontologically the same, Filipinos who have migrated to Australia's six states and two territories are not the same either. Not only are they not the same, they also have taken geographically-determined 'Australian' traits. People I have interviewed took note that Filipino Sydneysiders have taken on characteristics (and arrogance) dissimilar from Filipinos in Adelaide or Darwin. The haughty air of the city dweller over an Alice Springs resident may carry over to migrants, too. Geo-ethnic divisions are, of course, even more accentuated by class, gender, sexual orientation, profession, linguistic hierarchies, amongst other classifications, that are pertinent to identity formation and social relations. This is why a female Filipino accountant residing in Newtown in Sydney has probably more affinity with an Australian woman based on shared cosmopolitan desires and consumer profile, than with a 'mail-order bride' in a mining region in Western Australia. While keeping that in mind and not omitting the nuances of such a reading of the 'collective', this research has nonetheless treated Filipinos in Australia as more or less exhibiting substantive ethnic similarities, oftentimes couched as 'national' traits. It is assumed that these similarities are significant enough to temporarily suspend the polysemic and layered identities of Filipinos even before migration.

Following the migratory pattern in Australia where metropolitan cities are the first choice of settlement, most Filipinos live in the suburbs of Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane. Almost half of Filipinos reside in New South Wales (41%), followed by Victoria at 22% and then Queensland at 17%.[27] Despite the recent changes in migration intake, for instance, the Filipino community still bears the legacy of its feminised migration. In the 2011 census, 64,620 of Philippines-born migrants are males (38%), while 106,614 are females (62%).[28] More than half of all Philippines-born migrants arrived before 2001.

Filipinos have a high rate of self-assessed language skill in English, only 3% reported that they speak little English, compared to other overseas-born such as the Vietnamese (42%) or the Lebanese (22%).[29] Filipinos are found to have the 'most global perspective'[30] but ironically they, too, 'seemed to be less settled than average' hinting at their

desire to move to other countries.[31] This desire for mobility is reflected in the increasing number of dual citizenship holders among Filipino-Australians. From the period of January 1, 2004 to December 31, 2010, 1933 Australians from New South Wales reacquired their Filipino citizenship under the Citizenship Retention and Re-acquisition Act of 2003.[32] The Embassy approved 368 principal applications and 78 dependents in 2011.[33]

Economically, Filipinos do better than other groups. In 2011, they earned a median income weekly of $673, compared to $597 of all Australian-born and $538 of all overseas-born.[34] Filipinos have a higher participation rate in the labour force than the total Australian average as well. Also, 69% have some form of education above school qualifications, compared to 56% of all Australian population. However, despite the high rates of English language skill, labour participation rates and higher qualifications, Filipinos register much lower rate in skilled managerial, professional or trade occupations, only 39% compared to the Australian average at 48%.[35] In the Illawarra region in New South Wales, majority are in the lower income class whose jobs are in the care industry and domestic industry where Filipinos work as housekeepers, room attendants, cleaners, cooks and kitchen hands.[36]

Filipino-Australian Newspapers

The heavy residential concentration of Filipinos in Blacktown shaped the production, distribution and consumption of the community's newspapers. This meant those who pioneered publishing had 'Blacktown Filipinos' in mind, which, I argue, was the start of the construction of 'Blacktown Filipino' subjectivity. Geographically significant as an emerging ethnic enclave in the 1970s, Blacktown—even then visibly urban, becoming a city in 1979—was available for the taking to be imagined as a semantic designation but also as a spatial belonging for Filipinos. A newspaper—a moveable object, a reading material, a wealth of symbols—is decisive in binding Filipino ethnicity to a space by its real material presence. Geography and newspaper production are both integral in the construction of Filipino-Australian migrants' cultural history.

Bagumbayan is the first Filipino-Australian publication. Released in June 1976, *Bagumbayan's* first issue's cover was a huge Philippine flag with a header: 'Is Philippine Independence a myth?' With an evocative title, *Bagumbayan* means 'new nation' and also Jóse Rizal's, the national

hero, execution place. *Bagumbayan* is 'a good name for the newspaper'.[37] This is how Larry Rivera describes the title he chose for what can be considered the first-ever publication of Filipinos in Australia with a sizeable circulation, the *Bagumbayan*. With just 500–600 copies available only through subscription, Rivera said he practically did almost everything for *Bagumbayan*: typesetting, photoengraving, layout, writing, editing, proofreading and managing among others. Rivera commented that he was 'a bit idealistic' doing the whole project of publishing for the Filipino community.[38] Despite not recovering his original capital of $1000, Rivera persisted to continue printing the magazine-style newsletter every month until December 1977. Without elaborating why he decided to stop publishing, he 'never thought of putting up another after *Bagumbayan'*.[39]

There was a 3-year gap between the closing down of *Bagumbayan* and the birth of *Philippine Balita*, the 'first independent Filipino Australian tabloid newspaper'.[40] My research did not yield any other title between these two, not in New South Wales or any other state. Published monthly since 1981, *Balita* [News] is legitimately the very first Filipino ethnic newspaper in Australia. The first issue appeared in August 1981, a copy of which is archived in the State Library of New South Wales. In an interview, Pimentel narrated how a small group of Filipinos gathered and asked themselves, 'do we need a newspaper?' They all thought they did but doubted whether it could be done: '*hindi natin kaya yan'* ['we could not possibly do it, could we?'].[41] However, after the initial push of $500-contribution from approximately six persons, the first issue of 3000 copies was sold to the community at 80 cents a copy. The staff and writers of *Balita* felt 'pride [because of] enthusiasm from everybody. *Parang hero kami* [We were like heroes],' recalled Pimentel after receiving congratulatory reception from the community, and in particular, from the Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser.[42] Managing editor Dedal, recalls Pimentel, thought that 'it [was] going to look like a high school magazine' but it did not. Soon enough, the subscription increased to more than 400 to the extent that the staff seriously considered going weekly but as Pimentel reflected, the newspaper could 'survive editorially but not financially'.[43] Being distributed professionally through post and newsagents (compared to today's practice of just dropping them at stores and shops) was a sign that *Balita* was making enough money to continue running. Nevertheless, since many advertisers did not pay their dues—which meant that ad agents did not get their

30% cut—the finances of the newspaper suffered. This, despite the fact that the newspaper did not have to pay its writers and columnists since, according to Pimentel, 'people wanted to be a part of it. They wanted to say things they can't say in SMH.'[44] (The Sydney Morning Herald is Sydney's major broadsheet daily).

In the early 1980s, as Filipino women continued to arrive as 'brides', a Blacktown community was bourgeoning and a newspaper was born, one can see how it was possible to imagine a 'nation' of Filipino-Australians. At the time when cultural pluralism was being introduced, the construction of the 'Blacktown Filipino' subject was at an intersection of sexualised migration, spatio-demographic expansion and the birth of print culture. The spatial order that arranged the expansion of the community continued in the 1990s when 'mail-order brides' continued to arrive, more newspapers were born, and 'Blacktown Filipino' hegemony has been established. Nowhere is this dominance seen more than in newspaper production.

During the 1980s, three Sydney-based newspapers, Th*e Philippine Community Newspaper, The Philippine Community Herald Newspaper* and *Bayanihan News* gathered news from regional areas in Australia in the form of reportage from migrants located elsewhere. With Blacktown as 'kilometre zero', Filipinos from other states and the outback were given a few pages to update Sydney Filipinos on their locale-based events. The attempt at inclusion of those outside Blacktown is significant, for the act itself nationalises these newspapers. Considering the sheer size of the Australia—topographically different compared to archipelagic Philippines linked by short boat rides—ethnic press production entailed a dissimilar apparatus of spatial imagination: migrants who come from geographically insular islands must adjust to the vastness and the dryness in the heart of Australia. The newspapers offered an identity-based belonging that has drawn the lives of thousands of marriage migrants who may have found Australia's immense land daunting. The letters written and photos shared by young brides in the pages of the newspapers expressed their gratitude for the belonging they found in these publications.

This 'national' migrant imagining, however, constructs an effect trivialising decentralised/regional Australia. The token spaces given to columns like 'The Bayside Breeze' or 'What's up in Adelaide?', both from The Philippine Community Herald Newspaper (TPCHN), reinforce the hegemony of Sydney. These newspapers have adopted characteristically

Australian oppositional imaginaries of city/outback, civilization/wilderness, town/countryside, marina/dry centre, to conjure some geophysical images. By centralising Blacktown/Sydney vis-à-vis spaces that emphasise their distance from 'kilometre zero', in effect, hierarchises Filipino-Australians. It is a quite ironic fact considering how Sydneysiders perceive the backwardness of Blacktown and of Filipino-Australians. This hierarchy meant that among sexualised citizens, a 'mail-order bride' in Sydney internally colonises a 'mail-order bride' in the outback. I argue that this hierarchy has effects—more palpable, more felt—than the 'pecking order' between being a wife of an Anglo-Australian and a wife of a 'wog' Australian, the meanings of which are often lost among Filipinos who see whiteness as monolithic.

In the 1990s, Filipino-Australians were embroiled in two big issues: integrationist multiculturalism and the 'mail-order bride', both emphasise racial and sexual otherness of the Filipino. The Filipino community was battling against the negative image of its women as commodified, and yet it strove toward respectability through greater political participation. How did Filipino-Australians strategise to rise above their sexualisation, and ride the wave of opportunities brought by multiculturalism? At various times in the 1990s, there were eight titles based in Sydney that competed for market and patronage. It was the decade that saw the flourishing of Filipino newspaper print culture. The increase in print activities was a consequence of the sizeable increase of Filipinos but also because it expressed urgency in making minorities visible, if only to themselves. A symptom of their peripheral status and exclusion from the broader politics in Australia, factionalism and power-wrestling marked this phase in the community's history.

Australia's Ethnic Media

While the use of the term 'multicultural' and the practice of 'multiculturalism' are dated in the 1960s at the earliest, 'ethnic' (European) print culture was veritably established by the second half of the nineteenth century. The role that newspaper culture has played in the formation of the federation is, to say the least, significant.[45] In as much as migration is definitive and constitutive of Australia as a nation, newspaper production of the early non-Anglo migrants was influential for their eventual participation in the nation-building project.[46] As early as 1848 in Adelaide, South Australia, the first newspaper in any foreign language was

published. As for the Italian migrant group, socialist Francesco Sceusa put up *L'Italo-Australiano* in 1885 that produced six issues and one supplementary edition. Described as 'organ of Italians spread throughout the Oceania's lands', Sceusa believed that 'we can fulfil this duty [to make unknown Australia known] only with the use of the press'.[47]

A study of early Italian-language newspapers highlights the common characteristics of ethnic newspapers then and now.[48] Ethnic newspapers are a significant 'connective tissue' that fabricates an immigrant network of foreign language-speaking individuals in the new land. This function to connect is what Tosco sees as the reason why in ethnic newspapers are found what is termed 'personal advertisements'.[49] Apart from newsworthy events and crimes, community newspapers announce marriages, birthdays, anniversaries, club activities, deaths, banquets and so on in a fashion not quite the same as in the big dailies. Furthermore, ethnic newspapers provide a voice to the new immigrants who are in shock by the dislocation and disempowering effect of migration. Community newspapers lessen the impact of dislocation and alienation. It is a directory of names, an album of familiar photos, a corkboard of announcements, multiple invitations at the same time, and so on, so that what was lost in the process of migration can be recovered. It is a hard evidence in one's hands that we-ness exists in the new land.

Ata and Ryan write that 'a migrant community is a thing in itself'.[50] Being 'a thing in itself' allows migrants to rise above the displacement they experience as part of the process of migration. They may not return, and so the imagining of (re)settlement begins. The purgatory-like state of a migrant means that issues of loyalty and physical presence tend to make the migrant's priority vacillate from one end to another in her daily struggle to make meaning out of her displacement. The 'thing-in-itselfness' of a migrant community is best exemplified by its ethnic press' intellectual persuasions. While ethnic newspapers need to acknowledge the displacement—without an admission of which could negate. The very existence of ethnic newspapers is an acknowledgment of such displacement, but a step towards settling in. Since we cannot go home now and are unsure if we really want to, we might as well tell them who we really are. For while ethnic literature is self-referential and relies on its 'members' for readership, given its dialogic relations to a 'host' society, it presumes an a priori of white spectatorship: look at us! Such that ethnic newspapers representing the depth and width of one's culture is mythical

and often serve institutions that perpetuate orientalising representations of themselves.

The Italians, on the other hand, came up with a more opportunistic solution to the political sanction. Some Italian titles in Australia became a voice of fascism in the Pacific although not the intensive 'brainwashing' found in the motherland.[51] The editorial teams of prominent newspapers felt that overseas Italians had the responsibility to become lobbying grounds for political openings in the old country. Resistance against fascism in many fronts in Europe was not echoed in Australia. Tosco claimed that the Australian government rallied behind fascist supporters because of their anti-communist politics. This support was later withdrawn when Italy rallied behind Germany, which made the lives of Italian migrants difficult.

These are two examples of how ethnic newspapers respond to the vicissitudes of their communities and their communities' status in the vaster world political context. They exemplify the xenophobia towards foreign-language press in Australia. It is something that had a precursor in the fact that only in 1956 did Australia let go of a regulation that needed 'the consent of the Prime Minister to the publication of a newspaper or periodical in a foreign language'.[52] Contrarily, today as evidenced by the hundreds of ethnic community newspapers published (123 titles based on the official listing in New South Wales), the government legislated against this xenophobia.[53] However, this relaxation may paradoxically have had led to a general lack of interest in ethnic press over the years. The significant absence of information on foreign-language newspapers is an effect of the focus on big-business print media.[54] On top of that neglect is the government's stance on ethnic radio and television as exemplified by multicultural public broadcast network SBS's programmes. The Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), established in 1977, was to become the ethnic initiative designed to complement the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC). The project was created to help ethnic communities with low English skills and access to information regarding health, jobs, social security, and so on, in other words, their eventual integration to white Australia. Since the government is almost hands off when it comes to ethnic newspapers, studies and data on them are equally paltry. Thus, giving the impression that while multiculturalism via SBS television is about celebrating 'difference' by selling global chicness through art films and football, multiculturalism

in newspapers is about the indissoluble 'differences'—language for one—of less accessible cultures.

Two debates of relevance that my research has established in relation to Australia's ethnic newspapers are: (1) assimilation ('becoming the same as') versus integration ('different but with universal commonality'), and (2) the continuing serviceability versus projected extinction of ethnic press. Although Australia's initial call to migrants is toward assimilation—the impossible process of turning a migrant into an Australian—this received theoretical responses from critics and practical responses from immigrant communities. The German press continued to call for the recognition of its heritage while the Polish press alienated its readers by encouraging subsumption under Anglo-Australian cultural hegemony.[55] 1995 was the International Year for Tolerance where the Australian government celebrated 'cultural diversity' amongst its citizenry through its public and official sponsorships. Tolerance for ethnic press means continued use of foreign languages without the pressure of bilingualism. Tolerance in race relations, however, implies the power relations between the tolerating party and those tolerated. While being tolerated for one's right to exist is more palpable in everyday life, tolerance in newspaper production spells a lack of urgency: communities write and publish for the consumption of their own members which need not even cross paths with the Australian majority. Unlike shared public spaces in the city or a queue in a government office, ethnic newspapers simply exist unthreateningly. Written in characters not recognisable to Anglophones where any meaning is elusive, ethnic press does not seek to offend. A newspaper in a foreign language left on the train does not invite engagement (repressed irritation) as much as people speaking their alien tongue or clothed in their traditional costumes.

The continuing acceptance of ethnic press dovetails with another debate: serviceability versus extinction. Over the years, immigrants must improve their English if they feel they must be integrated to the society. On the other hand, multiculturalism dictates that speaking one's native language is acceptable. As more migrants get assimilated—or at least less visible as they learn to do things Australian—ethnic newspapers' significance wanes. The 'connective tissue' should have then become a hardened artery of bi-cultural understanding. As migrants disperse and accumulate cultural capital, the more likely it is that ethnic newspapers will fail or lose their grip, like the case of Jewish press.[56] Jewish migrants with better English, good education and greater economic access have

integrated well. There is less need to move inwardly for demanding communal activity.[57] In the late 1980s, there were only two Jewish weeklies; one based in Melbourne and one in Sydney. It is in this light that the obsolescence of the ethnic press has been predicted many times over. Jaime Pimentel, editor of *Philippine Balita*, the first Filipino-Australian tabloid, believes the same principle of self-extinction of the ethnic newspaper.[58] The challenge is for editors to make a transitional move to engage younger, Australian-born members of the community to reinvent the uses and reformulate the significance of ethnic newspapers. Otherwise, since ethnic newspapers have done the job they were tasked to do in the beginning of the permanent diaspora, the only logical way for them is towards obsolescence.

The paradox of the obsolescence of ethnic newspapers in the face of integrationist multiculturalism where everybody speaks and reads in English can be seriously questioned. Take, for example, the case of the Vietnamese community in Australia. As at 2011, there are approximately 212,070 Vietnam-born living in Australia, 78% of them speak Vietnamese; only 3% speak English at home.[59] This figure explains why all sections in all newspapers of the Vietnamese community are in their own language and not in English. Also, these newspapers service the ethnic economy for the huge amount of money circulating within the community.[60] There is no attempt by those who produce the newspapers, those who advertise and those who consume to shift to English in the name of expansion. *Chieu Duong* which is the major daily newspaper for Vietnamese-Australians—given its 100,000 circulation—is most likely the preferred, if not the only, daily reading material for these migrants.[61] One might say that the growth and the forging of economic ties happen within the linguistic boundaries of Vietnamese-speaking Australians, including the reduction of social problems through information dissemination in Vietnamese.[62]

Given this example, the projection that ethnic press will soon face self-elimination appears weak. 40 years after their migration to Australia, communities and their newspapers have not ceased to perceive their links as vital if not in fact the very source of their strength economically and politically. Greek-Australians still produce the *Greek Herald*, born in 1926, printed daily with a circulation of 24,000 and is distributed all over Australia. The Chinese community enjoys five Chinese-language newspapers circulated daily with seven other titles appearing weekly or fortnightly that add to these major dailies.[63] The

communities of Chinese-Australians have always had a strong relationship with their newspapers. Unlike Filipino ethnic newspapers that come out monthly, the Chinese can manage to circulate dailies that are transnationally maintained and widely circulated in Australia. It is very common to see Chinese migrants of all ages reading their Chinese daily in the trains around Sydney; something that I have yet to see amongst Filipino migrants. However, despite having just a dozen issues per year, Filipino ethnic press has produced two more titles, at least in metropolitan Sydney, in the duration of my 4-year stay. This is far from a self-elimination, despite the commonly held perception that Filipinos are more integrated, language-wise, than other groups.

Newspaper print culture in multicultural Australia is, thus, a resilient area of cultural pluralism that resisted the prediction of its own demise. It is a paradox that while perceived as unread by Filipinos, these newspapers, nonetheless, are materially present. The resilience of ethnic press is possibly due to its materiality; that material, 'real' presence that other forms do not possess. More importantly, ethnic press had been part of post-war Australia's nation-building, which then consolidated the importance of immigrants to the Australian social fabric. While, on one hand, foreign-language press does imply residential concentration, retail specialisation and ethnic enclave economy,—terms associated with ghettoisation and disadvantage—on the other hand, it hints at the bustling nexus of economic activities with material benefits. For a newspaper given away for free in Asian shops is a manifest object of the many hands that gave and received on behalf of the community, and white Australia is silently looking on these little pockets of economic and material exchanges that leave the imprint of their creators.

To conclude, this chapter locates the emplacement of the Filipino ethnic newspaper culture within the larger context of multiculturalism in Australia, and within it, the tiny position that the Filipino-Australian tradition of publishing occupies. Framing this within the cultural geography of western Sydney's socio-economic history, in particular, of Blacktown's, we can see how a denser residential concentration and a thriving ethnic economic landscape has made this Filipino 'ghetto' the home of the printing culture of Filipino-Australians. In the 1990s, at a time when assertive statist multiculturalism necessitated greater participation from 'minorities', Filipino-Australians showed how the struggle for representation from within is played out in print, not just for owning certain spaces but also in desiring a better place as Australians. While

gatekeepers of the community establish influence as producers of culture, online publications, on the other hand, can give second-generation Filipino-Australians the chance to shake up the hierarchy and challenge what is already given while creating a new set of young cultural vanguards who filter what is 'Filipino-Australian' and what is not. New forms democratise the limits posed by old practices of ethnic print culture; they, however, may just create new limitations.

While I have demonstrated how places, spaces, distances are all relationally constructed, I also see how material production, distribution and consumption of print dictate a hierarchy of readings. Readership loyalty among those who possess the same ethnicity may include those within the same geography but not all the time. For instance, a white Australian's readership loyalty goes to the *Sydney Morning Herald* or the tabloid *The Daily Telegraph* as 'first read' and to *Blacktown Advocate* (or any other local publication) as 'second read'. Whereas, for the Filipino migrant immersed in non-white culture, there is a 'third read' that invites to be picked up in the store and taken home. In the reality of migrant life where the parameters of movement are tied to markedly cultural signifiers and constrained by economic disadvantages, the 'third read' (ethnic newspapers) could indeed be the 'second read', or most probably, even a 'first read'. However, for a Filipino residing in Darwin, or say, even the more popular destination, Brisbane, this hierarchy may be challenged.

Because an ordering of readership loyalty is available only to those who are reached by the ethnic press' limited circulation, there are those who may rely on other forms of print culture. For reasons specific to migration history and demographic and geographic profile, the ACT and Queensland, which never enjoyed the privileges of having newspapers, nevertheless have women's anthologies. The next chapter tackles the Filipino-Australian Women's Achievements Awards and the successes—and failures—of its book project.

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CHAPTER 6

Questionable Solidarity: 'Romances, After All, Start in Various Ways'

The influx of women from the late 1970s to the early 1990s and the subsequent family reunion migration grew into a solid Filipino community, contributing to Australia's multicultural expansion. However, many women suffered from physical violence, mental torture and, at times, murder, which has drawn the community to internalise social embarrassment. Thus, there is a persistent disavowal that 'not all Filipino women are "mail-order brides,"' which may even take the form of passing as non-Filipinos. The denial of the '"mail-order bride" amongst us' in Filipino-Australian cultural productions in the guise of celebrating individual strength is a symptom of such disavowal. As a collective response, the community thought of ways of countering racism and sexism without accounting for the larger social structures that facilitate its gendered migration. Two important strategies in this effort are the staging of cultural performances and the production of print materials advocating grand narratives of equality, human rights and multiculturalism.

This chapter looks at the symbolic violence engendered by intra-ethnic women's solidarity. In particular, I will focus on the politics and processes of documentation of two volumes, *Filipino Women Achievers in Queensland: A Compilation of Stories of Seven Achievement Award Recipients and the Other Nominees*[1] and *Crossing the Barriers: Filipino Women Stories: An Anthology of Migration*.[2] The collections are the official publications of the Filipino Women's Achiever Awards (FAWAA) held in two states, the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) and Queensland. FAWAA claims to underplay a woman candidate's

S.A. Espinosa, *Sexualised Citizenship*, Gender, Sexualities and Culture in Asia, DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-4744-2_6

professional achievements, or lack thereof, or the type of work she does. FAWAA chooses outstanding women based on their 'dedication, persistence, compassion, sense of identity and generosity' as criteria. FAWAA aims to emphasise the importance of advocacy, community volunteerism, public service and sense of justice. The award was also staged once in 2006 in Sydney but did not produce an anthology of women's writing. Without any mention of 'brides', violence or the media, FAWAA in Sydney focused on the capacity of the group to '[contribute] to the ongoing discourse on Australian nation-building'.[3] The geo-demographic combination of Filipino-Australians in Sydney does not suitably fit FAWAA's advocacy: Sydney prides itself as an area of fewer interracial marriages, and secondly, the plethora of multicultural award-giving bodies diminishes the attraction of a local FAWAA. But for rural Queensland and to a lesser degree, the ACT, with high numbers of marriage migrants, the 'mail-order bride' issue needs to be addressed. Both Filipino leaders and Australian race relations administrators believed that FAWAA would negate the stereotypes. The two volumes analysed in this chapter are, thus, imbued with supposedly transformative power. An unpacking of the gender, class and ethnic politics with which the documentation of FAWAA intersects reveals solidarity, but a kind circumscribed by the violence of inequalities. The analyses in this chapter show how Filipino-Australian gendered citizenship has been crucial in the writing of their cultural history. That this cultural history is mired in violence is manifested in two ways: first, it springs from the experiences of Filipino women migrants who suffered intimate violence, sometimes death; and the second, violence as inherently a gendered phenomenon perpetrated through racialist and sexist relations.

Specifically, the chapter examines how personal and institutional violence against the 'mail-order bride' in Australia results in attitudes and behaviour eliciting a subtle form of intra-ethnic violence. FAWAA claims that their approach to honouring outstanding Filipino women is objective; that all Filipino women migrants are on equal footing in compete against each other. What FAWAA, however, misses is how it reproduces symbolic violence that pits against each other those who are victims of forced migration and those who are not. What would have been more constructive was to address the roots of gendered violence without scapegoating a vulnerable sector of women migrants. In other words, I present violence constructed in relational space due to the complex negotiation of power among Filipino women migrants, and between

Filipinos and the Australian society. This chapter interrogates the violence that results from the practice of othering the object of activism by an exclusive group of women directing FAWAA, and questions the very grounds on which such solidarity stands. I argue that the issues of racial exclusion and class identification drive Filipino women's formations to write about the 'mail-order bride' but only insofar as to erase the spectre of a destitute economic migrant to Australia that haunts the community's hyper feminised migration. Much of the cultural production by the Filipino community itself critiques Australia's tendency to perceive its migration only through the lens of 'mail-order bride'. However, it does so at the expense of condemnation, or at least, a disavowal of women who came to Australia in this way. Problematising the documentation of the FAWAA narratives gains more resonance in the context of domestic abuse of Philippines-born women in Australia. The politics of representation, in particular, the 'violence of representation', is almost always pertinent especially when the project designed to end violence against Filipino women commits a tacit violence by creating an underclass. Representations in the name of solidarity are violent when subjects are constructed precisely because of their deficit as subjects. The lack of economic and social capitals of 'mail-order brides' is an ostensible reason to imagine them as a captive subjectivity—an elected 'subaltern' so to speak—to advance certain interpretations of women's solidarity.

This chapter examines the attempt of Filipino-Australian women migrants to gain acceptability in a national space that has traditionally denied them political recognition. The chapter unpacks how a colonising solidarity operates, where activism paradoxically results in the discursive subjugation of the 'mail-order bride'. Following critiques of Western (white) feminism's appropriation of the women's struggle, owning the voices of those who are neither white nor privileged, intra-ethnic solidarity has gained ground.[4] The critique, however, invites a privileging of native women-as-activist, the 'authentic insider' position.[5] Once privileged, a few Filipino women in Australia speaking for many others, especially in the case of women professionals recognised by the dominant society, create an aura of power and persuasion that their interpretation of solidarity is the correct one. I argue, however, that because relationships forged in solidarity are almost always asymmetrical,[6] there is a need to interrogate how formations that claim to end violence may be perpetuating the old, or manufacturing new, types of violence. On the other hand, the sensitivity of the question of solidarity is a compelling aspect of

the Filipino-Australian socio-political realities. The anthologies presented here are significant contributions that reflect the most urgent concerns of the community, thus, contributing to their growing cultural history. This cultural history was not written by community members alone. It draws from and is shaped by Australia's mainstream media to which the examined anthologies are responses.

I, the 'Mail-Order Bride': Documenting Feminised Migration

The FAWAA anthologies are a rectification project aimed to salvage the representation of Filipino women. Delia Domingo-Albert, ambassador to Australia from 1994 to 2001, thought that intervention was much needed. Still reeling from the bad press of murder cases and domestic battery, Filipino leaders felt the burden to justify the community's presence. According to the ambassador, 'Australia needed to be made aware that our Filipino women migrants have high level of skills, work and educational capabilities and that their adaptability and innovative efforts enabled them to maintain happy and successful cross-cultural partnerships as responsible citizens of Australia'.[7] Behind this is the reductive logic that if Australia could imagine Filipinas as qualified and worthy of respect, the marriages they contract themselves into would be 'happy' and 'successful'. Furthermore, what FAWAA wished to rectify is the characterisation as social outcasts 'who would do basically anything to leave poor conditions in their country in order to come to Australia and prosper by marrying an Australian'.[8] This perception tacitly accuses marriage migrants as complicit to their victimisation because of their desperation. Saroca's study found a correlation between intimate partner violence against Filipino women and the perceived notion of their opportunism, contracting marriages to men met through catalogues or as entertainers to Australian tourists in the Philippines.[9] The narrative of opportunism is reflected not only in the justifications of abusive men who hurt transgressive women, but also by the way media tweaks the stories of abuse as events that are traceable to one woman's desire for a better life.

What FAWAA attempted to do was to invert the formula of exploitation. The anthologies produced were a challenge to the identification of Filipino women as objects without agency, as bodies in a transnationa market of sexual and domestic slavery that Collette Guillaumin calls 'sexage': a term she coined from '*esclavage*'(slavery) and '*servage*'

(serfdom).[10] If they were presented as agentic, it was in such a way as to paint them as vampiristic predators using 'love as the weapon of the weak'.[11] To accomplish such goals, FAWAA presented the skilled, the educated and the adaptable—the best of the 'us'—to the Australian public. The FAWAA anthologies, given the weight and permanence of print culture as documentation, are imbued with the task of undoing the irreparable image of marriage immigrants as willing victims of Australia's misogyny. The FAWAA hopes to do this through three strategies or processes: (1) empowerment of women through community and nation-building; (2) using *testimonio*, writing as witnessing, discursive space and (3) initiating the healing of trauma.

First, the FAWAA initiative was a collaborative effort between state actors (Philippine embassy staff and Australian multicultural administrators) and community members (organisations, newspapers, migrant businesses). The publications, contest proper and awarding ceremonies in three Australian states required considerable effort to put together. Marlene Agmata-Tucker, editor of the ACT edition, remembered how FAWAA tested many friendships, drew criticisms and intrigues and required many hours of voluntary work. It was an attempt for the Filipino community to make more visible their 'positive' presence in Australia. The FAWAA, more importantly, was a project of nation-building for Australia.[12] Because Filipino 'migrant women are so crucial to the rich fabric of Australian society',[13] the role that these documentations play is strategic to angle the woman question as an issue primarily of multicultural import: how can the sexualised subject be integrated into the folds of the multicultural nation? The incipient feminist discourse of FAWAA becomes a venue to improve race relations: to fight against stereotyping that 'creat[ed] divisions within the Filipino community and in many cases, isolat[ed] the Filipino women from the wider [Australian] community'.[14]

Second, what the FAWAA anthologies have achieved, if framed within the perspective of migrant women's writing in Australia, is considerable. FAWAA has transposed Filipino women's lives into print, creating spaces for discursive and political encounters. They have given a voice where there is silence, denial and disavowal. At a time when life-writing, auto/biographies and emancipatory and testimonial narratives have attained acceptance in literature, it is not easy to find 'mail-order bride' literature. For instance, a study of Asian-American literature focused its analyses based on the memoir of a Thai 'bride' despite the study's overemphasis

on the fact that Filipinas are the 'embodiment of exchange'.[15] Also, Rolando Tolentino, a Filipino scholar, planned to conduct an ethnographic study of 'mail-order brides' in Los Angeles but could not execute his plan for lack of interviewees. He attributed this failure to women's fear and the 'blacklash against "coming out"'.[16] Life writing by 'ethnic' women themselves is not uncommon in Australia but the 'Filipina' remains outside an imagined fence as well. *Weaving a Double Cloth: Stories of Asia-Pacific Women in Australia* is a collection of trauma stories, yet it excludes the trauma of the Filipina 'mail-order bride'.[17] The ease by which narratives of refugees, 'boat people' and other economic migrants win sympathy—no matter how 'fictitious', the kind of sympathy Virginia Wolf had for working class women[18]—is not extended to the sexualised migrant. This private motivation of 'mail-order bride' migration, compared to the highly political context of asylum-seeking, makes it more difficult to justify it. Moreover, the marriage migrant's affective labours are private, voluntary and free, thus, any systemic oppression is also easier to hide.[19] Especially because the marriage of a 'mail-order bride' is an economic transaction, she must pay through her labours. The FAWAA anthologies introduced the genre of *testimonio*—to bear witness—to Filipino women in Australia.

Defined by Gayatri Spivak as 'the genre of the subaltern giving witness to oppression',[20] the *testimonio* of the voiceless is constructed out of the contingencies of resistance movements and solidarity formations. It is also a criticism of the structures that precipitate histories of trauma and their consumption by a public who participates in their telling.[21] Escaping the violence from which many testimonial writings are written, the political subject breaks the silence to bear witness against atrocities. FAWAA's aim is to create solidarity premised on the unity of Filipino women to bridge social divides between them and the Australian mainstream. Because it is a literature of bearing witness, an audience, a reader or someone who will listen, is as important as the one rendering the testimony: FAWAA demands that the white Australian public listen and read; to force a close encounter with the sexualised ethnic other and from this, forge the possibility of understanding. The production of these narratives in itself is a positive outcome where there is only dearth of literature by marriage migrants.

Out of testimonio comes FAWAA's third achievement that empowers the subject to exorcise the trauma of migration, racial difference and gendered violence. It is a textual rendition of one's

life, 'a memory yet to be understood, a potential yet to come into being'.[22] The FAWAA project is a return to the past, to a temporal and spatial beginning where one's past is welded into one's present through pain. This disjointed life is articulated through a nostalgic reconstruction of life before migration but also a romanticisation of that with which Australia has gifted them. By inducing a 'coming out of the closet', FAWAA began healing the trauma 'through the very possibility and surprise of listening to another's wound'.[23] There exists a deep intertextuality of Filipino women's lives in Australia. One 'mail-order bride's' trauma is tied to another's embarrassment. An example is editor Agmata-Tucker's traumatising encounter with former Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Philip Ruddock, who joked during a dinner party 'Are you sure you're not a mail order bride?'[24] The 'mail-order bride', the community, the lawyer-diplomat, the FAWAA project and even I, are all caught in the deep structure of this sexualised trauma. Although my position as a researcher frames me as 'outsider' to Filipino-Australian community because I am not one of them, for Australians at large I am a Filipino and a woman who—whether I like it or not—shares the fate of a sexualised community.

Race for Distinction: Because not All 'Brides' Are Created Equal

FAWAA's documentation of life histories from a wide spectrum of Filipino women reveals different types of narrations. My analysis divides the narratives into four categories based on their treatment of the 'mail-order bride' thematic: (1) a clear delineation that one is not; (2) an ambiguous admission; (3) an admission without justification and (4) silence. These tendencies are dependent on the editorial intervention, the stylistic differences in the authorship of the narratives and the disparity between Filipino women migrants pitted against each other in FAWAA. Specifically, the highlighting of one's qualifications and background indicative of class status is a tendency found amongst FAWAA awardees. Pierre Bourdieu's notion of distinction and social capital are useful concepts in reading Filipino-Australian women's narratives.[25] The 'race for distinction' manifested in social class, I argue, is the mechanism that drives FAWAA, which then draws criticisms to evaluate methods in the pursuit of its objectives.

The narratives that discuss, for instance, how one's father is an aircraft engineer or how one's mother is racially hybrid or that one was born in Spain are clear suggestions of an immigrant's class belonging. Educational institutions outline social and cultural capital at once, and predict one's capacity to accumulate more capital, in particular, economic capital.[26] The frequency of descriptors such as 'Catholic school', 'all-girls', 'exclusive', and 'private' is not hard to miss. Some accentuate educational investment with old tales of nuns and prayers, an imprimatur of wealth and standing rooted in the country's Catholicism and Spanish colonialism: 'I pride myself as an alumnus of the prestigious 400-year-old University of Santo Tomas with a Diploma of Bachelor of Science in Medical Technology', writes one nominee.[27] The stories of Agmata-Tucker, editor and Marie-Louise Singson, awardee, are the types of narrations exemplifying the first category. Agmata-Tucker's narrative highlights the centrality of education towards social mobility. She narrates how her family's poverty—which she interprets as an 'unfortunate circumstance'—was compensated by 'more-than-average sense of intelligence' of the brood.[28] The result of such is professionalisation of a Filipino family: a captain, lawyer-diplomat, medical doctor, three nurses in the United States and the United Kingdom, an example of Filipino diaspora transformed socio-economically by labour migration. Implicit in her life story is the conflation of success with migration and the ability to plug into the global labour market. Agmata-Tucker's scholastic achievements in the Philippines and professional successes in Australia serve as ammunition against the sexist and racialist attacks such as that episode involving an Australian minister.

The Philippines is not multicultural per se but ethno linguistically diverse; there also exists a racialised hierarchy based on skin colour. Marie-Louise Singson demonstrates the racialised approach to distinction. With considerable similarities to the construction of the *criollo* (creole) in Spanish America—racially white but born in the new world—the *mestizo* in the Philippines holds what I call racial capital, the capital from which one can gain enormous entitlement. There are *mestizos* and *mestizas* whose social standing is inscribed within the racial superiority and economic history of that class. Beauty is whiteness (and whiteness is beauty): it almost always means privilege. Take, for instance, FAWAA winner Singson's careful attention to her racial pedigree, thus, her social class:

> Marguerita Marie Veronica Ruiz y Jardine and Jose Buenaventura Antonio Flor y Justo whose influential families hail from the north of the Philippines. My mother, whose multi-racial background is more European than Asian has a beauty that radiates from outside as well as inside… My father's illustrious naval career explodes with success, travel and heights of military honours, yet he is silent and humble of these achievement.[29]

Another telling example is former 'house manager' Teresita Stravopodis: 'As my name [Librando] indicates, we have both Spanish and Filipino blood. We live in a nice home in Manila'.[30] The pride attached to anything Spanish is likewise apparent in Leonor Xyrakis' early days in Australia: 'My circle of friends were mostly Filipinos of Spanish origin who migrated when they were only teenagers…'[31] I do not refute the veracity of these claims to *madre España*; however, claims of links to the colonial Spanish regime are never without significance. These claims are never irrelevant. Many migrants I met in Sydney claim that their 'ancestors' are Spaniards. Raising the spectre of racial hierarchy in the feudal Philippines in these subtle ways is an unnecessary wounding that harks back to when 'natives' were the object of collective violence by Spanish colonialists and their local cohorts. To transpose the history of privileging whiteness onto Philippines-Australian migration context is insensitive as it further cleaves the select few from the rest of migrant women.

