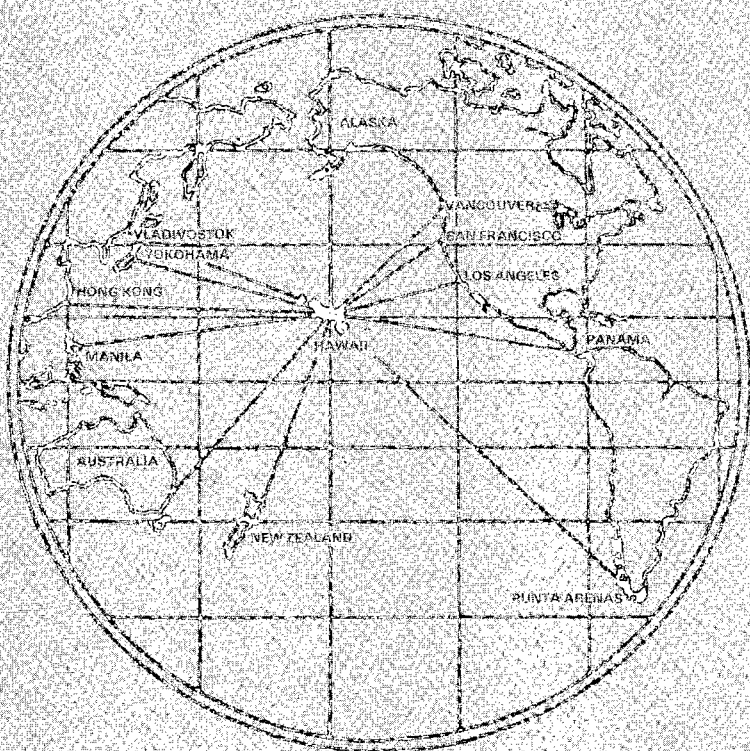


# SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII



Special Issue

The Filipino American Experience in Hawai'i  
In Commemoration of the 35th Anniversary  
of Filipino Immigration to Hawai'i

Jonathan Y. Okamura

Ameñil R. Agbayani

Melinda Tria Kerkvliet

Guest Editors

Volume 33

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Executive Editor: Kiyoshi Ikeda  
General Editor: Michael G. Weinstein  
Volume 33  
Guest Editors: Jonathan Y. Okamura  
Amefil R. Agbayani  
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of Filipino Immigration to Hawai'i

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## Foreword

This special issue on the Filipino experience in Hawai'i represents joint efforts involving students, staff, faculty, and allied parties in the larger community to provide descriptions and interpretations of the past, present, and future of this major community in this setting. To grasp more fully the significance of this experience, both persons who have grown up "inside" of the population and those who work from "outside" of that community are represented in these papers. This is in the best sense of the work supported by *Social Process in Hawaii*. This journal emerged as an occasional paper series which engaged students as editors working closely with faculty to encourage the development of research and scholarship on the diverse peoples who have migrated to Hawai'i and how and why they have come to terms with the challenges of living in the Hawaiian setting.

We have not been able earlier to devote a whole issue to the Filipino experience in Hawai'i. This gathering of works by students, faculty, and community persons on the process, parties, and outcomes of individual, family, and community developments and movements involving Filipinos in and around Hawai'i can only encourage further understanding and works on a people who have and will continue to contribute much to grounded understanding of individual and group relations under diverse conditions. These papers document a range and some forms of effective participation in the polity, the educational setting, the economy, and in family and community life in Hawai'i under extremely restrictive and difficult conditions which have conditioned the life of Filipinos and their descendants in Hawai'i.

Kiyoshi Ikeda, Ph.D.  
Executive Director



## Preface

The articles in this special issue of *Social Process in Hawaii* were written to commemorate the 85th anniversary of Filipino immigration to Hawai'i which began in 1906. On December 20 of that year, fifteen Ilokano men arrived for a short tour of plantation working and living conditions at Olaa Plantation on the Big Island, thus beginning another major chapter in the history of labor migration to Hawai'i. All told, some 127,000 Filipinos, the great majority of them single young men, came to Hawai'i between 1906 and 1946 when plantation labor recruitment came to an end. Large scale Filipino immigration to Hawai'i did not commence again until after 1965 when U.S. immigration laws were liberalized to provide for the reunification of families.

