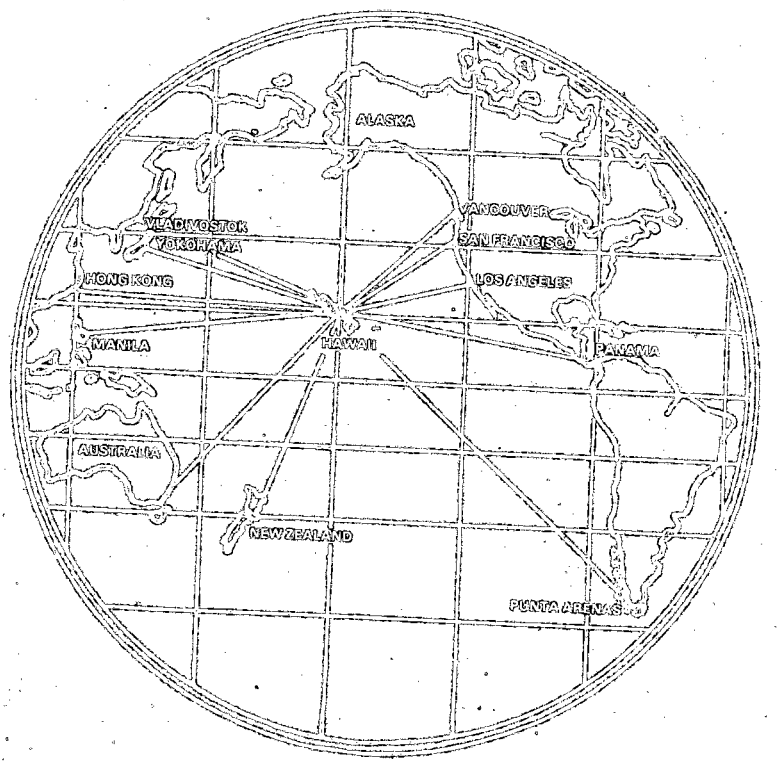
SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII



Filipino American History, Identity and Community in Hawai'i

In Commemoration of the 90th Anniversary of Filipino Immigration to Hawai'i

Jonathan Y. Okamura
Guest Editor

Volume 37
1996

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

Executive Editor: Kiyoshi Ikeda

General Editor: Michael G. Weinstein

Volume 37
Guest Editor: Jonathan Y. Okamura

Distributed by University of Hawai'i Press
2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822

ISSN 0737–6871

Filipino American History, Identity and Community in Hawai'i

In Commemoration of the 90th Anniversary of Filipino Immigration to Hawai'i

Jonathan Y. Okamura
Guest Editor

Social Process in Hawai'i
Volume 37
1996

Department of Sociology
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Contents

Foreword

This issue of the Filipinos in Hawai'i is in commemoration of the 90th anniversary of Filipino immigration to Hawai'i. It represents the second milestone in being the second issue of *Social Process in Hawai'i* which focuses with rich description and analysis of the experience of Filipino immigrants and their descendants in the creation of identity, community, and participation in Hawai'i, in impacting upon the region of origin, and upon the larger Hawai'i and American society.

The Filipino experience in Hawai'i has occurred in a context which has been highly controlled and regulated from the inception of contract labor work on the plantations. Previous experiences and events continue to leave their mark on present efforts to create a robust and supportive setting for members of the Filipino community. These struggles and adaptations are well documented and interpreted as to legacy and future in the articles of this issue.

The active involvement of members of this population in responding to their life-conditions and challenges in family life, in presenting themselves as individuals and as members of associations and communities in the educational setting, in the work-a-day world, in overlapping circles of linguistic, national, and cross-national identities and networks represents important comparative data and ideas on human relations and understandings.

Kiyoshi Ikeda, Ph.D.
Executive Editor

Preface

Sixty years ago in 1936, Roman R. Cariaga, who initiated Filipino American studies in Hawai'i, published an article on "Some Filipino Traits Transplanted" in the second volume of *Social Process in Hawaii.* This year, 1996, we are pleased to be able to devote an entire volume of the *Social Process* journal to *Filipino American History, Identity and Community in Hawai'i.* This year is especially significant because it marks the ninetieth anniversary of Filipino immigration to Hawai'i which began in 1906. This collection of articles is intended as the authors' collective contribution to the "Pagdiriwang (celebration) '96" anniversary commemoration. One of the contributors to our volume, Leonard Andaya, is co–chair of the Pagdiriwang '96 Coordinating Committee that has been planning and organizing the ninetieth anniversary observance, and a few other authors are committee members.

One of the major ninetieth anniversary events is a statewide series of monthly forums addressed to significant issues confronting the Filipino American community. These issues include sex, drugs and youth; employment patterns; the changing role of women and the family; political participation; educational access and achievement; and ethnic identity expression. These public forums, which are being led by University of Hawai'i faculty and community leaders as resource persons, provide a timely and unique opportunity for Filipinos as a community to reflect upon and discuss their collective achievements, concerns, problems and aspirations in the above and other relevant areas.

Certainly, ninety years after their arrival in Hawai'i to labor in the plantation fields for low wages, the 169,000 Filipino Americans in the islands representing 15 percent of the state population remain a socioeconomically disadvantaged minority. United States census data for 1990 indicate that Filipinos are still greatly overemployed in blue collar work as service workers, operatives/laborers, and agricultural workers and continue to be significantly underrepresented in professional and executive/managerial employment. While they rank third in median family income ($42,000 after Japanese and Chinese), which can be attributed to the prevalence of extended family households especially among immigrants, both male and female Filipino Americans are among the lowest ranked groups in median personal income (before African Americans and Samoans). In education, Filipinos (12%) are well below the state median (23%) in terms of the percentage of persons 25 years and over with a bachelor's degree or higher, and some of these college graduates received their education in the Philippines before immigrating to Hawai'i. Nonetheless, higher education is one of the encouraging areas in the socioeconomic status of Filipino

Americans since 1980 insofar as they are at the state median (30%) for 18 to 24 year olds enrolled in college, and at 20 percent they are the largest group in the UH community college system, although they are still underrepresented among undergraduate students at UH Mānoa (12%). As Filipinos prepare to enter the next millenium, our volume represents an effort towards greater appreciation and understanding of their history, identity and community in Hawai'i.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to express our appreciation to the following individuals and offices for their support of the production of this volume:

Prof. Kiyoshi Ikeda, Executive Editor of *Social Process in Hawaii*, for providing us with the opportunity to publish another special issue on Filipino Americans in Hawai'i, as he also did in 1991 (*The Filipino American Experience in Hawai'i*, volume 33), and for allocating journal funds to the publication costs.

The Office of Research Relations at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, under the directorship of Dr. Rudolf Schmerl, that also supported our previous *Social Process* volume.

The Department of Ethnic Studies at UH Mānoa and the Pagdiriwang '96 Coordinating Committee for contributing funds toward production costs.

Mr. Mark Nakamura, Graphics Specialist with the Center for Instructional Support at UH Mānoa, for his expert work in formatting the articles into camera ready form for printing, as he also did for our collection in 1991.

Jonathan Y. Okamura
Guest Editor

Interpreting Pablo Manlapit

Melinda Tria Kerkvliet

Pablo Manlapit was a labor leader in Hawai'i in the 1920s and 1930s. Consequently, he was forced to leave Hawai'i temporarily for California and then permanently for the Philippines. While in the Philippines, he served in the national arena as a bureaucrat for Filipino presidents from the time of Manuel L. Quezon through Elpidio P. Quirino. In the mid 1950s he became active again in organized labor.

Foes, friends, and families of Manlapit give varied and, sometimes, contradictory explanations for his actions at different places and periods of his life. Manlapit, himself, also provides reasons for acting as he did. Using new material from several archives and information from descendants of Manlapit, this essay adds another into that pool of interpretations. The main question we seek to answer is this: Given his militancy while in Hawai'i, how do we interpret his actions in the Philippines? To answer this question, we shall focus on major episodes of his life, leaving out details for a longer study later.

Family Background

Pablo Manlapit was born on 17 January 1891 in Lipa, Batangas to a working class family, which we deduce from a bit muddled but significant information supplied by his descendants.[1] His father was reportedly a shoemaker and had a small shoeshop. He also allegedly grew coffee in his own plot while working as a tenant for a rice landlord. We also consulted other accounts describing the participation of the upper and middle classes in Lipa's economy (such as the coffee industry boom in the 1850s) and politics (the revolution against Spain in 1896 and the subsequent war against the United States of America beginning in 1899). These do not mention the Manlapit family.[2] Likewise Manlapit's descendants do not recall any of their forebears joining the struggle during the revolutionary period. They do not talk of a Manlapit *katipunero*. A nephew recalls that Pablo's father, after noticing the American presence and sensing good business prospects, opened a small shop to bake bread for them.

The Manlapit family's economic situation improved after their migration to Manila sometime in 1908 or 1909. As for the reason for moving to Manila, it was probably economic since many people from the countryside had been moving to Manila in search of better fortune.[3] His father was hired as a security guard by the British trading firm Smith Bell & Company, a steady job which enabled him to send his eldest son (Eulogio) to Ateneo de Manila, a Jesuit-run school, to

complete high school. Perhaps the plan was to send Pablo, the second son, to Ateneo later. Meantime, Pablo worked for different government offices as a messenger and general clerk. Then an American construction firm in Corregidor hired him as a timekeeper, but he did not stay there for long because, as he later claimed, he was dismissed for his labor union activities.[4]

We have yet to find corroborating evidence for Pablo's early labor activity before he went to Hawai'i. Perhaps it was a matter of luck. Had he worked for the Bureau of Printing (with Hermenegildo Cruz, Felipe Mendoza, and Crisanto Evangelista) or in one of the several cigar and cigarette factories in the city, he would have been swept into the mainstream of the labor movement. Then we would have some information on him for this early period because the printers and the tobacco factory workers published journals and souvenir programs. It was only many years later in 1923, when Pablo was already in Hawai'i, that Cruz, who by then was the director of the Philippine Bureau of Labor, and Manlapit exchanged letters.

Had he stayed home, perhaps Pablo could have continued his studies, or he could have easily found a job as a clerk in the expanding bureaucracy formed during the American regime in the Philippines. Pablo's younger brothers, in fact, followed this route to become clerks in the Bureau of Customs; one of them later shifted to customs brokerage and became very wealthy. But Pablo's mind was somewhere else. Without his parents' knowledge and permission, Pablo signed up to go to Hawai'i as a plantation worker. Since there was no compelling reason or strong economic push for him to leave, he probably was just curious to find out what was beyond Manila Bay.

At that time the information and advertisements from the recruitment office of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association in San Nicolas, Manila painted a positive picture of Hawai'i. One such ad in the *Taliba* Tagalog newspaper mentioned wage rates in Hawai'i to be P40 monthly for a male worker and P14 for female and child workers per month. Also the following would be supplied free of charge: travel fare, clothing, cigarettes, mats, pillows, blankets, towel, soap, plate, etc. And once in Hawai'i, housing, water, fuel, medicine, and doctor's services would be provided. Anyone who signed up would be given P10. Finally, Hawai'i was like home: "Hawai'i is just like the Philippines: no winter, no tigers, no cobra nor other poisonous animals and grasses."[5] It is possible that Pablo learned about Hawai'i from similar newspaper ads or directly from the recruiters.

Filipinos were first recruited as laborers for Hawai'i in 1906, a desperate effort by Hawai'i sugarcane planters to stabilize the supply of cheap labor for the booming sugar industry. Before the Philippines, the planters had recruited Chinese, Norwegians, Germans, Portuguese, Japanese, and Koreans to work in Hawai'i. But despite great hopes in the Philippines, the recruiters persuaded only 15 men to go to Hawai'i in 1906. The next year, 150 men agreed to go but there was no recruitment push the following year because many planters believed that the whole recruitment scheme in the Philippines had been a failure. The Japanese plantation workers' strike in 1909, however, forced the planters to take a second look at the Philippines and to tap it again as a source of labor.[6]

As family stories go, Pablo tried to leave at least twice but his parents, who discovered his plans, prevented him from leaving. They literally plucked him out of the ship at the docks. He finally succeeded in leaving on 10 January 1910 aboard the S.S. Mongolia with 280 Filipinos bound for Hawaii's plantations. As his birthday was on January 17th, he had just turned 19 when he disembarked in Honolulu on 17 February 1910.

Stay in Hawai'i

In a general sense, Hawai'i in the early 1900s had a distinct similarity with the Philippines in that a small group of people, many of them connected with the sugar industry, dominated its economy and government. In fact this small group, mostly *haole* (white), helped overthrow the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 and rejoiced at Hawaii's becoming a territory of the United States in 1898 at about the same time American troops were paving the ground for a takeover of the Philippines from the Filipino revolutionaries. It seemed natural, therefore, for the sugar planters to look at the Philippines, the new American colony, as a source of cheap labor.[7]

Pablo's sojourn in Hawai'i covers roughly two periods. In the first period (1910-1919), Pablo experienced employment problems, started a family, and continued his education through self-study. The second period (1920-1934), which we shall analyze in detail, saw Pablo's development as a labor leader culminating in his participation in the strikes of 1920 and 1924. In the aftermath of the 1924 strike, Pablo was jailed and later was forced to leave Hawai'i for California where he would finish serving his parole.

On 19 December 1919 Pablo received his license from the Supreme Court of Hawai'i, thus becoming in his own words, "the first Filipino lawyer to practice law in Hawai'i."[8] This was indeed an achievement, if we remember that when Pablo left the Philippines nine years previously he had only finished elementary education. He was so determined to change his career path that he studied by

himself for the law examinations while working as janitor and interpreter for Attorney William J. Sheldon who had an office in downtown Honolulu.

When he received his license to practice law, Pablo already had a wife and three daughters. In 1912, he had married Annie Kasby whose parents were homesteaders on the Big Island; her father was German and her mother was American. The eldest child, Alice, was born on the Big Island, while the next three (Annie, Sophie, and Pablo, Jr.) were born on O'ahu. The move to O'ahu, apparently, was motivated by employment problems. Very early on Pablo lost his job at a plantation for participating in a strike. While in Hilo, still on the Big Island, he tried his hand at different jobs including, editing a weekly, *Ang Sandata*, selling gramophones and sewing machines, running a pool hall, and interpreting for local courts. In Honolulu, he also tried various jobs including working at the docks where he was once beaten up during a strike and, as mentioned, janitor and interpreter for Attorney Sheldon.

With a family and a license to practice law, one option for Pablo was to settle down quietly in Honolulu. This meant respect for the status quo and ignoring the plight of plantation workers. In 1919 there were 24,791 Japanese workers and 10,354 Filipino workers on the plantations, representing respectively 54.7 percent and 22.9 percent of the total work force. In mid 1919 Prudencio Remigio, an official labor investigator from the Philippines, visited 22 (of the 45) sugarcane plantations in 18 days. His report contained complaints of many Filipino workers, including inadequate wages, poor housing, abusive *luna* (foremen), strict plantation police and general isolation.[9] We do not know if Manlapit met with Remigio, but certainly Manlapit did not need to meet with him to learn about the workers' plight. At any rate at some point that year, Pablo, who had been active in community organizations and meetings, began to emerge and to assume a leadership role. His name, for instance, appeared in newspaper articles describing Filipino associations and their meetings in Honolulu.

We see Pablo's frame of mind in a written record of his meeting with Acting Governor of Hawai'i Curtis Iaukea on 7 February 1920.[10] At that time more than 2,600 Filipino workers had gone out on strike on O'ahu. Pablo had gone to ask the Governor's assistance for housing the evicted strikers who had no place to stay. The Governor could not help him apart from saying over and over that he was very worried epidemics and crimes could spread and sprout in those crowded strike camps in Honolulu. An official secretary recorded how Manlapit justified the strike:

> Manlapit stated that the Filipinos had repeatedly requested the planters' association for an increase in wages, on the ground that the present wages of 77 cents a day were not sufficient. There was a bonus, it is true, but unless a man worked 20 days out of each month he was not entitled to that, and without it the wages alone were not enough. Manlapit said he considered the bonus system a scheme advantageous to the planters' side. After investigating it thoroughly he had appealed to the planters to change the wage and bonus system. The reason the laborers desired a change was so the planters could be held legally responsible to give them a living wage. They did not want to be deprived of the money they had actually earned through some failure to carry out all of the conditions of the bonus system. The situation had come to where the Filipinos were ready to starve rather than to work longer under the old plan.[11]

In promoting workers' interests, Pablo was convinced that Filipinos and Japanese should join efforts. We can guess at the source of Pablo's ideas on interethnic cooperation. Some of his friends, like Attorney Sheldon (his former employer), Fred Makino (former leader of the Japanese plantation workers' strike in 1909), and George Wright (president of the AFL Labor Council) held the same view, and they probably influenced, if not reinforced, Pablo's thinking. His own experience in an interethnic stevedores' strike a few years back in 1916, as mentioned earlier, might have already affected his thinking. Finally, Pablo may have concluded that it was necessary to collaborate with the Japanese because, as noted above, there were more than twice as many Japanese as Filipino plantation workers.

Although Pablo was willing to assume a leadership role, he had no illusion that he had a lot of influence. He knew it was not easy playing the role of leader. In fact, while Pablo patiently waited for a Japanese pledge of cooperation, Filipino workers pushed for action with or without support from the Japanese. In the meeting cited, when Governor Iaukea asked Pablo if he had influence over the strikers, Pablo answered frankly, "My position now is that I can't advise them to return to work and I can't advise them to continue the strike unless they can get houses. If I advise them not to go back and sickness comes, then I am most responsible. If I advise them to go back, they may not go back."[12] He added that he could not really act decisively because he wanted to be fair.

> As far as I am concerned, I should like to call off the strike. I have thought it over and over, and I can't sleep anymore for thinking of it. I will try to feel these people out and see what they think about going back. There is only one question: The Japanese have pledged themselves to cooperate, and I don't want to break faith with them. I want to be fair to them and to my own people—to everybody.[13]

Similarly, he had no illusion about the sugar planters' benevolence. He accepted that the planters had a right to evict strikers from their homes in the plantation camps, but he thought they were mean and unfair because they did not give the strikers sufficient time to pack up and leave.

> Yes, last night I had the Filipino clubhouse (in Honolulu) filled up with people and their belongings. Men, women and children slept on the floor. These people were from 'Aiea. The plantations had driven them away and locked the doors, having given them one hour's notice, think of it, one hour. Yesterday a man came to me at 12:15 and told me that he had just been given notice to be out by 1 o'clock. The Filipinos were given no notice until yesterday.[14]

Moreover, Pablo knew that the planters were formidable and unyielding. When Governor Iaukea asked him how the evicted workers could be persuaded not to come to Honolulu, Pablo countered: "The only way is for the planters to be willing to meet us half way. I have tried to get them to conciliate and they won't listen."

The 1920 strike on O'ahu lasted about two months. The planters used the same approach when they broke the Japanese plantation workers' strike in 1909, which included eviction of strikers from their homes, hiring of strikebreakers, and prosecution of leaders for conspiracy. The planters also used the two main dailies (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*) to air their views. John Waterhouse, president of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, for instance, labeled the strike as "an anti-American movement designed to obtain control of the sugar business of the Hawaiian Islands."[15]

Unlike the Japanese leaders, Pablo was not legally prosecuted but he was subjected to a smear campaign that nearly cost him his career. The bribery charge came from F. E. Thompson, a senior member of a law firm that the sugar planters retained in January 1920 to monitor Pablo's activities. Pablo was accused of asking for a sum of money in exchange for calling off the strike. Following this, Acting Attorney General J. Lightfoot filed in March 1920 a petition for Pablo's disbarment on grounds that he had committed moral misconduct. The Hawai'i Supreme Court dismissed the petition for lack of evidence.[16] Among Pablo's defense attorneys was William B. Pittman who would come to his defense many times more later.

Four years later in 1924, a big strike by Filipino plantation workers occurred. It lasted for five to six months with more than 2,000 plantation workers on four islands going on strike. It ended tragically when the police and strikers clashed in Hanapepe, Kaua'i resulting in the death of 20 people. Pablo Manlapit was at the forefront of this strike. Why did he step out again when he knew from experience that a strike meant trouble? A safe option was for him to stay in the margin, continue his legal work, and take care of his family. His eldest daughter, Alice, recalls the years before 1924 as happy and pleasant, going crabbing with her father, swimming in Waikiki, eating at restaurants and buying shoes by using her father's charge accounts.

In reality, Pablo Manlapit did not even lie low after the 1920 debacle. Surveillance reports gathered by the sugar planters and sent out to plantation managers show that he, together with George Wright and other Filipino leaders, paved the ground for the 1924 strike. They had meetings and talked to workers outside the plantation camps (because they were barred from the camps). In these meetings, speeches were given in English, Tagalog, Ilokano, and Visayan. An example of one of these meetings is in the report of the assistant manager at Honoka'a and Pa'auhau plantations on "Manlapit meetings" in which Pablo reportedly advocated $2.00 as a minimum wage per day, double pay for overtime and Sunday work, shorter hours, and better living conditions for laborers who were treated as slaves. The assistant manager, nevertheless, said that the meetings were not big, attended by only from 40-50 people and that "our better class of Filipinos" was not impressed by Manlapit.[17]

By 1924 Pablo was convinced that he represented the Filipino workers better than anybody could, including the new labor commissioner, Cayetano Ligot, who had been appointed by the Philippine government in early 1923 to look after the interests of Filipino workers in Hawai'i. He believed that Ligot, in his efforts to protect the planters, was dissuading the Filipino workers from demanding higher wages because the planters would just turn around and recruit Chinese workers to replace them. This was deception because, according to Pablo, Ligot knew all along that the planters had made an appeal before the U.S. Congress to allow importation of Chinese workers but had failed. "Mr. Ligot knows very well that the failure to secure the coolies makes the conditions in Hawai'i such that the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association is almost wholly dependent on the Filipinos for their labor supply, and thus strengthens the cause of the laborers and makes any effort to secure higher wages and better conditions more likely to succeed." Furthermore, Pablo charged, the planters subsidized Ligot's weekly periodical which, among other things, published the planters' views uncritically. Also for Pablo, Ligot's hostility towards him was a case of "childish hostility" when compared to his own deep commitment. "I have no desire for any particular credit, or for honor or glory in competition with my activities. All I ask that I be permitted to serve my own people."[18] Pablo also charged that Ligot was divisive, pitting those laborers who came from the Ilocos region against those who came from the Visayas.

Ligot believed and welcomed any bad rumor cast against Pablo. He reported back to Manila that Pablo headed a fake labor organization and all that he was interested in was to steal money from the workers. Ligot enumerated four classes of Filipinos in Hawai'i, of which the first included "caciques, demagogues, criminals, so-called leaders and self-appointed Presidents and Officers

of the fictitious Labor Union, and High Wage Movement, without Constitution nor By-Laws. These are the parasites of the honest and faithful laborers. Pablo Manlapit is the father of this class."[19] In general, the sugar planters, Hawaii's Governor Farrington, and even Governor Leonard Wood of the Philippines shared Ligot's contempt for Pablo.

Pablo believed that, by asking for a living wage for the workers, he was advocating American ideals. "The keynote of Americanism, for the laborer, is the opportunity to advance—to better his condition. It is one of the cherished American ideals that each generation shall stand in advance of the preceding one, better physically, mentally, spiritually. And America demands for her workers this opportunity for development."[20]

What is the evidence? There was a loose labor federation of which Pablo became a willing head, and perhaps it had to be loosely knit because of the far-flung location of the plantations and the strict surveillance within each plantation. As the strike spread from O'ahu to other islands like slow-moving lava, local leaders on each island assumed complete charge, such as by organizing rallies and feeding the strikers at camps on parks, roads, and beaches.[21] John Reinecke later characterized the 1924 strike as "haphazard."[22] But at the same time, he acknowledged that research is needed on these forgotten local leaders.

As soon as the strike began, troubles descended like locusts on Pablo and his family. Documents at the sugar planters' archives and newspaper accounts detail how detectives watched like hawks where Pablo went and what he did. Alice remembers some of her father's friends who sympathized with the strike but were scared to express it publicly so they visited the Manlapit home secretly late in the night. "My father was brave. In those days the Big Five were in control, everyone was afraid of them." There were big rallies at Aala Park where her father delivered long, extemporaneous speeches and where Alice and her young friends danced hula to raise funds for the strikers. The Manlapit home was open to strikers. "My father helped everybody. We had to sleep on the floor when the people from the plantation had no jobs and had no place to stay. They came to our house, we had a big house, some of them slept on the floor, and we slept on the floor right along with them. There was no difference between the strikers and us. There was absolutely no difference."

The sugar planters hounded Pablo through the courts.[23] At least three charges were brought against him in 1924. The first charge involved Pablo not providing adequate "water closets" (toilets) for the evicted strikers who were lodging temporarily in Kalihi. He was found guilty and fined $25. The other two

charges were related to an article published in *Ang Bantay* which claimed that a sick baby of a striker (Pantaleon Enayuda) was ordered removed from the Waipahu hospital, which was managed by the O'ahu Sugar Company. The baby later died. R. J. Mermod, physician-in-charge, and E. W. Greene, plantation manager, refuted the article and filed a libel charge against Pablo who was found guilty and ordered to pay $100.60. In mid May, Manlapit and Cecilio Basan were charged with conspiracy of the first degree for having coached Enayuda to lie. Enayuda now turned witness against Manlapit and Basan.

The trial for the conspiracy charge took place on September 15-27 or merely six days after the violent clash in Hanapepe, Kaua'i in which 16 strikers and 4 police and security men were killed. On 27 September, the jury convicted the two men, and on 11 October 1924 Justice Banks sentenced them to a term of not less than two years nor more than ten years in jail. William B. Pittman, the defense attorney, declared publicly that his clients had been railroaded. "The big interests are crying for the blood of Manlapit and Basan."[24] Manlapit and Basan were not even on Kaua'i when the Hanapepe incident occurred.

Armed with new affidavits signed by Enayuda and others who now admitted receiving payments for their testimonies against Pablo and Basan, Pittman later appealed the case. On 29 May 1925 the Supreme Court, however, rejected the appeal on grounds that it had been filed one day too late. Pablo entered the O'ahu prison that same day.

His imprisonment devastated his family. Neighbors came to their rescue when they saw that the family had nothing to eat but rice and soy sauce. Annie Manlapit suffered a nervous breakdown so the children had to be sent temporarily to the care of a Catholic orphanage. Upon recovery, Annie held the family together through laundry work, at first washing bus drivers' uniforms at home and then working for the American Sanitary Laundry.

Meantime, in prison, Pablo kept faith in the legal process. He petitioned Governor Farrington for pardon on grounds that he was "framed up" because the witnesses had been paid to testify against him. An affidavit from the main witness was attached to Pablo's request. Appealing to the Governor's sympathy, he urged him to reinvestigate his case. "I am absolutely penniless and helpless at this time—treated as a felon along with murderers, burglars and others thought to represent the scum of the community."[25] Pablo could not have guessed the extent of hostility the Governor had towards him. Governor Farrington's confidential letters to Governor General Wood in the Philippines reveal his feelings towards Manlapit, particularly after the tragic clash at Hanapepe.

> It is obvious that such an outbreak must have resulted from the Filipinos being misled through inflammatory counsel or speeches of their leaders, and from our present information this attack on the police and the resulting fatalities was the result of reckless leadership by those sponsoring a strike among Filipino laborers on the plantations; and these same leaders are the ones who have been most outspoken in their attacks on Commissioner Ligot.[26]

Governor Farrington rejected Pablo's petition. Another misfortune befell him while in jail as his critics sought to disbar him again. This time the Acting Attorney General asked the First Judicial Court to disbar Manlapit for "gross misconduct," pointing out that he had been convicted of conspiracy and sent to jail. The court disbarred him on 7 January 1926.

Neighbors and friends extended moral support. One of them was Fred Makino, a former labor leader and publisher of the *Hawaii Hochi* newspaper. When Pablo's parole became an issue in early 1927, Makino published several articles and sent an open letter to Philippine officials describing Pablo's commitment to secure a fair deal for plantation workers.

> He is a man of great ability with a keen sense of justice and an intense love for his people. He devoted all his time and efforts for the cause of the strike in 1924. He sacrificed his private practice, giving everything he had to the cause of his suffering countrymen. Practically the whole burden of carrying on the struggle against the Hawaiian Sugar Planters fell upon his shoulders.[27]

Makino also asked the Philippine officials to rally for Manlapit, but they never did.

After much public debate on his parole terms, Manlapit finally accepted Governor Farrington's conditional parole; the condition was that he should leave Hawai'i. In a farewell message, written before leaving for California, Pablo bared his case:

> My offense was not against any law of morality or against any political statute, but against a system of industrial exploitation. I was railroaded to prison because I tried to secure justice and a square deal for my oppressed countrymen who are lured to the plantations to work for a dollar a day. I was kept in prison far beyond my minimum sentence because I refused to curry favor or seek concessions from those who held the power. I would not sacrifice my self-respect even for the sake of liberty.
>
> The governor of the Territory, acting under the instructions of the little group of planters who still hate and fear me, ordered me to leave Hawai'i as the price of granting me my freedom. I am convinced that the governor will some day realize his mistake.[28]

Stay in California and Return to Hawai'i

Large scale Filipino migration to the continental United States occurred in the mid 1920s after immigration policy stopped the flow of labor from Japan. Because the Philippines was a U.S. colony, Filipino "nationals" were excluded from the law. In 1920, 5,603 Filipinos lived in the mainland United States, of whom about 3,300 were in California. In 1930, the figures jumped; 45,208 Filipinos lived on the mainland, of whom 30,000 were in California. Their demographic profile was similar to that in Hawai'i; they were mostly single males in their teens or early twenties from the Ilocos region who wanted to work and send money back home. The main difference was that, unlike those in Hawai'i working on fixed plantations, those in the continental U.S. moved around according to the seasons, picking vegetables and fruits in the valleys of California and Washington. In the summer months, they traveled to Alaska to clean and can salmon.[29]

The scant information we have on Pablo's California years reveals that he tried to stay out of trouble because he was still serving his parole and was intent on rejoining his family in Hawai'i once the parole was fully served. He earned a living as an insurance agent and publisher of a weekly newspaper. He kept his distance from Hilario Moncado who was spearheading a new Filipino organization. The police harassed him once in January 1928; he was picked up and detained on suspicion, never proven, that he had links with the communists. Pablo believed that the detention was "an empty gesture of his invisible enemies," whom he did not name.[30]

Information we recently obtained through the Freedom of Information Act shows that those working within the intelligence network were convinced that Pablo was a communist because he had contacts with communists in California. "Manlapit, when he was banished from Hawai'i in September, 1927, was received with much enthusiasm by communist party leaders here and became definitely identified with the world communist movement." They were also convinced that Manlapit was thinking of organizing agricultural workers in the state, but the authorities reportedly nipped his plans. "In fact, Manlapit was so constantly under the eyes of the police that he was never able to get really started. The police also utilized a rival leader, H. C. Moncado and his organization, The Filipino Federation of America, to fight Manlapit."[31]

It must have been difficult for him not to get involved in the community because the period of his stay was a turbulent time for Filipinos on the West Coast. Many white Americans, destitute due to widespread economic depres-

sion, blamed Filipinos. Mob violence against Filipinos took place, such as the Watsonville riot in mid-January 1930 when local white males raided a clubhouse rented by Filipinos. The attack left one Filipino, Fermin Tobera, dead.[32] On several occasions Pablo expressed his views on racial discrimination and exploitation of Filipinos in California at public meetings and in newspaper articles. He particularly assailed the state's anti-miscegenation laws prohibiting marriage between whites and people of color.[33]

On 29 April 1932 Pablo returned to Hawai'i accompanied by Antonio A. Fagel, his new friend and convert to the cause of workers. Intelligence information also traveled to Hawai'i. "Pablo Manlapit left Los Angeles about two weeks ago en route to Honolulu, Hawai'i. For your information, for the information of Naval Intelligence in Hawai'i and for the information of O.N.I., Manlapit is probably the most able, the most intelligent and the most dangerous radical Filipino in the world."[34] The sugar planters placed him immediately under surveillance so that we find in the planters' archives reports on Pablo's movements and activities. For example, on July 1, the HSPA secretary John Butler informed all plantation managers that Pablo was planning to visit and speak to workers at different plantations about organizing a labor union, the recall of Commissioner Ligot (he was still in Honolulu), and remedies for unemployment. Other speakers, traveling with Pablo, were to deliver speeches in Ilokano and Visayan.[35] In another communication, Butler referred to Pablo as "this agitator" while a nervous manager called Pablo a "parasite."[36] The visits and meetings, of course, were held outside plantations. A cartoon in the *Filipino Outlook* shows Pablo asking for a pass to enter the plantation camps, and Butler says, "I am sorry Pablo, the gates are still *Kapu*."[37]

But Pablo maintained that he and his friends (Fagel, Epifanio Taok, among others) just aimed at helping solve the new problem at hand, which was unemployment. "Contrary to insinuations and intimidations of resenting factions, the Filipino Labor Union does not advocate any attitude of rebelliousness or radicalism, nor does it desire to look forward to another Filipino strike."[38] Pablo and his friends, however, resumed his old quarrel with Ligot, calling him still the "publicity director" of the sugar planters.

The year 1934 brought a load of troubles for Pablo. The board members of a new federation Pablo had organized accused him of not following majority decisions. They then voted to oust him as president of the federation. That year too he followed up on his petition for full pardon only to be told by Governor Joseph Poindexter that he needed to submit other supporting papers. But Pablo could not attend to it because of another more serious problem. He was accused

and convicted of overcharging a Filipino veteran who had enlisted Pablo's help in getting a federal loan. On 8 October 1934, Pablo was sentenced to one year imprisonment or five years probation to be served outside Hawai'i. Pablo, claiming lack of funds to pursue the case, chose the latter alternative and took a ship bound for the Philippines on October 10.

Interestingly, the day before Pablo left Hawai'i, Attorney General W. B. Pittman, who was Pablo's defense attorney in 1924, penned this letter to him:

> Replying to your letter of recent date as whether or not I am still of the opinion that you were innocent in 1924 and convicted on perjured testimony will state that I have reviewed the case on several occasions and have on each occasion become more convinced of your innocence and that a grave injustice was committed when you were refused a new trial. The feeling was so tense that it was impossible for you to get a fair and impartial trial.
>
> No one could read the affidavit filed on Motion for new trial by you and not be convinced of your innocence and that you were railroaded.[39]

His wife and four children opted to stay in Hawai'i, and they basically survived on their own without financial support from Pablo. Annie (his wife) continued her work pressing delicate, embroidered beddings at the laundry company. Alice, the eldest, now divorced with two small children, moved in with her mother and started work as a waitress at the Alexander Young Hotel cafe in downtown Honolulu. Annie, the second daughter, also did laundry work. In December 1939, Annie petitioned for and was granted a divorce from Pablo for "failure to provide."[40]

Return to the Philippines

Pablo Manlapit was 43 years old in 1934 returning home for the first time since he had left the Philippines in 1910. His parents had passed away, while his three brothers (Eulogio, Guillermo, and Victor) and a sister (Luisa) were married and raising their families in Manila and vicinity. Eulogio headed a printing firm, Guillermo owned a brokerage, Victor worked for the Bureau of Customs, and Luisa was a seamstress. Eulogio's eldest daughter, Juliana, then a law student at the University of the Philippines, recalls her uncle Pablo living with them upon his arrival from Hawai'i. "He told me that he fought the sugar planters who tried to bribe him, and that he was railroaded."[41]

The Manlapit brothers, particularly Guillermo, were supporters of leading politicians of the day, particularly then senator Manuel Roxas, who were at the forefront of the independence campaign for the Philippines. The campaign

culminated in the establishment of the transitional Commonwealth government in 1935 with Manuel L. Quezon elected as president. Most probably as a result of his family's contacts, Manlapit found himself rubbing elbows with the country's elite. He probably did not worry much about it because the elite stood for political independence from the United States which many patriotic Filipinos had wanted since the 1896 revolution against Spain.

Pablo moved within this elite circle from the time he returned in 1934 until the mid 1950s. Like many pre-World War II labor leaders, he gravitated towards Quezon whom he had already met years before in Hawai'i and California. When the Japanese occupied the country from 1942 to 1945, Pablo was tapped to be an adviser and, later, head of a labor recruitment agency directly under President Jose P. Laurel, Jr. Pablo's photo albums and family scrapbooks contain invitations to banquets held at the Malacañang Palace during the administrations of Manuel Roxas and Elpidio P. Quirino, the first two presidents of the Philippine Republic. Pablo and his friend Fagel in Hawai'i boasted that they were among the first ones to campaign for Roxas as president. He supported Roxas over Sergio Osmeña, Sr. on grounds that Osmeña, who vetoed the "Nationalization of Retail Trade and the Nationalization of Labor" bill, was a "pernicious anti-labor President."[42] He was appointed technical adviser at the Department of Labor during Roxas' administration, and land settlement supervisor in Mindanao during Quirino's administration.

While Pablo acted within the national political arena, workers and peasants in different parts of the country were organizing peaceful demonstrations. Prior to the Second World War, workers in Manila and in the provinces were striking. Sugarcane workers in Pampanga joined a militant organization led by Pedro Abad Santos, while dock and sugarcane workers in Iloilo and Negros joined the federation headed by Jose Nava. The Communist Party of the Philippines was formed in 1930. The resistance from workers and peasants heightened in the postwar years because the landed elite now used the instruments of the state, such as the military and the courts, to reclaim and protect their properties. The Huk peasant rebellion began in 1948 when the elected representatives of the peasants were prevented from taking their seats in Congress. Roxas feared that they would oppose his plans to give parity rights to Americans in exchange for much needed rehabilitation funds.

Ironically, Pablo saw the unrest and resistance through the lens of the politicians and landowners around him, in exactly the same way the sugar planters used to regard him in Hawai'i. The Cold War particularly affected his views for he believed that Communism was a menace to the world. "Today our country is menaced by the Chinese communists who are now supporting the Hukbo Lahap (Hukbalahap or People's Army Against the Japanese). This is the dissident element in the country."[43] Consequently, he urged President Quirino to outlaw communism. "The present Korean war between the Communist-inspired North Koreans and the Republic of South Korea supported by the United Nations Organization, thru the Security Council, immediately warrants, for the future security of our Republic, the outlawing of communism in the Philippines."[44]

The above account seems to show that Manlapit had changed in the Philippines. However, although Pablo Manlapit indeed worked for mainstream politicians, he also publicly expressed his ideas and opinions on certain issues. On several occasions, discussed below, he challenged the political bigwigs.

On 15 March 1947 the *Manila Chronicle* reported on its front page: "Charges of discrimination and grave irregularities in connection with the disposal of Philippine surplus property have been filed with the Commission on Appointments in Congress by Pablo Manlapit, former Filipino labor leader in Hawai'i and organizer of the first Roxas-for-President club." This was a calculated move on Pablo's part because at that precise time the Commission was conducting proceedings on the appointment of Placido L. Mapa, Arsenio M. Luz, and Gabriel K. Hernandez as officer and members of the Surplus Property Commission. This body was in charge of selling P200 million worth of American military surplus which had been turned over to the Philippine government. Leon O. Ty wrote several articles for the *Philippine Free Press* on the surplus racket by government officials and their relatives who "are now in affluent circumstances."[45] An observer, so shocked that the racket was producing millionaires, pined for the good old days under the leadership of Quezon.[46]

For brief background, this surplus property was part of what Renato Constantino calls "war damage blackmail." In the aftermath of World War II, the United States passed the Philippine Rehabilitation Act ostensibly to assist the war-torn Philippines. It provided $120 million for rebuilding roads and other infrastructure, $100 million "worth of surplus military property," and $400 million for damage claims from war victims. However, release of these monies depended on the Philippines' acceptance of the Bell Trade Act which had a clause giving Americans parity rights in the Philippines.[47]

Pablo charged that the surplus commission sold materials to the Philippine Long Distance Telephone company at prices lower than those offered by the public works department. Also tractors were sold to Marsman and Co. and to

Judge Quirino at prices lower than Manlapit, as representative of a group of Filipino capitalists, had earlier offered. Finally, the surplus commission, Pablo claimed, awarded to Material Distributors (Phil.), Inc. a contract to sell government property at Cebu base which was not financially advantageous to the government.

The "surplus graft" hit the headlines in early May. The United States War Department sent three investigators from the Federal Bureau of Investigation to see if U.S. Embassy officials were involved. Ramon Magsaysay, representative from Zambales, reportedly blocked the sale of Engineer Depot 16 at Caloocan to a Mr. Sweet, saving the government no less than P1 million. Commissioner Placido Mapa had claimed that there were only 24 tractors in that depot, but Magsaysay saw and recorded "no less than 189 tractors, 28 diesel road rollers, aside from bulldozers, new cranes, and road graders."[48] Three other congressmen who accompanied Magsaysay corroborated his report.

After all the furor, the surplus property commissioners received confirmation when it became clear that President Roxas himself had approved the transactions before the Surplus Property Commission was constituted. But Pablo believed that it became a lost cause because witnesses were afraid to testify against high-ranking officials. His open letter, reproduced below, summarizes his motives for raising the issue.

> It is regrettable and discouraging to note that the tendency of the present surplus probe is toward a "white-wash" in view of the lack of witnesses.
>
> I have started a campaign against a powerful government entity in the hope that other civic-spirited citizens, will, with courage, follow suit in fulfilling the difficult and arduous task of cleaning our government of corruption and graft. Much time has passed since I fired the first shot against the Surplus Property Commission but up to now even those who have knowledge of shady transactions of the SPC, have not, for fear or other reasons, come out openly against the evils that we desire to clean this government of.
>
> If the present indifference of prospective witnesses continues, I will, much to my regret and that of the general public, be forced to stop pursuing any further my avowed objective in denouncing the high priests in our government who are not above suspicion.
>
> My consolation, however, will be the thought that I have honestly campaigned against graft and corruption in the government and that if I failed, it is only because I was alone and too small to overpower single-handedly the "goliaths" in our government.
>
> I have done my share as a freedom-loving citizen and from now on, I shall leave it to the public conscience for decision.[49]

For the next two years (1948 and 1949) Pablo served as superintendent of the Allah Valley Project under the National Land Settlement Administration (NLSA). The Commonwealth President Manuel L. Quezon created this body in 1939 believing that it was more effective and economical to open public virgin lands than to buy landed estates for redistribution to landless peasants. The NLSA opened three major settlement areas: Koronadal Valley and Allah Valley in Cotabato and the Mallig Plains in Cagayan Valley.[50]

Antonio Paguia, the NLSA manager and Pablo's immediate boss, reported in May 1948 that the entire settlement project lacked proper funding so that no reserved areas (public domain) had been surveyed and subdivided. At the Koronadal and Allah Valleys, for instance, there were 3,000 squatters and an equal number of settlers (applicants) who could not be given lots because some 60,000 hectares had not been subdivided. In Davao's Compostela Valley, landgrabbing caused much confusion and trouble.[51]

Pablo embraced his job with confidence and mild pomp. He told the press that given sufficient funding to buy machinery for large-scale farming, Allah Valley could produce sufficient grain. "As a matter of fact, I know what I need in the job I am in. I need a million pesos with which to buy more tractors, plows, and other farm implements which is (sic) vital in the project in the Ala (Allah) valley."[52] He said he was well-acquainted with large mechanized farming, knowledge he acquired when he was in Hawai'i years back. When his boss sent him to investigate conditions in Davao's Compostela Valley, Pablo told the press: "Davao should be a paradise. If Filipino labor made Hawai'i what she is now there's no reason why we can't make Davao a paradise."[53]

In 1950 President Quirino reorganized his bureaucracy, abolished the NLSA, and with that Pablo's job and his dreams vanished. But Pablo was not deterred easily. He organized the 1,334 Allah Valley settlers to sign a petition protesting the proposed abolition of the NLSA.[54] But this was to no avail as Quirino formed LASEDECO (Land Settlement and Development Corporation) in October 1950 incorporating three dissolved entities, including the NLSA.[55] Shortly afterwards, Pablo and some 800 dismissed employees and laborers of the NLSA filed a claim in the Court of Industrial Relations (CIR) for gratuities and severance pay against LASEDECO. The case involved a total of P300,000. The CIR decided in favor of their claim, but the LASEDECO appealed to the Supreme Court. Finally, in December 1952, the Supreme Court upheld the CIR's decision.[56]

That same year Pablo also received a full and absolute pardon from Hawaii's Governor Oren E. Long. His long and sustained effort to get that pardon since

1925 are documented in a voluminous file in the Hawai'i State Archives.[57] Pablo tried several ways to change his conviction, including petitioning for pardon and commutation of his sentence. As noted Governor Farrington did not have much sympathy for him, nor did the Board of Prison Inspectors' chair John W. Waldron who was one of the chief architects of the sugar industry. There appeared to have been a concerted effort to have Pablo stay out of Hawai'i. Around 1936, Governor Joseph B. Poindexter was inclined to grant a pardon provided Pablo pledged never to return to Hawai'i. In 1949 when Pablo visited his family in Hawai'i—and was treated like a criminal by immigration officials—Governor Ingram M. Stainback withheld granting a pardon because of possible complications with the ongoing stevedores' strike. Finally in 1952, when Pablo received his pardon, he cried like a child.[58] He thanked Governor Long because "by virtue of His act it ended my unhappy 28 years of suffering."[59] But he received this full pardon only after he gave informal assurances that he did not intend ever to live in Hawai'i.

Pablo began to associate more actively now with other labor leaders and representatives of labor in the city. He formed and chaired the United Labor Political Action Council (ULPAC) with the following, aside from himself, as members of the Executive Committee: Cipriano Cid, Vicente Raphael, Vicente Arniego, Vicente K. Olazo, and Domingo Ponce. As head of this group, he came forward in January 1953 to criticize Quirino's stand on land reform, which received much attention in the press because of Robert S. Hardie's report. Believing that Quirino's administration was committed to land reform, the United States government assigned Hardie, an agricultural economist, to draft a land reform proposal. Hardie recommended radical land reform including the abolition of tenancy which prompted Quirino to denounce the report as something communists would like. Pablo disagreed and told the *Manila Times* that ULPAC had examined the report and could not understand why certain political groupings were upset by it. He said that the report was "factual, forthright, sincere, precise, and accurate," and its recommendations were "well thought out, thorough and farseeing."[60]

ULPAC launched a Labor Party in September 1953 and supported Pablo's candidacy as representative for the lst district of Manila. A campaign brochure explained "Why we should vote for Pablo Manlapit:"

> This man who should be living a life of peace has chosen once more to take up the cudgels for the common man on the street whose conditions of living is (sic) no different from those he saw in 1910 among the sugar plantation workers in Hawai'i and which made him forsake the easy life for the life of a missionary desirous to help those less fortunate than him.[61]

Pablo did not win but he now rekindled a mission, at 62 years old, to advocate for workers like he once did in Hawai'i by joining them in meetings, strikes, and negotiations for collective bargaining. He acted as technical adviser to the Philippine Labor Unity Movement (PLUM), a new labor federation formed by Attorney Vicente Raphael in 1953. Among the cases he helped resolve was the Sta. Cecilia Sawmills, Inc. where sawmill workers had struck for overtime pay. This company, located in Quezon province, belonged to the prominent family of Tomas Morato, Jr.[62] Overall Pablo may have found satisfaction and new vigor doing union work, but it required much sacrifice from his family.

Pablo established a second family in the Philippines. He met his wife, Ponciana Calderon, in a small restaurant where he frequently took his meals. She was born on 14 March 1914 to small farmers in barrio Magubay, Calbayog, Samar. After her mother died, she helped raise her brothers and sisters. In addition to farming, they augmented their income by fishing and weaving mats from coconut palms. An older cousin, also a mat weaver, invited Ponciana to go with her to Manila in 1932; she was 18 years old. Then in the city she met a friend who invited her to work in a tobacco farm up north in Isabela. She worked there for a couple of years or so, got married, and gave birth to a baby girl. The marriage or partnership later broke up. In 1936 Ponciana was back in Manila working at a little restaurant where she met Pablo. Their son, Romeo, was born the next year.

Ponciana Manlapit recalls that her husband, concerned with integrity and ethics, did not want to apply for any parcel of land while connected with the National Land Settlement Administration. He never wanted to use his position or influence to acquire wealth or property.[63] Their only piece of property, a small wooden house on Elias Street, Sta. Cruz, was sold in the mid 1950s to meet pressing financial problems. Romeo had to interrupt his college studies to find work and help support his parents. Part of his salary as a geodetic survey employee went to pay for his parents' house rent; a rich cousin also regularly contributed money. But he noticed that although they were hard up, workers on strike and their families came to their house, slept and ate there, and even received pocket money from his impoverished father.[64] The experience in Hawai'i, Romeo believed, had influenced his father to think first of the needs of others.

Romeo described his father a few days before he died: "*Napapabuntong hininga siya kung nakikita niya ang aking ina at ako na nakaupo sa kaniyang kama sa isang* charity hospital." (He could not help but sigh each time he looked

at my mother and me as we sat on his bed in a charity hospital.)[65] Pablo Manlapit died on 15 April 1969.