The second category of narratives, ambiguous admission to being a marriage migrant is exemplified by award-winner Luwalhati Kendrick who writes poems and paints. Her work exemplifies semantic control in deferring admission and the unwillingness to yield and to interpellate oneself as just another marriage migrant. There is, furthermore, considerable effort in the writing style to portray oneself as an exceptional kind of marriage migrant, and that her marriage to the Australian was very much serendipitous. This is important because only through careful differentiation that Kendrick can be imagined as an ideal migrant whom FAWAA endorses. The passage below illustrates the textual strategies in Kendrick's 17-page autobiographical narrative:

> It was not until December 1974 that I decided to send a Christmas

> card to Gary. It was purely by chance, I found his name and address in my bedroom drawer although I could not remember where and how I met him. As I had many extra Christmas cards, I decided to send him one. At that stage, he was already posted in Sydney but the Brisbane Post Office forwarded the mail to him. He later told me that he immediately wrote to me and proposed to marry me as he never forgot our first encounter in Manila.
>
> I did not, however, receive Gary's letter. However, Filipinos have adopted the American tradition of exchanging cards with their loved ones on Valentine's day. On that occasion, I again had a spare card and not wanting to waste it, I sent it to the Australian whose face I only half remembered and whose address had somehow managed to survive in the chaos of my drawer. Gary realised that his earlier proposal had gone astray and we then commenced corresponding.[32]

To cut the story short, Gary arrived in Manila in December 1975, and then left with a Filipina wife for Australia. According to Kendrick, she did this for love, despite the fact that her 'teaching career, new-found fame as a poet, friends and family' would be 'a world away'.[33] While far from being a 'traumatically shattered subject' like women of slavery, Kendrick manifests how women's writing is a therapeutic exercise, a 'scriptotherapy' to '[reinvent] the self and [reconstruct] the subject'.[34] Reconstruction does not suggest untruth, but what is interesting is the narratological technique Kendrick uses to preclude a semantic conflation of her efforts to communicate with the man and her migration as a 'bride'. Kendrick, in finding—serendipitously—the name and address of a man she hardly remembered, draws more attention to her re-imagining of it, framed by her careful language. The supposed spontaneity of the moment constructs Kendrick as a 'letter-writing bride'—a category different from the 'mail-order bride' (whose details are advertised in a catalogue)—which at the same time defines the 'mail-order bride' that Kendrick is not. The writer addresses Australia and members of the

'mail-order bride' community, only in so far as she convinces herself of the veracity of her story.

Francisca Batistic and Maria Diwanni Simonds, both non-awardees, exemplify the third category of narratives: direct admission that one is a 'mail-order bride'. Their narratives are in third-person authored by Agmata-Tucker, much shorter, and accompanied by a headshot on a casual background. Their life stories, foregrounded by poverty, lack of distinction and little social capital, are a marked contrast to those of women like Kendrick and Singson. Batistic's narrative evidences no concealment of her status as a 'mail-order bride', or of her poor origins.[35] Hers is a refreshing take, for she does not justify anything. The problem is that she never had to say: I am a 'mail-order bride'; the editor did it for her. The third-person perspective indicates editorial intervention; drawn from raw material, written and 'doctored' for her approval. Agmata-Tucker had to interview FAWAA nominees to substantiate her rendition of their lives. 'I was very happy with the honesty of a lot of women who participated. But there were talks that some were not completely honest in their stories, for example, not mentioning some facts here and there,' she said.[36] It is not exactly Batistic's voice that we hear or her decision to not defer the confession or to defend her agency in making her migration happen: it was the editor's. The narrative of recovery is not hers. Batistic's trauma is authored by someone who did not share similar migration experiences. If 'editorial control can simulate spontaneity', in the way Spivak did to her subaltern subjects,[37] then the FAWAA project, through Batistic, speaks for the 'imagined community' of marriage migrants:

> She met her husband Vladimir through an advertisement in a local newspaper in Iloilo. This fact is something that Francisca does not hide—romances, after all, start in various ways and hers happens to have started with a pen and a piece of paper. Francisca found her destiny through correspondence and it saddens her to hear of other people talking negatively about a relationship that started through the mail, correspondence, or pen friendship. She believes that they fail to see the uniqueness

> in every relationship regardless of how they started. She has many friends and acquaintances who like her, met their spouses through correspondence. A majority of their marriages, like hers, are genuinely grounded on love and deep commitment.[38]

Another example similar to Batistic's reclaiming of the label 'mail-order bride' is Maria Diwanni Simonds' story. The narrative speaks of the confrontation not simply against the Australian and the Filipino-Australian community but also with and for oneself. Albeit also mediated by the learned use of language by Agmata-Tucker, Simonds' telling of the travesties of poverty she underwent is brave and witty when juxtaposed against the watchful seriousness of the FAWAA winners. The healing of Simonds stretches further back before her migration to Australia, when she:

> …married Allan in Townsville, Australia in 1991 and envisioned a life of a Queen [sic] living in a mansion and turning white-skinned but only to find out the reality that she knew little of the English language, unknowledgeable on the use of electricity, and finding herself living in a tin shed for five years! Nonetheless, even under such poor conditions, Diwanni says she was very happy….[She] prides herself of her beautiful son and daughter, now a nice and comfortable house (beside the old tin shed) and another house that they rent out; a house for her family back home and jeepney business in Pitalo managed by her sister who wrote the first replies to her beloved husband![39]

Batistic's and Simonds' narratives function as such in the context of FAWAA. Often attributed to visual texts drawing catharsis from the suffering (only) of others, misery porn dramatises the poverty, hunger, isolation, desperation and enslavement of other women to justify the opportunism of being 'mail-order bride'. This is particularly a way

to violate those whose stories stand next to the likes of Kendrick whose sophistication in narrating their 'brideness' is foregrounded with middle-class values.

The fourth category of narratives features those who are silent about their migration. For an anthology that celebrates cross-cultural understanding and achieving success in a foreign land, total absence of the circumstances of one's migration is unexpected, if not bewildering. To begin, in the FAWAA Queensland anthology, 25 of 30 non-winning narratives fail to reveal how the women met their Australian husbands.[40] Although a few of these introduced the presence of the men through basic descriptive phrases such as 'the former German teacher' or 'the Englishman', none of them detailed how they met the German or the Englishman. There were hints such as 'on fiancée visa', or the less revealing, 'before coming to Australia in year ____' to mark a most significant moment in their lives. The majority of women in the narratives have non-Filipino surnames, a hint of their union with an Australian male. Lastly, there are women whose stellar careers are detailed, specifying their professional achievements both in the Philippines and Australia, yet omitting how they first made the journey to Australia. To have to admit, 'I married an Australian to come to this country' demands humility from the nominees of a contest. Writing is revealing, but at the same time, an act of editing. These women chose reticence over the opportunity to use the testimonials to speak about the circumstances of their migration, and subsequently claim freedom from the silence that has imprisoned Filipino women in Australia. While it is understandable that the trauma of racialisation prevents marriage migrants from easily 'confessing' about their source of embarrassment, the reticence of some only reinforced the inability of FAWAA as a rectificatory project to rise above this embarrassment.

The Politics of 'Achievement': Surfacing the Hidden Trauma

The FAWAA anthologies as 'women's writing' have materialised that which had not been attempted before: a return to writing about each woman's journey, a cathartic excision of guilt for being a border-crossing woman. The transposition of migrant women's lives into textual lives has the potential towards a radicalising of the 'mail-order bride' subjectivity.

These *testimonios* exert a force determined to exorcise the community's ambivalent feelings towards the spectre of the Filipina. However, the case is complicated, if not problematic. First, FAWAA's potential to heal the trauma is snatched by the disavowal of the 'mail-order bride' by FAWAA's achievers who have projected onto others, sisters in the lower rung, the very objectification they are fighting. This is illustrated by the inclusion of some 'mail-order bride' women's stories mired in poverty, often narrated in third-person, in much shorter articles. The fact that most of these women are non-awardees is highlighted by the uninspired presentation of their narratives. There is trauma and pain in inscribing I, 'the mail-order bride' onto oneself, but relief and pride in claiming that one is not. I see the FAWAA volumes as a kind of 'second wounding' that retrace the violence of racism and sexism in these narratives because 'trauma is not locatable in the simple violent or original event'.[41] I would even argue that the trauma does not originate from the moment of departure to Australia but in the socio-political realities of being a Filipino. The FAWAA anthologies were unable to provide this structural analysis.

Second, FAWAA does not interrogate the politics of 'coming out of the closet'. It is neither a corrective approach towards the politics of the uses of 'coming out', nor a questioning, 'why come out and for whom?' Australian government sponsorship inevitably opened up FAWAA to cooptation by dismissing the racism and sexism from which Filipinas suffer as a question of 'cultural' differences. Because Australia prides itself as a multicultural nation, the master narrative of integration interprets specific issues concerning each migrant group almost always as a question of 'culturally' managing migrants. This logic echoes popular media claims that abusers misunderstood Filipino culture and that women migrated without knowing what they are getting themselves into. The effect is a sublimation of patriarchal sexism where complicity of male-centred social structures in consenting to violence is glossed over. This not specifically female quality of Australian multiculturalism implies a 'mark of its masculinity'.[42] Australia's public institutions and their active promotion of multiculturalism serve, paradoxically, as venues of continued racialism. The institutional support that FAWAA received shows that conservative solidarity driven by elitist 'race for distinction' is compatible with a narrow understanding of transformative politics.

Third, in showcasing the economic and social capital of a handful of Filipinas, FAWAA made Australia realise that not all are 'mail-order

brides'. But what it ended by doing is a 'valorisation of the middle class', of women whose migration experiences are not universal, and a corresponding devaluation of the marriage migrants' experiences.[43] To show that there are professional Filipino women does not erase the 'mail-order bride' or her stereotype. The case of FAWAA is an instructive negation of racial and class prejudices by valorising another class, reproducing the violence of prejudice and abuse experienced by many Filipino women migrants in Australia after migration. The FAWAA project, despite its claim of solidarity, hierarchised women by class, social capital and racial capital, a race for distinction. For the poor, unlettered and inarticulate, it was a race to the bottom. FAWAA implicitly endorses a femininity and exercise of citizenship that conflate employment participation, mainstream respectability, motherhood and domestic roles into a neat formula. But this ideal is engendered through the writing off of women who work as nannies; women who scavenged food as children, women who served as maids and women who are victims, women like Adelia Netty (a pseudonym) whose opportunism is depicted as complicit to her enslavement.[44] In sum, FAWAA's claim of solidarity among migrant women is no less than a documentation of its own violence in reinforcing racialist and classist stereotypes it sought to combat.

Much of the failure of FAWAA is its use of contests, awards and literary documentation without awareness of the objectification that such platforms engender. Despite the possibility that some token women like Adelia Netty are healed from the trauma of violence, the project's documentation undermines the claim of Filipino women's solidarity. The FAWAA functioned to not only speak for and speak about the 'mail-order bride', but it also reinforced the idea that Filipino women are either 'mail-order brides' or 'brides with professions'. This paradox was, rather expectedly, missed by the community with few exceptions. Dee Hunt, founder of CPCA Brisbane and editor of activist newsletter, *KASAMA*, questions FAWAA's logic of accepting 'stigma' and 'shame' as the responsibility of Filipinos but not the racist, elitist and sexist culture prevalent in Australia.[45] To what extent did FAWAA influence the Australian public in blotting out the 'mail-order bride' tag? This is difficult to measure. For one, the images of the opportunistic, sexualised female interloper remain pervasive. The representations of Rose Porteous, the maid who married a mining magnate, as a gold-digging prostitute, and the deportation of Vivian Alvarez Solon, an Australian citizen to the Philippines, hint at the inefficacy of glittery measures to

rectify public perception. On the one hand, the FAWAA was a small, unsteady step undertaken by the Filipino-Australian community to combat the stereotyping. The effort was neither systemic nor strategic in its approach to solidarity. On the other, it stands to be the guide by which the community can proceed in its solidarity actions in the future. The entire experience offers signposts by which actions where intersections of race, gender and class in a multicultural setting matter can be successfully launched. One lesson would be to refuse to subsume gender only as an issue under the project of multicultural integration.

The 'mail-order bride' as 'somebody but not me', or 'I was once but not anymore', or 'I might have been but there is nothing wrong with it', is an indication of the cracks within a multiculturalist, gender-based solidarity campaign. These fragmentations are indicative of reformist political actions: first, in the continuation of the racialisation of the Filipina migrant; and, second, in the transposition of class divisions in the Philippines to Australia. In the final instance, while it may be argued that the entire praxis of awards and publications was an act of recuperation from racism, sexism and elitism, FAWAA reinforced practices of the ideologies it tried to combat. It is a re-opening of wounds, an irritation to the sensitive history of Filipino-Australian migration that engenders a soft violence hidden in the folds of documentation. It is a return to violence, a healing that failed, a trauma that demands to be remembered and a history that needs to be told.

Notes

1. FAWAA, *Filipino Women Achievers in Queensland*, 2001.
2. Agmata-Tucker, ed. *Crossing the Barriers: Filipino Women Stories: An Anthology of Migration,* 2003.
3. "Former Colegialas Chosen in FAWAA Awards," *Bayanihan News,* November 2006.
4. Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders*, 5–9.
5. Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures,* 5.
6. Nelson, *A Finger in the Wound: Body Politics in Quincentennial Guatemala,* 1999.
7. Delia Domingo-Albert, in *Crossing the Barrier: Filipino Women Stories: An Anthology of Migration,* ix.
8. Uri Themal, in *Crossing the Barrier: Filipino Women Stories: An Anthology of Migration*, vii.
9. Saroca, "Hearing the Voices of Filipino Women," 2002.

10. Guillaumin, *Racism, Sexism, Power and Ideology*, 181.
11. Cheng, "Romancing the Club," 245.
12. "Former Colegialas Chosen in FAWAA Awards," *Bayanihan News,* November 2006.
13. Agmata-Tucker, ed. *Crossing the Barrier,* v.
14. Ibid., 20.
15. So, *Economic Citizens,* 127.
16. Tolentino, *Subject Formation and Media in and on the Philippines*, 2.
17. Myra-Jean Bourke, Susanne Holzknecht and Annie Bartlett, *Weaving a Double Cloth,* 2002.
18. Virginia Woolf, "Introductory Letter," xxvi.
19. Christine Delphy and Diana Leonard, *Familiar Exploitation*, 1992.
20. Gayatri Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and Circumfession", 7.
21. Linda Maier and Isabel Dulfano, *Women as Witness: Essays on Testimonial Literature by Latin American Women*, 2004.
22. Linda Anderson, *Women and Autobiography in the Twentieth Century: Remembered Futures*, 8.
23. Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*, 8.
24. Agmata-Tucker, "Marriage Across Cultural Boundaries," 18.
25. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction,* 1984.
26. Ibid, 5–9.
27. FAWAA, *Filipino Women Achiever in Queensland,* 76.
28. Agmata-Tucker, ed., *Crossing the Barrier*, 76.
29. Singson, in *Crossing the Barrier,* 115–116.
30. Stravopodis, in *Crossing the Barrier*, 128.
31. Xyrakis, in *Crossing the Barrier*, 148.
32. Kendrick, in *Crossing the Barrier*, 48.
33. Ibid., 48.
34. Henke, in *Crossing the Barrier*, xxii–xv.
35. Batistic, in *Crossing the Barrier,* 159.
36. Agmata-Tucker (former consul), interview, April 18, 2010.
37. Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and Circumfession", 9.
38. Batistic, in *Crossing the Barrier,* 159–160.
39. Simonds, in *Crossing the Barrier,* 88.
40. FAWAA, *Filipino Women Achiever in Queensland.*
41. Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 4.
42. Sara Ahmed, *Strangers Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-coloniality,* 109.
43. Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism,* 113.
44. Adelia Netty, in *Crossing the Barrier.* 46.
45. Dee Hunt, "Filipino Community Organising on Women's Issues in Australia," 2002.

CHAPTER 7

Class and Filipino-Australians

Socialising with migrant Filipinos, I was exposed to jokes directed at migrants. The proliferation of *balikbayan* jokes—meant to make a mockery of the flaunted affluence—is also a testament of the upwardly mobile trajectory of the living standards of Filipinos in the first world. More often, jokes make fun of working-class migrants who grapple with the changes in their material culture and physical environment. That "native" Filipinos in a white society seem to be an intrinsically unnatural and paradoxical phenomenon that engenders humour is a class-based interpretation of alienation. The jokes which I find very funny and precise—they remind me of relatives in the USA and acquaintances in Australia—mostly hint at the aspirations of migrants to accumulate economic, social and capital disproportionate to their racial capital as Filipinos.

This chapter interrogates how Filipinos in Australia have transplanted social class hierarchies and tensions that accompany divisions along race and wealth conditioned by the Philippines' feudal past and postcolonial present. I argue that while a transnational implantation of class relations is apparent, Filipinos do not perform the same repertoire of social relations. Class amongst Filipino-Australians is not a mere replica; it is regulated by the conditions of permanent diaspora. The feudal-comprador arrangements in the Philippines meet resistance in Australia's social and economic landscape. The relocation of many women migrants meant entry into white households, thus, an upgrading of social class as seen in narratives featured in the FAWAA anthologies and *Age of Wisdom* to be

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discussed in Chap. 8.[1] But this class repositioning manifests in the stigma attached to being a 'mail-order bride' because economic accumulation does not necessarily translate as social status. Also, the lumping together of Filipinos as economic migrants in most advanced societies—especially where the concentration of feminised, intimate labour is high—almost always predicts the ceiling of their mobility. But whatever economic gains Filipinos overseas have, or hostilities they face, for that matter, they will inevitably affect diasporic class relations.

With a specific orientation on how class is inscribed in cultural history, this chapter will look at *Manila, a Memoir of Love & Loss*, and *Salu-salo: In Conversation with Filipinos: An Anthology of Philippine-Australian Writings* along with newspapers to illustrate how the 'Great Divide' forms allegiances, practices, leadership and groupings among Filipino-Australians.[2] The structure of the chapter starts with a general discussion of class structure in the Philippines and the Filipino migrant as Australian working class. Then, I analyse the works by members of the community who celebrate hybridity, typical of gatekeepers. After which, I discuss the vitality of ethnic newspapers to serve many interests and diverse migrant affairs, revealing contradictions of class aspirations that characterise many debates in the community.

The Philippines and Its Classes

The Philippines is marked by inequality between the rich and the poor. The country is torn along class lines based on its feudal and colonial past, and its postcolonial present where 10% of families possess 36% of the wealth as opposed to 35% owned by the bottom 70% of the population. Only 20% of the 87 million Filipinos in 2006 could be considered as middle class based on these figures. According to Ibon Foundation, the 'severe rich-poor income gap' is so alarming because the 20 richest families in the country own US$20.4 billion collectively which is almost the equivalent of the combined income of 12 million Filipino families.[3] The report also said that rural poverty in the Philippines outweighs urban poverty by 45:14 out of 100 people in 2006. The grim projection of this ever-widening chasm has a long and complex history of colonial relations with Spain (1521–1898) and the USA (1900–1941), and then the intensification of the export-oriented market under neoliberalism today. Anyone familiar with the poverty in the country made notorious to a world audience by the Smokey Mountain 1980s

and then the ostentatious wealth of Forbes Park? Smokey Mountain was a garbage dumping ground in Manila of 2 million tonnes of waste. It got its name from the smoke that came out of the dump because of the high decomposition temperature. Thousands of illegal settlers have rounded the area to scavenge and then sell the recyclable as a source of living. In the 1990s, the 'eye sore' was slowly removed at the cost of US$347,000.[4] Forbes Park, on the other hand, is a gated community, home to ambassadors, foreign businessmen, the Manila Golf and Polo Club and the nation's wealthiest. These two places just several kilometres away from one another are a strong visual juxtaposition that one would agree that 'Great Divide' is the most apt term to describe the massive class inequality.

Class relations in the Philippines are much intertwined with racial gradations that may seem unrecognisable to outsiders. There are light-skinned Spanish *mestizos*, Chinese *mestizos*, the ethnically Malay majority and the indigenous. Spanish-Filipino *mestizos*, a handful of families mainly based in Manila, Cebu and other metropolis own vast resources of old money traceable to the 'semi-feudal' and 'neo-colonial' socio-economic realities in the Philippines today. The Chinese-Filipino billionaires control airlines, shopping malls, banks and real estate. There are the 'natives' who dominate the political scene from the *barangay* level (the smallest political unit) to the executive and legislative electoral positions. While the economically disadvantaged 'natives' dominate the population, there is a segment of Philippine society perpetually overlooked because of the centuries-old normalisation of their marginal position: the aboriginals, the *lumad* (indigenous), the highlanders and the ethnic minorities. This 'fourth world' has remained outsiders to the Filipino nation-building except as coopted subjects. Four decades of international migration from the Philippines have introduced changes to Philippines' class structures. Today, the country's strong 10 million migrants (permanent settlers and circular migrants) have brought in the dollar economy. US$27 billion in 2016 alone pumped into the country of remittance transfers, excluding cash and donation of philanthropic nature. The ongoing debates regarding the impact of international migration to Philippines' economy are still far from establishing what impacts migration has on poverty reduction and social inequality. While the literature posits that remittances alleviate the poorest from absolute poverty, remittances do not produce comprehensive economic development. While it improves lives of families of migrants, remittances also create income inequalities

nationally, thereby reproducing already existing ones. In the Philippines, for instance, it is common to see an imposing residential structure in the middle of a rice field or surrounded by shanty homes. Urban areas in the Philippines can boast of cosmopolitan lifestyle in gated communities and luxurious shopping malls while the rest of the country lives in chronic poverty. The jobless growth and conspicuous consumption that characterise Philippines' economy are traceable to the inability of migration managers to turn remittances into investment. What has been observed is the sudden spike in wealth of businessmen in cargo, transportation, airlines, money transfer and banking, real estate, retail, shopping malls and related sectors. So that while labour migrants and emigrants, dubbed as *bagongbayani* (modern-day heroes), continue to fuel the Philippines' economy, the nouveau riche of the dollar economy, the wealth they bring in is not well distributed and not sustainable. This is a class of OFWs (Overseas Filipino Workers) gaining greater visibility and economic power in their localities but without social prestige in the old sense. International migration of Filipinos, if anything, reinforces the old 'Great Divide' in the Philippines. The *mestizos* accumulate more wealth, the natives work and the *lumad* are still outsiders.

Once overseas, Filipino class relations take on different forms, so to speak. For example, settlement migration to the USA, Canada, Europe, Australia and other advanced economies accumulates greater capital. The upper middle class would find the first-world countries more suitable, thus, responsive as well to their socio-economic matrices. Circular migration is a territory of the lower middle class, those whose contracts are bound to difficult labour conditions and general insecurity. Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia and the Gulf countries are the destinations popular to Filipino contract workers. Although there is this 'Great OFW Divide', this does not mean that the field is not complex. For instance, the demographic of Filipino flow in European countries is feminised: domestic helpers and *au pairs*, wives and girlfriends. In Australia, it has been the 'mail-order brides'. Both European and Australian destinations can be generally claimed to receive Filipino migrants from the same class as circular migrants in East Asia and the Middle East. On the other hand, US-bound migrants are perceived to be occupying the best spot in the migration chain. Due to historical, economic and socio-cultural ties between the two countries, migrants in the USA are at home in the land of their Filipino Dream, an envy for millions of Filipino migrants.

Filipinos as Working Class Australians

A permanent migrant from the Philippines settling down in another country will have to join its working force. The collective visibility of a minority group is deeply informed by class relations and the labour profile of the majority of entrants. In the previous chapter, I discussed the profile of Filipinos in western Sydney as working-class Australians. Before the promotion of skilled visa migration, it is assumed that migrants especially those who speak languages other than English constitute the working class in Australia. In 1996, a total of 44.1% of immigrants from Southeast Asia worked in blue-collar jobs; migrants from the Philippines and Vietnam constitute the highest number of migrants among Southeast Asians.[5] 75% of Filipino migrants are in the labour force, compared to 65% of Australian-born average. On the average, they earn $673 per week in 2011, while Australian-born take home $577.[6] Filipino-Australians are labourers, clerks, administrative workers and managers.

The figures above are indicative of decent income for Filipino migrants, a fairly high level of qualifications and active participation in the labour force, yet overrepresentation in labouring jobs. This, however, is not specific to Filipinos but to all migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds. Tierney, Collins and Hage have all commented on multiculturalism's formation of an immigrant working class that maintains the rule of the elite in Australia.[7] The forging of a white working class unity and identity at the expense of race discrimination is the centre of class-based critique of multiculturalism. The perpetuation of inequality of wealth is anchored partly on the availability of an 'ethnic' workforce; the division of the working class along racial lines.[8] This is something that did not escape Marx who saw English proletarian hostility against the immigrant Irish.[9] The demand for migrants to integrate into the national family is fraught with class tension in the entry of migrants into the Australian proletariat who, in turn, imagine a common identity with white capitalist class. What is dismissively taken as the availability of migrant bodies as fodder to low-paid jobs, as putting up with labour abuse and as timid towards unionism undermines the potential of these migrants to radicalise white unionism. At the same time, one cannot assume that just because they come from the third-world—with a possibly strong socialist landscape—immigrants are predisposed to labour activism. It seems that political participation is also related even more specifically to languages that migrants speak. A 2014 report claims

that 14% of migrants who only speak English (England, Canada, New Zealand, among others) participate in civil and political activities, while only 6.3% of migrants who speak languages other than English do.[10] Migrants have class loyalties before migration and are most likely hold on to these allegiances in the new homeland. It would be difficult to radicalise a sector of migrants who think that on-the-job racial discrimination is an improvement over the smaller income back home. Michael Reich's bargaining power theory reads racial and class dilemmas such as this as benefitting, in the last instance, capitalists 'whether or not they have individually or collectively practiced racial discrimination.'[11]

Moreover, the flattening of class struggle by multiculturalism continues as those from non-English speaking backgrounds are encouraged to practice culture through food and music but not in socially proactive measures.[12] Multiculturalism effaces a deeply working-class history of Australia and, alarmingly, renders immigrants as 'non-political', 'non-class based' and 'ahistorical' in the process where a regime of discipline produces a compliant working class.[13] Without being deductive, I was a participant-observer in two major labour mobilisations in Sydney and Adelaide I would describe as a singularly 'white' affair. However, there are formations such as *Migrante Australia*—an activist group originally from the Philippines—that advance labour and civil rights of migrant workers and link up with established Australian unions. This ethnicisation of labour collectivism is response to the racialisation of labour itself in most multicultural advanced societies. The intimate ties between racialisation of groups of people and the continued accumulation of wealth in capitalist system explain the continued divisiveness fostered between supposedly one working class; this intimacy between race and class is also a flattening of the 'basic contradictions of historical capitalism'.[14]

A Filipino migrant's insertion into the Australian working class and her understanding of this insertion necessitates an unpacking as to how class is performed from an alien position. Many perceive that their proletarianisation is due to 'de-skilling' because overseas qualifications are not recognised in Australia. On the other hand, migrants may interpret the improvement in their standard of living not as an effect of the disparity between the Philippines and Australia in global capitalism but as upward mobility in their social class driven by neoliberal ethos of self-propelled growth. A 'mail-order bride' factory worker, for instance, may read car ownership and access to a tennis club as middle classness. It was common to hear Filipino-Australians speak about accumulation: their properties,

leisure, mobility, social capital, holidays, souvenir magnets on the fridge, to mention a few. This, I suggest, leads working-class Filipinos to believe that they may have crossed into the petit-bourgeiosie; an illusory assessment ignoring the specificities of white middle classness. If middle-classness were previously unattainable to some migrants, in Australia it is not only within reach but also can be surpassed. The result is a gap: a disparity between economic class (in dollars) and social aspirations harnessed in the old country. While the acquisition of social and cultural capital may necessarily follow affluence, there is often the lag of the incongruity between a cashed up migrant and Filipino middle classness. The 'lack of manners' attributed by an interviewee to 'native' Filipinos—particularly the 'Blacktown Filipinos'—point to this lag that new money cannot buy. The ferocity of class consciousness among Filipino-Australians—further exacerbated by the 'mail-order bride' cringe—is seen in the struggle for taste in a memoir, a literary anthology and ethnic newspapers.

Chinese- and Spanish-Filipino Mestizos

Philippines' class structure before and after migration intersects at unique junctures, that of the origin and destination countries, but also of individual class belonging and circumstances of migration. I wish to point out two phenomena I observed in Australia: (1) the disappearance ofChinese-Filipinos and (2) the revival of old antagonism against Spanish-Filipino *mestizos.*

Moneyed elites from dragon or tiger economies in the Asia Pacific seek 'to both circumvent and benefit from different nation-state regimes by selecting different sites for investment, work, and family relocation'.[15] Aihwa Ong calls this adaptability 'flexible citizenship'. Filipinos, on the other hand, are characterised by either the inflexibility of the very poor or the forced mobility of a labour migrant, not exactly the kind of flexibility of the globally competitive citizens. The feminised migration to Australia of Philippines-born does not exhibit this suitability of migrant goals, however, a small section of them are flexible. They are the Chinese-Filipinos who have moved twice: first as Southeast Asians from China and then, second, as Southeast Asian nationals to first-world destinations. Ong noted the economic status often ascribed to Southeast Asian Chinese compared to the native population that prepared them for this second-move migration.[16]

In the 2011 census, 6160 (3.3%) claimed Chinese ancestry out of all Philippines-born migrants.[17] Yet, in my 4-year stay in Australia, the Chinese have not been visible to me. I did not see them in fiestas, or in newspapers; neither have I come across an organisation nor a celebration organised by them. I asked informants about Chinese-Filipinos but they do not seem to be in the know. Ong's ethnography on the transnational movement of Asian Pacific Rim capital is again useful in hypothesising about their 'disappearance'.[18] Ethnically, Chinese Southeast Asians have symbolised new capital in the West where real estate, hotel, malls and many other businesses are driven by their entrepreneurial, 'Confucian' savvy. Ownership in the USA, formerly only associated with the Japanese and Koreans, has expanded to include Singaporean, Malaysian and Taiwanese Chinese.[19] The money that precipitated 'Asian modernity' (unabashed capitalism with 'Asian' values) is visible as well in Australia. The 'disappearance' of Chinese-Filipino Australians as 'Philippines-born' may not be deliberate but it is strategic. The privileging of 'Chineseness' in Australia due to China's economic and socio-cultural power and the negative stereotypes of a sexualised Filipino community are possibly the reasons to explain this 'disappearance'. The pan-Asian (Chinese) ethnicity often touted as a result of an essentialist religio-cultural origin is the space that allows Chinese descendants convertability of their social and cultural capital that Spanish *mestizos* also have but 'native' Filipinos do not.

However, the alleged 'disappearance' of Chinese-Filipinos in Australia is not absolute because they surface from time to time. Dante Tan was in the headlines for bribing an immigration officer, buying his residency and corrupting the stock exchange. Eduardo Cojuangco, industrialist, for buying Australia's National Foods and owning tracts of land in Mudgee. Arlene Chai, the best-selling author of *The Last Time I Saw Mother*, published by Random House Australia, 'was born and educated in Manila'.[20] They are in the news not because they are ethnically Chinese—neither do I formulaically conflate 'Chineseness' with money and fame as a form of racialising them—but for the moveable capital they drive transnationally. All three are reportedly very private and do not socialise with Filipinos. Chai, in particular, never really claimed 'Filipinoness'; she only owns the spatiality of Manila in her narratives. In her page in the Random House website, it says 'in 1982 she migrated to Australia with her parents and sisters, and now lives in Sydney's northern beaches area'.[21] Three points are made clear here:

first, she is not a Filipino; second, it was a family migration, and third, she does not live in western Sydney. In fact, her ethnic, cultural, linguistic self-representations say that she is not Filipina—she just happened to be born in Manila. The ambivalence explains the 'disappearance'. In this, I detect a counter-phenomenon from Ong's observation that the Chinese in Southeast Asia 'stress their nationality rather than their ethnic [Chineseness] status'[22] or the subjectivity within which Ien Ang positions herself as Chinese-Indonesian Dutch who cannot speak "Chinese'.[23] I read that Chai, Cojuangco and Tan whose flexibility in Australia is an appropriation of cultural and social values privileged in white society is a re-Sinicisation of sorts, and, in effect, a disavowal of the lesser 'Filipinoness'.

The second-class phenomenon is the revival of old antagonism against Spanish-Filipino *mestizo* by 'native' migrants in Australia. In January 1977's issue of *Bagumbayan*, the first-ever newspaper/magazine of the Filipino community in Sydney and possibly in Australia, an article 'The Filipino in Australia' described the profile of the emerging ethnic group.[24] With only 4000 Philippines-born families, according to the article, a large proportion of this number was Spanish-Filipino *mestizos*: 'those who could pass themselves off as white and thus become acceptable within the framework of the old White Australia Policy'.[25] In the 2011 census, 8768 (5.8%) declared Spanish ancestry amongst Philippines-born migrants. The so-called post-White Australia 'first wave' migration could sensibly be dated in the 1960s until the 1970s. The politics of whiteness that characterised early migration to Australia from southern European countries had never really been singled out as the motivation for Philippines-born *mestizo* immigrants. 'Passing' as a symptom of racial governmentality was not something officially related to Filipinos who are often imagined as 'southeast Asian', 'Malay-skinned', 'non-white' and 'non-English speaking'. An interesting result of this research is the identification of the Spanish-Filipino *mestizo* as a kind of immigrant 'excess' that silently slips past categories of racial groupings. *Mestizos* are a fluid, shifting identity in contemporary Australia yet at the same time a collective that is clearly moored to its historical past of colonisation, migration and settlement in feudal Philippines.

The *Bagumbayan* article was critical of the *mestizo* for the double racialising effect they inflict to already-sexualised 'natives':

> No matter whether they were less or more educated than the later Filipino migrants, they tended to move in their own exclusivistic circles, spouting off their bastardized Castillian, and looking down their noses at the other Filipinos of darker skin. But while the majority of Filipinos are appalled by the fact of racism in other people, they have generally learned to shutter out the uglier sides of life—living sometimes in a dream world of their own imagination.[26]

The 'exclusivistic' character of the Spanish-Filipino could, however, be interpreted differently by those who 'belong' to this group. One such reading is Eduardo Ugarte's: that they are 'not united' at all or do they attempt to be exclusive as something deliberate. Ugarte who himself comes from a wealthy family has the idea of *mestizo* communities as cellular: 'networks of families who are either relatives or old friends from the Philippines, which stretches from Gosford to Sydney…smallish networks bound together by kinship and friendship ties'.[27] The accusation of Rivera that they live in a 'dream world' may have come from an organisation way back in the 1970s that Benjie de Ubago, one-time editor of a newspaper, said was mostly *mestizos*. She even recalled how her mother and father have its 'membership cards'.[28] The organisation does not mention 'Spanish-Filipino' in its name because 'while Spanish-Filipinos are different in colour…they did consider themselves as Filipinos.'[29] She thinks that while there were comments similar to those made in *Bagumbayan* that Spanish-Filipinos 'might have felt they were better than the other Filipinos', it just boils down to a case of not liking native Filipino migrants' *'yabangan'* (arrogant banter), 'lack of manners' and 'clannish[ness]'.[30] Instead of using here terms such as 'social capital', 'cultural capital' or other terms that convey my point, I used De Ubago's characterisation of 'native' Filipinos in Australia, referring to their uncouth behaviour.[31] The flexibility of her term implicates the class prejudice behind the demand for proper comportment; this raises the point whether her comment is classist primarily and racial secondarily and not the other way around.

There is a conflation here of the racial and the cultural: we are not Filipinos; therefore we are different. This perceived difference puts *mestizos* in the spectrum closer to white Australians. De Ubago said, 'we really did not feel different from Australians' so it was easy to 'mix and

mingle'.[32] The *mestizo* being 'almost white' gives them the confidence and allows them easier access to the mainstream. Moreover, de Ubago thinks mixing with Australians was their way out of the battle of the 'egos' as played out in the organisations' petty quarrels or outdoing each other which is, loosely speaking, 'native', opposed to the more relaxed *mestizos*. De Ubago related how this clash of egos where fairly successful members of the community outdo each other is a symptom of their minority status—big fish in a very small pond—as the condition of their invisibility. The effortlessness by which Spanish-Filipinos entered the host society has a lot do with privilege. They have good education, and thus, greater proficiency of the English language, and the presumed wealth that go with social and cultural capital. De Ubago's claim that Filipinos pull each other down ('crab mentality' was her term) and that Spanish-Filipinos do not, is class privilege more than anything.

The Filipino community in Australia is sensitive to the intersections of class and race that resurrect old antagonisms. The resentment of native Filipinos against the feudal-comprador class of the whites and the *mestizos* in the Philippines is maintained but not in ways that follow the more rigid race relations back home. While there are *mestizo* cliques 'some of whom fantasise that they're still in Manila',[33] migration has armed 'natives' with some social and economic capital that narrows the gap between the old division. If *mestizos* play golf in the Philippines, so can 'natives' in Australia. The *mestizo* class, apart from its racial capital, does not possess as much symbolic power in diaspora; the colonialist terror *mestizos* used to invoke has lost its traction in Australia where they themselves are not really white. More so, there are a few *mestizos* who marry into enterprising 'native' families where racial capital is humbled by diasporic money. This narrowing of the gap, however, is relatively insignificant compared to the class and racial re-calibration manifested in the 'disappearance' ofChinese-Filipinos and Spanish *mestizos* experience. The memoir of Purita Echevarria de Gonzalez is a good example of the finer divisions and internal tension that describe Filipino identities under the conditions of diaspora.

Old Manila: 'What Those Times Were!'

I was able to experience first-hand the advantages but also the limits of a small community with 'exclusivistic' membership in my search for the writer of *Manila: A Memoir of Love & Loss*. Because the book is

almost mainstream, Purita Echeverria de Gonzalez's memoir is one of the very first titles by a Filipino I had heard of when I embarked on this research. I read book reviews of it, although short, in *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Sun Herald* long before I found other migrant publications. While it was easy to find Gonzalez's Hale & Iremonger-published book, contacting her was not as easy as it was to track Filipinos in the western Sydney enclave. In the 'native' Filipino community, Gonzalez is unknown; asking my informants yielded no results. It took a few introductions to *mestizos* through the grapevine before I secured an interview with Gonzalez.