According to the 1990 U.S. Census, the approximately 168,700 Filipinos in Hawai'i represent 15.2 percent of the state population (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1991: A1). They are thus the third largest ethnic group after Whites (33.4%) and Japanese (22.3%) and are followed by Native Hawaiians (12.5%), Chinese (6.2%), other Asians and Pacific Islanders (5.6%), African Americans (2.5%) and Others (2.4%). Since 1980 Filipinos increased their absolute number in Hawai'i by 26 percent from 133,940 and their relative representation from 13.9 percent of the state population. These increases are largely due to continued immigration from the Philippines of almost 4,000 persons each year since 1985 such that Filipinos account for a majority of immigrants to Hawai'i (Hawai'i Dept. of Business and Economic Development 1991).

For the United States as a whole, Filipinos number about 1.4 million and thus are the second largest Asian American group after Chinese (1.6 million) (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1991: A16). Filipinos increased their population by more than 80 percent from approximately 775,000 in 1980. Most of this increase can be attributed to Philippine immigration to the United States which totals approximately 50,000 persons each year. A majority of Filipino Americans are in California where they number 732,000 and are the largest Asian American group (*Los Angeles Times* 1991). California receives about one-half of the Filipino immigrants to the United States, while about 10 percent settle in Hawai'i (Carino et al. 1990: 62). Other states besides Hawai'i and California with significant Filipino populations are Illinois, New York and New Jersey.

Several of the authors in this Volume (Agbayani, Alegado, M. Forman, S. Forman, Kerkvliet) also had contributed to a book, *Out of This Struggle: The Filipinos in Hawaii*, which was published in 1981 in observance of the 75th anniversary of Filipino immigration to Hawai'i. During that year, voices of concern were frequently expressed in the Filipino community about the elabo-

rate celebratory activities which were being held to mark the anniversary. Given the subordinate social status of Filipinos at that time and the social and economic problems which they faced as a community, a common question raised by these concerned individuals was, "What are we celebrating?"

Ten years later one might ask the same question of the Filipino community. New social problems have surfaced with the emergence of youth gangs in the mid 1980s and with the consequent negative stereotyping of young Filipino males as gang members. Furthermore, old problems still remain; e.g., discrimination in employment against Filipinos, particularly immigrants, continues to be a major concern (see article by S. Forman in this Volume). The 1990 U.S. Census data may well indicate a lack of significant socioeconomic mobility for Filipinos as a whole given the tourism dependent economy of Hawai'i.

This compilation does not pretend to address all of the social and economic problems faced by the Filipino community, but it does highlight some of the historical and more recent achievements and contributions of Filipinos to Hawai'i and its peoples. As evident from the articles by Agbayani, Alegado, M. Forman and S. Forman, Kerkvliet, San Buenaventura, and S. Forman, these contributions are especially noteworthy in the areas of labor organizing, civil rights advocacy and immigrant struggles. Filipinos have been at the forefront of these economic and political struggles in Hawai'i as leaders, organizers and supporters, and their persevering and hard fought efforts over the years have brought material benefits and guaranteed rights not just for themselves but for all the people of Hawai'i.

The contributions of Filipinos to the effort to obtain equality of access in education, particularly higher education, are made evident in the articles by Cablas, Castillo and Minamishin, Chattergy and Ongteco, and Okamura. These papers demonstrate how Filipinos, especially at the University of Hawai'i, have been working towards creating a more culturally responsive and equitable setting for Filipino and other minority students in the educational system from the elementary to the college level.

The article by Boylan on Filipino participation in local politics is one of the first such studies and brings together a range of data, much of which had been obtained through recent personal interviews, and presents them in a highly perceptive analysis of the historical evolution of the Filipino politician in Hawai'i. Similarly, the bibliography by Mak presents a wealth of information

on recent publications, theses and other media sources, including newspapers and audio-visual materials, on Filipinos in Hawai'i that have appeared since 1976, the last year encompassed by a previous bibliography on Hawai'i Filipinos.