Conclusion

At first glance, Manlapit's activities in Hawai'i and in the Philippines are at opposite poles. In Hawai'i he challenged the oligarchy by being at the forefront of the Filipino plantation workers who demanded better pay and working conditions. In contrast, once back in the Philippines, he served the national political elite and did not get involved in organized labor until much later. His motives for acting as he did in Hawai'i included, as he put it, fighting for justice for workers. His reasons for opting to be at the side of the political elite in the Philippines are varied. We suggested that he gravitated towards that inner circle because his brothers had connections with the national politicians. He also regarded Quezon and other politicians as genuine advocates for independence. In addition, he believed that Roxas was sympathetic to the working class.

His commitment in Hawai'i becomes clear if we look at his options there. As a newly licensed attorney with a wife and four young children to support, he could have chosen a settled life in Honolulu. Instead he joined Japanese and Filipino workers in demanding for improved working conditions on the plantations. Then in 1924, knowing from experience the hardships strikes entailed, he chose to join the strike and became its major leader, if not the strike's symbol of resistance against the planters.

In the Philippines, although he served the national elite, we see that his commitment to serving them was not full and steadfast. At times, he was an ardent critic calling for reforms. Thus during President Roxas' s administration he was one of the first government officials to assail graft and corruption in the sale of government military surplus. Later, he supported the land reform recommendations in the Hardie Report, which Quirino had denounced as communist. These are examples to show that Pablo was not a good team player because he chose to speak up against what he called corrupt "goliaths."

In one basic way, Manlapit in Hawai'i and in the Philippines showed a consistency in character. Confronted with choices like personal or family comforts and public or social responsibility, he chose the latter. The options he took led to hardships for him and his families both in Hawai'i and the Philippines. In Hawai'i, he was disbarred, sent to jail, deported to California, and separated from his family. The Manlapits in Hawai'i struggled on their own and survived without him. In the Philippines, he did not actively seek material comforts for himself and his family because, among other things, he preached and practiced integrity as a government official. Finally, his financial situation worsened when he resumed involvement in workers' issues. It may be that other documents we have not seen will someday show another picture of Pablo Manlapit and his motives, which should lead to another interpretation of his life. But for now, we share Romeo Manlapit's assessment of his father:

> *Ang mga nagdaang kahapon ni Pablo Manlapit ay mapait para sa pamilya niyang naiwan. Maging sa Hawai'i at maging sa Pilipinas ang mga naiwanan niyang mga anak ay bali ang pakpak na tumayo sa sarili at na sumikap upang mabuhay ng maayos na may nakaakibat na kahirapan.*
>
> *Ang iniisip ko at ng aking ina ay walang pagsisisi sa mga naganap sa aming buhay. Ang foundation na itinayo ni Pablo para sa kanyang pamilya maging sa Hawai'i at Pilipinas ay larawan lamang sa uri ng kanyang pagkatao dahil sa kanyang paniniwala at damdaming nasa dugo bilang lahing Pilipino. Mali sa kaisipan doon sa mga taong ang hangad ay interes lamang para sa pansariling kagustuhan at marangyang kaanyuan. Totoo na siya ay nagsikap subalit kapos ang kanyang kakayahan upang mapaunlad ang sarili niyang gulong ng buhay. Sa kanyang karanasan ito'y magsisilbing aral para sa kanyang mga naiwan. Para sa akin siya ay mabuti. Naabot ko marahil ang kalahati ng kanyang karunungan at observation sa tunay na pagdadala ng buhay.*[66]

(Pablo Manlapit's past is bitter for his families. Both in Hawai'i and in the Philippines his children had "broken wings" to stand on their own and faced hardships as they tried to survive and live comfortably.

My mother and I feel no regrets about the past. The foundation Pablo built for his families in Hawai'i and the Philippines shows his basic humanity reinforced by his beliefs and principles as a Filipino. It is wrong for people to think only of personal interests and material comforts. He did try to improve his life but he lacked the capability to change his own destiny. His experience serves as a lesson for those he left behind. As for me, I regard him as a good man. Perhaps I've achieved half of his intelligence and understanding on how to live truly.)

Endnotes

1. The author interviewed Pablo Manlapit's children (Alice Manlapit Savard and Romeo Manlapit), nieces (Juliana Manlapit and Isabel Dimagiba David), and nephew (Delfin Manlapit Dimagiba) between 1990 and 1995.

2. Teodoro M. Kalaw, *Aide-de-Camp to Freedom* (Manila: Teodoro M. Kalaw Society, Inc., 1965), pp. 1-2 and Glenn Anthony May, *Battle for Batangas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991). According to Kalaw (1884-1940), there were three classes in Lipeño society: class one or the "people of quality," class two or the professionals, and class three composed of laborers, artisans, servants, tenants and other workers. He said that his family belonged to class two.

3. Many workers, for instance, in Manila's cigar and cigarette factories, moved from the provinces to the city for better employment opportunities. See Melinda Tria Kerkvliet, *Manila Workers' Unions, 1900-1950*, pp. 52-53. As migration to the city escalated, the population of Metropolitan Manila "quadrupled to more than 900,000" from 1900 to 1941. See Daniel F. Doeppers, *Manila 1900-1941* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1984), pp. 4-5.

4. Pablo Manlapit, "Autobiography," handwritten, 1959.

5. *Taliba* (Manila), 27 March 1913, p.2

6. Ruben Alcantara, "1906: The First Sakada," in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i: The First 75 Years* (Honolulu: Hawai'i Filipino News Specialty Publications, 1981), pp. 27-50.

7. For more information on the Hawaiian monarchy and the sugar barons, see Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time, A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawai'i, 1968) and Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawai'i Pono, A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961).

8. Manlapit, "Autobiography."

9. Prudencio A. Remigio, *Report of the Commissioner to Hawai'i*, 1919. (Translated from Spanish by Edgar Knowlton and published by the Filipino Historical Society of Hawai'i, 1982.)

10. "Conference held on Saturday, February 1, 1920 with Pablo Manlapit, President of Filipino Labor Federation," Miscellaneous File, Strike Data, 1920, Governor Charles McCarthy Papers, Hawai'i State Archives.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

15. Quoted in Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawai'i, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), p. 172.

16. Hawai'i First Circuit Court, Docket #10.

17. Asst. Manager, Honoka'a Sugar Co. and Pacific Sugar Mill to Messrs. F. A. Schaefer and Co. Ltd., 23 April 1923, Folder 8/12, Honoka'a Sugar Co., HSPA Archives.

18. Pablo Manlapit, Chairman, High Wages Movement to Hon. Hermenegildo Cruz, Acting Director, Bureau of Labor, Manila, P. I., 11 October 1923, File 2736-2-3, Record Group 165, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

19. Cayetano Ligot to Hon. Leonard Wood, 10 September 1923, Quezonian Papers on Filipinos in Hawai'i, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i.

20. Pablo Manlapit, *Filipinos Fight for Justice: Case of the Filipino Laborers in the Big Strike of 1924* (Honolulu: Kumalae Publishing Co., 1933), p. 26.

21. See, for instance, the oral histories in *The 1924 Filipino Strike on Kaua'i* (Honolulu: Ethnic Studies Oral History Project, University of Hawai'i).

22. Actually, Reinecke overestimates Manlapit's role. He refers to the 1924 strike as "instigated and led by Pablo Manlapit." John Reinecke, *The Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike of 1924-1925*, unpublished manuscript, n.d., p. 1.

23. For a summary of court cases against Pablo Manlapit, see Melinda Tria Kerkvliet, "Pablo Manlapit's Fight for Justice," in Jonathan Y. Okamura, *et al.*, eds., *The Filipino American Experience in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Department of Sociology, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1991), pp. 159-160.

24. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 12 October 1924, p. 2.

25. Manlapit's letter and a copy of the affidavit, which had been translated from Spanish to English, is in Special Proceedings #62, Hawai'i First Circuit Court.

26. Governor W. R. Farrington to Governor-General Leonard Wood, 6 October 1924, Farrington Papers, Hawai'i State Archives.

27. Fred K. Makino to Honorable Manuel Quezon, President of the Senate, 16 November 1925, enclosing "An Open Letter to the Government of the Philippines." A copy of this document is in Quezonian Papers on Filipinos in Hawai'i, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i.

28. The full text is printed in the *Honolulu Advertiser*, 14 August 1927, pp. 1ff.

29. An excellent background on this topic is by Susan Evangelista, *Carlos Bulosan and His Poetry: A Biography and Anthology* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1985).

30. Pablo Manlapit to the Governor of the Territory of Hawai'i (Lawrence M. Judd), 14 December 1929, File 155, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives. According to one rumor, Hilario Moncado told the police that Pablo was a communist. See J. K. Butler (HSPA Secretary) to Governor Wallace R. Farrington, 18 September 1928, Farrington Papers, Hawai'i State Archives.

31. Quoted statements in this paragraph are from a document dated 11 May 1932, Navy Department, Office of Naval Intelligence, Washington. I wish to thank Alice Mak for helping me search for this previously classified information.

32. The Watsonville riot is analyzed by Bruno Lasker, *Filipino Immigration to Continental United States and to Hawai'i* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931), Appendix E.

33. See, for instance, *Three Stars* (Stockton), May 1931.

34. From document dated 11 May 1932, cited above.

35. Butler to Plantations on O'ahu, 1 July 1932, Folder 25/5, Honoka'a Sugar Co., HSPA Archives.

36. Butler to Plantation Managers on Hawai'i, 13 July 1932, *ibid.*; W. P. Naquin, Manager to Messrs. F. A. Schaefer & Co., Ltd., 26 July 1932, Folder 16/2, Honoka'a Sugar Co., HSPA Archives.

37. *The Filipino Outlook* (Honolulu), February 1934, p. 1.

38. Pablo Manlapit, "What is the Filipino Labor Union?," *The Union* (Honolulu), 15 October 1932, p. 2. Described as the "voice of working man in Hawai'i," this weekly journal was edited by N. C. Villanueva and published by Pablo himself. Villanueva later worked for an HSPA-sponsored radio program featuring Filipino music and community issues.

39. A copy of this letter is in File 575, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.

40. Decree of Divorce, 5 December 1939, Hawai'i First Court.

41. Interview with Juliana Manlapit, 21 August 1991, Quezon City.

42. Manlapit to Roxas, 22 November 1945, Roxas Papers.

43. Pablo Manlapit, "Proposed Speech to the Waterfront Strikers," 13 July 1949, in Everett U. Afook, "Report for the Attorney General (Subject: Pablo Manlapit), 19 July 1949, File 575, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.

44. Pablo Manlapit to President Elpidio Quirino, *Report on I. The Illegality of the Communist Party of the Philippines; II. The Functions of the Special Committee on Un-Filipino Activities* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1951), p. 12.

45. Leon O. Ty, "Racket in Army Surplus Goods," *Philippine Free Press* (Manila), 12 April 1947, p. 4.

46. Rodrigo C. Lim, "Quezon and these Surplus Scandals," *Philippine Free Press* (Manila), 26 April 1947, p.14.

47. Renato Constantino and Letizia R. Constantino, *The Philippines: The Continuing Past* (Quezon City: The Foundation for Nationalist Studies, 1978), pp. 202-203.

48. *The Evening Herald* (Manila), 5 May 1947, p. 8.

49. "Deplores his aloneness in the fight," newspaper clipping (no date nor name of newspaper), Manlapit Papers.

50. For background, see Cayetano W. Paderanga, Jr., *A Review of Land Settlements in the Philippines* (Mindanao Studies Reports, 1995/No.2, University of the Philippines, Center for Integrative and Development Studies).

51. Antonio Paguia, Manager, NLSA, "Memorandum for the Honorable Members of both Chambers, Congress of the Philippines," 8 May 1948, Box 39, Quirino Papers, Ayala Museum and Library, Metro Manila. The situation in Davao is described in the *Mindanao Times*, 1 December 1948, p. 1.

52. *Manila Chronicle,* 2 March 1948, n. p., Manlapit Papers.

53. *Mindanao Times*, 1 December 1948, p. 1.

54. This information is from a letter by Emilio Abello, Executive Secretary to President Quirino, 12 July 1948, Manlapit Papers.

55. Board of Directors of LASEDECO, "Resolution No. 647: Expressing Appreciation of his Excellency, the President of the Philippines for the enactment of House Bill No. 3093," Box 39, Quirino Papers, Ayala Museum and Library.

56. *Manila Times*, 25 December 1952, n. p., Manlapit Papers.

57. File 575, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.

58. *Evening News* (Manila), 11 July 1952 clipping in Manlapit Papers.

59. Pablo Manlapit to Governor Oren E. Long, 8 February 1952, File 575.

60. Paul M. Monk, *Truth and Power: Robert S. Hardie and Land Reform Debates in the Philippines, 1950-1987.* (Monash University: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Paper, No. 20, 1990), p. 49.

61. The document is among the Manlapit Papers.

62. Interview with Jesus P. Robleza, 9 May 1995, Manila. Robleza, 72 years old, is current president of PLUM. He remembers Pablo Manlapit's activities with PLUM but is not able to provide relevant workers' case files. There are clippings, some with photos, in Manlapit Papers showing Pablo giving speeches and attending union meetings.

63. Interviews with Ponciana Manlapit, 21 August 1991 and 25 January 1994, Quezon City.

64. From interviews with Romeo C. Manlapit, 21 August 1991, 25 January 1994 and 12 May 1995, Quezon City, and several letters to the author.

65. Romeo C. Manlapit to author, 30 March 1994, p. 7.

66. Romeo C. Manlapit to author, 30 March 1994.

Carl Damaso: A Champion of Hawaii's Working People

Dean T. Alegado

The ongoing celebration of the ninetieth anniversary of Filipino immigration to Hawai'i provides an excellent opportunity for the community to take stock of its contributions and legacy in the islands and to pay tribute to earlier pioneers who made sacrifices to make life better for present day generations. One man who exemplified the courage and gave voice to the hopes and dreams of the early Filipinos in Hawai'i was Calixto "Carl" Damaso. Because most present day Filipinos do not know much about this shy, self-effacing man, it becomes even more important to retell his story so that his generation's legacy is passed on and not forgotten.

Who is Carl Damaso?

On January 26, 1990 one of the greatest labor leaders in the history of the Filipino American community passed away. Carl Damaso, who gave 51 years of his life serving Hawaii's workers, died at the age of 73. His passing was mourned not only by his family and close friends but by the entire labor movement in Hawai'i. Damaso was one of the last surviving militants and pioneer Filipino labor leaders who took an active part in the "labor wars" of the 1930s and late 1940s when American workers fought for the right to unionize, the eight-hour day, social security, and unemployment compensation.

A Labor Recruit from Zambales

Born in the town of San Felipe in the province of Zambales in the Philippines, Damaso came to Hawai'i as a teenager in the early 1930s during one of the darkest periods in U.S. history. It was the height of the Great Depression. Thousands of businesses and farms were closing down, and hundreds of thousands of laid-off workers walked the unemployment lines, victims of the collapse of the economy. Barely fourteen years old, Carl Damaso had signed a labor contract in 1931 with an agent of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) and boarded a ship for Hawai'i, following the dreams of thousands of other Filipinos who had earlier gone to the islands to work on the sugar and pineapple plantations.

In 1934 the youthful seventeen year old Damaso had his first confrontation with Hawaii's powerful sugar barons. It was the year the U.S. Congress passed

the Tydings-McDuffie Act, otherwise known as the Philippine Independence Act, in response to lobbying pressure from American sugar interests in the South and the racist American Federation of Labor to curtail the entry of Philippine sugar and immigrant labor into the U.S. That year, young Calixto joined a strike of his fellow Filipino workers at Ola'a Sugar Plantation — later known as Puna Sugar Company — on the island of Hawai'i. Filipino field workers, who made up more than seventy percent of the plantation workforce, were protesting the company's cuts of their already miserably low wages and employment discrimination. The strike was defeated and young Carl Damaso was kicked off the plantation. His name was placed on a "do not hire list" of workers who were tagged as "labor agitators." This was the infamous "blacklist" kept by the HSPA and circulated among employers in the islands. Unable to find work, Damaso was forced to leave the Big Island and moved to the island of Maui.

Plantation Working Conditions

Before World War II, the sugar planters — also called the "Big Five" — controlled Hawai'i like a fiefdom. They monopolized the economy as well as the islands' political system (Fuchs 1961; Kent 1983). Racism and discrimination on the basis of color and nationality were the facts of life. To keep wages down and workers divided and unorganized, the plantation bosses pitted workers of different nationalities against one another.

Because of the employers' deliberate policy of "divide and rule," the workers' response was to organize along ethnic and racial lines. Japanese and Filipinos, the two largest nationalities on the plantations, formed separate "racial" unions. Whenever one of the unions went on strike, the plantation bosses would use the other ethnic groups as "scabs" by raising their wages and thereby breaking the strike. Work assignment was also based on one's nationality and race with Caucasian and Portuguese workers getting the higher paid skilled and supervisory positions, while Japanese and Filipinos were assigned the back-breaking work in the fields. By the 1930s, Filipinos made up some seventy percent of the entire sugar and pineapple workforce in the territory.

Filipinos who were brought to work to Hawai'i by the HSPA signed a labor contract requiring three years of hard work on one of the plantations. It meant six days of work a week, ten hours of actual work (not including meal breaks) at an average wage of 90 cents a day or about $20 a month. The lowest paid white worker — the plantation police— earned $140 a month, Damaso recalled. Filipino immigrant workers who completed the terms of their labor contract would be provided with transportation home by the HSPA.

Plantation workers used to receive a bonus if they worked 23 days a month, but this was eliminated in 1932. At the height of the Depression, the HSPA cut the wages of every worker earning $60 a month by ten percent. This was one of the reasons why Damaso and the workers at Ola'a Plantation had gone on strike.

But there were no unions on the plantations at that time, and suspected labor leaders were fired, arrested or deported. That was the fate of earlier Filipino labor leaders like Pablo Manlapit, Cecilio Basan and Epifanio Taok — the leaders of the 1924 Filipino strike which resulted in the bloodiest incident in the history of Hawaii's labor movement. On September 9, 1924, sixteen Filipino striking workers and four policemen were killed and many more wounded in a "riot" in Hanapepe, Kaua'i (Ethnic Studies Oral History Project 1979).

Manlapit and sixty of the Kaua'i strikers were convicted of "criminal conspiracy." Manlapit was exiled from Hawai'i to California and was not allowed to return to the territory until 1932. The 1924 strike lasted eight months and cost the HSPA millions of dollars to crush it.

Carl Damaso — the Pioneer Labor Agitator

One of Damaso's closest friends, Ah Quon McElrath, a retired International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) labor leader — and currently a member of the University of Hawai'i Board of Regents — whose husband, Bob McElrath, was one of the founders of the union in Hawai'i, recalled the years when Carl was "blackballed" by employers. "I remember he would tell me stories about going to plantations to look for work, and managers would pull out the [desk] drawer and see his picture and say, 'Well, I'm sorry, there's no work here for you'," she said.

On Maui, Damaso was able to find a job with the Wailuku Sugar Company. But shortly after, he was again fired for attempting to start a union. He was able to get a job with the Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company in Pu'unene, and again found himself in the center of another effort by Filipino workers to organize a union and improve working conditions. Damaso became involved in the effort of Antonio Fagel, one of Manlapit's surviving labor organizers, to form an underground Filipino union (Beechert 1985; Zalburg 1979). To keep the HSPA from suspecting their activities, the union was called *Vibora Luviminda.*

In 1937, Damaso led a strike of more than 1,000 Filipino sugar workers on Maui's three largest plantations. The sugarcane cutters demanded that they be paid ten cents per row of sugarcane instead of the usual seven cents a row. The

strikers were evicted from their plantation housing. They set up camps outside the plantation property and on the beach. They survived by fishing and planted vegetables for food. They also received support and donations from sympathetic Japanese workers and other unions in Honolulu.

The strike lasted for three months, and the workers won a pay raise and recognition of their union. It was a historic victory as it marked the first time in Hawaii's history that a sugar company recognized and bargained with a union.

During the strike, Damaso was introduced to Jack Hall and Bill Bailey, two young, militant Caucasian organizers of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Recognizing the crucial role of the support given by workers of other nationalities and unions, Damaso was convinced that the only way for workers to win against the employers was by building a union that would unite all workers on the plantations and the docks regardless of race or nationality. Under the leadership of Damaso, the Vibora Luviminda was renamed the Maui Plantation and Mill Workers Industrial Union and had a membership of 4,000 Filipino workers.

But Damaso's organizing success did not sit well with Hawaii's plantation bosses. Shortly after the strike was settled, Damaso recounted how he and eight other leaders of the Maui strike were arrested and "charged with various crimes under laws used to break unions." He was given a light sentence but was now considered a "dangerous labor agitator." With his name at the top of the employers' blacklist, Damaso found he could no longer earn a living on Maui.

Damaso was demoralized and moved to the island of Moloka'i where he survived by fishing and playing pool. In 1938, he decided to move to O'ahu. But he could not land a job for he was still blacklisted by employers. When World War II broke out, Damaso found work at the Navy supply depot at Pearl Harbor. The war took many workers into the armed services and there was a labor shortage.

The Battle to Build the ILWU

After the war, a new era had dawned in Hawai'i. Second generation children of immigrants had enlisted in the military, fought and died in battles in Europe and the Pacific for their adopted country. Taught to defend democracy and to die for freedom, these returning war veterans were determined to continue the battle for democracy in the political and economic arenas of Hawai'i. In the years following the war, ILWU organizers began in earnest to build the union among longshore and sugar workers.

In 1946, Damaso was hired as a longshoreman by Castle and Cooke Terminals, which had been organized by the ILWU in 1945. That year, the ILWU succeeded in organizing sugar workers and, when the HSPA would not meet their demands for higher pay and better working conditions, they went on their historic 79-day strike which closed down all the plantations in the islands. The strike reached a dramatic moment when the HSPA imported more than 6,000 workers from the Philippines — freshly liberated from Japanese occupation — to help break the strike. The planters hoped that the anti-Japanese sentiment among Filipinos resulting from their bitter war experience would help break the strike solidarity forged by the ILWU between Filipino and Japanese workers (*The New Philippines* 1947). The HSPA ploy failed, however, as the newly imported Filipino workers — the "'46 Boys" or *sakadas* — instead supported the strike. The ILWU scored a huge victory, marking the most successful strike by Hawaii's workers against the HSPA up to that time.

Damaso rose through the rank-and-file and established himself as a leader among the longshoremen. In 1949, Hawaii's longshore workers went out on a 177-day strike. Again the ILWU-led workers won the strike as well as their demand for parity in pay with their counterparts on the West Coast. Hawai'i longshoremen working the same ships and cargo, doing the same jobs, and working for the same employers as their West Coast union brothers had been paid lower wages. By winning parity, the ILWU helped end the treatment of Hawai'i workers as "second class" citizens. During the strike, Damaso was in the forefront of solidifying the ranks of the longshoremen, spending long hours talking with Filipino workers, visiting plantation camps to build support for the strike. He served as the Filipino interpreter, working closely with ILWU international president, Harry Bridges, and other union officers.

The longshore victory, along with their earlier organizing success on the plantations, had a far-reaching impact on the influence of the ILWU in Hawai'i. It established the union as the most influential labor organization in the islands and earned it the grudging respect of employers.

Damaso and the Progressive Filipinos

Following the ILWU's 1949 dock strike, Damaso was elected business agent for the longshore workers. He served in that capacity for ten years until he was elected director of the ILWU's O'ahu division, the union's largest, in 1959. In 1964, thirty years after his first successful effort to organize the sugar workers on Ola'a Plantation on the Big Island, Damaso was elected president of

the ILWU Local 142. He held the highest elected post in the most important labor union in Hawa'i for seventeen years until his retirement in December 1981. In all, he gave a half-century of his life serving Hawaii's working people.

An important impact of the ILWU and leaders like Carl Damaso was the decline of narrow nationalism and divisive regionalism within the Hawai'i Filipino community. The late 1940s and early 1950s saw the decline of social organizations in the community that were based on regional or provincial affiliation. The ILWU encouraged the building of community organizations that embraced the various ethnic groups (e.g., Waipahu Community Association) or Filipino community groups that included everyone regardless of regional or provincial origin (e.g., Waialua Filipino Community Association). It was not uncommon for these community associations to be headed by ILWU members.

Given the success of the ILWU in improving the lot of working people in Hawai'i, Filipinos developed a close affinity for the union. During this period before statehood, the leadership in the Filipino community had close ties to or held leadership positions in the ILWU (see *Ti Mangyuna* newspaper[1] and *The New Philippines* magazine[2]).

Besides Carl Damaso, among the Filipinos who played leading roles in establishing the ILWU as Hawaii's most powerful union were Antonio Rania, the first Filipino president of the local, Constantine Samson, Simeon Bagasol, Justo de la Cruz and Eddie Lapa from O'ahu; Pedro de la Cruz from Lana'i; T.C. Manipon, Pedro Racela, Basilio Fuertes and Abe Palakay, the former Kaua'i division head; Regino Colotario from Moloka'i; and former Big Island division director, Frank Latorre. Along with Damaso, these Filipino labor leaders were influenced by progressive politics. Many of them were sent by the ILWU to attend the famous San Francisco Labor School to learn not only basic trade union organizing skills but to understand the workings of the political and economic system (*The New Philippines* 1947).

These Filipino progressives sponsored speaking tours by trade union leaders from the Philippines such as Amado Hernandez, the well-known poet and writer. They also sponsored concerts by the black American artist Paul Robeson when he visited Hawai'i. The ILWU was one of the few American labor unions in the 1950s to express sympathy for the Huk rebellion in the Philippines.

During this period, the leading Filipino community newspaper in Hawai'i was *Ti Mangyuna*, which was published in Ilokano, the language of the majority of Filipino workers in the islands. The paper was not only explicitly pro-labor but anticolonial during a period in American history when it was not popular to

espouse those political beliefs. Its reports on international events highlighted the post-World War II pro-independence struggles of colonized peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America. *Ti Mangyuna* translated into Ilokano articles by Frank Marshall Davis on the struggles of America's minorities against racism and on the emerging civil rights movement of the 1950s. The editors of *Ti Mangyuna* were Rev. Emilio Yadao, who was the Filipino education assistant in the ILWU's Public Relations Department, and Koji Ariyoshi, the editor of the left-wing newspaper, *Honolulu Record.*

The McCarthy-Red Scare Era

But the leadership and active involvement of the progressives in the Filipino community soon declined. The 1950s saw the rise of right-wing conservatism in the U.S. fueled by Senator Joe McCarthy's anticommunist witch hunting crusade. With the Cold War tension between the U.S. and the Soviet Union as a backdrop, McCarthy declared war on all political progressives — from liberals to communists. Hundreds of individuals and organizations that held progressive political ideas and philosophies were publicly persecuted, denied their democratic rights and brought to "kangaroo court trials."

The ILWU nationally and in Hawai'i was not spared. It was one of the main targets of McCarthy's anticommunist campaign. *Ti Mangyuna* carried articles covering court appearances and testimonies of Filipino labor leaders during the Smith Act trials in Hawai'i. Courageously refusing to be intimidated by McCarthy's rabid attacks against its leadership, the ILWU was one of thirteen unions expelled from the AFL-CIO. But the union survived the attempts to split it internally and to weaken it. During the height of the anticommunist attacks, ILWU workers throughout Hawai'i staged a one-day work stoppage in support of international president, Harry Bridges, one of McCarthy's targets for deportation and imprisonment.

The anticommunist hysteria, recalled Damaso, had an impact in the Filipino community. One of the leading progressives, Simeon Bagasol, who was an ILWU organizer, was brought to a deportation trial in 1952 for allegedly breaking immigration laws. His only "crime" was being an immigrant who spoke out against injustice and for holding political views unpopular with the McCarthyists, said Damaso. A similar case was brought against Chris Mensalves and Ernesto Mangaoang, the Filipino leaders of the ILWU Local 137 in Seattle.

As a result of the harassment and intimidation, according to Damaso, many of the Filipino progressives in the labor movement began to withdraw from

active involvement in community affairs. And from the late 1950s until the 1970s, a full generation, the leadership of the Filipino community fell into the hands of individuals who "generally held more politically conservative views," said Damaso.

As a result, social and cultural activities such as terno balls and beauty contests became the main focus of Filipino community activities. Many new and sometimes competing organizations emerged based on township and regional roots. While playing an important role in assisting new Filipino immigrants adjust to life in Hawai'i, the overwhelming majority of the organizations in the Filipino community, in Damaso's view, generally followed the pattern of being involved primarily with the internal — and often parochial — affairs of the community at the cost of neglecting significant political issues facing the broader or mainstream Hawai'i society. Thus, although fairly large in size, the "organized" sector of the Filipino community has more often than not placed itself on the sidelines by not taking a public stance on critical issues facing the people of Hawai'i, thereby depriving Filipino Americans of a much needed "voice" in the state's political battlefields.

Damaso Leaves a Legacy of Militancy

When Carl Damaso retired from the ILWU at the end of 1981, he had presided over a very difficult but successful transition period for the union. Under Damaso's leadership, the union was confronted with some of the biggest threats to its survival as a labor organization. It saw a sharp decline in employment among sugar and pineapple workers in Hawai'i, a result of mechanization and the closing down of sugar and pineapple plantations that took their operations overseas to countries such as the Philippines, Thailand and Costa Rica where workers are weakly organized and wages are much lower. Mechanization of docks and warehouse operations also drastically reduced the ranks of longshore workers.

From more than 50,000 members in the mid-1950s, the ILWU had shrunk to about 24,000 by the early 1970s. However, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the union had begun to organize aggressively workers in Hawaii's most important and fastest growing industry -- tourism and resorts. It also organized workers in general trades such as bakers, auto mechanics, tour bus drivers, hospital workers, and many other lines of work. By the late 1970s, the ILWU membership began to grow again.

In recognition of his years of dedicated work serving Hawaii's workers, the State House of Representatives passed a resolution honoring Carl Damaso in

1982. Damaso was extolled as a "caring man of vision whose strong sense of working class values has safely guided his union in times of troubled waters."

Retired ILWU regional director, Thomas Trask, recalls Damaso as "a guy with a lot of fortitude. Never backed down from a fight. He was a very strong individual. Strong, but kind. He was well liked, and people respected him for the fact ... that he always kept his word."

Ah Quon McElrath remembers that Damaso "had a kind of native intelligence where he could size up situations and act on them correctly. He had a true understanding of the needs of workers and their families. He deeply believed in the traditional union movement."

At the 1981 ILWU International Convention, Damaso gave his retirement speech and keynote address to the members whom he had served well for so long:

> We must keep on fighting ... That is the history of our union. That's what makes us strong. We must analyze issues, inform our membership, mobilize for battles. This time, the battles will not be on the picket lines alone. They will be in the political arena — in the voting booths, the halls of the legislature writing letters to our congressmen, testifying wherever we need to be.

Indeed, Carl Damaso, a humble, tough and street-wise man, will always be remembered by the workers with whom he stood shoulder to shoulder in their battles for labor's rights. And just like the sugar and pineapple plantations in Hawai'i, the passing of Damaso signified the end of an era.

Carl Damaso was survived by his wife, Charlotte; sons, Alfredo and Carl, Jr.; daughters, Mrs. Gloria Mills and Mrs. Marilyn Galdones; twelve grandchildren; nineteen great-grandchildren; one great-great-grandson; and a host of nieces, nephews and cousins.

Endnotes

1. *Ti Mangyuna* was first published in 1949 as a monthly. It became a biweekly publication on February 6, 1952 until April 21, 1954. It was published as a weekly on May 9, 1954 until it ceased publication in December 1958.

2. *The New Philippines* was first published in February 1947. It came out irregularly as a monthly magazine, and in 1948 it was published by Labez Publishing Co. until August-September 1948. The editor was Mrs. Esperanza G. Labez, the wife of Ric Labez who was an assistant to Jack Hall of the ILWU.

References

Beechert, E.D. 1985. *Working in Hawai'i: A Labor History*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Ethnic Studies Oral History Project 1979. *The 1924 Filipino Strike on Kaua'i*. Honolulu: Ethnic Studies Program, University of Hawai'i.

Fuchs, L. 1961. *Hawai'i Pono: A Social History*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

Interviews with Carl Damaso between July 1980 and April 1981.

Interviews with Ah Quon McElrath between August 1980 and April 1981.

Kent, N.J. 1983. *Hawai'i: Islands Under the Influence*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

The New Philippines 1947. April.

Zalburg, S. 1979. *A Spark Is Struck!: Jack Hall & the ILWU in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Writing the Filipino Diaspora: Roman R. Cariaga's *The Filipinos in Hawai'i*

Jonathan Y. Okamura

> The study which follows is very far indeed from representing a comprehensive work on the Filipinos of Hawai'i. Yet it may well serve as a foundation for more detailed research in this field which is so rich in hitherto untouched and valuable material for social science investigation and theory (Cariaga 1937: iii).

The year 1996 marks not only the ninetieth anniversary of Filipino immigration to Hawai'i, but it also means that it has been sixty years since Roman Ruiz Cariaga wrote his seminal master's thesis on Filipinos in Hawai'i (1936a) which indeed has served as a foundation for further research. It would not be an exaggeration to state that Cariaga's thesis in anthropology at the University of Hawai'i is the major contemporary work on Filipinos by a Filipino during their period of plantation labor recruitment to Hawai'i (1906 to 1946). Without Cariaga's writings on Filipinos, which include a published version of his master's thesis (1937), several scholarly articles and papers (1935a, b; 1936a, b, c), and numerous newspaper and magazine articles, our knowledge and understanding of the Filipino American experience during that period would be especially limited, if not distorted. If Bulosan (1943) is acknowledged as the major chronicler of Filipino American work and life on the West Coast prior to World War II, then Cariaga similarly can be credited for documenting and analyzing the community in Hawai'i.

In this paper I assess the significance of Cariaga's writings from the perspective of the larger political, historical and spatial contexts in which they were produced, particularly in terms of the oppressed social status and extreme negative stereotyping of Filipinos in Hawai'i during the Depression years of the 1930s. I focus especially on the publication of Cariaga's master's thesis as *The Filipinos in Hawai'i: Economic and Social Conditions 1906–1936,* which was the first academic work on their community. I discuss this book as a social and cultural text both by and about the Filipino community and argue that it can be read as a manifestation of Filipino subjectivity in reclaiming and expressing their collective identity in the incredibly racist Hawai'i of the 1930s.

The Man and His Writings

Cariaga was born in 1904 in Santo Tomas, Batangas in the Philippines. He appears to have been from a rural family because he wrote of having to walk ten miles each day to attend public grade school (Cariaga 1937: 77). His family probably was of some financial means since he later attended the private St. Thomas Academy for high school and boarded with a family "in the town" (presumably Santo Tomas) because as the nearest high school it was fifty miles away from his home. After teaching for a year, in May 1927 at the age of twenty–three, Cariaga went to Syracuse University in New York where he studied economics, joining thousands of other young Filipinos who journeyed to the United States for their college education during this period. It is not clear how he financed his education; perhaps as a bright and promising student, Cariaga received a scholarship from Syracuse, or he may have worked his way through college as did many other Filipino students.

Cariaga went to study at the University of Hawai'i in 1931, his reasons for doing so and whether he completed his degree at Syracuse not being known. He did receive a bachelor of arts degree in sociology three years later at a time when there were very few Filipino students at the university. Cariaga (1937: iii) has written of the "background and valuable training" for his later research that he gained from courses with two of the leading sociologists at the University of Hawai'i at that time, Romanzo Adams and Andrew Lind.

Even though sociology was perhaps the leading social science department at the university, Cariaga entered the master's degree program in anthropology, possibly because of the offer of a research fellowship from 1934–1936 under the tutelage of Felix Keesing. He was the first chair of the fledgling Department of Anthropology, and Cariaga may have wanted to study with Keesing because he had conducted fieldwork in the Philippines and taught a course on Philippine culture at the university.[1] Cariaga received an M.A. degree in anthropology in June 1936 for his thesis on "The Filipinos in Hawai'i: A Survey of Their Social and Economic Conditions," thus joining a select group of Filipino students (e.g., Catapusan 1934; Coloma 1939) during the 1930s who wrote master's theses on Filipinos and their communities in the United States.

As a graduate student in anthropology, Cariaga conducted fieldwork in rural and urban Filipino communities on O'ahu for his thesis. Some of his field research was conducted at Ewa plantation in August and September of 1935 while he was engaged in a study on Filipino standards of living for the Institute of Pacific Relations (Cariaga 1937: iii). Much of the paper (1935a) that resulted from this research was incorporated into his master's thesis, and some of his data were used for a published study on income and expenditures of Filipino plantation families (Wentworth 1941). Cariaga (1936a: 2) also did "short but intensive" field studies at Waialua plantation in 1935 and 1936 during which he lived with a Filipino plantation family. He also gained knowledge of plantation

life while teaching evening classes for Filipinos in Waipahu and 'Aiea in 1932 and by living in the latter Filipino community during the summer of that year. In addition, he conducted a "semester's survey" of Filipinos in Honolulu (1935a) under the direction of a professor in the geography department. Besides research, Cariaga taught a course on Filipino culture at the University of Hawai'i in 1937, very likely as one of if not the first Filipino instructor at the university.

In addition to his scholarly writings, Cariaga wrote numerous articles on Filipinos in Hawai'i and on the Philippines as a correspondent for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and the *Honolulu Advertiser.* In 1934 he wrote a "Who's Who Among Filipinos" series on prominent Filipinos in Hawai'i for the *Star-Bulletin* that included several of the individuals who would be described in his book three years later. The following year and again in 1939 he contributed a series of feature articles on the Filipino community for the two Honolulu newspapers. After returning to the Philippines in 1946, Cariaga continued to write featured series for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* in that year and again in January 1948 ("Today in the Philippines") and April 1950 ("The Philippines in 1950").

Cariaga's articles also appeared in local magazines (*Paradise of the Pacific*) and Filipino community newspapers in Honolulu (*Philippine News Tribune, Commonwealth Chronicle*). In both his scholarly and mass media publications, his writing is clear, highly informative, insightful, and at times quite colorful. The following is from his description of the Santa Catalina day fiesta in Hawai'i (Cariaga 1936c: 36):

> musicians brave in spotless white trousers and picturesque *barong Tagalog* (shirt); actresses, dancers, and feminine spectators ablaze with gorgeous hues – magenta, orchid, cerise, russet, gold and turquoise – fluttering hither and yon like Brobdinagian butterflies in their beautiful Filipina dresses.

As a highly educated person with a professional position, Cariaga was a recognized community leader and served as an officer in several Filipino community organizations (Okamura 1981: 74–75). He was vice president of the Filipino Community Council of Honolulu that was established in April 1945 and was elected president the following year.[2] In 1946 Cariaga also was elected president of the first association to be known as the United Filipino Council of Hawai'i. This organization served as the liaison office in Hawai'i for the Philippine Resident Commissioner in Washington, D.C. In his inauguration address Cariaga said that the primary responsibility of the council was to maintain the "harmonious relationships as obtained during the war between the Filipinos and the other elements of the larger community" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1946a: 14).

Cariaga returned to the Philippines in May 1946 to attend the inauguration ceremony of the new Philippine republic on July 4. He appears to have decided to remain there because by late July he was reported to be a high school teacher in his hometown of Santo Tomas, Batangas (*HSB* 1946b). Two years later he was still teaching in Santo Tomas, but in 1950 he was said to be the head of a business research and consulting agency (*HSB* 1950). I have been unable to obtain information on his life since then, but it appears that he did not return to Hawai'i on a permanent basis.

Writing *The Filipinos in Hawai'i*

The year after its submission to the university, a revised version of Cariaga's master's thesis was published in 1937 by the Filipino Public Relations Bureau of which he served as the director. This organization very likely was a private concern; its listed address (332 North King Street in the Palama area near downtown Honolulu) was also the address of the Cebu Barbershop and the J. Gonzales Store (Cariaga 1937: vii, 175). Although it is not known how many copies of the book were published, it probably cost a significant amount since it was a hardbound book printed on glossy heavyweight paper.

The Filipinos in Hawai'i apparently was published through contributions from individual, overwhelmingly male Filipinos whose photographs and biographical sketches are included in a lengthy section (65 pages, 3 persons each page) on "Filipino Personalities in Hawai'i" that comprises one–third of the book. In the introduction to this section, Cariaga (1937: 82) expresses his appreciation to them for their "material support without which this volume could not have been published." This acknowledgment was no exaggeration since one can only conjecture as to the financial resources of the Filipino Public Relations Bureau about which very little is known. That these contributions from individual Filipinos were made during the Depression is also noteworthy because they were impacted harder by the economic decline than any other group with thousands of Filipinos losing their jobs. The pineapple crash of 1931 alone resulted in 6,000 Filipinos joining the ranks of the unemployed (Cariaga 1935a: 44). In 1930 90 percent of employed male Filipinos were unskilled laborers, 85 percent of whom were plantation workers (Lind 1980: 82, 85). Under these dire economic conditions, the publication of the book was a remarkable accomplishment for Cariaga and particularly for the Filipino community.

Printing costs also very likely were met through paid advertisements that appear towards the back of the book. Several of these ads were for Filipino businesses such as the J. Gonzales Store ("The home of perfumed pomade: *ilang*

ilang, banana, bouquet and brilliantine, and Philippine magazines in Tagalog, Ilocano and Bisayan dialects") and the Insular Life Assurance Company of Manila that had recently opened branch offices in Hawai'i. But a greater number of ads were messages of greetings and best wishes from nonFilipino companies, including three of the Big Five corporations (e.g., Alexander and Baldwin, American Factors, and C. Brewer & Co.) and sugar and pineapple planters' associations. While Cariaga might be criticized for appealing to these oppressors and exploiters of Filipino workers for financial support, it also can be argued that the ultimate source of that support were those same Filipinos whose labor at low wages generated profits for those corporations and the plantations they represented.

For that and other reasons, I consider the Filipino community as implicit contributors to *The Filipinos in Hawai'i.* As noted above, Filipino individuals and businesses contributed to the production of the book, and the biographies of the former comprise a very substantial part of its contents. Rather than view Cariaga as the sole author of the book, it can be better appreciated as a cultural product of the Filipino community since it is very much both by and about the community and its hardships, struggles and hopes.

Nonetheless, as the principal author of the book and in his other writings on Filipinos in Hawai'i, Cariaga assumed the role of a "cultural worker/broker in diaspora" insofar as such writers serve as "providers of knowledge about their nations and cultures" (Chow 1993: 99). Cariaga can be seen as such a cultural intermediary in his efforts through his academic and popular writings to contribute to greater understanding and awareness of Filipino culture and behavior, especially by creating and expressing a more positive identity for Filipinos in Hawai'i during the extremely difficult Depression years of the 1930s. Several years later, another notable Filipino cultural broker, Carlos Bulosan (1973: 180), also discovered the power and emotion of writing in diaspora:

> Then it came to me, like a revelation, that I could actually write understandable English. I was seized with happiness. I wrote slowly and boldly, drinking the wine when I stopped, laughing silently and crying. When the long letter was finished, a letter which was actually a story of my life, I jumped to my feet and shouted through my tears: "They can't silence me any more! I'll tell the world what they have done to me!"

Like Bulosan (Campomanes and Gernes 1988: 30), Cariaga's "act of writing bore the impulse to build intersocial and cross–cultural bridges of communication" that were so greatly needed in pre–World War II Hawai'i.

Being Filipino: Community and Nation

Read as a social and cultural text, *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* reveals much of how the Filipino community perceived itself and its place in Hawai'i society. The major difference in content between Cariaga's master's thesis and its published version is the addition of the above mentioned biographical sketches and photographs of primarily men in the book. Their inclusion can be understood as a direct consequence of the community's painful awareness of the stigmatized identity and lowly status assigned to it in Hawai'i. Those sketches and photos represent an effort by Cariaga and implicitly the community to construct their own collective identity and to claim a higher social status for Filipinos than generally was accorded them by the larger society at that time. As he noted, Filipinos "are given little attention ... by the society of which they wish to be an integral part" (Cariaga 1935a: 46).

Certainly, *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* and Cariaga's other articles were written from an assimilationist perspective. This is hardly surprising since assimilation was the dominant sociological approach applied to immigrant minorities in the 1930s, and Cariaga very likely was schooled in this paradigmatic perspective in his sociology and anthropology courses at the University of Hawai'i. Thus his emphasis that the Hawai'i born second generation were "Americans of Filipino ancestry," were "thoroughly American in their ways of thinking and acting" (Cariaga 1937: 6), and moreover "want to be Americans" (Cariaga 1935a: 46) should be understood as resulting from his theoretical orientation. Cariaga can be criticized for exagerrating and privileging this American component of their ethnic identity while obscuring their Filipino cultural heritage, but Japanese also were engaged in a similar process of "Americanization" from the 1920s through the 1950s. Both groups did so primarily because of the rampant racism and discrimination from the larger society that generally did not allow them to be or express being Filipino or Japanese.

While Cariaga (1937: 82) maintained that the individuals in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* were a "representative cross section" of the Filipino community, it is clear that they represented instead its more socially and economically prominent members which is evident from the information provided on their employment status, educational attainment, and community activities. This group was part of a small minority of Filipinos who were struggling against great odds in the racist Hawai'i of the 1930s to traverse the great cultural, political and economic divide that separated Filipinos from the rest of Hawai'i society. Although the individuals very likely paid to have their photos and brief biographies included in the book, this should not be quickly dismissed as an exercise in personal self

glorification directed primarily to the Filipino community. They can be viewed more significantly as making a collective statement of resistance, not merely about themselves but the larger Filipino community, to the wider society and thereby confronting its ignorance, prejudice and injustice against Filipinos.

The biographical sketches and accompanying photographs contradict the predominant stereotype of the uneducated, unskilled, unmarried and unpredictable Filipino plantation field laborer widely prevalent in Hawai'i throughout the pre–World War II period. An appendix to Cariaga's master's thesis (1936a: 123–124) includes a number of stereotypic characteristics attributed to Filipinos in Hawai'i by sixty–three students of "diverse racial origin" who were primarily school teachers. They were enrolled in a summer course on "The Filipino and His Cultural Trends" taught by Felix Keesing at the University of Hawai'i in 1934, perhaps one of the first courses ever offered on Filipinos at an American university. The traits assigned to Filipinos included "emotional, excitable, temperamental," "low standard of living," and "primitive, simple minded, child like."[3] In this regard, Cariaga (1937: 75) observed that "Newspapers have tended to play up their misbehavior so that the public has been constantly made conscious of the Filipino in a bad light. Whenever a serious crime is committed by a Filipino, his nationality is designated – Juan de la Cruz, a *Filipino* is charged" (emphasis in original). As a result, "Racial prejudices were ... crystallized in their minds" such that "the tendency is for them to regard the Filipinos as of inferior stock" (Cariaga 1937: 71). Filipinos were very much essentialized and marginalized as the archtypical racialized other to a far greater extent than were other groups in Hawai'i during the 1930s.

Prejudice and other deprecatory attitudes towards Filipinos were quite evident in surveys on ethnic preferences conducted between 1930 and 1940. Three studies (Lind 1938, Ozaki 1940, Wong and Wong 1935) were concerned with ethnic preferences for marriage mates, while a fourth study (Masuoka 1936) pertained to ethnic choices for playmates for children. The samples in these surveys were comprised of University of Hawai'i or public school students and differed in terms of ethnic composition. Nonetheless, the results indicated that Filipinos were rated last or second to the last (before Puerto Ricans) in order of preference in all the studies (Okamura 1983: 227).

These demeaning stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes against Filipinos were challenged by the individuals included in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* who represented the range of employment engaged in by Filipinos at that time. Only a small minority of the profiled men were field laborers which indeed was the dominant occupation of Filipinos. Many of the individuals sketched were still

employed on the plantations, especially on the neighbor islands where alternative economic opportunities were not as prevalent as on O'ahu. But these plantation employees held predominantly skilled positions as *luna* (field supervisor), interpreter/clerk, bookkeeper, welfare worker, electrician, carpenter, machinist, painter, plantation store manager or clerk, camp overseer, police officer, or chemist's assistant. For the most part, the men in the book held a wide diversity of nonplantation jobs such as draftsperson, mechanic, carpenter, store clerk, postal clerk, bank teller, insurance underwriter, minister, salesperson, court interpreter, and police detective. One of these individuals, Richard Adap, was the first and at that time the only Filipino public school teacher. Born on the island of Hawai'i in 1909, he exemplified his personal advice to other Filipinos, "Work your way through school and you will appreciate your education more," by working as a *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* correspondent while attending the Territorial Normal School (Cariaga 1937: 113).

Many of the men were the manager and proprietor of their own business which included tailoring, barber, laundry and hat cleaning, and shoe repair shops, photo studios, taxi and bus services, pool halls, restaurants, and grocery, general merchandise, and Philippine import stores. The profile of one of these individuals (who was the store manager) describes how thirty "ambitious" Filipino workers at Ola'a plantation in 1929 together started a general merchandise store to cater to the needs of the Filipino community (Cariaga 1937: 122). Largely unbeknownst to the wider society in Hawai'i, thirty years after their arrival in 1906 a significant degree of occupational diversification and private enterprise had obviously occurred among Filipinos. Nonetheless, Cariaga (1937: 72) maintained that "City people still tend to feel that the Filipinos 'belong to the plantation, and should stay there'," indicative of the hostile attitudes towards them and the consequent difficulty they experienced in obtaining nonplantation employment.