Manila is not the only attempt of Spanish-Filipinos in Australia to document a unique part of their hybrid heritage in postcolonial Philippines. However, it is only Gonzalez's that was printed in Australia by an established publisher at 5000 copies and then successfully promoted in the media and sold in bookshops. With 'no career, so to speak', no professional writing experience, Gonzalez embarked on writing the history of her family's pre-war years in 'enchanted' Manila, the city's subsequent destruction in the hands of the Japanese and then Americans 'liberating' the city. 'I wrote it for my family,' she said.[34] But positive comments on her manuscript made her entertain the idea of sharing it with the public. Unfortunately, a letter from David Rosenberg of Simon & Schuster, stated: 'I regret that we don't think we could sell enough copies to make publication viable, simply because of the lack of Australian interest in the Philippines. I still find this hard to understand.' The second attempt by Gonzalez was with Hale & Iremonger. In the interview, she recalled how swiftly everything happened which convinced her that the 'publication of that book was fate.'[35] She gave the office a call at around five in the afternoon when secretaries are no longer around (a key detail, according to her). She recounted the encounter, 'one of the big bosses picked up the phone and I had a good conversation with him. I was told to send two chapters and then after one week, a deal has been settled. I was not asked to change anything except for the Australian spelling…I was given a satisfying contract.'[36]

The ease by which *Manila* was published compared to other 'native' Filipino works is singularly impressive for the following reasons. Gonzalez did not have to dig in her own pockets to finance the publication of her book, thus, carrying the stigma of self-published books as in the case of Aida Verde, Cesar Leyco Aguila, Renato Perdon, Evelyn Opilas, to mention a few names. Gonzalez's publisher has a

wider marketing reach so that her work is disseminated better than the works of Erwin Cabucos who is published by Manila Prints, owned by self-publishing newspaper editor, Renato Perdon. Second, she did not have to face the censure of grammatical and/or stylistic editing suffered by other Filipino-Australians who tried to publish. Cabucos admitted that his style is 'amateurish and inconsistent'.[37] Ginnindera Press' Stephen Matthews edited his stories for the grammar, 'quite a lot of it' but decided to keep the language quirks for the exercise of 'authenticity'.[38] Whereas Gonzalez's work was described as 'beautifully written',[39] Merlinda Bobis, a Filipino based in Sydney who is described as a post-colonial, 'magic realist',[40] struggled to be accepted by the mainstream Australian writing establishment. Reflecting on her career as a 'migrant writer' and being the 'token ethnic', Bobis complained of not being heard and understood by Australians. In fact, she was reduced to tears by editors who commented on her pieces with, 'who wrote this shit?'[41]

Although Gonzalez stayed home and took care of her four boys and husband, her flawless writing honed under the tutelage of Assumption College nuns more than 60 years ago took care of the style that the Australian establishment found acceptable. Gonzalez has such profound faith in her elite education in the Philippines which she thought 'is better than in Australia'. Her prose—untutored by creative writing institutions—is 'beautifully written' and 'a splendid work'[42]; a palatable read that does not have the 'idiomatic quirks' of Erwin Cabucos,[43] the 'dense' and 'blunted' prose of Merlinda Bobis[44] or the Filipino English of Aida Verde. Gonzalez's unchallenged acceptance into Australian literature is exemplified by Paul Kraus' evaluation of *Manila*: 'a significant contribution to the literature of multicultural Australia and in particular the literature of the immigrant experience.'[45] To claim that *Manila* is the Filipino community's representative work in the pool of Australia's richly heterogeneous migrant literature is both correct and wide of the mark. The autobiographical work is loud in its identification with the 'Filipino': its title, *Manila*, its subject matter and Gonzalez's introduction of herself as born and bred in the Philippines.

Gonzalez's autobiography, however, celebrates her hybridity more than anything else; her *mestiza*/Basque/Castellano-speaking/Filipino identification is the conditional imperative that guided the workings of her young life in pre-war Manila in the company of family and friends defined by their wealth, social status, linguistic difference and racial hybridity. Her world of distinction was to a great extent highlighted by

the proximity of those around her: the entourage of 'native' *katulong* (servants), the Filipino acquaintances made during the tumultuous war years, loud and unmannered GIs, and the ruthless Japanese soldiers—all of whom are subjects marked by race, sex and class. Purita's hybridity—much coated by the many layers of distinction her family had accumulated under the bureaucracy of colonialism—is truly a Filipino story.

However, to cast Manila as representative of the Filipino in Australian multiculturalism is an overestimation. It is an aberration in the migrant print culture's production and consumption of literature, most of which is self-published, unpromoted, underexposed, undistributed, 'unreadable' for the mainstream and with very minimal sales. Moreover, 'literature of the immigrant experience' does not quite capture Manila. It is neither a narrative of migration nor is it the kind of story that typifies 'Filipinoness'. On the contrary, the narrative is a throwback to a bygone era with the lavish settings of Manila's *alta sociedad* creating a nostalgic past of the author's Spanish Basque ancestors where children sip 'thick sweet chocolate' and then men in between 'gulps of cognac' utter *'Que tiempos aquellos!'* ('What times those were!').[46]

The world that Gonzalez depicted in *her* Manila is precisely the system that perpetuated the Philippines 'great divide' long after the Spanish were gone. The racialism, elitism and even the patriarchy that undergird the seduction sold by *Manila* plague Filipinos in very real terms—then and now. The transnational leap of this 'great divide' between classes and races is manifested in the literature that Filipino-Australians produce. None of the Spanish-Filipino identified autobiographical works of Joaquin Garcia, Anna Maria Calero and Gonzalez really talked about Australia;[47] this could be what Ugarte called the continuation of the *mestizo* 'fantasy' where migration has left them untouched. Therefore, the sentiments expressed in *Bagumbayan* way back in 1977 were an early symptom of the old antagonism, roused but not exactly replicated. The racial privileging that has defined the *mestizo*—the arrogance of being almost white and the envy of those who are not—has resurfaced in Sydney more than three decades later.

Jaime Pimentel, editor and community leader, questions that invisible line that separates us from them, the perpetuation of the logic that 'native' Filipinos are inherently different from Spanish-Filipinos such as de Ubago's views. For Pimentel, who is part Spanish, Irish and Filipino, it is regrettable that 'brown-skinned Filipinos who started coming later

appeared to have lumped all white-skinned Filipinos into one category: Spanish-Filipino.'[48] He insightfully raised the question whether 'there was such a thing as a particular Spanish-Filipino immigration' because many of those boxed into the category were actually part Italian, German and even Greek; he was part Irish but then lumped as *'tisoy'*, a colloquialism for *mestizo*.[49] It was not only the sameness of complexion that led 'native' Filipinos to this pooling but also because 'most fair-skinned Pinoys spoke Spanish as a second language' back then whether they be of American, Swiss or German extraction. Pimentel further argued that the resentment against fair-skinned Filipinos as an extension of the dislike, and I must add, envy, of the *mestizo* and what they stand for, does not apply to any other non-Spanish *mestizos*, especially 'not to those with American bloodlines'.[50] This distinction is clear in the discursive construction of the *mestizo* as evil—from the caricature of the voracious Spanish cleric to the oppressive landowners and their indolent heirs who ruled the country for three centuries—has affected who would be resented and who would escape from such treatment.

This brings the question of imaging the community in diaspora: the reconstructive power of Australia-as-home to redefine class and social relations among Philippines-born migrants. I asked Gonzalez if she received support from the Filipino community in Sydney, implying that this is her community, too:

> From the Filipino community? Nothing. Maybe because of the lack of commonality. No ill feelings. They are not interested in buying. It was featured in the Philippine Community Herald but no article at all, just a picture. I sent promotional press to relevant Filipino organisations all over Australia, in all states, but no one responded.[51]

The cold reception of Manila from other members of the Filipino community may be read either as the 'resentment' that Pimentel talked about or 'the lack of commonality' which Gonzalez and De Ubago hinted at. Both reasons are rooted in the racial essentialisms of the colonial regime. Underlying the logic of 'lack of commonality' is the implication that 'native' Filipinos would support 'native' cultural production but not

hers, which is not the case either. Why read what excludes and racialises them to perpetuate the racial divide even in diaspora? It is not only that Manila portrays 'natives' as servants and chauffeurs, Tagalog as the language for the *katulong* (servant), and Manila as the city designed for the elite, it presents a world of comfort that sits on the very wound of Filipino misery. While Australian readers were bemused by the long-gone world of old Manila at the turn of the century's sugarcane boom, Filipino-Australians just might find the narrative a digging of old wounds, an insult that refreshes the indignity of being *indio* in Las Islas Filipinas.

The relative visibility of *Manila* and the introduction of Gonzalez to Australia through Hale & Iremonger's significant efforts to promote the book—she was interviewed on television by ABC and SBS and on the radio—then later the positive critical responses from critics made it a grand time to be 'Filipino' in Australia. In all the literature regarding Gonzalez, the Filipino was not once associated with the 'mail-order bride'. In short, Manila was able to steer clear of the racialist and sexualist dominant discourses that haunted the community. This is the power of Gonzalez's hybridity and elite past: a combination that even a racist society could not brush aside. However, the question whether Gonzalez's work contributed to the betterment of the Filipino standing in Australia by some measure of fascination and desirability of the Philippines is rather a tricky one. The good reviews *Manila* gathered from Australian critics are not translatable to the general Filipino-Australian community, more particularly, not the 'mail-order bride' sector through which it has gained infamy. It is as if there are two Philippines here. 'I got very good reviews one could wish for but it did nothing in Australia on the image of the Filipino.'[52]

The disconnection between the world of Gonzalez and other Filipinos is so vast that she believed the book was not appreciated in the Filipino community.[53] *Manila* found its way to the members of her Bridge Club in Sydney and to members of the Philippines' elite via informal distribution by friends: Zobel, Roces, Ledesma, Ortigas, Madrigal, Kalaw, Rocha, amongst other 'exclusivistic' surnames. It can be presumed that based on her account of the swift spread of *Manila* among Manila's elites, a looking-glass narrative so to speak, Filipinos who celebrated the book are those who shared her young life in the Philippines, not those she just happened to share a city with after emigrating. This positioning of *Manila* is further strengthened by Gonzalez's own self-identity.

She said that she 'feel[s] very Australian'; however, 'inside of me, I am Spanish.'[54] Gonzalez neither pointed out the 'Filipino' in her despite being born, raised and raising her family in the Philippines, nor did she identify with her Basque origin (singing Basque hymns as a child, hearing sermons in the Basque language and being called *roja* by pro-Franco classmates). What may seem to be contradictions in her over-determination as *mestiza* and later on as a migrant are reinforcements of Gonzalez's power to 'disappear' in Australia and to demonstrate how class divide in diaspora operates.

Valorising Middle Class Migrants

The arguments made so far on the re-calibrating of Philippines' class structure in Australia as migration reconfigures the social relations of people and their access to capital, gain more traction in an anthology's imagining of a middle class in diaspora. The 'middle space' that the first official anthology constructed is the desire to claim the community's place in multiculturalism with the legitimacy that comes with institutional support and literariness as we know it. 'Official', a term I use to describe *Salu-salo: In Conversation with Filipinos: An Anthology of Philippine-Australian Writings*, comes from its self-promotion as the collection that gathered 'key writers and thinkers' of the community.[55] *'Salu-salo'* in Tagalog refers to banquets shared with friends and family members. Although *Salu-salo* shares with other anthologies government support, its institutional imprint is more mainstream as manifested in the quality of printing, its publishers and the two 'cultural houses' that endorsed the project. It was even annexed to Sydney Writers' Festival programming. *Salu-salo* is published by Casula Powerhouse (Liverpool) and Blacktown Arts Centre and edited by Jose Wendell Capili and John Cheeseman. This institutional backing is one of the most important details in the anthology's making. The anthology is also an instalment in a series of volumes published and coordinated by Casula Powerhouse and Blacktown Arts Centre that included Vietnamese-Australian and Lao-Australian writings: a kind of legitimation practice that situates *Salu-salo's* importance within the context of immigrant literature.[56]

As soon as I knew about the anthology, I immediately started trying to secure a copy. My search for a copy is informative for what it reveals regarding the place of Filipino-Australian writing in particular and of

multicultural literature in general. More importantly, it hinted at the incompatibility between Blacktown—the working class 'ghetto'—and the book's reception by those who supposedly inspired it. I thought maybe Blacktown City libraries would hold a copy for the obvious reason. But the city has no copy of this first official anthology. I contacted Casula Powerhouse to ask about buying a copy of 'Filipino-Australian anthology'; the response was a casual: we do not have a 'Fiji-Australian anthology'. At this point, I marvelled at either the inefficiency of the very institution that published it, or the general insignificance of what I thought was a landmark publication. I corresponded with Blacktown Arts Centre's reception and inquired if I could buy the book. The answer was very satisfying: a free copy of the book would be sent to my address. Three important observations surfaced in this experience: (1) the anthology is not available in major resource centres; (2) a multicultural institution is represented by someone who does not know the difference between 'Fiji' and 'Filipino' and (3) I received the copy for free. These observations may lead one to ask: who gets to read this 'representative' anthology? How do social class issues figure in the production of this collection?

Although on the whole the project is an attempt to 'make Australia realize that there ARE Filipinos in Australia,' and that literature is a most effective conduit of raising cultural sensitivity, the entire collection seems to reflect on the Filipino-Australian experience with disengagement; a neat selection of everything and everybody.[57] The disconnect I detected is based on the whole procedure of anthologising that guided the then-Ph.D. student Capili and Cheeseman, the cultural manager; a formulaic procedure that not only adheres to a concept of 'anthology' as selective of the 'good' quality and institutionally accepted, but also to rules that segregate Filipino-Australian community members into two: those who can and those who cannot. It is in this light that *Salu-salo*, for literature is reflective of taste and politics, is an acutely pregnant site of class analysis. 'We privileged good writing,' said Capili. Those who write 'good' literature had to pass through a selection process that involved blind refereeing by three to five 'experts across Southeast Asia and Australia many times,' claims Capili.[58]

Using strict 'coordinates' as criteria, it is no wonder that only 11 authors are featured out of the alleged 60-plus 'submissions'. But the decision to print a slim volume is a 'practical' move because it would be 'difficult to sell a thick anthology'. However, to include more authors

does not negate what has been established as *Salu-salo's* quest towards exclusivity from beginning to end. Capili said there was a call for 'submission' but it was not publicised, a contradiction in terms: 'we did not want the call to be too public'. The editors then 'invited writers, editors and scholars to nominate people,' who were asked to submit and from that pool they managed to choose 11.[59] The not 'too public' call for submission meant nomination and invitation to a select group of people. Despite the project's vision to have an 'Australia-wide' representation of the members of the community, the editors restricted the 'call' for submission. This limited procedure—unsurprisingly—yielded a rather predictable result where the most illustrious names emerged; most of whom Capili featured in his thesis. The 'coordinates' set based on the value-judgements of Capili is a privileging of those who have already 'made it' in Australia. As social and cultural capital begets more social and cultural capital, the ones who caught the attention of Capili were those who have considerable investment in the cultural side of Filipino ethnic community-building, or, rather those who have done so outside it.

However, the stratification that *Salu-salo* accentuated via its elitist 'coordinates' is also a victim of its own phantasm. While it is clear that Capili targeted the most esteemed Filipino-Australians in the field, one wonders why the 'white-accommodated', more mainstream authors did not make it to the collection; that is, if they bothered to submit. Arlene Chai and Ranulfo Concon are names not found in the anthology. Chai, discussed earlier, who earned her comparisons with Isabel Allende and Amy Tan, is recognisably the pride of the community, and Concon is also a 'white-published' Filipino-Australian who fits the 'coordinates' but did not make it in *Salu-salo*. Their absence in the definitive, 'first Australia-wide anthology' is not surprising. The exclusion principle *Salu-salo* anthology applied to its selection of 'good writing' that denied access to those without the prescribed 'stature', 'educational attainment', 'publication', 'profession' and 'literary language' (as the 'coordinates') worked against itself. In its elitist imaginary of distinction, *Salu-salo*—literally a sharing in a banquet—weeded out those 'uncoordinated' Filipino-Australians who may have a story to tell about migrant experience; in turn, it highlights how peripheral, how tiny it is in the gamut of Australian literature where partaking in the feast is by invitation only.

Salu-salo's inclination towards 'good writing' and exclusive 'coordinates' is further made problematic not only by the homogeneity of

its writers but also by the content it chose. These authors also 'represent the contexts and nature of Philippine migration to Australia,' says Capili, despite *Salu-salo's* articles not subscribing to such requirement. What becomes apparent here is *Salu-salo's* notion that 'represent[ation] [of] the contexts and nature of Philippines' immigration to Australia' is achievable not by the texts themselves. It is as if it was enough that these contributors have, at one point in their lives, lived in Australia. Ramiscal's and Koo's temporary student migration is presumably under this consideration. On one hand, *Salu-salo* is inclusive by not discriminating against those whose migration is temporary: students pursuing higher degrees, travellers, workers on skilled visa 457 or maybe even relatives on tourist visas doing childcare work for their nephews, nieces and grandchildren. In short, it did not matter what visa or residency one holds as long as one is also published, educated, professional and literary.

The editors, on the other hand, also expected to receive submissions in other Philippine languages but they did not get any; 'the submissions were all in English'.[60] One would question the tokenism of this gesture when Capili has set his strict standards in such a manner. With such coordinates, who would seriously write in major or minor Philippine languages when English is not really an option but rather mandatory for inclusion? Elderly Filipino migrants in Victoria were able to put together a collection where a considerable number of essays and poems are in Filipino and other Philippine languages. However, they fall outside the 'coordinates'. The openness set for language, citizenship and residency, I argue, constitutes false declarations of inclusivity that characterise *Salu-salo*, a first 'Australia-wide' from the community, financed by multicultural government arms and founded on the 'coordinates' of literary elitism and personal relationships, a transnational effect of the 'literary *barkada*' that shapes the Philippines literary production.[61] *'Barkada'* is a term that is translatable as 'gang' or 'circle of friends'; however, 'literary *barkada*' connotes a kind of clique, a ring of people who not only enjoy each others' company but also advances their lot. I suggest that the *barkada* being the basic unit of structure in Manila's literary production has a transnational effect; publishing people from the same department, or the same alma mater.

The Filipino middle-class ethics represented in its literature in English has transnationally crossed borders where an anthology claiming representation bypassed the class and cultural specificity of diaspora to imagine a middle class reading for working class Filipino-Australians. The

anthology is a product of transporting Manila cultural and literary elitism to western Sydney. Its absence in libraries and the fact that only four amongst all of my interviewees know about it (they also happened to be canonised in the collection) is a symptom of the larger community's indifference.

Despite the attempt to valorise the middle-class culturati—not quite Arlene Chai (mainstream author) but not Aida Verde (a self-described 'mail-order bride' novelist) either—*Salu-salo* has met the resistance of 'Blacktown Filipino' sensibilities. While it can be argued that the coordinates the editors designed are themselves an anti-Blacktown safeguard, the posturing that *Salu-salo* only published the 'best' among Filipino-Australian writing operates on the same logic of proving to Australia that we have writers, too, because we are middle class. More so, the grandstanding of *Salu-salo* undermines the many efforts of Filipino-Australian migrants to produce literature since the 1980s. Not only was it not an 'Australia-wide' effort, the very claim of a 'national' scope does not make much sense in a country as huge as Australia with a Filipino migrant population that does not cohere into one unit.

For the Masses

Ethnographic fieldwork with Filipino-Australians has prepared me to answer questions such as: (1) *Taga-saan ka sa atin?* (Where are you from back home?); (2) *Saan ka nag-aral?*(Where did you study [read: university]?); (3) *Anong ginagawa mo dito sa Australia?* (What are you doing here in Australia?) and (4) *Ano ka may scholarship?* (You have a scholarship, right?) Almost always I answered these same questions in a variety of situations to which my replies are: (1) Manila; (2) University of the Philippines; and (3) Ph.D. at the University of Sydney and (4) Ford Fellowship. As a researcher, I was informed that these queries are not random ways of getting to know someone who, in turn, gathers information about them. The frequency of the questions is telling how answers to these questions are significant to my subjects. However, more critically, what these questions ascertain is my class positioning: where one has lived and schools attended. Question number three is, moreover, a mapping, a categorising of one's migrant grouping (a worker, a student, a bride perhaps). The last question that I always had to clarify is a rather awkward way to validate how I could possibly afford thousands of tuition fees. As if it were a justification of my stay, the clueless Filipino would

finally ask away: *'Eh di magtatrabaho ka sa Ford pagnatapos ka?'* (So will you work for Ford when you finished?) I narrate this revealing facet of my interface with Filipino-Australians because it is reflective of the ability of migrants to read each other in relation to their class status hinted by the social and cultural capital they possess.

On a trip to Spain, a souvenir shop clerk and a waitress on separate occasions, after the initial greetings, asked me a question Australians ask me as well: 'Where are you from?' Manila. 'No, where are you really from?' Manila. With a bit of irritation, they asked: *'Saan ka based?'* (Where are you based?). In Abu Dhabi, clerks in duty-free shops are mostly Filipinos. I say 'mostly' because I hear Tagalog and other Philippine vernacular in most shops. In those shops, to my surprise, I was routinely ignored. I realised a few things with these encounters: (1) that Filipinos do not think Filipinos could travel; (2) Filipinos find themselves and others only as labour migrants and nothing else and (3) labour migrants position themselves against non-labour migrant Filipinos in public social settings. This deftness in assessing, placing and affiliating is an ability harnessed back 'home', but nevertheless refined under the conditions of Filipinos' underclass status in diaspora.

Class tensions in diaspora also manifest in ethnic newspapers. During interviews, I asked what newspaper is serving the community best. Some of them said 'none', a few said *Bayanihan News* is faring better than *The Philippine Community Herald Newspaper* (TPCHN); but quite a number agreed that TPCHN has been doing a terrible job in its role of 'representing' the Filipino community. TPCHN is singled out for its poor quality, its disregard for journalism's rules and its crass commercialism. For Dino Crescini of *Philippine Sentinel*, 'nobody really found it interesting; pages are full of pictures. Is this the kind of mentality that Filipinos have in Australia?'[62] Benjie de Ubago said that TPCHN 'lacks professionalism. *Bayanihan News* is better.'[63] Aida Morden, editor of TPCHN at the time of the interview, expressed disappointment with the way the publisher was running the newspaper and was considering resigning from her post.[64] The severe criticism that TPCHN is reaping is not only about Zaragoza's decision to publish whatever is handed to her: photographs, congratulatory messages, news on picnics, births, weddings, baptisms, graduations, and what-not, and more photographs. I argue that, to a great extent, all Filipino ethnic newspapers are guilty of this; community newspapers are about their people in the first place. Even broadsheets print pictures of the famed and wealthy with wine glasses in their hands.

Which among the titles that ever existed did not print photographs that could have remained in the photo album?

The perception of TPCHN's crass ethics on editorial decisions is based on what it wants to project as a newspaper: *'pang-masa'* ['for the people']. Today, under its masthead is the line 'The People-Oriented Newspaper'. In its final issue for 1996, it stated that TPCHN is *'ang pahayagang handang maglingkod sa mga Filipino, Filipino-Australian at kaibigan ng ating mga kababayan. ITO ANG PAHAYAGANG PANGMASA*. The newspaper for readers from all walks of life.' ['it is the newspaper ready to serve the Filipino, Filipino-Australian and friends of our countrymen/women. THIS IS THE NEWSPAPER OF/FOR THE PEOPLE.'][65] TPCHN does not have qualms in admitting that it is '*pang-masa'*. In the Philippines' social context, the use of the term *'masang Pilipino'* has always been associated with leftist discourses. The *masa* is the nameless, faceless, property-less lumpen-proletariat that makes up the majority of the population. The *masa* has always been imbued with the romanticism of the urban working class toiling for the capitalist elites and the peasant class for their feudal lords. They are the *bakya* (literally 'wooden clogs') crowd who line up for film star Nora Aunor's movies, the unshod who voted for ex-film star President Joseph Estrada, the toothless who await any chance to 'win' a 'livelihood showcase'. The *bakya* crowd has been historicised as those who use wooden shoes to go to downtown areas. For TPCHN to attach itself to the masa crowd is a statement of anti-distinction; a move not unlikely for Zaragoza who grew up in Tondo, famous for its Smokey Mountain. It does not intend to make claims that it is 'journalism'; in fact, during the interview, Zaragoza's emphasises her role in the community: TPCHN is 'community service in its own little way'.[66] On the other hand, *Bayanihan News* (BN), touted as the more readable newspaper with better content, chooses to be identified as the publication that encourages the recovery of Filipino culture amongst Filipino-Australians with the proliferation of cultural, historical and artistically-inclined articles. In all the pages of this title from 1999 up to 2010, historical essays, book reviews, literary criticism, socio-cultural essays, short stories, serialised novels or novelettes, among others, take up a huge space.

The 'people-oriented' TPCHN reaches more Filipinos in Australia with its 9000 monthly circulation compared to BN's 7000 copies, a proof of the bigger 'ethnic' capital that sustains it. The accusation of being virtually a catalogue of businesses is something Zaragoza fends

off at the onset of our interview: '*hindi ako money-conscious*' ['I am not money-conscious'].[67] She, however, admitted that she has 'no rules in accepting what to advertise'. Asked what her moral/political stand is on personal ads given the community's 'problem', Zaragoza said, 'I published personal ads even during the mail-order bride period.'[68] This practice has continued now; an eight-by-eight centimetre ad costs about 100 dollars.

> Australian man, 55, romantic, artistic, considerate,
>
> respectful, does not smoke, drink or gamble, seeks slim,
>
> affectionate lady (under 45 years) living in Melbourne for
>
> relationship. Please ring: Name (Phone number).[69]

Zaragoza defends her decision to accept personal ads (as of the September 2009 issue) as something that depended on mature adults' consensual decision to meet others. She is not accountable for what happens later on. However, for a community of sexualised citizens, the cringe that such mentality invites is expected.

Bayanihan News does not print personal ads as a matter of policy. According to Perdon, his brother, Domingo, believes that 'mail-order bride' ads are 'exploitati[ve]'. The 'mail-order bride' cringe is extensive amongst these gatekeepers. Pimentel of *Balita* said: 'I don't think I ever ran an ad like that', but the newspaper did.[70] The failure to remember on the part of Pimentel is understandable for he was active in the 1980s. In the February 1985 issue of *Balita* alone, there were three such advertisements:

> The Philippine Connection: Asian marriage consultants:
>
> Australia's largest Filipino marriage agency (Leslie T. Hardy)[71]
>
> Introlife: FILIPINO LADIES (single, separated or divorced)…
>
> different from the ordinary. Honest discreet, and very selective[72]
>
> ASIAN PACIFIC Introductions: WE SPECIALISE in matching
>
> eligible gentlemen with marriage minded Asian ladies here and overseas.[73]

These overseas advertisements run against the official campaign of the Philippine government via RA 6955 that renders illegal to advertise Filipino women as brides to foreigners. These ads had been instrumental in supporting the very material existence of ethnic newspapers that 'serve' and 'build' the community. Even *The Philippine Voice* published by Evelyn Opilas promoting 'the lofty interests and ideals of the community' resorted to this, albeit a more sanitised version: 'PENPAL: We wish to correspond with Catholic Australians'.[74] Today, the collective amnesia on the 'mail-order bride'—a necessary forgetting—is betrayed by the very materiality of the institution of ethnic press which at certain times attempted to gentrify (ladify?) a gendered community.

The 'mail-order bride' remains the core of the post-'mail-order bride' community. The cringe and the amnesia on the issue by some of the editors is, more than anything, a symptom of the elitism that made it easy to target TPCHN as guilty of an offense that implicates everyone. It is easier to distance oneself and point fingers than to admit one's collusion. To print or not to print, that is the question, however, is not a mere question of ethical choice. The 'mail-order bride' is a disease of the poor; it is a result of unspeakable poverty in the Philippines where it is feminised. The middle-class posturing of political correctness and moral uprightness is picked up by ethnic newspaper players whose practices betray the 'lag' between middle-class morality and understanding of one's class membership. The problem is that their views are not anti-'mail-order bride' nor are they anti-exploitation, rather they are anti-poor. There is a hostility against the working class, the immigrant as working class and the images of this class, all of which manifest in the scapegoating of the 'mail-order bride', a form of class self-hatred that effaces the very core by which the community is built. For Rivera of *Bagumbayan*, the situation 'pains' him; 'so many people live in abject poverty [back home] and so we can't blame them… a blot to our reputation.'[75] That the 'blot' is gendered is hardly surprising; it plays well in constructing the victim/opportunist dichotomy derived from the sexualised and classed subjects. De Ubago remembers that she did not write about the 'mail-order bride' in Fil-Oz Newspaper because she 'hated that period'. She refuses to see them as 'victims' because this is a path they wilfully took.[76]

The 'ethical' question that the 'mail-order bride' rouses does not extend to advertisements that look for maids, carers, sitters and the likes.

For a nation that has reaped a reputation as being the servant of the world—a Greek dictionary defined 'Filipineza' as 'a domestic servant or someone who performs non-essential auxiliary tasks'—ethnic newspapers in Australia have no qualms printing 'wanted nanny' or 'maid needed'.[77] The publication of call outs for domestic services is well distributed among major titles at all times:

> A fully experienced HOUSEKEEPER is required for the official residence of the Canadian Consul General. Duties will include general housekeeping assisting with food preparation and serving at functions…[78]
>
> HOUSEKEEPER – NANNY WANTED. Excellent accommodation offered.
>
> Must be experienced housekeeper and be fond of children…[79]
>
> Live-in housekeeper. Wanted lady for domestic duties who likes sports and travelling. Must be healthy, non smoker and intelligent…
>
> Send photos and personals to…[80]
>
> WANTED CARER Elizabeth Bay Sydney…Must speak English.[81]
>
> WANTED CARER – ST.IVES…Call Mr. Gordon.[82]

The *Philippine Times* and now-defunct *Pinoy News* do not place these advertisements in easy-to-spot boxes but as a listing under the heading 'Employment'. In *Pinoy News',* April 2008 issue, there were 22 out of 23 calls for a 'nanny-housekeeper' while in *The Philippine Times'* November 2009 issue, there were eight calls out of nine. That the editors published these placed advertisements means that Australians think of the Filipino community as a source of domestic helpers. While these editors may be hesitant to discuss the 'mail-order bride', they did not find that both phenomena are rooted in the hyperfeminised migration of the community. On the one hand, while some may perceive 'mail-order bride' personals, marriage introductions and other forms of interracial marriage avenues as a form of trafficking of women, this same kind of flock see nothing wrong in 'trafficking' servants, thus reinforcing the other Filipino women stereotype: the maid.

The middle-class posturing in the disapproval of Filipina-as-bride is paradoxically lost in their promotion of Filipina-as-maid. On the other hand, one might argue that these advertisements may not always operate between Australian/foreign nationals and Filipinos all the time, thus avoiding the conspicuous racialist, sexist and elitist tangential relations. It could be that some of these calls for housekeepers were from Filipino-Australians themselves. One cannot always assume that only white households need domestic helpers and sitters. Moreover, one could argue that the use of maids and nannies is very much entrenched in the Filipino everyday life back home, more than it is practised in advanced countries. However, analysing the few examples given above, one cannot help but ask the question: why did the Canadian Embassy, Mr. Gordon and the sport and travelling-minded family send these advertisements to a Filipino newspaper? The relevance of these details are connotative significations that held oppositional values: Canadian consul employer versus Filipino housekeeper; sports/travelling-minded/healthy/non-smoking/intelligent employer versus Filipino housekeeper not ugly, not stupid; English-speaking employer versus Filipino carer who may not speak English; and last, Mr. Gordon of St. Ives as employer versus Filipino carer.

The continuum in the embodiment of sex work ('mail-order bride') and domestic work (maids, carers, mothers) will be discussed in the next chapter, but the example above shows how Filipino migration is 'feminine' and 'feminised' through a surplus of bodies who can perform not only the functions of sexual partners but also of housekeepers and all those that fall in between. The community, in blaming white Australians for its feminisation, has often failed to see its own culpability. The failure to see the 'mail-order bride' and 'nanny-housekeeper' advertisements as related although dissimilar is symptomatic of the stigma that sex-associated gestures elicit among middle-class aspiring Filipinos as working class Australians.

In retrospect, Zaragoza's TPCHN which has been much maligned for its low-class, unprofessional, money-driven and unjournalistic practices with no conceptual and ethical separation about brides and maids, or high-brow and low-brow, is that which avoids middle-class correctness and complicity. In the world of Zaragoza, where Filipino-Australians are the *masang Pilipino*, imagining the Self as middle class is a fantasy that migration has engendered. The working class, however, has its uses; even those who are recognisably anti-masa could make use of it.

Mina Roces, an academic based at the University of New South Wales, published a call for participation for her 'mail-order bride' research in TPCHN. The decision to involve Zaragoza's widely circulated and 'people-oriented' publication was a strategic move for Roces to solicit help for her academic study that involved Filipino women in Central Queensland. The oral history project was indeed successful as indicated by the publication of its results in the newspaper: 'Filipino Brides into Central Queensland: Gender, Migration and Support Services'.[83] This case exemplifies the serviceability of Zaragoza's publication unfairly criticised for its lack of content and sophistication. The newspaper not only introduced Roces' legitimate academic endeavour to its 'subjects', the *masa*' mail-order bride', but also legitimated itself by publishing a report on the ethnographic study.

The second example is Purita Echaverria Gonzalez, author of *Manila*, discussed above. One would expect that her Hale & Iremonger-published book and the mainstream promotion it received would no longer need the space such as Zaragoza's; most particularly not someone of Gonzalez's anti-*masa* stature. However, in an unexpected move, Gonzalez's letter appeared on page 25 of TPCHN dated May 2001, months after the release of Manila. Together with a page-one promotion for the book, Gonzalez explained that although it was written for personal reasons, she felt 'very strongly that we have to change the poor image of Filipinos in this country. The average Australian who has had no personal contact with Filipinos here, stereotypes Filipinos from the images they get of Imelda's shoes, mail order brides and that appalling Rose Hancock.'[84] During our interview, the author lamented the lack of interest from the Filipinos; she mentioned that her book was featured in the TPCHN but 'no article at all, just a picture'. She forgot to mention that a letter she wrote was published; a statement that optimistically hints at the possibility of ethnic consolidation to induce positive changes. It also happened that her newly published book was being promoted in mainstream platform. This case of writing a letter addressed to the *masa* in solidarity towards a fair treatment of Filipinos in Australia exemplifies how one *masa* ethnic publication is recognised for its power over its constituents; even from someone who is identifiably from the other side of the 'great divide' such as Gonzalez.

The last example to show how the masa TPCHN is legitimated at certain times by the class enemy is found in the September–October 1997 issue of TPCHN featuring a special on the infamous Rose Porteous.

Suffice it to say, Porteous did not ever need additional exposure in a local ethnic newspaper when she already had all the coverage a maid/socialite could ever attract. The issue is a 'Rose special' considering the length of the article, the photographs that featured Porteus flanked by other Filipinos, and the adulation that the interviewer and writer had given the Perth socialite.[85] While it is true that money can buy many forms of legitimation, mining giant Lang Hancock's millions could not buy his Filipino wife respect and acceptance from the white Australian public. But Porteous would forever be the maid/prostitute who sold her sex to the millionaire. With a title such as 'A close encounter with the real Rose: Lady of steel, woman of substance', the article elevated her to impossible heights that no Australian publication would dare do.[86] She was depicted as a 'wonderful lady' with 'endearing quality of gentility and charm' who 'exudes confidence'. Appearing without make-up for an interview which lasted for more than 2 hours, Zaragoza and her contributors were in awe of Porteous especially when she spoke in Ilonggo, a vernacular in the south. 'A far cry from the untouchable goddess-like figure', the real Rose they met was 'without any trace of hypocrisy or artificiality': truly a 'most interesting, entertaining, bubbly' person whose 'charm, appeal and charisma come naturally'.[87]

I could go on quoting the article praising Rose but the message is clear: the Porteous interview lent the much-maligned woman a depiction that is unheard of. It portrayed the seducer as a simple woman whose convent school upbringing taught her 'conservative and old fashioned views about life'. The affirmation of Porteous reached its climax in an attempt for all Filipino-Australians to 'support her in all her efforts. For her success is our recognition as a people'.[88] Ironically, 3 years after this article was published, author Gonzalez would single-out Porteous together with Imelda Marcos and the 'mail-order bride' (all are women) as the cause of the bad representations that Filipinos have in Australia.[89] This example highlights how legitimation is a two-way process: Porteous bestowing some prestige to Zaragoza's *masa* publication for its exclusive interview while at the same time creating an alternative discourse to Porteus-as-gold-digger, an equally precious opportunity. Even though the article openly expressed its gratitude to Porteous for the 'rare' commodity of being up-close and personal, it was she who gained more in this exchange.

All these three examples point to the serviceability even to 'upper-crust' migrants of a *masa* newspaper such as TPCHN. I would argue that

hierarchisation of Filipino-Australian journalists does not always mean that a *masa* newspaper would be ignored by those who do not need the support of the community. In the cases of Roces, Gonzalez and Porteus and what they represent—intelligensia, racial difference and wealth respectively—the *masa* ethnic newspaper has served them well without necessarily relinquishing the distinction that made them who they are in the first place. The *bakya* newspaper with its disregard for protocols and pretention could perhaps be the most reliable source of Filipino self-representation, the composition of the larger part of its immigrant population, and ways of relating to each other. Writing in TPCHN is framed, represented and thus constituted by the prevailing public life in the 'ghetto'. Furthermore, if juxtaposed with the kind of self-representation that Manila tried and successfully achieved—elitist, long-gone and sepia-like, untouched by the problems of contemporary Philippines—TPCHN is vivid and upfront with its depiction of the 'Filipino' as subject. Operating centrally within the triangle of Parramatta, Fairfield and Blacktown—the geography that materialises the existence of this small community in the Australian multicultural quilt—TPCHN dishes out the dirty, the treacherous, the money-grubbing, the contaminated and the nasty details of living on the edge of racial and economic boundaries. The struggle for space in the pages of TPCHN, thus for the right to represent oneself and others, is where the 'Filipino-Australian' gets overdetermined. It is in the monthly grind of the *bakya* and the *masa* that class contradictions complicate 'ghetto' living.

Postcolonial relations of power that characterise the social life of Filipinos and their subsequent emigration have subtly found their way, transnationally re-fitted but not replicated and appropriated in the context of an ethnic minority being defined by a stronger social and cultural Australian domain. What is apparent are the centripetal and centrifugal effects of perceived subject positions in relation to one another. While the Chinese-Filipino has 'disappeared' into the category 'Asian', the Hispanic Filipinos 'disappeared' as well from the 'ghettoised' Filipinos' social functions and silently network among themselves. The centrifugal effect of somehow 'being almost white but not quite' was shown with the ease that Chai and Gonzalez published their books. However, this did not stop Gonzalez from writing to Zaragoza's *masa* newspaper invoking 'oneness' among Filipinos: a centripetal call of the power of the multitude. This same gravitational pull attracted *Salu-salo*, the first 'official' anthology, towards writers of certain privileged 'coordinates'. Edited

according to 'good writing', the anthology was conducted upon several layers of selective processes weeding out the 'non-professionals' and the 'non-literary'.