In our initial planning of this compilation almost two years ago, it was our intention that it would serve as an instructional and research resource for those interested in gaining new knowledge of the multifaceted and evolving Filipino American experience in Hawai'i. We believe that we have met this objective, and we hope our readers will share this view. We also believe that the Volume should prove useful for those concerned with the larger issues and areas of ethnicity and ethnic relations, minority education, labor and immigration history, Asian American Studies and Ethnic Studies.

The authors and editors look forward to 1996 and the 90th anniversary of Filipino immigration to Hawai'i when we hope to collaborate again on another publication that will similarly highlight the accomplishments and contributions and mark the socioeconomic progress of the Filipino community in Hawai'i.

### Acknowledgements

In addition to the authors, we would like to express our sincere appreciation to the individuals who contributed to the publication of this Volume. Prof. Kiyoshi Ikeda, Executive Editor of *Social Process in Hawaii*, generously offered to have our collection of articles published as a special issue of the Journal and also allocated Journal funds towards its publication.

Dr. Rudolf Schmerl, Director of Research Relations, through his Office was the initial financial supporter of our project when it was still more of an idea than a finished product.

The Center for Philippine Studies, under the Directorship of Dr. Belinda Aquino, also made a substantial contribution to our publication expenses.

The Filipino Historical Society of Hawaii, with Dr. Helen Nagtalon-Miller as President, provided funds for production costs.

Mr. Mark Nakamura, Graphics Specialist with the Center for Instructional Support, expertly and patiently formatted the articles into camera ready form through several drafts each along with all too many requests for minor revisions.

### Justice Ben Menor Scholarship Fund

By collective agreement of the authors and editors, all proceeds and donations from the distribution of this compilation will be contributed to the Justice Ben Menor Scholarship Fund of the Operation Manong Alumni and Friends Association. We encourage our readers to contribute to this scholarship fund for the benefit of Filipino youth.

Amevil R. Agbayani  
Melinda Tria Kerkvliet  
Jonathan Y. Okamura

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## Filipino Participation in Civil Rights Policies and Practices in Hawai'i

Sheila M. Forman

Filipinos in Hawai'i, both as individuals and as members of major advocacy organizations, have used existing legal avenues and opportunities to challenge dominant views about their eligibility (or non-eligibility, to be more accurate) for benefits protected by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Act provides that:

No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.<sup>1</sup>

This article is a brief review of selected activities undertaken by Filipinos in Hawai'i to assure compliance with this Act, and an analysis of the impact of these activities on the overall climate for the protection of the civil rights of other minorities in the state.

Other articles in this volume present basic information regarding the socio-economic status of Filipinos in Hawai'i. Still others describe activities at the University of Hawai'i and in the general community that represent major attempts to increase Filipino participation in educational and social benefits. These benefits, as the socio-economic profiles demonstrate, are still disproportionately distributed among ethno-cultural groups in Hawai'i. This article will not address the broader issues of discrimination and exclusion in Hawai'i that the data so forcefully bring to our attention. It will address the specific (some would say limited) protections Hawai'i Filipinos can invoke under the Civil Rights Act as one approach to a more equitable distribution of these benefits.

The Act is important because, although its language restricts its applicability to programs receiving federal financial assistance, many large organizations, including government agencies, receive substantial amounts of federal assistance. In addition, the Act's implementing regulations require that every agency which is an applicant for federal financial assistance take certain, affirmative steps to assure equal access to services, and equal opportunity to participate in their federally-funded programs, *as a condition of approval or extension* of federal financial assistance. In the language of the Office of Civil Rights they require a recipient to "develop and implement civil rights methods of administration to assure that the recipient will comply with all requirements imposed by or pursuant to the implementing regulation."<sup>2</sup> Methods of administration which do not address the requirements of the Civil Rights Act are not likely to uncover

long-standing agency practices that exclude minorities from participation. Thus, they represent an important avenue for systematic change.

This article focuses on two major suits brought by Filipinos, Mangrobang vs. Yuen (then Director of the Hawai'i State Department of Health), 1976 and Fragante vs. the City and County of Honolulu, 1983; and an intensive lobby in 1988 to create a Hawai'i Civil Rights Commission, which arose at least in part as a result of the events and findings associated with these cases.