With regard to their educational background, many of the men had graduated from high school in the Philippines, while several others obtained diplomas from private and public high schools in Honolulu such as I'olani, Mid–Pacific, Punahou, St. Louis and McKinley, very much unlike the great majority of plantation laborers who had very little formal education. Several had attended college in the Philippines, in the continental United States (Stanford, University of Southern California), or at the University of Hawai'i. Even though most of the men had arrived in Hawai'i through the HSPA and initially worked on the plantation, in many cases their primary objective in leaving the Philippines was to obtain an education in the continental United States, plantation labor being accepted as a necessary first step toward their ultimate goal.

To attain this goal, many of the men were enrolled in correspondence courses in a wide variety of fields including law, business management, bookkeeping, business English, aviation, photography, surveying, radio mechanics, electrical engineering, and Bible teacher training. A few others took University of Hawai'i extension courses. This indicates a strong and ongoing desire for personal advancement and learning given the lack of opportunity for such, especially on the neighbor islands. A young plantation electrician on Kaua'i "participates in the social and literary activities of the Lihue young people's group and enjoys reading for recreation, especially scientific and mechanical books. Always working toward self improvement and supplementing his academic education with practical home study courses, he is now taking typewriting by correspondence" (Cariaga 1937: 99). While this gentleman was not representative of Filipino plantation workers, there were many others like him of whom the larger society of nonFilipinos was totally unaware. Several men, some of whom were former teachers in the Philippines, taught adult courses in English and Ilokano (for illiterate plantation workers) in evening schools sponsored by Filipino Protestant churches. Perhaps Cariaga taught English at one of these schools in Waipahu or 'Aiea in 1932.

Several of the men were well known authors in the community. Faustino R. Gamboa, a former plantation worker who became editor of the *Kaua'i Filipino News*, wrote several novels in Ilokano including *Linglignay* (Happiness) which was published in Hilo in 1935. Another former plantation laborer who later became an established businessman, Asisclo B. Sevilla, wrote a biographical novel *Iti Tayak ni Gasat* (In the Field of Fortune). Marcos Baguinon, who after finishing his three year labor agreement started the Philippine Trade and Supply Company, was a well known Ilokano poet in the Philippines, and "one of the most popular literary men" among Ilokanos in Hawai'i. Macario C. Alverne in 1930 wrote the *Manual for the Filipino Progressive Laborer*, an English grammar and reading handbook that included an English–Ilokano–Visayan dictionary of words, phrases and sentences and sample business correspondence. Author of "one of the most popular of Filipino novels," *Ulilang Kalapate* (Lone Pigeon), Maximo Sevilla was a well published Tagalog novelist and poet besides being editor of the *Philippine News Tribune* of Honolulu. The literary legacy produced by these authors writing in diaspora is itself worthy of future research for what it might reveal to us about how Filipinos perceived life and work in Hawai'i and their homeland.

The men included in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* were active members of the church, particularly the Congregational and Methodist churches rather than the Catholic church. This is understandable since Cariaga had relied on Filipino

Protestant ministers on each island "for their splendid assistance in gathering the material for the biographical section" of the book. For the same reason, fourteen of the men were pastors of Congregational or Methodist churches. In some cases, they had been trained in the Philippines (e.g., at Union Theological Seminary in Manila), while others came to Hawai'i as plantation workers and were recruited by the church to become preachers. The Congregational Hawaiian Board of Missions recruited Filipino plantation laborers for religious training at its Christian Workers Institute in Honolulu. After a three year course of study, they were assigned to Filipino Congregational churches in plantation communities throughout the islands. In a few cases, after their training and serving the community, the Hawaiian Board of Missions sent Filipinos to theological colleges in California for further education. One of these enlisted laborers was the Rev. Emeterio A. Centeno, pastor of the Filipino Congregational Church at Pu'unene, Maui, who arrived in Hawai'i in 1910 and worked as an irrigation laborer (Cariaga 1937: 87). "Deeply impressed with the need for Christian leadership among his fellow countrymen in Hawai'i," he enrolled at the Christian Workers Institute and after completing his training was assigned to the church at Pu'unene.

The Methodist Board of Missions also recruited Filipinos to become lay preachers and religious workers in far flung plantation communities and similarly sent some of them to schools in California for formal training. Other Filipinos served their church by assisting the minister in services, teaching or supervising Sunday school for adults, serving as lay preachers and church deacons, and being officers in church organizations. Their participation in these church activities is all the more remarkable since Cariaga (1937: 70) observed that, even though Filipino ministers had been assigned to almost all the plantations in churches built by the Congregational and Methodist Missions for the sole use of Filipinos, "only a small group of Filipinos attend their services." In contrast to these Protestant Filipinos, very little mention is made of Catholic Filipinos, although the great majority of Filipinos were Catholic. The Protestant church, especially the Methodist church with its services conducted partly in English, was viewed as a means of social mobility by Filipinos, and many community leaders were converted Protestants.

The individuals profiled differed in several other ways from the male Filipino community. Many of them were married and had their families with them in Hawai'i in contrast to the majority of Filipino men who were either unmarried or who had left their families in the Philippines because their low wages made it very difficult to support them. The men were commonly not

merely members but officers in Filipino voluntary associations such as the community or plantation camp club, bachelors' club, sports club, hometown or provincial association, the Filipino Commonwealth Club, Rizal Trailblazers, and fraternal organizations such as the Brown Brothers Society, Legionarios del Trabajo, Caballeros de Dimas Alang, and Gran Oriente Filipino.

While many of the men had arrived in Hawai'i as labor recruits through the HSPA, others came as "independent travelers" on their own, oftentimes with the primary goal of obtaining an education. A significant number were among the first Filipino laborers in Hawai'i (1907–1912) including a Cebuano who came in 1908 and remarked that there were only two Filipinos at that time, both of whom played in the Royal Hawaiian Band.[4] The individuals profiled represented the major ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines including Visayans (e.g. from Cebu, Negros, Siquijor) and Tagalogs (e.g. from Batangas, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac) rather than primarily Ilokanos who comprised a substantial majority of Filipinos in Hawai'i.

The photographs of the men appear to have been formally produced at a studio with them dressed in coat and tie and some with a fountain pen in their breast pocket which was a prestigious sign of status, particularly white collar work. In quite a number of cases, the photos include wives and children and occasionally an unmarried brother. Given the relative scarcity of Filipino women during this period, the single men may have used this opportunity to be visually presented in the company of other prominent members of the community as a means of possibly attracting a future wife.

Like the men who generally were well known figures in local Filipino communities, some of their wives also were "active in the social and civic affairs" of the community. These women served as officers of the island or community Filipino Women's Club and/or were active members of the Congregational or Protestant community church serving as Sunday school teachers or musical accompanists. A few of them were members of the Filipino Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in Honolulu, officers of Filipino women's clubs organized by the YWCA, or delegates to the annual Territorial Filipino Women's Conference sponsored by the Honolulu YWCA during the 1930s. Two of the women were officers of the Pearl of the Orient Club, an educational organization that fostered kindergarten activities among Filipino children. Several of the wives were nurses employed at plantation hospitals, while the others held a diverse range of occupations including school cafeteria supervisor, kindergarten teacher, boarding house operator, Philippine import store owner, and laundry operator. But in most cases no mention is made of the

wife's occupation which may be an indication that they were generally unemployed. Indeed in 1930 only 7.8 percent of the 5,800 female Filipinos ten years and older were employed, almost one–half of them in agricultural work (Cariaga 1937: 29).

While the book has many photographs of wives (including several nonFilipinos[6]) with their husbands and children, there are only two pictures of individual women with their biographical sketches, both of whom are dressed in terno gowns as are some of the wives. One woman, Pilar M. Sua, has a description but no photo. She is described as a "prominent business woman of Honolulu ... carrying on the tradition of the Philippines where most of the retail trade operated by the Filipinos is in the hands of the women, who possess great business acumen" (Cariaga 1937: 143). This statement is useful to counter Cariaga's (1937: 30) own argument that the relative absence of commercial enterprise among Filipinos in Hawai'i was partially due to their having left retail trade and commerce in the Philippines "almost wholly" to Chinese and other foreigners.

Perhaps the best argument that can be made concerning the socially prominent status of the personalities in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* is that many of them eventually emerged as leaders of the Filipino community, if they already were not so. Some of their names, e.g., Blanco, Los Baños, Pablo, Yadao, became quite well known both among Filipinos and nonFilipinos throughout the islands. In addition, Roland Sagum, then a police detective, would become a highly respected leader of territory and state wide Filipino community organizations including serving as the first president of the statewide United Filipino Council of Hawai'i in 1959. Juan Valdez Suyat, then a private mail carrier for the Pu'unene Post Office on Maui delivering mail to more than 6,000 Filipino families who engaged his services, was the father of Cecilia Suyat Marshall, the widow of former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, and Stanley Suyat, assistant director of the Peace Corps. Also on Maui, Asisclo B. Sevilla, who died in July 1995 at the age of 85, was a successful businessman, the first Filipino candidate (albeit unsuccessful) for political office in Hawai'i, and a member of the Maui County School Board. Fortunato Teho, the first Filipino to graduate from the University of Hawai'i in 1927 at the age of nineteen, was an agriculturalist with a plantation on Kaua'i before becoming a popular writer on gardening for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*.

In contrast to their stigmatized ethnic identity as Filipino migrants, *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* can be read as asserting a national identity for Filipinos as Philippine citizens. The establishment of the Commonwealth of the Philippines

in 1935, just two years before the publication of the book, heightened nationalist sentiment among Filipinos in Hawai'i because the legislation that established the Commonwealth also provided for Philippine independence ten years later. Even before the inauguration of the Commonwealth, Filipino communities throughout the islands regularly observed the major Philippine national holiday, Rizal Day, on December 30 in honor of Dr. Jose Rizal, the national hero who was executed by the Spanish colonial government in 1898 for sedition. Rizal's birthdate on June 18 also was commemorated by the community. Commonwealth Day on November 15 became the other major national holiday celebrated by Filipinos until Philippine independence was granted on July 4, 1946.

The Filipinos in Hawai'i is replete with signifiers of this nationalist orientation and patriotic pride including the full text of the Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth and photographs of the Philippine President, Manuel L. Quezon (inside of first page), Vice President Sergio Osmena, and the Resident Commissioner in Washington, D.C. Other photos that indicate this nationalist perspective are of the inauguration ceremony in Manila of the first president of the Philippine Commonwealth, and Commonwealth and Rizal Day observances in Hawai'i which were major community events. These holidays, especially the Rizal Days, were commonly celebrated each year with parades, banquets, balls, literary readings, dramatic productions, musical performances, sporting events, and live radio broadcasts from plantation communities and 'A'ala Park in downtown Honolulu, the focal point also for Filipino labor organizing rallies at that time. The photos of these celebrations were intended to demonstrate to the larger society that Filipinos, while employed as unskilled migrant laborers in an American territory, nonetheless were citizens of their own nation which had a constitution similar to that of the United States and which would be an independent republic in less than a decade. During this period, the national identity of being Philippine citizens was of greater collective significance to the community than the denigrated ethnic identity of being Filipino migrants in a U.S. territory. Cariaga (1937: 76) noted their far greater interest in Philippine rather than Hawai'i politics which is understandable since in the 1934 elections only 102 Filipinos were registered voters.

The Filipino Diaspora in Hawai'i

In his various writings, Cariaga provided sufficient description of the Filipino community in the 1930s to conclude that it represented a diaspora, although he did not use that specific term. A diaspora approach to the community

during this period is especially appropriate because of the substantial ties that linked Filipinos with the Philippines, including returning home permanently since working in Hawai'i was still viewed by many of them as a temporary "sojourn" (Cariaga 1937: 27). Then and now, diasporas are transnational in their scope and nature rather than being mere immigrant or ethnic minorities situated in a given nation–state (Okamura 1995b).

Anticipating such current conceptual views of diasporas in terms of ongoing transnational relations with the country of origin, Cariaga (1935b: 22) observed that "A chain of economic ties links Filipinos ... throughout the territory of Hawai'i with the homeland." These linkages were evident in transnational circulations of people, consumer goods, capital, and information between Hawai'i and the Philippines that at least in form are quite comparable to contemporary such movements. One obvious difference with the past when steamships took two weeks or longer to cross the Pacific is the speed at which that space can now be traversed; capital and information can be electronically transmitted virtually instantaneously from Hawai'i to the Philippines (Okamura 1995a: 391–392).

As for transnational movements of people, by the mid 1930s few Filipinos were arriving in Hawai'i from the Philippines because of the Depression and the passage of the Tydings–McDuffie Act that restricted Philippine immigration to the United States to fifty persons per year. The greater movement in the 1930s was from Hawai'i to the Philippines (31,000), and there also was a small migration to the continental United States (2,900) to join diaspora communities in California and Washington (Cariaga 1937: 1). Destitute and unemployed Filipinos were returning or being returned by the HSPA to the Philippines; in June 1933 the HSPA reported to a Honolulu newspaper that during the previous eighteen month period it had repatriated 9,200 Filipinos, many of whom were among the unemployed in the city (Alcantara 1973: 15). This homeward movement resulted in an absolute decline in the Filipino population of Hawai'i from 63,000 in 1930 to 53,600 in 1936 (Cariaga 1937: 1). Many men still hoped to return home because of the hard life they faced, the great difficulty of starting a family in Hawai'i, and the near impossibility of having their families join them because of the Tydings–McDuffie Act. As sojourners rather than immigrants, for "the vast majority of plantation men, ... their hearts are focused on the homeland and their energies are bent upon acquiring capital to invest in Philippine soil" (Cariaga 1937: 23). Of the nearly 122,000 Filipinos who migrated to Hawai'i between 1907 and 1935, more than one–half returned to the Philippines and another 15 percent moved on to the U.S. mainland (Cariaga 1937: 1).

With the onset of the Depression, it became even more difficult for Filipinos to finance a return trip home. As a result, "going home" societies, a type of rotating credit association which offered its members travel benefits to the Philippines, were organized by Filipinos. Many of these organizations were started in the latter half of the 1930s in Honolulu and the larger plantation towns such as Hilo, Wailuku and Waipahu. Members generally were assessed a monthly dues payment, and after a specified period of time they were entitled to the cost of a trip to the Philippines. In one of the larger organizations, the Oriental Benevolent Association, members paid dues of $2.00 per month for each membership and could hold as many as three memberships. After six months, they were entitled to a trip of more than 2,000 miles and also received an annual payment of $100.00 for each membership they held.

Several of the men profiled in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i*, e.g., Juan A. Quindara and Felipe R. Gamponia (Oriental Benevolent Association) and Faustino R. Gamboa (Inanama Mutual Benefit Society) were leaders of going home societies. Started in 1933 with its main office in Wailuku, Maui, the Oriental Benevolent Association was perhaps the most affluent and largest of the going home organizations, at one time having more than 21,000 memberships (Okamura 1983: 305). During World War II when travel between Hawai'i and the Philippines was suspended, the assets of the association increased tremendously as members continued to pay their monthly dues. Its financial statement for 1945 indicated that it had assets of over $2 million with the bulk invested in securities such as $600,000 in bonds purchased during the war. However, the Oriental Benevolent Association went the route of other going home societies when its members voted in 1947 for dissolution in the face of possible court action and increasing financial constraints.

Most of the going home organizations seem to have been plagued by financial and legal problems despite the considerable assets amassed by several of them. Their financial weakness was that travel benefits were paid directly from the income from membership fees such that there were insufficient funds when no new members were recruited. Legislation also was enacted in Hawai'i in 1937 that required the organizers of mutual benefit societies to obtain an operating license; in consequence, going home associations became the object of close scrutiny for over a decade beginning in the mid 1930s by government officials who seemed to consider their operation a "veritable racket."

Linkages with the Philippines also were maintained through the considerable sums of money that were regularly sent home by Filipinos to their relatives. During the very prosperous sugar years of 1927 ($2.2 million), 1928 ($3.2 million) and 1929 ($3.3 million), vast amounts of money were remitted through postal money orders to the Philippines (Lasker 1931: 252 as cited in Cariaga 1937: 35). Returning "Hawayanos" as Filipinos living in Hawai'i were called, also sent money home through the HSPA, and this totaled $650,000 in 1932 and $625,000 the following year. It is quite problematic to reconcile these substantial sums of money with the continual complaints of inadequate pay voiced by laborers. Cariaga (1937: 38) remarked on the "Mazarin task for the laborer to live according to his desires in Hawai'i and still save money." One explanation advanced is that individual workers were able to accumulate a significant amount of cash to remit home through their membership in rotating credit associations (Alegado 1991: 15–16), which Filipinos called *cumpang*, a Hawai'i Creole English term for "company" (Cariaga 1937: 38). Nonetheless, according to the annual reports of the Treasurer of the Territory of Hawai'i, individual Filipino savings deposit accounts averaged more than $200 in the midst of the Depression between 1929 and 1934 (e.g., $4.6 million in 21,300 accounts in 1932) (Cariaga 1937: 35). These savings may well have been amassed after many years of toil and a spartan existence (Okamura 1983: 76).

Money also was sent to close relatives or friends in the Philippines to be invested in retail merchandising or purchasing land since a "great many" of the plantation laborers hoped to become land owning farmers upon their return home which was one of their primary objectives in migrating to Hawai'i (Cariaga 1935b: 22). Some of the men profiled in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* spoke of returning and engaging in "scientific farming," perhaps based on the knowledge gained through plantation agriculture.

Another transnational circulation was evident in the consumer goods from the Philippines that were available in import stores. In Honolulu alone, Cariaga (1937: 31) noted there were six such Filipino owned stores including the appropriately named Cababayan (compatriot) Store on North King Street which sold Philippine made "slippers, shoes, mats, rugs, wall hangings, books, lamps, curios, barong Tagalog [long sleeve dress shirts], Filipina dresses [terno gowns], perfumes and cosmetics." Businesses such as the Manila Trade and Supply Co. imported foodstuffs such as bottled *bagoong* and dried fish and distributed them throughout the islands.

In the opposite direction, relatives in the Philippines were sent "all types of American made goods: sweaters, woolen suits, enlarged pictures, watches, and the like" (Cariaga 1935b: 22). In terms that would still apply sixty years later, Cariaga (1935b: 22) commented that "Anything made in the magic land of America is eagerly sought in the Philippines, and increases the prestige and

social standing of the owner." At present, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Canada, Australia, and various European countries can be added to the magic land of global consumer culture into which Filipinos have been incorporated as a result of working abroad or having relatives who do.

Information also flowed between Hawai'i and the Philippines, although at quite a slow pace through letters carried on ships crossing the Pacific. A more direct transfer of information and ideas about life and work in the diaspora was represented by returning Hawayanos whose personal appearance in remote barrios dressed in stylish "Hollywood" suits contributed to false images of the riches to be easily earned as a plantation laborer. The purchase of land and new homes by these returnees also conveyed ideas about Hawai'i as a veritable land of opportunity such that by 1926 the HSPA no longer had to pay the fare of labor recruits given their great desire to travel to the islands on their own. As Cariaga (1937: 20) noted, "Money began to pour back to the home families, laborers returned affluent, and the rush to migrate was on." Returning overseas Filipinos, now called *balikbayan*, continue to transmit information, images and ideas as well as consumer goods and capital from what is presently a "global Filipino diaspora" that has extended its space to far flung corners of the world (Okamura 1995b).

Conclusion

A superficial reading of *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* might lead one to criticize it in the same terms that have been directed to a more recent photographic and narrative work on Filipino Americans (Cordova 1983) as "a symptom of the conflicted subaltern compensating for its supposed lack by impressing the public eye with an overwhelming multiplicity of images of family/communal togetherness, images of smiling faces ... enough to generate illusions of normalcy and progress" (San Juan, Jr. 1993: 158). In highlighting the individuals in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* (some of whom indeed are smiling), I am not arguing that they in any way were representative of the larger community which continued to be suppressed and disdained during the Depression decade of the 1930s. These men were very much a small minority, and as such their existence was not especially well known to the larger society that preferred to continue essentializing Filipinos as uneducated plantation laborers and sexually driven and violent criminals. It was this intractable ignorance and the racism and discrimination which it bred that Cariaga and the Filipino community were resisting and contesting through the production of *The Filipinos in Hawai'i.* The book should not be read as an attempt to obfuscate the extreme subordinate political and economic status of Filipinos since that status, which is clearly delineated in the text, was the primary catalyst for the book's production.

It needs to be asked what were the other ways besides producing a book for the Filipino community to assert and represent itself in the economic and political arenas in the 1930s. In the labor field, the same year that *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* was published a Filipino labor union, the Vibora Luviminda, won a wage increase after an initially unplanned strike on a plantation at Pu'unene, Maui, the first such victory along with union recognition by plantation management in the then 100 year history of the sugar industry.[7] There were several other strikes, some successful and some unsuccessful, led by Filipino sugar and pineapple workers in the late 1930s, i.e., at Moloka'i, on the Hamakua coast of the Big Island, at Kahuku plantation on O'ahu, and at Kekaha plantation on Kaua'i (Beechert 1985: 231). But the Filipino labor union, the Higher Wages Movement, that had led the 1920 and 1924 plantation strikes was long defunct by then, and union leader Pablo Manlapit had been banished to the Philippines in 1934 (Kerkvliet 1991: 163). Not until 1946 would all Filipino and other plantation workers be organized into a common union, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and win the first industry wide and territory wide strike.

In electoral politics, severely hampered by their relatively small number of eligible voters, a Filipino would not be elected to political office until 1954. Filipino political activities were more directed to events and issues in the Philippines, especially with impending independence, than to those in Hawai'i. Another possible means of political activism was community organizations, but there were none during this period that could effectively organize the community or represent its collective interests (Okamura 1981: 74). In the absence of effective economic and political organizing at least in the 1930s, writing can be seen as an alternative mode of political expression and advocacy that contributed to the historical struggle of an extremely marginalized and oppressed people.

Endnotes

I would like to express my appreciation to Steffi San Buenaventura for reading and commenting on a previous draft of this paper.

1. Keesing wrote several books on the Philippines including *Taming Philippine Headhunters: A Study of Government and of Cultural Change in Northern Luzon* (1934, coauthored with his wife) and *The Philippines, a Nation in the Making* (1937).

2. This association may have developed from an ad hoc "Filipino Committee of Thanksgiving" that had been organized at the suggestion of the Philippine Resident Commissioner in Washington, D.C. that Hawai'i Filipinos hold a thanksgiving mass for the liberation of Manila.

3. The more positive characteristics included "hardworking," "thrifty," "eager to learn" and "musical."

4. One of these men may have been Lazaro Salamanca about whom Cariaga wrote an article in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (May 15, 1935, p. 3). Salamanca and three other Filipinos joined the Royal Hawaiian Band in 1888 when their troupe of twelve musicians and acrobats from Manila decided to stay in Honolulu following a salary dispute with their manager (Okamura 1983: 85).

5. "Fountain pen boys" was a mildly derisive term used in the Philippines to refer to Filipinos who had studied in the United States during this period.

6. Because of the relative paucity of Filipino women of marriageable age, Filipino men had an outmarriage rate of 37.5 percent between 1930 and 1940, particularly with Hawaiian and Portuguese women (Lind 1980: 114). Several of the latter were married to men in the book including a Mrs. Josephine Perreira Javier who "speaks fluent Tagalog and felt very much at home during her visit to the Philippines in 1923."

7. This is oftentimes referred to as the last major "racial" plantation strike in Hawai'i, i.e., involving workers from only one racial/ethnic group.

References

Alcantara, R.R. 1973. The Filipino Community in Waialua. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Hawai'i (American Studies).

Alegado, D.T. 1991. The Filipino Community in Hawai'i: Development and Change. In J.Y. Okamura, A.R. Agbayani and M.T. Kerkvliet (eds.), *The Filipino American Experience in Hawai'i. Social Process in Hawai'i*, 33:12–38.

Beechert, E.D. 1985. *Working in Hawai'i: A Labor History*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Bulosan, C. 1973 [1943]. *America is in the Heart*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Campomanes, O.V. and T.S. Gernes 1988. Two Letters from America: Carlos Bulosan and the Act of Writing. *MELUS*, 15(3):15–44.

Cariaga, R.R. 1935a. Filipinos in Honolulu. *Social Science*, 10:39–46.

_____ 1935b. The Filipinos at Ewa. Unpublished paper.

_____ 1936a. Filipinos in Hawai'i: A Survey of Their Economic and Social Conditions. M.A. thesis, University of Hawai'i (Anthropology).

_____ 1936b. Some Filipino Traits Transplanted. *Social Process in Hawai'i*, 2:20–23.

_____ 1936c. *Kapuripuri*, a Word Concerning the Contribution of the Filipinos in Hawai'i. *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, 49:34–38.

_____ 1937. *The Filipinos in Hawai'i: Economic and Social Conditions 1906–1936*. Honolulu: Filipino Public Relations Bureau.

Catapusan, B.T. 1934. The Filipino Occupational and Recreational Activities in Los Angeles. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Southern California.

Chow, R. 1993. *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Coloma, C.S. 1939. A Study of the Filipino Repatriation Movement. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Southern California.

Cordova, F. 1983. *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans*. Seattle: Demonstration Project for Asian Americans.

Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1935. Once Musician for Kalakaua, Lazaro Salamanca. May 15, p. 3.

_____ 1946a. Leader of New Organization, United Filipino Council of Hawai'i. March 4, p. 14.

_____ 1946b. Philippines Today: Life, People. July 29.

_____ 1950. Achievement of Filipinos in Four Years is Held Substantial. April 6.

Kerkvliet, M.T. 1991. Pablo Manlapit's Fight for Justice. In J.Y. Okamura et al. (eds.), *The Filipino American Experience in Hawai'i. Social Process in Hawai'i*, 33:153–168.

Lasker, B. 1931. *Filipino Immigration to the Continental United States and to Hawai'i*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lind, A.W. 1938. Attitudes Toward Interracial Marriage in Kona, Hawai'i. *Social Process in Hawai'i*, 4:79–83.

_____ 1980. *Hawaii's People*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Masuoka, J. 1936. Race Preference in Hawai'i. *American Journal of Sociology*, 41:635–641.

Okamura, J.Y. 1981. A History of Filipino Federated Organizations in Hawai'i. In J.C. Dionisio (ed.), *The Filipinos in Hawai'i: The First 75 Years*. Honolulu: Hawai'i Filipino News.

_____ 1983. Immigrant Filipino Ethnicity in Honolulu, Hawai'i. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of London (Anthropology).

_____ 1995a. The Filipino American Diaspora: Sites of Space, Time and Ethnicity. In G.Y. Okihiro et al. (eds.), *Privileging Positions: The Sites of Asian American Studies*. Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, pp. 387–400.

_____ 1995b. The Global Filipino Diaspora as an Imagined Community. Paper presented at Conference on Contemporary Diasporas: Focus on Asian-Pacifics. Center for Transnational and Multiethnic Studies, University of Southern California.

Ozaki, S. 1940. Student Attitudes on Interracial Marriage. *Social Process in Hawai'i*, 6:23–28.

San Juan, Jr., E. 1993. Filipino Writing in the United States: Reclaiming Whose America? *Philippine Studies*, 41(2):141–166.

Wentworth, E.C. 1941. *Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawai'i: A Study of Incomes, Expenditures, and Living Standards of Filipino Families on an Hawaiian Sugar Plantation*. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh.

Wong, L. and M. Wong 1935. Attitudes toward Intermarriage. *Social Process in Hawai'i*, 1:14–17.

"Pineapples," "Hawayanos," and "Loyal Americans": Local Boys in the First Filipino Infantry Regiment, US Army

Linda A. Revilla

This article is an exploratory study of the ethnicity and ethnic identity of the second generation Filipinos, young men who joined the army or were drafted during World War Two and served in the "First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments, US Army" in the Pacific. These soldiers had the unique experience of being in a unit comprised of older Filipino immigrants in their thirties and themselves, second generation teenagers, born and raised in Hawai'i.

I discuss the manifestation and affirmation of ethnicity by the second generation; how, why, and when they thought of themselves as "Americans," or "Pineapples," or "Hawayanos." I examine how ethnic identities are negotiated and constructed through the experiences of everyday life in Hawai'i and through the military experience. As Isajiw describes, "in this approach ... ethnicity is something that is being negotiated and constructed in everyday living ... a process which continues to unfold. It has relatively little to do with Europe, Africa, Asia, etc., but much to do with the exigencies of everyday survival" (1993-94:12). The ethnic identity of the young men from Hawai'i was what would now be described as "local" identities, identities tied to their life experiences as Filipinos born and raised in plantation-era Hawai'i. This "local" affiliation was to color the interactions that the men had during their stay in basic training on the U.S. mainland and during deployment in the Philippines. This approach is useful in examining the ethnicity of the Filipino community in Hawai'i, which differs in many ways from Filipino communities in other parts of the United States, in the Philippines, and elsewhere around the world.

Asian American Second Generation Ethnicity and Identity

The different expressions of ethnicity and ethnic identity by Hawai'i Asians and mainland Asians have been noted in previous research (Alcantara 1975; Matsumoto, Meredith & Masuda 1973). However, few studies have looked at second generation Asians before the 1960s; fewer studies have looked at second generation Filipinos. Many older American models of ethnicity and ethnic identity posit most immigrant second generations as "the assimilation generation," striving to forget the immigrant culture to embrace "Americanization," or being confused about being in two worlds (Smith 1927).

Smith's research on the "Second Generation Problem" looked at second generation Chinese and Japanese youth in Hawai'i during the 1920s (Smith 1927). Smith (1927:3) quoted a project participant as summing up the "problem" with these observations,

> This problem ... is a maladjustment of a group produced by the meeting of the Orient and the Occident ... if it remains unsolved, it would be conclusive proof that 'East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet' without producing a discordant, jarring social situation ... if a proper adjustment can be worked out, it would be proof that ... a synthesis of the cultures of the Orient and the Occident can take place.

One section of Smith's paper, "Oriental in appearance but not in reality," addressed the apparent unhappiness of many of the second generation Asians at having to learn and speak the Asian language of their parents, and to learn the Asian culture, too. Smith also discussed the gap between parent and child created because "the worlds in which they live are so vastly different" (1927:9). The section, "Disadvantages of being an Oriental in America," described the ambitions of the second generation, ambitions that were often not realized because of discrimination. Finally, the strategies employed by the second generation were listed, among them, participating in Asian organization activities that fostered understanding between the generations and between Americans and Asians.

Similarly, Adams (1938:63) discussed the "responsibility" of second generation youth in Hawai'i,

> As young people growing up in the homes of immigrant parents, they must acquire enough of the old country culture of their parents to live comfortably with them and to make possible a reasonable measure of family solidarity. This duty cannot be evaded without moral peril. It is also the duty of such native-born youths to acquire enough of American culture to live comfortably with the rest of the people in the community ... It is not easy to carry this double role. The surprising thing is not that some fail, but that so many carry it so successfully. This generation is pre-eminently the one of the double role.

Some mainland second generation Filipinos of the 1930s and 1940s era call themselves, "the Bridge Generation," having bridged the traditional Filipino culture of their immigrant parents with the "American" culture they learned in school and practiced with their friends (Filipino American National Historical Society 1994). However, Cariaga (1974:10) describes the second generation Hawai'i Filipinos as,

> [T]hose fortunate enough to be American citizens by virtue of birth in Hawai'i, brought up in an American setting, educated in American schools, and thoroughly American in their ways of thinking and acting ... They would be as alien and maladjusted in the Philippines as were their parents upon arrival in Hawai'i ... These second generation Filipinos count Hawai'i and America as their homeland.

Whether or not others perceived the second generation men as "Americans" depended upon the situations that the men found themselves in. This article focuses on the situational ethnicities of the second generation men, as manifested in their war-time experience. Paden (1970 as cited in Okamura 1981b) defines situational ethnicity as "premised on the observation that particular contexts may determine which of a person's communal identities or loyalties are appropriate at a point in time." Okamura's (1981b) review summarizes situational ethnicity as comprised of structural and cognitive aspects. Structural aspects refer to the situation that the individual finds herself in; cognitive aspects refer to the individual's perceptions of the situation. Ideally, then, in any situation, individuals may make a choice to "advance their claims to membership in any one of a generally limited number of ethnic categories that they belong to" (Okamura 1981b:454), taking into consideration the constraints of the immediate and larger social situation. I will discuss the manifestation and affirmation of ethnicity by the second generation; how, why, and when they thought of themselves as "Americans," or "Pineapples," or "Hawayanos."

Methodology

Veterans of the First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments are being located and interviewed as part of a larger project documenting their experiences during World War Two. So far, ten of the men in Hawai'i have been interviewed. Three of the men were interviewed with their wives, who were "war brides." Follow-up interviews and interviews with other men and other war bride couples will take place. These first ten interviews provide the data for this article.

Situational Ethnicities

Interviews with the veterans revealed three categories of situational ethnicities with which they found themselves identifying. The situational ethnicities are as follows: (1) identification as loyal "Americans," (2) identification as "Pineapples," local boys from the plantations of Hawai'i, and (3) being identified by native Filipinos as "Hawayanos," a distinct group of Filipino Americans. Understanding these different dimensions of Filipino American ethnicity necessitates a brief overview of the Filipino experience in Hawai'i.

Background: Plantation Life in Hawai'i

Filipinos, like the other Asians in Hawai'i, immigrated under the auspices of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association as contract labor for the sugar cane plantations. Between the years 1906-1935, when Filipino immigration to Hawai'i was stopped for a decade, about 125,000 Filipinos were recruited or otherwise immigrated to the islands. After their contracts expired, an estimated one-third moved on to the mainland, one-third returned to the Philippines, and the rest stayed in the territory (Cariaga 1937). By 1940, the Filipino population in Hawai'i numbered 52,569 (Nordyke 1989:188). The community was overwhelmingly made up of single men. The conditions of the contract, restrictive immigration laws, lack of financial and other resources, and cultural reasons compelled many Filipino women to remain in the Philippines. During the peak years of Filipino immigration (1909-1932), the ratio of male to female arrivals was at best 3 to 1 in 1923 and 1924, and at worst 95 to 1 in 1927 when almost 9,000 men and fewer than 100 women arrived (Nordyke 1989:224). Thus, the Filipino American second generation was relatively small, especially when compared to other ethnic groups in Hawai'i. The world of these second generation Filipinos was often one on a plantation. Alcantara (1975:3-4) describes this lifestyle,

> The plantations fostered ethnic competition and divisiveness through such devices as residential segregation, structural stratification by ethnicity, ethnic preferential treatment in wages, perquisites and mobility, and breaking up racial strikes by introducing other ethnic groups. In this situation, ethnic group life had a strategic importance in plantation work and was made viable through the retention of the group's traditional culture; ethnic identification was important inasmuch as the individual's fate as a worker depended on the status of his group.

Forman (1980:164) describes the first life goal of these immigrant Filipinos as "neighborliness, " "feeling and behaving with responsibility and good will towards one another." One second generation Filipina recalls the lifestyle of the times,

> Often single males who were related to one or another of the family members, or were just friends, would share living quarters, expenses and household chores. Many single males would be asked to become godfathers to the family's children, thus becoming honorary fathers to those children ... The low wages paid sugar workers, lower for Filipinos than for other groups in the early years, required ingenuity in order to survive. It was common for workers to grow vegetables in their gardens and to share their harvest with neighbors and friends ... The workers helped each other to buy household appliances, equipment, tools, or large purchases requiring loans. Lending money to each other without written contracts was common (Nagtalon-Miller 1993:31).

Neighborliness was enhanced with the development of ethnic community organizations and family and kinship networks. Ethnic community organizations of the era included mutual aid associations, labor unions, Masonic societies, and women's groups (Okamura 1981a). Despite the presence of relatively few women, Filipino family and kinship networks developed that played an important role in the social calendar of the plantations (Alegado 1991). HSPA officials wanted second generation plantation youngsters to forego education, and instead follow in the footsteps of their laboring parents (Daws 1968). Nevertheless, some young adults went through the public school system and then on to college. Alegado (1991) notes that the dearth of young Filipinos meant that whenever a Filipino youth graduated from college, or even high school, large celebrations commemorated the event. These and other large celebrations were important for reinforcing neighborliness, which is said to have taken the place of the Filipino alliance system of a network of family and friends that is bound by mutual rights and obligations (Forman 1980).

Thus, structural constraints from the plantation environment and cultural practices operated to reinforce the ethnicity of the young Filipino Americans. Moreover, this plantation background influenced the development of a particular type of identity, with its corresponding worldview. This identity, which I argue is now described as a "local" identity, was the significant way in which the Filipino American soldiers identified themselves during the war and, in turn, were identified by others.

Loyal Americans: The First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments, US Army

A turning point for Hawaii's population was the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the entry of the United States into World War II. The significance of this series of events has been widely analyzed for Japanese Americans. For Filipino Americans, WWII was just as significant. At the start of the war, immigrant Filipinos were denied entry into the American Armed Forces, because they were not citizens, nor were they eligible for citizenship. The quest to be able to join the American military united the Filipino communities in the United States. They continually petitioned the President, the Secretary of War, and Philippine government representatives to change the laws to enable Filipinos to fight. Their petitions and prayers were answered, and within a few weeks Washington authorized the creation of the "First Filipino Infantry Battalion," which was to be led by white American officers and by Philippine Army officers stranded in the United States. The troops would be comprised of Filipinos in the United

States. The "First Battalion" saw so many volunteers that it was upgraded to the "First Filipino Infantry Regiment" on July 13, 1942. The influx of volunteers continued, and the "Second Filipino Infantry Regiment" was formed a few months later. The First Regiment was commanded by Lt. Col. Robert Offley, a West Point graduate who had spent time in the Philippines and spoke Tagalog. Offley was well-liked by his men, who referred to him as *Tatay* (Father). The motto of the regiment was *Laging Una* (Always First), and the official marching song was, "On to Bataan," a composition of one of the men. The Second Regiment was also headed by a West Point graduate, Lt. Col. Charles Clifford. Their motto was *Sulong* (Forward). At top strength, the regiments contained more than 7,000 men (Fabros, 1993). This number is quite significant, given that the total Filipino American population has been estimated to be about 100,000 in 1940.

Most of the soldiers in the regiments were immigrant Filipinos, the men who had traveled to America in the 1920s and 1930s and had been relegated to manual field labor or canneries or, in the cities, to service occupations. Some, however, were college graduates, highly skilled professionals, or graduates of American military academies. Many of the men were usually in their thirties, much older than the usual Army recruit (Fabros 1993). Many joined for altruistic reasons; to fight for their adopted country and to help free the homeland, which was invaded and occupied by the Japanese. Still, for others, joining up was a combination of altruism and realism; few good jobs were available for Filipinos in the 1940s, although the situation improved with the wartime economy. Sergeant Urbano Francisco (1945) describes how many of the men felt,

> Life is so small a property to risk as compared to the fight incurred for the emancipation of a country from the foul, ignominious, barbaric, inhuman treatments of the Eastern Asia Co-prosperity Sphere ... These unjust treatments prompted and stirred the boiling blood of the Filipino soldier in the United States Army to vengeance and fury, to drive back the aggressors ... to revenge the rapes, the atrocities ... to let them look back to the March of Death of our living heroes of Bataan and Corregidor, to restore the one and sweet freedom of our country so that the countless and yet unborn souls of tomorrow shall forever cherish the sweetness of it.

The regiments underwent basic training in California. During basic training hundreds of men volunteered for specialized units and missions, so that the strength of the units were always in flux. Over 500 of these volunteers became members of the specially formed First Reconnaissance Battalion, which gathered the intelligence that paved the way for General Douglas MacArthur's return to the Philippines. Because of the unique abilities of the men, including

familiarity with the terrain and the ability to speak Philippine languages, throughout the duration of the war the regiments supplied personnel for other units, such as the Alamo Scouts and the Philippine Civil Affairs Units. The Second Filipino Regiment lost so many men to other units that it was changed into a battalion.

The First and Second "Fil" went overseas in April, 1944. Their first stop was New Guinea where they continued advanced combat training. Some of the men became members of the initial wave of American re-invasion forces and landed at Leyte Gulf with General MacArthur. The bulk of the troops finally landed in the Philippines in February, 1945. Their main mission was to eliminate the remaining Japanese troops in the islands, otherwise known as "mopping up the enemy." After the war, most of the men stayed in the Philippines for more than half a year before returning to the United States. The First and Second Fil were disbanded a few months after the war's end (Fabros 1993).

This article concerns Filipino men from Hawai'i who joined the First and Second Filipino Regiments. According to the 1940 Census, Filipino males in Hawai'i aged from 15 to 24 numbered fewer than 2,500. Thus, they were a relatively small segment of the territory's population but a significant segment of the Filipino population, which numbered 52,569 at the time. Those who worked on the plantations and in other civic positions were classified as "essential workers" and were initially unable to join the Armed Forces. Many of the men from Hawai'i who were able to join the Army or were drafted during the years 1943-45 were trained to be replacement troops for the First and Second Filipino Infantry.

As is usually the case, the men found themselves in the service for various reasons; some were drafted, some enlisted, some joined up because their friends or relatives did. One could join the regiments in two ways, either volunteer or be chosen for duty. Although the official documents concerning the First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments never use the term "segregated," the fact is that many of the men from Hawai'i were "chosen" for duty with the regiments. The five Los Banos brothers from Hawai'i all ended up joining the service, two of them became part of the First Filipino Infantry. "I wanted to volunteer" and "I wanted to contribute to the war" and other explanations of "honor, duty, and country" are common reasons given for joining the service. One veteran recalls, "Our hatred was so great on them (Japanese) because they attack our country, Pearl Harbor ... kill so many boys. I was angry about Pearl Harbor."

Another veteran who started in the First Filipino Infantry and later made a career of the military summarizes his attitude, "I never regretted my time in the

service ... From the time that I joined the service, I am proud to be an American." These "loyal American" attitudes found in the Filipino Americans are similar to those of the Nisei (Kotani 1985), which has been described as "being 200% American" (Miyazaki 1994) and predicted by assimilation models of ethnicity. However, the willingness of the Filipinos to fight for the United States has also been explained by the Japanese attack and occupation of the Philippines, the "mother country" of the parents of the young men. The immigrant Filipino community in Hawai'i was understandably shaken by the Japanese attack on the Philippines. The Philippines and United States were allies in the war, giving the Filipino Americans other reasons perhaps than the Nisei to "fight for Uncle Sam" (Andaya 1994).

"Pineapples": Local Boys and Local Identity

Most of the first groups of Filipino men from Hawai'i to join the First Fil underwent basic training in California. For many, this was their first trip outside the Hawaiian islands. Later groups of men would train in Hawai'i and then be transported to the Philippines.

The Hawai'i boys called themselves, and were called by others, "Pineapples." "Pineapples" has commonly been used to refer to Asian servicemen from Hawai'i during WWII, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War (Matsuoka et al. 1990). Today, the term "local" is used in Hawai'i to describe people from Hawai'i who exhibit a certain "local" personality and sensibility, which the "Pineapples" of WWII and subsequent wars manifested. The term "local" was first used in Hawai'i at a 1931 rape trial to describe Hawai'i-born men accused of rape as distinguished from the mainland-born military plaintiffs in the case. The term became more salient during WWII to distinguish between Hawai'i and mainland soldiers, but only in the 1960s did the term take on a new meaning (Yamamoto 1979). Yamamoto's early review of the research on "local" identity noted three approaches to the discussion of the topic, (1) as a polycultural culture, a "product of the blending of different cultures in Hawai'i," (2) as a value-orientation, evolving "from the conception of a people's commitment to community and their acceptance of the related structure of interpersonal and business interactions, and (3) as a form of culture creation, incorporating "aspects of the other two approaches and a theory about the influence of a combination of social forces in cultural patterns, in a model of culture creation in Hawai'i" (1979:102-105). Yamamoto describes "localism in Hawai'i" as "a composite of ethnic cultures, emerging in reaction to domination by Western institutions and culture, composed of people of Hawai'i with community-value orientations" (1979:106).

Although Yamamoto's work on "localism" was completed in the 1970s, the dimensions of "localism" he described then were also relevant in the 1940s. Andaya recalls those days, "It was a source of pride to be continually reminded of how unique we were in Hawai'i as a society where races live harmoniously together" (1996:6). Okamura argues that the creation of local culture and society in Hawai'i was a complex process,

> Viewed historically, the emergence of local culture and society represent an accommodation of ethnic groups to one another in the context of a social system primarily distinguished by the wide cleavage between the Haole planter and merchant oligarchy on the one hand, and the subordinate Hawaiians and immigrant plantation groups on the other (1980:122) ... In spite of their long presence in Hawai'i and their considerable and varied contributions to local culture and society, the historical experiences of Haoles, their style of life, values, and activities, are seen as being significantly different from the experiences of local people (1980:126).

Okamura's (1980) discussion of "local" identity acknowledges that the term is usually used to refer to people born and raised in Hawai'i, and who share a lifestyle and its associated behaviors, values and norms, which includes being "easygoing, friendly, open, trusting, humble, generous, loyal to family and friends and indifferent to achieved status distinctions." Okamura notes that these values are in contrast to "American" values, which include directness, competition, individualism, and achievement of status.

It is a combination of the indifference to "achieved status distinctions," coupled with a history of conflict with the white oligarchy of Hawai'i, that made the Filipinos unwilling to take perceived unreasonable orders from white officers. The men describe their comrades as being "undisciplined," "aggressive," "young," "rough," and "cocky."

> We had the reputation of being tough.
>
> Plantation life had made us brash. We wouldn't take a back seat to anything.
>
> Filipinos boys fresh from Hawai'i didn't take any rough stuff from officers.

Conversely, the local affiliation made the men have a special relationship to a fellow Hawai'i-born and raised Chinese-Hawaiian officer in the unit.

> I don't remember too many other non-white officers. The sergeant would say, 'Lieutenant, don't worry about anything. These boys are well trained' ... Somehow, I got the feeling that they wanted to take care of me.

This relationship that the Filipino men had with a fellow "local," who just happened to be an officer, illustrates the strength of the kinship the local boys felt with one another, which transcended rank. The "local" affiliation was to characterize the interactions that the men had during their stay in basic training on the mainland and during deployment in the Philippines.

> We (Hawai'i boys) knew each other's jokes, weaknesses, we would tease each other.

> You know how pineapples are, local boys. If you get three together, all talking at once ... sounds like fighting ... Other people on the outside think something's going on, so we chase them out.

The men mentioned some conflicts with the white soldiers, especially "the guys from Alabama." Two of the veterans at different times told the same story of an altercation that the Hawai'i boys had with a white soldier. The white soldier had laughed at a Filipino soldier from the Big Island of Hawai'i. The Filipino told his Native Hawaiian buddy, and the buddy grabbed the white soldier and flushed his head in the toilet. This story was used to illustrate the feeling of camaraderie and loyalty that the local boys felt with one another, "You knew that the local boys would be there to help." Additionally, one of the local characteristics, willingness to help out, was manifested early on in basic training but quickly extinguished as the men learned the unspoken military rule of "never volunteer for anything," something their white counterparts already knew,

> The first thing I seen (sic) in [Camp] Roberts was the heat ... It was all local boys mixed with haoles from the mainland ... We got along pretty good until the cadre asked for volunteers. They asked for drivers. Hawai'i boys like to help out so they said, 'Yeah, I'll drive' ... [They ended up driving] the wheelbarrow.

The small California towns that the men trained near had been accustomed to the presence of Filipino migrant workers picking the crops from the surrounding fields. These towns had a long history of discrimination against Filipinos and other ethnic minorities. The immigrant Filipino men from the mainland United States who joined the Regiments at the beginning of the war got involved in a few serious conflicts with the local white townspeople (Fabros 1993). However, the young men from Hawai'i do not recall experiencing discrimination. They attribute this difference in treatment to the idea that they were unused to blatant discrimination, "We didn't look for it (discrimination)." Instead, the men remember the good times shared with the population from the surrounding towns,

> We were dance crazy ... They called us "boogie-woogie boys" ... The haole girls loved it. I used to get mobbed (laughs). We had something jingling in our pocket, too you know. We bought beer by the quart, not the bottles. We had [a] good time.

Thus, the plantation background and common experience of the men had influenced the development of a "local" identification, complete with shared attitudes and behaviors, that were manifested during basic training. They recall basic training as a time of camaraderie and loyalty, "us," "Hawai'i guys" against "them," "(white) mainland guys," at least until the "mainland guys" were set straight. Furthermore, this shared background of living in multicultural Hawai'i made the local boys not expect and perhaps not experience discrimination by townspeople that Filipinos on the West Coast had been accustomed to receiving. Ironically, although they do not recall experiencing discrimination on the American mainland, they were to experience it in the Philippines.

"Hawayanos": Deployment in the Philippines

One veteran recalls going through basic training and realizing that something different was about to happen to him and his Filipino companions from Hawai'i because they remained in camp while the rest of the men they had completed basic training with were shipped off to fight in Europe. The Filipinos instead received additional jungle training at Fort Ord, California. This was the first indication that they might be sent to the Philippines.