The questions of who writes and for whom extend to the power relations amongst the practitioners in Filipino ethnic newspaper publishing. A newspaper is presumed to be *masa* for its lack of 'journalistic' practices, but more so of the division between those who did journalism before and those who did not. While some Filipino newspapers produce a centrifugal effect on some members who do not mix with 'Blacktown Filipinos', they have a centripetal effect on those nameless, faceless immigrants who otherwise could not taste and exert social power outside their own ethnic community. There are thousands of Filipinos in the interstices of the Australian immigrant-scape who revel in seeing their faces and their names printed. Indeed, Australia has 'given' them this chance they might otherwise not have in the Philippines.

In the next chapter, I explore how the construction of a subjugated 'mail-order bride' subjectivity is in the hands of the Filipino community. The Filipino community is as much as an authorial body, one that authors the hyperfeminised woman, as a corporal body. The physical presence of these women, Chap. 8, makes the connections between the body, sex and reproductive labour.

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81. *Bayanihan News*, September 2009, 19.
82. TPCHN, September 2009, 22.
83. Mina Roces, "Filipino Brides into Central Queensland: Gender, Migration and Support Services," *The Philippine Community Herald Newspaper,* October–November, November–December 1996.
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85. Lalaine Lozano and Evelyn Zaragoza, "A Close Encounter with the Real Rose: Lady of Steel, Woman of Substance." *The Philippine Community Herald Newspaper,* September–October 1997, 1.
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88. Ibid.
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CHAPTER 8

Male-Ordered Bodies

Locating the alien female body in Filipino-Australian cultural history is the central theme of this chapter. Using the literatures of Aida Verde, Merlinda Bobis, Erwin Cabucos and Cesasr Leyco, and lexicography of Renato Perdon, I read the significations that the 'mail-order bride's' body has engendered and have, in turn, 'corporealised' these women. As in the previous chapters, the works that will be discussed here are responses in the struggle against the representation of Filipino women as 'embodiment of exchange'[1]; an effort to have a say in shaping the construction of their discursive selves. The 'mail-order bride' as an identifiable other or, in the words of Aihwa Ong 'transnational ethnicized subjectivity', is a gendered body concomitantly feminised/Orientalised/Filipinised whose formation is locally and globally configured.[2] The racialisation of foreign brides is inscribed in the sexual economy of nations.

The construction of sexualised citizenship is a subjectivity that precedes a marriage migrant's arrival. It is not only done by the Australian establishment but also by established Filipino-Australian cultural producers who claim the right to recreate her as a cultural exercise. Her 'mail-order brideness' is produced. Gender as produced performatively is informative in reading the writings of the community itself as performing 'mail-order brideness'. Writing the 'mail-order bride' is performing her again and again, not simply textually but also in embodied ways by which her subjectivity is made and remade by the community. By discursively inscribing the embarrassment of being a Filipino in Australia, the works

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addressed in this chapter either reclaim the embodied subject in diaspora or they move towards the disavowal.

The first literary work I analysed discusses the tropes of the 'mail-order bride': the *puta,* the wife and the bourgeois intellectual as categorised in Verde's *River with No Name*.[3] The intertextual crossings between *women-as-transgressors* and *women's-bodies-as-transgressive* show how the Filipino woman is carved into the very specificities of constructing the body as docile. However, this docile body also follows the grammar of ethnocentrism and class hierarchy, not to mention the heteronormativity, of the ethnic body. I also discussed a first-person narrative of a victim of extreme physical and psychological violence by Adelia Netty. Her personal story sheds light on the sensitive topic of abuse, enslavement and marriage migration. Also, I presented the fictions of Erwin Cabucos, Merlinda Bobis and Cesar Aguila to exemplify the complications of sexualised citizenship and its havoc on the Filipino psyche. Lastly, the chapter introduces Perdon's lexicography which situates the 'mail-order' in the linguistic order of the 'male-ordered'. The dictionary translates and interprets the Australian experience to the newly arrived marriage migrant. But the question is: what kind of linguistic universe does Perdon provide?

Body, Sex and Reproductive Labour

Often glossed over in the 'mail-order bride' discourse is the centrality of the 'bride's' body as a biological unit contributing to the reproduction of the social body. Most literature on the 'mail-order bride' focuses on the transnational conditions of her being a 'bride'; what becomes of her as a reproductive agent is seldom discussed. But because the body is the main battleground where gender is constructed and practised,[4] the 'mail-order bride' sits at the heart of embodiment. The body and the way it lends itself to be a symbol, an agent and a material site have been studied in many ways: as a menstruating and reproducing body,[5] as a violable body[6], as commodity[7], as '*sexage*'[8] and as unbearable weight.[9] The body as text, container and signifier of meanings has created in female subjectivity a pool of ideas, rituals and performances that constitute a sexualised reading of what a woman should look like and how she should be.[10] The female body is a site of struggle of dominant masculine ideology. Part of this struggle is claiming and ruling over their bodies; theirs are bruised, abused, displayed, altered, molested, worshipped, bound,

enslaved, raped and killed. But the embodied subjectivity also fights back. Her body could also be a source of strength and radical potential—in other words, of agency—to transform the body and effect change in her immediate surroundings. The body of the woman—and what it can accomplish materially—is open to many possibilities that usher change and negotiate social reality.[11] And since 'the body is our general medium for having a world,'[12] the body is both changed by the vicissitudes of racialised patriarchy that marks it as target but also has the capacity that resists the dominant oppressive practices.

A theme that runs through the discourse of sexualised citizenship is the appropriation of their domestic labour. I raise this because any discussion of unpaid domestic labour is that of a general archetype of a woman appropriated and then '[reduced] to the state of a tool'.[13] Appropriation of women's labour is primarily situated in the family; the husband who is sustained by her labour in turn sells his labour power in the market.[14] The woman's labour is rendered invisible; it is not quantified and exchanged. Constitutive of patriarchy's 'super-exploitation' of women is the naturalisation of women's reproductive capacity and the subsequent childcare and domestic chores attendant to it.[15] Naturalisation of this biological function and its conflation with household duties puts women in the category of the producing class while their husbands are the expropriating class. More so, their labour is unpaid not simply because they are women, but as a 'result of the specific social relations within which it is performed.'[16] Women's oppression is rooted in their inability to sell their own labour for exchange. One cannot sell what one does not own: one's labour power.

Women's naturalised sexual and gendered roles of childbirth, childcare and domestic chores defer the acquisition of qualifications and structurally militate against their education and gain of work experiences. Although women have greater presence in paid work, this does not reduce the workload that they continue to undertake in the home. Since women are still the primary carers of the children, they opt to take part in part-time jobs to fulfil both roles as household managers and contributor to the family income; a situation often seen in working-class families. The term 'first shift' has been used to refer to women's paid work while 'second shift' is what a wife/mother does for her family for 'love'. But the 'second shift' is a labour that necessitates 'monotony', 'loneliness', long hours and low status, wrote Ann Oakley in her groundbreaking sociology of housework;[17] a study implicating how social science itself 'spread[s]

the view that modern marriage is an egalitarian relationship'.[18] The affective labour, intimacy and 'sex work' that a wife is expected to do—the 'third shift'—leaves the woman spent; a life lived for others.

Colette Guillamin explained this as *'sexage'*—a term she coined and conflated from '*esclavage*' (slavery) and '*servage* servage' (serfdom)—which means sexual slavery: there is no limit to the appropriation of her time, the products of her body, her sexual usage and her responsibility to the disabled and the young.[19] The oppression based on one's sex especially when one enters a heterosexual marriage contract is dispossession of one's subjectivity: mentally and bodily. Mary Wollstonecraft, in 1790, called marriage 'legal prostitution' while centuries later,[20] Simone de Beauvoir saw the wife is an 'object to be purchased'.[21] Today, sex for a married woman is a kind of work, according to Sheila Jeffreys, a 'skill' that she must possess and willingly give.[22] Carole Pateman argues that marriage is a contract, too, a 'sexual contract' that may easily 'take the form of universal prostitution'.[23] The 'mail-order bride' is, however, cheaper. One Australian man told his friend, 'it's cheaper to get [a Filipina] on a visitor's visa for 6 months than to see prostitutes.'[24]

The 'Puta', the Wife and the Bourgeois Intellectual

The novel opens with a scene of the barrio where the dead 'mail-order bride' hailed from: a place that accommodates inseparably mythical beliefs, indigenous practices and the Catholicism of Spanish colonialism. Then, a flashback to western Sydney where Marilyn Brookes was found dead after being bashed by her husband, Grant. At the present time, Norma and Reginald McIntyre, another interracial couple whose daughter, Iris, is manifesting supernatural power through her very long hair, are dealing with the complications of their middle-class suburban lives and the intrigues of being in a cross-cultural marriage. Norma is seeking justice for Marilyn through her volunteer work at a shelter for battered women, many of whom are Filipino. Reginald, on the other hand, escapes from the monotony of the news agency he runs and of home by having an affair with Justine, sister of Grant. He tried his luck with a young 'bride' after being cuckolded by Maggie and engaging in a series of sexual encounters, one notable of which is with Noreen, a new age fanatic. The plot centres on an encounter between the poltergeist, Iris, and Grant, whose head was severed by the half-Filipina's hair possessed by spirits. The readers are told that Iris is Reginald's daughter by

Marilyn; stolen by infertile Norma upon her death in an impoverished public housing estate. Grant's violence against Marilyn was precipitated by the unexpected pregnancy; Grant was sterile. Marilyn, a formerly prostituted woman, fell for Reginald who was ready to help the new bride. Iris' parents covered up Grant's murder and continually protected their goddess/daughter from the modernity represented by Sydney. She was later on sent to the barrio where her mother Marilyn came from. Iris is an incarnation of a deity, like her mother, and needs to be 'healed' by the Storytellers. Norma is stricken with cancer and later dies peacefully having forgiven Reginald for his trespasses and revealing that Iris is not her child. Meanwhile, Laura, the upper-class 'mail-order bride' of working-class Neil, continues her activism on behalf of violated women while remaining the lover of Reginald's brother, a doctor who loves her unconditionally.

Marilyn (the whore), Norma (the housewife) and Laura (the gifted pianist/activist) are three 'mail-order brides' in the novel; even their names are indicative of their characters. Their bodies are used to characterise decay, death, life, resurrection, fertility, infertility, beauty, youth, desirability and resistance at different stages of their lives. The material exchange by which they have 'traded' their bodies to be in Australia—salvation from a life of prostitution (Marilyn), a life of poverty (Norma) and a life of political persecution (Laura)—is sculpted by Verde who accords the woman's body as a given: responsive to sex, to reproduction, to valorisation and to fear and violation. The woman's body as expendable, however, is contingent upon one's class and proximity to modern apparatuses (westernisation). Although all three women lament their 'being ethnic', 'an infraction' and 'a mistake', it is actually only Laura who could articulate the experience of xenophobia in Australia. She also happens to be the one who experienced the least bodily harm and alienation as a migrant; in fact, she is the cause of torment of both her husband and lover. It is as if her capacity to speak and articulate disqualifies her from the fate of self-effacement that ordinary 'mail-order brides' are doomed to suffer. Laura is bestowed much symbolic power with which she can blunt whiteness. Her class offsets the liabilities of her ethnicity and gender. What seems to appear in Verde's imagining of the 'mail-order bride' is that the power to offend, to 'trouble' to use Butler's terminology, to transgress the normativity of race, class and gender is proportional to the amount of bodily exposure to sex, reproduction, rape and abuse. However, the notion of what transgression is must be

defined here: to transgress white Australia without a measure of agency is given to Marilyn whose ultimate act of docility is her death, while to transgress in the manner given to Laura is to resist domination through a body harnessed by culture, something that neither Marilyn nor Norma possess.

Susan Bordo talks about how the 'unbearable weight' of being a woman—women 'weighed down' by being women in the words of de Beauvoir—is deduced from the notion that the body is something 'apart from the true self', something outside mimetic of what is inside.[25] While men are characterised by their active spirit, women are saddled by their passive bodies; an external baggage that is '*both* construction and resource'.[26] The weight of the body surfaces in the ways Verde depicts not only the three 'mail-order brides' but also the Australian women in the persons of Noreen, Justine and Maggie in the novel. Sara Ahmed uses the term 'inter-embodiment' to show how the construction of women's bodies as alien or other is relational upon the bodies of others from which differentiation is judged.[27] The tiny, brown body of the 'mail-order bride' is, vis-à-vis the Australian woman's body, ethnicised and hyperfeminised. White women are strong, aggressive and open; 'Asiatic' women are frail, sensual and closed. Yet, *because* such 'modern' characterisation of the western woman's body allows agency, Verde caricatured the white woman as sexually aberrant, excessive and transgressive: Noreen as the corpulent sex guru, Justine as the incestuous white trash and Maggie as the adulterer. They all had sexual relationships with Reginald at one point.

On the other hand, the body of the 'mail-order bride' is conceptually and materially controllable; hypersexual machines in a virgin's body. However, I argue that 'inter-embodiment' is not exclusively a comparative exercise between racial classes: white women against brown women. The concept works as well to reveal the more subtle distinctions within a supposedly homogenous group of the 'mail-order bride' body. But can one spot the 'mail-order bride' from a non-'mail-order bride' Filipino woman based on the body weight she carries?

The novel opens when Marilyn is being mauled and beaten to death by Grant, the scene's resemblance to the sex act is unmissable. They first became acquainted in the Blue Hawaii Club in Ermita, Manila where 'smoke was all [Marilyn was] wearing when [he] first saw [her] with those fucking men.'[28] Later, Marilyn found herself in a housing commission unit in western Sydney, no network of family and friends, no skills

and limited conversational English. Characterised by Verde in the most typical way, Marilyn is a stereotypical Magdalena in Philippine literature. She grew up in the countryside with nine family members sleeping side by side in a *nipa* hut (dwelling made from organic materials). As the eldest daughter, she could not pursue schooling and had to help the impoverished family. First working as a nanny to a member of the provincial elite, Marilyn soon found herself in the capital's sex tourism hot spot in the 1980s. She is 5 ft tall with long black hair and golden brown skin. Her small-boned physique is emphasised in Verde's description of how Grant mauls her with relative ease: '[t]he same hand grabs her hair and as he stands, lifts her to her full height until her toes are barely touching the floor.'[29]

Marilyn as a victim of racist and sexual violence is expressed by Verde in physical terms: white 'men would squeeze her breasts' or their 'embrace would almost choke her' or their 'violent thrust felt like it would rip her apart'.[30] The deconstruction of the gendered body piece by piece—breast, neck, cervix—continues in the symbolic act of marriage where the woman's other body parts gain 'weight'—limbs that cook, wash and clean. Even at the hour of her death, it is her body that synthesises the sum of her earthly experiences: 'the woman's left cheek from whence is flowing, like tears from an unblinking eye … blood also sluices out of the crushed nose, split lips and cloven gums … from between the supine woman's legs … in silent, gentle creeping, announcing the imminence of birth in solitude.'[31] Her life in diaspora is almost already a sexual confession written on the body. Marilyn is constructed as wide open to be colonised: from the mythical hair to the sun-baked skin that racialise her, the passive body she carries is not hers but can be violated, raped and impregnated by others. Her sexuality is 'a thing to be stolen, sold, bought, bartered, or exchanged', to the extent that to be treated like a property would be an improvement.[32]

Norma is the everywoman. She is the 'mail-order bride' from western Sydney. Norma's journey to Australia is through neither sex tourism nor introduction agencies but through a chance encounter between her and cuckolded Reginald when his Australian friend visited his bride to be in their hometown. Norma's youth and innocence charmed the foreigner who needed salvation from the liberated white woman. Older than Marilyn, Norma's sexualised body has been partly neutralised by years of accumulated fat; her 'weight pulled her down and made her look like a billboard,' says Reginald.[33] One can assume though that

like Marilyn—and all other 'Filipino babies'—Norma was once frail and child-like; the latent eroticism upon which the 'mail-order bride' industry thrives. Unlike the strong sexuality of white women and Eastern European 'brides' alike, 'Asian' brides exude the aura of unrealised sexual beings that men will have to uncover. The tiny brown body and the towering white man are subjects governed by 'cartographies of desire' operating on the larger scale of global political economy.[34]

Like bodies in the market, however, women's bodies expire; they lose eroticism as they age and dexterity as they grow fat. The characterisation of Norma in her forties as bloated and short complements her infertility; or rather, her de-sexualisation as an ageing woman is signalled by the accumulation of fat in her midsection. Penguin-like, Norma slowly ceased to be the exotic import; 'so tiny', 'so young' in the early years. Because a 'mail-order bride' cannot be a young bride forever as she loses the market value that placed her in the 'traffic', her embodiment is transformed as well. Norma's years of immersion in the Australian society that values accumulation means the alternation of her constitution: western living entails the weight of prosperity. The scarcity that a Philippine rural village signified in a body of a frail teenager is no longer visible in the overweight middle-aged migrant. The 'mail-order bride's' emplacement is also her embodiment. Nicole Constable pointed this out in her ethnography of Chinese and Filipino 'brides'.[35] While US men want their wives tiny, not the stereotypical 'fat and lazy' white woman, the 'fat and lazy' Filipino housewife is not necessarily bad, it is 'part of the American dream'.[36] According to Constable, traditional views in the Philippines place 'fat and lazy' as markers of wealth and comfort, a colonial legacy. Migration, as upward mobility, entails a 'fattening', a 'stuffing', that is written on the body. However, this is not simply 'part of the American dream'; the penguin-shaped 'mail-order bride' is a debris, a body that is no longer what it was, a consumed desexualised other and a vitality lost in displacement.

With a name aptly chosen by Verde, Norma is the normative who balances those who fall by the wayside around her. In fact, for the author, she is the character Verde sees as very much like her: 'I can very much empathise with her; a combination of a woman who is aware of her poverty; embraces her being Filipina, intelligent and love her children.'[37] Like Norma, Verde came to Australia in September 1987 to be with her Australian husband. She left three children in Bicol, south of Manila; their father had been imprisoned for his underground activities against

Marcos. From a family where her male siblings were all part of the left, Verde found herself fighting for a socialist revolution as a teenager in the early 1970s in Bicol where mass-based support for insurgency was high. Married and a mother at 16, she continued to plod on with the hard struggle of a student, single mother and activist until she met Keith, the visiting Australian, and has since then lived in Sydney. Without any professional writing experience but with many years of living in Australia, Verde took on the challenge of what I would now call 'mail-order bride' literature. Norma typifies most Filipino women married to an Australian: the good wife 'mail-order bride' cooped up in a mortgaged house tending to her mixed-race children and seething with anger each time prime time television reduces her to being an alien intruder that 'colours' the Australian family. While Verde's portrayal of Norma borders on the condescending, she was able to textually breathe life into her with a bit of tenderness:

> 'The bastard called me a mail-order bride.' ' Norma threw the paper on the table.
>
> 'The reporter is a woman.' Reginald smiled, a futile exercise, he knew, to deflect the predictable escalating melodrama.
>
> 'Don't start on me, Reginald, *ha*. I'm serious. That bitch …'
>
> 'Sweetheart. They call all migrant wives mail-order brides. You know that.'
>
> 'But I am not a mail-order,' Norma protested …
>
> 'It is derogatory,' Norma insisted. 'It means an Asian woman who has been bought. You know, like when you order from a catalogue. Laura says it's objectifying Filipino women, treating them like objects.'
>
> Reginald suppressed his smile. *Derogatory*. An addition to her limited, although expanding, English vocabulary. The inflection was on the wrong syllable, but her intonation was sharp and confident.[38]

This is the most compelling discussion in the novel about the subject of the 'mail-order bride' because this exchange between the couple captures both the tragic and the comedic in the relationship. The conversation continues:

'These media people will say that it was Marilyn's fault that she killed

because she married that bastard…just to come to Australia. I bet my

thumb, there will be a show on mail-order brides on TV tonight or the

next day and the next. And I bet my other thumb, they will show a

bar full of Aussies holding a beer and half-clothed Filipinas dancing

on the stage in a nightclub in Manila. And you know who the owners of these nightclubs are. Bloody Australians.'

'One or two. Not all,' Reginald was defending himself. 'The media blow things up. That's how they earn money.'

'They give ammunition to racist attitudes.'

Ammunition to racist attitudes. Reginald repeated the words in his

brain. Too much of Laura's influence. He shook his head and in spite of himself, laughed briefly.

'What's funny, *ha?*' Norma's confrontational voice reverberated to

the ceiling….

'Nothing? Why are you laughing then? You are laughing at me, ha?'…

'You don't know how it feels to be stared at from head to feet.

Everybody thinks that when a Filipina like me is married to a white man, she is a mail-order bride and a prostitute. Tell me, am I a prostitute?

Did you buy me?'

Only her imperfect English prevented her from talking as fast as

she would have preferred.

'Of course not. And even if you were, I don't give a damn what

people say. It's my decision.'

'What do you mean 'even if you were'? You mean you are

doubting me? That I could be a prostitute?'

'No. That's not what I meant. I am sure you're not. But even if you were, for example…'

'For example…bullshit.' Norma swore under her breath.

'*Mga walang hiya, mga pakialamero.*' ['Shameless, you're all sneaky beak.']

Reginald braced himself for a round of verbal accusations. 'You are just like them,' she added.

'Now, that's not fair. I would not have married you.' Reginald felt like a tape recorder for he had said these lines several times before.

Norma mumbled some more in her own language, her crying bout a repetitious combination of wailing and blowing her nose on the collar of her nightgown….

'All right. What do you want me to do? Call the newspaper? Write a letter to the editor?' Reginald asked.

'I bet you won't'…

'Childish,' he mumbled. Childishness that would be transformed into political assertiveness as tenacious as it was devoid of polish.

Initially, it had been easier to just agree. 'Yes, it is racism.' But this would arouse her unwavering zeal and competent ability to organize her people. 'Her people,' he repeated to himself.

He could picture her on the telephone rounding up her friends for hours. 'My husband says…' 'Reginald agrees with me…'

She would return home late from some meeting here or there, discussing this mail-order bride issue, prejudice, sexism… it was never-ending.[39]

The long passage above is humorous as it is seriously critical. It shows varying emotions between the couple and the stage of their union. Reginald's impatience with Norma's increasingly politicised grasp of her 'people' in relation to Australia's racism is met by Reginald's lack of emotional involvement; it is read as the husband's whiteness being complicituous with the apparatus that oppresses 'her people'. Together with Norma's intellectual growth is the acquisition of the vocabulary that was previously alien to a 'normal' 'mail-order bride' like her; a fact that does not escape the husband ('she sounds funny,' says his son). The suppressed laughter from Reginald upon hearing overtly militant statements from the formerly *provinciana* wife borders on the condescending and the sexist; either a gesture of disbelief upon her newly-found strength or a 'universal' masculine disregard of women's empowerment. However, it can be argued that the Australian's attitude towards the whole 'mail-order bride' discourse could also be fatigue; the repetitive occasion of having to crucify Australia as a sign of his love. Moreover, even though Norma was clearly incensed with Reginald's nonchalance, she proudly quotes him regarding the issue, a hint that the man takes part in the discourse through her. For him, the cycle of 'melodrama' is 'never-ending': an incident, then a media report, then an argument of offense and defense, and finally, Norma's walk-out while blowing her nose on her sleeves. Her 'mediocrity' is still performed by the body.

Infused with Filipino linguistic ticks, this exchange could possibly be a good approximation of Filipino wives and their Australian husbands. This means the majority of Australian men who do not beat up their wives, who have decent jobs to raise families and who provide solace to wives crying foul in the privacy of their homes. On the other hand, the middle ground also means the Filipino woman who was neither a prostitute nor a striptease dancer, who may not come from middle-class families or may not have a Ph.D. making her a potential FAWAA awardee, but may have silently participated in community affairs. Verde's narrative politicises the 'mail-order bride' but also humanises the Australian man. The archetypal 'good wife' immigrant is shown in the novel as someone who can redeem her lowly beginnings through the unexpected intellectualisation in which gender economy has placed her. Indeed, most 'brides' do not understand what the fuss is all about. Norma's life in Australia goes perfectly according to a neat plot of the good wife; however, for someone like Marilyn, the *puta* 'mail-order bride', there is no redemption. All the tragedy that is her birth, her life, her migration, her

betrayal of Grant and her death are but a confirmation of the narrative of her archetype.

The differentiation of bodies amongst 'mail-order brides' is further illustrated by Laura's archetype: the bourgeois intellectual. Neither a Marilyn nor a Norma, she was born to a land-owning family who could afford to send her to a music conservatory. From a moneyed (feudal) family, she exudes the confidence of possessors of social and cultural capital. She came to Australia with a radical education and dated Edwin Tan, a staunch student leader whose character is patterned after Jose Maria Sison, founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Therefore, her foray into women's activism as counsellor in the Blacktown Women's Refuge is predicated on her political and intellectual rigour. Needless to say, the 'mail-order bride' is an opportunity for someone like Laura to make herself relevant (and distinguish herself as well) in Australia. The enjoyment and privileges of activism position Laura *not* as marriage migrant but as someone *above* them all. I see the same tendency amongst real-life brides/activists.

The construction of the bourgeois intellectual archetype begins in the body. Laura may be medium-built but this relative lack—neither short nor frail—is compensated by high-heeled boots, a mark of sophistication. While the two wives have round facial features, Laura has a 'delicate jaw', 'elfin eyes', 'high cheek-bones' and 'full lips'.[40] She does not exude the visual aesthetics of a 'dark-faced Filipino baby' so that Neil thought he was marrying the maid Laura brought along with her in the airport. Verde's conflation of beauty with class is a correct approximation of how 'beauty' is constructed in the Philippines which has remained colonial. Although Laura is not explicitly described as dark or light-skinned, one could imagine that she is lighter than sun-baked Marilyn and Norma that marked their peasant bodies. The body of the 'mail-order bride' is of a particular constitution that betrays difference, desire and deprivation.

The body, however, behaves according to certain rules of comportment. Can the bourgeois intellectual be childish? Unlike most Filipino women Neil knew, Laura never sent one photo during correspondence. She was described as a 'stranger', 'mysterious' and 'confronting'; her silence is only magnified by her 'charm' and 'grace' plus her exceptional talent at the piano.[41] Neil knew that Laura did not marry him for love or visa. This 'mail-order' was not seeking greener pasture; she was escaping from the political persecution of the past that left her with no family member except for a young boy, a nephew from a dead *guerrilla* sister

and a comrade. Her parents were also killed in a clash between the military and insurgents.

Laura's coldness towards Neil is the opposite kind to the lover she is with Dr. McIntyre—truly a luxury that other brides do not have. Laura is positioned by her class to challenge the 'mail-order bride' for she cannot be bought; privileged 'third world women' are symbolically beyond the economics of exchange. Moreover, her refusal to be a docile body—never pregnant, no children to raise, displaying overt eroticism with two men in her life—is an inversion of the 'mail-order' body, her erasure of the 'male ordered' regime. Moreover, the continuum of masculinity and politics is also ascribed to Laura. In my interviews, it is the men and *not* the women who raise the spectre of the martial law as push factor to emigrate. The character of Laura reined in upper-class arrogance by marrying down, a white man for a visa. Her self-contempt and intolerance towards Neil and her relationship of equality with the doctor, point to the 'universality' of class. That a privileged 'third-world woman' negotiates her marginality through class arrogance is not surprising.

In the new land, however, she had to face another kind of persecution; Laura felt what it was like to be 'ethnic, belonging to a minority'.[42] 'I walk into shops and no one sees me except when the money is in my hands. One time I even thought of shoplifting to get the attention of shop assistants. … When once I treasured obscurity, I now loathe it'.[43] The privileged 'third world woman' script does not work all the time. This is why Verde reserves a soft spot for Laura because she is the author's platform to voice out the pains of being an ethnic woman. Also, she reserved for *Ka* Revlon, Laura's *cadre* sister, songs of the revolution she learned as a young activist. One can sense Verde's political persuasion as she romanticises the cold nights in the mountains when comrades sing their songs of freedom; for her, the socialist flame for a 'humane and just society' 'is still burning' (in the dedication page). She reserves for Laura and *Ka* Revlon (after the shampoo she brought to the mountain, for which she was chastised) the pure and young love between revolutionaries.

Despite Verde's idealisation of Norma, it is Laura—the bourgeois and the intellectual—who is valorised in the end; she is the 'mail-order bride' who is, in fact, not one. Like the valorisation of middle-class women by FAWAA anthologies, here is another text that invents the 'middle-class bride' in Australia. *Not all brides are poor.* The obsession to excuse one's 'brideness' because one is middle class works against the very premise of

politicising the subject. Laura as the foil of the *puta* and the good-wife archetype is a 'hyperagent' who has a choice, the means and the cultural capital to shape the community. Because Verde's concept of the body follows the ordering of the male, not even her sympathetic language can escape wor(l)ding of the 'mail-order bride' subject.

During the interview with Aida Verde, she told about being ignored by shop clerks in David Jones department store, their gaze passing through her. This is somewhat similar to an incident to Laura's indignation for being *not* seen despite being physically present. Verde's novel is replete with personal events that happened to her, a deliberate attempt to translate her voice into a textual material that would be part of Filipino-Australian cultural history. What is also autobiographical were her years as an activist and the relationships she forged with other activists. Then there was the young love with another activist, a love fortified by fear, imprisonment and separation. 'I was threatened politically and very insecure economically,' Verde said.[44]

Autobiographical writing such as Verde's is a fitting example of self-referentiality in writing. Writers of certain backgrounds, like Filipino women in Australia wanting to *speak out*, hope to avoid the mishaps of orientalising gaze embedded in being represented by others. One way to do this is to speak about their oppression. This incessant desire to confess, to return to the self in seeking what mediated representations cannot access, is the purported transformative potential of self-representation. FAWAA's anthology discussed earlier is a good example of the subaltern writing, of the 'mail-order brides' participating in FAWAA's objective to change the representations of Filipinos in Australia. From an angle, ethnic writing is an attempt of migrants to forge a collective self-regard that will exist as the writings unfold. Moreover, autobiographical novels such as Verde's as a project of coming out could be a productive venue in exposing relations in specific migrant settings. FAWAA and Verde's novel reveal covert exercises and also hint at promises which otherwise would have remained uncovered without any attempt to speak about the 'mail-order bride'. A cultural history of Filipino-Australians that does not confront the 'mail-order bride' question, just because they may be judged as guilty as they are, does not fully combat the oppression. Verde's proud confession on television and newspapers, 'I am a mail-order bride', despite being 'guilty', is a refreshing take in a discourse of subterfuge.[45]

Annette Kuhn's formulation that representation of sexual difference is a 'form of regulation', a 'strategy of norma-lization' is what the novel *River with No Name* initially tried to subvert.[46] Verde, the author, attempts to shake representations of the Filipino woman by writing 'corrective' literature: the kind that answers back to Australia's essentialism against foreigners. Her work is confrontational for it lacks embarrassment or deflection. Verde's fiction is a voice of authenticity that does not deny its accountability in speaking for and about the 'mail-order bride'. The power of Verde's writing, however, also contributes to the regulation of the 'mail-order bride' discourse; in fact, I would call her fiction pioneering in this genre, if there is one. Central to the regulation is the standardisation of archetypes within the encompassing term 'mail-order bride'. *River with No Name* identified three archetypes of the 'bride': the *puta,* the wife and the bourgeois intellectual. From the myriad of representations available to her, Verde sifted them all and neatly delineated the tropes in the characters of Marilyn, Norma and Laura whose bodies are gendered, classed and ethnicised but uniformly heterosexual.

The Story of Adelia Netty

Age of Wisdom is an anthology from the ACT and published by the Philippine-Australian Senior Citizens' Organisation of Canberra Inc. (PASCOC).[47] Although the contributions are not exclusively by the elderly, women's writing on interracial marriages amongst the middle age and older are common; yet, they surprisingly veer away from revealing domestic situations, unlike *Ani;* most are narratives of economic satisfaction and marital success. However, one narrative stands out for it is about neither satisfaction nor success. The story of Adelia Netty, a pseudonym, shows the tight connection between violence and housework. Hers is an extreme case of domestic violence that she endured for 12 years from husband John. I will not dwell on the mental and physical torture she had in common with many other Filipino women in Australia but concentrate on the unpaid domestic labour that, I argue, gives initial form to violence and subsequently emboldened her torturer.

An Australian man wanted to find a Filipino wife 'who could sew and cook', Adelia thought to herself: 'bingo'; it would be her destiny to marry this man because she was a tailor with her own small dress shop and also a good cook as she learned to specialise in Japanese cuisine. In 1986, she came to Australia and thereafter started full-time

housework as a carer for their son and a keeper of the house. After 15 years of marriage which included the intervention years when Adelia sought the help of community support groups, she narrates: 'John was using me as his domestic servant … a legally employed maid was luckier than I was because a maid, at least was being paid and could enjoy a day-off. I was not being paid for my services and there was no respite from slavery.'[48] During the day, '[she] slaved in the house', at night, he would verbally abuse her then hit her.[49] The maid/wife was not allowed to sit on the chair because it was John's; she could only watch on TV what John watched while she sat on the floor. Later, John was convicted for domestic assault and ordered to share the property with Adelia; the mother and son finally found some peace and moved on with their lives.

With Adelia's case in mind, I suggest that the first base of domestic violence is unpaid domestic work. The unbridled power of John over Adelia in 'cooking [his] meals, cleaning his garbage, washing and ironing clothes' is the opening of the possibility for the man to think that the woman is inexhaustible in her capacity to receive mistreatment, that Adelia who puts up with so much labour ('*servage*') would also put up with sitting on the floor ('*esclavage*'). Like the tools and appliances that Adelia used everyday to fulfil her domestic obligations, she had become one and the same tool for the abusive husband: she was not a partner, not even a human being. She was reducible to an abstract provider of domestic services: unpaid and unrecognised. The slave/wife has no space to manoeuver so that when domestic violence happens, the dependent annexes the attack as part of her bottomless pit of responsibility in the domestic sphere. Being hit is just another type of test for physical endurance and hitting is one way for her man to relax. The appropriation and abuse are inexhaustible because in '*sexage*' the woman's body is open to anything including pain.[50] The discourse of 'home as haven'—the ruling social ideology where the well-being of everyone is dependent on how a woman sets up an ideal home—is a regime not unrelated to the abuse of women who fail to provide this. Warrington argues that domestic violence itself is rooted in the geographies of home; how domestic 'spatial constraints' must be considered in analysing violence when it occurs.[51] At this point, I would argue that '*sexage*' that is deeply inscribed in the valuation of a migrant woman's body finds expression in—and is equally shaped by—the very physicality of a home that is built on a daily basis by the labour of a homemaker.

The inability of immigrant women to sell their labour power intensifies their economic and emotional dependence on the male. This is even more pronounced in the case of women in interracial marriages where third-world labour is marketed in exchange for the opportunity to migrate. In Tasmania, Australia, public opinion views Filipino women as deserving to be enslaved and be subjected to violence because they are 'jumping the immigration queue'.[52] This logic of xenophobia and sexism also means that Filipino women are *doubly* 'unrapable', or worse, inviolable than other women because she is beyond violation. Because for the ethnic other described as 'docile, domesticated, disposable, [and] sexually submissive', Filipino women *cannot* be raped.[53] The correctness of the quote from Barrowclough and the sequencing of descriptors in portraying Filipino women underline the continuum between housework, sex work and violence: a spectrum of man's 'physical sexual usage' of the woman.[54] It is not difficult to see how the usage and violence engendered by domestic labour is reified in softer forms, such as unpaid elderly carers for grandchildren and husbands.

Adelia as a 'mail-order bride' is placed in a position where her body is susceptible to abuse and her labour to appropriation. The control of the body of the marriage migrant stems from the techniques to utilise, maximise and fit an employable body. The Australian husband's manipulation of Adelia's' body is intricately woven in the fabric of race and economic relations. Her body as a wife is a docile body; twice rendered docile as a 'mail-order bride'. Her marriage is consensual like others, yet it is an economically calculated transaction in the eyes of those who participate in her expropriation. The Filipina 'mail-order bride' is expropriated of her reproductive labour that in turn contribute to economic and bio-power processes in managing life. This relationship permits a conceptual and real violation of this body as domesticated, pleasurable and encroachable. Adelia's body is a material trace of this violation. As I see it, the bodily abuse that Adelia suffered was a literal application of a disciplining that exposes the underlying structure that governs the extraction of her labour power. Moreover, in the context of an alien 'bride' in white Australia, the woman's abuse is also largely couched in 'difference' attributed as racial for it is this 'difference' that expedites and excites the control of an alien body. Because the control and disciplining of sexualised citizen body happens in private, the social control exercised on alien women's bodies is much easier to do.

The flesh as capital for exchange—'the third-word difference'—is also the receiving end of corporeal violence. The bodily harm 'mail-ordered brides' have been documented to suffer was as petrifying as being drowned, shot, knifed, slashed, hit on the head with a hammer, pushed into the water, strangled, cut up, stabbed thirty times, strangled with a lamp cord and then set on fire, bashed in the head, among others; sometimes her body is just made to disappear as if she never existed at all.[55] On the other hand, however, the body of the woman is also the receptacle of biological reproduction, thus, of familial values that uphold the virtues of the nation-state. Her capacity to reproduce the mixed-raced child is a trace of her sexualised migration translatable as first-world profit from foreign investment in the third-world. The other extreme of the spectrum where the body is desired, caressed, loved, touched and raped is also part of discursive formation of the body as docile, deconstructed and as an object of surveillance.[56] The female body as knowable by and functional to the (white) male is captured in Verde's novel and is revealing of the ways the gendered body experienced migration as systemic alienation, how the body undergoes transmogrification by migration.

Nativist and Sexist Points of View

The Filipina marriage migrant suffers under racial, class and sexist regimes, but she is also colonised by the 'native' male immigrant—the Filipino man. It would not be so bold to say that it is the Filipina woman migrant who paved the way for the migration of the males. Anecdotally, I know that brothers, male cousins, uncles, fathers and grandfathers came over to Australia through the sponsorship or financial help of a marriage migrant. Despite this, however, the Filipino male does not suffer the same stigma of a so-called 'mail-order bride'. Instead, women migrants suffer another layer of colonisation. Nativist sexism is a result of the contingencies of their migration.