The first suit addresses equal access to health services from a state government agency; the second involves denial of employment in a city and county agency on the basis of accent. These suits are important because in Hawai'i, at the state level, the government is a major source of health services for low-income residents who cannot afford the high cost of health care in the private sector. The government is also a major employer, perhaps more so than in other states.

Prior to these suits, of course, there had already been considerable activity, including complaints filed by several groups with substantial Filipino membership, against the (then) Department of Social Services and Housing, the Department of Education, and the Department of Health. Many of these complaints resulted in specific findings of noncompliance and specific requirements for corrective action under threat of formal enforcement through administrative or legal proceedings or the withholding of federal funds.

The selection of the two suits for detailed discussion in this article is based partly on their direct association with named Filipino plaintiffs and partly on their impact on several Filipinos in the community who eventually became centrally involved in the creation of the Civil Rights Commission.

### Mangrobang vs. Yuen

On October 4, 1976, Deditcho Mangrobang, a Filipino from the Ilocos region from which the majority of Filipinos in Hawai'i have emigrated, filed suit against the Department of Health (DOH) in federal court to compel them to provide access to health services for people who do not speak English. The Legal Aid Society of Hawai'i took up his case for him, and several individual Filipinos were involved in advocating for him and providing information on his behalf to his attorney, Paul Alston, now President of the Hawai'i Bar Association. Briefly, the events leading up to the suit were as follows:

Prior to the suit the executive budget had reflected a significant reduction in funds appropriated by the State Legislature to continue a bilingual health education project, previously funded through a federal agency. Judge Shintaku (a state judge) had upheld the state's action, stating "All of our ancestors were immigrants, my parents spoke only Japanese but they did not need this program. We all got along. We got medical care." Mangrobang decided to file in federal court.

A letter to the editor criticized Judge Shintaku's remarks as insensitive and unfortunate:

The judge's argument about his immigrant parents' not needing this kind of program is not apropos to the current situation in Hawaii. Today's problems are different and much more complex. Referring to past experiences which occurred under different social and historical conditions is neither a helpful solution nor a constructive attitude in dealing with the problems of present-day Hawaii.<sup>3</sup>

Mangrobang's suit specifically asked the U.S. District Court to enjoin Defendant Yuen, then Director of the DOH,

from reducing the quality of services now available to non-English speaking patients of the federally assisted programs of the Department of Health and require him to improve the quality of those services so that said services are fully equal to those available to English speaking persons.<sup>4</sup>

On July 27, 1977 the parties agreed to a compromise which was entered as a Stipulated Judgment. It required the DOH to study the need for improving bilingual health services and to determine the number of non-English speaking people in Hawai'i. The department was further required to improve, if necessary, the methods for delivering bilingual health services. The judgment, in effect, prevented the governor's proposed budget cut by requiring the DOH to fund ten bilingual health aides until a court-appointed committee had made its recommendations

which shall be considered binding factual determinations, as to the combinations of outreach and non-outreach bilingual workers...which are minimally necessary to assist or enable the Department to serve the Hawaii population of non-English speaking people in a manner consistent with the obligations of the Department under the regulations of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare...and the most recent "Statement of Compliance with DHWE Regulations under Title VI, Civil Rights Act of 1964..."<sup>5</sup>

The Committee, composed of two community members selected by the Legal Aid Society, two DOH employees selected by the DOH, and a fifth community member elected by the four appointed members, made several recommendations on how the DOH could achieve adequate bilingual services in appropriate languages on May 11, 1978. In brief they were:

(1) The DOH must maintain an overall minimum ratio of one bilingual worker per 600 non-English speaking health care recipients and public health care recipients per year.

(2) The DOH must spell out numerical ratios of worker to limited English speaking populations for specific outreach and non-outreach job classifications which are comparable to those currently in effect for the English-speaking population in the DOH.

(3) To assure compliance the DOH must conduct a new survey or demonstrate that it has conducted a survey subsequent to May 1978 which determines the current number of non-English speakers in Hawai'i and bilingual workers in the DOH. The survey data should indicate which positions by job description specifically provide for services to non-English speakers.

(4) The DOH must assure adequate availability of bilingual capability in appropriate languages among professional workers engaged in direct mental health services to non-English speaking clients.