For many of the men from Hawai'i, their assignment to the First Filipino Infantry, once they were sent to the Philippines, came as a complete surprise.

> When I was shipped to the jungle, I saw the other members of the regiment. I thought, what the hell is this? I didn't want to be part of the Philippine Army. Some of us were real peeved ...

Again, loyalty to the United States shows in the unwillingness of this man to fight for the Philippine Army, although the enemy may be the same. However, once they were assured that they were part of the American Army, and not the Philippine Army, the men report being pleased to be part of this unique regiment.

> When we first arrived in the Philippines, we didn't have any idea we'd be First Fil. When the time came for our assignment, it was a big surprise for us ... I was kind of glad, when I wrote home to my dad, address at the First Fil ... He was surprised, then glad, there was such a thing as the First Fil.

The Hawai'i contingent saw themselves as different from the mainland Filipinos. One veteran describes the Filipinos from the mainland: "They were a little more haolefied. Hawai'i boys' English was broken. Filipinos from the

mainland speak 'high tone.'" Despite the differences in age and background, the local boys and their mainland counterparts got along. This is in contrast to the initial friction reported in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team between the "buddaheads" from Hawai'i and the "kotonks" from the mainland. Kotani describes the reactions the buddaheads had to the kotonk's language, "Since only 'Haolefied' Japanese spoke standard English in Hawai'i, the pidgin-speaking Island AJAs mistook the refined speech of the Mainland Nisei as a sign of pretentious arrogance and an intentional affront. In several cases, the 'buddaheads' answered with his fists when the Mainlander spoke to him in standard English (1985:114). However, this type of conflict did not occur between the Hawai'i and mainland Filipinos.

> We called the older men 'Pops,' 'Grandpa,' '*Tata*' (a term for "father" or an older man). We didn't call them '*manong*', the term for respect. We never used that term. They were nice to us, treated us like kids. [It was a] nice relationship of the older people and [we] teenagers."

> Hawai'i Filipinos were younger, when we met the original members of the First Fil, they were much older, in their twenties and thirties. We got along fine... Filipinos from the mainland were more mature, showed a lot of respect.

> They were wiser than us anyway. You learn a lot from them ... [They] could get along better, because most of them were immigrants ... The young boys was always drinking ... but we hung out with the older men ... The young ones was too wild. The younger ones was looking for gun battles ... [they were] too rugged.

The Hawai'i men could relate to their older counterparts as respected elders who had shared goals as United States soldiers, and who had shared experiences as "Americans." Additionally, initial reactions to the native Filipino people and the Philippine Army, whom the First and Second Fil fought alongside, were positive. The men of the First and Second Fil found an empathy with the native Filipinos,

> I noticed that the natives were scarcely dressed ... I could tell that they had suffered ... I was glad to be there, happy to do something for them.

> It was an experience to know the people from the Philippines. We knew they went through hardship ... I know they were appreciative of American soldiers going back to the Philippines.

This empathy may be deeper than commonly felt by soldiers for the war-torn communities in which they are fighting. For some First Fil men, fighting in the Philippines was like fighting for the family in a land to which there were family connections and a sense of "homecoming."

> My father left the Philippines at 19. When I came back I was 19 ... My first reaction was, 'By golly, they all look like Filipinos!' I was very pleased to be in the Philippines.

> Before the war started, even though we were Filipinos, we didn't know anything about the Philippines, except what people told us about it ... It's hard for us kids to believe stories like that. When we landed in Samar, I was reminded of those stories ... I was very impressed. Sad, to know we had to fight a war there, but I was happy to be there.

The men of the First and Second Fil recall early socializing with the Philippine Army, eating Filipino food with them instead of the American Army food. The men made contacts with each other, figuring out family connections. However, after the war was over, and there was no longer the Japanese Imperial Army to fight, the Filipino American soldiers began to have clashes with the Philippine Army. Many of the fights stemmed from the fact that the First Fil soldiers had more money than the Philippine Army soldiers and were also able to attract the attention of the young native women. The First Fil men from Hawai'i had been preceded in the decades prior to the war by "Hawayanos," Filipinos who had labored in the cane fields of Hawai'i and returned to the Philippines. "Hawayanos" had the reputation of being wealthy, and the First Fil men, because they were from Hawai'i, were so labeled by the native Filipinos.

> The Philippine Army, that's our rival. In town, especially ... Because, I know the Philippine Army, the pay wage, like it is, a lieutenant is equal to private in the U.S. Army. So, we can take out their girlfriends, when they couldn't afford it. Jealousy ... gun battles started. Some of them got shot in town.

> But, the nationals were envious of us. More money, more pay, we were cocky ... That's when we knew the war was over, when we were fighting the Philippine Army.

Other cultural clashes were based on the lack of knowledge the Hawai'i Filipinos had about the Philippines and Filipino traditions. For some, the stay in the Philippines was a crash course in "being Filipino." This crash course included learning through practice about Filipino cultural traditions and searching for "roots,"

> Many of us never understood our own roots.

> They called us 'Hawayano *desgracia*,' because we couldn't speak the language ... but we knew the latest songs ... We went through the various (Filipino) customs in Hawai'i that we didn't understand. We were right in it. We saw how some of these customs were derived.

Being labeled "desgracia," meaning "disgraceful," because they did not know the language and some of the local customs, did not seem to bother the men because they were so sure of themselves as Americans. However, as stated above, many of the men took this opportunity to learn about traditions that were not practiced in Hawai'i or to learn about the meaning of the traditions with which they were familiar.

Some of the men actively sought out relatives, staying in the Philippines for a vacation when the war was over.

> From the time I first set foot in Philippine soil, I heard about my family. I made up my mind then, to take my vacation in the Philippines.
>
> I went to Ilocos Norte, met up with my relatives there. Fortunately, my grandmother was still alive. When I saw her in bed, it kind of cracked me up, like looking at my own mother. She asked me for funeral money ... this I did.

This search for "roots" is thought to be common in third generation individuals (Hansen 1952), although it is rarely mentioned in the literature on second generation individuals. The current movement by pre-war second generation Filipinos on the mainland, mentioned earlier, to research their history and "roots" has no equal in Hawai'i. There is no evidence that once the men returned to Hawai'i they continued their search for "roots." The exceptions would be found in the families of the men who brought back "war brides" or "liberation brides" from the Philippines. Many of the men from Hawai'i married Filipinas and returned with them to Hawai'i. These marriages may be interpreted as a reinforcement of ethnicity on the part of the men, if not intentionally, then unintentionally. These women formed an important wave of new Filipino immigrants to Hawai'i after the war. Their children provided a significant increase in the population. Filipino women, like most immigrant women, are assumed to be the "keepers of culture" (Cordova 1983). Their presence served to strengthen and revitalize the Filipino culture among the second generation.

Conclusion

After the war, some of the Hawai'i veterans took advantage of the GI Bill and went to college. They attended the University of Hawai'i together. Veterans Peter Aduja and Benjamin Menor became Hawaii's first Filipino politicians, and Menor retired as a justice on the Hawai'i State Supreme Court (Boylan 1991; Melendy 1977). Later, Emilio Alcon also became a politician. Veteran Domingo Los Banos became Hawaii's first Filipino Department of Education district superintendent. Alfred Los Banos and Miguel Taoy were two of the many who

made the military their career. Veterans Antonio Rania became a leader in the ILWU, Moses Tejada became a police captain, and Roland Pagdilao became a high-ranking civil servant. Other First and Second Fil veterans made their marks in business. Few returned to work on the plantations their parents had worked.

The interviews with the men provide descriptions of second generation Filipino ethnicity and identity, expressed in opposition to other groups. They illustrate different dimensions of this experience, the loyalty to "America" that all of them felt during the war, their identification as "Pineapples" while in basic training on the mainland, and their identification as "Hawayanos" while in the Philippines. The men describe the respect they had for the older immigrant men in their regiments and the kinship they felt with the native Filipinos. The interviews also describe the differences the men felt with those around them, differences stemming from their unique plantation heritage, which was distinct from the experience of the mainland Filipinos and the Filipinos in the Philippines.

In this article, I discuss the manifestation and affirmation of ethnicity by the second generation; how, why, and when they thought of themselves as "Americans," or "Pineapples," or "Hawayanos." These ethnic identities advanced by the men depended upon the situations they found themselves in and, as such, may be interpreted as "situational ethnicities." This study is one of the first that has looked at situational ethnicities of Filipino Americans in the United States and in the Philippines. Exploratory in nature, it provides information on one dimension of the Filipino American experience.

Acknowledgment

Acknowledgments to Fred and Dorothy Cordova, National Pinoy Archives, and Filipino American National Historical Society; Alex S. Fabros, Jr. and the Filipino American Experience in World War Two Research Project at San Francisco State University; the "An Untold Triumph: America's Filipino Soldiers" production team; and veterans of the First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments.

References

Adams, R. 1938. This generation of Hawaiian youth. *Social Process in Hawai'i*, 4:61-63.

Alcantara, R. 1975. Ethnic Identity: The Asians in Hawai'i. Unpublished manuscript, University of Hawai'i, Hamilton Library, Honolulu.

Alegado, D. 1991. The Filipino community in Hawai'i: Development and change. *Social Process in Hawai'i*, 33:12-38.

Andaya, L. 1994. Personal communication, October.

Andaya, L. 1996. From *American*-Filipino to *Filipino*-American. In J.Y. Okamura and R.N. Labrador (eds.), *Pagdiriwang 1996: Legacy and Vision of Hawaii's Filipino Americans*. Honolulu: Student Equity, Excellence and Diversity and Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawai'i.

Boylan, D. 1991. Crosscurrents: Filipinos in Hawai'i's Politics. *Social Process in Hawai'i*, 33:39-55.

Cariaga, R. 1937. *The Filipinos in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: Filipino Public Relations Bureau.

Cordova, F. 1983. *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall-Hunt.

Daws, G. 1968. *Shoal of Time*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Fabros, A., Jr. 1993. *In honor of our fathers: The Filipino American Experience in World War II Research Project*. Fresno, CA; 'R Kids Kollege Fund.

Forman, S. 1980. Hawaii's immigrants from the Philippines. In J. McDermott, W. Tseng and T. Maretzki (eds.), *People and cultures of Hawai'i: A psychological profile*, pp. 163-178). Honolulu: John A. Burns School of Medicine and University of Hawai'i Press.

Francisco, U. 1945. Report. In J. Ruiz Collection, National Pinoy Archives, Seattle, WA.

Hansen, M. 1952. The third generation in America. *Commentary*, 14:492-500.

Isajiw, W. 1993-94. Definitions of ethnicity: New approaches. *Ethnic Forum*, 13:9-16.

Kotani, R. 1985. *The Japanese in Hawai'i: A Century of Struggle*. Honolulu: Hawai'i Hochi.

Matsumoto, G., Meredith, G. and Masuda, M. 1973. Ethnic identity: Honolulu and Seattle Japanese Americans. In S. Sue and N. Wagner (eds.), *Asian Americans: Psychological Perspectives*, pp. 65-74. Palo Alto, CA: Science and Behavior Books.

Matsuoka, J., Coalson, B., Duenas, D., Bealer, K., Orloff, I., Brown, B., Kiluano, B., Hamada, R. and Torigoe, R. 1990. *Asian-Pacific American Vietnam Veterans: A Study of wartime experiences and post-war adjustment*. Technical Report, School of Social Work, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Melendy, H. 1977. *Asians in America: Filipinos, Koreans, and East Indians*. Boston: Twayne.

Miyazaki, H. 1994. Sansei radicals: Identity and strategy of Japanese American student activists in Hawai'i. In F. Ng et al. (eds.), *New visions in Asian American Studies*, 173-187. Pullman, WA: Washington State University.

Nagtalon-Miller, H. 1993. The Filipino Plantation Community in Hawai'i: Experiences of a Second-Generation Filipina. In B. Aquino and D. Alegado (eds.), *The Age of Discovery: Impact on Philippine Culture and Society*. (2nd ed.). Honolulu: Center for Philippine Studies, University of Hawai'i.

Nordyke, E. 1989. *The peopling of Hawai'i*. (2nd ed.). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Okamura, J. 1980. Aloha kanaka me ke aloha 'aina: Local culture and society in Hawai'i. *Amerasia*, 7(2):119-137.

_____ 1981a. Filipino organizations. In *The Filipinos in Hawai'i: The first 75 years, 1906-1981*. Honolulu: Hawai'i Filipino News Specialty Publications.

_____ 1981b. Situational ethnicity. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 4:452-465.

Paden, J. 1970. Urban pluralism, integration and adaptation of communal identity in Kano, Nigeria. In R. Cohen and J. Middleton (eds.), *From tribe to nation in Africa: Studies in incorporation processes*. Scranton, NJ: Chandler Publishing.

Smith, W. 1927. The second generation Oriental in America. Paper prepared for the Institute of Pacific Relations, Second General Session, Honolulu.

Hawaii's "1946 *Sakada*"

Steffi San Buenaventura

Ninety years ago, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) initiated its plan to recruit mass labor from the Philippines for Hawaii's plantations. The first attempt by the HSPA was a dismal failure, but what started as only a handful of workers swelled into induced, then self–generating waves of thousands of Filipino contract laborers who landed on Hawaii's shores in the subsequent decades, from 1910 until a few years before the closing of Filipino immigration in 1934. This population of predominantly male labor recuits (popularly referred to as *sakada*), and the small number of women and children who came or were born on the islands, pioneered the formation of the Filipino community in Hawai'i.[1]

Postwar Filipino Immigrant Labor

In 1946, however, a fresh cohort of 6,000 immigrant workers specially recruited by the HSPA arrived from the Philippines; many were accompanied by their families, which consisted of more than 1,300 women and children. These post World War II labor recruits would become known as the "1946 or '46 Sakadas". Their experience constitutes a fascinating episode in the history of Hawaii's Filipinos and the island community as a whole, yet, their story remains largely untold and the socio–historical significance of their experience, at both the individual and collective levels, has largely been overlooked.

This study begins to tell the story of the '46 Sakada by first providing an overview of this postwar phenomenon. It interconnects this historical event with the central players—i.e., the sugar industry, organized labor, and the public community—who were determining the fate of the '46 Sakada even before they were recruited and as the new imported laborers prepared to set foot on the islands. A central theme in this study, and any discourse on the Filipino experience in Hawai'i, is the place of the Filipinos in the ethnic and class hierarchy which exists in the island community. In presenting the essential aspects of the animated debate that went on in Hawai'i over the 1946 importation of Filipino laborers, this paper divulges (albeit, unintentionally) the very low status of the Filipinos and the group's negative representation in Hawaii's society. This long–held prejudiced perceptions surfaced instantly and clearly from the arguments voiced by the different sectors of the community on the controversial issue of whether or not to bring this massive number of "foreigners" from the Philipppines. This paper leaves off with some views about the

sakadas and a brief discussion of the significance of the 1946 cohort in relation to Filipino immigration, in general, and to post–1965 immigration to Hawai'i, in particular. (The individual sakada narratives are central and integral to the larger, ongoing study of the '46 Sakada; they are purposely not included here but will be emphasized in a subsequent paper.)[2]

The Tydings–McDuffie Act and Filipino Immigration

The story of the 1946 Sakada is closely linked with the Tydings–McDuffie Act of 1934, a bill created by the U.S. Congress "to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands." This "Philippine Independence Act" established the conditions for the Filipino people, and the cost to them, for obtaining sovereignty status.[3]

One of the smaller but significant provisions of the act pertains to Filipino immigration to the United States, and stipulates that upon ratification of the act by the Philippine Legislature or a body called for this purpose, "citizens of the Philippine Islands who are not citizens of the United States shall be considered as if they were aliens" subject to the U.S. Immigration Act of 1917 and the Immigration Act of 1924 "and all other laws of the United States relating to the immigration, exclusion, or expulsion of aliens." Although the Tydings–McDuffie Act clearly states that "All citizens of the Philippines shall owe allegiance to the United States" under a proposed "provisionary" Commonwealth government, for the purposes of immigration "the Philippine Islands shall be considered as a separate country and shall have for each fiscal year a quota of fifty."[4] Thus, a price for creating the "complete independence of the Philippine Islands," was the exclusion of Filipinos from the United States. This provision in the act, which made it illegal for Filipinos to enter the U.S. under otherwise legal circumstances, did not come overnight. It was the final fruition of earlier unsuccessful attempts in the United States, specifically in California, to pass a "Filipino Exclusion" law in order to stop the movement of Filipinos to America.[5]

Hawai'i and Filipino Labor

The Filipino situation in the Territory of Hawaii was a different matter, however. Since 1910, a steady stream of thousands of Filipino contract workers recruited by the HSPA had migrated to the islands. By the beginning of the 1930s, the Filipinos had become the backbone of the sugar industry and had replaced the Japanese as the largest ethnic work force on the plantations.[6] Having since depended on a continuous and cheap supply of labor from the Philippines, the HSPA anticipated the negative consequence of the Tydings–McDuffie Act and

successfully lobbied for Hawaii's exemption from the immigration quota. Thus, the quota provision in Section 8 (a) (1) "shall not apply to a person coming or seeking to come to the Territory of Hawaii who does not apply for and secure an immigration or passport visa, but such immigration shall be determined by the Department of the Interior on the basis of the needs of industries in the Territory of Hawaii."

Consistent with the spirit and intent of "Filpino Exclusion," the act made sure that the Filipino laborers to Hawaii were forbidden to step onto the shores of the United States.

Thus, Section 8 (a)(2) stipulates, furthermore, that:

> Citizens of the Philippine Islands who are not citizens of the United States shall not be admitted to the continental United States from the Territory of Hawaii (whether entering such Territory before or after the effective date of this section) unless they belong to a class declared to be nonimmigrants by section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1924 or to a class declared to be nonquota immigrants under the provisions of section 4 of such Act...or unless they were admitted to such Territory under an immigration visa. The Secretary of Labor shall by regulations provide a method for such exclusion and for the admission of such excepted classes.

In 1945, the HSPA decided that "on the basis of the needs of industries in the Territory of Hawaii," it needed to recruit 6,000 male workers from the Philippines *before* the country became independent, on July 4, 1946.

The HSPA Invokes Exemption

On May 17 1945, Mr. P.E. Spalding, President of the HSPA, wrote a five–page letter to the Honorable Ingram M. Stainback, Governor of the Territory of Hawaii.[7] The opening paragraph goes right to the point:

> The sharp continuing decline in the labor supply of Hawaii's sugar plantations, amounting to some five per cent in the first three months of this year, has brought the Territory's sugar industry to a point of crisis that available remedies cannot solve. Some new and drastic measures will be necessary if drastic consequences are to be avoided.

Supporting this statement with an accompanying chart, Spalding proceeds to articulate the dilemma of the sugar industry, brought about by the effects of World War II on the island's economy:

> . . . the number of adult male unskilled employees of the sugar plantations has dropped from 39,574 in 1936 to 22,543 in 1944; a decline of approximately 43 per cent. This rate has accelerated sharply in recent months; the number of these workers having fallen from 22,543 to 21,329 in the first quarter of this year. This is a loss of 1,214 in three months, or better than five per cent, and there are indications that the rate continues to rise."

He states that the plantations "have struggled to offset these manpower losses primarily by increased use of mechanical equipment and by the use of improved cane varieties having higher sugar yields, but the situation has at last reached the point where the plantations can no longer hope to maintain production at present levels without additional manpower." Spalding then says that: "The only remedy that remains is the immigration of a sufficient number of additional workers to increase production to its former levels. . ." He concludes his letter and "submit[s] that the needs of the sugar industry are such as to justify a determination by you to permit the immigration of citizens of the Philippine Islands to the Territory as provided in Section 8(a)(1) of the Philipines Independence Act" and "that a formal application is being prepared by this office for the entry of Filipinos. . ."

"Application for Authorization to Import Filipino Citizens"

On May 21, the HSAP through its secretary, Chauncey B. Wightman, submitted a formal, notarized document of "Application for Authorization to Import Filipino Citizens from the Philippine Islands" to the Office of the Governor.[8] In a news conference in Washington, D.C. on June 25, Governor Stainback announced that he had granted the permission for the labor importation. "The governor said he is providing regulations to insure adequate wages and health care of Filipinos and also provisions to take them home when the emergency is over," the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* reports.[9] On August 11, the official "Order Granting Applications"[10] indicated the Governor's concurrence with the HSPA position: that there was, indeed, a shortage of labor in the Territory of Hawaii for the sugar and pineapple plantations and that in spite the HSPA's "reasonable efforts to find laborers unemployed in the Territory of Hawaii for the purpose of employment for which Filipino laborers are required but that such laborers are not obtainable"; that "unless such shortage of labor is promptly relieved the production of sugar and pineapple in the Territory of Hawaii will be seriously curtailed to the detriment of the general welfare of the nation and of the Territory of Hawaii"; and

> [t]hat it would be the best interest of the nation and of the Territory of Hawaii to permit the importation from the Philippine Islands into the Territory of Hawaii of (a) six thousand (6,000) male laborers for employment on such plantations or

> in such pineapple industry in the following pursuits, to–wit: preparation of the fields for planting, cultivating, harvesting, processing, and other allied operations and (b), in order to maintain normal family relationships as far as possible, the respective wives or children or both, of any of such laborers, if such wives, or children, or both, are permitted to be so imported during the effective period of this Order by regulations of the Secretary of the Interior now in effect or hereafter adopted.

The Order from the Governor also stipulated the terms under which the HSPA could import Filipino labor, such as the return transportation to the Philippines, payment of minimum wage, and health requirements.

Response from the ILWU

From the time the HSPA's application was made public in the press in May, the importation of Filipino laborers from the Philippines became a major issue of contention and debate in the community. The strongest critical voice of concern came from the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union (ILWU). This was to be expected. After many decades of total control by the sugar industry over its workers, organized labor finally made some headway in the industry–dominated U.S. territory, in the years before World War II broke out. However, organized labor felt the impact of military control during the war because of wartime regulations over plantation wages and unionizing. "There is little doubt that the Big Five, which already owned four–fifths of Hawaii's wealth, relished the role the military government was playing. It [the military government] had weakened the union movement at a time when its strength was beginning to make itself felt," Weingarten of the ILWU writes.[11]

The end of military government marked "the turning point in the territory's labor history," Weingartern claims. Citing the provisions of the Wagner Act which gave the right for a worker to join a union without employer threat of dismissal or discrimination, ILWU organizers went to work on the neighbor islands in early 1944, describing their activities as "missionary work."[12] By the end of the war, the ILWU "had already established itself in the sugar, pineapple and stevedoring industries. . ." By November 1945, the union "had secured a sugar industry contract for thirty–three of the thirty–four plantations, covering all employees including agricultural workers."[13] This contract was to be renewed in 1946.

These were the circumstances surrounding organized labor on the eve of the arrival of the '46 Sakada. The ILWU disagreed with the HSPA's argument that there was a labor shortage; it retorted that with the ending of the war, defense

civilian employees would fill up the labor force pool. It was also concerned that the HSPA's move to import 6,000 laborers from the Philippines was a strategic ploy to create "surplus labor" and thereby gain the upperhand in the upcoming negotiations by using the imported workers to break the possibility of a labor strike should this be necessary in the forthcoming contract bargaining renewal.

Jack W. Hall, the ILWU Regional Director in Hawai'i, was the principal spokesperson for organized labor. On May 28, he relayed the position of the union to Governor Stainback regarding the issue of importing Filipino labor. "In principle," he writes, "we have no objection to the temporary importation of labor if it can be demonstrated that such labor is required to maintain our basic economy." Hall also expressed the following concerns: that immigrants be afforded "full and equal opportunity with present employees under like wage rates and working conditions"; that labor contracts should not be more than two years "in order that such immigrants might return to the Philippines as soon as the need for their labor has diminished"; and, that they be "guaranteed return passage regardless of whether or not they complete their initial contracts." Joseph A. Kaholokula, Jr., president of the ILWU Local 144 (Processing, Warehouse & Distribution Workers) in Kahului, Maui, also wrote to the Governor, supporting the position and conditions set by Hall in his letter.[14]

More Opposition, Some Support

In the same article in which the *Star Bulletin* published Hall's letter, the newspaper reported the opposition of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) to the HSPA "plan to bring Filipinos." It quotes George A. Mulkey , representative of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL: "We are certainly opposed to bring in more Filipinos to Hawaii, especially when we are going to be faced with the problem soon of finding jobs for our returning soldier."[15]

Furthermore, the subsequent reaction of the various ILWU local units throughout the islands revealed a majority opposition to the "Filipino importation" by the rank and file members as indicated by the responses to Hall's September 22 inquiry. For example, correspondence came in from the representatives of Locals 141–2 in Ka'u, 148 in Ola'a, 142–4 in Honolulu and 143–5 in Papaaloa, all indicating their opposition to the importation of Filipinos. Local 142–2 in Hilo decided not to take a vote on the issue but members agreed to support the ILWU's official position, whatever that may be.[16]

Opposition also existed in the commuity if "letters to the editor" were some accurate reflection of true public sentiment. For example, William H. Crozier,

Jr., who believed that there was going to be a postwar rise in unemployment directed questions to the different interest groups: government officials, business and industry, organized labor, and tax–paying citizens. Richard L. Kekoa, on the other hand, was anxious "to properly safeguard Hawaii's people against dangers which the coming of such laborers will create."[17]

A number of Filipino organizations took the side of the HSPA, especially if their leaders happened to be working for the plantations.. One such association was the Territorial Filipino Council of Hawaii which held its second annual convention in Volcano Camp on the Big Island on November 22–24. Those present at this event passed a resolution supporting the position of the sugar and pineapple industry and instructing "that all organizations opposing the proposed importation of Filipino laborers be urged to reconsider their position." A copy of the resolution and a cover letter from its secretary, Vicente F. Arkangel of Olaa, were forwarded to the ILWU's Jack Kawano on December 15.[18]

"Different Racial Extraction"

Indeed, a major underlying issue in the opposition to the importation of labor from the Philippines—in addition to the debate about what was good for the island economy and labor— was the ethno–racial factor. Clearly, there has existed a strong and deeply–entrenched stereotypic perception of the Filipinos, together with their negative representation in the community and their low rank in Hawaii's ethnic and social hierarchy. Furthermore, there was tremendous apprehension as to how these imported workers from a war–torn, Japanese–occupied Philippines were going to relate with the local Japanese population in Hawai'i.

Because the Filipinos comprised the largest percentage of plantation workers in Hawai'i at this time, and the union needed their support, it became awkward for organized labor to come out opposing the importation of workers from the Philippines without appearing "anti–Filipino." The sensitivity of this matter is reflected in Satoru Hiroshige's letter to Hall in which he reported that his Local membership in Hilo "decided not to put to a vote on the question of importation of Filipino labor . . . because if the members voted against the importation of Filipino labor, there might be some misunderstanding among our Filipino brothers."

A union leader in Kau presents a different racial perspective in a letter to Jack Hall: "We, who are of a different racial extraction, feel that such an importation of Filipino laborers will be deterimental to unionsm [sic] in Hawaii. Doubtless only Filipinos of a low social class will be brought here. We doublt

[sic] very much if we will be able to organize such a class." He continues to state that "If Filipinos come here once, we are certain that others will follow. These islands will be flooded with them and where will we, who have progressed thus far be?"

In addition to issues of race and class, the question pertaining to "Filipino social problems" (stemming from the group's unbalanced sex–ratio composition) surfaced, once again with the "fear that the overproportion of males in the community and the attendant social problems will be accentuated."[19]

"Only Creating Trouble Again?"

There was certainly great apprehension among the Filipinos in the community who expressed their own opposition based on different, yet similar, reasoning. They basically acknowledged that Filipinos had been victims of discrimination in Hawai'i but they also believed that the incoming Filipino workers might well be to blame because they would be unable to adjust and "assimilate." Roman R. Cariaga, a sociologist schooled at the University of Hawai'i in the Robert E. Park–Romanzo Adams–Andrew Lind tradition, articulates a sentiment shared by many Filipino leaders in the community:

> Filipinos have gradually built up their social position. Social complications and maladjustments which will result from the presence of a new, unassimilated group of workers will reduce the Filipinos here to their former social status of "outsiders" and "unassimilable" outcasts. There are still some who feel this way about the Filipinos. Addition of unschooled laborers will intensify such feeling and the Filipinos will continue to be the victims of discrimination.[20]

On the other hand, Cariaga seemed to imply that the new arrivals' diverse background (i.e., different from local or "localized" Filipinos) was going to be a divisive factor among Filipinos in Hawai'i. This particular view from the community was reiterated in Ricardo Labez's report to an ILWU committee about the "considerable opposition by local Filipinos" . . . to the importation of Filipino labor because "it would keep the Filipinos at the lowest rung of the social ladder in Hawaii."[21]

In a similar vein, a letter from "Juan de la Cruz" (aka the Rev. Nicolas C. Dizon) lambasts the HSPA but essentially puts an onus on the victims-to-be also:

> Do you think that the HSPA. . .will keep their promises to give good wages and to going back home to those 6,000 new, green Filipino workers? Answer: If the HSPA could not give to the oldtimer and veteran plantation workers in their canefields, how can they give to the green one?

> The 6,000 new, green Filipino workers will add only to headache here. What are you going to do with this additional number after the war? Only creating trouble again?[22]

Interracial Relations: Filipinos and Japanese

The community was most concerned that the new Filipino workers would have intense feeling of animosity against the Japanese in Hawai'i because of having just experienced the atrocities of war under Japanese occupation. Many believed that this factor alone was sure to cause racial problems if only because there were sufficient number of incidents of conflict between the Filipino and the Japanese after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and especially when the Japanese invaded and occupied the Philippines.[23] Cariaga writes:

> The Filipinos who will be brought to Hawaii undoubtedly have had some unfortunate experiences or dealings with the Japanese. Many of them had their families broken up as a result of Japanese cruelties. When they come they will bring to their countrymen here stories of these atrocities and hatred.[24]

Hall makes a strong point of this issue, in his May 28 letter, as one of the conditions to be met by the HSPA in importing the new workers:

> Residents of the Philippines have suffered much under the heel of Japanese militarism and unless they are thoroughly indoctrinated with the plainfact that local residents of Japanese ancestry are just as bitterly against such imperialism as they themselves, an ugly racial situation might result. Philippine Nationals who have resided in the Territory during the war years understand that fact.[25]

The Hawaii Interracial Committee on Filipino Importation made six recommendations "for guarding against the social problems which might arise as a consequence of the importation," one of which was the requirement that "[a]ll recruits should be subjected to a government–supervised orientation program at the time of recruitment, which will prepare them for life in Hawaii's interracial communities."[26] This multiethnic group was comprised of some prominent members of the community, including two University of Hawai'i sociologists, Bernhard Hormann and Andrew Lind. Quite clearly, the group's objective was to ensure the speedy "assimilation" of the incoming immigrants. There was also serious deliberation given in the spirit of protecting the local Japanese population because of the "danger that the Filipino immigrants, so recently the victims of Japanese aggression, would transfer their feelings of bitterness to local persons of Japanese ancestry." Similarly, the group expressed "the fear of the local Japanese of trouble with the Filipino immigrants."[27]

The HSPA Mobilizes

While the community debated the issue, the HSPA wasted no time in mobilizing its resources and setting up the machinery for recruiting the 6,000 workers. An important event was the stop–over visit on June 16 of the War Manpower Commissioner, Paul V. McNutt, also a former High Commissioner of the Philippines. McNutt was on his way to the Philippines as a "personal representative of President Harry Truman." In Honolulu, he met with the heads of the Big Five and the business establishment and discussed the issue of labor importation. In the Philippines, McNutt met with President Sergio Osmeña and worked on behalf of Hawaii's industries to get approval for the importation.[28]

On June 23, the *Star Bulletin* reports that "P.I. [is] Cool to Hawaii Plea for Labor," indicating that the Philippine Commonwealth government "has taken a stand it would be inadvisable to permit workers to leave the Philippines until requirements of both army and commonwealth have been met for both war and rehabilitation projects"; and that Osmeña rejected earlier requests by several labor organizations asking for permission to export labor to Hawai'i. Hawaii's delegate to congress, Joseph Farrington joined the group in Manila and discussions were simultaneously held with the U.S. military because its approval and cooperation were essential to the recruitment plans. The core mission under McNutt included "Major General Wm. C. Rose, Mr. Walter Dillingham and others [who] secured clearance for the program in the Philippines from President Osmeña and General Douglas MacArthur."[29]

In July, the HSPA sent Robert R. Trent to Manila "to augment the Manila Office staff" and Slator M. Miller, the coordinator of the recruitment, "arrived in Manila on September 23rd to activate the immigration program."[30] Miller's rather abbreviated but detailed report describes the complexity of the HSPA arrangements, especially considering that the Philippines and its primate city, Manila, were devastated by the war. The country was only just about to rebuild. Miller knew that it was strategically necessary to "obtain the active cooperation of Army authorities in order to accomplish our mission. To this end appropriate calls were made on Army officials and cordial relations were established."

From "The Vigan Cuartel"

Miller first considered establishing the HSPA base of operation out of San Fernando, La Union, at the Base M Headquarters of the Armed Forces Western Pacific. In mid–October he visited Vigan, in Ilocos Sur (an adjacent province north of La Union), which was the "approximate center of the [HSPA] recruiting

program." He decided instead to make Vigan, the provincial capital, the headquarters for the recruitment operations because it was "practically untouched by the war," and "being the only town of size to come through undestroyed." Buildings were therefore available and ready to set up for administration, medical and laboratory, housing, messes, and communication facilities. Special arrangements had to be made first with the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington for assigning steamships, to be paid for by the HSPA, to shuttle back and forth between the Philippines and Hawai'i; for ground transportation; and for a special Consul General to process the immigration papers out of the Vigan cuartel. Salomague, twenty–three miles north of Vigan was chosen as the port where the recruits were to be driven to for boarding the ship. Then, of course, came the processing of thousands of applicants, conducting medical check–ups and serving a total of 498,622 meals.

The plan was to recruit Ilocano workers from the northern region, the place of origin of most of Hawaii's Filipinos. The HSPA was licensed to recruit in Ilocos Norte and Sur, Abra and Pangasinan (those from other provinces could come to the HSPA headquarters and apply directly, of course). Realizing "the value of sending men with known relatives on plantations," the association encouraged their Filipino workers and "employees of the plantations and pineapple companies were invited to submit requests that friends or relatives be brought to Hawai'i." These requests were mailed from Honolulu to Manila where the HSPA staff took care of sending letters to the men listed. There was no limit to the number of names contained in each letter of request (one plantation submitted 10, another, 1,264 requests). Miller reports that: "Letters were sent to 8,152 requested men in the provinces we were licensed to recruit . . . inviting them to come to Vigan for shipment to Hawaii." Of the number who reported (from the pool of 8,152), 2,655 joined the ranks of the '46 Sakada and made it to Hawaii. Not everything went well with this sytem, of course: requests from Hawaii were delayed in the mail way after the shipment of laborers; many of those who were contacted in the Philippines did not show up, or were disqualified for one reason or another. There were also incidents involving deaths, ilnesses, fraudulence and opportunism, desertion, and stow–away attempts.

The Voyage to Hawai'i

According to Miller, "it was necesary to process 8,861 men and 1,763 women and children or a total of 10,624 persons to net 7,361 emigrants. The loss through attrition was 32.3 per cent for men and 22.8 per cent for women." Finally, on January 14, 1946, the first "shipment" of 1,523 men sailed for

Hawai'i from Port Salomague on the *Maunawili* which shuttled to the Philippines to pick up the next shipload of 1,526 men who sailed on February 28. The third shuttle left on April 11, also with 1,526 men, followed by the *Marine Falcon* carrying 31 men, 264 women and 511 children. The fifth shipload shuttled back to Hawai'i on the *Maunawili* on May 27 with 1,393 men; and the last voyage, on the *Falcon,* departed on June 19 with 182 women, 404 children and 1 man. The HSPA's official figures show that the total number of the recruited workers who reached Hawai'i were: 6000 men, and 446 women and 915 children (or 1,361 combined).[31] The voyage to Hawai'i took around 14 to 17 days, depending on the weather.

Accompanying the newly recruited sakadas aboard the first and subsequent shuttles on behalf of the HSPA was Anastacio Luis.[32] A longtime Hawai'i resident who worked on the plantations for the YMCA in Hilo, Luis was stranded in the Philippines with his wife, Librada, and was planning to return to Hawai'i when the HSPA 1946 recruitment program began. Fortunately for the HSPA, he was an ideal person to work in the recruitment project because of his knowledge of Hawai'i, the plantations and Filipino culture, and his Ilocano background. In Vigan, he screened applicants and assisted in assigning recruits to the different plantations. Most important of all, Luis was extremely valuable to the HSPA in providing leadership and order during the voyage of the shiploads of new recruits. He recalls, for instance, having had "a rough time with the first batch . . . many of them were educated and were not to be pushed around. Giving orders or announcements was difficult because we had no public address system on board." Luis oriented the recruits on the multi–ethnic composition of Hawaii's plantation population and reminded them "that the Japanese whom they will meet in Hawaii are not the same Japanese who occupied the Philippines during the war. The Japanese in Hawaii are American citizens and they fought for the United States in the war."

Meanwhile, members of the ILWU had been aboard the ships as crew workers, from the first voyage on. With the spirit of the "missionary work" Weingarten referred to, they approached the new recruits and educated them about the principles, purposes and benefits of organized labor. Luis remembers noticing "that the crew on the ship approaching the recruits beginning with the first trip. I did not know that they were members of the ILWU signing up the recruits. There were several Ilocano speaking Filipinos among the crew and with the help of those who had previously worked on plantations in Hawaii and had participated in labor organization under Pablo Manlapit, they were successful."[33] The immediate goal of the ILWU crew was to sign up the recruits as card–carrying members of the union. Many joined the ILWU on the shuttles to

Hawai'i, becoming union members even before setting foot on the islands. "Some of us have come up from the ranks and have become community leaders and union officials," writes Andres Salvador of Kaua'i.[34]

Members of the '46 Sakada have also said that the ILWU organizers on board the ships reminded them that the Japanese in Hawai'i were not the same ones who were responsible for the war.

The '46 Sakada: the Beginning of a Story

The circumstances which surrounded the recruitment of the '46 Sakada have made this a fascinating narrative in Hawaii's labor and community history and in the dynamic saga of the Filipino American experience in diasporic times.

The '46 Sakadas arrived in the midst of the new economic realities in postwar Hawai'i. The institution, which recruited thousands of Filipino workers before them over several decades, and which had total and unchallenged control over their lives as plantation workers, had now been joined by a new order, organized labor, which carried their collective interest and the authority to determine and negotiate their wages and conditions of work. Essentially then, the '46 Sakadas had become a pawn in the power struggle between the HSPA and the ILWU even before their voyage to the islands.

The '46 Sakadas also represented a changing immigrant work force in changing times. Compared to their predecessors, the members of this group had more years of schooling, including high school and even college education. With the mechanization of the industry and the stipulations negotiated in the labor contract, many who worked the fields moved up to skilled and clerical positions. Encouraged by the opportunities of a booming postwar economy and the spirit of re–building which permeated the time, they made Hawai'i their home. A number married local–born partners; many traded plantation jobs for city or state civil service positions, which exposed them to the workings of mainstream institutions; others started their own business, became professionals and have been actively involved in the community; some have become parents of accomplished and nationally known islands artists; majority had given their offspring college education.

Significantly, the '46 Sakada is a direct link between the legacy of Filipino immigration of the earlier decades before World War II and the postwar migration leading to the post– 1965 immigration phenomenon. Having been the only large cohort of Filipinos to enter the U.S. after 1934 and before 1965, the

'46 Sakada were in a position to bring their families and kin into the country well *before* the immigration laws changed in 1965. Those who decided to stay in Hawai'i (or move to the mainland) had a headstart in becoming citizens and petitioning family members in the Philippines to join them. Essentially then, by the time the 1965 immigration laws were passed, the '46 Sakada had already set into motion the chain of family migration to Hawai'i and elsewhere.[35] The story of their historic crossing in 1946 is also the story of their pioneering voyage into contemporary Filipino diaspora.

Endnotes

I wish to thank the UCLA Asian American Studies Center and its director, Don Nakanishi, for providing a small grant in the summer of 1993 which allowed me to start the research on the "1946 Sakada." I am also grateful to the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union (ILWU), Hawai'i Regional Office in Honolulu, particularly Mel Chang, Education Director, for giving permission and facilitating the use the library resources of the ILWU; and to the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association especially Ann Marsteller, for the use of the HSPA Library and the Plantation Archives; and the Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and the special help of Michaelyn Chou.

1. For an overview of Filipino labor and community life in Hawai'i, see Roman R. Cariaga, *Filipinos in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Filipino Public Relations Bureau, 1937); Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985); Ruben R. Alcantara, *Sakada: Filipino Adaptation in Hawaii* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981), and "1906: The First Sakada," in *Filipinos in Hawaii. . .the First 75 Years*, Juan C. Dionisio, ed. (Honolulu: Hawaii Filipino News Specialty Publications, 1981); Jonathan Y. Okamura, et al., eds. *The Filipino American Experience in Hawai'i. Social Process* 33 (1991); Steffi San Buenaventura, "Hawaii's Filipinos: History and Legacy," in Jonathan Y. Okamura and Roderick N. Labrador, eds. (Honolulu: Student Equity, Excellence and Diversity, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1996).

2. This paper is an initial piece from an ongoing study of the 1946 Sakada.

3. The Tydings–McDuffie Independence Act, No. 127, 73d Congress, H.R. 8573; "An Act To provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes." The most prominent and much discussed "costs" for obtaining independence have been the provisions dealing with tax–exemptions on U.S. properties in the Philippines, Philippine trade concessions and the taxing of Philippine goods entering the U.S., and the U.S. rights "to maintain military and other reservations and armed forces in the Philippines."

4. Tydings–McDufie Act, Section 8(a)(1).

5. The "Filipino Exclusion" movement gained momentum in the late twenties coinciding with the peak of Filipino immigration to California. San Francisco Congressman Richard Welch introduced bills meant to stop the immigration (of U.S. "nationals") from the Philippines but was unsuccessful because of the issue of constitutionality. See J.M. Saniel, ed., *The Filipino Exclusion Movement* (Quezon City, Philippines: Institute of Asian Studies, University of the Philippines, 1967); Steffi San Buenaventura, "Filipino Immigration to the United States," *Asian American Encyclopedia*, Franklin Ng, ed. (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1995), 445–46.

6. See Beechert, *Working in Hawaii.*

7. International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), Hawaii Regional Office, Honolulu; ILWU Library collection, File 2.

8. A formal application was a requirement under the provisions of "Title 48, U.S. Code, section 1238 and the Regulations issued thereunder by the Secretary of the Interior dated June 15, 1934, governing the importation of Filipino citizens into Hawaii from the Philippines for employment in Hawaiian industries," cited in the HSPA Resolution, "Application for Authorization to Import Filipino Citizens from the Philippine Islands," submitted by Chauncey B. Wightman, association secretary, Honolulu, May 21, 1945. ILWU, F2.

9. "Sugar Labor Plan Gets OK," June 25, 1945, p. 1; ILWU F2.

10. ILWU, F2.

11. Victor Weingarten, *Raising Cane: A Brief History of Labor in Hawaii* (Honolulu: International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, 1946): 40.

12. *Ibid.*, 41.

13. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii.*

14. Hall to Stainback; Kaholokula to Stainback, June 6, 1945; ILWU File 1.

15. "AFL Here Will Oppose Plan to Bring Filipinos," May 28, 1945; ILWU F2.

16. Thomas T. Ishimaru to Hall, October 2, 1945; Toshio Shirasaki to Harold Ickes (Secretary of Interior, Department of Territorial Affairs, Washington, D.C.), October 3, 1945; Tomoi Hirokane to Hall, October 3, 1945; Cipriano B. Coloma to Frank E. Thompson (Acting Regional Director, ILWU Hawaii), October 4, 1945. Deciding not to vote, Satoru Hiroshige to ILWU Regional Office, October 2, 1945; ILWU F1.

17. *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, June 5 and June 20, respectively; ILWU F2.

18. Arkangel to Kawano; ILWU F1. Serving as Hall's assistant, Ricardo Labez met with the officers of the Council on February 18, 1946 in Kahuku to open a dialogue regarding the issue of "Filipino importation." The group included Cayetano Ligot, former Philippine Labor Commissioner to Hawai'i, and the Rev. C. C. Cortezan, pastor of the Koloa Filipino Church. Others held positions as luna, policeman, field overseer, and personnel clerk with the plantations.

19. Report of Hawaii Interracial Committee on Filipino Importation, [ca. February 1946], p. 1; ILWU F2.

20. *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, letter to the editor: "Aspect of Filipino Labor Plan," June 14, 1945.

21. ILWU Committee to Confer with the Attorney General of Hawaii, Re Importation of Filipino Laborers, Minutes of Conference, February 6, 1946 [Honolulu?], p. 5; ILWU F1.

22. *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, letter to the editor: "Questions Wisdom of Filipino Labor Importation," June 18, 1945. Dizon ran a Filipino "Juan de la Cruz Reading Room" in the thirties in Honolulu and wrote a treatise against Hilario Camino Moncado and the Filipino Federation of America with the title, *The Master Vs. Juan de la Cruz.* I also recognized his home address which was printed in the letter to the editor. The answer to Dizon's question, "Only creating trouble again?" was being attributed to the HSPA, I believe, but ironically, also to the new Filipinos who had not yet arrived.

23. See Lauriel E. Eubank, "The Effects of the First Six Months of World War II on the Attitudes of Koreans and Filipinos Toward the Japanese in Hawaii." Master of Arts thesis, University of Hawaii (February 1943).

24. Cariaga, *op. cit.*

25. Hall, *op. cit.*

26. "Report of Hawaii Interracial Committee on Filipino Importation," p. 2; ILWU F2.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Star Bulletin*, "Paul McNutt Told of TH Labor Needs," July 16, 1945; *Honolulu Advertiser*, "McNutt Studies Importation of Filipinos Here" by Ray Coll, Jr., July 17, 1945.

29. Slator M. Miller "Report to Mr. H.A. Walker, President, Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association on 1945–1946 Filipino Emigration Project," 1.

30. *Ibid.* The rest of the account about the HSPA recruitment in the Philippines comes from Miller's Report.

31. The sets of statistics are not always clear and and at times inconsistent. Miller's Report contains nine statistical appendices on the recruitment and shipment of male laborers, women and children. Other references to the 1946 importation have cited different figures (for instance, see note # 32 and Hawaii Filipino News' *Filipinos in Hawaii*, p. 49).

32. I am grateful to Anastacio Luis and Harold S.Y. Hee for giving me permission to refer to a draft of an unpublished paper, "The Last Mass Migration of Workers to Hawaii—1946," which will be published in the1996 issue of the *Hawaiian Journal of History*. Mr. Luis, who resides in Hilo, came to Hawai'i at 11, graduated from Lahainaluna on Maui and the University of Hawai'i, and has been a well–known figure in the community, especially among Hawaii's Filipinos. His 1946 statistics of the Sakada arrivals also differ.

33. Luis, "The Last Mass Migration." Several correspondence in the ILWU collection describe the recruitment efforts on board the ships and the '46 Sakadas I have interviewed on O'ahu, Kaua'i and Maui all verify the ILWU organizing activities during their voyage to Hawai'i.

34. Andres Salvador, "Kauai's 1946 Immigrants," in Hawaii Filipino News, *Filipinos in Hawaii, 49.*

35. San Buenaventura, "Hawaii's Filipinos," 38.

Sakada Dreams: A Portrait of My Father

P. de Los Santos

His frail, skinny body was riddled with black and purple splotches, and he labored heavily to extract every bit of oxygen from each breath that he took in. Yet throughout that summer Sunday in July he always managed to smile and say thanks to the many friends and relatives who came to see him and pay their final visit. After everyone went home and my mother fell asleep on the living room couch, I went to him to wish him a good night and sweet dreams. His eyes were half open, and he saw me but he could not speak. I tried to say I love him, but he closed his eyes and took his final breath in my arms. He died with a faint smile on his face, and as I cried I wondered with great sadness if his life would have been much more different if he had stayed in the Philippines instead of coming to Hawai'i. I also wondered what his dreams were and if he had accomplished them before leaving this earth. My father led a simple life, one which reminds me of being similar to that of Celestino Fabia, a character in Bienvenido Santos' short story, *Scent of Apples.*

In his introduction of Santos' book, *Scent of Apples: A Collection of Stories*, Leonard Casper identified a "recurring theme" of the Filipino author's works—a theme which delves in the importance and the difficulty of being "Filipino at heart" through the practice and maintenance of an individual's cultural values away from his homeland. This theme is portrayed by Santos' main characters, expatriate Filipino men leading lonely lives away from their mother country. Casper duly noted at the end of his introduction that the dream of most Filipino expatriates in Santos' stories is to return to the Philippines. Perhaps it was an unfulfilled dream that my father held before his death.