Erwin Cabucos, a Queensland-based school teacher, settled in Australia after marrying his girlfriend whom he met as a student on a scholarship in Newcastle.[57] His stories began appearing in ethnic newspapers like *The Philippine Community Herald Newspaper* in the late 1990s and were later collected in two volumes: *The Beach Spirit and Other Stories* by Ginninderra Press, an alternative publishing house and *Greenblood* by The Manila Prints of Renato Perdon.[58] Cabucos writes

about his *barrio* in North Cotobato in Mindanao and the migrant experience in Australia, in particular, that of the 'mail-order bride'. Cabucos' short stories are curious, less for the writing style he admitted to be amateurish and inconsistently written, but more for his subject position as a Filipino married to an Australian woman.[59] His 'mail-order bride' fiction explores in problematic ways sexualised citizenship. While Cabucos tells me that his foremost aim in writing is 'to give voice to them' (because he thought he could), his output betrays his own racial, class, gender and sexual prejudices. Cabucos' fiction remains within masculinist discourse despite its claims.

Nonetheless, the author expresses solidarity with all the 'mail-order brides' who supported him through his writing. The women from Newcastle are the inspiration for his fiction; his work is homage to the sacrifices and suffering of marriage migrants. The vilification of 'mail-order brides' in his writing allows a male subject to alterise himself through expressions of solidarity; to own his victimisation by white supremacy. Cabucos' voice is a necessary but nativist and sexist privileging of his own position; a position that necessitates solidarity with the underclass. Cabucos, therefore, is part of the sexualised community but escapes scrutiny. He lends his voice and is neither for sale nor 'rapeable' unlike his female counterpart.

In a first-person interview style, 'Fusion', a 'mail-order bride' reflects on her body and sexuality based on the dynamics of power that position her in relation to a white Australian. Cabucos' cultural production, identifiably postcolonial and sympathetic with the 'mail-order bride', however, betrays his alternisation that draws its strength from the very powerlessness by which he renders his characters.

> *So you're married to an Australian?* Yes, I'm a mail-order bride. You know, one of those disgusting, ambitious sex machines from the poverty-stricken and depressed area…who advertise their names in the newspapers in the pen pal section, hoping to be read by travelling white males. I met Andrew, a forty-six-year-old Newcastle retrenched steel worker, five feet nine tall, stocky, a champion in bed. He has a great tool, and I'm proud of him….

> I have lots of tales to tell you. No, they are not about him being unable to get it up again after he has the first one—he's the first person I know who can have three orgasms in one night. We can even explore ten positions in one sitting. No, you see our marriage is not entirely based on sex. It's more than that. He was an outgoing white Australian male and I am a reserved Filipina.
>
> *So, has he hit you yet?* Yes. But it was my fault, I suppose. One time, I withdrew some of our savings without letting him know.[60]

From the way Cabucos weaves the subject as a 'sex machine'—though not without sarcasm—quantifying her husband's sexual power to her acceptance of misogyny, the text sexualises the Filipino woman as a whore. The writer constructed, like Renato Perdon's lexicon discussed later, the Filipino woman as a subject who reduced herself to a usable body; she is, in Cabucos' wor(l)ding, the embodiment of the violable person who equates her sex with her finance, her excitability with her exchangability. This is the kind of social realism the author sells.

Another story, 'Diaspora' (also published as 'G'day, Welcome to Australia'), is about the reunion between Emily and the 'mail-order bride' mother who abandoned her.[61] The woman left an impoverished husband and children to marry Peter after corresponding with him behind her husband's back. The 'mail-order bride' in the story showed no remorse as she packed her bags to leave for Australia. Her character is a hyperagent who left a man symbolising Filipino forms of patriarchy, but the initial strength disappeared and the hyperagent became a meek whore as Cabucos takes his readers to a scene in Sydney:

> 'I'm a plain housewife here, Emily. Peter and I agreed that I should never work, so I can have his dinner ready when he comes home. And so the house will be clean, too, when he comes home.'
>
> In Tagalog, I ask Mama if she really wants it this way…
>
> 'What did she say, Mary?'

> 'Nothing,' Mama answers. 'She was only asking if I've ever tried
> working in Australia….'
> I ask Mama in Tagalog what work she'll do if she ever finds a job.
> She answers in Tagalog again. 'I might work as a waitress or as a
> sandwich hand. I've never got any Australian qualifications to allow
> me to do anything else….'
> He brakes suddenly, screeching the tyres… 'For fuck sake, Mary,'
> Peter transforms into a bizarre tiger in the driver's seat.
> 'There you are again! How many times have I told you,
> when I'm around, you should always speak in English.
> English, English, English! You're in Australia now! If you use
> your language again, I'll hit you! You've never learned
> your lesson, eh!'[62]

It is interesting to note two things in the passage above: first, the implied denigration of proletarian work as a result of ethnicisation of unskilled jobs; and second, the vilification of the white male for using violence in his request to understand the ongoing conversation in a foreign language. Mary's transgressive act of abandoning a marriage to emancipate herself (and by implication her children, too) is contradictory to the amount of oppression she tolerates from the Australian. The self-effacement towards Peter despite her self-consciousness as a woman who can make choices hints at the narrative's conferment of greater power to the white male over the racialised male. Both men physically abuse Mary. The authority of a Filipino male is emasculated in favour of the white power: Peter's racial and, therefore, class superiority is the new patriarchal order, which the coloured woman was complicit in forging. The conflation of Mary as a white man's meek whore (but also the strong wife of a racial other) represents the 'mail-order bride' as hyperagent only within the limit of her class and ethnicity. The characterisation of Mary as 'embodiment of exchange', however, tacitly legitimises a nationalist reading of her first and only legitimate marriage. In Chap. 9, where I discuss elderly women marrying white Australians, this trope of love

reserved for a co-national is strongly evident. Because Mary (or any other Filipino woman) cannot possibly love a white man, she can only be a commodified body in the international economy of desire.

The continuum (or shall I say 'intersection') between Peter and the Filipino husband reminds us of the single spectrum that Cabucos and the 'mail-order bride' inhabit. While the author correctly places Mary's self-fashioning as 'mail-order bride' as a revolt against local patriarchy, the insight is short-sighted given the woman's subjugation under white power. In a similar vein, Cabucos appears to be on the same plane as any 'mail-order bride' he wished to 'give voice to': because they share the same marginality in Australia. However, despite taking the privilege of speaking for them, the Filipino male finds little in common with the 'Filipina bride'; the sexualisation of the 'Asian' male has specificities different from the Asian female. On interracial coupling where the ethnic other is the female, Cabucos upon 'seeing a [young] Filipina with an old Australian, somehow I feel disgust. [It's] revolting. For the reason just to be here [in Australia]. It's not supposed to be'.[63] This echoes what *everyone* else is thinking: there are no 'mail-order husbands' because white women's sexuality exceeds that of the Asian male.[64] The racialising regime behind the emasculation of the 'Asian male' is simplified by Cabucos in these terms: '*mas* acceptable *ang* male Filpino and female Australian. *Parang* novelty, cute, like Ogie and Michelle'[65] [Male Filipino and female Australian couplings are more acceptable. We're like a novelty…]. The uncommonness, the visual rarity and the admissibility of a transaction perceived to be outside market exchange give Cabucos the licence to demarcate his position from Filipino 'brides' because he is constructed as a desexualised 'Asian' male vis-à-vis the white woman.

Nativism, however, works effectively through sympathy from the outside. Cabucos' nativism exhibits traces of the colonial legacy of othering, appropriating and humanising the ethnic other. Stephen Matthews, the publisher of Ginninderra Press, applies the same principles to exalt Cabucos' exceptionalism to represent 'his people'.[66] He subscribes to the view that the Filipino writer's possession of the 'ethnic' voice is itself resistance to dominant discourses in Australia. Despite the rawness of Cabucos' language and the rough edges of narration, Matthews said that the author is in a subject position to reveal a world unknown to Australia. 'He's not yet Hemingway [but] his writings are legitimised by those [migrant] experiences.'[67] The publisher never met the Filipino writer but decided to publish the manuscript on the strength

of what he perceived as the need to be heard by (a very tiny portion of) Australia. Matthews edited the stories for the grammar—'quite a lot of it'—but decided to keep the language quirks for their obvious exercise of authenticity.[68] Such was the belief of the publisher in the value of 'ethnic' writing that he paid Cabucos his royalty, printed, marketed and sold 185 copies of *The Beach Spirit and Other Stories*, a 'good number' for the diaspora writing genre.[69] The publication of a first-time writer like Cabucos is a kind of reward for the courage to put up against the 'inherent arrogance of the English speaking countries' like Australia by its peripheral citizens.[70]

In Matthew's formulation, native informants ('ethnics', 'third-world women', 'insiders') could do no wrong in representing a culture they own and possess, which only they can represent. Since Cabucos is a construct of Filipinoness, he must know how to write about 'Filipino "mail-order brideness"' 'as well. Matthews' designation of Cabucos as someone who can teach white Australia is to a certain degree also a form of nativism. *You criticise Australia through the space I confer upon you*. The emasculated body of Cabucos as Asian male, the effect he aims for and, in turn, his alterity by the white establishment, are techniques by which the male-order construct the 'mail-order bride'. His exposition of a fictitious sympathy is confirmation of the status of those who spoke for, the opposite of hiding that which guards oneself from being revealed.

Passing: Anything but Filipino

The problematic and painful sexualised citizenship is deeply felt on the body and penetrates the community's psyche. One of the ways to respond to the issue is to erase oneself: to deny, to disavow and to omit one's Filipinoness; in other words, to pass as someone else. The shame of sexualised citizenship is entrenched not only in mainstream media but also in the literature by Filipino-Australians and manner of presenting themselves.

The literature of passing, like passing off as somebody else in real life, requires a passable level of reading skill to be uncovered. Reading with understanding takes familiarity, an intimacy, a sharing of secrets that members-only participated in. The chapter on FAWAA narratives reveals that to pass off as a non-maid, non-'mail-order bride', or non-marriage migrant is common. Self-disavowal and other forms of deferral of identity could be a successful way to avoid day-to-day humiliation. Because

non-marriage migrant women often flaunt their difference in status, it is not surprising for 'brides' to attempt to pass off as 'non-brides' (to white Australian males). Often simplistically perceived as an erasure—the disappearance of the traces of a material identity—passing is not the opposite of embodiment. The body is neither diminished nor masked away; rather 'passing' is an exercise of carrying the unbearable weight of the matter. Reality is neither disposed of nor altered; the effect of 'passing' is psychological. Telling people that one's migration is this or that, for the 'mail-order bride', is a wounding of her body that endured the alienation of migration that, in the first place, made it possible. However, it is not just the 'mail-order bride' who wounds herself; others who tried passing unequivocally wound the 'mail-order bride' subject as well.

Merlinda Bobis' short story 'Fruit Stall' tells the story of a 'mail-order bride' who lives a life of 'passing'.[71] With a Ph.D. in Creative Writing and a list of literary awards and grants under her belt, Bobis is not another 'Blacktown Filipino' self-publishing her works. She is indeed in the market of postcolonial literature/diaspora writing in Australia as she herself implicitly claimed.[72] Although she resists being lumped into the category 'Asian-Australian'—'My voice is culturally specific: it is *not* Asian-Australian'—Bobis ironically participates in 'Asian-Australian' networks and has identified herself as someone who writes as a 'Southeast Asian' in Australia.[73] Published by major but not mainstream publishing houses in Australia, she is singularly the writer who maps the exotic about the Philippines in a magic realist way.[74]

'Fruit Stall' is a first-person narrative of a 40-year-old Filipino woman passing off as anyone else but Filipina. With a paler complexion than the ordinary *Pinay* and with hair dyed brown, she tells her customers that she is either an Italian, Mexican or even Spanish. Racial mixture is a privilege by which some women's bodies can lie more than others. 'I am a Filipina, but this is my secret.'[75] The divorced 'mail-order bride' ran into a customer with a young woman who looked at her straight in the eye and asked: '*Kamusta*.'' You mean, *comoe sta*?' I pretend to look confused. 'Of course, of course—*muy bien*.'[76] The confused newly arrived could only respond in disbelief: 'you're not Filipina?' Bobis' story reminds me of an interracial couple I met where the Australian (jokingly?) urged his wife to pass off as Malaysian in social settings to avoid the embarrassment of being Filipino. One editor recounted how another male editor who upon being asked by a stranger, '*Sir, Filipino po kayo*?' [Sir, are you Filipino?], gave a terse reply: 'no' and then moved away.[77] This was in Sydney in the early 1980s.

The short story is poignant and a compelling consequence of sexualised citizenship, apart from displaying how passing is a 'weapon of the weak'. This weapon, however, is not for everyone. But there is a profound motivation to pass off as somebody else in multicultural Australia if one possesses some racial or social capital. The culture of denial that underwrites 'passing' is always already a return to and recognition of the construction against which the Filipino community has been struggling. Whatever practical benefits one draws from keeping one's being a Filipino secret are rather short-lived compared to the reinforcing effect of responding to the need to pass. It is in this sense that passing is a wounding that opens up, closes, sutures and then opens up again the injuries of a sexualised citizenship.

One case of passing that I found very intriguing is one writer's avoidance to describe himself as 'Filipino'. *Between Two Worlds* is a novel by Cesar Leyco Aguila who describes himself as: 'an Australian writer of Hispanic and Asian background'.[78] Aguila *was* Filipino, not (white) Australian of Eurasian stock. Aguila is a Filipino immigrant based in Sydney and whose work is included in the *Salu-salo* anthology discussed in the previous chapter. Growing up in the Philippines, he attended the University of Santo Tomas before emigrating. Based on the self-description on the book jacket, Aguila could have been a China-born, Spanish migrant in Australia (or other combinations), yet his fiction has the Philippines written all over it. While his 'passing' may serve specific purposes in the publishing market, I argue that the amputation of the Filipino—the deliberate erasure of that which is the source of one's embarrassment—could never be complete. His writing is the embodiment of his being Filipino; his literature is haunting his very attempt at forgetting; his self-published book is that which reveals the very act of passing through which he wanted to write himself off. *What was so wrong about being a Filipino in Australia?*

I do not intend to write a summary of a long historiographical novel divided into four sections that begins in year 1500 and ends in 2000. Suffice it to say, it is a saga of the (male) Monteros whose patriarch was a nephew of Ferdinand Magellan, 'discoverer' of the Philippines: sired heroic *mestizos* who shaped the history of their (unidentified) country, from the revolutionary *illustrado* to the *insurecto* against 'American' colonialists, to the modern-day male scion fighting a socialist revolution. There is a Montero for every poignant point in the history the country whose similarity to the Philippines is indubitable. The novel

is a celebration of *machista* culture that colonialism engenders where women are naked, peasants are illiterate and everybody else is without agency or name or given a face. The migrant subjectivity in Aguila does not figure in the novel: no mention of diaspora and much less the 'mail-order bride'; to state the obvious, any reference to either would be tantamount to disclosure or blowing his disguise. Ironically, the care with which the author presumably hides the Filipino fails with his choice of Theodor de Bry's painting 'Peregrinations' (1595), a rendition of the Battle of Mactan (in Cebu, Philippines) where Lapu-lapu killed Magellan in action. Although Aguila does not contribute to the male-ordered representations of the Filipino woman, in the way Perdon and Cabucos do, his tacit disavowal by 'passing' as an ambiguous subject (non-Filipino) is telling of the pervasiveness of his own sexualised citizenship in Australia. I argue that there is a continuum between publishing an overtly anti-women dictionary and a non-descript text by an Australian immigrant rooted in the collective embarrassment of being Filipino in Australia.

The making of the Filipina in Australia as an alien and gendered body lies not only on what is written but also on what is not written. The deconstructive notion of absence in the present and the presence in the absent is insightful in explaining the inclination towards passing as performance of an identity that is not one's own. The symbolic and material body of the 'mail-order bride' in Australia is so pervasive that even male professionals like Aguila behave, perhaps unintentionally, like the fruit seller in Bobis' fiction: *I am a Filipino but it is my secret*. The paradox of (mis)identification works against passing for as long as the power relations that operate on the colonised, gendered, classed and heteronormative subject continue to impinge on the rights of others to live with dignity. By passing as someone else, one only perpetuates the terrorism that has been inflicted on the sexualised alien subject because the terror is towards oneself.

Learning Australian English

This section interrogates how the wor(l)ding of the 'mail-order bride' is shaped by dominant cultural producers in the Filipino-Australian community such as Renato Perdon. As a community journalist, he writes for and edits *Bayanihan News,* and *Pilipino Herald* prior to that. As an author, Perdon self-published two collections of essays, *Brown Americans of Asia* and *Footnotes to Philippine History*, a book on Jose Rizal, and a

family history. As a transnational publisher, Perdon released works by Erwin Cabucos and Pura Castrence, and his own dictionaries and wordbooks. He subcontracts printing in the Philippines for cheap labour and materials and sells the titles in Australia where he is based. Known amongst Filipinos in Sydney as the man who makes the *diario*, Perdon describes himself as a 'historian, curator, teacher, translator and cultural heritage consultant.'[79]

The 'mail-order bride' is inevitably discussed in both books: distant and messianic at once. In *Brown Americans of Asia*, Perdon gives a statistical, demographic, descriptive, cultural and historical angle to the Filipino woman in Australia. At times sympathetic to victims, he predicted that the 'mail-order bride' tag of the community would remain like a scar since 'Filipino brides, no matter what perception the public has of them, will be a permanent part of the community because they are *filling a particular need* in the Australian social structure.'[80] This framing harks back to a feminist, authentic insider analysis of the bride and Australia as 'fulfilling a mutual need'.[81] Neither articulated what need this might be, except—what I understood as—that Australian men need women and the Philippines has a surplus of women. As a gatekeeper, Perdon is responsive to the usability of the 'mail-order bride' as a subject. In his eagerness to criticise the ineffectual presence of ethnic organisations, he asks in the essay 'Are Filipino associations relevant?' what is the point of having 216 associations.[82] Perdon bemoans the insensitivity of these organisations to issues that truly matter such as the 'mail-order bride' problem. Although this does not engage the question of cultural representation directly, it does raise the question of political representation within the community. He correctly asked the question where these organisations were to intervene when Filipino women were either being murdered or abused. Perdon scrutinised the community's responsibility towards each other; however, the same critique can be used to interrogate cultural gatekeepers: where were *you* at the time your intervention was needed most? Like a female Lazarus resurrected from the dead, the 'mail-order bride' is the perfect scapegoat of the marginalised community: a panacea, a call for solidarity, a subject, an object and a sociological inquiry.

The above introduction lays down the tradition of writing and material production within which Perdon constructs the female body in diaspora in his dictionaries. He published several but there are two volumes that are particularly of interest: *English-Filipino Wordbook* and *Learning*

and Speaking Filipino.[83] 'To the Filipino expatriates around the world,' he dedicates the latter volume (notice the use of 'expatriates'), while the first one is his offering as a cultural bridge for interracial marriages between Filipinos and Australians. These publications are an entry—literally and figuratively—into the symbolic order of (white) Australia by Filipinos. I argue that third-world constructions are emplaced, in particular, the making of the Filipino woman as *puta* is conditioned by print materials distributed for her consumption.

The Table 8.1 below is my summary of some of the terms found in Perdon's *Wordbook*. The group of words is categorised based on my own understanding of his uses and the semantic similarities he ascribes to the words. I deliberately dropped the Filipino equivalents for the purpose of brevity.

The wordbook from which these terms come from is Perdon's, one might say, unusual offering to Filipino women in Australia as his dedication implies. In the introduction, Perdon warns his readers that many of the entries are slang that average Australians use, implying that racist, elitist, sexist, lookist and ageist slurs are commonly used; that working-class Australians exhibit these tendencies; that this is white Australia's language and that newly arrived migrants would benefit from familiarising themselves as the possibility of being subjected to slang is high as in everyday multicultural life.

Yet, what is disturbing is Perdon's deliberate framing of his lexicography: to serve as a 'bridge' for Filipino women entering Australia as wives and girlfriends. It is as if Perdon has found his niche market: 'mail-order brides' will need a dictionary that will make sense of their world for them, or rather, he helped with this publication the conflation of the Filipino with 'mail-order brides', sex and prostitution. The wordbook prepares the woman entering her new society for a regime of knowledge, a world of sexist, racialist, anti-intellectual, homophobic and elitist linguistic order, and positions her subjectivity as a body in passivity where being a woman means *being* a 'venereal disease', not simply a carrier of it, but an embodied infection of the sex. The intended user of the reference book is presumed to be confined within a world where she performs sex, receives physical and verbal abuse, faces possible abortion, endures racism, puts up with alcoholism and drug abuse, among others. The 'mail-order bride' straddling 'cross-cultural' worlds as she is represented in Australian mainstream media is equally—if not insidiously—discursively prostituted by an ethnicity entrepreneur.

Table 8.1 Selected entries from English-Filipino Wordbook by Renato Perdon

Racist/elitist
abo, chink, commie, darkie, garlic muncher, Geordie, goondie, groper, ikey (Jew), Itie, jungle bunny, kike (Jew), lubra, magpie (SA), nig-nog, ocker, Pakis, Pig Island (NZ), Queen Street bushie, ratbag, red neck, Richard Cranium, rock ape, Roman hands and Russian fingers, sandgroper (WA), shiny-arse, bladger, slopeyheads (Asian), westie, wog
Vagina
bearded clam, beaver, cherry, clit, crack, cunt, fanny, female genital organ, golden doughnut, growler, gutted rabbit, hairpie, hymen, Joe Hunt, jugs, labia majora, labia minora, lips, man hole, man's best friend, mickey, muff, prepuce, prepuce of clitoris, pussy, quim, rosebuds, tight as a mouse's ears, twat, vaginal orifice, vulva
Breasts/body
charlies, chassis, fatso, menstruation, jigglers, knockers, lungs, mammaries, mons pubis, monsveneris, montezumas, more front than Myers, nipple, norks, nubbies, nubs, nungers, pair
Penis/scrotum/erect penis
blue-vein steak, cobblers, cock, cods, crack a fat, dick, dong, ferret, gland, gonads, groin, horn, jigger, joy-stick, knob, male genital organ, mutton, mutton-dagger, nob, noodle, old boy, percy, peter, pills, pink oboe, penis, penis glands, rubber (condom), sausage, schlong, stiff, tassel, testicles, tilt in his kilt, tonk, virile (manly), walloper, whistle, wick, wife's best friend, willie
Semen
gism, seminal vesticle, sperm, sperm cell
Gay
cocksucker, dung-puncher, dyke, fag, faggot, fancy pants, gay, ginger-beer, homosexual, pansy, pillow biter, poofter, poonce, pouffe, queen, shit puncher, wonk, woofter
Body parts/terms
arsehole, cervix, menstruation, dilation and curettage, ort, prat, pubic hair, ring piece
Prostitute
Aspro, good time girl, grunter, hooker, local bike, Lucy looselegs, molly, prossie, prostitute, slack moll, working girl, x-rated
Sex
blowjob, carpet burns, crack it, deep throat, deliver the goods, did you dip the wick?, dine at the Y, dirty deed, dud bash, exercise the ferret, facts of life, feel horny, finger fuck, frigidity, gangie, get a bit, get a length, get off at Redfern, get screwed, give a head, sex glands, gnaw the nana, go all the way, good screw, hairpie, have relations, hickey, hide the sausage, horny, interpret sex without embarrassment, iron pants (woman), itch, jig-a-jig, jollies, kink, KY, laid, lay in the hay, lech, libido, like a bitch on heat, like having a shower with a raincoat on, live in sin, lousy fuck, lube, lust, lustful, maul, minute man, miss out, nooki-nooky, on a good screw, on a promise, on heat, orgasm, pash, peck, pecker, peeping Tom, poke, quickie, randy as a drover's dog, red-blooded, ride, root, roots like a rattle snake, run around, screw, screw around, secko, shag, shagger's back, shoot bolt, sink a sausage, the old one-two, tumble in the hay, urge, warm-blooded, wolf (man)
Masturbation
beat the meat, dick-whacker, dildo, feed the chooks, jack off, masturbation, twanging the wire, whack off

(continued)

Table 8.1 (continued)

Violence
belt in the lug, domestic violence, once over, pack a shitty
Woman/pregnant
Charlie, crow, fishwife, in the pudding club, in trouble (preg), iron maiden, jade, jam tart, knackers (panties), lesbo, lesso, man-hole cover (sanitary napkin), mistake, nice piece of work, nympho, old bag, old bat, old chook, old biddy, boiler, panty, pantilet, Ruggedy Anne (dirty), scarlet woman, scrubber, she'd fuck anything wearing trousers, sheila, single mother, tabby (crazy woman), tart, virgin, virginity, vixen, wide-on (horny woman), wifey, working girl
Venereal disease
Cop a load, dose, gonorrhea, fair sex, get a load, load, pox, vaginites, woman disease
Drugs and alcohol
Grog, reefer, marijuana, smack-freak, wino
Physique
fatso
Expletives
shut your face, SOB

This treatment of the 'Filipina' by a Filipino is both generalising and simplistic. Whereby a coloured woman's coupling with a white man is driven by a knowledgeable desire to participate legitimately in his world. The misogyny against the 'native' woman in the act of protecting her from 'white men' by a 'native' brother is exemplified by Perdon's work. The important role that Perdon's books may play in defining Filipino-Australian cultural history is best exemplified by an episode in *Border Security Australia*, a television show featuring travellers to Australia breaking customs regulations. A Malay-looking (Filipino?) woman was stopped by immigration officers and was suspected as an 'illegitimate traveller', a term often used in the notoriously racist show. Her bags were searched and they found a self-help book on sex and relationships to Australian men. The frame freezes: what is she planning to do in Australia?

The wordbook is designed to facilitate the entry of the woman not just into a world of domesticity but also the complexity of the material 'everyday life' that is unfamiliar. Perdon initiates the new wife into the jargon of Australian official establishments, politics, business, trade, money, rental, loans, interest rates, law, judiciary, liability, land use, taxation, transportation, bouncing cheques, social security, Centrelink, dole, among many others. Because the foreign woman has to perform

domestic roles, she needs to be efficiently knowledgeable in the new regime. This includes, in Perdon's 'mail order bride' *habitus*, the list of fish commonly available for the Australian market, fruits and vegetables, pork and beef cuts and milk types. The Filipino wife would also apparently be better off knowing the difference between Aussie-rules football and football. The rule of heteronormativity in the life of a 'mail-order bride's' has inscribed her body into sex work and domestic work, sometimes even extra-domestic jobs like digging drains and building cement walls. By putting together this wordbook, Perdon anticipates what awaits the 'mail-order bride'. Perdon worlds their world before they even arrived. His dictionary introduces the gendered body to the word 'household' but not 'family', 'functional' but not 'love', 'immigrant' but not 'citizenship', 'fucking' but not 'making love'.

The cultural constructions of the alien body as unhealthy, malnourished, oversexed and diseased are carried over to the ways Filipino-Australians write their own bodies. Despite the epistemological distance that people writing from a position of power maintain from the 'mail order bride', one could say that the very *raison d'être* of their production is traceable to the marginal subject. While in the everyday, the 'mail-order bride' mother is valorised for her capacity to reproduce hybrid children: healthy, strong and with the potential towards 'whiteness', her status as outsider is written on colonised body. From the creation of archetypes, to the normalisation of their representations and then the inscription of these into language, Filipino-Australians are both resistant to and complicit with—in different degrees and in various ways—the configuration of xenophobia against their own.

Notes

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5. Emily Martin, *The Woman in the Body: A Cultural Analysis of Reproduction*, 1989.
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9. Susan Bordo, "The Body and the Reproduction of Femininity," 1997.
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12. Erica Reischer and Kathyrn Koo, "The Body Beautiful: Symbolism and Agency in the Social World", 307.
13. Guillaumin, 187.
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15. Ibid. 16.
16. Ibid., 16.
17. Ann Oakley, *The Sociology of Housework*, 182–183.
18. Ibid. 136.
19. Guillaumin, 181.
20. Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 45.
21. Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, 456.
22. Sheila Jeffreys in Susan Maushart, *Wifework: What Marriage Really Means for Women*, 169.
23. Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract,* 187.
24. Barrowclough, "Disposable Wives," 53.
25. Simone de Beauvoir in Bordo, *Unbearable Weight: Feminism Western Culture, and the Body.* 5.
26. Bordo, *Unbearable Weight,* 5.
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30. Ibid., 80.
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34. Gregory Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourses, 1600–1950,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
35. Nicole Constable, *Romance on a Global Stage: Pen Pals, Virtual Ethnography, and 'Mail-Order' Marriages,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
36. Ibid., 101.
37. Aida Morden (author), interview, February 23, 2010.
38. Verde, *River With No Name,* 20–21.
39. Ibid., 20–23. Emphasis and translation are from the original.
40. Ibid., 113.

41. Ibid., 122–123.
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47. Agmata-Tucker and Pattugalan, *Age of Wisdom*, 2002.
48. Adelia Netty in Agmata-Tucker and Pattugalan, *Age of Wisdom*, 46.
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57. Erwin Cabucos (author), interview, February 6, 2010.
58. *The Beach Spirit and Other Stories* (2001) and *Greenblood* (2008).
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60. Cabucos, *The Beach Spirit and Other Stories,* 48.
61. Cabucos, *Greenblood and Other Stories.*
62. Ibid., 105–107.
63. Erwin Cabucos (author), interview, February 6, 2010.
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65. Erwin Cabucos (author), interview, February 6, 2010. When Michelle Van Eimeren was candidate to Miss Universe held in Manila in the 1990s, she met Ogie Alcasid, a singer, composer and actor. The 'novelty' of a white girl and a Filipino boyfriend was even more magnified by her sheer height and his dimunitive stature. They have long since divorced. Cabucos mentioned that his courtship and marriage with his Australian wife coincided with those of the celebrities'.
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72. Bobis, "'Voice-Niche-Brand': Marketing Asian-Australianness", 120.
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CHAPTER 9

The Filipino Elderly: To Love Is to Labour

In the 2011 census, the median age of the Philippines-born Australians was 39 years. This is 2 years older than the Australia-wide average of 37 years, but younger than the average 45 years for overseas-born.[1] A little over 5% of Filipinos were 65 years and over in 2011.[2] In comparison, the number of overseas-born Australians over 65 years is at 36%. Filipino women outnumber the men specifically those in the 45–64 years of age, the cohort that defined marriage migration to Australia.[3] While international migration is a territory of the young, there would necessarily be challenges for migrants as they face the coming of old age. With ageing, the cultural background and native language become significant determinants of the quality of life of migrants. Many elderly people experience difficulty because of the language and cultural barriers they face. This is especially true if older migrants are sponsored to Australia and expected to fulfil certain roles for which they may not be ready to take on. What this research tells is that family relations are used for family reunification migration to perform childcare and domestic chores.

This chapter discusses the significant role that elderly Filipino migrants play in the community and also within their families. Although Philippine migration to Australia is relatively young, the elderly members are organised into strong groups that look after their own interests and have contributed important works to their shared cultural history. There are anthologies written, compiled and printed by organisations by and for the elderly immigrants: publications that give voice to the elderly people's predicament far from the romanticised wise grandfather

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and nurturing grandmother who remain as a bulwark of virtues in the 'corrupting' and 'rat race' that is Australia.[4] The materials to be analysed in this chapter, *Ani (Harvest): Selected Writings of Filipino-Australian Elderly in Victoria* and *Age of Wisdom: A Collection of Essays, Poems and Recipes* from the ACT, including works by Norma Humphrey and Adelina Hursey, reveal that the valorisation of elderly Filipinos is not necessarily corroborated by the narratives of the valorised.[5] These works are milestones in the community's cultural history because of the spaces they opened for contention. I will read and then situate this almost hidden aspect of Filipino migration within sexualised citizenship and discuss how their gendered and classified position in the family extends to their parents' absorption into Australian household economy. In one section, I call attention to the unexpected but rather interesting excursion of some elderly Filipino women who find love the second (or third) time around with Australian men. Without articulating their marriages in economic terms—their market value as wives or their bodies as surplus—stories of interracial elderly marriages are informed by the labour of the female racial other and how it is vulnerable to exploitation. Finally, I explore how Australian migration has given some of the elderly opportunities to be self-sufficient through welfare and the elderly ethnic organisations that soften the blow of their alienation.

The Ani Anthology

On December 1989, the Filipino Association of South Australia (FILASA), together with its media arm, Radyo Pilipino, held its very first *'Araw ng Lolo at Lola'* (Grandparents Day).[6] Composed mostly of friends aged 60 and above among the scattered Filipino migrants in Adelaide and its surrounds, the event was a testament to the well-reinforced notion that Filipinos have utmost regard towards their elderly. The introduction of such an anticipated 1-day celebration, which has since then become a yearly event in Adelaide, is to encourage three-generational households in the community. Dante Juanta, a community leader in South Australia, recounted how his children had 'experienced the company, the joy, that privilege of unconditional love and care' of a grandfather.[7] From one's grandparents, a child learns not to talk back when reprimanded, gestures that are markers of respectability towards the elderly. One workshop headed by Juanta on elderly migrant support is a tacit defense of the vertical relations between grandparents and

grandchildren. He created an opposition between natural-born Filipino grandparents and white Australian grandparents. Filipino grandparents see themselves as integral to the well-being of the family while Australian participants were 'inclined to take the back seat' and encouraged grandchildren to speak up; an 'appalling' behaviour to Filipino grandparents.[8] On the other hand, grandparents who live in interracial households admitted to practicing a 'healthy mix' of liberal and conservative practices, careful not to offend Australian child-rearing values.

This idealisation of grandparents in Filipino-Australian scholarship is widespread.[9] Works often invoke Asian ancestor worship and family-oriented values. Until *Ani* (Harvest) came out in 1997 when it tacitly questions gender and economic intersections of three-generational migrant families in Australian homes. Far from being relics who make wooden toys and sing folk songs in Philippine languages to amuse the young ones as idealised by Juanta, migrant grandparents do work.[10] Sometimes in casual employment, sometimes for the community, but most times the Filipino elderly are busy in the home. Their 'hidden' presence, the unpaid domestic labour they perform and the empowerment that comes with ethnic elderly structural support are finally brought to fore as a concern in the community.

Ani (Harvest), a project of The Filipino Australian Senior Citizens Advisory Council in Australia in the state of Victoria, is a 'pioneering project'; first, for publishing literature by an important sector of the community; and second, for what the anthology revealed. Connie San Jose, project manager of *Ani*, said that 'it is essential that their stories be recorded' for it is through their stories that lives will be told.[11] Contrary to the valorised portrayal of the elderly, Rolando Zubiri, *Ani*'s editor, sees the value in giving a platform to their 'illusions, disappointments and longings… tears and their laughter, their wisdom and their tireless patience.'[12] The overarching thematic of the narratives is the widespread and accepted practice of elderly Filipinos performing unpaid domestic labour for their children's families. Before, during and after fieldwork that brought me to the homes of informants and acquaintances, I can claim this to a certain extent. But the anthology *Ani* further reinforced this. Ethnographically, this is a critical consequence of life negotiated in diaspora that merits recognition of the community and Australia at large for the unpaid domestic labour rendered maximises productivity of those in the workforce.

For while the Filipino elderly in general do acknowledge Australia as 'a kind, multicultural country, specially gentle to the elderly', the Filipino

community itself had not accurately portrayed what old people do in exchange for the 'opportunity' to be in Australia until this print production came along in 1997.[13] It is common to encounter literature stressing the importance of a *lolo* (grandfather) and a *lola* (grandmother) as the family's efforts to maintain Filipino values and culture essentialised as antithetical to Australian. But *Ani* challenges this as it reveals the struggles that senior citizens' face on a domestic and social level. The anthology also shows how elderly institutional support encourages solidarity saving them from the hard labour and monotony of domestic work. The *Ani* anthology is literally a harvesting of the solidarity efforts of the elderly to adapt to an Australian way of life. The production of this book as an element of this solidarity was a serious undertaking often attempted by ethnic organisations and literary editors but not achieved.

'Empleyado tayo, wala namang suweldo,' [We are employees yet without salaries], Aniceta Esmaquel overheard this during one freezing night when Filipino elderly from Victoria met.[14] Responding to one suggestion that since winter had been causing pain to arthritic members, they might as well cancel the meetings. Some vehemently disagreed; Sundays are their only day off—a term associated with servants' break—and they would not miss a meeting at whatever cost. The meeting is their only excuse to get out of the house after one whole week of *'pag-aalaga ng apo'* ['minding the grandchildren']. Esmaquel's narrative is then followed by an account of the dancing, singing and dining shared by the elderly; all of which was made possible by their two-dollar contribution.[15] Amidst the laughter, they have temporarily forgotten being 'unpaid employees' (*'empleyadong walang suweldo'*). Remedios Sarmiento has been momentarily 'freed from her prison' (*'nakawala sa kulungan'*) where at times she wanted to 'shout at the top of her voice in her room' (*'magsisigaw sa kuwarto'*) because she was 'bored out of her wits' (*'aburidong-aburido ako sa buhay'*).[16] She would then stare outside the window of the suburban house she 'serves' and envy the freedom of the Australian children in their own backyards; after which, she would 'remember her own family in the Philippines' (*'naaalala ko ang aking pamilya sa Pilipinas'*).[17]

The isolation and loneliness depicted in Esmaquel's narrative is a common thread that runs in *Ani*. Even among those whose narratives are pronouncedly about their professional achievements, feelings of desolation and immobility are placed in opposition with life's former glory. The absence of the normal ways of living, working and moving around makes

migration difficult. Some of the elderly expressed their lament over the demotion of their status from being productive adults who commandeer their own worlds to dependents whose mobility has been taken away by their new social position as domestic managers and childcarers. The difficulty of creating a new life in Australia for the elderly was expressed by most of the writers: 'the first few years were hard', '[we] were lonely and homesick', as billiard-playing Adriano Mayor confessed.[18] The difficulty of migration takes the greater toll on the elderly because of their inability to become productive in the outside world; to even participate in the hustle and bustle in town centres is deemed insurmountable. Silveria Mallari narrates her years of adjustment:

> Cry and cry. That's what I used to do every night when I was new in Australia. I was homesick. I was used to having people around me, talking to them. Here, there was no one to talk to, except for the members of the family who are usually out working or studying.[19]

Felimon Labios expressed the same kind of frustration in his and his wife, Julita's, situation as their paralysis is not only an issue of immobility and homesickness but also of childcaring duties that seemed naturally left to them. 'We used to sit and stare at each other, cried and asked ourselves if we made the right decision. Julita now would not even want to recall how miserable our life was before', Labios wrote.[20]

'Nag-aaposina' is one sarcastic pun the elderly coined to refer to themselves. *'Nag-oopisina'*, the root word of which is 'office', means to habitually go to one's work; this is substituted by *apo* which means grandchildren. Indeed, for the elderly who used to have careers in the Philippines, to be corralled in the four corners of the house with small children to mind and the chores that accompany that, is a sacrifice endured in the name of filial love. *'Nag-aaposina'* is a witticism that strikes at the heart of the issue; a linguistic creativity that is both criticism and self-deprecation. In a similar vein but inflected with humour is the narrative by Pedro Sarmiento Snr. entitled,'*Akala ko ay bakasyon grande'* ('I thought it would be a grand vacation'). The old man narrates how his trips to St. Kilda beach and the parks were so delightful that he wished he could stay permanently in Australia. But after 2 weeks of 'vacation',

his child and the spouse returned to work and he was left looking after two younger children and an older one. He learned how to fix their milk and change nappies for the young children, and when it was naptime for them, the old man had to clean up the mess they made. His touristic-turned-unpaid domestic labour 'vacation' was so insufferable that he enthusiastically anticipated his return home. He was at the end of his wits when his child announced that the grandmother was finally granted a visa to visit: *'Ay, salamat at may makatutulong na ako sapag-aalaga ng dalawang bata'* ('Thank God, there's someone to help me in minding the two children.')[21] When he was offered permanent residency, Sarmiento replied with an emphatic 'No way, I want to go home.' However, he had to return because he missed his wife, now cooped up and held hostage in Australia. The old man had to follow his wife and continue their new way of life: 'buy one, take one', another witticism from the elderly.