(5) The DOH must incorporate familiarity with cultural features of non-English speaking populations as a job performance criterion for DOH bilingual workers.

(6) The DOH must provide in-service training programs directed at cultural awareness for all staff in direct public contact.

(7) The DOH must spell out procedures to assure subcontractors achieve the same level of bilingual services as that required for the DOH as a whole.

(8) The DOH must assure sufficient support funds for the bilingual staff in terms of literature, other interpreted materials, and mass media.

On November 21, 1978 and on May 16, 1979, the Committee wrote the DOH that it had reviewed its performance and found it deficient. On November 29, 1979, the Committee sent its final evaluation. It found the DOH's performance wholly insufficient. The Committee concluded that:

It is our view that you have frustrated the Committee in its efforts, that you have failed to respond to this Committee's legitimate inquiries, that you have ignored

this Committee's binding findings of fact and that you have violated the terms of the 1977 judgment in this matter.

The Committee therefore requested that the DOH acknowledge that its findings were binding. It further requested that the Defendant provide the names and occupations and locations of applicants and employees claimed to be bilingual. The Committee requested in addition that staff language capability and accessibility be primary criteria in staffing offices. The committee further requested that routine computerized data be made available to it at not less than six month intervals. The DOH rejected all these requests. The DOH also rejected the Committee's position that it was empowered to make binding findings of fact under the 1977 judgment.<sup>6</sup>

Mangrobang's attorneys then asked the court to appoint a "special master" to assure compliance with the Committee's recommendations.

While the court denied the appointment of a special master, it agreed with Mangrobang's interpretation of the 1977 agreement and declared that the Committee's recommendations were indeed binding. On October 14, 1980, U.S. District Judge Samuel King adopted the Committee's recommendations almost verbatim as part of his ruling, and ordered the DOH to comply. This was a substantial victory for Mangrobang and assured a strong legal basis for equal access to health services. However, the four-year wait was a clear signal to advocates that a more responsive and efficient system of resolving complaints was needed. Further, the realization of the need for a special master to assure compliance led to broader discussion among advocates regarding the creation of a full time committee or commission in Hawai'i, both to receive and resolve complaints, and to provide continuing education to agencies about their responsibilities under the Civil Rights Act.

### Fragante vs. City and County of Honolulu

Mr. Manuel Fragante is a United States citizen born in the Philippines. He was well educated and earned honors while in school in the Philippines. In April 1981, he and his wife immigrated to the United States where he was naturalized as a citizen in Honolulu, Hawai'i in 1983.

On November 10, 1981, the City placed an advertisement in the daily newspapers for an employment opportunity as a clerk. On November 10, 1981, Fragante submitted his application for the advertised position. On December 19, 1981 he took the Civil Service written examination. He received a grade of

96 and was ranked number 1 on the list of applicants. A total of 721 applicants took the exam, 371 passed and 350 failed.

On April 6, 1982, Fragante reported to the Division of Motor Vehicles and Licensing for a scheduled interview. The interviewers both prominently noted Fragante's accent. One of them wrote: "Because of his accent I would not recommend him for the job." Realizing that there were laws prohibiting employment discrimination on the basis of national origin and that discrimination on the basis of accent can be interpreted as the equivalent of such discrimination, Fragante filed suit with the help of *Na Loio no na Kanaka* (The Lawyers for the People of Hawai'i). He was referred to this legal services agency by several Filipino individuals and members of community groups, who later became involved in community educational efforts regarding his case.

The City never refuted the fact that the reason for Fragante's rejection was his accent, and the judge's ruling clearly states: "Fragante was bypassed because of his 'accent'."

Nonetheless, the judge ruled on September 29, 1987 that Fragante had failed to prove discriminatory intent. Further appeals, which took two more years, also failed.

Ironically, the defeat may have attracted more attention within the Filipino community than a victory. Public sentiment among Filipinos was strongly in support of Fragante. The *FilAm Courier*, a local Filipino newspaper, headlined an article "Fragante: Discrimination based on 'Filipino Accent'" and devoted more than a full page to his case. Below are excerpts from a statement issued by the United Filipino Council of Hawai'i, a statewide federation of Filipino community organizations:

The United Filipino Council of Hawai'i strongly supports the case of Manuel Fragante against the City and County of Honolulu, which will be appealed to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. We believe that Mr. Fragante was discriminated against on the basis of race and national origin when he applied for and was rejected for a position as clerk in the Licensing Division of the City Department of Finance in 1982...