My father was born Nemesio de Los Santos in 1924 in Santa Maria, Ilocos Sur, Philippines. He shared the same birth date as Abraham Lincoln. But unlike Lincoln, he did not get a chance to lead his country, or even to die in his own country. He was the second oldest of eight children, three of whom died in their youth due to illness. He was a rebellious and stubborn youngster who was sent to live with relatives in Manila at an early age. He returned to Santa Maria as a teenager and fought to save his family and land against the Japanese in World War II. He grew up to be a strapping young man with strong convictions and a fiery temperament, and although he had a limited education he was quite proud of his physical strength and his self-reliant ways.

After the Japanese surrender and the end of World War II, my father met an old friend who had returned to the Philippines after working and earning a lot of money in Hawai'i. Benito Cordero was a "Hawayano" who had grown up in nearby Narvacan, and he impressed my father with his fancy clothes and the stories of working and living in the beautiful islands of Hawai'i. My father was enchanted by his friend's stories and asked him how he could also visit and work in this strange and wonderful place. Benito told him, "There are Americans recruiting workers for the sugar plantations. But you must make your hands rough and soiled to prove to them that you are a hard worker."

He disdained that and believed that he did not have to do this because he was already working hard on his family farm. But since the war's end it was becoming increasingly difficult for Filipino families to hold on to their own land, much less to tend their crops for bountiful harvests. His prospects for owning his own farm were very dim.

And so without hesitation he left his native land in 1946. At the age of twenty-two, he decided it was best for him and his family to earn enough money and then return home to pay off his family's debts and retain their farm. His voyage along with the many others who took that trip became a part of the last large wave of Filipino laborers recruited by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) to work on the sugar plantations of Hawai'i. They were called "sakada."

They traveled by ship, and many who were unaccustomed to this means of travel became very ill. My father survived without getting sick, despite the long and arduous trip and unsanitary conditions. He was young and strong and eager to earn a lot of money and live the kind of life like his friend, Benito Cordero. When he arrived in Hawai'i he was amazed by what he saw as the beauty of O'ahu and, in particular, the lasting impression of Honolulu harbor's Aloha Tower. The climate was similar to the Philippines, and he was surprised by the different races of people milling around and working at dockside.

He told me once how he remembered the scene. "There were many pretty girls who danced for tourists and young boys who dove for the coins that the tourists threw from the cruise ships." He thought that life in this new land was going to be exactly as how his friend had described.

After disembarking from his ship, he and the other Filipinos gathered at the dockside, and each was given papers by the plantation representatives. They told him that he would be working for the Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar (HC&S)

plantation at Pu'unene Mill on the island of Maui. He did not know anything about this other island, but if it was like the scene at Honolulu harbor, he thought he would not mind. However, when he reached Maui his hopes were dashed. Maui looked very quiet and almost similar to some of the less populated islands in the Philippines.

In his first months on this island called Maui, my father felt betrayed and lied to by his friend, Benito. Instead of high living, fancy clothes and meeting beautiful girls, he lived a spartan life and worked in an environment that resembled indentured servitude. Besides working long, tedious hours from sunup to sundown, he also had to deal with the alienation from workers of different ethnic groups and those merciless *luna*, or field supervisors.

As Ron Takaki pointed out in his book about plantation life, *Pau Hana,* many of the Filipino labor recruits who came to this "land of glory" to earn their wealth and return triumphantly to their loved ones in the Philippines had originally planned to stay in Hawai'i on a temporary basis. With the harsh working conditions and the bleak prospect of empty, friendless times, many of the Filipino recruits, including my father, wanted to go back to their beloved homeland and never return to Hawai'i.

But as the months passed, my father grew close to those men who had traveled with him from the Philippines, and he considered them his family away from home. (Later I learned that some men whom I had called "Uncle" and "Apo" were not related to me by blood but by a bond of friendship with my father borne out of loneliness and adversity.) Many of his co-workers shared the same anguish and frustration of working in harsh conditions. He was eventually befriended by other workers of different ethnicity, who respected his hard work and integrity.

Despite his limited education, he had learned enough English to get by in simple conversations. He was called "Mishong" by his Filipino friends, and "Dela Santos" by others who found his name awkward to pronounce. Through his new relationships, he learned new words like *pololei, hole-hole, hapai, kompang,* and *pilikia* to add to his vocabulary. He did not know it at that time, but my father 's linguistic bond with his growing circle of friends who spoke "Hawaiian plantation pidgin" would draw him into volunteer work as an organizer for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). My father thrived in his new responsibilities at work and his growing acceptance into the local community. But something was missing from his life.

Since the majority of Filipino workers were bachelors and since there was a dearth of available young Filipinas, my father, like many of the single Filipino men in the plantation camp of Keahua, sought the company of other young women at community social events. He began to date "local" born women and developed an affinity for the young, fair skinned Portuguese girls who were the daughters of the plantation lunas. But in his heart he, like the character Celestino Fabia in *Scent of Apples*, yearned for the love of a Filipino woman.

In the early 1950s he ran into his friend Benito Cordero who was visiting Maui to attend the annual county fair. My father had prospered after struggling through his early years in Hawai'i, but he had not forgotten his hardship with plantation life in the beginning. Benito apologized and told him that he was planning a trip back to the Philippines to visit his family. He invited my father and asked him if he was still single and if he was interested in meeting his younger sister who still lived in the Philippines. My father sensed that this was his opportunity to meet and find a Filipina to be his wife. He also wrestled with the idea of moving back to the Philippines or remaining in Hawai'i and continue working for the plantation. He did not take long to make up his mind. He would return to the Philippines and bring a wife back with him to Hawai'i.

On his return to the land of his birth, Nemesio de Los Santos looked every bit the description of a Hawayano. He wore fancy, new clothes and shoes and dark sunglasses just like the movie stars he saw on the film screen at the Princess Theatre in Pa'ia, Maui. Although he did not keep in constant contact with his family, they were nevertheless happy to see him bearing monetary gifts and displaying his new fortune.

He was happy to see his family but he had something else on his mind—Filomena Cordero. She was the only sister among Benito Cordero's siblings, and she was their father's favorite child. Benito told Mishong that many suitors were treated rudely by his overprotective father, Mariano Cordero, the family patriarch. He and his brothers were subjected to beatings if Filomena was mistreated by them or anyone else. One of Benito's favorite stories was that of a beating which he had received from his father for letting a young suitor get too close with his younger sister. Benito chased the young man away from the Cordero farm only to encounter the young man's friends. The story ended with Benito administering a beating to every one of them. But my father was not very impressed by the story of a friend who had earlier told him of the promise of earning lots of easy money in Hawai'i.

Before Mishong finally met Filomena he had to receive the approval of Apo Mariano and prove to him and his sons that he was a suitable gentleman and prospective husband. But the Cordero family was not willing to let this brash, young Hawayano take Filomena as his bride. They told him to bring live chickens for slaughter one day and a live pig the next day. The Cordero clan took his offerings and feasted without him, making him wait outside the family compound and promising that young Filomena would pay him a visit, but always offering an excuse at the end of the day when she did not come outside to see him.

This went on for several days, and Mishong became disgusted with all the money and effort he was wasting to win the favor of his future in-laws. He angrily decided to return to Hawai'i and find a wife elsewhere. But Benito, who had been visiting friends in the countryside and was not a party to his family's devious tricks, returned and admonished his father and siblings. He eventually reconciled Mishong with the Cordero clan and when my father finally met my mother, Filomena, he was not disappointed.

She had long, dark hair and soft brown eyes that gazed above high cheekbones. Her complexion was very fair because her father forbade her to work in the hot sun and relegated her to more feminine chores like cooking and sewing. During the war she was hidden in large rice baskets to keep her safe from Japanese soldiers. At twenty-three years of age, when most of her female friends were taking care of their third or fourth child, Filomena was still a virgin because of an overprotective father and her four rambunctious brothers. After a tenuous courtship, they were married in December 1953. But since he was not a U.S. citizen he could not bring his new bride back to Hawai'i. He returned to Hawai'i with mixed emotions. He was happy to be married to a beautiful young woman, but felt increasingly despondent because they were an ocean apart from each other.

When Mishong returned to Hawai'i in January 1954 the Democratic party began to establish itself as a dominant political force which received full backing by the ILWU. To get his mind off of his worries for his new bride, Mishong joined the Democratic party and volunteered his help in the party's political campaigns. It was an exciting time in Hawai'i, especially for the immigrant laborers because, with the emergence of the Democratic Party in Hawai'i government and the impending admission of Hawai'i as part of the United States of America, it seemed inevitable that there would be certain economic, educational, and social opportunities available for everyone.

In 1957, after four years of petitioning the U.S. Immigration Offices in San Francisco and in Honolulu, Mishong and Filomena were finally united. Like her husband before her, Filomena struggled to assimilate into the local community.

Reticent at first because of her limited English speaking skills and her education that only reached the sixth grade, Filomena quickly made new friends with her sewing skills and by quickly acquiring the vernacular of the plantation camp—pidgin English.

The newly united couple eagerly started their family with the birth of my older brother, Danilo, who was born in December 1958. I followed him in February 1960, just seven months after Hawai'i became the fiftieth state in the Union. My parents wanted a traditionally large Filipino family but abandoned that tradition when my mother miscarried twice after I was born. Although their family plans were not going as well as expected, their dream of owning a home in Hawai'i was soon to be fulfilled.

The promise of opportunity and prosperity that was proclaimed by the emerging Democrats of the 1950s came true for my father and mother as they were able to purchase their own home outside of the plantation camp. Our family home was purchased in a subdivision unofficially known as "Dream City," an area of barren sand dunes which previously served as a landfill for the plantation. Homes were sold to plantation workers at low but reasonable prices, and the subdivision name implied the realization of workers' "dreams" to own their own home.

Along with statehood came the new and promising industry of tourism. Just like O'ahu and its mushrooming skyline of condos and hotels in Waikiki and Honolulu, the island of Maui and especially the sakadas who chose to settle in Hawai'i were poised to reap its economic rewards.

The new prosperity did not come without a price for many of the sakadas. Many of those who stayed in Hawai'i felt torn between their allegiance to their beloved Philippines and to their adopted home in "paradise." Many left the sugar plantation to work in tourism, the "new plantation."

In the mid 1960s the passage of the new Immigration Act would reunite family members with their loved ones and bring yet another wave of immigrants to the shores of Hawai'i. It would become an awkward time for my father who enjoyed the mystique of being a Hawayano, and like the term his mystique became obsolete. He would petition for his youngest brother and sister to join him in establishing new lives in Hawai'i.

My mother outdid him by bringing my Apo Mariano and all of her brothers, despite the weak objections of her husband. And as they arrived and swelled in number, both sides of the family were almost totally reunited. But Apo Mariano

did not want to stay in Hawai'i and did not want to die here. Besides leaving two-thirds of his family back in Hawai'i, he left behind an extremely sad daughter and a very relieved son-in-law.

My father had become so enamored with his new life in Hawai'i that he truly wished to become a citizen of the United States. With the fortune of having his two sons born in Hawai'i with U.S. citizenship, he enrolled my mother and himself in adult school and they studied for the U.S. citizenship exams. In 1966, he and my mother passed the exams and became naturalized citizens of the United States of America. Life was good to my parents in the mid 1960s, so good that he sent my mother, my brother, and me to the Philippines to visit the rest of our families there. He had not been back since he married my mom fifteen years earlier, and he wanted to be sure that his family there would get a chance to meet his young sons.

When we came back after that trip my father began to change; he seemed worried about a lot of things. He argued a lot with my mother. Then one day he stopped going to work. He and his friends from work gathered in our garage and started painting signs and drank a lot of beer. All they talked about was better wages and benefits. I had learned early in life what a strike or work stoppage can do to a family. In our home there was an unspoken urgency to get our lives back on track, especially for the sake of our family's financial security.

For weeks we could not go shopping as much as we wanted. We went to the union hall where we took our pots and pans and came home with food like spaghetti and chili, the kind of food we would only eat at school. My brother and I had to come home early from school so that we could help my father load signs in the car and bring them down to the sugar mill where his co-workers waited. And when it was over, we were glad that my father was back at work because he always seemed happy whenever he was working.

My parents worked hard and saved money to send my brother and me to private (Catholic) schools. And to teach us that we needed to work hard they arranged for us to deliver newspapers in the morning and afternoon. The extra income that my brother and I earned helped pay for our education, but more importantly it taught the two of us the value of a good work ethic. For that, and also for my education I am extremely grateful to my parents.

In the 1970s my father nearly lost his life in a car accident. He never was the same person afterwards. His once powerful body quickly deteriorated. When he retired, the company that he had worked for nearly 40 years gave him a gold watch and plaque for his four decades of service. Four years later he died.

Reticent at first because of her limited English speaking skills and her education that only reached the sixth grade, Filomena quickly made new friends with her sewing skills and by quickly acquiring the vernacular of the plantation camp—pidgin English.

The newly united couple eagerly started their family with the birth of my older brother, Danilo, who was born in December 1958. I followed him in February 1960, just seven months after Hawai'i became the fiftieth state in the Union. My parents wanted a traditionally large Filipino family but abandoned that tradition when my mother miscarried twice after I was born. Although their family plans were not going as well as expected, their dream of owning a home in Hawai'i was soon to be fulfilled.

The promise of opportunity and prosperity that was proclaimed by the emerging Democrats of the 1950s came true for my father and mother as they were able to purchase their own home outside of the plantation camp. Our family home was purchased in a subdivision unofficially known as "Dream City," an area of barren sand dunes which previously served as a landfill for the plantation. Homes were sold to plantation workers at low but reasonable prices, and the subdivision name implied the realization of workers' "dreams" to own their own home.

Along with statehood came the new and promising industry of tourism. Just like O'ahu and its mushrooming skyline of condos and hotels in Waikiki and Honolulu, the island of Maui and especially the sakadas who chose to settle in Hawai'i were poised to reap its economic rewards.

The new prosperity did not come without a price for many of the sakadas. Many of those who stayed in Hawai'i felt torn between their allegiance to their beloved Philippines and to their adopted home in "paradise." Many left the sugar plantation to work in tourism, the "new plantation."

In the mid 1960s the passage of the new Immigration Act would reunite family members with their loved ones and bring yet another wave of immigrants to the shores of Hawai'i. It would become an awkward time for my father who enjoyed the mystique of being a Hawayano, and like the term his mystique became obsolete. He would petition for his youngest brother and sister to join him in establishing new lives in Hawai'i.

My mother outdid him by bringing my Apo Mariano and all of her brothers, despite the weak objections of her husband. And as they arrived and swelled in number, both sides of the family were almost totally reunited. But Apo Mariano

did not want to stay in Hawai'i and did not want to die here. Besides leaving two-thirds of his family back in Hawai'i, he left behind an extremely sad daughter and a very relieved son-in-law.

My father had become so enamored with his new life in Hawai'i that he truly wished to become a citizen of the United States. With the fortune of having his two sons born in Hawai'i with U.S. citizenship, he enrolled my mother and himself in adult school and they studied for the U.S. citizenship exams. In 1966, he and my mother passed the exams and became naturalized citizens of the United States of America. Life was good to my parents in the mid 1960s, so good that he sent my mother, my brother, and me to the Philippines to visit the rest of our families there. He had not been back since he married my mom fifteen years earlier, and he wanted to be sure that his family there would get a chance to meet his young sons.

When we came back after that trip my father began to change; he seemed worried about a lot of things. He argued a lot with my mother. Then one day he stopped going to work. He and his friends from work gathered in our garage and started painting signs and drank a lot of beer. All they talked about was better wages and benefits. I had learned early in life what a strike or work stoppage can do to a family. In our home there was an unspoken urgency to get our lives back on track, especially for the sake of our family's financial security.

For weeks we could not go shopping as much as we wanted. We went to the union hall where we took our pots and pans and came home with food like spaghetti and chili, the kind of food we would only eat at school. My brother and I had to come home early from school so that we could help my father load signs in the car and bring them down to the sugar mill where his co-workers waited. And when it was over, we were glad that my father was back at work because he always seemed happy whenever he was working.

My parents worked hard and saved money to send my brother and me to private (Catholic) schools. And to teach us that we needed to work hard they arranged for us to deliver newspapers in the morning and afternoon. The extra income that my brother and I earned helped pay for our education, but more importantly it taught the two of us the value of a good work ethic. For that, and also for my education I am extremely grateful to my parents.

In the 1970s my father nearly lost his life in a car accident. He never was the same person afterwards. His once powerful body quickly deteriorated. When he retired, the company that he had worked for nearly 40 years gave him a gold watch and plaque for his four decades of service. Four years later he died.

It was during his funeral that I realized how much of my culture I had suppressed in order to adapt, assimilate, and be accepted into the local Hawai'i society. Now that he was gone, I realized how much I had denied myself of my own heritage. I can only cast regrets that I did not realize this much sooner.

I was his youngest son and the first in his family to earn a degree from a university. And although he was very ill in the last months of his life and unable to see me march at my commencement ceremony, I know he was very proud and happy of what I had accomplished through him. But I never had the chance to share my experiences with him. I never had the chance to ask him if he felt happy or sad, content, or satisfied with his life in Hawai'i. I guess I never will know.

Sometimes when I visit downtown Honolulu to go shopping for vegetables in Chinatown and to visit my favorite Filipino food stand, I see these old Filipino men who seem to be the same age as my father, if he was still alive. And I think of my father, Nemesio de Los Santos, and of Bienvenido Santos and Celestino Fabia, and I wonder if our dreams really come true.

From American-Filipino to Filipino-American

Leonard Y. Andaya

Since my youth in the 1950s a noticeable change in emphasis has occurred in the role of ethnicity in the formulation of an American identity. The goal then was to become assimilated, to become an American as defined by the education system and the media. While one's ethnic background was acknowledged, it was simply to provide evidence of the hybrid vigor of America's racial/ethnic melting pot. Ethnic differences were to be thrown into the crucible and melded to form the American. Nevertheless, each American could proudly claim his or her unique identification with a specific ethnic group. The cult of the hyphenated American — the American-Italians, American-Irish, American-Greeks, American-Filipinos — became celebrated in the popular *Reader's Digest*, one of the most widely-read magazines in America in the 1950s. It and *Life Magazine* helped create the image of the American through guidelines and inspirational models captured in word and picture.

Today the emphasis has shifted with ethnicity being regarded as the dominant aspect in the forging of an American identity. America as reinterpreted is now simply the home of the diasporic groups from Italy, Ireland, Greece, or the Philippines, and the people are now Italian-American, Irish-American, Greek-American, Filipino-American, and even the curious hybrid, the Asian-American. It is the homeland which has become the true fount of identity, and the diaspora a source of enrichment of the original culture. Although this reorientation has been comforting to the new immigrants to the United States, it has introduced new problems for generations of Americans who have only a vague memory or understanding of the homelands from which their parents or forefathers came. The situation of Filipinos in Hawai'i is an interesting case in point because it highlights some of the implications of this shift.

Growing up Filipino in a Plantation Village

I was born during wartime in a sugar plantation village in Spreckelsville on the island of Maui. Spreckelsville consisted of three camps, all known by numbers rather than name. My family lived in Camp 2 which had some fifty houses, approximately half occupied by Japanese, four by Okinawans, and the remainder by Filipino "bachelors," many of whom had left wives and children behind in the Philippines. "Filipino" at that time meant simply "Ilocano" or "Visayan." Tagalogs for me were those people whom I saw on the screen every

Wednesday evening when my parents and I went to see a "Filipino" film at the neighborhood theater.

Because of the homogeneity of the Filipino community, there was no agonizing over the subtle differences or open rivalries between language groups. Distinction was based on ethnic groups. At the local school, which served a number of plantation camps similar to mine, there were children of Japanese, Okinawan, Filipino, Puerto Rican, Portuguese, and Chinese descent. Everyone knew the other's ethnicity, and it was a way in which we identified each other. Although sometimes in annoyance one would call the other names, such as "daikon" to a Japanese, or "bagoong" to a Filipino, there was always a sense of belonging together as children of the camps. In retrospect, my identity in those days consisted of different aspects. Being someone from Hawai'i, which today means being "local," was one strong aspect of my identity. It was a source of pride to be continually reminded how unique we were in Hawai'i as a society where races lived harmoniously together. But I was a specific type of person from Hawai'i, one whose experiences were grounded in Filipino culture. One's ethnic identity was clearly visible in physical features, customs, name, and food. I was a Filipino boy from Hawai'i, and I was also an American. Being a product of the assimilationist philosophy of U.S. education, I was especially proud when Hawai'i gained statehood in 1959 and became a full-fledged member of the Union. As children of immigrants, we believed in the American dream and welcomed the opportunities which beckoned.

Those aspects of my identity linked to Hawai'i and America were ones that I believed to offer future promise because they were my home. Filipino culture, on the other hand, I saw as the culture of my parents and their friends. While I participated in Filipino activities, I did so mechanically mainly to please my parents. It was not because of any conscious effort to reject my Filipino heritage, but it was only because it appeared to be so foreign and irrelevant compared to the vibrance and promise which characterized Hawai'i and America to the young. Yet I now realize that it was my participation in these plantation Filipino activities which provided me with a uniqueness which I can now cherish as a significant part of my past.

As a youth growing up in a Filipino household I was involved in numerous activities associated with the Filipino community. My father was a leading organizer of cockfights, which then was almost exclusively a Filipino activity, and I helped him to train the cocks, to feed them, and to patch them up after a fight. During the annual Rizal Day celebrations at the end of December, my brother and I would be asked to dance at the festivities sponsored by a Filipino "club"

organized by my father and his friends in Naska. We all had our authentic *barong tagalog* made of pineapple fiber, and the girls had their *Maria Claras*. Most of the boys were reluctant to dance, but we were forced to because of my father's prominent position in the community. It seems that we were always going to some christening or wedding, which I tolerated because I looked forward to the different types of Filipino festival food which one could only get at such events. I do not recall the names of any of these dishes, but I do remember vividly what they looked like and how they tasted.

One of my enduring memories is of the activities at the Naska club, which hosted *manso* dances every weekend. The club had been organized as a mutual assistance association, and one of the ways by which it raised funds was to hold these dances. The Filipino men would purchase tickets which allowed them to dance with the young women. There was a band consisting of mandolins, a saxophone, a trumpet, and drums which provided the live music. The women organized the concession stand which sold *kankanen* and other Filipino delicacies. The children played with their friends, while the young adults stood around chatting and occasionally mocking the men who looked so sleek with their hair pomaded down. One of the sad consequences of wanting to be American was the tendency for the young Filipinos to denigrate the older generation with their peculiar way of dressing and their thick accent. It was our way of saying that we were Hawai'i-born and American.

Yet in looking back over my childhood and youth, I realize now that it was the Filipino "bachelors," those who were single or had families in the Philippines, who had the greatest impact on my perception of male roles. These men, including my father, were excellent cooks. We were frequently invited to the bachelor quarters with their earthen-floor kitchens where the men prepared such wonderful dishes from pork or goat killed communally, fish which someone had caught, and *nateng* or the various types of Filipino vegetables gathered from the canefields. At various places in the fields, Filipino plantation workers planted these vegetables and kept them well-watered from the ditches which irrigated the sugar fields. All the Filipinos knew where these plots were, and they only took what they needed for a meal.

These bachelors were also extremely generous and kind to the children in the plantation camps. Since ours was one of the few nuclear families in the village, I had numerous "uncles" among the single Filipino men in the camp. I was spoiled by their attention and frequent gifts, and in my mind I came to associate them with an ability to soothe any psychological or physical injury. One particular bachelor in my camp was known for his skills as a local doctor

against illnesses physical and otherworldly. On one occasion I dislocated an elbow after falling off a mango tree. In the following weeks I spent agonizing sessions at his home as he attempted to reset the bone. But perhaps his greatest fame was his ability to counter black magic. One of my memories as a child is of different types of objects being placed at various parts of our house to ward off evil intentions by my father's perceived enemies. Though I shared my mother's skepticism regarding the efficacy of such measures, I must admit to a sense of comfort that they were in place. The men, in short, offered a model of emotional and physical care and concern which had a lasting effect on my perceptions.

There were only a few Filipino women in my camp, and so my memories of them are few and rather vague. However, I will never forget Nana Maria, mainly because of her face scarred by chicken pox and her habit of smoking *toscane* cigars with the lit end in her mouth. The women worked extremely hard since washing clothes meant heating the water outside, washing and beating the clothes, and hanging them out to dry. When they were brought in, they were sprinkled with water and rolled up, and then later pressed with a heavy hand iron. My mother used to place strips of banana leaves at one side of the ironing board, and at intervals run the iron over the leaves in order, I suppose, to make the iron glide more smoothly on the clothes. Just keeping the house clean was a major chore because of all the dust from the canefields and the dirt roads which ran through the camp. Every day the women, with the help of the children, would dust the furniture and sweep and mop the wooden floors. One of my earliest memories is of being awoken by the sound of my mother either sweeping or mopping.

Some of the women, my mother among them, could draft their own patterns and then sew clothes for their families or for others. My mother had one of those black tubular Singer sewing machines with a pedal. On hot afternoons I remember the soporific sounds of the whirring of the Singer as my mother applied the skills as a dressmaker which she had learned from a private sewing school in town. She later sent my elder sister to the school to learn to sew, but the latter never showed any interest nor inclination to learn. Occasionally we would go to the largest town on the island, which was then Wailuku, and do some clothes shopping with my mother. I did not particularly enjoy shopping, but I liked the idea of going to town with all the shops and the prospects of purchasing something interesting or eating out in one of the local restaurants. There were no Filipino restaurants, but I did not want more Filipino food since we could get it at home. What I looked forward to was the delicious plate lunches served in these restaurants with large slow-moving ceiling fans. My favorite dish was a

combination of pork spare ribs and chop suey with rice and macaroni salad. The dishes were always a combination of different ethnic recipes reworked into something which suited the local palate.

At home the men did a lot of the cooking, but they also were responsible for obtaining the food. We grew some of our own vegetables and got others from certain areas in the canefields where the vegetables were grown by those on irrigation duty. There appears to have been a regular slaughtering of animals with families sharing the meat. As a young boy I was particularly excited by the preparations. The men got up early in order to purchase the pigs, sharpen the knives, lay out the tables, and boil the water used to clean the carcass. When the trussed pig was finally brought to the table, there was an air of expectation as the men yelled out things to one another above the squeals of the animal. Everything happened very quickly after that—the bleeding, the scraping off of the hair, and the cutting up of the pig for distribution among the participating families. That evening there would be quite a feast, especially of my favorite, *dinardaraan*, a pork dish cooked in blood.

Fish was plentiful because there was always a family member, a cousin, a friend or a neighbor who was extremely skillful in skindiving using a speargun. We were regularly supplied with fish of all sorts, especially the plentiful black and green *manini*. But my favorites were the large lobsters and the octopuses which became a regular fare in our family. On very rare occasions my father would obtain a "balloon" fish, which was known to have a poisonous sac which could kill. Because of the reputation of the fish, not many people ventured to eat it, and even my father refused to eat it unless he himself prepared the fish. There was an unusual taste to the fish which I have never experienced with any other seafood. It may have been the thrill of knowing that one was eating something potentially dangerous, but I remember that it had a distinctive flavor.

While most of the food we had at home was prepared as Filipino dishes with the use of bagoong as the main condiment, we were also being introduced to a variety of other dishes through our neighbors and our school. Since Japanese formed the majority in our plantation camp, we were regularly exposed to Japanese *senbei*, *manju*, *sushi*, *daikon*, *sashimi*, *namasu*, *musubi*, etc. Often the children would bring their lunches from home to eat with their friends, and it was on these occasions that I used to see things which my mother never made. For example, I was always fascinated by the *ume* musubi, which was a rice ball covered with seaweed with a pickled plum in the middle for flavoring.

Food differences were acknowledged, but all the different ethnic dishes became part of our everyday experience. There was ample opportunity to share

food on the rare occasion that our parents allowed us to take food outside to eat. There were parties and especially the ethnic festivals which enabled the Filipino children, for example, to share Japanese *mochi* rice cakes at Japanese New Year or for the Japanese children to eat kankanen, the Filipino version of mochi rice cakes during the Rizal festival. More and more, however, our tastes were being conditioned by subsidized lunches in school where the weekly menu contained a rich array of ethnic and haole-type food. One day it would be shoyu fish, another day corned beef and cabbage, and a third day perhaps chow fun and even Portuguese soup. Looking back, however, I do not recall a single Filipino dish on the menu. I was not aware of it then because all the other types of food were so familiar to me as to have been my own. The clever concoctions of dishes borrowing this from one ethnic group and that from another to create a truly mixed cuisine with an "original" name such as "ono (Hawaiian for "delicious") chicken pineapple." It was a source of some amusement that the chief cook was a Japanese American woman called Mrs. Ono. The origin of that uniquely local "plate lunch" one finds everywhere in Hawai'i today could very well have been the creative lunches churned out by the Mrs. Onos who attempted to balance nutrition requirements with local tastes in Hawaii's school cafeterias.

Playtime and Schooltime

During the plantation days of my youth, our parents were on the periphery of our lives. We spent practically the whole day with our friends and only went home to bathe, to eat, and to sleep. Our attitudes were being formed by our schools, by the strong American culture available in the weekend radio broadcasts of professional baseball and in the Saturday movies, and by our own peer-group outdoor activities in Hawai'i. We all lived in houses provided by the plantation, we spoke "pidgin" English, we went to the same school, and we played together in the streets or in the canefields. In short, there was a camaraderie among the young people as part of plantation society. We knew our various ethnicities, but the dominant culture was that of the plantation.

One of the things which made us distinctive was the type of games that we played. Baseball was a passion with all the boys in the camp. In addition to listening to the play-by-play simulated broadcasts by radio, we bought bubble gum in order to get the cards with the pictures and statistics of the major league players. One of our favorite pastimes was to listen to the broadcasts and trade these cards. We also played baseball on the dirt roads, using the trunks of trees and sides of buildings for bases, and hitting the ball often high up into the foliage of the monkeypod trees. Despite being surrounded by buildings, I do not

remember a single time when we broke a window. Many of us went from camp baseball to the Little League, the Pony League and, for the best of the group, to high school baseball. Football was also a major sport, but it never rivaled baseball as the king of sports. But once again the dirt roads were the ideal playing fields for touch football for the camp children. Basketball was not as popular and was something that the boys only began playing seriously in high school.

The girls rarely played baseball, football or basketball, but they did participate wholeheartedly alongside the boys in the plantation games. Like the American-style sports, there were particular seasons for these games, although I still do not know who decided when the season for one game should stop and another begin. There were so many interesting games that we played. In one the children collected beans from the pods from one type of tree. Each player would then "bet" a number of beans with another player. Each would then have a turn in taking hold of the beans, throwing them in the air and catching as many as one could on the back of the palm. The object then was to throw the beans off the back of the palm and grab the whole lot without dropping a single one.

Another plantation game known as "pee-wee" involved taking an old broomstick, cutting a piece about a foot in length, which became the "bat," and another of about three or four inches in length with one end sliced off at a 45 degree angle. The player would then make a small groove in the soil to place the shorter piece with the cut end sticking out from the groove. The object was to hit the tip of the short piece with the longer length to make the former fly in the air. Then one had to hit the small piece again before it fell to the ground. A skilled player could hit it two, three, or sometimes even four times before hitting it as far away from the base as possible. The reason is that the score was calculated by multiplying the number of times one hit the small piece and measuring the distance with the bat from the spot where the stick landed and the home base. One counted by twirling the length of stick on the ground in a circular motion as if twirling a baton.

A third popular game, which began on Maui with the cardboard covers made by Haleakala Dairy for its milk and fruit juice bottles, we called "pachi." Each player would again bet a number of pachi (covers) and place them in the center. One player would stack the covers to try to make it difficult for the pachi to be overturned. As children we experimented with all different ways of shaping the pachi pile to prevent too many being upended. The second player then would take one pachi and would slam the pachi onto the pile to see how many he could overturn. Whatever was upended became the property of that particular player. This particular game was marketed in the 1990s as POGS, using specially created covers, and became a craze among children in Hawai'i and California.

There were many other games and pastimes. One was playing castles and knights on the stonepiles in the middle of the canefields. Even though these stonepiles would be hidden when the cane grew tall, all the plantation children knew where they were, and we would continue to play at these special places. The large irrigation ditches which flowed from the reservoir to feed the canefields were a favorite swimming place for the plantation children. Though at times the water flowed fairly swiftly, at least the edge of the ditch was close and therefore fairly safe. But the most exciting time of all for the plantation children was when the large reservoir for some reason was drained of its water. As soon as we heard the cry, "The *punawai* [reservoir] dry!," we would all grab our pails and other containers and head for the reservoir. The reason was that the laborers had stocked the reservoir with catfish and some other type of fish, and when the water was let out, the catfish and other fish would emerge in the shallows and the mud. It was fun wading through the mud in the reservoir catching *paltat* (catfish). Only then did we have the rare treat of eating paltat cooked in so many different ways. To this day I long for paltat the way it used to be cooked by my dad.

In these games and various plantation pastimes, we children of the plantation were one. This was not regarded as a Japanese or Filipino or Portuguese game, but a plantation one. Not until I was an adult did I think of *jan ken po* as something Japanese. Our identity as plantation children was reinforced by our games. As more packaged games became available, some of these appeared in the camps, such as jacks and marbles. Since we did not know exactly how they were played, we tended to make new rules as we went along. While we played these novel games from the mainland, we preferred the plantation ones.

While our playtime occupied a major part of our activities, school was always something that we knew we had to do because our parents considered education to be so very important. The schools were somewhat unique in our day. There was one school where all the plantation children attended, which was known by the very haole-sounding name of "Spreckelsville" after the founder of the sugar plantation. About three miles away closer to the beach was another school with the Hawaiian name of "Kaunoa." It was the school for children of the white plantation *luna* (bosses), the professional people (mainly Japanese-American and Chinese-American), and those with a higher income than those working for the plantations. Kaunoa was an English standard school, which meant that one had to pass a simple test in order to be admitted. As children of the plantation school, we stood in awe of those children who could actually speak English the haole way. We exchanged stories of the manner in which kids like us were flummoxed by the tests and were refused entrance. One story goes that

the examiner took a sheet of paper and ripped it in half. He then asked the child to describe what he had done. Being a pidgin English speaker, the child answered: "You broke the paper," thus failing the test. Of course, we never really knew what actually happened in those entrance exams, but I remember listening with rapt attention to an older child recounting that story. When we heard the punchline, many of us did not react because we were not certain what the right answer was. "Broke the paper" sounded fine to us because we knew that our pidgin way of expressing the action was, "He wen' break the paper."

Although we spoke pidgin English at home, in the streets and outside the classroom, the language in the classroom was standard English. No one I knew in my camp spoke it comfortably. We had problems that many other non-English speakers have with the "th" sound and short and long vowels. Even though we were scolded for using pidgin in the classroom, almost nothing else was heard elsewhere in school. It was our first and natural language, and we found little reason to use standard English since we had only very few occasions to use it. There were very few haoles on Maui, and we rarely had any contact with them. All our parents, their friends, and even the business people all used pidgin English. It was the language of the young people and of our parents when speaking to someone outside their own linguistic group. The teachers tried to discourage the use of pidgin because they genuinely believed that it hindered the learning of standard English.

Our primary school had a little over two hundred children, from kindergarten to the eighth grade. All except the principal's children came from the plantation. We had the plantation as a common background, and there was little which distinguished us during the school year. The one thing which was very ethnic was the Japanese School which was held immediately after school. The one memory I have of that school is the loud chanting of the alphabet in Japanese. Not many of my Japanese friends bothered to go to Japanese school. Most of them were like me and preferred to go home, change, have something to eat, and then gather to play some type of game on the dirt roads running through the camp.

In the schools we were taught many things which we accepted as part of education. We learned the pledge of allegiance, the national anthem, and the history of the founding of the country. We came to be identified with George Washington and Betsy Ross, and we marveled at the hardships of the Pilgrim forefathers during their first winter in Massachusetts. There was some mention of the uniting of the Hawaiian Islands by King Kamehameha I, but very little else about Hawaiian history. Nothing was ever mentioned about the arrival of contract laborers to work on the plantations in Hawai'i, nor did we ask why not.

We did not question our education; there were things to learn, and schools where one learned them. Our teachers were admired because they had education and could therefore communicate so well in standard English. Except for one teacher who lived next to the school, the others lived outside our plantation area. Their world seemed so different from our own.

The school was like a foreign enclave in which we were expected to leave behind our plantation ways and learn the "American" way of life. The playground was still our turf, but as soon as we entered the buildings we were on alien soil doing, learning, and speaking American. There was nothing self-conscious about the process; we were born in Hawai'i, citizens of the United States, and so we naturally expected to be Americans. While it was painful playing the part of the Pilgrim forefathers during Thanksgiving pageants or learning how to square dance on the lawn, there was no questioning whether this was appropriate or not. This was part of being educated, and so we learned what was expected of us alongside millions of other American kids.

The school texts we used depicted scenes of winter and autumn, which simply highlighted the gap between school and book learning with our own experiences. These scenes merely emphasized the enormous gap we believed existed between our way of life and that on the continental U.S. But we already knew we were different, and it was perhaps the genius of Hawaii's early educators to dwell upon these differences as a source of pride and strength. We had heard about the problems between white and black communities on the mainland, and so we were made to see the success of our differing racial groups living so peaceably together in the islands. Our diversity, so we were informed by our teachers and government leaders, was an exciting and highly desirable mosaic which was a model for America and the rest of the world. We were not part of the contiguous U.S. but we were proud of being an "island paradise" with a perfect climate and happy, smiling people who lived harmoniously with one another.

Since this perception of Hawai'i had been nurtured in the schools and reinforced in the newspapers and government pronouncements, who were we to question it. We believed sincerely in the paradise syndrome, though we knew things were not as perfect as we were told. Each group still had negative stereotypes about other groups, and as children we could jokingly talk about the "big-mouth Poragees" or the "poke knife Filipinos," but much of this was not intended to demean or belittle the other. We knew each other well enough to be comfortable in this type of bantering which occasionally took place in our conversations. At times we would hear some of our adults discussing the manner

in which one particular group voted as a bloc, or that another was "prejudiced" against another group in hiring practices. Since such things were beyond our vision as children, we merely listened and thought that there must have been some truth to these statements. Even though the children mingled easily with each other at home and at school and dated one another in later years, our parents still regarded marriage among one's own kind as ideal. As children we never thought as far ahead as marriage, but we saw no problem in dating those from different ethnic groups. We were friends with similar backgrounds, and our ethnic identity was a very minor consideration.

Ethnic culture was for the children something which was preserved by our parents and grandparents, and which we also commemorated at specific times. For the Filipinos it was Rizal Day, for the Japanese it was the Bon Odori, and for the Chinese it was the New Year. Growing up in the plantation meant participating in all these different types of cultures and sharing the wonderful food and the fun which accompanied any large-scale community celebration. My Filipino identity was not something that I agonized over; it was simply part of me from the day I was born. I was a Filipino, she was a Japanese, he an Okinawan, and she a haole. There was no one in the camp who was of a mixed marriage, and it was easy to identify people into ethnic groups according to name, physical features, and food preferences. It was a simple ethnic picture then, or so it seemed to me as a child.

Complexity of Today's Filipino Identity

The present situation of Filipino youth in Hawai'i is far more complex than in my day. The plantation environment has practically disappeared, and there has been a large influx of new immigrants from the Philippines since 1965. The Filipino community has become far more diverse. There are second and third generation local Filipinos along with the large number of newly-arrived immigrants. They are no longer almost exclusively Ilocano or Visayan and, with the disappearance of the plantation economy, many Filipinos now occupy the gamut of occupations from manual labor to higher education.

The demographic and social changes among Filipinos in Hawai'i have coincided with a radical shift in the perception of what it is to be an American. This shift appears to have begun with the Black Power movement in the mid 1960s, and has gathered momentum as each individual community, especially Hispanic-Americans and Asian-Americans, began to assert its uniqueness and desire for a place and a voice in the composition of the "American." This

tendency reached a peak in 1993 in the United Nations' proclaimed "Year of Indigenous Peoples." In Hawai'i itself repercussions are being felt in the demands of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. While indigenous groups and African-Americans have traced the roots of their grievances to a specific political or economic oppression, other groups have found it more difficult to locate a fundamental cause of their perceived exclusion from mainstream American life. They have therefore targeted discriminatory practices as a reason for the need to organize and to introduce a new conception of American which would make diversity an integral part of the ideal image. With diversity acknowledged as American, each different group would then have a right to the resources of the whole. It would then be possible to argue that each group should receive a proportionate share of the national pie.

For these groups, among which are Filipinos, there is a need to emphasize differences among them rather than commonalities. On the U.S. mainland the relatively small population of ethnic groups has resulted in coalitions into larger units such as *Asian*-Americans. In Hawai'i, on the other hand, the size of the various Asian ethnic groups enables them to organize themselves into more specific entities, such as *Filipino*-Americans, *Japanese*-Americans, etc. In this new atmosphere it is the original homeland which is the primary basis for identity, with shared experiences in America, the land of the diaspora, providing the motivation for such organizations. To justify the new orientation, each of the groups in America must demonstrate its uniqueness through encouraging the study of the language, culture, and history of the homeland. For Filipinos in Hawai'i, this means learning a Filipino language, and participating in organizations which encourage the study of the history, dance, music, and other artistic forms of the Philippines. This process has been praised for raising the consciousness of Filipino youth and for creating pride in their heritage. At the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa there is a Philippine Languages and Culture Club which even publishes a journal of short stories, essays, poems, and commentaries written in Tagalog by its members. It is indeed an impressive achievement which would have been beyond the capabilities of my generation and, more significantly, beyond our vision. Our concern then was to learn proper American English, culture, and history. We did not deny our Filipino-ness; it was simply a part of us which was evident to all in our appearance, our food preferences, and our participation in certain types of activities.

The current tendency to accentuate one's Filipino identity by demonstrating knowledge of the culture, history, and one of the languages of the Philippines has undoubtedly been an empowering experience for these young people. It should serve them well in American society which is being forced to acknowledge the

reality of multiculturalism. For most of the second and third generation diaspora Filipinos, on the other hand, they can only look with envy tinged with sadness that they were never capable of sharing their heritage in the same dynamic way as these young folk. They observe the activities of Filipino cultural groups, but they do not participate because they do not feel that they belong. What it is to be "Filipino" has become much more rigorous, the demands so much greater, that many of the locally-born Filipinos no longer feel comfortable participating in Filipino cultural activities. They are embarrassed because they cannot communicate in a Filipino language, they know almost nothing about the politics or the present culture of the Philippines, and they feel outsiders among Filipinos whose networks extend from Hawai'i to the Philippines.

To include these second and third generation Filipinos in Hawai'i in this Filipino cultural resurgence, it may be necessary to highlight the uniqueness of the earlier diaspora plantation culture. As my own experiences have demonstrated, being a Filipino during the plantation era was subsumed under a much larger more influential plantation identity. Yet my Filipino identity was important, and my generation absorbed Filipino ideas not in any formal way but in our daily dealings with my parents' generation. Their legacy was one of hardwork, determination, pride, and a genuine desire to enable their children to become in this new homeland what they could never have achieved in the Philippines. As members of the second generation, it is only in retrospect that we can appreciate the sacrifices which the first generation made for the future of Filipinos in Hawai'i and in America.

To commemorate the achievements of Filipino-Americans, especially those of the plantation era, it will be necessary to highlight aspects of the plantation past. Among the things which could be emphasized are Filipino rural cuisine and its adaptation by Filipino bachelors in their earthen-floor kitchens; the cockfight as a community activity; the religious and national festivals; forms of leisure; types of occupations; family values; language use; and education. In short, the aim of such an endeavor is to show how Philippine culture was transmitted and what transformations occurred in the new homeland. It is only by focusing on the considerable achievements of the diaspora Filipinos of the plantation age that many of the second and third generation Filipinos in Hawai'i can begin to share the pride in their Filipino heritage.

Lessons of Tolerance: Americanism and the Filipino Affirmative Action Movement in Hawai'i

Jeff Chang

> Just because they consider themselves closer to American civilization than other Oriental groups, the Filipinos in Hawai'i have much to unlearn; and many of the first contacts which are unfortunate have to be supplanted by others, as they acquire a better understanding of language and customs, before real assimilation can take place.
>
> —Bruno Lasker, 1931

> It was here, in our red soil and black volcanic rock, that a new society was born. It was here that many from other societies gathered in disparate ways to start a new life and form a new society. It was here that sons and daughters of these early immigrants learned their lessons of tolerance and understanding and Americanism. It was here that they learned the verity that all men truly are created equal. And it was here that they learned that no one is bound by previous status, but rather bound only by the limitations of their own creation. It was here that hard work and application were rewarded. This is the lesson of Hawai'i, and it is one that increasingly is being learned by the world.
>
> —Governor George Ariyoshi, 1980

> You can go into these places—Burger King, McDonalds, even the nicest hotels in Waikiki. You have principals, administrators, professors and teachers working there. That's why I was so very lucky to pierce this wall.
>
> —A Filipino immigrant teacher, 1993

The idea that Hawaii's race relations are significantly better than that of the American "main"-land, that somehow we have taught ourselves to live harmoniously, is perhaps the most trenchant myth of our time, an ideological cornerstone of the tourist economy and state policy. The islands remain undeniably unique in comparative study, but so much of comparative study is a search for the "correct model" to privilege, and it is in this act of assertion that specificity is so often confused for exceptionalism. As one example, the visceral struggles over affirmative action from the early seventies through the late eighties illustrate a process of group interaction less harmonious than charged, less "natural" than prone to reversal. Racial relations here, as elsewhere, are fragile as a spider web, akin to a still mountain pool into which a pebble is dropped. It is because the specific effects of colonialism are so often overlooked in study and in policy that island racial relations continue to be painted with a triumphal glow.

Writing at the height of the colonial era, Bruno Lasker's comments seem to have had to do with the unwillingness of many Filipino plantation laborers to suffer horrid working conditions and unequal pay (Lasker, 1931). Lasker's words uneasily resonate in the more contemporary comments of a part-time temporary teacher working at a Honolulu high school (Interview with Anoymous 4, 1993). While Governor George Ariyoshi's 1980 State of the State address represents Hawai'i as a model of ethnic and racial relations, a "new society" marked by "tolerance and understanding and Americanism" so uplifting it has lessons to teach the world, the Filipino teacher confronts real stratified structures (Ariyoshi, 1980). Whether immigrant or descendant of immigrants, she finds her new status more binding than the previous. She learns not "the lessons of tolerance" but the hollow promises of a postmodern, only partially decolonized Hawai'i.

Ariyoshi's notion of "Americanism" fails her. Systems of incentive and penalty in education and public sector hiring reveal a colonizing ideology. "Hard work and application" are only rewarded in assimilation, a cultural "unlearning." "Merit" presupposes success on rigidly American terms. Even then, barriers continue to rise. For Americanism also means the intolerance of difference, the debasement of "accent" and language, the displacement of identity by narrowly designed "merit." If complete conformity is the goal, the candidate cannot but be continually infirm. Because of her difference, the supplanting of "unfortunate contacts" is never complete, her "merit" is never enough.

I take Ariyoshi's idea of "Americanism" as a form of official ideology which was both violently imposed and subtly inculcated into non-*haole* subjects most crucially during and after the colonial period. It is possible to view in struggles over the policy and practice of affirmative action in Hawaii's Department of Education the vestiges of dominant ideas of an earlier era. Because part of the dominant ideology of any state are the terms upon which it includes and empowers or excludes and marginalizes, the continuing power of this Americanism is reflected in the ways the state responds to pressures on access to its resources. As an ideology with hegemonic power, it also flexibly organizes and then preserves new status hierarchies. Thus resistance in the form of the Filipino affirmative action movement exposes the still-unfinished tasks of decolonization.

This article shall begin with a brief look at how American colonizers sought to marginalize their subjects through exclusive laws in the public sector and educational campaigns which sought to "Americanize." It then turns to the ways in which conceptions of American-ness created new status hierarchies. It discusses how the rise of affirmative action protest produced official responses

which mirrored American colonizers' educational aims. The article explores the ways in which current practices marginalize cultures by buttressing continent-centered standards as "merit." Finally, it analyzes recent reform and assesses the possibility of liberatory change.

Colonial Education, Americanism and Filipino Identity

Much of American colonizing energy was directed at the educational system. Colonial power was unified by belief in the domination of the haole over the Hawaiian and the non-haole immigrant.[1] Formally enacted in 1840, the educational system was initially designed by missionaries but was soon coopted by American business interests. Race and ethnicity were the key organizing principles in the colonial imagination. In the words of one educational reformer, the role of the educational process was merely to prepare the non-haole child "for the life he (was) likely to lead (Armstrong, as quoted in Steuber, 1964)." Educational administration came to mirror the structures of centralized and paternalistic plantation capital.

Non-Haole Exclusion

During the period of high immigration to Hawai'i at the turn of the century, the colonial administration became extremely worried about the movement of workers off the plantations. As changes in U.S. laws hastened the end of contract labor, surveillance and legislation became increasingly important to the maintenance of the plantation system. Colonial administrators particularly felt threatened by the potential political influence of the Japanese community, who made up over 40 percent of the islands' population. Thus, in 1909, the year of a major Japanese-led plantation strike, the Territorial legislature passed its first law establishing citizenship requirements for public employees (Senate Bill 17, *Sessions Laws of 1909*).