During fieldwork when I lived in Blacktown, I came across Philippines-born couples who sponsored the trip of a parent for the next 6 months to look after their grandchildren day in and day out. This is not an isolated practice. A migrant couple with two children in Melbourne invited not their parents but the grandmother of the wife for 6 months to take care of the children and perform household chores. The grandmother never returned to Australia because the cold weather could seriously affect her health. Also, in Sydney, a young couple working as accountants had their first child. They sponsored the travel expenses of the woman's sister to mind the newborn baby. With the exorbitant costs of private childcare in Australia, even with the help of Centrelink's Child Care Benefit, most Filipino immigrants would choose to sponsor a relative and exhaust the assistance of the visitor. The sum of visa application, airfare, food and some compensation still do not amount to the cost of childcare, according to a Melbourne father. (This reminds us of the same logic of the Australian man who calculated that getting a Filipino woman for 6 months is cheaper than a hiring a local prostitute.) In the period of 6 months to 1 year, the husband and wife could take full-time jobs uninterruptedly.

The exploitation and feminisation of labour power of the elderly takes a more complicated reading when it is also racialised. The pain of the elderly woman, Remedios Sarmiento, stands out in all of the narratives that made it into *Ani*. She recounts the challenges, difficulties and negotiations she experienced living in an interracial household. Hers is the only story that openly discussed the sensitivity of dealing with class,

gender and racialist discourses of the 'mail-order bride' in Australia. Without insinuating that Sarmiento's daughter is a marriage migrant, this elderly woman is caught up within the difficult web of issues that surround her role as an elderly 'Filipina' full-time childcarer. She concludes that her daughter's marriage to a *'banyaga'* (foreigner) is a classic case of *'tubig at langis'* (water and oil) that would never coalesce into one. Sarmiento hints at the (white) superiority of her son-in-law who thought he was smarter than the mother-in-law in most instances. His attitude towards her, Sarmiento, subscribes to his 'foreignness' (*'ibang-kultura'*) which includes being disrespectful towards one's parents (or the elderly in general). The Filipino grandmother's cultural essentialisms are her responses to racist assertions of her son-in-law who, according to her, thought that Filipino women are all 'users' and prostitutes (*'galing sa Olongapo at Ermita'*).[22] Olongapo and Subic are known areas in the Philippines for the American bases' military prostitution especially in the 1970s and the 1980s. Clark Air Base and the Subic Naval Base in the provinces of Pampanga and Zambales, respectively, had been known to lay the grounds for the prostitution of thousands of Filipino women. Ermita, on the other hand, is situated in the heart of Manila and known for the sex tourism it offered in the past decades. With this in mind, it is understandable that Sarmiento was deeply hurt. She fires back at her son-in-law with another cultural essentialism that 'in the West, parents are self-reliant because their children do not care about them' (*'Sa kanilang kultura ay nagsasarili ang magulang at walang pakialam ang mga anak.'*)[23]

This is the case when unpaid domestic labour of a grandparent is weighed and the weight is considerable. The Filipino grandmother knows the value of her serviceability to her daughter's family; she knows her contribution is economically significant to this dual-income family. Despite not being paid for her childcare duties, she contributes to the family's food budget because her son-in-law is eyeing her consumption in the house. Sarmiento, however, did not evaluate her unpaid domestic labour in overt economic terms; instead, she uses the emotive effects of being tired after a day of childminding. She even articulated her decision to stay put in such an oppressive environment as her only way of leaving a legacy to her grandchildren as she is not materially rich to bequeath wealth. The elderly woman mentally measured that the amount of physical exertion of her unpaid domestic labour is equivalent—if rather inferior (feminised)—to (masculine) marketable inheritance. Unpaid

domestic work, for Sarmiento, is the intangible and yet somehow quantifiable amount of wealth that she is in a position to give: as a grandmother, as a mother, as an immigrant, as working class and as a Filipino, all rolled into one.

While the sponsorship of an elderly/carer occurs more often in all-Filipino than interracial couples, the parent of a Filipino wife who joins the family adds a new dimension in the racialised and sexualised roles that the daughter has to fulfil. Her foreigner parent becomes an extension of her otherness as a 'bride' of a white male that she must carry out as a performance of the immigrant woman's role. The hierarchy between the man and the woman in an interracial marriage is stretched out as to offer within her capacity to serve her domestic duties the warm bodies of her own family: the emasculation of the father and further feminisation of the mother. As it is often the case, the first migrant in the family, the benefactor, so to speak, inherits the top end of the hierarchy bestowed upon her by her interracial marriage: the economic and social power to make things happen. Whether this power is more imagined than real, as migrant wives' access to money and mobility in the new country could be limited, the Filipino is no longer just another member of the family; her body is infused with new capital. Under capitalism where husbands expropriate, the newly accessible foreigners are available for appropriation. The sexualised subject is no longer the wife alone but also the mother, the father and the whole family, by extension, all that is under her in the hierarchy. In other words, the feminised Filipino nation.

Love and Domesticity Amongst the Elderly

'Happiest days' is the way Adelina Hursey describes her life in Tasmania with Frank, her 73-year-old husband, and Sam, Frank's 'retarded son'.[24] In a narrative published under 'New Literates' Writing', Hursey, in clear and simple English, tells of her contentment in looking after both of them especially Sam who needs to be washed, shaved, combed, fed, to mention a few of her daily chores. She said 'Frank was very happy with how I worked with his son'.[25] Hursey's life in rural Tasmania, however, is different from Norma Humphreys' experience of Australia as a nurse, mother and wife.[26] She and John moved between Sydney and Canberra as they raised their growing middle-class family.[27] John had a stroke in 1996 that left him permanently disabled; in the next 8.5 years, Norma took care of her husband fulltime before finally filing for divorce. In an

autobiography self-published in 2008, Humphreys outlines the shifts in a migrant woman's life.[28] Both of these women exemplify—borrowing Pateman's 'sexual contract'—the 'mail-order bride' contract: the labour power of the able-bodied woman is in the service of the (disabled) white male.[29]

While the examples of Hursey and Humphreys tell the stories of women who married young and then later cared for their husbands or stepsons, the *Ani* anthology documents another form of 'bride' migration: the elderly Filipino brides. No longer the exotic young women, older women who arrived with or without sponsorship seek Australian men with the intention of staying permanently. These women are confronted by the difficult task of caring for the disabled husbands for many years ahead. Obligated by the moral imperative of gratitude and indebtedness, some of these women are of an age and physical strength that still allow them to care for the husbands for a long time. What is interesting in this aspect of Filipino migration is not only the significant unpaid domestic labour that women render as grandparents or as wives to ageing or ill husbands, but also how the discourse of the 'mail-order bride' is much intertwined with unpaid domestic labour that extends to elderly participation. Migration, unpaid work in the home, hierarchisation of migrants within family reunion, and of course, the gendered and class intersectionsof all these show how one wave of migration ('mail-order brides') has given birth to another ('elderly Filipino brides'). This interesting aspect, moreover, reveals the much-needed analysis of the link between women migrants (and their sponsored family members) and unpaid domestic labour that benefits the masculine capitalist order. Although the term 'elderly Filipina brides' will predictably rouse opposition from the Filipino community—especially from a fellow Filipino researcher like me who is expected to process this 'hidden' immigration sympathetically—I wish to discuss this and relate it to the 'mail-order bride' using a feminist perspective to look closely at the relationship between feminisation and migration, and a class-based analysis to unpack the links between feminised migration and unpaid domestic labour.

In the *Ani* anthology, Sonia Tine's *'Naniniwala ako sa Karma'* ('I Believe in Karma') is an honest tale of an 'elderly Filipino bride' who dreamt to stay in Australia.[30] Tine visited Australia in 1986 to accompany her aged father; both were tourists who stayed with her sister married to a local. Tine, too, has two non-permanent resident children in Sydney. Her desire to remain was so great that she would do anything

not to return to the Philippines. Tine's sister insinuated that her one chance to stay was to wed an Australian, thus, she married Concetto Tine: divorced, 64 years old, overseas-born Australian. Tine then was 51, not exactly a senior citizen. The marriage-for-comfort for Tine turned out to be karmic because 2 years later, Concetto got very ill and had to be looked after constantly. Tine was trapped in the home for the next 11 years (at the time of the publication). What is curious in Tine's narrative is her invocation of the notion of karma in articulating her fate as full-time unpaid carer after bagging permanent residency—the pun capturing her immobility. Tine had been married to Romeo Villanueva, a Filipino tradesman. Karma is Concetto's need for Tine to be available; however, to avoid another karmic return, she refused to divorce Concetto. She fully recognises and yet, at the same time, refuses to acknowledge that she used the man. Once is enough, according to her. What is apparent in this narrative and in others is the avoidance to call unpaid domestic labour by its name. Tine does not articulate her desperation against unpaid work as carer for the husband who made her stay in Australia possible. Instead, she navigates her story along the theme of cause-and-effect; true enough, in her many years away from the Philippines, she returned home only twice: an effect of the cause of abandoning her first husband. *'Hiyang hiya ako sa ginawa ko sa kanya'* ('I am so ashamed with what I did to him [Romeo]').[31]

The difficulty of unpaid carer's work is comfortably framed by Tine's nostalgia for the life back home. Life in Manila was difficult for she had to perform paid work (a small corner store, a beauty salon, a curtain-installing business), 'wifework' and sexual and affective labour. But unpaid domestic and carer's work is karma for the elderly bride: a result of her repudiation of being a Filipino while staying married to a Filipino. What is insightful in this case of hidden migration of an elderly person is Tine's consciousness as someone who labours, someone whose many hours in the house are the uncompensated responsibility of a wife bound to the white man. I refer to Concetto not as a husband but the 'white man' because the Filipino woman implicitly racialises her unpaid carer's labour. It is as if a white man cannot be loved—contrary to Constable's reading of brides who went to the US to marry for love, self-actualisation, amongst other reasons—in this case, love is equated with the Filipino man, a coupling congruent with nationality.[32]

Tine quantifies the amount of work she does for the Australian husband but she assigns this to her being an elderly bride (Filipino, poor,

opportunistic), not as a woman in a patriarchal world. Contrary to feminist articulation, Tine also grounds her migration within the discourse of the ethical: the rightfulness of her marriage to the Filipino (love) and the dishonourable one with the Australian (use). What is apparent is that both are marital contracts, thus, 'sexual contracts' complicated by racialist and colonialist imagination. Despite unpaid domestic work being the universal karma of the woman under patriarchy, a woman who enters a marriage for economic reasons like a visa (or is it the man who enters it for economic reasons tacitly racialises this transaction. The 'white' visa is attributed greater surplus value than the brown body of a woman. The guilt of being gifted with a permission to stay is so overwhelming that it overrides gender and class ramifications that permit and perpetuate racialised migration, which at the same instance, is sexist and class-stratified. What seems to be a simple confessional narrative by Tine's self-articulation is illuminating for the new social relations engendered within an already sexualised migration such as the 'elderly Filipino bride'.

Consistent with Varoe Legge's study of the elderly from non-English speaking backgrounds in Australia, it is Filipino women who find themselves without a partner in old age and that it is the men who are in a better financial position than women.[33] An elderly woman has two options: to stay dependent and perform childcare duties or to stay dependent and look after a disabled Australian husband. These observations on elderly marital prospects highlight two readings: (1) the appropriation of the woman, her body and labour power does not end and (2) the male ethnic other does not appropriate the labour power of a white woman. The term 'elderly Filipino bride' is the unmitigated progression of the female body as 'mail-order bride' where male appropriation continues. However, Filipino males are either structurally restricted from appropriating white women's bodies or they need not to for the availability of women from their own background. The imbalance between sexual classes is clear: it is women like Teresita Komberec, Rosita Jansen, Emerita Verzantvoort, Josie Schwarze and Herminia Kienig, among others, who have all expressed contentment in sharing and serving their Australian husbands. Moreover, in both *Ani* and Legge's study, it is men who are most forceful and articulate, even witty, in articulating their 'enslavement', their feminisation in the homes of their children. The resistance against unpaid domestic work is clearly male-centred, a symptom of the denigration of domestic work under patriarchy. Furthermore, while it seems that it is females who can take charge of their lives better

and have more space to manoeuvre within the new environment than the male elderly, it remains a symptom of the gender divide that privileges the male.

Who Is Taking Care of the Elderly?

The two anthologies I discuss in this chapter are a proof of institutional support that migrant communities lend to the elderly. More so, the narratives are testaments to the contribution of organisations in softening the blow of migration and the stress of full-time domestic duties. Thus, it is not surprising that studies on the ethnic aged have emphasised the need for gatherings and organised activity groups that are within their linguistic and cultural backgrounds.[34] The elderly are rendered useless to the economic system because their labour power is no longer exchangeable in the market. This ageism denies 'participation, power, status, rights and self-respect' to the elderly, and this is worse if one is a non-English speaking elderly person in Australia.[35] While there is a perception that the 'ethnics' take care of their own, this is an overstatement because some ethnic elderly people do not receive the adequate care they need or work more than they should.

The two organisations responsible for the publication of the anthologies featured in this chapter are, to a certain extent, examples of how the 'ethnics take care of their own'. The Philippine-Australian Senior Citizens' Organisation of Canberra Inc (PASCOC) is a non-profit, non-political organisation that provides a strong social network for the Filipino aged living in the ACT.[36] It also works towards the mainstreaming of the ethnic aged into multicultural Australia, hence, the inclusion of a few Anglo-Australian elderly in the same collection. In Victoria, the Filipino Australian Senior Citizens Advisory Council in Australia Inc (FASCACAI), formed in 1985, is one of the 'most active' and 'most organised' groups in Victoria and it oversees member organisations specialising in the Filipino elderly in the state.[37] As the population of Filipino senior citizens grows all over Australia, so does the number of organisations that provide services for socialisation, health services and educative programmes. In Victoria, Filipinos 55 years and above residing in the southeast, a region composed of Greater Dandenong, Kingston, Casey and Cardinia Shire, number up to 609 out of the total of 4399 Filipino migrants.[38] These 609 senior citizens can seek help from seven existing organisations, foundations or resource centres within the

southeast region. In 2010, 13 out of 49 associations in Victoria are a 'seniors program'.[39] Rogelia Pe-Pua writes that Filipino migrants form organisations as a collective expression to replicate social arrangements and rituals harnessed in the Philippines.[40] This is shared by another Filipina academic who believe that, 'the development of new fictive relationships', such as those forged by these Filipino women's 'lived activism', is necessary as it ensures the social psyche of peoples in permanent diaspora; something that 'mail-order brides' nurtured to ensure survival but also to practice citizenship.[41] I contest these articulations of a rosy picture of organisations as entirely reconstructive and beneficial. Tracing collective formations as intuitive, psychic compulsion undermines their more cynical political and economic uses. These are the reasons.

There are three ways by which institutional support helps the elderly based on the cultural productions discussed so far: (1) belonging and socialisation; (2) preparation for independence; (3) finding a partner or a spouse and (4) giving the elderly a platform for cultural expressions. In the *Ani* anthology, almost all narratives point to the usefulness of elderly groups to the old folks which they openly acknowledge. Sarmiento, the grandmother whose clashes with her Australian son-in-law have brought her depression, has St. Albans senior citizens to thank for recharging her for another week's childcare duties. *'Lumalakas ako, nangingiti, humahalakhak at nagsasayaw. Ayaw ko halos bumalik sa bahay at masarap ang buhay ng malaya"* ['I get stronger, I smile, I laugh and I dance. I do not want to return home because it felt good to live life with freedom.'][42] The elderly group in Footscray, Victoria made it possible for Vertzanvoort to visit many places but also gave her the chance to perform in the Victoria Arts Centre, an experience that has given her a measure of self-worth and confidence. A certain Mrs. Roque has the same positive evaluation of her group:

> Ewan ko ba. Dito sa grupo natin siguro ako nagkakaroon ng buhay. Isipin mo na lang yong karanasan kong sumayaw sa napakaganda at napakalawak na bulwagan. Hanggang ngayon eh parang nadidinig ko pa ang palakpakan ng mga nanonood, lalo na yong mga puti. Naku, napapaluha na naman tuloy ako pag naaalala ko.[43]

[I do not know. It is only here with the group that I have a life.
Just imagine the experience to dance in a very beautiful
and grand auditorium. Until now I could still hear the
applause of the audience, in particular the white people.
Oh well, I get teary-eyed again when I reminisce on that.]

More so, Esmaquel's third-person narrative is a good demonstration of what happens during excursions, picnics, hikes and meetings of the elderly. The avenue provided by the meetings to express what they feel about their lives is invaluable and offsets the physical and emotional strain of the unpaid carer's work they do. Everyone joins the chicken dance as a way to exercise before sharing the Filipino dinner prepared by the members. Once dinner is over, the members would again share stories and exchange opinions, this forum also provides the opportunity to make known government updates and migrant community announcements that may affect the elderly.

Labios and his wife—they who used to cry over full-time childcare duties—have been active as board members of seniors' organisations. Through the Filipino Community Welfare Services that educated and helped them regarding the benefits for which they can apply, the couple had the courage and the means to live separately from their children. Through the woman's paid labour as seamstress and the man's vegetable patch, they were able to live independently which also meant no more minding duties and housework in the home of their children. Without that burden, the elderly now spend their weekends attending meetings, activities and trips arranged by their organisation and religious worship. The Sarmiento couple mentioned above is a good example of elderly migrants who have the successfully settled in their own flats and managed their own finances. However, if the elderly person is widowed, it is not very easy to decide to live independently with no income but a mere pension. This is most especially the case within the context of the Filipino family system of values, where infantilisation of the elderly is a form of valorisation. This system in which they cannot and should not live alone reduces any inclination to live independently.

One way towards independence is for some widows to marry Australian men. EmeritaVerrzantvoort's marriage is made possible by the collection of photographs made available via the seniors' club that she

belongs to. She was widowed in 1957 and remarried in 1991. It was in 1986 that she visited Australia on account of her own children as permanent residents. Her own children wanted her to marry an Australian so she could stay but she dismissed the idea; another visit to the country and her 'pangalawang glorya' ['second glory'] was actualised. One of her children had a friend who was looking for a partner and asked if Versantvoort could introduce an elderly woman from the organisation to which she belongs.[44] Pictures of 'available' women were sent to the Australian; Verrzantvoort (jokingly) hoped that luck might be hers. This practice of matchmaking, a term used by Norma Hennessy, refers to introducing an Australian citizen to a Philippine citizen with the purpose of marriage.[45] Sometimes they meet elderly men through organisations' activities. Verrzantvoort met and married an Australian man through her organisation.

Ani and *Age of Wisdom* as collaborative works by and for the elderly people are important touchstones of their efforts to make sense of their migration, an exhilarating yet painful step for anyone who has lived all her life in another country. The books are a meaningful documentation of the successes gained despite the challenges of cultural alienation, physical difficulties and last, of unpaid domestic labour they have to render in exchange for reuniting with family members. In giving voice to the elderly, these writings have permitted the surfacing of the hidden migration and more importantly, the tacit recognition of the unpaid domestic and childcare labour they do for the economy of the family and by extension, of the nation. While their contribution to the growing migrant literature of Filipino-Australians signals greater participation, the two anthologies, however, are symptomatic of the gendered and classed stratifications operating within the community as discussed in previous chapters. In both anthologies, almost all elderly people hold the opinion that migration is a gift given and with great gratitude, received. Federico Mungcal, in his essay 'Pursuing a Dream', for instance, said that he and wife plus twelve children have all migrated to Australia: 'what more could we ask for?'[46] Adriano Mayor describes his gratitude not only for the government assistance he receives but also because six out of nine children are all in Australia. Remembering the difficult early years in pre-war Philippines, the brutal occupation during the Second World War, the sacrifices made in the name of marriage and family, many narratives end with a sense of fulfilment that Australia has been good to them, often citing multiculturalism as the apparatus of their acceptance.

This kind of indebtedness, however, is absent in the essays by Pura Santillan-Castrence (writer, diplomat, educator), Manuel Lacuesta (Colombo scholar) and Edith Dizon-Fitzsimmons (pilot, pianist, teacher). Migration as gift is an articulation of and attribution of class belonging specific to working class elderly people. On the other hand, professions, education, social experiences and circumstances of migration, among others, are markers of a few elderly people's social and cultural capital. Those whose essays are outside the discourse of elderly migration as filial love are those who proudly articulated their past in the Philippines and the continuation of success in Australia. They did not talk about changing diapers or preparing milk for their grandchildren, nor did they detail how many of their family members have been reunited in the new country. In fact, Castrence, whose collection of essays is published by The Manila Prints, wrote essays on topics outside her personal life.[47] The privileging of profession (class-based and public) over filial discourse (class-based and private) is betrayed by the positioning of career-oriented elderly people's essays in the anthology as headliners versus those whose contributions zero in on their domestication and the alienation of migration. For the professional, migration is neither disruption nor retirement but rather a continuation, another challenge to overcome.

The separation between classes amongst the elderly is also manifested on the part of the editorial team of *Ani* to place all contributions written in English before the essays and poems and other forms of literature written in Filipino and in other Philippine languages. While this observation does not entirely undermine the admirable effort to include Philippine languages in the anthology, English is nonetheless privileged. The privileging of English is not something that had to be done because they are in Australia; rather, it is a throwback to the hierarchised positioning of languages in postcolonial Philippines. The politics of language is further evident in the way Filipino-Australians inform the state about who they are and what language they speak, particularly the anti-Tagalog sentiment.

These two instances—first, the positioning of the career-oriented and professional elderly people's essays in the anthology; and second, the placing of Philippine-language essays after the all-English language essays—indicate that the elderly who participate in the public sphere are favoured over those who stayed at home, the faceless and ordinary not paid for their labour power. While not all essays in English are about

careers and professions, in the Philippines, the official medium of communication used in public discourses is English as opposed to Filipino and other vernacular spoken in the home, the latter is also the language code-switched by the upper and middle-class to relay messages to their unfairly waged servants. In short, despite the overriding thematic of filial love and divine obligation as the elderly people's most prized function and primary motivation for migration, some editorial decisions have ironically revealed that the unpaid domestic labour of the elderly comes second (and inferior) to those who can write about their professions, about a world outside the domestic, about experiences beyond their marriages and parenting years, and write about them in English. The privileging of the public and the paid (masculine) over the private and the unpaid (feminine) continues to operate in the sector of elderly Filipino migrants.

'Hidden' Immigrants and Their Labour

'Hidden' migration for the appropriation of feminised labour power is a term I use that suitably describes this practice. The thin line that differentiates Sarmiento from a servant is her kinship with the wife. 'Sexage' would not see any separation between a mother-in-law and a servant: because both are women, their labours are limitless. This condition of invisibility of unpaid work renders the elderly woman to do the 'second shift' but somehow she also performs the 'third shift' as her affective labour is necessary to maintain equilibrium in the house. While the very act of their migration is not necessarily unrecorded—for they either fall into the temporary visa or as permanent residents—the 'hidden' labour power comes with real and considerable economic value. It is 'hidden' for it is uncategorisable, unclassifiable, unseen and uncompensated.

The need to work to augment family income is complicated by childcare duties. Now, while working class Australian households struggle to pay for childcare, all-Filipino and interracial households skirt around this situation by bringing in grandparents to Australia, first on a tourist visa and then later as permanent residents. Elderly labour is more common in all-Filipino households than in interracial marriages, claims Charito Ungson in her 1982 study.[48] Many Filipino women in interracial marriages stay at home full time to do housework and childcare.[49] This strategy in delegating unpaid domestic work could be interpreted in two ways: (1) migrant women's way of fighting back; a mechanism to

subvert a flawed system that perpetuates women's oppression but also an inventiveness to overcome the challenges of migration; and (2) grandparents who come over as 'hidden' immigrants to replace overburdened migrant women, constitute another re-routing of capitalist-patriarchy's expropriating measures where labour power is appropriated from those under 'patronage'. It is a kind of hierarchical procession of feminised labour where the racial other takes up the obligation of women who, in turn, have inherited unpaid domestic labour to free the man: a handing down of unpaid domestic work in order to create surplus value for the man and his employers. Parreñas' work on domestic helpers in Europe and Suzuki's study on wives in Japan both suggest that the transnational expansion of Filipino familial relations and expectations have reconfigured the traditional family arrangement and gave forms to new relations of power within.[50]

Following the logic of appropriation in the hierarchies of gender and generation (men over women; parents over children; young over elderly), migration to Australia and its implications of economic power are giving way to the creation of an underclass that, out of filial 'love', performs labour. The unpaid domestic work done by elderly Filipino migrants is not available but Australia-wide figures show the huge disparity between elderly males and females, under which Filipinos are subsumed. In the 2006 and 2011 census, more women aged 65 and over performed unpaid domestic work than men in the form of household, volunteer and community work. Unpaid childcare by female elderly is three times more than male elderly persons. These figures decrease as elderly persons advance in age. Women outperform men in all categories except in unpaid assistance to disabled person among 85 years and above.

Filipino multiple-family households today have bypassed Australian norms of independent elderly people and a nuclear family. Elderly emigrants, while exploited for their unpaid domestic work, have somehow found a way out of the system which valorises them while appropriating their labour, either by setting up their own home, finding new partners or participating in community organisations. Despite the public perception that elderly migrants are a burden to state welfare, they nonetheless cumulatively contribute to Australia's growing economy through their labour.

The anthologies discussed in this chapter, including the availability of resource centres, pensioner's allowances, health care, socio-cultural

gatherings, to mention some, are a proof of the possibilities for elderly migrants in Australia. The vicissitudes of Australian life to a migrant and the good things migration has brought have taken the elderly to another direction apart from being unpaid childcarers and house helpers. However, the positive results of elderly support that organisations bring, I argue, come from the system that perpetuates the domestication of aged bodies. The groups that forge solidarity, create networks and publish anthologies even are—in a perverse way—an encouragement for the continued practice of unpaid domestic labour. Elderly organisations are there not to challenge the exploitative practice but only to mitigate its effects. Parents will continue to sponsor the elderly and their relatives for a 6-month period to appropriate their labour on weekdays and drop them off in meetings on Saturday nights.

Migrant organisations, as seen in this case, are decisive in shaping the direction of community life: what to keep, what to endorse and what perpetuate. These groups, together with solidarity formations that rally behind the categories of 'ethnic' or 'immigrant' in Australia, make and unmake new social relations forged by the Filipino in diaspora. More importantly, these groups' anthologies made possible a unique contribution to the writing of the Filipino-Australian cultural history that exposes an aspect of life that is hidden from the so-called family-orientated migrants. The next and final chapter, on the other hand, presents the other type of Filipino migrant organisations: the politicised, progressive kind that looks beyond the immediate welfare of its members. I present the history and pioneering paths taken by Filipinos in Australia in their quest to define the community along the lines of Australia's and Philippines' political and social concerns.

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CHAPTER 10

Filipino–Australian Activism: Decolonising Solidarity and the Search for Identity

Filipino–Australian activism today is shaped by its past and will definitely navigate a future that is not only border-crossing but also continue to nurture profound ties with the activist landscape in the Philippines. It is an activism forged and emplaced in an Australia-specific context of a sexualised migration. This chapter traces the early days of Filipino–Australian activism in the form of anti-dictatorship solidarity in the 1970s up to its contemporary forms of Filipino–Australian organised efforts in fighting for migrant and workers rights.

As in the previous chapters, I illustrate here the importance of print culture in forging an emergent migrant community as part of a larger international proletarianism. The historicising of solidarity action groups that was constitutive of the community's activism will be discussed along with the growth of bulletins and newsletters that accompany the birth of these political formations. Propaganda—as it is called, wrongly, by liberal conservatives—newsletters and bulletins run in small circulation by an even smaller group of people are themselves a history of those who publish them: the narrative of Filipino–Australian migrant activism as it unfolds. While the chapter's point of convergence is activism and political action—a tiny, often unpopular sector in the migrant community—it nonetheless unpacks a significant area of history that defines Filipino–Australians today. While newsletters and bulletins often accompany the birthing of any organisation in the community, I am excluding the many newsletter titles that do not inform activism; their contribution to

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community building merits a separate discussion, but one for which I do not have the space here.

I frame this chapter using postcolonial theorising on the politics of solidarity and the fragile relationship between First-World and Third-World activists, in particular, a decolonised anti-capitalist critique. Chandra Talpade Mohanty's critical reading of Western feminism's construction of 'Third World women' (read: dirty, ignorant, helpless, domesticated, religious, submissive, sacrificial, rural and illiterate)[1] as an effect of its paternatistic practice of solidarity is informative of the unequal male-dominated colonial relations that describe early Philippine–Australian activism. What happens when Third-World objects of solidarity are positioned as First-World activists? The subjective ambivalence of being in the position of migrants in the First-World—becoming the privileged activist subject and yet the object of solidarity action at once—is, I argue, the driving force of Filipinos towards self-determination from an Australian-dominated international solidarity. The 'in-betweenness' of their subjectivity and the need to confront pressing migrant problems such as the 'mail-order bride' cleaved the paths between 'white' activism and those who sought autonomy from it. The political opportunities that came with the splits are too precious not to seize for the young community. These opportunities, however, may be interpreted as effects of a more globalised public sphere and transnational activism that accompanied commodification of culture, the borderless consumption of goods and services and labour migration: transnationality as 'site of political engagement'.[2]

This historicising brings to fore the 'inventedness' of the migrant activist subjectivity. Nyers and Rygiel theorise how mobility and migrant activism, in particular, are 'productive of subjectivity'.[3] What they call the 'mobility turn' in the social sciences identifies 'movement' as the 'object of analysis and the analytic in its own right'.[4] Given the impulses towards mobility in recent times and the consequences brought about by moving around (or being 'moved around'), the migrant activist is a critical subject of engagement to make sense of contemporary life. Because mobility is itself 'productive of subjectivity', the migrant activist herself is an embodiment of the problematisation of citizenship.[5] The new subject is invented but is nonetheless a creation of global economic operations that induce mobility and motility of people, in particular, of postcolonial citizens. Isin places this new subject as necessarily an activist citizen vis-à-vis the less-politicised active citizen.[6] The inventedness of migrant subjectivity is even more manifest because it exhibits and emplaces an identity in an alien

land. I discuss this because the Filipino–Australian activist subject was born out of the demise of a pioneering formation, that which is traceable to mobility. Complicating the situation was the post-Marcos reinstitution of democracy, the major split in the Communist Party of the Philippines and the left crisis, and Australia's integrationist approach to 'ethnic' politics, all of which provided a conducive environment in the production of the Filipino–Australian activist subject.

Recent scholarship on social movements includes the subject of the affect.[7] Affect is a key concept in understanding decolonisation of relations and the intense responses which the 'Second Split' elicited from all actors. Emotion and feelings are a forceful source of understanding collective action behaviour; strong compassion for others and feelings of anger due to social injustices are, in the first place, drivers that compel people into action. To protest against Marcos from miles away is also a performance, a dramatic narrative that requires a public; as such protesting involves emotion. Direct action–risky or safe–because of moral outrage against injustice is legitimised by the morality within which these feelings are grounded. Communal engagement seeks validation from the desire to do good—to really feel is to take up militant action. Opposed to rational actor theory where individuals undertake collective action due to self-interest, understanding social movements through the affect reveals the extra-rational elements of activism. While I do not suggest that decisions in collective action are not tied to rational judgment, emotions drive the search for one's (and the collective's) identity in cementing political agenda to the performance of the activist self. The interpretation of 'sameness' and 'difference' had been pivotal to Philippine-Australia Solidarity Groups's successes or failures. In an arena where correctness of opinion is decisive in keeping agendas on track and disharmony at bay, sameness and difference—the gradational interpretations of what constitutes oneness—is important. The outrage of Filipinos when sexualised and racialised, the reticence of Australians when told to move over and the anxiety caused by purges within the party are all rooted in the affect, and one might even argue that these responses are visceral inasmuch as they manifest in the body of an activist.

It is necessary to provide a review of the history of socialist struggle in the Philippines, the challenges it faced in the last two decades and the links between Australian solidarity and progressive elements in the Philippines. I will take a closer look at how the internal split within the CPP ranks has affected political action in the Philippines and overseas.

Subsequently, I take the readers into the bitter intra-organisational struggle fought between white Australians and Filipino–Australians, a significant historical perspective that I do not think has been provided before except for exchanges between elements involved in the conflict documented in newsletters. I call the former, the 'Second Split' and the latter, the 'First Split' based on the chronology of events. While the 'First Split' was unequivocally tied to the critical moment of visibility of a migrant group, the 'Second Split' was traceable to the broader weakening of socialism elsewhere. Does the 'Second Split' sit on top of the 'First Split'? What do these fractures entail for the future of migrant activism of Filipinos in Australia? Are they symptomatic of the larger transnationalising of social movements all over the globe in the 1990s? In each section, I discuss the contributions of solidarity formations to print culture of Filipinos in diaspora and how these publications bore the specificities by which they were created.

The preparation for and writing of this chapter is also reflective of its subject. In Chap. 2, I explained how I initiated my experience of doing migrant ethnography through my socialisation with Filipino–Australians and my place among them. The fieldwork done for the research is not merely reflective of the dynamics that define social groupings—social, economic and political—among Filipino–Australians, but also constitutive of what I can include here. While I describe the data gathering for the earlier chapters as rather noisy for the bickering and personality clashes within the community, this chapter is tempered by silence, avoidance, maybe even paranoia. What will be clear later on is that there is a culture of suspicion at work among some Filipino–Australian activists today; an aversion towards productive encounters with non-aligned activists. The chronological scheduling of interviews with people I approached on this topic appeared to have consequences for the way I was perceived: an enemy or a potential ally. Suffice it to say, this research has not escaped the ripple effect of the CPP split that happened more than 22 years ago in the Philippines. This kind of mentality will impact on activist strategies and their implementation conducted by Filipino migrants.

Pacific Intersections: Communism and 'Trotskyite' Australians

The Philippine left has undergone dramatic changes since the early 1990s from the dominant rule of the Community Party of the Philippines (CPP) under Jose Maria Sison who took over in 1969. The

National Democratic Front's (NDF), the peak body of leftist formations sympathetic to CPP, decision to boycott the middle class *People Power* revolution in February 1986[8]—which it has since regretted—resulted in the emergence of smaller but not lesser organisations that may not necessarily espouse the direction of socialist national democracy but nonetheless eschew dictatorial and oppressive systems of governance.[9] Moreover, the purges that victimised cadres in many guerrilla fronts in the late 1980s still haunt the Philippine left which has since then have fractured the rigid hierarchy, often reduced into an RA/RJ binary which I will later explain. Today, the Philippine left can be described in many ways, but what it is *not* today is the centralist, homogenous block of opposition it once was.[10] The CPP, according to its critics, is no longer the 'democratising force' to liberate the Filipino people from an ineffectual Philippine state and its cohorts of elites from oligarchic families.[11] It has been replaced by a plethora of people's organisations, nongovernmental organisations, party lists, grassroots formations, peasant and trade union groups, civic organisations and other civil society components. These are peopled by national democratic (ND) elements before the split in the early 1990s.[12]

Many years after the fall of the Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist blocks, the economic shift in the People's Republic of China and the unification of Germany, the CPP continues in its struggle to turn the Philippines into a socialist nation ruled by a democratic nationalist ideology by the people under the leadership of the party. In 2011, the CPP together with its armed group, New People's Army, celebrated its 43 years of struggle. Apart from its misrecognition of the *People Power* as a political opportunity, another significant setback faced by the party was the split between the 'reaffirmists' (RA) and the 'rejectionists' (RJ) in the 1990s. In Benedict Kerkvliet's analysis, the split had 'earlier manifestations' in the manner Sison initiated the change of strategy of the socialist struggle within Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP), an early incarnation of the CPP.[13] After the Pacific war, the PKP's politburo announced its strategy in the seizure of state power through military tactics for a 'relatively short and speedily victorious' struggle which Sison opposed following a Maoist strategy. Furthermore, Armando Liwanag's (1992)—known to be Sison—language-use in 'Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors', the official break away manifesto of the 'second rectification campaign' is a clear reference to tract from PKP.[14]

The second rectification campaign was the consequence anti-military infiltration strategies by the CPP, variously called *Kampanyang Ahos* in Mindanao, Operation Missing Link in southern Tagalog, Olympia in the national capital region, *Kadena de Amor* in the Quezon-Bicol provinces and *Takip Silim* in southern Quezon.[15] Estimates on the number of deaths in these operations that captured only five military agents vary. Patricio Abinales posits that scholars of communism in Southeast Asia 'could not recall episodes analogous to the Mindanao tragedy', not even the Khmer Rouge had performed this kind of bloody extermination of comrades before seizing power.[16] Mindanao, the 'Philippines' last large island frontier', the centre of the purges has a specific social history of economic insecurity, internal displacement and colonial and state intervention that made it vulnerable to the tragedy that struck its cadres.[17] He believes that the quick growth of communist insurgency and the ease with which ND elements infiltrated urban slums to do mass work is also its downfall.

The publication of *To Suffer Thy Comrades* by Robert Francis Garcia (2001) coincided with the convening of NGOs, human rights groups, academics, families and supporters of Peace Advocates for Truth, Justice and Healing (PATH) to investigate the grave violations and murders committed. Garcia detailed the torture methods of comrades which made the physical torment even more painful. Even *Ka* Roger Rosal, an NPA commander who died recently, admitted his culpability for the crimes.[18] Since then, diggings initiated by the government revealed hundreds of corpses in mass graves in Cebu, Leyte, Davao del Sur, amongst others.[19] This is the spectre that haunts communism in the Philippines. Moreover, this haunting is reciprocated by the undeserved silence perceived by the party's critics as unfair and unworthy of the victims' families' forgiveness.[20] The reticence of CPP in discussing the events and then later its demonisation of the enemies—called 'rejectionists', connoting a recalcitrant outsider position—is influential in the way the Philippine left would cleave, even in Australia and other countries.