Employers should not confuse the ability to communicate with accent. All too often, the fact that a job applicant speaks with an accent obscures the reality that he or she can actually communicate well, and sometimes in flawless English. However, some listeners immediately erect a mental barrier upon hearing an accent...

The United Filipino Council of Hawai'i commends Manuel Fragante for pursuing his rights under the law in a very lengthy, time-consuming process. We also commend William Hoshijo, attorney and director of the non-profit legal corporation, Na Loio No Na Kanaka, for representing Fragante. This case should serve as an example to others who may have been discriminated against to seek justice through the courts. And this case should also serve as notice to employers that employment discrimination is illegal, whether it be against people of color, women, older workers or the handicapped. It is particularly incumbent upon state and local government to set an example as equal employment opportunity employers.<sup>8</sup>

A fundraising committee was organized to support an appeal fund, a prominent University of Hawai'i Law School professor agreed to handle the appeal, and several young Filipino lawyers began to organize on Fragante's behalf.

The two largest Honolulu dailies, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and the *Honolulu Advertiser*, ran letters from Fragante sympathizers: "Why did Mayor Fasi allow this case to go to trial? The mayor always claims to be a friend of the Filipino people especially when election time comes around..." "[O]ut of 1 million Hawaii residents, at least 950,000 have accents... [I]t would be appropriate for our city officials to move quickly to make amends—a settlement with Fragante."

In addition the trial underlined the state's poor record in enforcing laws governing employment practices and the Civil Rights Act. The investigator assigned to Fragante's case (after Fragante filed a complaint with the State Department of Labor) testified during the trial that out of a total of 200 cases he had investigated, he found in favor of the complainant in only two cases. At his deposition before the trial, he revealed that he had found in favor of none. Between the deposition and the actual trial date, he found in favor of two complainants. In other words, prior to his deposition, the investigator had found 100% in favor of the employer. As a result of testimony at the trial, facts about the complaint and investigation process had become part of the public record, and Fragante advocates raised pointed questions about the impartiality of the enforcement agency.

The Fragante case, like the Mangrobang case, took at least four years from initial filing to decision at the District Court level. The appeals added another two years. The United Filipino Council of Hawai'i statement above made special mention of this lengthy, time-consuming process and the growing number of advocates for Fragante, who had already been discussing enforcement alternatives, decided it was time for action at a different level. They became key



participants in the drafting of, and successful lobbying for, a bill creating the Hawai'i Civil Rights Commission. They formed a broad-based coalition comprising major civil rights organizations in the state. There were at least five representatives of Filipino community organizations who played key roles in this lobbying effort. Among the other coalition members were representatives of local women's groups, Common Cause, the NAACP, the YWCA, the Interagency Council for Immigrant and Refugee Services, the Hawai'i ACLU, Na Loio no na Kanaka and numerous individuals with a strong interest in civil rights issues. Fragante's attorney was asked to play a lead role in the drafting of the bill creating the commission and in the formal and informal negotiations with state legislators which were to follow immediately.

The time was right for the proposal. Key legislators agreed to submit and support the bill, and several regular meetings were held before and during the 1988 legislative session to strategize around all aspects of the campaign to create the civil rights commission. Persons familiar with commissions in other states were asked to provide information about the strengths and weaknesses of different commission models, to discuss the record of some states in actual enforcement of the provisions of the Civil Rights Act and to recommend criteria for the appointment of commission members.