Although most teachers were Hawaiian men until as late as 1880, the primary language of instruction switched from Hawaiian to English in 1886 and a rapid decline in the ranks of Hawaiian teachers shortly followed (Wist, 1940). Civil service and teaching jobs in the Territorial Government were thus filled largely by haoles, most of whom were recent arrivals from the American "main"-land.[2] By 1900, haoles filled over 70 percent of teaching positions in public and private schools. Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians together made up another 20 percent while the rest were mostly Portuguese and Spanish. The first Chinese did not teach in the public schools until 1904, the first Japanese, until 1909, the first Filipino, until 1923 (Reinecke, 1935; Tamura, 1990; Dionisio, 1981).

While the ranks of both Chinese and Japanese teachers were to increase significantly by the 1930s, many of them were teaching in private Asian language schools.

After the 1920 strike of Japanese and Filipino workers was crushed, the exodus of laborers into urban centers intensified. The Legislature acted again in 1923, this time extending citizenship requirements to the hiring of teachers, effectively excluding the mostly Asian immigrants. In addition, they codified preferential treatment for "local-born teachers"—in other words, haoles, Part-Hawaiians and Hawaiians—in hiring (Act 19, House Bill 68, *Session Laws of 1923*). This statutory definition based on the notion of "local birth" continued to be expanded. By 1935, three-year residency requirements had been established for almost all public employee positions (Haas, 1991; Act 211, Senate Bill 17, *Session Laws of 1935*).[3] In time, residency requirements were also extended to a wide array of private-sector occupations (Christensen, 1968). The colonial administration thus legislatively defined "Local" in order to maintain haole privilege and contain the occupational mobility of non-haole immigrants.

Fragmentations: New Immigration and New Hierarchies

But as the demographics began to pressure the minority haole ruling class, schools became focused on reproducing American values in its colonized subjects. Vicente Rafael's discussion of the American presence in the Philippines is instructive, "Because colonization is about civilizing love and the love of civilization, it cannot but be absolutely distinct from the disruptive criminality of conquest. The allegory of benevolent assimilation effaces the violence of conquest by construing colonial rule as the most precious gift that 'the most civilized people' can render to those still caught in a state of barbarous disorder (Rafael, 1993: 185)." Non-whites could learn to be civilized, learn to love their low-skilled jobs and debased status, if they could only learn to love becoming American.

Campaigns led by Japanese Christians aimed to create a class of "new Americans" who were unquestionably loyal to the American flag, who contentedly accepted their place on the plantations and, above all, knew their racial place under the hot white sun (Tamura, 1994: 129-45; Okihiro, 1991:129-62). But Americanization also took place in a hopeful and intoxicating way. Educational reformers, like Miles Cary at McKinley High School, emphasized values of individualism, merit, and self-reliance, the tenets of American democracy (Miyasaki, 1977:23). *Nisei* had little desire to remain on the plantations, faced complete exclusion from federal employment, and were hungry for change. The

nisei moved to the forefront of Local political leadership over the next four decades, seeing some barriers fall and mightily striking down others. Their arc took them into politics and then into public sector, where they challenged haole Republican power. Liberal pedagogy gave them the encouragement to seek acceptance on American terms. But the multiracial coalition of non-haoles they led into power in the mid-fifties also began to fragment.

The yawning gaps could be seen first along economic lines. By the 1940s, Japanese and Chinese social mobility was rapidly accelerating. Lind reported that, between 1949 and 1959, Chinese male median income jumped from $2964 to $5096, and Japanese male median income jumped from $2427 to $4302. Change was far more incremental for Filipinos, whose male median income rose only from $1995 to $3071 (Lind, 1980:106). In his analysis of 1970 and 1980 census data, Okamura noted that Chinese, Whites, Japanese and Koreans ranked well above Filipinos, Hawaiians and Samoans in occupational and educational status (Okamura,1990: 10). Census figures for 1990 confirmed patterns of inequality and a stark lack of mobility for the latter ethnic groups. While 25 percent Japanese and 30 percent of Whites over the age of 25 had attained at least a bachelor's degree, only 12 percent of Filipinos and 9 percent of Hawaiians reached the same educational level. Filipinos and Hawaiians remained highly underrepresented in primary sector occupations and overrepresented in secondary sector occupations, while the reverse was true for Chinese, Whites, and Japanese (US Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1990).

A smaller second wave of Filipino immigration had come to the islands between 1946 and 1965. But after the loosening of immigration laws in 1965, a larger third wave of Filipino immigration began, bringing about 3000 to 5000 new arrivals each year, nearly half of all immigrants to Hawai'i (Nordyke, 1989: 80). The composition of the Filipino population shifted slightly in terms of class and geographic background. Many new immigrants were from urban areas and had worked in middle-class positions as professionals, administrators, and teachers (Liu, Ong, and Rosenstein, 1991).

The impact of new immigration on island society was quickly felt. By the 1970s, one in five public school students was Filipino. The next three out of five students were either Japanese, white or Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian. Japanese held nearly 60 percent of teaching positions and over 67 percent of educational officer positions. Less than 3 percent of teachers and 3 percent of educational officers were Filipino. Three-quarters of new teacher hires each year were of Japanese or White ancestry, while less than 5 percent were Filipino.[4] The apparent overrepresentation of Japanese and underrepresentation of Filipinos in employment symbolized a growing fragmenting of the Local.

By the seventies, a new kind of hierarchy of social status had emerged in the islands, one which subtly mirrored the new economic and political realities. Caught at the margins, Filipinos felt trapped in a tenuous and ambiguous position. In the words of one Philippine-born teacher:

> On the mainland, it's literally black and white. You know when something happens if it's racist. Here, you don't know if you've been insulted or what! Look at the ethnic jokes. Or I don't know if this has ever happened to you, but on the mainland they say, "Oh, you speak wonderful English." When someone who is also Asian does this to you, you don't know if they are insulting you (Interview with Anonymous 1, November 17, 1993).

Alcantara's interview with a Filipino student illustrated further pressures on identity. The student at a largely Filipino high school told Alcantara:

> At high school we wanted to be with the Japanese. To be Japanese was the 'in' thing to do. Some of our parents even encouraged us to be friends with them because they did not get in trouble and were generally good in school. There were even moments when I wished I was Japanese (Alcantara, 1981: 166-7).

These students most starkly expressed the implications of their position. In the schoolyards, tensions rapidly built between Hawai'i-born Filipinos and the newly arrived immigrant Filipinos, leading to outbreaks of violence in 1974 and 1975. Local Filipinos argued that the immigrant students were cliquish and insular, loud, embarrassing in appearance, and uninterested in assimilating. Immigrant students felt, by turns, ignored and reviled. They found themselves being ridiculed for their accents by peers they had hoped to look up to, and determined that Locals were snobbish and arrogant. Feeling close to victimized, Local Filipinos viewed in the new immigrants a symbol of a loss of status.

Hegemonic ideologies are by definition flexible. If Americanism had once enshrined haole supremacy, it now found profound expression in the split between Local and immigrant. An image of Japanese behavior converged with an ideal of American-ness—well behaved, rational, hard-working—a status to which Local Filipinos could aspire. By contrast, immigrant Filipinos represented the status from which Local Filipinos sought escape. Signifiers of clothing, accent and language represented the depth of immigrants' perceived threat to Local Filipinos' status. But if the split between Locals and immigrants was visible in the experience of Filipino high school students, there was also a growing rift between Japanese and Filipinos, illustrative of the complex ways in which both Local identities and ethnic identities were rapidly fragmenting. These patterns would converge in stark ways to ignite a period of activism in the Filipino community.

"An Irony and Tragedy in the Making"

Federal affirmative action regulations ensuring equal opportunity in hiring had opened ground for a sustained political and cultural challenge from the margins. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibited racial or national origin discrimination, Executive Order 10925, which established the language of affirmative action in government hiring, and President Nixon's 1969 Philadelphia Plan, which introduced goals and timetables to the hiring process, would provide American minorities with a new language and a new set of tools and tactics to use in securing equal access to jobs and broadening social mobility.

As the seventies began, activists and Filipino community leaders felt an increasing sense of crisis. Professionals—including doctors, nurses and teachers—who believed they were encountering discrimination in their attempts to attain licenses formed organizations and began a series of protests. In the words of one of the organizers, "The need for work underlined everything (Interview with Anonymous 1, 1993)." This "need for work" was perhaps most stark for the underemployed immigrant middle class. A 1971 study of Filipino immigrants noted that the more educated the respondent, the more likely they would feel that employment was a serious problem (Lasman, et. al., 1971: 65-6). However, employment discrimination reached far beyond the immigrant middle class, and the emergence of affirmative action activism galvanized the entire community.

Violent school clashes between Local and immigrant students in 1974 left an immigrant dead. In 1974, a Filipino immigrant student died after a fight with a Local born Japanese. The following year, another immigrant perished after a clash between immigrant and Local born Filipinos. Although the latter event seemed to illustrate deep internal divisions, Filipinos argued that the intraethnic violence was an ominous symptom of a lack of educational opportunity, a vivid illustration of their position at the margins. The Oahu Filipino Community Council (OFCC), a overarching federation of all community organizations on Oahu not previously known for its political activism, invited activist groups to join its ranks and began to focus its efforts on attacking employment discrimination. In the words of an OFCC organizer, "There were problems with the Filipino students on the campus, then if you extend that logic, we needed to have more Filipino teachers in the schools (Interview with Anonymous 1, 1993)."

With the most prominent Filipino religious, state and Department of Education (DOE) leaders lending their support, the Task Force released a report in February of 1975 detailing specific failures of the Department of Education. The report decried the Department's lack of commitment to ethnic studies and bilingual/bicultural programs. It recommended that Tagalog, Ilocano, Samoan and Korean languages be added to the curriculum, and called for a broader sensitivity toward the importance of native language for immigrant and "pidgin English" for Local children. Finally, it insisted upon the recruitment and hiring of "minority" teachers, specifically Filipinos, Samoans, Koreans, and Hawaiians, who would be better able to understand and teach those students (OFCC, 1975). Despite the Task Force's hopefulness that a dialogue could begin, the Department of Education did not respond to the recommendations for over nine months.

In October, amidst continuing campus violence and after the death of another student, the OFCC moved to implement a Task Force proposal to create a petition to the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare designed to pressure the Board of Education. Signed by 750 people, the petition outlined seven civil rights violations, from the denial of employment to the lack of equal access to quality education (Kaser, 1976: B1; Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1976: A1). An accompanying fact sheet stated that Filipinos were ethnically segregated, more likely to be exposed to school violence, were not receiving adequate college preparation, and less likely to graduate. In an effort to reach parity with the growing Filipino student population, the Task Force demanded the hiring of 1000 Filipino teachers in three years (Haas, 1992: 125, 180). However, this petition, too, received no response from Local educational officials.

Americanism Versus Island Multiculturalism

"Main"-land affirmative action controversies have often been plumbed to understand the disposition of white and black relations, white and Latino relations or even black and Latino relations. But when the topic of affirmative action is decentered to Hawai'i with its predominant Asian and Pacific Islander population, many of the variables change. On the "main"-land, affirmative action institutionalized racial categories and reinforced resistance along *panethnic* lines (Hispanic, Asian and Pacific Islander, Native American) or behind racial identities (African American).[5] But as practiced in Hawai'i, affirmative action shifted the focus of public employment initiatives to *ethnicity* (Filipino, Caucasian, Hawaiian or Part-Hawaiian) and towards addressing persistent ethnic stratification. It forced an unwanted spotlight on the *nisei* middle class—particularly its large civil servant work force—which came to symbolize Local privilege. Affirmative action and equal opportunity laws provided a new language of aggrievement for the severely underrepresented Filipinos, recently arrived haoles, and other island "minorities."

Affirmative action also held the promise of transforming the workforce into a less homogenous, more multicultural one. Competition for jobs in teaching and administrative jobs in the Department of Education had particularly important implications. If the Department could be forced to open its doors to underrepresented groups, affirmative action activists believed that the quality of education would improve for minority students and potentially lead to a transformation of the institution into one truly accepting of cultural difference. At the same time, bureaucrats often saw their role as protecting "American standards," the gatekeepers of public sector meritocracy. Thus Americanism would come to be opposed to an egalitarian multiculturalism.

In The Middle: Local Officials and Civil Rights Activism

The new equal opportunity laws set the stage for rich historical ironies, beginning with the advent of some of the nation's first "reverse discrimination" complaints. The sweeping post-World War 2 economic and political transformation of Hawai'i, driven by the collective assertion of a panethnic non-haole majority, had already done for some Local minorities what "main"-land minorities needed legislation and Executive action to do. By 1948, as enrollments of Japanese students sharply climbed, *nisei* made up nearly half of Hawaii's public school teachers and 20 percent of its public school administrators (Haas, 1992: 121,124). A trend of accession continued for the next two decades across the public sector. Thus, in the wake of the equal opportunity legislation, when discrimination complaints began to gather steam in the early seventies, Caucasians were found filing discrimination complaints as Japanese Americans received them.

Local Japanese were at the front-lines of the new social turmoil of the seventies—a setting of increasing "main"-land migration and Asian immigration, deepening ethnic stratification and rapid Local fragmentation. Many bureaucrats felt bound to uphold an old cultural order they sadly felt was passing.[6] One state official explained his sense of loss:

> One of the things that bothers me is that because they all came as plantation workers, they learned to get along with all different races. And in my generation, when I grew up, I played with all kinds of guys. My buddies were Chinese, Filipinos, Hawaiians, Portuguese. And we used to tease each other about each other's race...that's because there was one common fabric—that everybody was part of the plantation system.
>
> ...I saw the other do-gooders that came from the mainland when they were concerned about the black and white situation. They were saying that the blacks should kind of revolt, "You've been picked on and the majority's bad. You've been a victim of society and you've been discriminated against.."..Mostly white professorial types or social worker types. And I really think—and I feel very sure about this and I'm willing to debate some people on this—I think it poisoned our minds. Because ever since then, people started drawing back: the Filipino groups, the Japanese groups, the Chinese groups and a lot of these groups...And we can no longer joke about each other.
>
> ...All of a sudden, laws start coming in saying you HAVE to do this, you HAVE to do that. And it kinda turned some of us off. And now if we came out and said anything against something like this, we'd be criticized...we didn't need laws to tell us to do it, it was natural (Interview with James Takushi, 1993).

Ethnic relations between non-haoles were characterized by shared place and time, mutually beneficial relationships in an idealized equality under the plantation boss. But now, even if for the right cause, liberal haole outsiders were destroying the delicate balance by enforcing their will upon non-haoles.

The first complaints of discrimination inevitably involved whites, and Local officials displayed little sympathy for their claims. Investigations resulted in a bitter feud between Local state officials and "main"-land Federal investigators. One state official charged that federal officials wanted to use affirmative action to transform meritocracy into a "merit by race" system (Lynch, 1971: B5). The DOE Superintendent Charles Clark pinned the blame for racial tensions squarely on federal affirmative action policies, stating, "There isn't any state in the nation that provides equal opportunity as Hawai'i does." He linked assimilation to merit in explaining disparities in representation. "The school system could not have existed if it hadn't been for Japanese Americans," he said. "They encouraged and sacrificed to send their children to school, They had great respect for education. Never at any time did they ask to be hired when they didn't have the qualifications. They went out and got the qualifications (Lynch, 1971: B5)."

One Local Japanese official challenged federal authorities to implement such procedures "over my dead body." He offered the following defense:

> No doubt about it, a great number (of civil servants) are Japanese. During the years of World War II, it was difficult to get federal and private employment. The Civil Service had the lowest paying jobs—in fact, the only jobs you could get (were the low paying ones). They got these jobs, and they worked their way up. That ought to be taken into consideration (Coffman, 1971: A2).

He concluded, "They're merely thinking in terms of a black and white problem," calling federal efforts a perfect example "of why you can't use mainland standards to measure human relations in Hawai'i (Coffman, 1971: A2)."

If viewed from the "main"-land, the situation seemed perhaps impossibly ironic. Haole activists in the islands took the position that the State officials' offensive and vehement reaction illustrated how arrogant and racist they had become. But, believing themselves caught in the middle of a fight they did not want, Locals were also acting out the ambivalence of their history and position. On the one hand, Local officials protested "main"-land intervention in their affairs, a response drawing on a history of anti-haole resistance. But they also resolutely defended the colonial meritocracy, appropriating the Americanist trope of assimilation to create a narrative which could justify ethnic underrepresentation. Thus a powerful and flexible recasting of official ideology brought together "opportunity," "merit" and "assimilation" in a revival of Americanism.

Local bureaucrats would find it much more difficult to interpret and resolve Filipino claims to equal opportunity, especially in the Department of Education where the gap between myth and fact was particularly severe. If "merit" was the main issue, asked Filipinos, then why didn't Filipino immigrants, many of whom had been principals and educational administrators in the Philippines, have the requisite "qualifications"? If "assimilation" was the main issue, then why weren't Local Filipinos, some of whom were third generation, entering mainstream positions in larger numbers?

Department of Education (the DOE) statistics showed that, from the seventies through the eighties, Filipinos made up less than 4 percent of administrative and 3 percent of teaching positions and roughly 13 percent of the educational assistants. Barely more than twenty Filipino teachers—Local or immigrant—were being hired each year, making up less than 5 percent of the new hires. By contrast, Japanese made up over 65 percent of the administrative positions and 59 percent of the teaching positions. Japanese and haoles together accounted for about 3 of every 4 new teacher hires, about 300 a year.

Consciously or not, Local educational officials have often appeared to utilize similar strategies to ones that had been used to exclude non-haole immigrants by the haole colonial administration in the early 1900s. They insisted (often unconstitutionally) upon American citizenship as a proper criteria for exclusion from employment, just as the colonial administration had once used citizenship requirements to exclude Asian teachers.[7] Reminiscent of the haole English Standard School movement, Locals upheld "standard" English as a marker of superior "merit," defining Filipino immigrant English (and often also "pidgin" English) as substandard. If Chinese and Japanese teachers could only find employment in the small, largely part-time Asian language schools

Table 1.

DOE Permanent Teacher Positions by Ethnicity, 1974-1991

Year	Filipino	Mixed/ Other	Hawaiian/ Part Haw'n	Chinese/ Korean	White	Japanese
1974-75	2.2%	4.0%	7.0%	10.3%	18.7%	57.9%
1975-76	2.3%	4.2%	7.1%	10.0%	17.7%	58.8%
1976-77	2.4%	4.3%	7.0%	9.8%	17.4%	59.1%
1977-78	2.5%	4.3%	7.0%	9.7%	17.2%	59.4%
1978-79	2.6%	4.5%	7.0%	9.5%	16.9%	59.6%
1979-80	2.7%	4.4%	6.9%	9.4%	17.1%	59.5%
1980-81	2.8%	4.6%	7.0%	9.3%	16.9%	59.4%
1981-82	3.2%	4.7%	7.0%	9.3%	16.3%	59.5%
1982-83	3.4%	4.8%	7.0%	9.1%	16.3%	59.4%
1983-84	3.4%	5.0%	7.2%	8.9%	16.3%	59.4%
1984-85	3.4%	5.3%	7.2%	8.6%	16.5%	59.0%
1985-86	3.6%	5.3%	7.4%	8.3%	17.0%	58.4%
1986-87	3.9%	5.4%	7.5%	7.8%	17.2%	58.2%
1987-88	4.0%	5.2%	7.3%	7.9%	18.4%	57.2%
1988-89	3.9%	5.3%	7.5%	7.7%	19.5%	56.1%
1989-90	4.0%	5.5%	7.5%	7.5%	20.9%	54.6%
1990-91	4.1%	5.7%	7.7%	7.5%	22.7%	52.3%

Source: DOE Affirmative Action Reports, 1976 to 1992.

DOE Administration Positions by Ethnicity, 1976-1991

Year	Filipino	Mixed/ Other	Hawaiian/ Part Haw'n	Chinese/ Korean	White	Japanese
1976-77	3.1%	2.0%	5.5%	11.9%	11.6%	65.9%
1977-78	3.3%	2.0%	5.4%	12.0%	11.7%	65.6%
1978-79	3.6%	2.2%	6.6%	11.7%	10.9%	65.0%
1979-80	3.4%	1.8%	6.5%	11.4%	10.4%	66.4%
1980-81	3.1%	2.1%	6.8%	10.7%	11.7%	65.7%
1981-82	3.4%	2.4%	6.4%	11.1%	11.7%	65.0%
1982-83	3.7%	2.4%	7.3%	11.3%	11.1%	64.3%
1983-84	3.4%	2.5%	7.7%	11.0%	10.8%	65.0%
1984-85	4.3%	4.1%	8.1%	10.4%	11.7%	61.4%
1985-86	3.6%	4.9%	7.7%	10.1%	12.7%	61.3%
1986-87	3.4%	4.5%	8.8%	12.4%	13.8%	57.1%
1987-88	2.9%	5.0%	9.0%	13.4%	15.9%	53.8%
1988-89	3.2%	5.3%	10.2%	11.4%	16.5%	53.4%
1989-90	2.8%	5.1%	9.1%	9.9%	17.4%	55.7%
1990-91	3.0%	5.7%	10.4%	10.0%	18.4%	52.5%

Source: DOE Affirmative Action Reports, 1976 to 1992.
Note: DOE has made minor changes in accounting of Educational Officer and School Administration positions over time. The above are estimated from DOE reporting of both Educational Officer and School Administration positions. They are meant only to roughly represent ethnic trends and patterns.

until after the Second World War, now Filipinos found themselves relegated to part-time temporary positions in the Students with Limited English Proficiency programs and as educational assistants in bilingual classrooms. When Filipino activists charged the Department of Education with discrimination, angry education officials bluntly suggested that immigrant applicants go to school to become qualified. As Franklin Odo sadly put it, there was "irony and tragedy in the making, here, and too few who seem to capable of making sense of the whole thing or even willing to try (Odo, 1991)."[8]

Accent, Language and Culture

Americanism functions from the ideological center to assert values which give its national boundaries power—merit, individual achievement, assimilation. It functions at its borders to prevent unwanted intrusion. Discrimination against Filipinos in the Department of Education begins with cultural difference and is enforced through official attitudes toward accent, language and culture. Speaking English with a non-Western accent, native fluency in a non-Western language, and comprehension of different cultural codes and practices are generally low-valued skills, indeed, signifiers of "sub-par qualifications." But merit is always cast in continental terms. Americanism means the intolerance of difference, the debasement of "accent" and language, the displacement of identity by narrowly designed "merit." If complete conformity is the goal, such a candidate cannot but be continually infirm. Because of her difference, her "merit" is never enough.

Accent and Foreignness

All prospective teachers or administrators file their application with the central Personnel Services Office. The Office then distributes lists of a handful of applicants' files to the campuses, ranking them according to qualifications, school or region of choice, and affirmative action guidelines. Principals and vice principals select candidates to be interviewed, and after the interview, rank three in the order they would like to hire them. This final decision is made at the campus level and rarely challenged by the Department.[9]

Screening processes often take on some of the significance of an antagonistic border crossing. In the gaze of the border guard, an individual is targeted and stopped due to a number of suspicious factors for interrogation. Job interviews are oddly similar. First, "accent" marks the candidate's difference.[10] Although most immigrants were educated in English when in the Philippines, an immigrants' English has different meaning than "standard English."

At a 1986 Board of Education meeting, an immigrant Filipina told the Board, "I...had one interview and the very first question I was asked was, 'Where is your accent (Penebacker, 1987)?'" Principals defended their questioning by referring to a candidate's unintelligiblity. Milton Shishido, principal of Waipahu High school, explained:

> I have an appropriate number of Filipinos—locally born. When you talk about Filipinos from the Philippines, that's different. It's difficult to hire a person whom I do not understand and who does not understand me (Board of Education Minutes, November 18, 1986; Lynch, 1986).

Georgianna Oshio, a former principal at Waipahu Intermediate School, added:

> At a school like Waipahu, we have a lot of students who are already in SLEP (Students with Limited English Proficiency). When we are trying to get them to model and hear good standard English, I would be remiss as a principal if I didn't assure that (Board of Education Minutes, November 18, 1986; Lynch, 1986).

When Board member John Penebacker suggested that the English of some Local educators wasn't necessarily "the greatest either," Jane Ross, the principal at Hickam Elementary School, stated, "We do get a lot of Filipino substitutes who are sent in randomly. There have been occasions when I had to say I don't want that teacher again—because of difficulties and complaints from the parents." She said that when a substitute submitted a summary of what happened during the day, standard English was not used (Board of Education Minutes, November 18, 1986; Lynch, 1986).

Activist Vicky Bunye disputed these claims, "The Americans established the educational system in the Philippines. The medium of instruction is English...You walk into any school, everybody's got an accent. If it's a French accent, it's OK. If it's Ilocano or Samoan, it's not good enough (Verploegen, 1986: A1)."

Yet a candidate's accent effectively established "foreignness." A job interview could then quickly dissolve into intimidation. One immigrant teacher, who had taught at the university level in the Philippines, applied for full-time positions in the public schools for five years and was turned down each year. After working at a private school, she decided to apply instead for a substitute position in the public schools and received an interview. She and the principal repeated a scene familiar to the Japanese and Chinese immigrants of a generation before. The principal asked first about her citizenship status. When she told him that she was a resident alien, the principal politely told her that hiring priority was

only given to citizens (Interview with Anonymous 3, 1993). Another teacher filed a complaint with the state Civil Rights Commission when she found out she was given inaccurate information several times regarding the process of obtaining credits toward becoming a teacher (Interview with Anonymous 4, 1993).

Many claimed such forms of misinformation were deliberate:

> Sometimes they asked, 'Are you a citizen?' And that would scare people off because they didn't know that it didn't matter. They were shut out by the people I call the gatekeepers. The gatekeepers screened them out whether consciously or unconsciously. There is no accommodation from the employer (Interview with Anonymous 1, 1993).

He suggested that this kind of information had the larger effect of discouraging immigrants from applying. Another immigrant teacher explained, "There's a wall in there when they hear you graduated from a Philippines school. I am qualified, as qualified as the others. But, after eight years, I didn't want to interview anymore (Interview with Anoymous 6, 1993)."

Language, Bilingualism and The Glass Ceiling

Nearly 1 in 5 of all students and roughly 2 in 5 of all students assessed as having limited English proficiency are Filipino. As early as 1976, a report written by state administrators noted that only 30 percent of immigrants spoke English in the home (Nagoshi, et. al., 1976). But, in examining the quality of education for Filipino immigrant children, Filipino affirmative action activists found the DOE was not applying for Federal funding for required bilingual education classes. One official laid out the State's position on language difference in a memorandum on how to proceed in seeking federal bilingual education funds. The memo stated:

> A major aspect to consider is the fact that Hawai'i is not a multilingual or even a bilingual community...Bilingualism can perpetuate itself only when ethnic groups can isolate themselves into enclaves for political, social and economic reasons. It is therefore highly questionable whether it's even possible to perpetuate a language artificially...A specific example is the sincere attempt on the part of the early Japanese immigrants to Hawai'i who sent their children to Japanese language school in hopes of perpetuating their national language. I suspect that the primary reason for the failure or minimal benefits of such efforts was that the children simply had no real reason to learn the language, and therefore did not do so (Letter from Thomas Hale to Dr. Clarence Matsumotoya, February 15, 1973).

Such positions revealed an anti-immigrant bias. Officials used the *nisei* experience as the unit of comparison for first-generation Filipinos in order to

Table 2.

Enrollment of Students with Limited English Proficiency, by Language and Ethnicity

	Fall 1978		Fall 1993	
	No.	%	No.	%
Not yet assessed	2414	15.7%	734	6.2%
Total Chinese	987	6.4%	887	7.5%
Cantonese	736	4.8%	688	5.8%
Mandarin	251	1.6%	199	1.7%
Total Filipino	5294	34.5%	5010	42.3%
Ilocano	4313	28.1%	3551	30.0%
Tagalog	733	4.8%	1050	8.9%
Visayan/Cebuano	248	1.6%	383	3.2%
Other Filipino-Pampango/ Pangasinan	0	0.0%	26	0.2%
Hawaiian	222	1.4%	72	0.6%
Japanese	861	5.6%	506	4.3%
Korean	1452	9.5%	554	4.7%
Samoan	2493	16.2%	1159	9.8%
Vietnamese	502	3.3%	896	7.6%
Other	1120	7.3%	1995	16.9%
TOTAL	15345		11839	

Source: DOE Language Survey 1978, 1993, courtesy DOE.

reframe cultural difference as a threat to community. Amy Agbayani argued that the official line squarely placed "the burden of change solely on the immigrant child." She later stated:

> The Department of Education wrote a report identifying four major problems facing Filipino immigrant school children: English language deficiencies; difficulty in socializing with local students; lack of relevant schooling in their native country; and difficulty in understanding of the American society...The above 'problems' could be rephrased this way: A lack of appreciation of the

language of the immigrant child; lack of teaching staff who understand the immigrant child's language; the difficulty of local children in socializing with immigrant children; lack of relevant curriculum appropriate to the school experienced by the immigrant child; difficulty in understanding the value system of the immigrant child (Agbayani, 1993).

Forman observed how DOE's official neglect could resonate even to a remote classroom on Moloka'i:

> They would have the kids matching pictures of houses and dogs and babies with the first letter of the (word). And so on Moloka'i, for example, the kids would routinely put the letter "s" on pictures of flowers. And the teachers would routinely take the letter off of the "s," saying it was wrong, and put it on the "f"—never really trying to figure out why consistently children were putting "s"'s on flowers. And I think if you're really serious about it, at some point, you're going to say the word for flower in their language must start with "s"! It's *sabong*, right? Meanwhile, you're taking a four-year old who's probably thrilled that he or she has learned this skill in associating a letter with a picture correctly. And then this teacher is saying, "You're wrong." Every teacher can at least learn—especially on Moloka'i where all the kids who spoke a second language were Ilocano—what the Ilocano word for flower is (Interview with Sheila Forman, 1993).

Affirmative action activists filed Title VI claims to increase the quantity and quality of bilingual teachers to serve the increasing numbers of immigrant students. In the six school sessions between 1976 and 1982, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (later the U.S. Department of Education) Office of Civil Rights found the DOE to be ineligible for Federal funds on the basis of discrimination against language minority students five times.[11] But very few Filipino teachers were hired. Those that were hired often tended to find themselves working in SLEP programs or as educational assistants in classrooms with large numbers of Filipinos.

It was a problem that extended to Local-born Filipinos. One second-generation Local who worked as a part-time, temporary aide for a bilingual education class, was suddenly replaced by a monolingual Japanese American woman. Despite his involvement with extracurricular activities such as coaching and community work, another Local was bounced through temporary jobs at three campuses in four years. Many never attain full-time employment, finding themselves trapped in insecure contract jobs that did not offer benefits, health coverage, union protection, and, most importantly, tenure.

Facing a large teacher surplus in 1975 combined with union pressures and a statewide "warm body" policy of maintaining a job for all permanent state

employees, the DOE negotiated with the Hawaii State Teachers Association (HSTA) to establish the basis for the hiring of temporary teachers (referred to as TTAA—temporary teacher appointment agreements) in a contract which would allow them to appoint teachers on a year-to-year basis (Verploegen, 1975: A12).[12] Between 1976 and 1985, it appeared that the DOE hired from two to five times as many temporary teachers as tenure teachers (Goto, 1986: 6). While temporary teachers were expected to meet the same duties and responsibilities as mainstream teachers, they were not guaranteed employment beyond their contracts, and could not accrue seniority or probationary credit toward tenure. Federally funded bilingual/bicultural education programs such as SLEP and substitute positions were staffed primarily by TTAA appointments. The SLEP program was the largest single temporary teacher-staffed program, accounting for 17 percent of all temporary teachers in programs (Goto, 1986: p. 17). Although Filipinos did not constitute all or even a majority of the temporary appointments each year, far more Filipinos were hired in TTAA track than in probationary track and most were hired under "compensatory education." Put another way, most Filipinos were hired for short-term positions which offered little chance for promotion or tenure.

There was a crucial link between the marginalization of bilingual education and the marginalization of minority teachers. One teacher explained that she once taught mostly Filipino students in bilingual classes at a Central Oahu high school. She testified:

> But later that year, the DOE transferred me to Helemano Elementary School, despite my master's degree in English as a Second Language and secondary certification. Why? A tenured French teacher had nowhere to go so the DOE gave her my position, even though she was unqualified. When the DOE finally put me back into a secondary school setting, they assigned me to an all-Samoan SLEP class even though I am not bilingual in Samoan (Verploegen, 1985).

A parent called the temporary teacher system "inefficient and discriminatory," stating, "This situation creates unnecessary instability in the lives of these teachers and deprives schools of permanent staff who are sensitive to the Filipino students and skilled in dealing with their particular needs."[13] The treatment of Filipino teachers mirrored the low priority afforded programs for minority students, like bilingual education.

After protest from Filipino activists, state representative Romy Cachola sponsored a resolution asking for a study on the issue of temporary teachers. The study urged the DOE to establish long-term planning regarding its staffing and recruiting needs and to provide better information about employment practices

Table 3.

Temporary and Permanent Teacher Hiring, by Ethnicity
1984-85 School Year

Temporary Teacher Hires

Teacher Category	Chinese/Korean		Filipino		Hawaiian/Part Haw'n		Japanese		Mixed		White		Other	
	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio
Teacher	40	7.9%	25	4.9%	45	8.8%	220	43.2%	26	5.1%	139	27.3%	14	2.8%
Special Education	7	5.2%	6	4.5%	7	5.2%	47	35.1%	4	3.0%	56	41.8%	7	5.2%
Counselor	5	13.5%	2	5.4%	3	8.1%	9	24.3%	2	5.4%	11	29.7%	5	13.5%
Librarian	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	6.3%	4	25.0%	2	12.5%	9	56.3%	0	0.0%
Compensatory Education	15	9.5%	57	36.1%	11	7.0%	27	17.1%	5	3.2%	22	13.9%	21	13.3%
Other	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%
TOTAL	68	7.9%	90	10.5%	67	7.8%	307	35.9%	39	4.6%	238	27.8%	47	5.5%

Probationary Teacher Hires

Teacher Category	Chinese/Korean		Filipino		Hawaiian/Part Haw'n		Japanese		Mixed		White		Other	
	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio
Teacher	29	7.1%	20	4.9%	38	9.3%	200	49.1%	18	4.4%	91	22.4%	11	2.7%
Counselor	0	0.0%	1	4.5%	1	4.5%	10	45.5%	1	4.5%	7	31.8%	2	9.1%
Librarian	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	28.6%	0	0.0%	5	71.4%	0	0.0%
TOTAL	29	6.7%	21	4.8%	39	8.9%	212	48.6%	19	4.4%	103	23.6%	13	3.0%

Source: Linda Goto, Legislative Reference Bureau Report, January 1986.

and policies to applicants. The DOE revised their regulations in an effort to shift temporary teachers to probationary status and to reduce the number of TTAAs. Despite these changes and a growing teacher shortage, however, the DOE still continued to use about 700 a year (Interview with Don Nugent, 1993). By the end of the eighties, the DOE converted most of the SLEP PTTs to permanent positions. At the same time, little progress has been made to advance SLEP teachers into more "mainstream" positions. Few ladders exist to bridge these positions. Filipinos are still underrepresented in tenured or tenure-track positions in the Department.

Culture, Assimilation and Americanism

Americanism is manifest in cultural norms that determine "merit" and "quality." Such norms go beyond distinctions between Local and immigrant, they extend to minority cultures as well. Thus even if a Filipino applicant were to avoid the pitfalls of accent discrimination or language marginalization, they might still face issues of cultural difference. The weight of assimilation inherent in Americanism then is not limited only to the immigrant but also to the Local-born minority.

Returning to the job interview, a Filipino administrator discusses how an ignorance of cultural codes results in a breakdown of communication:

> You may have culture-bound interviews. For instance, foreign-trained have difficulty talking about their accomplishments. They may make tentative comments regarding their skills. Like a principal will ask them if they can do this and they'll say, "I'll try." For a Filipino, that means that you know they will do it, they give you their word. But with Locals, it's like, "I'll do it." Principals want to hear *that* more. Then other times, the Filipino might get frustrated and go overboard and they're all just boasting.
>
> Interviewer: Even though you have Asian and Pacific Islanders, and this (Local culture) is more of an Asian Pacific Islander kind of culture, this is still a problem in Hawaii?
>
> Oh yes. Many of the recruiters are *American*. They would like for you to be assertive and affirmative (Interview with Anoymous 7, 1993).

The interviewee's choice of the word "American" is telling. The administrator was not trying to specify *racial* difference—she could have chosen the term "haole" or even "Asian"—rather, she was trying to specify *cultural* difference. In this instance and in many others, the difference is fatal to job opportunity.

Principals often feel that immigrant teachers are culturally unequipped to maintain discipline within a Local classroom. In the words of one Filipina:

> When I went to the school, the first question the principal asked was can I handle a class? How can they ask that?
>
> Interviewer: Do you think it was because you were Filipina that they asked that first?
>
> Yes. There's a general perception that Filipinos cannot handle a class. And we have different ways of classroom management. I'm aware of that. But even the mainland teachers have a hard time, so don't tell me it's ethnicity (Interview with Anonymous 3, 1993).

Lack of assimilation becomes a metaphor for Filipino underrepresentation. In interviewing for a job one candidate encountered this blunt remark from an interviewer: "Filipinos are better for the plantations (Interview with Anoymous 5, 1993)." The DOE bureaucrats often insisted publicly that, as an ethnic group, Filipinos had not been in the islands long enough to move up into the ranks. One former state affirmative action officer described attitudes that she observed working with state department directors:

> They saw Filipinos as problematic, asking for too much. 'We waited so we could get our day in the sun and they have to wait, too' was kind of the attitude (Interview with Annelle Amaral, 1993).

In 1976, the DOE's first ethnic affirmative action report included a table listing the "first arrival dates of Hawaii's minority groups." Moving far afield of the world of statistics, goals and timetables, the report stated:

> ...the Filipino family unit did not come into great existence until the 1950s. This was primarily due to the fact that most Filipinos immigrating to Hawaii prior to this period in time were males. In contrast, other minority groups in Hawaii commenced the development of their family units at a much earlier point in time.
>
> A consequence of the later immigration of the Filipinos to Hawaii and the delayed establishment of their family unit has been, from a labor market viewpoint, one that reveals the Filipino's entry into the qualified available educational personnel labor force in greater numbers as beginning only in recent years (1965-1975). On the other hand, other minority groups immigrating to Hawaii at earlier points in time appeared in the qualified available educational personnel labor force in greater numbers immediately following World War II up to the present time.
>
> The resulting factor has been the employment of Filipinos at rates lesser than other minority groups immigrating to Hawaii (State of Hawai'i, Department of Education, 1976: 11).

Whether born in the Philippines or in the islands for three generations, the DOE seemed to imply that Filipinos' time had not yet arrived.

At border crossings immigrant and native-born alike are stopped on suspicion. The unwanted immigrant—the "illegal alien"—is the main target, but the function of the act is to penalize and control cultural difference. While the upholding of "American standards" is felt most sharply for immigrant Filipinos, Local-born Filipinos are also affected. The ideology of Americanism is not only about discrimination by birthplace (for which accent and language are signifiers), but in the last instance, discrimination by culture.

Seen in this light, the move to mandatory teacher competency examinations in the mid-eighties is revealing. In 1986, the Board of Education approved passage of the National Teachers' Examination (NTE) as a mandatory requirement of all new full-time tenure-track teachers. Such tests were thought to be the best method for improving lagging student achievement test scores (Connell, 1985a: A5; 1985b: A-4). Under pressure from the HSTA, the Board voted not to require already tenured teachers to take the NTE. However, currently employed TTAAs, part-time teachers or probationary teachers who were not hired for a full-time tenure-track position within a one-year period would be required to take the NTE.

The NTE (recently revamped and renamed the PRAXIS Test) had been developed by the Princeton, New Jersey-based Educational Testing Service to assess teacher candidates' levels of competency in three areas: communication skills, general knowledge and professional knowledge. The Test of General Knowledge focused on understanding of literature and fine arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. The Test of Professional Knowledge emphasized skills in planning, implementation, evaluation and professional behavior. The Test of Communication Skills included sections focusing on listening comprehension, reading, and writing. Filipino immigrant teachers reported feeling most uncomfortable with the Test of Communication Skills, particularly the listening comprehension section, in which they could be asked to listen and process various English accents, including possibly "Southern" or "Hispanic" accents (Interview with Elizabeth Wong and anonymous teachers, 1993).

Because Filipinos represented a large class of non-tenure-track teachers, activists claimed that forcing them to take the NTE was clearly discriminatory. But when the results from the first administration of the test came in, the effects of the NTE were far worse than activists might have imagined. The test dramatically limited the chances of underrepresented teachers to enter the

system. In the first round of test-takers, 77 percent of Filipinos and 52 percent of Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians *failed* the exam. By contrast, 90 percent of Whites and 80 percent of Japanese passed the test. 80 percent of the University of Hawai'i teacher trainees passed the test. Of those who did not pass, most failed the communication skills section (Verploegen, 1986b: A1+).

But the Department strenuously defended the use of the NTE. As one education official told Filipino activists, "I want to be very clear. My intention is not to change the standards of hiring. My job is to hire the best teachers available. I will not lower the standards to meet any quota (Lynch, 1986)." A recommendation which would have extended an NTE exemption to all applicants who were in the pool before April 1986 was soundly rejected by a citizen's task force appointed by the Board of Education to conduct a comprehensive study of affirmative action programs. The DOE maintained its emphasis on Americanist "merit" in the face of a formidable opposition pushing for improved representation.

However, the DOE still faced a burgeoning demand for teachers. In addition, a shift in the 1984 Affirmative Action Plan to a more "merit"-based focus meant that whites were now officially the most underrepresented minority group, followed by Chinese and Koreans, and, finally, Filipinos. In order to fill the demand, state officials were left with only the option of recruiting from the "main"-land. A team of 18 the DOE staffers left every spring to aggressively attract teachers (Interview with Charles Toguchi, 1993; Interview with Don Nugent, 1993). Roughly 75 percent of new permanent teacher hires had been Japanese or white, but in 1983-4, the balance shifted decisively to whites. By the 1990-91 school year, over 600 of the 1200 new hires were white. About 200 recruits were being brought in a year from the "main"-land, the overwhelming majority of whom were white (Interview with Charles Toguchi, 1993). In contrast, just over 60 of the new hires were Filipino.[14] Rigid enforcement of a continent-centered test had an ironic and tragic effect: haole underrepresentation was resolved overnight while Filipino underrepresentation worsened.

Resistance and Change

Island standards of "merit" are deeply rooted in Americanist educational goals introduced under colonialism—cultural displacement through benevolent assimilation, social stability at the cost of status mobility. In 1976, Vicky Bunye attempted to recast the basic concept of "merit," claiming that it did not need to serve a one-way process of assimilation and Americanization:

Table 4.
New Teacher Hires, by Ethnicity
1976-1992

Year	Filipino		Japanese		White		Hawaiian/Part Hawn.		Chinese		Korean		Other		Black		Samoan	
	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio	Count	Ratio
1976-77	22	5.1%	193	45.1%	131	30.6%	28	6.5%	20	4.7%	3	0.7%	25	5.8%	5	1.2%	1	0.2%
1977-78	10	2.8%	150	42.6%	126	35.8%	21	6.0%	26	7.4%	5	1.4%	12	3.4%	1	0.3%	1	0.3%
1978-79	19	4.6%	172	41.7%	135	32.8%	24	5.8%	25	6.1%	9	2.2%	19	4.6%	5	1.2%	4	1.0%
1979-80	17	3.6%	178	38.2%	186	39.9%	22	4.7%	25	5.4%	7	1.5%	25	5.4%	3	0.6%	3	0.6%
1980-81	18	3.6%	185	37.4%	187	37.9%	33	6.7%	34	6.9%	4	0.8%	28	5.7%	5	1.0%	0	0.0%
1981-82	69	11.2%	210	34.0%	185	30.0%	54	8.8%	36	5.8%	9	1.5%	31	5.0%	9	1.5%	14	2.3%
1982-83	24	4.8%	166	32.9%	193	38.2%	38	7.5%	34	6.7%	4	0.8%	34	6.7%	8	1.6%	4	0.8%
1983-84	23	4.1%	205	36.9%	197	35.4%	44	7.9%	27	4.9%	1	0.2%	42	7.6%	14	2.5%	3	0.5%
1984-85	31	5.1%	220	36.5%	197	32.7%	54	9.0%	40	6.6%	7	1.2%	41	6.8%	10	1.7%	3	0.5%
1985-86	33	4.3%	271	35.4%	298	39.0%	60	7.8%	38	5.0%	13	1.7%	43	5.6%	6	0.8%	3	0.4%
1986-87	36	5.2%	241	35.1%	277	40.4%	44	6.4%	33	4.8%	7	1.0%	39	5.7%	8	1.2%	1	0.1%
1987-88	43	4.6%	299	32.3%	403	43.5%	59	6.4%	54	5.8%	11	1.2%	44	4.7%	10	1.1%	4	0.4%
1988-89	21	2.5%	311	36.4%	366	42.9%	67	7.8%	36	4.2%	10	1.2%	33	3.9%	9	1.1%	1	0.1%
1989-90	46	4.7%	304	31.2%	425	43.7%	68	7.0%	57	5.9%	6	0.6%	58	6.0%	7	0.7%	2	0.2%
1990-91	53	4.4%	282	23.2%	610	50.2%	107	8.8%	57	4.7%	11	0.9%	66	5.4%	24	2.0%	6	0.5%
1991-92	64	5.5%	251	21.5%	624	53.5%	84	7.2%	49	4.2%	6	0.5%	65	5.6%	19	1.6%	4	0.3%

Source: DOE Affirmative Action Reports, 1976-1992 and DOE Management Analysis & Compliance Branch.
Note: In a few instances where actual numbers were unavailable, estimates were made based on DOE's actual reported percentages.

> The OFCC position upholds the principle of merit but merit must be continuously reexamined in light of current complex educational needs in Hawaii's public schools brought about by the presence of large numbers of minority students. These needs require a redefinition of the merit concept to include linguistic competence, knowledge of minority cultures, understanding of various learning styles, and other considerations (Bunye, 1976).

Difference could be embraced, not simply crushed.

By the1980s, affirmative action protests had become an entrenched fact of institutional life. But in 1986, the clamor over affirmative action swelled to a deafening din. Vicky Bunye, the former activist, became a Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor. Well into her campaign, she launched a potent salvo, charging that Japanese state leaders were making a "conscious effort" to exclude Filipinos and Caucasians from state government jobs, arguing that "minorities are structurally barred" from state jobs and that "equal opportunity is virtually non-existent" (Takeuchi, 1986: A3).

The comments raised a statewide furor. Ben Cayetano, the Filipino Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor, immediately attached political motivations to her statement, accusing Bunye of being a pawn for Republicans hoping to enflame Filipino discontent against Japanese. Cayetano responded:

> Anyone who is even remotely familiar with Hawaii's history should know that a major reason for the imbalance of Japanese Americans in state government is that the Republican Party and big business denied them and other minorities equal opportunities in the private sector during the many years Republicans controlled Hawaii. As a result of that kind of discrimination, Japanese Americans in Hawaii have focused on opportunities in government. What they have achieved is a great *American* success story. That success should not be looked at not in envy, but as an example for other struggling ethnic minorities, including Filipinos, to follow (Morita, 1986, italics mine).

Cayetano had powerfully cornered Bunye. Her allegation could be used to portray her as a complete outsider, neither American nor Local.

Bunye's comments were painful even for many Filipinos who agreed with her.[15] But in rupturing mainstream notions of an island racial paradise, Bunye's agit-prop also set in motion attempts to resolve the boiling affirmative action crisis. Board of Education chair Randal Yoshida had constituted an ad hoc committee to examine the Affirmative Action Plan (AHC) two weeks before Bunye's notorious speech. Now the work of the AHC was suddenly much more important.

Chaired by Board member John Penebacker, the AHC examined two major questions: 1) Were any ethnic groups hired at disproportionately lower rates than their representation in the applicant pool? 2) Which hiring procedures and practices, if any, unfairly discriminated against teacher candidates? In an indirect response to Bunye's charges, the AHC also turned their focus to the causes of "disproportionate hiring of Japanese and Filipino teacher applicants (Penebacker, 1987)."

In January of 1987, the AHC released its findings. Over ten years, Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian teaching applicants appeared to be hired at rates higher than their representation in the applicant pool. Between 1983 and 1985, Japanese were hired at greater than their representation in the applicant pool. However, Filipinos were usually hired at significantly below their rate in the applicant pool. The committee chose not to attempt to explain Japanese overrepresentation. But they explained low Filipino hiring rates by pointing out that 74 percent of Filipino applicants had been trained in the Philippines and 81 percent of these teachers had been trained over 15 years ago. On the other hand, 79 percent of the Filipino teachers hired were trained in the U.S. and 58 percent of them passed the NTE. The AHC found that only 8 percent of the immigrants had passed the NTE.