Australia, on the other hand, despite a strong working class history and possessing some similarities with 'banana republic' economies—an area of rich potential for radicalisation—did not have to confront a socialist insurgency. What it did have was a historically assertive (white) working class tradition of labour unionism, a class-based fight for equality that seriously sidelined indigenous struggle, among other legitimate concerns in Australia. John Percy historicises the radical past of Australia with its 'contradictory' line of pro-labour causes yet at the same

time a legacy of racist proletarian empowerment.[21] The Communist Party of Australia (CPA), founded in 1920, was a vigorous movement with 23,000 members just before World War II. It would suffer a split in 1971 where other members formed the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA). Social movements overseas, from the 1968 student protests in Europe to the Vietnam war in the same decade, helped to mobilise militants in the major cities. Sydney, where Percy was active with the group Resistance and then later Socialist Workers Party (SWP), had been Trotskyist, while Melbourne was Maoist.[22] The group, later known as the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), had contacts with a 'small group' from the Philippine left in the 1970s.[23]

A former Secretary General of the DSP, P.B., corroborates the stories of collaboration between the CPP and the Australian left. Sison has been sponsored by the SWP for speaking engagements in Australia. Moreover, SWP's publication *Direct Action,* and then later *Green Left Weekly* of the DSP, covered the Philippines not insignificantly based on a national socialist ideology that both parties believe in. According to P.B., who wrote articles under the name 'Michael Peterson' for *Direct Action,* DSP was in solidarity with the 'n.d. elements' (National Democratic) as they participated in tours, demonstrations, activities and even Sison's tour in Australia.[24] But the split within the CPP took over what previously had been good solidarity. In *Ang Bayan* (The People), official organ of the CPP, the DSP was denigrated as a group of 'Trotskyites' and 'social democrats'.[25] The 'diagram in question'—according to CPP founder Sison—of 'pseudo-revolutionary petty bourgeois grouplets' prompted a reaction from party list *Akbayan's* (a political party) Loreta Ann Rosales and Walden Bello, known critics of Sison.[26] They wrote an open letter about the diagram because some personalities in the diagram like Felimon 'Popoy' Lagman, Romulo Kintanar and Arturo Tabara were all dead, two at the hands of the New People's Army. Rosales and Bello are in the diagram; a reason to be alarmed. The 'hit list' included DSP Australia.[27]

Before the split, SWP/DSP had already formed relationships with CPP leaders from the Manila–Rizal, Visayas and Mindanao commissions, considered outlawed by Sison. The Australians decided to go the 'rejectionist' (RJ) way because for them the CPP 'acted in a sectarian and abstentionist way in the broader anti-Marcos movement in the critical final period of the dictatorship'.[28] The secretary general remained in close contact with the enemies of CPP; he attended the founding conference of *Partido Lakas ng Masa* (Power of the Masses Party) in Manila in

2009. Ten years before the diagram was published, a letter was sent to John Percy, National Secretary of DSP Australia, signed by Emilio Villa (a pseudonym), Asia-Pacific Region, CPP, Utrecht, Netherlands. Part of it reads:

> I condemn your unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the Philippine revolutionary movement… Without much investigation and in utter disregard of the facts, you have taken the side of the former members of the Manila-Rizal Regional Party Committee… Now, like a Great White Father, you wish to escalate your interventionist activities…And you continue to peddle lies and half-truths about developments in the Philippine revolutionary movement. The least the CPP expects of the DSP is to be faithful to the truth and to desist from interfering in the internal affairs of liberation movements…You should have the courage to correct your mistakes.[29]

Three points in this document are important: [1] DSP Australia that previously supported the Party had now openly expressed solidarity with RJ elements; [2] 10 years later, the CPP still considers DSP an enemy and [3] the CPP used the discourse of the racist 'white man's burden' against their former Trotskyite comrades. Paradoxically, the letter came from the same person who defended 'Australian nationals' to exercise full autonomy in their solidarity work discussed later. DSP is the 'Great White Father' whose 'interventionist' manoeuvre was condemned as colonialist and corruptive of solidarity. The privileging of whiteness by Villa in one occasion and its denunciation in another is contradictory but comprehensible within the context of the split. Today, direct liaisons with the Australian left is no longer necessary; the party is unofficially represented by *Migrante Australia* and *Gabriela Australia*, two transnational organisations that originated from the Philippines.

While a big leftist party such as the DSP was certainly involved with the Philippine left, I cannot ascertain for sure if the founders of Philippines-Australia Support Group (PASG) were SWP or DSP members or were acting on behalf of the parties. I have reasons to believe, based on the typewritten documents of PASG's establishment, they were not, at least, not directly because of the absence of any links between Australia and the Philippines *outside* the growing Filipino migrant community were present *before* the divisive CPP split. The following issues of *Direct Action* proved there was an attempt to introduce Philippine concerns to the Australian public. The identities of interviewees who participated in the research are kept anonymous unlike in the other chapters because of the sensitive nature of the topic.

From International Solidarity to Migrant Activism

Before there was any Filipino–Australian *migrant* activist group, for many years there had only been solidarity formations in Sydney and Melbourne. Remembering her early days in Sydney, D.W. narrated how as a young wife she responded to an ad in a newspaper that called for volunteers to form the Philippine Action Support Group (PASG).[30] Started in Melbourne in 1977 by the Student Christian Movement, PASG was composed mostly of Australian church people. D.W. remembers that in its early days, representatives from the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), the Asian Bureau Australia (ABA), Columban priests working in Mindanao such as P. J. and J. R., G. T. from Action for World Development, M. B. of Uniting Church, M. T. who would later immerse herself amongst Manila's poorest, subsequently learning Filipino, to mention a few, were all enthusiastic core members of PASG. Later on, a few more Philippines-born such as Sister C. U., L. S. and R. N. joined D. W.[31] M. T., who was a university student in 1979, got involved when Filipino visitors came over to Sydney to talk about human rights violations in the Philippines, 'I thought if what they were saying was true, how come we never heard much about it?'[32] The Australians I spoke with decided to pursue solidarity work because it was the right thing to do and synched with their work either as aid workers, unionists or former missionaries stationed in the Philippines. PASG's brief was 'to give broad-based solidarity, to protect people in the Philippines and help people in Australia understand the issues,' says G. T.[33] His summary reflects PASG's objectives outlined in the first issue of *Philippine News*:

(1) to create public awareness of, and response to, oppression and human rights violations in the Philippines; (2) to publicise Australia's participation in economic and political oppression of Filipinos and (3) to reflect the hopes and aspirations of the Filipino people.[34]

The extent of the formative influence and involvement of church people in bringing Philippine concerns to the Australian public would a decade later haunt them as Catholic bishops, Australian media and the government were later embroiled in the question: 'Is the Catholic Church in Australia Supporting Communism?'[35] This is, in fact, the title of an article that defended CCJP against right-wing commentators from the Australian print media such as *News Weekly* accusing CCJP of diverting funds to communists in Manila.[36]

Meanwhile, PASG did not waste much time and launched the very first *Philippine News* on October 1978. The stated aims of this 16-page, 20-cent per copy newsletter displaying a map of the Philippines on the first page with a corresponding elaboration on this newly-born information and action bulletin, were:

> [1] to create public awareness of, and response to, oppression and human rights violations in the Philippines; [2] to publicise Australia's participation in economic and political oppression of Filipinos; and [3] to reflect the hopes and aspirations of the Filipino people – that their struggle will challenge us to recognise our own oppressions and to stretch for the attainment of our own freedom.[37]

The articles from *Philippines News*'s first issue range from the 'Detainees Situation' that lists the names and details of the arrested, to releases and reports of police brutality, among others. Many issues in the newsletter cover Australia's impending uranium sale to the Philippines after the construction of the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant, the opening of which was never actualised, and an elaboration of Australia's interests in this through its continued support of Marcos's regime via militarisation of the countryside. Australian development aid in Northern Samar is one example of this accountability. *Philippine News* published in its issues sample correspondence of Bataan's concerned citizens to then Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, while inviting ordinary Australians to get involved in positive action.

The production of this newsletter represents the fledgling attempts to contribute to the international solidarity links against military rule in the Philippines. The lack of funds and the limited availability of self-publishing technology in the late 1970s were apparent in the newsletter's amateurish layout, cartoons and general format. D.W. told me of her efforts back then to draw cartoons for the issues on which she collaborated with other members, the many proofs she had to type again and again to fit in an A4-sized paper, and the cut-and-paste lay-outing.[38] The yellowing original documents that were lent to me for this research are a proof that *Philippine News* was a labour of love. As Marcos intensified his militarisation of the Philippines, PASG also heightened its drive to disseminate information as it increased the number of pages of its newsletter. At one point, *Philippine News* reached 26 pages of news solicited from Ibon Foundation, the known progressive organisation, 'Philippine Detainees', newssheets run by nuns and *Solidaridad II* from the Hong Kong-based Resource Centre of Philippine Concerns (RCPC): all of which were resistance publications against Marcos. Within 3 years, PASG had expanded to 30-plus, four-state (Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Adelaide) membership, run exposure trips in the Philippines, formed solidarity coalitions with overseas Filipino activists, sponsored a speaking tour of opposition Senator Jose Diokno and held a national meeting in Randwick, New South Wales in February 1980, to mention a few of its accomplishments.[39]

In seeking to restore democracy in the Philippines, the martial law galvanised efforts of progressive Filipinos and Australians. The years 1983 to 1987—from the year of Ninoy Aquino's assassination to the ascension to power of his widow Corazon Aquino—were PASG's 'most effective, most coordinated [years] and had its largest impact on the broader movement in Australia. PASG took the Philippines to the point where it was the "issue" and then everybody tried to jump on board,' recalls G. T., referring to certain sectors of the Australian left.[40] Inasmuch as it was pivotal to Philippines-Australia solidarity, the Marcos period had been a 'transformative moment' in Filipino-American history. It was reflective of the many layers of social relations of Filipinos in the USA, divided and united people, induced efforts towards grassroots organising and formed international solidarity, thus thrusting the Filipino issue onto the global stage.[41] The birth of Filipino-American activist came much earlier given the long history of the USA–Philippines relations and the advances in labour unionism of Carlos Bulosan in

Seattle. Nonetheless, I would draw parallelisms between PASG and the *Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino* (KDP) (1973–1987) formed by Filipino-American students based in California. At the height of KDP, the first organisation of its kind, with 300 activists and six headquarters all over the USA, it was highly successful in mobilising the Anti-Martial Law Coalition in 1974 and then later in 1981 the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship.[42] KDP was highly effective in its dual-line program towards a national democracy in the Philippines and the struggle of the American working class. Under surveillance by Marcos' agents, two of KDP's leaders in 1981 were murdered for which Marcos was later found liable by the US federal court.[43] The FBI had 1300 pages of documents on the KDP, not surprising considering the endorsement of Marcos by G.H.W. Bush and Ronald Reagan.[44]

While KDP's base was larger, its program of action more expansive and its experience of martial law's violence more felt, PASG was equally relentless in its efforts to bring the Filipino struggle into Australia. Bringing Jose Maria Sison (CPP's chairman), opposition Senator Diokno and a host of personalities connected to the movement were some of the more daring exploits of PASG. The opening of the PRC in Melbourne in 1982 also heralded an intense period. The centre aimed to 'promote understanding of the issues of development and human rights as they are reflected in the Philippines situation.'[45] It would have to house books and periodicals about and from the Philippines; audio-visuals, films videos, posters and publications for sale. In its first 3 years of operation, expenditure was pegged at AU$76,200 that would come from Community Aid Abroad, Uniting Church and other donors.[46] The activism of PASG did not go unscrutinised. 'Is the Catholic Church in Australia Supporting Communism?'[47] was a public concern voiced by conservative elements in the media and government. The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) was accused of diverting funds to communists in Manila through PASG. PRC and PASG were revealed to be support groups in documents seized by the military from underground safe houses in Manila.[48] The scrutiny brought anxiety for it was important that the mainstream continue to see PASG as concerned with human rights issues, not supporting a socialist revolution overseas. When asked whether PASG was under the 'national democratic' umbrella, one interviewee says 'no'; another says that it was an individual decision but not a prerequisite. P. M., a unionist and coordinator

of Philippines Australia Union Links, believes that the connection was inevitable: 'the broad understanding of what was really happening in the Philippines was informed by the National Democratic Movement'.[49] I raised this point because Philippine solidarity group's position vis-à-vis the Communist Party of the Philippines National Democratic Front would considerably influence its agenda because the Sison-led CPP was the left politics in Manila.

Is PASG then an international solidarity organisation for national democracy? I raise this question because the answer to it clarifies, or rather, smoothes, issues and differences that would come up later in the history of Filipino–Australian activism. According to D.W., the newsletter's articles were drawn from a broad left-leaning politics in the Philippines at that time. Scholarship on the CPP especially after the 1992 split would rather avoid the term 'broad' to describe oppositional politics in the Philippines. Instead, it was rather a very narrow upper hand of the national democratic movement associated with the leadership of Sison. The dominance of CPP-NPA and its aboveground alliances in challenging the dictatorship is evident in the articles. However, like all forms of culture after transculturation, *Philippine News* evolved its own sense of resistance that is embedded in its local conditions, producers and consumers/readers.

This is what differentiates PASG from an ordinary socialist, national democratic-guided organisation: what D.W. describes as 'an open group', 'no constitution or membership check or ideological filtering'.[50] The hybridity of PASG—its streak of liberationist theology—informs me that its Australian founders are not with any major leftist party, SWP or DSP. While PASG would continue to exist for many more years to come, as it would form state-based formations each with its own unique character, *Philippine News* with its guerrilla-style production and no-nonsense content, would fold as PASG Melbourne campaigned for the formation of the Philippine Resource Centre in 1982. The latest issue I laid my hands on was dated April 1980. While it is possible that *Philippine News* continued to be published after 1980—something I could not verify from the people I spoke with because they do not remember—its 3-year run was already an accomplishment relative to the length of time ordinary newsletters are printed in the Filipino–Australian community. The reformist streak of *Philippine News* was continued later on by *Church Watch*, first published in 1990 by the Philippines-Australia Christian Forum.

The 'First Split': Decolonising Solidarity

In 1982, the Philippine Resource Centre (PRC) was born through the strong lobbying of PASG Melbourne. A document dated October 17, 1980 outlines the project description of PRC: included are the people behind the project, objectives, organisational links, and cost and expenses, among other details. The centre aimed to 'promote understanding of the issues of development and human rights as they are reflected in the Philippines situation' through the leadership of a national PASG.[51] It would have to house books and periodicals about and from the Philippines; audio-visuals, films videos, posters and publications for sale. A Filipino resource person and an Australian worker were about to be hired to oversee PRC. In its first 3 years of operation, expenditure was pegged at AU$76,200. Finances were expected to come from W.C.A., Community Aid Abroad, Uniting Church and other donors.[52]

Since its formation and then the more intensified involvement in the Philippine resistance movement, church people were at the forefront of PASG and PRC. Years later, in 1988, a newly-installed Aquino government started 'total war' against the insurgency and truckloads of documents from raided safe houses revealed solid links between the communists and Australian groups. These church people would be in the centre of the maelstrom. From the outside, the PASG and PRC looked like smooth centralised political entities. However, what was not evident at that time was the white, patriarchal, heterosexual and middle-class composition of the 'founding fathers' of PRC.[53] As I will elaborate on later in this chapter, the accusation of racism in what I would call the 'First Split' was given central attention by Filipino activists, but not the masculine and classist tangents of the fracture. Australia's history of the working class and unionism being grounded on a racist identity, solidarity with the Filipinos would encounter the same problem of paternalism and colonising, class-based conscience.

The successful launch of PRC coincided with the escalating violence of the military rule but also the growth of the mass base and armed operations of the NPA all over the Philippines. The need for an institution to consolidate the flourishing solidarity work in Australia is, I argue, the response of PASG to the question: where are we headed? Two discussion papers and one letter accessible to 'core people only' revealed the debates the National PASG had to engage with. First, an unattributed, undated document entitled 'Ideologies and pressure groups against the Martial Law government

in the Philippines' asserts it is 'essential that we here in Australia, who wish to register our support for the oppressed in the Philippines have some idea of the kind of social and political change we are helping to bring about?'[54] This document's articulation of where PASG was headed is further expressed but with greater clarity in a letter to PASG's core people. Differentiating the need to sort 'n.d. elements', 'n.d. sympathizers' and 'broad solidarity group', the letter writer communicated, 'it became increasingly felt that we should be more sophisticated in developing different levels of solidarity groups.' The letter reads, 'to be more precise and systematic in our work, we have to be very clear on who are the leading elements—n.d. elements': those who are 'committed to the Philippine struggle as their principal political work.'[55] It also explained how groups based in Europe were led by openly 'n.d.' people and that 'Asia-Pacific has its own specificities'. This is an important observation on the unevenness of international solidarity work where Asia-Pacific was perceived as an emerging hotbed of communism vis-à-vis old Europe's socialist tradition.

The final document I wish to discuss is a three-page, unattributed and undated 'A proposed discussion outline towards [sic] developing a course of action for Philippine support groups in Z'.[56] The clandestine nature of this document hints at PASG's role to lead the intensification of its involvement to a more radical line, far greater than what solidarity implies.[57] It implies 'financial mobilization and packaging work', a call for PASG to send funds to the Philippines, what the mainstream journalists would call 'Manila Marxists'[58] 'silent offensive'[59] into Australia. PRC was the answer of Australian activists to the demands of the increasingly exacting political work. PASG was, without doubt, a national democratic front in the Asia-Pacific.

One sign of trouble is almost always the push to change one's name. While keeping the old acronym, PASG (Philippine Action Support Group) then became Philippines Australia Solidarity Group, hereafter referred to as 'PASG 2'. This renaming was made official around November 1986 to September 1987—conspicuously the same period as the EDSA revolution that took the widow Aquino to Presidency. 'A discussion was raised…as to the words "Action Support" in the title—questioning what Support for which Action was being/would be taken,' recalls D. H., a Filipino-American activist who at that time had just arrived from London.[60] While it may be unlikely that the change of name of PASG was a direct consequence of the Philippine communist party's search for what direction to take post-1986 when it boycotted

the revolution it thought it could claim for itself, it is also not entirely improbable. *Philippine Issues'* first outing, published around the same time, is nevertheless about the 'prospects and realities' of the ceasefire negotiation offered by Aquino to NDF.[61]

Philippine Issues (1987–1992) was a far cry from the A4 format of PASG's *Philippine News*. A professionally done, well-designed offset litho-printed newsletter sold for $1, it is another sign of the group's expanding network of supporters. M. M., its second Filipino media officer, estimated that the circulation reached at least 700 copies that were sent to most cities in Australia and some places overseas.[62] She also estimated that around 80% of its subscribers were 'white Australians' and the remaining 20% were Filipinos. Most of its articles are original contributions by either Australian 'n.d. sympathizers' visiting the Philippines for social immersion, Filipino activists touring Australia for speaking engagements, or regular members of PASG 2. Before it, however, were two publications that bridged the two: the first is *Philippines Newswatch* published at least after April 1983 and then *Philippine Bulletin*, that started in 1986 and ran until at least January/February 1988, a monthly effort that collates short news from the Philippines. In January 1987, the same year *Philippine Issues* was introduced, PASG Queensland also released its own *Newsletter* which later became *Kasama*.[63]

The great improvement in PASG 2's newsletter is reflective of the growing presence of ex-cadres from the Philippines who found political asylum in Australia. The Filipino–Australian population was increasing at an unprecedented rate with its marriage migrants and family members reuniting. Towards the late 1980s, this expansion is seen in the composition of PASG 2, previously dominated by white Australians. I had no access to a list of Philippines-born members that joined the group but all of the interviewees agree that the influx of migrants had changed the membership; thus, the dynamics of the group's way of conducting its affairs and the forging of new friendships and loyalties within it. D.W. remembers that when Filipino activists arrived in Sydney and joined the then-solid-white PASG, they were 'uncomfortable with the Aussie dominance and Western cultural bend…and did not quite fit in.'[64] These 'n.d. elements' who were young, angry and spirited, 'had their own ways of doing activism.'[65] I could appreciate D.W.'s interpretation as I noticed, right after my first rally in Sydney, how doing activism in Australia is laid back, devoid of the thrill and danger that characterise Manila activism.

Some of the initiatives these new members started were cultural productions that were generally not part of PASG. C.R. was affiliated with *Dulaang Bayan* (People's Theatre) and Philippines-Australia Cultural Interaction Network (PACIN), both of which endorsed people's cultural action for the empowerment of communities.[66] Cultural artists from BUGKOS and Philippine Educational Theatre Association (PETA) and the academe were brought to Sydney to show Australian sympathisers how cultural and political work go hand in hand. In Melbourne, M. M. settled after marrying her husband whom she met during a speaking tour in 1988 with the Australian Teachers Union (now Australian Education Union).[67] Her experiences as Secretary General of Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT), a militant teachers union in the Philippines, made her the best candidate to become the next Filipino resource person in the PRC after former nun/activist J. B.

In 1988, more than 2 years before the 'First Split', NSW PASG 2 drew its own constitution without formally separating from the National PASG 2. Although it mirrored many of the objectives of PASG's constitution, the Filipino-dominated Sydney group put emphasis on Filipino women in Australia. Reflecting the challenges that the community faced around this time, the document:

> calls for a cessation of the portrayal of Filipino women as sex objects and servile human beings and calls for the implementation of genuine education and social support programs for women who embark on mixed marriages in Australia; and for an end to Australian sex tours to the Philippines and like practices which denigrate Filipinos and their culture.[68]

The 'mail-order bride' problem, although it had existed as long as PASG, had not previously figured significantly in its advocacy. This debate would be in the centre of the divide that questions whether solidarity work (international in nature) encompasses local affairs. The transnational nature of migration and solidarity work complicates and makes impossible an easy answer to this question.

The 'First Split' in the ranks of PASG 2 was an alleged case of racism by the 'Australian caucus' against the 'Filipino caucus'. This is according to two out of the three Filipino women I interviewed who had all been involved in the solidarity movement at different stages.[69] But I am basing my detailed account of the battle for hegemony on a private collection of documents: letters, committee reports, circular notices, position papers, drafts of essays and those open to the public through the newsletter. As the story unravels, it becomes apparent how newsletters as print material culture have a very intimate relationship with their stakeholders and it also underlines how the materiality of newsletters is writing history. It was in 1991 that the tension became an irreversible collision, although the previous year was spent strategising between the caucuses.

The 'Australian caucus'—also known as the 'the group of 15'—suspended some members after the mass resignations of Filipinos. The PRC, PASG Melbourne and the Australia Asia Worker Links (AAWL) composed this 'Australian caucus' that battled to protect its dominance on the issue of 'who represents the interests of the NDF and the various Philippine people's organizations in Australia.'[70] The 'Filipino caucus', some of whom were schooled in hardcore socialism—aboveground and underground—had 'rarely been encouraged or allowed to become spokespeople on Filipino issues'.[71] A national PASG assembly in January 1991 declared that Filipinos had the right to the leadership of the group but this was not honoured by the 'Australian-caucus'. According to the position paper 'The Situation in the Solidarity Movement' dated November 1990 and signed by eight Philippines-born, 'the role of Anglo-Australians in the solidarity movement is a support role'.[72] This is because 'it is a Philippine solidarity movement'. The document asserts that 'Filipino–Australians…have the leading role in Philippine solidarity work in Australia' because they have [1] 'strong patriotic sentiments', [2] provide 'a primary source of activists', [3] because 'Filipino faces are the most credible in lobbying campaigns and in gaining public support' and [4] they are 'trained to lead solidarity work'.[73]

On the other hand, members of the 'Australian-caucus' in a statement released in *Philippine Issues,* argued in their own defense that while they admired the people's revolution in the Philippines as an example in the Asia-Pacific, the solidarity was primarily about 'assist[ing] the Australian Left in its work', and not about the Philippine movement itself, for 'such support cannot be given at the expense of further developing and supporting the Australian Left.'[74] It is further claimed that PASG 2 was also

about 'practical activity based on an international perspective', consistent with the Comintern tradition that solidarity work is to be led by the locals for the political education of their own people. Robie posits that 'Filipinos have rarely been encouraged or allowed to become spokespeople on Filipino issues.'[75] This summation is backed by the position paper allegedly made by the 'Australian-caucus'. Some of these are:

> [1] Filipinos do not know how to run organisations; [2] Anglo-Australians know more about working in Australia than Filipino-Australians; [3] Filipinos are difficult to work with; [4] Filipinos do not consult; [4] Positive discrimination for Filipinos is racist.[76]

Allegations of racism—real or imagined—were rife. S.M. remembers that an ex-cadre stood up in a meeting and in exasperation shouted *'puro kayo mga racista'* ['you are all racists'].[77] For the recent migrants, they thought they had the talent, experience and the sharp ideological positioning being 'n.d.' themselves to lead the solidarity movement that had been led by Australians for so long. The refusal to acknowledge this was inexplicable except for a reason that is "fundamentally white supremacist," according to S. M.[78] The 'undermining' of the Filipino paid workers and the subsequent 'harassment', 'intimidation' and 'smear campaign' from the Australians are all 'shameful' acts of his 'fellow Anglo-Australians'.[79] However, the leadership of PASG and PASG 2 by the 'Australian caucus'—the locals—was a pivotal aspect of international solidarity, which ran counter to what Filipinos demanded: 'Filipino control of the PRC' and '[a]mong Anglo-Australians a new willingness to learn from Filipinos.'[80] As M.M. expressed it: 'Filipinos are no longer happy to answer the phone for them.'[81]

Claiming Epistemic Privilege: Who Is the Local Now?

The problem of representation is evident in the situation above. Recent migrants who have found themselves space to participate in activism traditionally ruled by Australians are confronted with the question of which subjectivity they possess. Are they locals for having relocated in Australia, or are they Filipinos, aliens, non-Australians or the object of solidarity? One way to look at this is through the resemblance PASG and

PASG 2 and the old social movements in the tradition of class struggle underpinned by Marxism. But PASG 2 found itself in the middle of a maelstrom in cross-national activism where a 'reflective solidarity' necessitates a decolonisation of relationships.[82] Filipinos sought recognition as citizens on an equal footing and not as political exiles which in the context of the Marcos dictatorship, they also were. The accusation of racism helped galvanise Filipino migrants' claim of epistemic privilege: we are the very people you are fighting for. Narayan's concept of the 'authentic insider' applies here where the 'native' uses this subjectivity as leverage towards specific goals.[83] This view, however, was not shared by the Australian caucus who thought that Filipinos were out there, not in here: the *them* are those who have nothing to eat, who experience low-intensity conflict and militarisation, and who live in fear on a daily basis. Filipinos in Australia are First-World citizens who *do* solidarity work.

Claiming 'Third-Worldliness' as the right to representation is problematic for its insistence on essentialist cultural designations. While positioning oneself as 'third world' in a white-dominated group is admittedly an initiative towards reflexivity, one does not ignore that one's political citizenship needs further reflection as well. Consistent with today's activism that white, First-World actors *cannot* possibly know what it is to be non-white in a Third-World country, the messianic complex, the white man's (or woman's) burden, has no place in solidarity work. In a similar but not the same way, the 'Third-World' migrants in the First-World are First-World nonetheless, and this shift has significant consequences. The ethical questions that come with transnational and cross-cultural activism are no longer an option but imperative in practising solidarity grounded on the ethical respect of those who are positioned as the object of one's charity. During my interview with activist M.M., she curiously used the term 'home grown' to refer to herself and other members of PASG 2 who bolted out to form an all-Filipino group.[84] 'Home grown' means born and bred in the Philippines; a clear advantage that white Australians *cannot* ever possess. 'Home grown' is a curious tag for two reasons: one is its appropriation of the notion of homegrown as indigenous or organic in relation to the political work and those who do it; second is its claim that Filipino–Australians are rooted in a geography more than a product of migration.

In a song written by Christian Ramilo, another 'home grown', entitled 'This is My Life (I Want Control)', a possible allusion to the process of decolonising PASG 2, he wrote: 'So stop telling me that you

understand,/ That you know how it really feels…So stop telling me that we're really the same,/ That your say is as good as mine./When it's my life that's on the line…So stop telling me that I need you,/That I won't survive without you'.[85] Reducing the epistemology of oppression to those who own it, Ramilo redefines solidarity as primacy of position vis-à-vis others oppression. The poem/song is an indictment of the 'Australian caucus' ownership of the issues but also a privileging of the 'home grown' as if no one else can lay claim to solidarity work. This is the basis of the founding of the Centre for Philippine Concerns—Australia (CPCA), a landmark organisation discussed later.

It is interesting to note that Filipino–Australians in their fight against 'white' racism used this 'natural' representational capacity of the native. But what Ramilo and M.M. may have missed was that claim of indigeneity, the positionality of Filipinos back 'home' is no longer wholly theirs; they have, in fact, joined the ranks of First-World activists. They may not be white but they have the material benefits of the First-World that may foster 'blindness to those without the same privilege'.[86] What Diane Nelson calls 'the enjoyments of solidarity' is something Filipino–Australians could now exercise; having 'the privileges that make that benevolence possible'.[87] They must balance the roles of the oppressed, play the 'Filipino difference' and do these convincingly, but also appropriate the tools of the First-World at their disposal. The egoism of replacing white activists as big brothers is something that the concept of home grown does not address. Ann Deslandes rightly frames the dilemma of a First-World activist within fetishism and friendship.[88] Fetishism because solidarity work needs to 'manage the alliance', 'to calculate it'; but also friendship that is 'always asymmetrical' even if this friendship is between 'Filipinos'.[89] Therefore, the question does not end with the need to decolonise solidarity. *What to do with decolonised solidarity?* is, I argue, the more challenging concern. Furthermore, as Australia itself has a painfully significant pocket of Third-World citizens in black Australians, would it not be a courageous political act to extend one's claim to indigeneity, to one's nativeness by decentring the already decolonised solidarity? While I do not endorse relativism—a much-questioned stance in activism these days—political action that stands on the culturalisation of subjectivity (Filipinoness) alone is equally dangerous.

The decolonisation of solidarity within PASG 2 hints at the complexity of citizenship and ethnicity as well. While white, First-World activists

agonise over developing new ways to unlearn their 'whiteness', Filipinos as migrants need to define their claim towards acquired citizenship: the ethical ramifications of aspiring to be an Australian while decolonising white paternalism. 'Understanding Philippine Australian solidarity: A guide to Philippines-Australian solidarity work from the point-of-view of Filipino cadres and activists in Australia', dated May 1994, is a letter by Emilio Villa (a *nom de guerre*), acting officer of the NDF Asia Pacific Committee, which shows the ambiguity of citizenship. This letter was a kind of directive from the central committee on the issue of the 'First Split':

> Australian solidarity groups (ASGs) for the Philippine struggle are organizations of Australian nationals. As such, they belong to and, in varying degrees, participate in the Australian struggle. They are therefore outside of the leadership and control of the Philippine movement…the Philippine movement has no right to organise Australians for the Australian struggle, nor to intervene in the internal affairs of Australia or Australian groups.[90]

In this I read a counter-decolonisation: a very rigid sense of what constitutes nationality and citizenship. The text imagines Australian nationals as a group of white people, not even Aboriginal Australians. Are Philippines-born migrants who have acquired new citizenship considered nationals? Villa, discussed earlier—interestingly against White Fathers that Australian 'Trotskyites' are—apes the logic of discrimination where boundaries are fixed and borders are closed. He elaborates on the independence of Australians from Filipino control in solidarity work, thus upholding the Comintern tradition.

Villa's intervention was critiqued by a CPCA member in a letter. The letter by D. H. questions the (mis)use of citizenship: 'Australian nationality has never been a requirement for membership of ASGs.'[91] The status of citizenship was raised for many PASG members who held different citizenships, some carried dual citizenships while others are citizens of other nations who reside in Australia but are not Australian nationals, and there are members who are citizens of the indigenous nations of Australia. Second, the phrase 'Philippine movement' needed to be

qualified because it does not differentiate between those who are solidarist from overseas and those who actually practice activism in Australia. The letter writer punctuates her argument well by claiming:

> I define myself as a Filipino 'activist in Australia' of national democratic sentiment who is not a representative of the Philippine movement. Nor do I agree with the inclusive 'we' who 'consider such initiatives as part of our contribution to the Australian struggle in the spirit of *proletarian internationalism*'. I believe such articulations are no longer adequate or appropriate for the global issues we face today. 'Proletarian internationalism' has been found sorely wanting as a stance of global solidarity when it comes to the issues of women and indigenous peoples.[92]

The letter writer, by the way, holds a US passport but is racially part Filipino. She, too, disputes the term 'Australian struggle' as merely the fight for class equality of the working class; the Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islander peoples are equally if not more worthy of the term, she says. Finally, this case illustrates how the process of decolonisation in solidarity movements does not necessarily occur uniformly at all levels of the hierarchy. Moreover, the ambivalent position of migrants as neither here nor there, First-World *and* Third-World and who vacillate from a position of privilege to that of being discriminated shows how paternalism shifts and calculatingly moves to keep solidarity from breaking new ground.

This was the 'First Split'; a groundbreaking attempt to decolonise early Philippines–Australian solidarity formation. But what is clear at this point is the inevitability of conflict as the white-Australian solidarity movement experienced being challenged by 'home grown' Filipino activists. I do not intend to dilute the accusation of racism by Filipinos, which some still feel strongly about today, by suggesting that decolonisation of solidarity may have been a wrestling of leadership from one by the other. Nipping racist attitudes in the bud within a group can only be a tacit expression of decolonisation. On the other hand, I do not discount the possibility that the *coup d'etat* the Filipino caucus was aiming for was partly a consequence of the racism they experienced. As D.W. recalled,

'Aussies have their way of doing their thing'—racist or not—it is as if one way is more natural than another way, hence it is more legitimate.[93]

The solidarity movement in Australia for the Philippines in the 1970s was also a time of rapid changes in the social composition of the country. As a modern nation-state that slowly deregulated its borders to immigrants, Australia experienced a paradigm shift from its racist past. In the way that white Australia was being phased out, 'white solidarity' was facing confrontation by the unfamiliar: not unlike the way multiculturalism challenges the host society's old way of life. The once object of solidarity now desired to be the agents of solidarity. The comfortable zone and hold on political representation in the left as territorially 'white' was gone. In a manner of speaking, Philippine solidarity in Australia was itself tested by migration and multiculturalism: once the source of its strength, then its downfall.

The 'Second Split': To Reject or to Reaffirm

In the wake of the fall of Marcos in 1986, the CPP's abrogation of the EDSA revolution, the purges in guerrilla fronts, and then the subsequent break-away of Manila–Rizal commission, the 'united front' was not only reduced in numbers but underwent a democratisation in the hierarchy of cadres. Some like Felimon Lagman pursued urban-based operations as *vigilante* hit squads, some formed NGOs, some joined the government as civil servants. A restructuring of this magnitude inevitably reorganised Australia's solidarity formations as well. PASG 2 broke up soon after the establishment of the Centre of Philippine Concerns—Australia (CPCA) in November 1991. It was also the time when Sison released the 'Reaffirm' manifesto that officially divided the Party. Before this, Crispin Beltran of *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (May First Movement) spoke about the stance of the labour union supporting the Tiananmen Square massacre of students in 1989. This possibly did not sit well with white Australians whose government accepted Chinese students as residents as an act of solidarity and where public opinion was a condemnation of the violence.

On 10 April 1991, 8 months before CPCA was formally launched, a letter to 'friends' signed by J. B., an activist for Uniting World, introduced the formation of an all-Filipino organisation 'to respond to the growing need for co-ordination and co-operation among Filipinos within the Philippine solidarity movement.'[94] This is the move of the 'Filipino caucus' towards self-determination in solidarity work. According to

D.H., 'the ultimate issue here is IDENTITY.'[95] The mutineers from white PASG 2 were determined to put up an all-Filipino solidarity group. This, of course, attracted criticism: 'we were accused of racism by one stream of opposition and from another we were told that we could not "be in solidarity with ourselves,"' remembers D.H.[96] Nevertheless, despite hostility, CPCA was born with a great sense of success as Filipinos, but also as Australians, were searching for autonomy, identity and political representation of the community. Again, M.M.'s invocation of 'home grown' to describe CPCA is her way of framing a new way of doing solidarity. What she has in mind is, I believe, 'grassrooting' migrant activism in diaspora, maximising the epistemic advantage to manage solidarity work *and* introduce a third space: migrant activism.

In its 'mission statement' printed in the *C.P.C.A. Newsletter's* pilot issue, the three aims of the group are:

> [1] [t]o empower the Filipino migrant community by promoting its well-being and rights to a better economic, cultural and political life in Australia; [2] [t]o generate support among the Filipino and the broader Australian communities for justice, peace, national sovereignty and sustainable development in the Philippines; [3] [t]o lend support to struggles of other peoples for self-determination and social justice[97].

CPCA, first, held itself responsible to its 70,000 (in the early 1990s) Filipino–Australian audience, an unambiguous departure from PASG's beginnings. What came second was solidarity work with Philippine issues and then third, local activist work, in particular with the Aboriginal and Islander nations of Australia.

The CPCA had expanded the social and political domains in its list of concerns; two areas that CPCA wanted to concentrate on were migrant issues and women's issues. As their successes and their exposure in mainstream media suggest, the 'mail-order bride' was the most urgent issue for them to take on. Indeed, one of its laurels was lobbying the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), now Australian Human Rights Commission, to sponsor the study *Gender, Race and International Relations: Violence Against Filipino Women in Australia* by

Cunneen and Stubbs.[98] Grounded on a critical feminist framework from the data gathered by CPCA and the Filipino community, this work is an insightful foray into the social problem of trafficked women and domestic violence. Another is the approval of the legislation on Domestic Violence Provisions of the Migration Act in 1995, attributed to Filipino women's growing voice and presence in the public sphere. Irene Moss, then Race Discrimination Commissioner, acknowledged the 'lobbying work' of the CPCA which legitimated the problem to enter Australia's legal concerns.[99] Further to this, in 1994, the CPCA held a multisectoral national conference/workshop in Melbourne, Victoria attended by government representatives, community service providers, organisers and workers, and more importantly, survivors of domestic violence.[100] This gathering of women was indeed a milestone in Filipino–Australian activism, in particular, of the community's intervention in gendered violence. It identified the much-needed strategies and recommendations that could translate into more efficient measures to decrease the number of deaths and abuses but also to educate Australian institutions such as the police as well as the general public on gendered migration. The year after, 1995, the CPCA spearheaded a study/exposure tour to the Philippines composed of Australian and New Zealand nationals, which later resulted in an important report, 'Confronting sexual exploitation: Campaign against sex tourism and trafficking in Filipino women'. Earlier in 1993, CPCA Perth worked hard to campaign against Kenneth Morgan's *War of the Sexes*, giving advice to other Australians how to bring over 'female OR male virgins from the Philippines': first, to ban its release in the Philippines; second, for the Philippine Embassy to publicly condemn the book, a guide to buying 'brides' into Australia and third, to neutralise the effect of an honorary consul's, a Filipino woman herself, *de facto* endorsement of the book by participating in its launch and accepting the proceeds for the victims of Mt. Pinatubo eruption.[101] The birth of Filipino–Australian migrant activism, without doubt, is midwifed by CPCA: there was autonomy, solidarity, direction and an audience.