It is no coincidence, then, that the commission was established during the legislative session immediately following the Fragante decision and that specific timelines are among the most prominent provisions in the Act creating it:

Sec. 368-13 Investigation and conciliation of complaint... In the event that the commission determines after the investigation that there is reasonable cause to believe that an unlawful discriminatory practice within the commission's jurisdiction has been committed, the commission shall immediately endeavor to eliminate any alleged unlawful discriminatory practice by informal methods, such as conference, conciliation and persuasion...Where the commission has been unable to secure from the respondent a conciliation agreement acceptable to the commission *within sixty days of the filing of the complaint*, the commission shall demand that the respondent cease the unlawful discriminatory practice... [emphasis supplied]

Sec. 368-14 Commission hearings (a) If, *fifteen days after service of the final conciliation demand*, the commission finds that conciliation will not resolve a complaint, the commission shall appoint a hearings examiner and schedule a public hearing. [emphasis supplied]

It is also no coincidence that a compliance review is included in the provisions. Advocates had learned from the Mangrobang case that agencies/

employers would not necessarily comply even with court orders, unless an outside body monitored their performance and compelled them to do so:

Sec. 368-15 Compliance review. At any time in its discretion but not later than one year from the date of a conciliation agreement, or after the date of a commission's order to cease an unlawful practice and to take appropriate remedy, the commission shall investigate whether the terms of the agreement or order are being complied with by the respondent. Upon a finding that the terms of the agreement or the terms of the commission's orders, are not being complied with by the respondent, the commission shall take affirmative action...<sup>9</sup>

Following the passage of the bill, the state agency assigned to provide interim staff support for the commission initiated a community consultation process. They invited Mangrobang and Fragante advocates to sit on a committee that discussed specific procedures and actions to be accomplished in the following years, including the appointment of Commission members, the development of a transition plan and the specification of staffing requirements for successful implementation of the new mandates.

Current Commission members include nominees put forward by Mangrobang and Fragante advocates, with significant (some might say over-) representation by members of the Filipino community. Two of the five members, including the Chair, are Filipinos.

The Commission's Transition Plan reflects concerns about the previous enforcement record for Civil Rights statutes, including a section three pages long directly addressing the Department of Labor and Industrial Relations (the agency that had found in favor of only two complainants in testimony during the Fragante trial). The following are brief excerpts from the relevant section of the Transition Plan.<sup>10</sup>

As of March 14, 1990, there were 265 pending complaints. 135 of these complaints had not yet been assigned to an investigator...

A backlog of cases has been a consistent problem...In the fiscal years 1985 to 1990, more than half of the total number of complaints annually have not been resolved...

In 1988, there were 32 complaints which took longer than one year to be resolved. There were 2 complaints which took over 500 days to be resolved. Among the pending complaints, there are 2 complaints filed on July 15, 1987 and September 19, 1987, which are still being investigated. Of the outstanding complaints, there were 267 filed in 1988...

Several conclusions may be drawn. There is a lack of prosecution or enforcement of these complaints. The backlog is unfair to complainants and respon-

dents. Complainants' allegations are not processed in a timely or reliably consistent fashion. Respondents are placed in positions of having to answer to charges that have occurred a long time ago...

There must be a more vigorous enforcement of complaints to reduce the backlog. Section 30 of Act 386 states: "It is the intent of the Legislature that after July 1, 1990, and until the transfer of enforcement jurisdiction to the Commission, that the Commission staff shall assist the Department of Labor and Industrial Relations where possible in processing complaints and eliminating backlog..."

The establishment of the Hawai'i Civil Rights Commission, and the inclusion of provisions directly addressing many of the issues raised by Filipinos, is not just a victory, of course, but an ongoing challenge. Civil rights advocates are not complacent about the current situation. However, events described in this article are cause for much optimism. They illustrate not only that Filipinos have been major participants in civil rights activities, but that these activities over the years have forged strong alliances among groups that did not necessarily work together for the same goals in the past. For example, Mr. Mangrobang represents an Ilokano who is a long-term resident of Hawai'i, and Mr. Fragante is a Visayan who is a relatively recent immigrant. Regionalism and antagonism among old and new immigrants are historical problems in the Filipino community, fueled, no doubt, by employers who would benefit from factionalism and the resultant lack of worker unity and by politicians with a similar agenda. The problem was perhaps not only exacerbated but exaggerated to some extent by these same elements. Nonetheless, Filipinos also have remarked on these intra-group differences, and some continue to do so.