With respect to the interview process, the AHC stated that principals were "conducting perfunctory interviews without reference to objective data regarding an applicant's qualifications and experience" and often asked "unfair or discriminatory interview questions." Finally, the AHC noted its concern "that foreign born or trained teacher applicants may be adversely affected in the employment process merely because of their foreign accent (Penebacker, 1987)." The AHC recommended further study into the matter of accent discrimination, the development and distribution of uniform and fair interview guidelines and the formation of a Citizen's Task Force on Affirmative Action to more thoroughly examine treatment of Filipinos.

The Citizen Task Force on Affirmative Action for Filipinos was appointed by the Board of Education in March of 1987, consisting of eighteen prominent members from the DOE and the community. It was to undertake a comprehensive study of affirmative action and was charged with recommendations for improving the "availability, comparative qualification and hiring" of Filipinos (Penebacker, 1987). A year later they released sweeping recommendations, many of which had been previously proposed by community groups, that sought largely to improve the pipeline of Filipino teachers into the system. These included the establishment of free teacher test preparation workshops for

Filipinos, retraining programs for foreign-trained teachers, future teacher clubs in the high schools and outreach and recruitment programs for the University of Hawai'i College of Education and to the teaching profession.

After over fifteen years of protest, Filipinos had achieved some measure of incorporation into the system. In NTE workshops, immigrant Filipinas learned how to become a teacher on the DOE's terms—through training sessions on the NTE/PRAXIS, accent and "American culture"—but they were also able to build a sense of solidarity throughout the system, learn how to address their grievances and receive encouragement to take a more active role in shaping their curriculum. The development of culturally-sensitive, pro-active affirmative action staff appears to be the strongest long-term effect of the reforms. These front-line workers have moved beyond a reactive concern with compliance to begin setting up the infrastructure to bring in more teachers from underrepresented groups. While services such as test preparation workshops, classroom management training and job referrals provide immediate results, the growth of student teacher programs, currently being implemented through the DOE and Operation Manong, and the establishment of better links between the UH College of Education and the DOE may create a critical mass of local-born teachers from underrepresented backgrounds.[16]

In addition, a new consensus has emerged, bolstered by the work of Amy Agbayani, Jonathan Okamura and Clem Bautista at the University of Hawai'i, that earlier intervention is needed to ensure that Filipinos are completing secondary schooling, going on to college and successfully attaining four-year degrees. A task force on recruitment and retention of Filipinos in the University of Hawai'i system was set up on the heels of the DOE Citizen's Task Force. Their report, *Pamantasan*, pointed out among other things that while Filipinos were well represented in the community colleges, there was a low transfer rate to baccalaureate programs (*Pamantasan*, 1988: 20-5). Initiatives to increase Filipino matriculation are currently underway. Such programs enjoy widespread political and educational support and may provide an increasing supply of Filipino teachers in the next generation.

During the 1990s, while a backlash against affirmative action is underway on the American continent, the topic seems to be little discussed within the DOE. Yet there is a strong foundation of support for the programs amongst the rank-and-file. At the same time, most teachers do not support increased recruitment of teachers from the continent, so affirmative action programs and policies must play an important role in alleviating the current teacher shortages.[17] Certain proposals deserve further study, including the dropping of preferences for local

residents, the addition of NTE/PRAXIS waivers, and the creation of "mainstreaming" tracks for temporary and part-time teachers and educational assistants.[18] A strong push for affirmative action programs from fresh leadership could be well supported by the school administrators and teachers on the front-line if it is approached from the accepted Local point of view of promoting balance and equity among all of Hawai'i's ethnic groups.

At the same time, it is clear that Americanist standards continue to be privileged in the hiring process. Principals and vice principals still have firm control over the hiring process, making accent discrimination and interviewer bias, not to mention a principal's potential prejudices, difficult to monitor and regulate. In addition, because there are still no alternatives to passing the NTE/PRAXIS test and no ladder tracks between temporary teaching or educational assistant positions and full-time tenure track positions, those who cannot pass the test are effectively frozen out of the system. In fact, civil rights complaints from Vietnamese and Chinese immigrants may be on the rise.

The Board of Education's relative silence on accent discrimination against Filipinos and "pidgin"-speaking Locals and its affirmation of "main"-land testing and screening mechanisms preserves discrimination. This unreflective stance continues to proscribe the fostering of cultural diversity, even as it debases some of the foundations of Local culture. The perennial discussion over the proper role of "pidgin English" in the classrooms is but one example of the extent to which an ahistoricism distorts Local policy debate. Filipino resistance speaks directly to the unfinished project of decolonization that Locals must once again undertake. Until the legacy of American colonialism is confronted, the true lessons of tolerance and understanding cannot be taught.

There are still many for whom the system does not work, those whose best intentions and subtle skills are crushed by mass myopia. It may be fitting to close this article with the story of one such person. Mrs. M. taught chemistry, physics and biology for thirteen years in the Philippines before immigrating to the Big Island with her husband and her four children. Her husband went to work in the plantations and she took a job managing a laundromat. At her husband's urging, she worked in her limited spare time to help at-risk students at the high school to form a multicultural club. She eventually was hired into a part-time position for Students with Limited English Proficiency, and because of her popularity with the students, she also began to counsel and offer informal conflict resolution. She would like to teach full-time but her principal is prohibited from hiring her into such a position because she is unable to pass the National Teacher's Examination. So she keeps her job at the laundromat to pay her family's bills.

In a recent the DOE-sponsored workshop to train Filipinos to pass the NTE, she offered a haunting counter-narrative to Ariyoshi's "lessons of tolerance":

> I am a woman, a wife and a housekeeper at the same time. The only problem is the way we talk. We feel so inferior and we don't pass the NTE. To tell the truth, I took it three times and it's getting worse. Sometimes I don't sleep 'til three in the morning (because of studying) but I have to work the next day. It's so hard. We love to be a teacher—we are going to instill the importance of education. But look at us now. There are all these multicultural kids but we can't get in because of the NTE. I keep on going. I keep on climbing the mountain and I keep on crossing the river. And I keep on blowing out the candle! But I never accept (Anonymous 8 at Hilo NTE Workshop, 1993).

Endnotes

1. I must admit a certain unwanted imprecision in my use of the term "non-haole immigrant" here. I intend to refer here specifically to Japanese, Chinese and Filipino immigrants, a conception somewhat broader than the island understanding of the term "Asian," which is thought only to signify East Asian origin (i.e. Chinese, Japanese and sometimes Korean), but narrower than the basically non-white "non-haole". Portuguese constituted the only major exception to the color separation between haoles and "non-haoles"; they were never really understood to be "haole". Portuguese workers tended to fill the middle-man role of *luna* or foreman on the plantation, placing them in an ambivalent middle-man position with respect to haoles and to "non-haoles". Later, Portuguese came to be considered Local. See James Geschwender, et.al. "The Portuguese and Haoles of Hawaii: Implications for the Origin of Ethnicity," *American Sociological Review*, 53 (August 1988): 515-27.

2. Although surveys from this period often differ in data collection practices and are inconsistently reported, all point to the pattern of the increasing presence of transplanted American teachers and the decreasing presence of Hawaiians in these jobs. Disclosure of data revealing ethnic change appears to become a political liability by 1918, when the Department of Public Instruction ceases to regularly report the ethnic breakdown of its teachers. Reinecke suggests this is because "economic rivalry (between ethnic groups) had become so much of a sore spot." See Reinecke, p. 82. For various reports of ethnic data or ethnic change, see Wist and Reinecke. Also, see Tamura, Eileen. "The Americanization Camapign and the Assimilation of the *Nisei* in Hawaii, 1920-40." [Ph.D. Dissertation]. Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i, 1990 Dec.; Tamura, Eileen H. *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994; Haas, Michael. *Institutional Racism: The Case of Hawai'i.* Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1992.

3. Haas notes that residency requirements for the positions of territorial governor, secretary and legislator were enacted in the Organic Act of 1900. Most importantly, while residency requirements have been ruled unconstitutional, Local hiring preferences remain on the law books and still appear in the Department of Education Personnel Policies and Procedures.

4. Data courtesy of the Hawai'i Department of Education.

5. For extended theoretical discussion, see Omi and Winant, 1994, and Espiritu, 1993.

6. For a discussion of generational change amongst *nisei* and *sansei* with respect to views on Local identity, see Eric Yamamoto, "From 'Japanee' to Local: Community Change and the Redefinition of *Sansei* Identity in Hawai'i." [Senior Thesis in Sociology]. Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i, 1974; Wayne Wooden, *What Price Paradise?: Changing Social Patterns in Hawaii.* Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1981.

7. As recently as 1993, Federal officials admonished state education officials for violating provisions of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act which outlawed discrimination on the basis of citizenship status.

8. Kent put it another way, "The irony of all of this is that the AJA (Americans of Japanese Ancestry) elite has never constituted a legitimate ruling class in Hawaii. Instead, they have skillfully performed a multitude of roles—front men, middle men, mediators, agents and power brokers—in the service of the authentic ruling class, much of which does not reside in the islands and which prefers invisibility as one element of its power." Noel Kent, "Myth of the Golden Men: Ethnic Elites and Dependent Development in the 50th State." in Ethnicity and Nation-Building in the Pacific. Michael Crawford, Editor. Tokyo: United Nations University, 1989, p. 114.

9. These policies have over time created strong perceptions among DOE teachers. In my 1993 survey of 838 principals and teachers, I found that well over 60% of teachers with an opinion tended to agree with the statement, "Hiring and promotion depends more upon politics or favoritism than on standards of merit." By contrast, 60% of principals with an opinion disagreed with the statement. For those of non-Japanese background, but particularly Filipinos, there is a connected feeling that discrimination is at work. In my survey, 85% of Filipino teachers with an opinion felt that discrimination exists in hiring for DOE jobs. 77% of Japanese teachers disagreed. 53% of teachers of other ethnic backgrounds also felt that hiring discrimination exists.

   I sampled 838 people in the DOE. I sent a 66-question survey to all school principals, as well as to three stratified randomly sampled groups of 200 teachers: one Filipino group, one Japanese group, as well as one group which included all other ethnicities (referred to hereafter as Other). Overall I received a reasonable 46% return rate. For principals, the return rate was 44%. For Japanese, 41%. For Other ethnicities, 51%. For Filipinos, it was 32.5%. (While the Filipino return rate was low, the sample size represents about 15% of all Filipino teachers in the DOE.) The survey consisted largely of Likert-scale responses and open-ended questions.

10. For discussions of the politics of accent discrimination see Sheila Forman, "Filipino Participation in Civil Rights Policies and Practices in Hawai'i." *Social Process in Hawai'i.* 1991; 33: 1-11; Mari J. Matsuda, "Voices of America: Accent, Antidiscrimina-

tion, Law and a Jurisprudence for the Last Reconstruction." *Yale Law Journal.* 1991; 100(1329): 1329-1407.

An interesting aside: the proper role of Hawaiian Creole English, or "pidgin English", in elementary and secondary education has also undergone serious recent debates. See Charlene Sato, "Language Attitudes and Sociolinguistic Variation in Hawai'i." University of Hawai'i Working Papers in ESL, 8:1 (May 1989) pp. 191-216. Aside from the landmark Fragante case (888F.2d 591 (9th cir. 1989)), in which the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld a ruling which denied a Filipino immigrant a job on the basis of his accent, the other important accent discrimination case in Hawai'i involved a part-Hawaiian man who was turned down for a job because of his allegedly thick "pidgin" accent. Joshua Agsalud, a prominent Local Filipino state official, said of accent discrimination, "I hired Manuel Fragante when the city wouldn't hire him. Yeah, he had a thick accent. But to me it wasn't any different from a Local guy answering the phone with HIS 'pidgin'. What the hell! This is Hawaii. So whether the accent is Filipino or Local 'pidgin', that's what they have to accept. If you were on the higher levels of government during the time Henry Kissinger was in charge and you couldn't understand him speak, hey, that was a sign of the times and you had to find out what he's trying to say! He's in that position. Well, that's the way I felt. I think accent has no place today."

11. This information is courtesy of University of Hawai'i Center for the Research on Ethnic Relations, Social Science Research Institute. See also Leonor Tamoria and Joseph Florendo, "Discrimination in Hawaii's Public Schools: A Legal Perspective." Honolulu, Hawai'i: Unpublished paper, 1980.

12. See also Linda Goto, *Temporary Teachers Appointment Agreement of the Department of Education.* Honolulu, HI: Report for the Legislative Reference Bureau, January 1986.

13. Jessica Ordona testimony to Board of Education, BOE Minutes, June 16, 1985.

14. Data from DOE affirmative action reports.

15. While those in activist circles do not question Bunye's sincerity—many privately call her "courageous"—heated debates still occur over whether she should have made it a partisan issue.

16. The DOE has begun a campaign to establish Student Teacher clubs at all high schools. In addition, it works closely with the Operation Manong, an University of Hawai'i-based outreach program, in the implementation of programs which give both UH students and high school students opportunities to teach in the public schools. While still young, the programs have been credited with generating a new level of interest in the teaching profession among young people.

17. 70% of Principals with an opinion, 59% of Japanese teachers with an opinion, 92% of Filipino teachers with an opinion and 70% of Other teachers with an opinion support affirmative action programs in the Department. Less than 35% of each group supports increasing recrutiment of teachers from the "main"-land.

18. With respect to whether the NTE/PRAXIS unfairly screens out many qualified teachers, Principals disagreed (36% of those with an opinion) and Other (50% of those with an opinion) teachers split. But Filipino (71% of those with an opinion) and Japanese teachers (65% of those with an opinion) both agreed that the test limits access. When the data is broken out by place of birth, a majority of mainland-born feel the NTE/PRAXIS does not discriminate, while a majority of local-born and foreign-born feel that it does. I asked whether exceptional uncertificated teachers should be allowed to waive the NTE/PRAXIS. Filipino teachers supported the proposal strongly (62% of those with an opinion). The other groups appeared split, with Other teachers tending to favor the idea (52% of those with an opinion), while Principals (48% of those with an opinion) and Japanese teachers (46% of those with an opinion) tending not to favor the idea. This proposal seems to be in need of further study.

I asked respondents to rate their feelings on various strategies for resolving current teacher shortages. On the question of whether a "mainstreaming" track should be put in place to transition temporary and part-time teachers and educational assistants into tenure-track positions, all teachers overhwelmingly supported the proposal, while Principals seemed split. All strongly supported increasing DOE's efforts, such as Future Teacher Clubs to encourage students, including those from underrepresented backgrounds, to enter the teaching profession. Generally, there is more interest in working to create a larger pool of tenure-track candidates from within DOE and locally, although there appears to be slight disagreement over NTE waivers.

References

Agbayani, Amefil. "The Challenge of Cultural Diversity: Critical Issues in the Education of Filipinos in Hawai'i." *The Fil-Am Courier* (May 1993): 8.

Alcantara, Ruben. *Sakada: Filipino Adaptation in Hawai'i.* Washington D.C. : University Press of America, 1981.

Ariyoshi, Governor George. *State of the State Address.* January 21, 1980.

Bunye, Maria Victoria. "A Particular Point of View: Case for Affirmative Action." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin.* December 4, 1976, A11.

Christensen, Steven K. "The New Resident: Hawaii's Second-Class Citizen." *Hawai'i Bar Journal* 5.3 (1968):

Coffman, Tom. "State Defends Its Hiring Practices." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin.* December 22, 1971, A2.

Connell, Christopher. "AFL-CIO Backs Testing for Beginning teachers." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin.* November 1, 1985, A4.

_____. "NEA Backs Tests for New Teachers." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin.* July 4, 1985, A5.

Dionisio, Juan T. Editor. *The Filipinos in Hawaii: The First 75 Years.* Honolulu, Hawai'i: Hawai'i Filipino News Specialty Publications, 1981.

Espiritu, Yen Le. *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1992.

"Filipinos Petition for Probe of the DOE." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin.* Honolulu, Hawai'i: November 19, 1975, A1.

Forman, Sheila. "Filipino Participation in Civil Rights Policies and Practices in Hawai'i." *Social Process in Hawai'i* 33 (1991): 1-11.

Geschwender, James, et al. "The Portuguese and Haoles of Hawaii: Implications for the Origin of Ethnicity." *American Sociological Review* 53 (August 1988): 515-27.

Goto, Linda. *Temporary Teachers Appointment Agreement of the Department of Education.* Honolulu, Hawai'i: Legislative Reference Bureau, January 1986.

Haas, Michael. *Institutional Racism: The Case of Hawai'i.* Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1992.

Hale, Thomas. "Some Considerations Relative to Designing and Implementing A Bilingual Program for the State of Hawai'i." Memorandum to Dr. Clarence Matsumotoya, State of Hawai'i Department of Education Office of Instructional Services. February 15, 1973.

Kaser, Tom. "School bias probe asked by Filipinos." *Honolulu Advertiser.* Honolulu, Hawai'i; November 19, 1975, B1:

Kent, Noel. "Myth of the Golden Men: Ethnic Elites and Dependent Development in the 50th State." in: *Ethnicity and Naion-Building In the Pacific.* Michael Howard. Editor. Tokyo, Japan: United Nations University, 1989.

Lasker, Bruno. *Filipino Immigration to Continental United States and to Hawaii.* New York: Arno Press, 1969; originally 1931.

Lasman, Lawrence, et al. "Filipino Immigrants: A Study of Attitudes of Filipino Immigrants About Hawai'i." M.S.W. Thesis. Honolulu, Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i. May 1971.

Lind, Andrew. *Hawaii's People* (Fourth Edition). Honolulu, Hawai'i: University Press of Hawai'i, 1980.

Lynch, Kay. "Principals: Trouble with English is key." *Honolulu Advertiser.* November 18, 1986, A1+.

Lynch, Russ. "U.S. Hiring Stand Explained." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin.* December 23, 1971, B5.

Liu, John, Paul Ong, and Carolyn Rosenstein. "Dual Chain Migration: Post-1965 Filipino Immigration to the United States." *International Migration Review.* 25:3 (Fall 1991): 487-517.

Matsuda, Mari. "Voices of America: Accent, Antidiscrimination Law and a Jurisprudence for the Last Reconstruction." *Yale Law Journal* 100.1329 (1991): 1329-1407.

Miyasaki, Gail. "The Schooling of the *Nisei.*" Ph.D Dissertation. Honolulu, Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i. May 1977.

Morita, Stirling. "Cayetano Says Fire Bunye for Remarks." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin.* August 6, 1986, A1.

Nagoshi, Kunio, et al. *Analysis Model on Acculturation of Immigrants to Hawai'i: A Study of Filipino Immigrants.* Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Center for Governmental Development, June 1976.

Nordyke, Eleanor. *The Peopling of Hawai'i* (Second Edition). Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i, 1989.

Oahu Filipino Community Council. *Status Report of the Oahu Filipino Community Council Task Force on Education.* Honolulu, Hawai'i: Oahu Filipino Community Council; 1975 Feb 9.

Odo, Franklin. "Ethnicity and Education: Japanese Americans." in *Rethinking Education for the 21st Century: Perspectives Past Present and Future.* Pamphlet produced by Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities, 1991.

Okamura, Jonathan. *Ethnicity and Stratification in Hawai'i.* Operation Manong Resource Papers 1. Honolulu, Hawai'i: Operation Manong, University of Hawai'i, 1990.

Okihiro, Gary. *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawai'i, 1865-1945.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1991.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States* (Second Edition). New York: Routledge, 1994.

Penebacker, John, Chair, State of Hawai'i Board of Education Ad Hoc Committee on Affirmative Action Plan. "Report on Review of Teacher and Educational Officer Employment Policies, Procedures, and Practices." Letter to Randal Yoshida, Chair, State of Hawai'i Board of Education. February 13, 1987.

Rafael, Vicente. *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule.* Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1993.

Reinecke, John. *Language and Dialect in Hawai'i: A Sociolinguistic History to 1935.* Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988; originally 1935.

Sato, Charlene. *Language Attitudes and Sociolinguistic Variation in Hawai'i.* University of Hawai'i Working Papers in ESL 8. Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i, May 1989.

State of Hawai'i Department of Education. *Affirmative Action Plan for Minorities: November 1, 1976 to September 30, 1977.* Honolulu, Hawai'i: State of Hawai'i Department of Education, 1976.

State of Hawai'i Board of Education. "Minutes." Honolulu, Hawai'i, November 18, 1986.

_____. "Minutes." Honolulu, Hawai'i, June 16, 1985.

Steuber, Ralph Kant. "Hawai'i: A Case Study in Development Education, 1778-1960". Ph.D Dissertation. Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin. 1964.

Takeuchi, Floyd. "Bunye charges job discrimination in state government's hiring ratio." *Honolulu Advertiser*. August 6, 1986, A3.

Tamoria, Leonor and Joseph Florendo. "Discrimination in Hawaii's Public Schools: A Legal Perspective." Unpublished paper. 1980.

Tamura, Eileen. "The Americanization Campaign and the Assimilation of the *Nisei* in Hawai'i." Ph.D Dissertation. Honolulu, Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i School of Education. December 1990.

_____. *Americanization, Acculturation and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawai'i.* Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Territory of Hawai'i Legislature. *Session Laws of 1909*. Honolulu, Hawai'i: Territory of Hawai'i, 1909.

_____. *Session Laws of 1923*. Honolulu, Hawai'i: Territory of Hawai'i, 1923.

_____. *Session Laws of 1935*. Honolulu, Hawai'i: Territory of Hawai'i, 1935.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *1990 Census of Population: Social and Economic Characteristics, Hawai'i.* Washington D.C.: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1990.

University of Hawai'i Task Force on Filipinos. *Pamantasan*. Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i, Spring 1988.

Verploegen, Hildegaard. "75 percent of Filipino Candidates Fail Teachers Exam." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. September 10, 1986, A1.

_____. "the DOE studies hiring temporary teachers." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. August 5, 1975, A12.

_____. "Whites Post Best Results in First Test of teachers." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. December 16, 1986, A1+.

Wist, Benjamin O. *A Century of Public Education in Hawai'i: 1840-1940*. Honolulu, Hawai'i: Hawai'i Educational Review, 1940.

Wooden, Wayne. *What Price Paradise?: Changing Social Patterns in Hawai'i.* Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1981.

Yamamoto, Eric. "From 'Japanee' to Local: Community Change and the Redefinition of *Sansei* Identity in Hawai'i." Senior Thesis in Sociology. Honolulu, Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i. 1974.

The Education of Filipinos in Hawai'i

Amefil R. Agbayani

By the close of the 20th century, one–third of the school children and college age population in the United States is expected to be non–White ethnic/racial minorities (African American, Asian American, Hispanic, Native American, and Pacific Islander). Filipinos are one of the fastest growing Asian American groups in the nation. In Hawai'i, Filipinos are a significant proportion of the population and are among the socioeconomically disadvantaged ethnic minorities. The experience of Filipinos with educational institutions impacts the Filipino community as well as educational policy, programs and research. This paper will present an overview of the experiences, problems and challenges facing Filipinos in Hawai'i and the responses of the major educational institutions to Filipinos.

Filipinos in the USA and Hawai'i

In 1990, there were 1.4 million Filipinos in the United States. This represents more than an 80 percent increase since 1980. Most of the increase is accounted for by immigration—about 50,000 Filipinos immigrate to the United States annually. Nearly half of the new immigrants settle in California and one–tenth in Hawai'i. The 1990 U.S. census data show that the 168,700 Filipinos are the third largest ethnic group in Hawai'i: Whites (33%), Japanese (22%), Filipinos (15%), Hawaiians (13%), Chinese (6%), other Asians and Pacific Islanders (6%), African Americans (3%), and Others (2%) (U.S. Bureau of Census 1992). Because of a difference in the definition of Hawaiians and Part–Hawaiians, Hawai'i state data identify Filipinos as the fourth largest group (11%) following Hawaiians and Part–Hawaiians (19%). As a group, Filipinos are a young population and one of the fastest growing in Hawai'i due to a high birth rate and continuing high immigration from the Philippines.

In the continental United States, Filipinos generally compare quite favorably to other Asian American groups and to Whites in socioeconomic status and educational level. However, Filipinos in Hawai'i are not as well off and have lower educational achievement compared to those in other parts of the United States. Recent immigrant Filipinos generally earn less than Hawai'i born Filipinos (almost one–half of the Filipino community in Hawai'i is foreign–born). Filipinos have the highest percentage of workers employed at the lowest end of the occupational scale as farm and nonfarm laborers and the lowest percentage of workers employed at the uppermost end of the occupational scale

as professionals, managers, and proprietors of the five major ethnic groups in Hawai'i. The disadvantaged status of Filipinos can be traced to their subordinate position as immigrant laborers since they first arrived in 1906 to work on the sugar plantations (which was the dominant industry until the 1960s) and as service workers in today's economy (the tourist industry is currently the dominant industry).

Education of Filipinos in Hawai'i: Prior to 1959 (Statehood)

The following conditions color the early educational experience of Filipinos in Hawai'i: 1) uneducated Filipinos were recruited to Hawai'i; 2) they were the most recent immigrant arrivals; 3) they occupied the lowest plantation jobs vacated by earlier immigrant Chinese and Japanese who moved into urban jobs; 4) the unbalanced sex ratio—average of 5 males to 1 female—retarded the growth of Hawai'i–born children; 5) most of the Filipinos eventually wanted to return to the Philippines and did not consider Hawai'i their home; and 6) racist attitudes were held towards Filipinos (and other non–Whites). By 1932, 35,000 or 70 percent of the plantation work force was Filipino. There was a belief that plantation workers and their children did not need an education because it would draw them away from plantation work, and less education was effective in maintaining the low status of Filipinos. Territorial Governor Farrington wanted children to value manual labor, particularly agriculture which was the "source of prosperity in the Territory." He also suggested the creation of a domestic service department in the public schools to encourage more Filipinos to become domestic servants. Stanley Porteus, a prominent psychologist in the 1920s, wrote many racist studies about Japanese, Filipino and other non–White groups in Hawai'i that reinforced racist ideology and gave credibility to the argument that Filipinos need not be educated (Porteus and Babcock 1926: 70):

> It is our opinion that no matter what labels of citizenship we may put on these people they remain Filipinos, and it will take much more than a knowledge of the three Rs to make them Americans. To make the system of schooling too over–scholastic might be worse than no benefit at all. The surest way to make a malcontent is to educate him either above his intelligence or his opportunities.

Although they came as early as 1906, Filipinos did not participate in Hawai'i educational institutions in a significant way until the 1940s and 1950s. In 1920, Filipinos had the smallest percentage of 16 and 17 year olds enrolled in school: Filipino (18%), Caucasian (64%), Part–Hawaiian and Hawaiian (56%), and Japanese (35%). Although they represented 12 percent of the population in 1940, less than one–half of one percent of students in the prestigious English Standard

schools were of Filipino ancestry. Caucasians represented 46 percent of the children in those schools and 23 percent of the population in 1940. By 1950, Filipinos had 80 percent of their 16 and 17 year old children enrolled in school. World War II and statehood in 1959 had a positive impact on increasing the participation of Filipino children in the public schools. The newly elected Democrats in the State Legislature expanded public education.

Few Filipinos entered the University of Hawai'i during this period. For example, Alfred Laureta who had a distinguished career as a lawyer and federal judge, noted that he had only five Filipino classmates at the university in the 1940s.

Education of Filipinos: 1965 to 1990

While other ethnic groups in Hawai'i have been able to use educational attainment as a means for upward social mobility, Filipinos historically have not found the educational system to work to their advantage. The 1980 census showed that Filipinos had the lowest median number of years of schooling completed among the major ethnic groups: Whites (13.3), Chinese (12.8), Japanese (12.6), and Filipinos (12.1). The wide disparity in educational achievement between Filipinos and other ethnic groups is made more apparent if the percentage of persons (25 years and over) who have a bachelor's degree or higher is considered: Whites (31%), Chinese (30%), Japanese (25%), Filipinos (12%), and Hawaiians (9%) (U.S. Bureau of Census 1993). However, the percentage of persons (18 to 24 years old) enrolled in college shows some improvement among Filipinos: Chinese (54%), Japanese (52%), Filipinos (31%), Hawaiians (22%), and Whites (21%).

By the 1990s, Filipinos have become one of the largest ethnic groups among public school children: Hawaiians (24%), Filipinos (18%), Whites (18%), Japanese (13%), and Chinese (3%) (Hawai'i Department of Education 1994). However, Filipinos comprise only 5 percent of public school teachers and staff in contrast to the much higher proportion of Japanese (59%), Whites (16%), Chinese (8%), and Hawaiians (7%). Filipinos also are underrepresented in the University of Hawai'i system, particularly at the main UH Mānoa campus (10%).

Filipinos in Hawai'i Educational Institutions

The historical and current level of Filipino educational participation and achievement given above is disturbing. But even more disturbing to observers

are the various reasons given by some educators, policymakers and researchers as to why Filipinos are not achieving in educational institutions in Hawai'i. The rest of the paper will discuss educational programs and explanations for the educational underachievement of Filipinos. The examples presented will illustrate how educational institutions in Hawai'i have responded to the needs of Filipinos in ways that have not benefited them or the institutions themselves. The first example deals with efforts of the public schools to educate recently arrived Filipino immigrant children. The second concerns the efforts of the University of Hawai'i to increase the participation of Filipino students.

Despite research theories in education stressing that educational achievement is the result of complex interactions between the student and the institution as well as between the student and societal structures, most studies and educational programs focus on the student and characteristics of the student that lead to success. As noted by Smith (1989: 7), "This issue is most important, because the definition of a problem can dramatically affect the solutions sought, which has particular implications for the education of minorities, where too often failure has been focused on the student and the students' background ... Framing the questions in this way deemphasizes organizational issues and organizational change." There are numerous ways to describe a phenomenon or situation or problem. How a situation is described or a problem defined is linked to who is viewing the problem and the values held by the observer. The person whose definition is accepted and acted upon has power. The major consequence of possessing the power to label persons or groups as "problems" is that the burden for adjusting is placed on the one without power. It is usually the individual rather than the institution that is asked to change or make accommodations, particularly if the student is from a less advantaged group or minority.

The usual definition of problems facing minority students and the types of solutions or recommended programs are oftentimes based on the value of conformity to a dominant middle class American culture rather than one that values cultural and language diversity. Chaenofsky (1971: 15) has asked,

> Why do our schools thus continue to be the agents of degradation and shame for so many of our youngsters who are made acutely aware of the differences from the "norm?" This ideological commitment and its application to the schools is particularly destructive for children of ethnic minorities who represent an enormously diverse American culture.

Filipino Immigrant Children in Hawai'i Public Schools

There were two significant impacts of the 1965 amendments to U.S. immigration law: a total increase of immigrants and an increase in the proportion

of Asian immigrants to the United States. Hawai'i has been receiving annually about 4,000 immigrants from the Philippines since the late 1960s. This has resulted in a sizeable number of children enrolled in the public schools whose native language is not English. The largest number of these students speak a Philippine language: Ilokano (32%), Tagalog (7%), Samoan (16%), Korean (6%), and Vietnamese (6%).

The Hawai'i Department of Education issued a report identifying four major problems facing Filipino immigrant school children:

1. English language deficiencies;
2. Difficulty in socializing with local students;
3. Lack of relevant schooling in their native country;
4. Difficulty in understanding the value system of American society.

The above "problems" can be viewed differently and can be rephrased in the following way:

1. Lack of appreciation of the language of the immigrant child or lack of teaching staff who understand the child's language;
2. Difficulty of local students in socializing with immigrant children;
3. Lack of relevant curriculum appropriate to the school attended by the immigrant student;
4. Difficulty in understanding the value system of the immigrant child.

In this example, the Department of Education is asking the immigrant student to "fit in" or "adapt" to the institution. The types of programs that place most of the burden of adjusting on the immigrant student are those that provide orientation to the American school system and teaching English using English as a second language approach. A change in focus or a change in the description of the "problem" would change the clientele and the programs. For example, if the Hawai'i born child or English only speaking teacher were seen as significantly contributing to the problem (and the solution), then appropriate programs would include orientation activities or courses for local students and teachers on the history, culture, language and contribution of immigrant Filipinos to Hawai'i and hiring bilingual teachers who speak the language of the Filipino child and who are familiar with the culture of the child. Clearly, the new immigrant student must make some changes, but the focus on the child is unbalanced and overly demanding. Both the educational institution and students (both Hawai'i born and immigrant) must work in partnership.

Filipinos at the University of Hawai'i

Like ethnic minorities in the continental U.S., Filipinos are better represented at the two-year community colleges (20%) than they are at the major baccalaureate and graduate degree granting campus, UH Mānoa. Although Filipinos continue to be underrepresented at Mānoa when compared to their public school enrollment (18%), there has been an impressive increase over the years from 3 percent in 1977 to 10 percent in 1995 (Institutional Research Office 1995: 13). Filipinos represent 12 percent of the undergraduate and 4 percent of the graduate students at UH Mānoa.

A recent study by Jon Okamura documented the comparatively lower educational status and achievement of UH Mānoa Filipino students, both first time freshmen and community college transfers. He found that compared to other students, "Filipinos tend to earn lower grades, have a higher attrition rate from UH Mānoa, are more likely to experience some form of academic difficulty (probation, suspension or dismissal), require a longer period of study to graduate, have a lower graduation rate and thus are underrepresented among graduates of the University" (Okamura 1991: 125). Unlike most studies that focus on individual student characteristics, Okamura's study does not define the student as the problem. Filipino freshmen have the highest high school grade point average of all entering freshmen at UH Mānoa, although they have the lowest SAT scores. There is good evidence that high school grade point average may be a more significant criterion for admission to the University than SAT scores because the latter do not appear to be a valid predictor of grades or graduation from Mānoa. If high school grades were given more weight in admissions to UH Mānoa, more Filipinos would be able to enter and would probably graduate. As noted by Okamura (1991: 126),

> The significance of SAT scores as admission criteria is particularly relevant to Filipinos given their tendency to have lower scores than other ethnic groups and the detrimental effects of the interpretation of such scores on Filipino entry to the University ... Thus, Filipino representation and educational status in the University are primarily a reflection of institutional constraints, if not institutional discrimination, against their access, persistence and graduation rather than the cumulative academic qualifications or intelligence of individual Filipino students.

The University's Response to Access and Achievement of Filipinos

Richardson and Skinner (1991) have argued that, "To meet participation and graduation goals for these groups, institutions must adapt their environments to accommodate greater diversity without relinquishing their commitment to high standards of achievement for all students." They suggest that institutions do this by moving through three stages "along a continuum that stretches from the pre–civil rights era into the present." The three stages are "reactive," "strategic" and "adaptive." A prior stage or response moves the institution to the next stage. Most of the programs and policies at earlier stages continue to be relevant and complementary. The reactive stage is typically an institution's initial response to pressure for affirmative action in which it tries to increase the number of students from ethnic and racial minorities severely underrepresented in the student body. The strategies used are recruitment, financial aid, and special admission procedures. The usual result of efforts to obtain diversity and "proportional enrollment" is usually disappointing because some minority students do not meet the institution's academic standards and generally do not result in "proportional graduation."

As the effects of the reactive responses on student achievement become evident, universities develop outreach, transition, and academic support strategies intended to assist a more diverse student population meet their expectations that are based on the students they traditionally have served. These strategies, especially as they become more systematic and better coordinated, distinguish the adaptive stage. The emphasis is on changing students, and most of the interventions are implemented by student affairs staff. The priority in the adaptive stage is on assessment, learning assistance, and curriculum renewal. Faculty participate in this stage to change educational practices, curriculum content, and instructional practices to make them reflect the students being served.

Daryl Smith (1989) also identified three types of institutional responses to diversity and quality. The first focuses on "student assistance" where universities recruit minority students and provide them with tutorial services and financial aid. He notes that, "Fundamentally it is a 'deficit' approach to diversity in that it attempts to improve success by providing the student with support and resources" (Smith 1989). The second type of response is called "institutional accommodation" which still focuses on the "special needs" of students but adds programs and makes modest changes to remove barriers to success, e.g., establishing ethnic support centers. The third phase or response is to build on the institution's capacity to organize for diversity. This means fundamental changes that result in diversity among faculty and staff and in mission and values, quality of interaction on campus, commitment to educate students for living in a pluralistic campus and world, and broadening the concept of quality so that it does not conflict with diversity and equity.

Richard Richardson, Jr. and Elizabeth Fisk Skinner in *Achieving Quality and Diversity* (1991) and Daryl Smith in *The Challenge of Diversity* (1989) have provided two similar and compatible typologies of university responses to a culturally diverse student body and to the twin goals of excellence and equity. The typologies will be used to describe and assess the responses of the University of Hawai'i to the Filipino community's educational needs and aspirations.

Prior to 1970: No Response by UH Mānoa

Very few Filipinos enrolled at the University of Hawai'i before 1970. Even as late as 1977 Filipinos were less than 3 percent of the students. There was no major official statement that any ethnic group was underrepresented. The few Hawai'i born Filipinos met all entrance requirements, and no special programs were provided for them. Many of the Filipinos in graduate school were international students supported by the East–West Center, a new federal institution established to bring American and Asian students together to personally experience cross–cultural contacts, to encourage Americans to study Asia, and to train Asian graduate students. There may have been one or two tenured Filipino faculty in agriculture. A few Tagalog courses were taught by temporary instructors or graduate students.

1970s: Community Colleges Established for Open Access

The University of Hawai'i was concerned that, as the only institution of public higher education in the state, it should be accessible to more people. A recommendation was made to establish two–year community colleges that would be geographically dispersed, "open admission" institutions. The UH community college system had minimal academic requirements and very low tuition. Although not specifically identified as a means of recruiting ethnic groups underrepresented at UH Mānoa, the community colleges actually enroll a high proportion of Filipino students. At some campuses situated near Filipino communities the percentage of Filipino students is very high (e.g., Kaua'i campus, 30%). The large proportion of Filipinos and other minorities in the community colleges is similar to the experience of minorities in the continental U.S. where the problem of access and participation is primary, but where aspirations for further education often are not met. Nationally and in Hawai'i, only a small percentage of community college students transfer and graduate with a baccalaureate degree. During the 1970s transfer and articulation of courses between the community colleges and UH Mānoa were not addressed, and relatively few Filipinos transferred from the community colleges.

1970s: Mānoa Reactive Response

The primary minority student recruitment effort of the University of Hawai'i was the College Opportunities Program (COP) which had the objective of recruiting socioeconomically disadvantaged and academically at risk students. This program is the closest effort at recruiting ethnic minorities at UH and represents the University's reactive stage response. The students in this special program do not meet entrance requirements but, with careful screening for potential, tutorials and other support, many of them have been able to maintain their enrollment and graduate from Mānoa. Although not specified as a target group for recruitment, many COP students were and still are Filipino and Hawaiian.

The first major institutional response of the University relating to Filipinos was initiated in 1972 by a group of Philippine born graduate students, non–Filipino and Filipino faculty, Hawai'i born Filipino undergraduate students, and a Filipino government official working with immigrant communities. They organized a group to assist recently arrived immigrant children from the Philippines and called themselves "Operation Manong" (OM), a term to symbolize respect (*manong*, an Ilokano kinship term of respect used to refer to an older brother, was used in a derogatory manner at that time). The group received funds from a church and a major federal grant.

During the first decade of OM, its primary activity was to send UH students to work as bilingual tutors in Hawai'i public schools to assist recently arrived immigrant children from the Philippines, Korea, Samoa and other countries. During the early part of OM's history, although there were very few Filipino students at Mānoa, little attention was directed to recruiting Filipinos to the University because the immediate community concern was to assist the large number of immigrant students who were arriving after the passage of the 1965 immigration amendments. These students were experiencing major difficulties (teachers were not prepared to teach non–native English speakers, and Hawai'i born and immigrant Filipinos had many conflicts). Possibly OM helped in retaining Filipino students at UH Mānoa because its activities provided a supportive environment and developed a strong connection to Filipino culture and ethnic identity. Although not a program objective at the time, Operation Manong students recruited and encouraged Filipinos to aspire for higher education by their presence as tutors and role models to immigrant children in the schools.

The Ethnic Studies Program was established at UH Mānoa in 1970 and was heavily influenced by the Black student movement on the continental U.S.

Among the courses offered were Japanese in Hawai'i, Filipinos in Hawai'i, and Hawaiians. This program was primarily initiated by Hawai'i born students who believed that the Mānoa curriculum ignored their history and contributions to Hawai'i. Filipino students supported the program and enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses.

There were already programs for Chinese, Japanese and Korean studies at the University when the Philippine Studies Program was started in 1975. The initiative came from the State Legislature which asked for a feasibility study to establish such a program. The most developed courses at that time were Ilokano and Tagalog language courses. The University and the state of Hawai'i had already decided to have Asian Studies as an area of emphasis and excellence.

1980s: Mānoa Strategic Response

Gradually, Operation Manong expanded its focus and initiated studies and activities to recruit and support more Filipino students at UH Mānoa. In 1985, the State Legislature provided permanent positions and mandated OM to conduct programs and services for socioeconomically disadvantaged students to facilitate equal access to Mānoa. In 1988, the OM staff of two positions and its budget increased by over 100 percent, and so it increased its efforts to recruit and graduate students. By the end of the 1980s, OM had developed a comprehensive and systematic effort that provided educational services at all levels of the educational "pipeline": elementary, intermediate, high school, community college, undergraduate and graduate for Filipinos (and other minority students). The level requiring more work and attention is graduate education where only 4 percent of Mānoa students are Filipino.

Philippine Studies was also more integrated into the UH resource system as the University reorganized its various Asian Studies programs. The Center for Philippine Studies is one of nine such centers of the School for Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies. While courses at UH Mānoa are offered by various departments, the faculty and students interested in Philippine Studies coordinate and cooperate on many programs and activities (e.g., a community play, seminars by visiting faculty from the Philippines). Although more faculty positions are needed (e.g., no permanent faculty member teaches Philippine history), faculty with Philippine or Filipino American interests (both Filipino and non–Filipino) are generally well established. The Center for Philippine Studies has developed a strong academic reputation and has an exchange agreement with the University of the Philippines to facilitate visits by faculty and students.

The University's response in the 1980s could be considered a "strategic response." Efforts were more organized to support Filipino students in recruitment, persistence and graduation as described in a comprehensive report in 1988, *Pamantasan*. Other UH campuses actively cooperated and benefited from their participation in the preparation of the *Pamantasan* report. The special programs, Operation Manong, Ethnic Studies, and Philippine Studies, survived during budget cuts and competing priorities in the 1980s.

The 1990s and Beyond: Mānoa Adaptive Response

Although the University of Hawai'i is far from being an institution that focuses on the special needs of individuals and groups as well as on the needs of all students and all faculty, many programs and policies are in place in the 1990s to build its "capacity to *organize for diversity*." As a conclusion to this description of the University's responses over the decades, the following is a description and assessment of ongoing efforts and plans for the 1990s and beyond.

Among the final acts of former UH President Albert J. Simone was the creation of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Commission on Diversity in 1992. This Commission promises to be the vehicle to support a comprehensive adaptive response to the aspirations of many groups that feel excluded and marginalized on campus. The Commission consists of faculty, administrators, clerical staff, administrative, professional and technical staff, and graduate and undergraduate students. Most of the major ethnic groups are represented (African American, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Japanese, Latino, and White), various religious groups (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish), men and women, gays and heterosexuals, and persons with disabilities. The Commission intends to study and celebrate diversity and reduce bigotry and prejudice at Mānoa. Areas to be addressed include the curriculum and teaching, hiring and promotion of faculty and staff, student recruitment and retention, and the campus climate. Part of the credibility of the Commission depends on the individuals who have been appointed as members and whether or not the campus sees them as dedicated, fair and accessible. Two of the twelve members are Filipino, and its success will depend heavily on continuing leadership and support from the University President, cooperation from special university networks (e.g., Commission on the Status of Women, newly formed Gay and Lesbian Task Force), and assistance from academic, administrative support, and student services programs (e.g., deans, equal employment office, minority student programs).

Student Enrollment and Graduation Programs. With respect to Filipino student representation, there has been a substantial increase of 17 percent since

1991 at UH Mānoa (IRO 1991: 15). In some ways, student programs have been the most successful component of UH Mānoa's response because of expanded resources and the high level of administrative support by the Vice President for Student Affairs. The areas that need attention in the 1990s are: preparation and support for more students to enter graduate school; encouraging more students to enter the teaching field as well as the sciences; and improving the undergraduate graduation and community college transfer rates. A new program, the Hawai'i Opportunity Program in Education (HOPE), a future oriented, bold and comprehensive recruitment and retention effort, was established in 1990 through the leadership of the Governor and the State Legislature. HOPE's goal is to encourage elementary school students from ethnic groups underrepresented at Mānoa to succeed in school and to enroll in college by providing financial assistance.

Faculty and Staff Affirmative Action in Recruitment and Promotion. Filipinos represent about one percent of the tenured/tenurable faculty at Mānoa and are also underrepresented among clerical staff and administrators. Programs to encourage more Filipinos to enter graduate school and the academic profession are not adequate at this time. Additional faculty positions may increase the number of Filipinos if the curriculum relating to Filipinos and the Philippines is expanded.

Mission and Values. In 1991, the governing board of the University of Hawai'i adopted a Master Plan to guide the direction and growth of the University in the 1990s. This plan and a proposed "Strategic Plan" specifically identify diversity and student access and success as priorities of the University. Many speeches of the University President and important national education associations (e.g., American Council on Education, the State Higher Education Executive Officers) reaffirm the responsibility of institutions of higher education to link improvement in the quality of education with the success of minority students.

Campus Climate. Ethnic competition and conflict exist in every society and on most campuses. Increasing minority faculty and staff as well as supporting the interests of underrepresented groups frequently result in changes in intergroup power relations and encourage competition for resources. Universities have to establish policies and programs that reduce tension and bigotry and celebrate the positive aspects of diversity. At this time, no major specific conflicts involving Filipinos at Mānoa have emerged, although Filipino faculty and students have been involved in some campus climate issues.

Educating for Diversity: Curriculum and Instructional Practices. The curriculum at UH Mānoa has a number of non–Western oriented courses and components. The foreign language graduation requirement for undergraduates is very helpful because a number of Mānoa students choose to study a Philippine language (more would do so if introductory courses were available on other UH campuses). With the exception of courses identified by the Center for Philippine Studies, very few courses include the Philippines or Filipino Americans. Although most Filipinos would not expect to have a single course devoted entirely to Filipinos in Hawai'i/U.S., many would consider that a comprehensive course on Hawaii's ethnic groups would be appropriate as a required course for all students and that a history course on Asia should provide significant attention to the Philippines. The University should offer a curriculum that includes Filipinos and the Philippines for Filipino and other students who want to be well educated. At least two community colleges have expressed interest in having additional courses on the Philippines offered.

Conclusion

There is much more that the University of Hawai'i must do if it is to improve the total educational experience for all students and faculty and if it is to meet the interrelated goals of excellence and diversity. It is possible for institutions of higher education to increase their "capacity to organize for diversity." Those interested in promoting a multicultural perspective in the curriculum and affirmative access for faculty and students have a challenging agenda for the 1990s. Filipino and non–Filipino faculty and staff at UH Mānoa have to work cooperatively to address these issues or face the problem of having a significant proportion of Hawaii's people uneducated and alienated. Although affirmative action policies and programs have been weakened in the 1990s by some recent court decisions in various parts of the United States, UH officials have joined with other national and local educators and policymakers to affirm that an ethnically diverse campus can be justified not only on moral grounds but also because it can improve the quality of education and is an economic necessity. Hawaii's Filipinos cannot fully contribute their talents to the University, the state, and the rest of the nation unless they are welcomed and included as full participants at the University of Hawai'i.

References

Chaenofsky, S. 1971. *Educating the Powerless*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Hawai'i Department of Education 1994. Statewide Gender and Ethnicity Distribution 1994–95 (table).

Institutional Research Office 1995. Fall Enrollment Report University of Hawai'i, Fall 1995. University of Hawai'i.

Okamura, J.Y. 1991. Filipino Educational Status and Achievement at the University of Hawai'i. In J.Y. Okamura et al. (eds.), *The Filipino American Experience in Hawai'i. Social Process in Hawaii*, 33:107–129.

Porteus, S.D. and M.E. Babcock 1926. *Temperament and Race*. Boston: R.D. Badger.

Richardson, Jr., R.C. and E.F. Skinner 1991. *Achieving Quality and Diversity*. New York: American Council on Education.

Smith, D. 1989. *The Challenge of Diversity*. Washington, DC: School of Education and Human Development, George Washington University.

United States Bureau of the Census 1992. *General Population Characteristics, Hawai'i*. Washington, DC: the Bureau.

_____ 1993. *Social and Economic Characteristics, Hawai'i*. Washington, DC: the Bureau.

University of Hawai'i Task Force on Filipinos 1988. *Pamantasan*: Report of the UH Task Force on Filipinos. University of Hawai'i.

Philippine Languages in Hawai'i: Vehicles of Cultural Survival

Teresita V. Ramos

Linguistic Background

The Philippines is a Southeast Asian country of some 7,000 islands and islets off the southeast coast of mainland China. It is populated by about 60 million Filipinos. It is said that there are as many as 300 languages and dialects in these islands which belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages.