The CPCA's vigorous campaigns on Filipino women's sexualisation in Australia, however, would soon be challenged, however, by the problems back home; they would be asked either to 'reaffirm' or to 'reject'. The short-lived CPCA newsletter, I speculate, is the collateral damage of the 'Second Split', apart from the usual logistical problems of small publications. 'There was confusion, uncertainty, suspicion and insecurity among solidarity activists, Filipinos and non-Filipinos, and this affected

the level of trust amongst some individuals in all the groups.'[102] This was how D.H. remembers during those days, reflective of the RA/RJ struggle in the Philippines that was bitter and destructive where 'antagonism is not only justified, it is obligatory.'[103] The ripple effect reached the shores of Australia. M.M. recalls how 'stressful' those times were. She was busy with CPCA when a CPP cadre (*nom de guerre* Emilio Villa) visited Australia. M.M. recalls that his first stop in his 'loyalty check' was CPCA Sydney which he successfully oriented about the RA/RJ split, thus, obtaining the conversion of most of its members to RA politics.[104] Because she did not want CPCA Melbourne to suffer the same fate, *'ayaw kong mabiyak kami'* ['I do not want us to break apart'], M.M. said they all pretended to be loyal to the party when the knock on the door by finally came.[105] She believed that activism in Australia was beyond the scope of the Party, thus, the refusal to remain under the party's bureaucracy.

This 'Second Split' that divided Filipino activism later gave way to the formation of two new groups, *Migrante Australia* and *Gabriela Australia*. These two groups which share members, activities and a website, among other resources, have little collaborative work with non-RA Filipino activist formations. According to M.M., this split caused tension especially in the beginning when gossip and intrigue were spread and CPCA members were hijacked by an emerging group.[106]

I attempted to reach as many sources as possible for this research; it was unfortunate that RA-affiliated activists thought it was not an opportune forum to participate in. Writing a migrant ethnography as an interruption and intervention in the ordinary life of the Filipino community, I was caught in the ongoing war: the paranoia and distrust haunting the Philippine left found me; something that critics attribute to its lack of moral accountability and the delayed justice for the victims of the purges.

The animosity has not always been like this, remembers D.W. There was a time when Gabriela (Manila) would have had a presence in *PASG Queensland* (later *Kasama*) such as articles on Atel Hijos' speaking tour in Brisbane (September–December 1992) and Gabriela's WISAP conference (March–April 1991). However, in 1994, there was 'a push on the part of some CPCA women to commit [CPCA] to an exclusive partnership with Gabriela which would preclude any relationships with other women's groups in the Philippines without Gabriela's approval.'[107] For CPCA Brisbane and the Solidarity Philippines Australia Network (SPAN), this would hamper activism in the general sense. D.H. of CPCA Brisbane and *Kasama* newsletter, declares that they are 'not part of a

united front with either RA or RJ' but admitted that they have partnerships with some 'RJ non-party formations'.[108] These two groups continue to be knowledge and cultural producers of Filipino–Australian activism and update the databank of information on gendered violence against Filipino women that national CPCA started two decades ago. In the Bayanihan International Solidarity Conference in Manila in 2001, Australia was represented by D.W. who took on board 'divergent political perspectives' reflective of the shifting modes of transnational solidarity today. No longer controlled from the centre, social movements now are more inclusive and pluralist. D.W. explained how the sheer size of Australia makes it impossible to run a centralised operation from Sydney or Melbourne alone, thus, it is more practical for groups to localise in order to exercise greater autonomy.[109] This is, of course, is the same tendency governing Filipino–Australian print culture in general and the publishing of ethnic newspapers of Filipinos in particular. Australia's spatial attributes and migrant distribution in its largest cities shape not only print activities but also the directions and limits of migrant activism.

Filipino–Australian activism today is very much under the influence of the RJ/RA separation, and their differences are better illustrated by a comparison of two newsletters. *Kasama* is maintained by CPCA Brisbane and SPAN which despite the absence of advertisements has been publishing regularly for the past 24 years with well-maintained archives accessible online since 1998. The newsletter covered the 'mail-order bride' killings and the deportation of Solon-Alvarez with great attention not only because they are Filipinos but also because they are women. It is in this basic political groundedness that it writes about Aboriginal women of Australia, of a prostituted woman who died in Villawood detention centre, of domestic servants languishing in jail overseas, among others. Other themes found in *Kasama* are poverty, conflict resolution, fair trade, North/South economies, indigenous rights, multiculturalism and race issues, labour migration with a focus on OFWs, human rights, death penalty, community development, suffrage, US aggression and others. *Kasama* has published features on Garcia's *To Suffer Thy Comrades* and essays by Nathan Quimpo; both are ex-CPP cadres. Publications based in Queensland, from the *PASG Newsletter* to *Kasama,* have exhibited a level of independence from the party politics and personality differences that plagued the centres: Sydney and Melbourne. The often-cited provincialism of the state is possibly the strength that enabled newsletters to continue for so long. Moreover, the openness of CPCA-Brisbane and

SPAN to accommodate multi-ethnic families as members separates them from other Filipino migrant *barkada* (circle of friends). *Kasama* today is aligned with issues that involve Aboriginal Australians, a development that is nurtured by the local conditions and peopling of Queensland but more by the decision of D.H. to remain political. CPCA Melbourne, previously under M.M.'s leadership, has become apolitical; it is now an 'ethnic' social group.

Batingaw [Bell, Herald]*: The New Voice of Filipino Migrants in Australia*, was born on March 2006 under the auspices of *Migrante Melbourne*. It features articles about *Kilusang Mayo Uno*, Karapatan (Rights), *BAYAN,* RA leftist formations based in the Philippines; Philippine Australian Solidarity Association (PASA), Philippine Australian Union Link (PAUL) and Philippine-Australia Caucus for Peace (PACP), all organisations based in Australia; and Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and Australian Manufacturing Workers Union (AMWU), both labour unions in Australia coordinating with *Migrante*. The newsletter also features campaigns for known personalities such as free-Crispin Beltran, drop Sison from the US terrorist list; a call for Zero Remittance Day as a protest against the export of Filipino workers; Operation *Sagip Migrante* for Typhoon Ondoy's victims in the Philippines; among others. *Batingaw,* in all of its 24 issues I covered for this chapter, does not veer away from the same set of issues and personalities found in *bulatlat.com,* a known RA website, except for the specificity of Filipino–Australian migrant issues. Even Sison's condemnation of the reactionary politics of the Dalai Lama, a revered icon of peace for most Westerners, is reprinted in *Batingaw*. The 'RAness' of *Batingaw*, discussed below, can also be ascribed to *Kasama's* 'RJness'.

Filipino in Australia today is necessarily configured by the demands of state multiculturalism to which its very existence is a reaction. Whenever *Kasama* publishes articles condemning the racism against Indigenous Australians, it is a response to a white multiculturalism that sublimates the question of this Third-World pocket. Whenever *Batingaw* indicts the Australian government for its complicity with TNCs and exploitation of Filipinos who are paid 3 dollars per hour, it is also a reaction to a multicultural ideology that misrecognises their presence but benefits from their labour power. Multiculturalism, moreover, is apparent in the way *Migrante Australia* and *Gabriela Australia* conduct their activities, not just the content of their newsletter. Ethnic identification as 'Filipino' is exercised in both *Kasama* and *Batingaw* but it is with

the latter that 'quartering' of the ethnic is more evident. These groups have picnics, Christmas parties, outings and other gatherings that are as Filipino as any other *Pinoy* organisation in the 'enclave'. One aspect that separates them is their politically angled reason to gather and celebrate. Take, for instance, *Migrante's* celebration of International Human Rights Day with 'yummy food and drinks' and 'games and fun', or a 'road trip' from Melbourne to South Australia to organise a union. These are documented in pictures and published in *Batingaw. 'Pasyel' (Pasyal sa Ƴelo),* where the activists and their families ride the snowmobile and toboggan, ski, build a snowman or snow castle, among others, is a social activity that straddles an 'ethnic' thing to do and activism. 'RA' Filipino–Australians have discovered how it is to be ethnically segregated, socialise within this ethnic boundary and pursue political activism. One may observe that in the early incarnation of Philippine solidarity, the 'ethnic' concerns of multi-racial Australia were not very evident. The minority position of Filipino migrants in the late 1970s had not yet configured Philippine-Australian activist newsletters as clearly multicultural.

How does the history of solidarity work impact on migrant activism in Australia today? How did the 'First Split'—a quest for decolonisation of solidarity and self-determination—and the 'Second Split'—to reject or reaffirm, to centralise or pluralise politics—create the mechanism guiding political action among Filipino migrants? There is no one single direct answer to these questions. But I can offer a few observations. First, I argue that while the break-up in the CPP hierarchy has shaken those who move in and out of its system and its international solidarity networks, the impact was softened by the 'First Split' that came before it. Second, this 'First Split': decolonising solidarity and self-determination, was a period of victory. The 'Second Split', however, was a time of losses from the successes that had just been won. Sowing the seeds of antagonism and suspicion, friendships ended and comradeship was split into two. Third, the 'First Split' concretised Filipino–Australian migrant activism through the birth of CPCA. The 'Second Split', however, pluralised this formation with both positive and negative effects. Both splits nonetheless invigorated newsletter production.

Furthermore, I read the critical junctures in Philippines-Australia solidarity as a broad shifting of activist framework: from a heavily Marxist-inspired ideology towards migrant activism couched in identity politics. At the time when PASG was experiencing a series of crises from within—such as the call of Manila communists for 'white' Australians to give

way to Filipinos in Australia to lead PASG, the intrigues concerning the choice between a Filipino and an Australian for a job in the Philippine Resource Centre (PRC) and the formations of 'Filipino' and 'Australian' caucuses—the shift felt like complications common to any group experiencing personality differences and power struggle. S. A., teacher and unionist, remembers how successful the Peace Brigade was, an anti-US-based campaign in Manila in 1989 attended by almost a hundred Australians, despite the challenges within PASG.[110] The theme of identity politics that cleft the group was not pointed out by the informants; however, what they uniformly cited was the growing presence of Filipino migrants in the PASG, some of whom were seasoned activists in Manila. I argue that identity work borne out of the opening up of Australia's borders precipitated the critical juncture which led to PASG's end. While I do not argue that migration alone was the determining factor—as we shall see later, the Second Split was a direct result of events that happened in the Philippines—the influx of Filipino activists into 'Australian solidarity' brought out the centrality of race relations in the conduct of solidarity. Whether the First Split—division between the 'Filipino caucus' and 'Australian caucus'—was a case of racism is open to contention; two interviewees do not share the recollection of others around the events that happened more than two decades ago. Nonetheless, the need to reformulate PASG's agenda and articulate it in a way that would resonate to Australians in the post-Marcos period of new democracy was in order. Second, the politics of difference which identity work throws into relief was too inviting not to see other opportunities in activism: to seek autonomy and to establish all-Filipino formations. The death of Philippines-Australia solidarity, in other words, had given birth to Filipino–Australian activism.

In writing the history of Philippine activism in Australia and documenting its print culture, this study stumbled upon a turbulent past that defined social relations among migrants today and their understanding of race, ethnicity, ideology and political loyalty within solidarity. The struggles narrated in this chapter are telling of the complexities that impinge on the politicisation of a migrant community that is both distant but not quite removed from the object of solidarity: from the Filipino people to the Filipino–Australian. The 'First Split' and the 'Second Split' are rare events that define a people for a long period of time in the way they behave and conduct their affairs. The personalities involved in it—the church people, the early migrants, the 'Australian caucus', the 'n.d.

elements', socialist-Australians-turned-RJ, party big bosses and others—are all contributing forces in the inevitable unfolding of the narrative of activism between the Philippines and Australia. What remains to be seen, however, is the future of militancy of second-generation *Fil-oz*. Will it take shape in the same way as it did in the USA when 'Americanised' young Filipinos sought to find their roots and were eventually seduced by the left politics of the party? Whatever it may be, the current state of indifference, even antagonism, between one solid block of activists and the pluralist others will continue to define how young Filipino–Australians will receive activism in the name of a home they imagine differently: the Philippines, but also an Australian home where their belonging is conditional on their sexualised citizenship.

Notes

1. Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders,* 19–21.
2. Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism,* 10.
3. Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel, "Introduction: Citizenship, migrant activism and the politics of movement," 3.
4. Ibid., 6.
5. Ibid., 2–3.
6. Engin Isin, "Citizenship in Flux: The Figure of the Activist Citizen," 2009.
7. Ron Eyerman, "How Social Movements Move: Emotions and Social Movements," 2005; Helena Flam and Debra King, *Emotions and Social Movement,* 2005.
8. Epifanio de los Santos (EDSA) is one of Manila's major highways that connect Manila, Quezon City, Pasig, Mandaluyong San Juan and other sections. The EDSA section in Cubao is where Camp Aguinaldo (military) and Camp Crame (police) are located. During the 1986 call to mobilise against Marcos, the people congregated along EDSA where nuns, priests, students, lay people corralled tanks and Marcos's soldiers. Today, a gigantic, golden statue of the Virgin Mary, known as Our Lady of EDSA, stands at the corner of EDSA and Ortigas Avenue where a mall frames the shrine. The ousting of the actor/President Joseph Estrada in 2001, called EDSA 2, was also held here.
9. Nathan Gilbert Quimpo, *Contested Democracy and the Left in the Philippines after Marcos,* 2008.
10. Lester Edwin Ruiz, "'All That is Solid Melts into Air …': The Futures of Philippine Solidarity Work in the US," 2001.

11. Byron Bocar, "International Solidarity Work of the National Democratic Movement," 2001.
12. Benedict Kerkvliet, "Contemporary Philippine Leftist Politics in Historical Perspective," 14.
13. The quote is lifted from Kerkvliet (1996, 17) which he quotes from PKP Politburo documents "Additional political-military strategic conceptions: Clarifications of the enlarged PB conference resolution" and "Military strategy and tactics", both circa 1950.
14. Armando Liwanag and Amado Guerrero (1979) are the pseudonyms of Jose Maria Sison, founder of the CPP. This essay is a summing up of the Party's direction since it was founded. Those who did not agree with Sison's direction to still pursue the old line were labeled as "rejectionist". According to Kathleen Weekley, the paper was released six months before it was approved by the Central Committee. She claims that party members thought it was only a "discussion paper'" and were surprised at its distribution as CPP's stand that finalised the split (1996, 28–31).
15. *Kampanyang Ahos* can be roughly translated as "Operation Garlic". "Ahos" is a Visayan term for garlic which is a reference to folk belief that garlic can dispel *aswang,* the Filipino version of zombie, half-bodied, blood-sucking creatures (Abinales, *The Revolution Falters*, 154). The name chosen for the Mindanao purge is clearly about cleansing. *Kadena de amor* or "chain of love" is Antigonon leptopus commonly applied by people to heal wounds. Last, *Takip Silim* means dusk in Tagalog (Ilagan 2003).
16. Abinales, *The Revolution Falters,* 178.
17. Ibid., 164.
18. In a transcription of *Ka* Roger's interview, he interestingly recounted what happened in southern Tagalog where Oplan Missing Link was approved to find the infiltrators. Curiously, his narration has a gender angle where the madness and hysteria, the effect of which were murders and torture of hundreds, were singularly given a face and a name in the person of *Ka* Amanda. She was portrayed by *Ka* Roger with the archetypal mad woman characterisation that she was capable of anything. The document was from an interviewee.
19. Juan Mercado, "Those Sealed Graves," *Philippine Daily Inquirer,* September 14, 2006; Dennis Santos, "Digging on for Communist Purge Victims' Remains in Davao Sur," *Philippine Daily Inquirer,* November 4, 2007.
20. The party's efforts to find the victims' families and offer repatriation were outlined by *Ka* Roger in the same interview.
21. John Percy, *A History of the Democratic Socialist Party and Resistance,* 2005.

22. Ibid., 280.
23. Ibid., 280.
24. P.B., (activist), interview, March 29, 2011.
25. "Links of Counterrevolutionary Groups with Trotskyites and Social Democrats," party document, 2004.
26. Jose Maria Sison, "Character Assassination and Cheap Shots by Rabid Anti-Communists and Pseudo-Revolutionaries," December 26–January 3, 2004.
27. Walden Bello and Loreta Ann Rosales, "An Open Letter to Jose Maria Sison on the 36th Anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)," 2004.
28. P.B., (activist), interview, March 29, 2011.
29. Letter to John Percy from Emilio Villa, January 28, 1994. Unpublished document.
30. D.W., interview, November 7, 2009.
31. D.W., e-mail message to author, March 17, 2011.
32. M.T., interview, March 21, 2013.
33. G.T., interview, March 20, 2013.
34. *Philippine News*, 1978, 1.
35. Bruce Duncan, "Is the Catholic Church in Australia Supporting Communism?" *National Outlook*, May 1986.
36. "Filipino Communist Links with Australia Revealed," *News Weekly*, August 20, 1988.
37. *Philippine News,* 1978, 1.
38. D.W., interview, November 7, 2009.
39. In a handwritten document from the personal papers of D. W., I found a list of "international contacts" from Hawaii, California, Utrecht, London, Dublin and Florence, not to mention a very close contact with Hong Kong political exiles under the leadership of Carmencita Karagdag.
40. G.T., interview, March 20, 2013.
41. James Zarzadiaz, "*Magkaisa*: Martial Law and the Uniting of Divided Filipino America," 2013.
42. Abraham Ignacio, "*Makibaka Huwag Matakot!: A history of the Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino*," 2002.
43. Benjamin Pimentel, "Defying Marcos, Filipino Americans Emerged as Force against Tyranny," 2012.
44. Ibid.
45. "Philippines Resource Centre Force 10 Submission," 1980, Unpublished document.
46. Ibid.
47. Duncan, "Is the Catholic Church in Australia Supporting Communism?", 1986.

48. "Filipino Communist Links with Australia Revealed," 9.
49. P.M. interview, March 19, 2013.
50. D.W., e-mail message to author, March 17, 2011.
51. Private papers. 'Philippines Resource Centre Force 10 Submission' and 'Project Description: Philippine Resource Centre'. The PRC deposited its documents in the State Library of Victoria for archiving.
52. "W.C.A.", one of the major sponsors of the soon-to-be-built PRC, was not spelled out and I do not wish to speculate as I did not find its full name in the founding papers.
53. There was one woman out of seven original committee members. My speculation that these individuals are white Australians come from references in other documents and was confirmed by M. M. during an interview. The "founders" are a mixture of academics, church leaders, and unionists.
54. This document was definitely prepared before 1982 since it alluded to the future move to establish PRC.
55. "Ideologies and pressure groups against the Martial Law government in the Philippines", unpublished document.
56. "A proposed discussion outline towards [sic] developing a course of action for Philippine support groups in Z," unpublished document.
57. I still entertain the idea that maybe the person who prepared this document is simply economising on having to type "Australia" thereby substituting it with 'Z' which could be a further shortcut for 'Oz'.
58. Michael Barnard, "Manila Marxists Woo Australia," *The Age*, August 2, 1988. 1988)
59. Karen Harbutt, "Philippines Communists Launch 'Silent Offensive'," 3.
60. D.H., interview, February 6, 2010.
61. Ibid.
62. M.M., interview, March 26, 2011.
63. D.H., interview, (February 6, 2010).
64. D.W., e-mail message to author, March 17, 2011.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. M.M., interview, March 26, 2011.
68. Philippine Australia Solidarity Group, New South Wales, 1988.
69. M.M. boldly accused the Australian-dominated PASG being "racists" (interview, March 26, 2011). D. H. mildly hinted at how "whites have taken over" and that they are "not so nice to Filipinos" (interview, February 6, 2010). D. W., on the other hand, does not see the racism but instead attributed this to the Filipinos' inability to fit in within the ways things are under "Aussie dominance" (email message to author, March 17, 2011).

70. David Robie, "Philippine Solidarity Upheaval—Lessons for Aotearoa," January 10, 1992, unpublished paper.
71. Ibid.
72. "The Situation in the Solidarity Movement," unpublished document, 1990. The eight signatories of the position paper are: Bert Dellosa, May Kotsakis, Malou Logan, Melba Marginson, Al Noveloso, Gabby Ocampo, Raffy Saldana and Jose Vergara. Most of the names in this list are now members of Migrante Australia and/or Gabriela Australia.
73. "The Situation in the Solidarity Movement," unpublished document, 1990.
74. "Towards an Understanding of Philippine-Australia Solidarity," unpublished document, 1991.
75. Robie, "Philippine Solidarity Upheaval—Lessons for Aotearoa," 1992.
76. Ibid.
77. M.M., interview, March 26, 2011.
78. S.M., quoted in Robie.
79. S.M., quoted in Robie.
80. "The Situation in the Solidarity Movement," unpublished document, 1990.
81. M.M., interview, March 26, 2011.
82. Jodi Dean in Mohanty, 2003, 7.
83. Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures,* 1997.
84. M.M., interview, March 26, 2011.
85. Christian Ramilo, "This is My Life (I Want Control)," *PASG (Queensland) Newsletter,* January–February 1991, 7.
86. Mohanty, 231.
87. Diane Nelson *A Finger in the Wound,* 70.
88. Ann Deslandes, "From Fetishism to Friendship: Politics and Ethics of Solidarity in the Global Justice Movement," 23–24.
89. Ibid.
90. "Understanding Philippine Australian solidarity: A guide to Philippines-Australian solidarity work from the point-of-view of Filipino cadres and activists in Australia", dated May 1994, is a letter by Emilio Villa (allegedly the *nom de guerre* of Fidel Agcaoili), acting officer of the NDF Asia Pacific Committee
91. D.H., e-mail message to author, April 19, 2011.
92. Ibid.
93. D.W., interview, November 7, 2010.
94. J.B., letter to friends of CPCA, April 10, 1991, unpublished document.
95. D.H., e-mail message to author, April 19, 2011.
96. Ibid.
97. CPCA Newsletter January–March 1992, 15; emphasis original.

98. Cunneen and Stubbs, *Gender, Race and International Relations,* 1997.
99. D.H., e-mail message to author, May 4, 2011.
100. "Questionnaire, Program, Guidelines and Results. Stopping Violence Against Filipino Women: A Government and Community Responsibility," National conference organised by the Centre for Philippine Concerns–Australia (CPCA) and the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), October 6–7, 1994.
101. Andrea Banaag Niblett defended her action by claiming that it was philanthropic (Letter to the Editor by Andrea Niblett, February 22, 1993). In the same letter, she claims that Morgan's book is about "morality of decent honest, innocent Filipino men and women". The Filipino community in Perth and elsewhere called for her replacement. CPCA Perth was insistent prodding Ambassador Rora Navarro-Tolentino to protest against the book "to uphold the dignity of the Filipino" without "intefer[ing" in the exercise of the civil liberties' of Morgan (Letter to Mel Gallagher by Rora Navarro-Tolentino, February 26, 1993).
102. D.H., e-mail message to author, April 19, 2011.
103. Joel Rocamora, "Democracy and Communism," The Transnational Institute, 2002.
104. The names M.M. enumerated are now affiliated with either *Migrante Australia* and/or *Gabriela,* both known RA camps. (M.M., interview, March 26, 2011).
105. M.M., interview, March 26, 2011.
106. One claim made by M.M. was that two members of CPCA then were "taken" by the RA, *"ginapang"* (rootword: "gapang", "to crawl" means to stealthily take) was the word she used to describe the stealthy way they were "courted" by the other camp. They are now active leaders of *Migrante Australia*. (M. M., interview, March 26, 2011).
107. D.H., e-mail message to author, April 19, 2011.
108. Ibid.
109. Dee Hunt, "Philippine Civil Society and International Solidarity Partners: Strengthening Local & Global Advocacy Initiatives," Bayanihan International Solidarity Conference, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines, 24–26 August 2001.
110. S.A., interview March 22, 2013.

CHAPTER 11

Conclusions: The Culturalisation of Sexualised Citizenship

Searching for Filipinos and for 'Filipinoness' through their cultural history in Australia has taken this research to examine social relations of a group of people who continue to struggle in finding meaningful ways to place Australia in the Filipino. An ethnography of Filipino-Australians is a journey that takes one back to crucial times of migration history and to open and closed spaces of a neighbouring country with a history of colonisation as fraught as the migrants' experience of it. Failure to find connections between these two countries' encounter with the painful processes that accompany colonisation (both as coloniser and colonised) and the burst of postcolonial nationalism that follows could mean a superficial understanding of how Australia enabled and disabled Philippines-born migrations. The writing of this history is an ethnography of colonial relations: between men and women, white and coloured, the rich and the poor. The collective fate that the migrant group has taken—their representations, their stereotypes and their place under the Australian sun—depended on the exertion of practices of coloniality and the resistant acts that counter them. While evaluating the production of a cultural history in a migrant setting yields very specific observations on the economic and social relations within the community, there are also broader implications that emerged regarding the global movement of Filipinos, the cultural imprints they make anew and the new cultures which human mobility and the making of the everyday forge. The material gain of this scattering, in the form of transnational remittances, is one trace of mobility and the psychic (trans/national) consequences of diaspora, also read as the 'cultural', is another.

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By way of concluding this book, I see Filipino-Australian cultural history as a form of remittance, a term I split in two interpretive threads. It is a remittance that functions not like money and is thus less quantifiable but not necessarily intangible. Remittances are crucial for the survival of the family, for some it is alleviation from absolute poverty in the Philippines. Yet, the words 'remit' and 'remittance' which mean 'to send', the origin of which is the Latin *remittere*, also means 'to abstain from exacting (a payment or service of any kind); to allow to remain unpaid (or unperformed).'[1] To remit, in this sense, is to allow someone to remain off the hook while letting some debt or responsibility remain unfulfilled; it is also, more importantly, to acknowledge the 'unfulfilment'. I make an opposition between the two meanings—'to send something' and 'to abstain from exacting'—as an analogy that fittingly describes print culture and its capacity to read diaspora as phenomenon as gift and guilt, or gifting circumscribed in guilt.

The concept of remittances is also seen either as salvation from a sinking neoliberal economy or the trade-off for the breaking up of the nuclear family; a paradox where the family as private sphere is given up in the name of the public, national family. They are a source of conflict in interracial marriages but also a psychic bridge between two or more national boundaries. Thus, whenever the World Bank releases the yearly remittance figures from migrants, such as the Philippines in the fourth place after India, China and Mexico, there is a sense of relief that those who left have not forgotten the left behind. But this also provokes a kind of silent panic, a resignation to the hopelessness of being dependent on selling labour overseas, especially when the Philippines relied on US$27 billion in 2016 pumped into the economy from its transnational citizens. Yet, urgency with which money transfers are received and diaspora philanthropy is valorised—both by senders and recipients—eclipse other forms of remittances. Migrant cultural history is a parallel phenomenon as I see it.

Filipino productions in Australia is an act of remitting, a sending off—a gifting—so to speak. It is an effort of many in imagining a common ground, thus, creating not one but many Filipino print culture(s) in Australia. Immersed in a social setting so diverse, so different from one's own cultural milieu, it is easy to believe that there is a unifying cultural environment essential and contingent on the survival of migrants. One almost always seeks the comfort of familiarity amidst the dizzying degrees and shades of 'differences' that one carries (and has bestowed upon one) in a nation that prides itself as multicultural.

As an ethnographer who was also a temporary resident in Australia, I was equally enthralled by reactions and responses that my 'difference' commands, and by the reactions and responses that my self-conscious 'difference' elicits in me. Filipino-Australian cultural history in the last 40 years exhibits the same demands of self-consciousness that being 'different' makes. The compendium of writings gathered under a homogenising name—Filipino-Australian print culture—is an attempt to address the pains and enjoyment of migration, the sadness and riches of facing one's 'difference'. Because similarities and differences in a multicultural society are both relative and fixed, shifting yet persistent—the migrant can assume becoming 'Australian' but can never be 'Australian' at the same time—the very materiality of cultural history attests to the commonness of being 'Filipino' vis-à-vis others but also the differences of being 'Filipino' vis-à-vis each other.

Despite divisions along the lines of class, gender, sex, ethnolinguistic belonging, among others—thus, the lack of uniformity that would render it as one—Filipino-Australian cultural history, on the whole, is the community's response to the feminisation and marginalisation as symbolised by the 'mail-order bride'. The production of novels, memoirs, anthologies and collections, are undertakings to resist the overpowering signification of the label 'mail-order bride' that has cast a long shadow on the community. Although some quasi-feminist projects valorise the middle-class migrant—the rhetoric of 'we too have professionals like white people'—instead of critiquing racism and sexism against Filipino women, these cultural productions are nonetheless intellectual labour of resistance, a protesting against their sexualised citizenship in Australia. While many texts exemplify such resistant framework, there are those expressing repressed hostility towards the 'mail-order bride'. This resentment—a disavowal yet an actualisation of a desire—takes the form in scapegoating the 'mail-order bride' as sublimation of the repressed aggression against Australia that cannot be expressed. Nevertheless, even if this hostility engendered a theoretical failure, it had a constructive social effect in gathering the members of the community to rally against domestic violence that in a broader way redefined the practices of activism in diaspora. These responses I read as inestimable acts of gifting. While strategic and self-centred in most cases, they nevertheless are remittances forged in a moment of kindness.

The idea of a migrant cultural history as a remittance to the land and the people one has left behind is all the more poignant given the

singularity by which Filipino women are uniquely identified by their gendered migration. I argued in this book that the Filipino migration contributed to Australia's male-order much less than to multiculturalism in the last 40 years. This may seem to go against established discursive formations in multiculturalism, and against commonsense given the growth of the Filipino community. The location of Filipinos in Australia is a consequence not simply of Australia's techniques of governing a multicultural nation but is significant also in influencing how migrants respond to the mechanism. I raise the argument pointing to the racial and sexual category—the political uses of the gendered migration of Filipinos—against which Australia defines itself as a nation governed by liberalism, democracy, justice, among other values of the free world, but also to Australia's masculinisation through militarised power and wealth. In relation to this display of strength, the feminisation of the Philippines is the masculinising element to Australia, and its women as sacrificial offering. One might conjure the vision of a naked female Christ on the cross—the narrative of Christian passion so embedded in the Filipino psyche—where women's bodies are sacrificed for the multitude. The Filipino-Australian cultural history, carved out of this sacrifice, is a priceless remittance. A remitting that is rooted in the economic, social and gendered relations between Australia and the Philippines. 'To remit' a cultural history is an intimation of a national grand narrative not dissimilar from the passion of the Christ in sacrificing life for the salvation of many.

If migrant cultural history, in all its accomplishments and failures, is a transnational remittance sending, a gifting to one's home, it is also a ramification of abstention, a gifting for being away from home. The continuous printing of ethnic newspapers not for profit, of books and anthologies unsold and absent in libraries, of newsletters that are binned before being read, is a symptom of the need to keep sending 'home' signs of life; home as a place more symbolic than physical. Like a family member remitting money out of *utang na loob* (literally 'debt of/from the inside') and *hiya*/hiyain ('shame/to embarrass someone'), migrant cultural history might as well be expressions of self-imposed obligation to the national family. The acts of sending money and publishing in permanent diaspora are both about extending a connection that one does not wish to expire, a reaching out to a receiver because of an internalised guilt. Money and diasporic culture are abstractions that are remitted because one cannot sever the ties that bind.

Because ties are not dissolved by distance alone, transborder remittances operate on the notion of *utang na loob* which is a gifting given, more than a borrowing solicited, at crucial times when no amount of money or unscrupulous interest rate can cancel the debt. The very interiority of *loob* is what makes it different from the common debt. The idea of *loob* has weighty implications with the concept of *hiya*/hiyain. A person's capacity to feel and therefore acknowledge *utang na loob* depends on whether she could feel *hiya*; otherwise, she would be embarrassed by one whose patronage she owes. '*Hiya* thus colors the entire spectrum of indebtedness, signalling both its operation and its failure.'[2] I believe that the presence of *hiya* implies the feeling of guilt. The very act of sending money or a *balikbayan* box has psychic and ethical demands similar to those demanded by guilt. A transaction of moving cash transnationally is contingent on the interiority of *hiya* that an immigrant harbours and then enacts as *utang na loob* to the larger family, the *bayan* (the nation).

On the other hand, because it is a gifting away from home, remitting from is also a deferring of punishment or sacrifice to someone who sinned or failed to perform; an exceptionally strong interpretation if seen in the context of a suffering *bayan*: a nation as a family of sufferers inextricably bound by the passion of a colonial past, a troubled present and a bleak future. The migrant as a metaphorical figure of a son or daughter who left the family for greener pasture is a common reading of the Filipino; *'ang bagong bayani*', literally the 'modern-day heroes' rhetoric of the state. The valorisation of the nomadic labourer as a saviour of the national family is well entrenched in the continuing brokering of cheap Filipino labour in the world. But what is less articulated in public is to cast immigrants as defectors who absconded from the corral of the suffering family, a deserter of the *Inang-bayan* (Motherland). A child born into hardship has then remitted from the suffering of the family/nation, an escape from being Filipino. Yet, this abstention, the casting of immigrants as turncoats is possibly a result of an aggrandisement or self-dramatisation of the left behind as authentically 'Filipino'. The ones who left—especially the new 'citizens' of the first-world—can never recover what they have lost. The primacy given to this 'situatedness', the immobility of the 'unfortunate' others, the oppressiveness of geography, I would argue, is precisely the rationale behind the imagining and articulation of the immigrant as turncoat. In other words, the invalidation of the transnational citizen as 'Filipino' is also, painfully, a recognition of one's immobility. That without the categorical existence of the defector—the remitted Filipino—the

rhetoric of the suffering masses, thus, the nomadic labourer as 'hero', is not conceivable. Forms of connective transactions like diaspora philanthropy, diaspora capitalism and diaspora nationalism are faithfully practised to assuage the guilt and to pay for the hiya caused by remitting from being Filipinos.

Reading Filipino-Australian cultural history in the last 40 years as a remittance to and a remitting from the Filipino people, however, is part of a larger movement. The shift from racialism to culturalism in new multicultural societies possesses an almost universal acceptance today. This 'cultural turn' was coeval with the re-centring of 'culture' as a relational and yet 'natural' phenomenon. Although the Filipino community and all the rest of non-Anglo migrants are, strictly speaking, under the regulative mandate of pluralism, each of these 'ethnic' groupings occupies a role in maintaining the logic of multiculturalism as a bastion of tolerance, equality and opportunity of the modern nation-state. The racism that multiculturalism hopes to overcome is reformulated into the more subtle understandings and applications of cultural otherness. Non-white immigrants know this only too well. Because 'scientific' racial differences—the basis of earlier colonialist expansion—have been replaced by cultural otherness, Filipinos and other people of colour are 'different' because of what they are, not because they are racialised. Cultures are all beautiful and sourced from specific socio-geographic realities. Yet, this seeing of who is 'different' from oneself is not articulated as a subtle form of racialist regime in multicultural societies. It is not racism any longer but swept under the 'universality' of cultures being different from each other. I am not racist, but their ways are just un-Australian. Valentine Moghadam points to this return to culture since the late 1980s as a movement that 'has taken on a weight of its own, reified, even sacralized.'[3] Culture as a kind of transcendental means that diaspora communities in global cities—having been ascribed an emancipatory capacity by cultural theorists as they are hybrid—are in a position to deliver change.

The symbolic role given to cultural history, in particular, as the main arena of struggle of a sexualised community, is symptomatic of the cultural turn in theory and an effect of the dominant practices in multiculturalism's replacement of racialism with culturalism. This shift in 'culturalising' the other, such as the sexualised 'mail-order bride', ties neatly with the profiteering of a neoliberalist system in mobilising third-world populations. My reading of migrant cultural productions as remittance, and of migrant bodies as a remitting from being Filipino is

consistent with the centrality of postcolonial nationalism. The discourse of remittance permits (national) subjects to read their immobility as loyalty to one's land of birth. Yet, this very act of loyalty and remittance legitimises that countries like Australia appropriate its diverse population through culturalisation of the 'ethnic' other.

The Filipino community suffers a cultural otherness—and I do not refer to food, karaoke or beauty contests—that stands on the painful history of hyperfeminisation. Whereas 'old' racism reduces people into geneticist types, culture-based racism diffuses the social world of others into the tolerable yet still 'different' ways of organising and performing their everyday. So much so that a question whether there might be something about the culture of Filipinos that makes them more 'prostitutable' than others is conceivable. This question was, in fact, raised by a white female academic to a white male academic presenting on the widespread presence of Filipino women as live-sex performers online in a conference I attended. The reduction of racial, class and other forms of othering of 'ethnic' women as possibly 'cultural' dangerously tucks sexual subordination under the rubric of 'history' as well, so that Filipino women are like that because of their irreversible past: being a 'mistress' to three different masters (Spain, USA and Japan) as the clichéd imagery captures well. In turn, Filipino-Australian cultural history seeking to redress the injustices of this sexualisation is developed mainly within the domain of the cultural. It is as if in cultural production alone—because nothing is outside culture—that the struggle for de-sexualisation of the other, or at least, mitigating the 'mail-order bride' effects, is played out.

What Sara Ahmed calls the 'melancholic migrant' for the unceasing unhappiness of an ethnic subject despite her official citizenship is instructive of the shroud of sadness of the Filipino-Australian community.[4] The 'alien affects'—the emotional elements of being made to feel different—engendered by everyday racism against sexualised citizens are attempted to be overcome by some gatekeepers of the community through a forgetting; that it is only through this disavowal and erasure that the unhappiness of being the sexual other can be lifted. Yet, the unhappiness of being known as the 'mail-order bride' community, of not forgetting the injustices of racism, of fighting it and becoming 'affect aliens' in white Australia is what Filipino print culture is ambivalent about: to be happy in forgetting or to remain unhappy by deferring a forgetting. A cultural history of migrants is an attempt to overcome the unhappiness of 'difference'. In the case of Philippines-Australian migration, it is the

unremittable 'mail-order bride'. This sense of overcoming stands on the sheer strength of continuous cultural and political actions.

Notes

1. Oxford English Dictionary [OED], "Remit."
2. Vicente Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism,* 127.
3. Valentine Moghadam, "Introduction: Women and Identity Politics in Theoretical and Comparative Perspective", 6.
4. Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness,* 158.

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