One of the factors that complicates the language situation in the Philippines is diversity. Linguists say there are 75 to 150 native languages spoken by Filipinos. The latest estimate is 109 languages, or 110 if Chavacano is included (McFarland 1994: 83). Although these languages are in some ways grammatically and lexically similar, they are mutually unintelligible. Furthermore, each of the major languages has several dialects that differ, especially at the phonological and lexical levels. Depending on their region of origin, Filipino immigrants will speak at least one dialect of one of these mutually unintelligible languages.

On the basis of a probable 75 mother tongues according to Weber (1989), six are classified as major languages (the percentages indicating the number of native speakers of each language): Tagalog (25%), Cebuano (24%), Ilocano (9%), Hiligaynon (9%), Bicol (6%), Waray (5%), and others (22%). Because of immigration, these major languages as well as Pampango and Pangasinan are represented in Hawai'i, with Ilokano having the most number of native speakers.

Following the mandate of the 1935 Constitution, President Manuel Quezon proclaimed Tagalog as the basis of the national language in 1937. To free the Tagalog-based national language from its ethnic ties and therefore to facilitate its acceptance, Tagalog was renamed **Pilipino** in 1959. However, the 1973 Constitution rescinded the choice of Tagalog (Pilipino) as the basis of the national language (Gonzales 1977). Pilipino was established as one of the two official languages of the Philippines under the 1973 Constitution—the other being English. The 1987 Constitution stipulates that the National Assembly is to take steps toward the formation of a genuine national language to be called **Filipino**, which will incorporate elements from the various Philippine languages. Philippine language experts predict, especially after the 1987 Constitutional deliberations, that Pilipino will be renamed Filipino characterized by an openness to borrowings from the other Philippine languages as well as from English, Spanish, and other foreign languages (Gonzales 1991: 126).

The 1980 Philippine census indicated that close to 75 percent of Filipinos speak a variety of Pilipino, especially in urban areas. Gonzales (1987: 212) estimates that by the end of the century, 97.1 percent of Filipinos will speak a colloquial or conversational form of Filipino.

Cebuano (or Sugbuanon) is one of more than a dozen languages and dialects, two of which are Hiligaynon (or Ilonggo) and Waray (or Samar-Leyte), that are given the name Bisayan or Visayan. Cebuano is often mistakenly referred to as "Visayan" in Hawai'i.

Ilokano is also known as Ilocano, Ilukano, Iloko, and Iloco. In formal literary writing the term "Samtoy" is used. Because more than 80 percent of Hawaii's citizens of Philippine ancestry are Ilocano, their language is sure to be of importance to those interested in Philippine languages in Hawai'i.

Features of Philippine Languages

Filipino languages have been influenced, principally in vocabulary, by the languages with which they have come into contact: Sanskrit, Arabic, Chinese, English, and Spanish. Although Philippine languages have many lexical and grammatical similarities, they also have enough significant differences so that they are mutually unintelligible. Tagalog, Bicol, Cebuano, Waray, and Hiligaynon are commonly classified as members of the same subgroup; Ilokano and Pangasinan seem to belong to another subgroup; and Pampango seems to constitute a subgroup by itself (Constantino 1971). Far from being homogeneous, each of the major Philippine languages has several dialects that differ from each other phonologically and lexically.

Some of the grammatical features of Philippine languages are the complex system of affixes, especially of verbs, the power of verbalizing most words, and the use of particles to indicate case relationships and to link modifiers to the words modified. The most important feature, however, is the special case-like relationship between the verb and a particular noun phrase in the sentence often referred to by Philippine linguists as "topic" or "subject". This relationship as actor, goal or referent in the sentence is usually marked by an affix in the verb.

Language Retention by Early Immigrants

In Hawai'i, the fact that Ilocanos comprised the overwhelming majority of Filipinos undoubtedly fostered a cohesiveness on the plantations, a cohesiveness which was absent when there was more or less an equal number of Filipinos from

the different regions of the Philippines. The crucial role of language in unifying Filipinos in Hawai'i in common undertakings is underlined by the comment, often made by former plantation workers, that the efforts of Pablo Manlapit, a Tagalog, in organizing on the plantations was somewhat hampered by his limited knowledge of Ilokano. A mesmerizing speaker in Tagalog, Manlapit's organizing efforts, it is said, could have proceeded at a faster pace had his mastery of Ilokano been equal to his mastery of his native tongue.

According to Reinecke (1969: 167), the Filipino immigrant group's large size, its short term of residency in Hawai'i, the attitude of transiency held by many of its members, and isolation from the rest of the population made it possible for them to maintain the use of Philippine languages, especially Ilokano. Before the mid-1940s, most of these immigrants did not regard themselves as permanent settlers in Hawai'i, hence there was no strong reason for giving up the use of their native tongue. The plantation environment also contributed to the retention of the native language because it offered neither the opportunity nor the incentive to learn better English after the rudiments of "pidgin" had been learned (Reinecke 1969: 103).

Filipinos generally retained the use of their native languages as well as many aspects of their culture while on the plantations. Several factors were favorable to this retention, a development some viewed as a mixed blessing (viz., on the one hand, it isolated the community from the rest of Hawai'i and hence helped to strengthen prevalent stereotypes; on the other, the continued use of their native languages and observance of customs and traditions was an important element in the survival of the early Filipinos). It is more likely, however, given the circumstances into which Filipinos were thrown, that this retention essentially served as a basic source of group cohesiveness and strength.

Filipinos in Hawai'i are in an environment wherein both the makeshift dialect of the plantations and a more refined, though still local, non-standard form of English are used. According to Reinecke (1969: 94), there appeared to be some difference in the response of Filipinos and that of other ethnic groups to the creole dialect (pidgin) of Hawai'i. The other groups apparently accepted the dialect but Filipinos, because they had learned some English in the Philippines, tried more than other early immigrant groups to learn and use "correct" English. While it is used among Filipinos, pidgin is receiving accretions and other changes from Filipino tongues.

U.K. Das in his "Terms Used on Hawaiian Plantations" (1930, revised 1945) listed twenty-three Filipino words. Excluding the terms of Spanish origin

in the list, the rest are as follows (I, V, and T stand for Ilokano, Visayan and Tagalog):

babai	girl, woman	I, V, T
balay	house	I, V
bata	child, boy or girl	V, T
bayao or *bayaw*	brother-in-law sister-in-law or brother-in-law	I, T V
dakayo	you (plural)	I
danom	water	I
ditoy	here, over this way	I
ikau or *ikaw*	you (singular)	V, T
lalakai	boy, man	I, V, T
sabidong	poison	I
tao	person, people, humankind	I, V, T
tubig	water	V, T
tubo	sugarcane	V, T
unas	sugarcane	I

While there are common elements in the pidgin English of the different ethnic groups, the Filipino version can be distinguished by intonation, stress, and speech sounds, and sometimes by word order and vocabulary (Reinecke 1969: 95). The early Filipino immigrants were divided into two main language groups: Ilokano and Visayan. Language variety in the homeland had led the early immigrants to the choice of Tagalog, the basis of the national language, as an interlanguage. Both Tagalog and English were formerly in use as the lingua franca of Filipinos in the Hawaiian islands (Reinecke 1969: 139). The great influx of Ilokano-speaking immigrants, however, resulted in the replacement of Tagalog by Ilokano as the Filipino lingua franca in Hawai'i. In their study, Lasman et al. (1971: 92) found that out of 503 immigrants to Hawai'i interviewed

in 1971, 96 percent spoke Ilokano but 67.4 percent could also speak Tagalog. In addition, 78.4 percent reported the ability to speak English, although this varied in degree. The data in this study indicate a surprising rise in the number of Tagalog speakers among these more recent immigrants. This may be the result of the rapid dissemination of Pilipino (Tagalog) in the Philippines principally through internal migration, rapid urbanization, the mass media, and the implementation of the 1974 Bilingual Education Policy which calls for the compulsory use of Tagalog as one of the media of instruction, the other being English (Gonzales 1977). In the 1990 U.S. Census, Tagalog was listed as the sixth most commonly spoken non-English language at home in America. It was ranked second among 112 non-English languages spoken in Hawai'i homes. If all the Filipino languages spoken in Hawai'i were added together, the total makes the Philippines the largest source of the state's non-English speakers.

Loss of Mother Tongue by Later Immigrants

Since most immigrants have already learned some English in the Philippines and since it is the language of superior prestige, linguistic assimilation is rapidly taking place, and the home language is fast being replaced by English or Hawai'i creole English. Another factor that accelerates the rapid loss of the native language is the non-existence of native-language schools for Filipinos. Unlike other Asian groups—Japanese, Chinese and Korean—Filipinos have not operated private schools where the mother tongue could be taught to their children. In most of the public schools, Filipino children have had to learn the English language and from their peers, the Hawai'i creole. The use of the native tongue is confined largely to the home and is used solely by parents and grandparents.

The Filipino-language press and the vernacular clubs formerly helped to perpetuate the native languages. Reinecke (1969: 138) reported that eight Filipino newspapers, mostly in Ilokano, were published in 1935. Cariaga (1935) mentioned five periodicals published in English, Ilokano and Tagalog. In 1980 the University of Hawai'i Hamilton Library had only one such periodical, the *Hawaii Filipino News*. Presently, there are two local Filipino newspapers, the *Fil-Am Courier* (first printed in 1987) and the *Hawaii Filipino Chronicle* (first printed in 1993), but only occasionally do they have articles in Ilokano or Tagalog. University school papers like *Ani* (1979-1993), published by the University of Hawai'i Philippine Languages and Culture Club, printed articles in Ilokano and Tagalog. In 1992, students of Tagalog at the University started an all Tagalog newsletter called *Katipunan* which comes out semi-annually.

The United Filipino Council of Hawai'i has a listing of over 166 Filipino organizations of various sizes in the islands. While most of these clubs have linguistic or regional bases, it has been noted that many of their meetings are conducted in English or in a mix of English and a Philippine language, usually Ilokano. Several radio stations have had broadcasts in Philippine languages since 1933 (*Hawaiian Reporter* 1959: B24). One radio station, KISA, has been on the air since April, 1973 and now broadcasts twenty-four hours daily. Although KISA claims that it uses the three major languages—Cebuano, Ilokano and Tagalog—the latter two, with English, are most frequently heard on its programs.

Television programs from the Philippines are for the most part in Tagalog with English and are aired on a daily basis. The only local Filipino television program is in English. But one local Ilokano program,"Filipino Fiesta," aired almost every weekend in Hawai'i for 33 years before going off the air in 1986.

Movies, frequently in Tagalog, are occasionally shown. Since the Philippine Moving Picture Theatre, Zamboanga, closed in 1973, Filipino movies have been shown irregularly at various places.

The Push for the Teaching of Philippine Languages

Nine out of ten Filipinos arriving in Hawai'i after 1965 came from the Ilocos region of the Philippines where most of the plantation labor recruits originated (Lasman et al. 1971: 42-43). One of the problems encountered by these immigrants was the inability to use English. To give equal educational opportunity to the large numbers of non-English speaking Filipino children, the state Department of Education with the help of community leaders applied for federal funds to set up an experimental bilingual education program in English and Ilokano, the first language of most of the Filipino immigrants. The program started during the 1975-1976 school year for kindergarten to third grade (K-3) Ilokano pupils in nine schools of the Honolulu district. It was the first Ilokano-English bilingual program in the United States. In 1979, Tagalog was added as one of the non-English languages in the program.

Since the early 1960s, the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa has offered Tagalog or Pilipino language courses. Collateral studies in Philippine literature, folklore and culture were introduced in the mid-1970s. By 1980, UH Mānoa was the only university in the United States that offered a fully developed program in Tagalog language and literature. Recognizing the predominance of Ilokano among Filipinos in Hawai'i, the UH Department of Indo-Pacific Languages began offering courses in Ilokano in the spring of 1972 as a service to the community. This was probably the first time Ilokano had ever been taught formally in any part of the world. By the 1978-1979 academic year, four levels of Ilokano were being taught. Cebuano, although one of the three Philippine languages most commonly spoken in the state, is not offered at present. Leeward and Kapi'olani Community Colleges offer two levels of Tagalog.

About 150 students take beginning Ilokano and Tagalog every semester at UH Mānoa. Two hundred students are enrolled in four levels of Tagalog, one grammar, one language and culture, and four literature courses. Philippine language students tend to be Filipinos who have lost their native language and are now trying to get it back. When asked why they are learning a Filipino language, 75 percent of the 150 responding language students expressed wanting to "learn more about my roots, appreciate my Filipino culture and communicate with my parents."

The other most common response is to complete the language requirement of two years of a foreign language for a bachelor's degree. Tagalog and Ilokano, like Spanish, German and Japanese, are considered foreign languages at UH Mānoa. On the continental U.S., UCLA, UC Berkeley, San Francisco State University, City College of San Francisco, University of Oregon, University of Michigan, University of Wisconsin, Northern Illinois University, University of Pennsylvania, and Cornell University offer Tagalog as a foreign language. The University of Hawai'i, however, has the largest and most comprehensive Philippine language program in the United States. In recognition of the importance of this program, the University has a U.S. Department of Education grant which has funded students selected nationally to study advanced Tagalog at the University of the Philippines, Los Baños since 1991.

Linguists have developed (largely with assistance from the Peace Corps in Washington, D.C. and the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute (PALI) of the University of Hawai'i) twenty-one volumes of language texts, grammars and dictionaries for seven of the eight major Philippine languages mentioned earlier (excluding Waray). The PALI Ilokano and Tagalog texts were used in beginning language classes in Hawai'i and on the U.S. mainland. What is used now for teaching these classes are *Let's Speak Ilokano* (Espiritu 1984), *Conversational Tagalog* (Ramos 1985), and *Intermediate Tagalog* (Ramos and Goulet 1981).

Leilehua High School in Wahiawa introduced Tagalog as one of its regular language course offerings in 1973. The program grew from an experimental offering to an established part of the regular language program but ended when

the teacher retired. Adult education community schools at Waipahu, Farrington and Hilo High Schools teach Ilokano and Tagalog occasionally in Saturday classes.

Recently, Tagalog and Ilokano were taught in the public schools when a private, non-profit educational project developed teleclass materials and had these languages taught in the schools to help maintain community ethnic languages (Ramos and Mabanglo 1991). The two Philippine languages were included among the eleven languages selected for the project. Unfortunately, the project ended in 1992 due to lack of funding. As of 1994, only Tagalog continues to be taught at Radford High School with funding from the Hawai'i Department of Education. Ilokano and Tagalog are occasionally taught in elementary schools.

Preservation of Philippine Languages

Hawai'i is unique in that it has over a hundred languages, mostly Asian and Pacific, spoken by an enormous variety of ethnic communities. However by the second or third generation, the children of immigrants lose their ethnic language. What is sad is that each year the University has about 400 Filipino students enrolled in Tagalog and Ilokano, only to gain non-functional proficiency after two years of instruction. It is such a big waste of an important national language resource in America when a child's native language is suppressed in the elementary and secondary schools, thus resulting in his/her losing it together with his or her identity, only to make a futile attempt to relearn the language in college (if at all available) because of a search for one's roots. As the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies (1979) pointed out, "The melting tradition that denigrates immigrants' maintenance of their skill to speak their native tongue still lingers, and this unfortunately causes linguistic minorities to be ignored as a potential asset."

The issue of language is of course highly volatile, and even in multicultural Hawai'i there is a strong tendency to argue that the straightest road to assimilation into American society is through the abandonment, or at least the non-encouragement, of the immigrants' native tongue. It is an argument which appears reasonable on the surface but which upon closer scrutiny reveals itself to be only another variation of the idea that "natural selection" should enable the "fit" to survive. What this argument would have us do is to throw people from different cultures into a completely new and strange environment, prevent them from falling back on those mechanisms of adaptation only their culture can

provide, and which can, of course, be given expression only in their native tongues, and then expect them to become productive members of the community.

The preservation of Philippine languages among Filipinos in Hawai'i has been an important aspect of their struggle to survive in the face of the social, economic and cultural biases that have been directed against them for decades. Not only have these languages been modes of communication, more importantly, they have been the vehicles through which those aspects of their culture which have proven most useful have survived. And Filipino culture, it has become clear, has been the main source of strength of Filipinos in Hawai'i.

References

Cariaga, Roman 1935. "The Filipinos in Honolulu." *Social Science*, 10(1):39-46.

Constantino, Ernesto 1971. "Tagalog and Other Major Languages of the Philippines." In T.A. Sebeok (ed.), *Current Trends in Linguistics*. The Hague: Mouton.

Das, U.K. 1945. "Terms Used on Hawaiian Plantations." Mimeographed, Honolulu.

Espiritu, Prescila L. 1984. *Let's Speak Ilokano*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Gonzales, Andrew B. 1977. "Pilipino in the Year 2000." In B. Sibayan and A. Gonzales (eds.), *Language Planning and the Building of a National Language*, pp. 263-290. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines and PNC Language Study Center.

_____ 1987. "Language Agenda for the 21st Century: The Development of Filipino and the Maintenance of English. In F. Sionil Jose (ed.), *A Filipino Agenda for the 21st Century*, pp. 107-215. Manila: Solidarity Publishing House.

_____ 1991. "Cebuano and Tagalog: Ethnic Rivalry Redivivus." In James R. Dow (ed.), *Language and Ethnicity*, pp. 111-129. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Hawaiian Reporter 1959. November 26, p. B24.

Lasman, L. et al. 1971. "A Study of the Attitudes of Filipino Immigrants About Hawai'i. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Hawai'i.

McFarland, Curtis D. 1994. "Subgrouping of the Philippine Languages." *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 25(1-2).

President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies 1979. *Strength Through Wisdom*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Ramos, Teresita V. 1985. *Conversational Tagalog*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Ramos, Teresita V. and R. Goulet 1981. *Intermediate Tagalog*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Ramos, Teresita V. and R. Mabanglo 1991. "Teleclass International: A Tagalog Language Maintenance Unit." *Bulletin for Teachers of Southeast Asian Languages*, 5(2):15-24.

Reinecke, J.E. 1969. *Language and Dialect in Hawai'i.* Honolulu: The University Press of Hawai'i.

Weber, George 1989. "A Colourful Tropical Cocktail: Languages in the Philippines and the Austronesian Language Family." *Language International*, 1(2):13-17.

"Typically Filipino"[1]

Albert B. Robillard

"Typically Filipino"?

This paper is about the conversational/interactional usage of the term "Typically Filipino." The quotation marks on the title are put there on purpose. This paper does not attempt the impossible task of saying what is "Typically Filipino" in a realistic sense. It is plainly obvious that Filipino culture as a manifest topic is reproduced in thousands of conversations, conferences, lectures, papers, and books. This paper does not seek to replace or dispute that reproducible notion of culture or to criticize it. The task is to describe and analyze those interactional occasions where Filipino culture becomes a topic, as in someone uttering "Typically Filipino" or in an utterance which otherwise characterizes Filipinos. This paper attempts to describe how "Typically Filipino" and its equivalents arise in an ongoing interaction as a methodologically appropriate and demonstrably connected topic.

This paper argues for a contrastive method of examining Filipino culture. It is to be read as a statement of an analytic posture. The analyses offered of Filipino culture are exemplary, rather than complete inspections.

There are courses in Filipino culture at many American, Canadian, and Philippine universities, an unlimited number of research projects and literature in which Philippine culture is the main variable, and an Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC) at Ateneo de Manila University. These courses and research projects treat Filipino culture as a describable entity, a constant which can be measured and elaborated upon. The elaborations can result in great archetonic structures on the cultures of every minority in the Philippines (e.g., Conklin, 1980; Constantino, 1983; Keesing, 1962; Rai, 1990; Rosaldo, 1980; Walrod, 1988; Wiber, 1993), the cultures of the language (Llamzon, 1978), the culturally appropriate care of elderly Filipinos (Kuan, 1993), provincial cultures (Vilches, 1979), Muslim culture in the Philippines (Muslim, 1994), the cultures of the Spanish (McCoy, 1993), the Chinese (Baviera and See, 1992; Carino, 1985; See and Chua, 1988) and the Japanese (Osawa, 1994) in the Philippines. There is academic work on Philippine popular culture (Reyes, 1991) and also extensive cultural reportage and commentary in the daily and weekly Philippine press.

Then there are courses, research projects, and literature on the ethnic culture of Filipinos living in the United States. A growing literature is available on a variety of subjects: Filipinos immigrating to Hawai'i, working on the sugar plantations and now in the hotel industry (Okamura and Labrador, 1996;

Okamura, Agbayani, and Kerkvliet, 1991); Filipinos in America (Espiritu, 1995; Takaki, 1995a; Takaki, 1995b); Filipinos in Los Angeles (Tiger, 1979; Berbano, 1974); Filipinos in California, New York, and Michigan (Crouchett, 1982; Abad, 1975; Pido, 1976); and Filipino nurses in the United States (Asperilla, 1971). There is a videotape distributed by AT&T to people making substantial calls to the Philippines over the AT&T service. The tape depicts the history of Filipinos in the United States from the early ship-jumpers off a Spanish galleon around Santa Barbara in California in the late 1500s, the establishment of a shrimp-fishing town called Manila in Louisiana, the Filipino sugar workers in Hawai'i, and the Filipino participation in the armed forces in WWII.

In everyday speech I often speak of the history of the Philippines, using topics from pre-Spanish contact to the present traffic and intense consumerism found along Epifanio De Los Santos Avenue (EDSA), the main shopping street in Manila, with the assumption that the events in this history are as stable and constant as Mount Apo outside of Davao. I am also fond of reciting the history of Filipinos in "America" to my Philippine-born wife, now a Filipino American. I love digging around in the extensive Filipino holdings of the University of Hawai'i library system and the on-line bibliographic search systems, each time finding new nuggets of heretofore unknown history or sociology on Filipinos in the Philippines, United States, the Arabian peninsula, Europe, Africa, Oceania, and wherever Filipinos are found. I find myself monitoring CNN for the appearance of Filipinos, usually in the background of news shots. I once saw a CNN story on Filipino small businessmen in the middle of coverage of an African revolution.

Speaking, listening, watching, and writing about Filipino culture, as in the academic publications cited above, is a massive collaborative social accomplishment. Rather than participate in the natural discussion as a definable constant, I want to propose an alternative way of analyzing and thinking about Filipino culture. Instead of relying on the privileges of a socially concerted assumption of Filipino culture as a describable constant, I want to inspect some interactional settings in which the topic of Filipino culture comes up. This approach problematizes Filipino culture as an interactional phenomenon. The task before us, in this approach, is not merely to describe the setting, but to describe the step-by-step process of the interaction, as it occurred in real time, to determine how the mention of Filipino culture became a meaningful, accountable part of the ongoing conversation.

I have to admit the orientation of this paper may seem odd to people who talk and write about Philippine and Filipino American culture. It is quite natural to hear people speaking about Philippine culture, and I hear and speak myself of it as an object. I live in a Filipino, extended, multigenerational, Tagalog-speaking household in Hawai'i and find that we always speak of Filipino culture as if it were an objective, dimensionable entity. But in daily household life, Filipino culture is an occasional topic, usually to give an account of untoward circumstances.

The Two Meanings of "Typically Filipino"

There are many ways of topicalizing Filipinos and Filipino culture. I will mention two examples. The first example is generated in everyday conversation, usually among Filipinos or between Filipinos and others. While the formulations are not used everyday, they are frequent enough to be classified as "say-isms." By using this term, I mean to indicate that the formulations are recognized as recurrent. I have heard these say-isms hundreds of times in my house and in the general Honolulu Filipino community: "Every Filipino thinks he can sing and dance;" "If these kids were in the Philippines, they would have respect;" "Some Filipinos don't like Filipinos, you know;" "Life is hard in America, you really have to work, no monkey-business;" "Do you know Dan Cooke (a Honolulu news anchor) is married to a Filipina?;" "Can Ramona Harris (the wife of the Mayor of Honolulu) speak Filipino?;" "It is embarrassing that Prince is part Filipino;" "You know how stingy Ilocanos are;" "Visayans love to party;" "Where does Veronica Pedrosa (a CNN anchor) get that British accent?;" and "Filipinos love to build big houses with iron gates and balconies." These are just examples.

The foregoing characterize Filipinos. "Typically Filipino" stands as a collecting heuristic for these say-isms and their equivalents. But there are times when my wife will say "Typically Filipino" when I am watching *Filipino Beat*, a Honolulu-produced television program. The comment "Typically Filipino" is directed at the scenes I am watching on television.

So, there are two meanings of "Typically Filipino." The first is a heuristic use, a collecting basket of say-isms, as above. The second use is "Typically Filipino" itself.

For the remainder of the paper I will present five say-isms that exemplify "Typically Filipino." In the conclusion I will propose an alternate way of studying Filipino culture. The say-isms are drawn from my experience living in a Filipino household, in the Honolulu Filipino community, and from living in the Philippines.

Vignette 1: "Typically Filipino"

I was watching *Filipino Beat* when I saw what I have since learned is hip-hop dancing. The show featured six students from Farrington High School, which is located in Kalihi, a predominantly Filipino neighborhood in Honolulu. The four boys and two girls faced the camera and danced in two lines with identical and synchronous movements, accompanied by a contemporary rock and roll song. My wife walked into the room, glanced at the TV and said, "Typically Filipino."

At the time, I had no idea hip-hop dancing was of African American origin. I had first seen hip-hop dancing on Manila TV. The fact that I did not know the origin of hip-hop dancing is a commentary on my out-of-it-ness and the nerdiness of my two older children. My youngest daughter was three when I was in Manila for a Fulbright fellowship and she did not tell me about hip-hop dancing and the hip-hop nation until she became a teenager. But when I was living in Quezon City, I thought hip-hop was the national dance of the Filipino teenager generation. My brother-in-law, then just barely past being a teenager, would face the TV in our house and mirror the dance of the hip-hoppers on the countless Manila TV variety shows in the mid-eighties.

When my wife commented, "Typically Filipino," I heard the reference as pointing to our mutual experience watching variety shows on Manila TV. Further, I heard it as a comment on cultural survival or reproduction of Filipinos in Hawai'i, exhibiting Filipino culture in the Philippines. I did not know at the time my wife knew the African American origin of hip-hop dancing and was making an ironic comment on the tendency of teenagers to mimic American popular culture.

I have since seen hip-hop dancing on Chinese, Korean, Hong Kong, Taiwanese, and Malaysian television. Maybe the African Americans who talk about a hip-hop generation are speaking of an international generation.

Vignette 2: "Every Filipino Thinks He Can Sing and Dance"

If I have heard this say-ism once, I have heard it a thousand times. I remember it being said most emphatically when we rented a house in Teacher's Village, Quezon City, near a person who owned a huge karaoke machine. The entire neighborhood was Filipino, with the exception of one Japanese family. The house behind us was occupied by a large upper middle-class Filipino family. The husband was fond of cranking up the karaoke machine at around 11 p.m., and would often limber up his vocal cords by drinking a six pack of beer. Then he would begin singing Tom Jones songs in an ear-splitting voice. He was always out of tune and out of time with the music. He would drone on, even in the face of neighbors, all of them Filipino, yelling for him to shut up. The neighbors would shout, in English, Tagalog, and Taglish, "Every Filipino thinks he can sing and dance." This would not stop him.

When members of my Filipino family were in the house as he was singing, they would often make the same remark. My wife, in particular, constantly uttered this whenever the neighborhood Tom Jones fell into song. Our bedroom backed the yard of the ersatz Tom Jones, and the singing and music would wake my wife.

Separately, this remark was made when I watched singers lip-synch to their prerecorded voices on *Filipino Beat*. The male singers would stand in Foster Gardens, a botanical garden in Honolulu, bellowing a Basil Valdez[2] tune, without benefit of microphone, amplifiers or musicians. The verdant splendor notwithstanding, the Valdez imitators were often incapable of lip-synching in time with their own voices. This combined with the fact they were frequently behind or ahead of the music, and were just as frequently out of tune, would make them subject to the barb, "Every Filipino thinks he can sing and dance." This went for many female singers as well, especially if they attempted to lip-synch with popular Tagalog songs.

As an aside, the first time I heard the equivalent of the phrase, "Every Filipino thinks he can sing and dance," it was a boast. During the second week we were dating, my wife and I were at a Philippine culture show. I was absorbed by the female dancers. My now wife jolted me out of my reverie by saying, "You are supposed to be paying attention to me. Never mind the show, I can do the dances and songs for you." I have been waiting through the fourteen years of our marriage for my wife to dance with a glass containing a lit candle on top of her head.

Vignette 3: "If These Kids Were in the Philippines They Would Have Respect"

When I first heard this say-ism, I thought it was a direct steal from Norwegian Americans. My mother was an immigrant from Norway, and every time she thought I was getting out of hand, she would say, "You could not get away with this in Norway." I was often lectured on how kids were taught to have respect, absolute respect, for their parents and elders in Norway. This retrospective idealization was continued when we moved to California from New York

when I was sixteen. I well remember my mother telling me, "California is making you wild."

Anyway, I have heard this say-ism *ad nauseam*, uttered most frequently by my mother-in-law, as a normative commentary on the behavior of my children or on what she sees on the television news about juvenile Filipino gang crime. My mother-in-law conveniently forgets youth gangs in Manila. This idealization of Philippine child-rearing is particularly aimed at the only one of my four children born in the Philippines, as if geographic location of birth carries certain cultural endowments.

There is a widely shared idealization of child socialization in the Philippines. It is so widely shared that not only do Filipino Americans make reference to it, but Filipinos in the Philippines enjoy the demonstration of child discipline and courtesy toward parents and grandparents, comparing it to the assumed run-amok Filipino children in the United States. The displays of child compliance I have witnessed in the Philippines are so frequent that I have suspected that people announce the Robillards are coming and that everyone under sixteen better pepper every utterance with *ho* and *po,* verbal signs of respect.

The supporting formulations for the idealization of Philippine child socialization are as numerous as I have heard for any motherland. I have often heard: "Kids in America have too much money. Watch too much TV. Get strange ideas from *Melrose Place*. Talk on the phone too much. They have too much freedom and go wherever they want. They can run around O'ahu and no one knows them, where in the Philippines they are always under the watch of neighbors or relatives. They have no responsibilities here, where in the Philippines I did everything for my family from the age of ten."

There are many cuts into the idealization of Philippine child socialization. I will mention one more. It has to do with clothing. One day I was parked outside the Kailua branch of Bank of America. I sat in the car with my mother-in-law, while my wife and youngest son went inside to make a deposit into my son's savings account. I consider my mother-in-law an invaluable cultural resource, Filipino, Filipino American, American, and international. She is a bubbling fount of say-isms.

Anyway, we were positioned in a beautiful place to do collaborative windshield ethnography, facing the Versateller® or the ATM. It was a busy and hot day at the ATM and we were delighted to make observations on the women we saw. Many young women were wearing bikini tops with shorts. One wore a bikini bottom to the ATM. It was not a thong but it exposed most of the buttocks. As luck would have it, it was worn by an attractive Filipino-looking young woman. My mother-in-law-sociologist piped up, "You could never wear that in Manila. Have you seen people wearing that on the mainland, Britt? I think not. I have never seen that in LA or San Francisco." Being absorbed by the view, I muttered, "You should go to Venice Beach in LA on a hot day." My collaborator continued, "You know what people would think if you walked around in that in Manila?" I nodded. She went on, "In Hawai'i you can wear anything. *Susmaryosep*,[3] in Hawai'i women wear underwear on the street." I agreed, smiled, and kept doing my windshield ethnography.

Vignette 4: "Life is Hard in America, You Really Have to Work, No Monkey-business"

This utterance is said in many ways. Sometimes, it is a complaint. Sometimes, it is a description of work in the Philippines and a boast of hard work and self-sacrifice in the United States. Just as often, it is a normative statement intended to motivate the newly arrived or those preparing to immigrate. The meaning is contextually determined.

This say-ism is wide in scope. It refers not only to labor discipline but also to the absence of domestic help, meaning no maids or drivers in the US. But the more serious component of this say-ism is a commentary on comparative labor conditions. I have heard the following: "You cannot sleep on the job here;" "You cannot have *merienda*[4] on a coffee break;" "No more going to the movies in the afternoon;" "If you have nothing to do, you cannot sleep on your desk;" "You have to work every hour of your shift;" "You cannot do nothing or you will be gone from the job;" "They expect effort every minute;" "Work here is no joke;" "This is blood money;" "There is a lot of pressure in this job;" "I never would work so hard if I did not have people to support back home;" "Back home, they think I am picking money off the street;" "My kids have no idea how hard I am working;" and many more formulations of this kind, probably heard since the advent of immigration by any ethnic group.

There is a big combination of martyrdom, I-am-an-adult-player-in-advanced-capitalism, you-intending-immigrants-will-be-shocked, intending-immigrants-better-get-ready, and the-lack-of-a-work-ethic-is-why-the-Philippines-is-a-mess in this say-ism. This say-ism can cut many ways at once.

Situated Say-isms

The four say-isms I have used thus far are not general or formal representations of Filipino culture in America. I have introduced them as a method of

criticizing the conventional notion of culture as a constant. The ethnomethodological approach I am using (see Garfinkel, 1996) eschews any idea of a formal knowledge, preferring instead to describe and analyze the socially concerted details through which witnessed structure is produced. By structure, for example, I mean the witnessed work of doing the events composing a party, such as arriving salutations, telling and receiving stories and jokes, moving from one conversational knot to another, observably lounging, publicly eating, leave-taking, and other features. There are many other kinds of structure but each is both site- and experiential-specific, usually worksite-specific, such as in classroom teaching, research laboratory labor, playing music, doing police patrols, engaging in conversation, conducting a clinical examination in pediatrics, and other social achievements.

The say-isms do not represent anything except specific utterances, usually to account for untoward circumstances, such as when the neighborhood Tom Jones sang and when children misbehave. There is no necessity to these utterances. The parties could and do use other utterances. These alternate say-isms could have no reference to Filipino culture. But the ones I have chosen to write about here are Filipino.

To illustrate the situated nature of say-isms, I will introduce a fifth say-ism. There was a party at my house for a Filipino friend, a visiting government official in the Ramos regime. He is married to a Filipino American. There were about twenty guests, eighteen of whom were Filipino. The guest of honor was late and this fact drew many comments about "Filipino time." The party started without the visiting couple and their kids when people grew hungry and started to help themselves to the food. Everyone had been eating and socializing for an hour when the honored couple arrived. The couple knew most of the others and quickly joined the conversations and the eating of Filipino foods.

The party went on for four hours after the couple arrived. There was the usual party behavior of eating, drinking, remarking on the food, asking for recipes, watching the kids run around, and the ever-shifting conversational knots of adults. As the party wore on, some people began to talk of having to leave. A few adults fell asleep in their chairs.

While there was an hour of talk about "We better leave," there were no departures. The government official friend from Manila, who faced a long trip to Sacramento the next day, repeatedly said to his sleepy-eyed wife and three children, "We have to try to go soon, we have a big day tomorrow." After he noticed me observing his futile effort, he turned to me and said, "Filipinos take hours to leave a party. They have a hard time leaving." He went on to say, "You can add this to your inventory of Filipino say-isms." The friend had known for years about my interest in collecting say-isms.

The fifth say-ism is "Filipinos take hours to leave a party. They have a hard time leaving." This utterance was produced and found its sense through the endogenously lived time of the party and through the retrospective knowledge of the speaker of my interest in say-isms. I took the utterance to be addressed to me. The speaker was looking at me as he spoke, and the utterance about how I could add this to my inventory confirmed his selection of his primary recipient. Furthermore, I had seen my friend watch me watching his wife, who was falling asleep in the rattan chair next to me.

While I was the official recipient of the fifth say-ism, I was not the only intended recipient. The utterance served both as an observation and a goad to my friend's wife. The wife-recipient was just as important, as it turned out, in light of the subsequent action, successful leave taking.

This fifth say-ism, "Filipinos take hours to leave a party. They have a hard time leaving," was produced, as part of the party's doing, separate from this report about it, in the lived sequence of the party, where the intended recipients of the utterance, the speakers, the topics, meaning, and more, were achieved as an ongoing evolution of the interaction. For example, whether the wife heard the remark and took it as a serious request was demonstrated by her standing up, smiling at me, extending her hand to her husband, and saying, "We better go, it is late." It is the action subsequent to the say-ism that shows the meaning of the say-ism, at least for the friend's wife.

Situated action means the meaning of any features of the interaction is produced as the interaction develops. The meaning is an ongoing accomplishment. This does not mean that things are inherently unstable and always changing. Stability and change are worked out in the course of the interaction.

How to Study Filipino Culture

Filipino culture is classified in countless papers, articles, books, and conferences. The fact there is a building devoted to the study of Philippine culture on the campus of Ateneo de Manila University is a physical monument to Philippine culture. Again, I do not want to dispute these social achievements.

What I am proposing is an ethnomethodology of Filipino culture. Such a procedure of study would not assume the constancy of any culture, even though common sense tells us that culture is an independent, objective entity.

Ethnomethodology is indifferent to any ontological claims. But counter to the charge that ethnomethodology does not recover its own practice, it reflectively uses the cultural competence of the investigator to recognize cultural categories and the interactional context of their use.

I do admit I speak of Filipino American culture as if it were a constant, recalcitrant, objective presence, existing whether or not I am talking or thinking about it. Not only do I speak of it that way, I assume there is an intersubjective consensus on the constancy of Filipino American culture.

I am not only proposing an indifference to the ontological claims of the topic, in this case Filipino culture, but I am also proposing that one must be a participant in the social structure under inspection. One must be an adequate practitioner in this social structure, including in this case, a linguistic competence in Tagalog or in the Filipino language in which the structure is composed. The knowledge of adequate practice is the basis of being able to recognize the discrete utterances and movements composing a social arrangement, the parts and sequential order verified by other competent practitioners.

We have Filipinos studying Filipino culture. We have scores of non-Filipinos studying Filipino culture. The trick is to make discussions of Filipino culture strange for Filipino analysts, enabling them to treat the formulations with indifference. Non-Filipino analysts have to hang around long enough to have what they see verified by Filipino practitioners. Only then can they take the position of ethnomethodological indifference.

There are two styles of ethnomethodological data collection. The first is to video or audio record those interactions in which Filipino culture is a topic. While there are many advantages to magnetic recorders in preserving the details of an interaction and providing for intersubjective reliability, the recording machines can be socially intrusive. The other method of data collection is taking field notes on the interactional occasions where Filipinos or others characterize themselves as effecting Filipino culture. The field notes must be based on repeated exposures to the characterizations. Some claim the second mode of analysis is superior because it demands a deep practical knowledge of the situation. Those who make this claim criticize the use of tapes as analysis without ethnography. However, a deep ethnographic knowledge can be combined with a taped record of the interaction under investigation.

No matter what method the investigator chooses, the task of analysis is to describe the methods used to produce the sequential structure of the interaction. The practices may be evident or so well-known the practice is assumed and not noticeable. An example of an assumed or unnoticeable practice from the fifth example of Filipino culture is where gaze is routinely used to indicate participation in interaction, alternating the gaze to changing speakers, and using the gaze by the speaker to indicate the primary recipient of the utterance. Further, the Filipino government official friend noticed me looking at his sleeping wife in the chair to my right, and I observed him watching me look at his wife. This mutuality of gaze elements was accountably used, along with the mutuality of hearing the prior request by the friend to leave, to begin the utterance, "Filipinos take hours to leave a party. They have a hard time leaving." The statement also referenced my known interest in Filipino self-characterizations of culture.

The analysis can be taken to an infinite depth of detail. The exact timing of the mutually tracked gazes, the real order of when my friend began to look at me and when I began to look directly at him and when he commenced speaking can be analyzed. The actual phonetic, as opposed to corrected proper English transcriptions, can be analyzed as they intercalate with surrounding speech, gaze, and body movement. The level of detail in the analysis is determined by the audience of the examination and their interests in reproducing the behavior. When behavior under inspection is problematic, as when a pediatric resident has trouble communicating with a mother, the level of detail can get very microscopic. When talking and writing about Filipino self-characterizations of culture, the level of detail corresponds to the recognition by practitioners of those self-characterizations that the production order of these characterizations has been adequately described. The level of detail must also be recognized by other analysts.

Endnotes

1. I thank Maria Chen, Colleen Cheung, Haynes Leung, and Qian Miao for typing this paper and Michele Smith for editing it. Divina Robillard read and criticized this paper, and also presented it at the Asian American Studies Conference. I also want to thank Mary Danico, David Goode, Maria Eva Pangilinan and Alex Brillantes for their comments and questions. I alone am responsible for the contents.

2. Basil Valdez is a famous contemporary Filipino singer in the Phillipines. In my opinion, he has a peerless voice.

3. *Susmaryosep* is a Tagalog slang version of "Jesus, Mary, and Joseph," but said in Tagalog as one word.

4. *Merienda* is a Spanish loan word to most Philippine languages. It indicates the taking of a morning or afternoon snack. The snack can be substantial, such as a plate of *pancit*, fried noodles.

References

Abad, Ricardo G. 1975. *Social Links, Perception of Opportunities, and the Propensity of Migrants to Return Home: The Case of Filipino Medical Graduates in New York City.* Ph.D. dissertation, Fordham University.

Asperilla, Purita F. 1971. *The Mobility of Filipino Nurses.* Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, Teachers College.

Baviera, Aileen S.P. and Teresita A. See, Eds. 1992. *China, Across the Seas: The Chinese as Filipinos.* Quezon City: Philippine Association for Chinese Studies.

Berbano, Marcos P. 1974. *The Social Status of the Filipinos in Los Angeles County.* M.A. thesis, University of Southern California.

Carino, Theresa, Ed. 1985. *Chinese in the Philippines.* Manila: De La Salle University Press.

Conklin, Harold C. 1980. *Ethnographic Atlas of Ifugao: A Study of Environment, Culture, and Society in Northern Luzon.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Constantino, Ernesto. 1982. *Isinay Texts and Translations.* Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

Crouchett, Lorraine J. 1982. *Filipinos in California: From the Days of the Galleons to the Present.* El Cerrito, CA: Downey Place Publishing House.

Espiritu, Yen Le. 1995. *Filipino American Lives.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Garfinkel, Harold. 1996. "Ethnomethodology's Program". *Social Psychology Quarterly* 59:5-21.

Keesing, Felix M. 1962. *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Kuan, Letty G. 1993. *Understanding the Filipino Elderly: A Textbook for Nurses and Related Health Professionals.* Dipolog City, Philippines: Jesus G. Kuan Foundation.

Llamzon, Teodoro A. 1978. *Handbook of Philippine Language Groups.* Quezon City, Ateneo de Manila University Press with UNESCO.

McCoy, Alfred W. Ed. 1993. *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Muslim, Macapado Abaton. 1994. *The Moro Armed Struggle in the Philippines: the Nonviolent Autonomy Alternative.* Marawi City: Mindanao State University.

Okamura, Jonathan Y. and Roderick N. Labrador, Eds. 1996. *Pagdiriwang 1996: Legacy and Vision of Hawaii's Filipino Americans.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Okamura, Jonathan Y., Amefil R. Agbayani, and Melinda Tria Kerkvliet, Eds. 1991. *The Filipino American Experience in Hawai'i.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i.

Osawa, Kiyoshi. 1994. *The Japanese Community in the Philippines Before, During and After the War: an Autobiography.* Quezon City: Kalayaan Press.

Pido, Antonio J. 1976. *Social Structure and the Immigration Process as Factors in the Analysis of a Non-White Immigrant Minority: The Case of the Pilipinos in Midwest City, U.S.A.* Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University.

Rai, Navin K. 1990. *Living in a Lean-To: Philippine Negrito Foragers in Transition.* Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan.

Reyes, Soledad S., Ed. 1991. *Reading Popular Culture.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Rosaldo, Renato. 1980. *Ilongot Headhunting, 1883-1974: A Study in Society and History.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

See, Teresita A. and Lily T. Chua, Eds. 1988. *Crossroads: Short Essays on The Chinese Filipinos.* Manila: Kaisa Para sa Kaunlaran.

Takaki, Ronald T. 1995a. *In The Heart of Filipino America: Immigrants From the Pacific Isles.* New York: Chelsea House.

Takaki, Ronald T. 1995b. *Strangers At The Gates Again: Asian American Immigration After 1965.* New York: Chelsea House.

Tiger, Ray L. 1979. *The Filipino Community in Los Angeles: A Survey of Attitudes and Activities, 1978.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Vilches, Ma. Luz C. 1979. *Readings in Leyte-Samar History.* Tacloban City, Philippines: Divine Word University of Tacloban.

Walrod, Michael R. 1988. *Normative Discourse and Persuasion: An Analysis of Gadang Informal Litigation.* Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

Wiber, Melanie. 1993. *Politics, Property and Law in the Philippine Uplands.* Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Contributors

Amefil R. Agbayani is director of Student Equity, Excellence and Diversity at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She was born in Manila and came to Hawai'i as an East–West Center grantee in the 1960s. She has a PhD degree in political science from UH Mānoa and conducts research on Filipino and minority education. Dr. Agbayani serves as chair of the Hawai'i State Commission on Civil Rights and is a board member of the Hawai'i Community Foundation.

Dean T. Alegado is an assistant professor in the Department of Ethnic Studies and the Center for Philippine Studies at UH Mānoa. Born in the Philippines, he received his BA degree from the University of California, Berkeley in 1974, MA from Goddard–Cambridge in 1975 and PhD from UH Mānoa in 1991. He teaches courses on the Filipino American experience, ethnic/race relations, and immigration to the United States.

Leonard Y. Andaya was born and raised on Maui. He graduated with a BA degree in history from Yale University in 1965 and received a PhD degree in Southeast Asian history from Cornell University in 1971. He has held research and teaching positions in the Netherlands, Malaysia, Australia, Indonesia and New Zealand. At present Dr. Andaya is a professor of history and the director of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at UH Mānoa. He is the author of five books on Malaysian and Indonesian history.

Jeff Chang received his master's degree in 1995 from the Asian American Studies Center at the University of California, Los Angeles for his thesis on "Lessons of Tolerance: Ethnicity, The Local and Affirmative Action in Hawai'i" from which his article is drawn. He is currently living in the San Francisco Bay Area where he writes on race and popular music and produces records.

P. de Los Santos works as an educational specialist with the New Intensive Courses in English (NICE) Program of the UH Summer Session. He previously coordinated a U.S. Department of Education funded Family English Literacy project which provided literacy skills training to immigrant and local Filipino families. He also is a contributing writer to the *Fil–Am Courier*, a bimonthly Filipino community newspaper published in Hawai'i.

Melinda Tria Kerkvliet was the director of Operation Manong at UH Mānoa for several years before relocating to Canberra, Australia in 1991. She has a PhD degree in history from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She is the author of *Manila Workers' Unions, 1900–1950* and has also completed a biography on Pablo Manlapit. Dr. Kerkvliet recently began conducting research in Vietnam.

Jonathan Y. Okamura is a researcher with the Student Equity, Excellence and Diversity office at UH Mānoa and a frequent lecturer in the Ethnic Studies Department. Born and raised on Maui, he received his PhD degree in anthropology from the University of London and conducted his dissertation fieldwork with Filipino immigrants in the Kalihi area of Honolulu. He has researched and written on Filipino Americans, ethnic identity and relations in Hawai'i, and cultural minorities in the Philippines where he taught in Manila for three years in the mid 1980s. His current research interests include the global Filipino diaspora and racialization in Hawai'i.

Teresita V. Ramos is a professor in the Department of Hawaiian and IndoPacific Languages and Literatures at UH Mānoa where she teaches courses on Pilipino language and culture. She has a PhD degree in linguistics from UH Mānoa. She is coordinator of the Pilipino Language and Literature Program and the author of several instructional books on teaching Tagalog. Among her publications are *The Case System of Tagalog Verbs* and *Modern Tagalog Grammar.*

Linda A. Revilla is research health scientist with the Veterans Affairs Pacific Center for PTSD in Honolulu. She has a PhD degree in psychology from the University of California, Los Angeles. She previously was an assistant professor in the Department of American Ethnic Studies at the University of Washington and a visiting professor in the Department of Ethnic Studies at UH Mānoa. Dr. Revilla is currently working on a documentary of the First Filipino Infantry Regiment.

Albert Britton Robillard received his PhD degree in sociology from the University of California, Los Angeles, and held an appointment in the School of Medicine at Michigan State University before moving to UH Mānoa in 1980. He was a Fulbright research professor at Ateneo de Manila University, and has conducted training programs and research in mental health services in the Marshall Islands, Pohnpei, Truk, Yap, Palau, Guam, Saipan and Hawai'i. Dr. Robillard is the author of many papers on health services in the Pacific and the Philippines and is currently doing disability studies. He is the director of the Health and Social Sciences Project at the Social Science Research Institute and associate professor of sociology at UH Mānoa.

Steffi San Buenaventura is assistant professor of ethnic studies at the University of California, Riverside. A resident of Hawai'i for sixteen years, she received her PhD degree from UH Mānoa in 1990 and later was a postdoctoral

fellow at the UCLA Institute of American Cultures/Asian American Studies Center and taught at UCLA, UC Irvine and California State University at Long Beach. Her first major work dealing with a Filipino American social movement is forthcoming under the title, *Nativism, Ethnicity and Empowerment: A Filipino Socio-Religious Movement in America, 1925–1975.*