In contrast to this stereotype, however, regional diversity and new-old immigrant representation are reflected among the advocates as well as the plaintiffs described in this article, with the added, and very important, dimension of active involvement by Hawai'i-born Filipinos, old and young. I think it can truly be said that Filipinos who collaborated around the formation of the Civil Rights Commission accurately reflected the Hawai'i Filipino spectrum.

I should emphasize that Filipinos were key participants but by no means the only group represented among the Commission advocates. Planning involved all major ethnic minorities in Hawai'i, and testimony at the legislative hearing reflected the full diversity of groups in the state. Their backgrounds and comparable individual experiences would be interesting material for another article. But it is worth commenting that collaboration in support of the Commission has resulted not just in increasing solidarity among Filipinos but in stronger alliances among civil rights organizations in Hawai'i in general. There

was a political sophistication and maturity about both the planning and implementation of lobbying efforts around this bill that is a tribute to all who were involved. It reflects the enhanced quality and increased quantity of advocacy efforts in Hawai'i. Filipino participation was vital to these efforts and will continue to exert significant influence on future civil rights actions on behalf of all Hawai'i residents.

### Notes

1. 42 U.S.C. Sec. 2000 (d)
2. Letter to DSSH dated October 26, 1987 from Floyd Pierce, Director, Office for Civil Rights, Region IX.
3. Letter to the editor, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, from Steffi San Buenaventura Smith and Maria Victoria Bunye dated October 6, 1976.
4. Complaint filed by Mr. Mangrobang, October 4, 1976 in the United States District Court for the District of Hawai'i.
5. U.S. District Court for the District of Hawai'i, Civil No.76-0365, Stipulation and Order dated 7/27/77.
6. February 19, 1980 memorandum written by Art La France and Brenton Rogozen, Attorneys for the Plaintiff at the time. Atty. Paul Alston had handled the original suit that resulted in the 1977 judgment.
7. Findings of Fact, Judge's ruling, September 29, 1987.
8. *FilAm Courier*, February 1988
9. Hawai'i Revised Statutes, Chapter 368.
10. Hawai'i Civil Rights Commission Transition Plan, April 1990.

# The Filipino Community in Hawaii: Development and Change

Dean T. Alegado

## Introduction

American social scientists and historians have abundantly documented the fact that ethnic communities and ethnicity are not only integral parts but salient features of the American social system and history (see Thomas, 1990; Jiobu, 1990; Schaeffer, 1988; Banks, 1984). They also agree that ethnicity and ethnic cultures, contrary to the popular notions of assimilation and the "melting pot" ideology, are exceedingly resistant to change or eradication. This article examines some of the factors that have contributed to the development and persistence of the ethnic Filipino community in Hawaii.

Like most ethnic communities in the United States, it is difficult to speak of a single Filipino community in America. Filipino communities in the U.S. are quite varied—in size, level of socio-cultural development, character of social structures (i.e. informal and formal community institutions, relationship to the local/city/state political economy, etc.). The development of the Filipino community in Hawaii was initially shaped by the needs of the plantation-based political economy. The community has developed from one largely based on the plantation and composed predominantly of single men who lacked the traditional Filipino family/kinship system and community institutions.

Today, the Filipino community is no longer predominantly plantation-based. The majority of Filipinos in Hawaii work and live in urban areas. The community enjoys a relatively balanced male-female sex ratio. More Filipino family and kinship networks exist today than ever before. Numerous Filipino community groups and organizations—social, cultural, religious, professional and entrepreneurial—exist throughout the state giving the ethnic Filipino community its dynamism and distinctiveness.

There are three identifiable historical periods in the development of the Filipino community in Hawaii: the period before World War II, the post-World War II period, and the post-1965 period to the present. A cursory examination of the community's history reveals two distinct and sometimes contradictory but interrelated social processes operating. The first involves the incorporation, gradual assimilation and amalgamation of the immigrants (i.e. those who arrived since 1906 until today) from the Philippines into the larger "American" nationality

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or, as in the case of Hawaii, becoming "local" (see Okamura, 1980; Yamamoto, 1979).

An assimilation process occurs for all immigrants who come to settle permanently in the U.S. (see Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Gordon, 1964; Park, 1950). The objective basis for assimilation is the immigrants' integration into the political economy and social structures of their adopted country. The requirements of economic survival make it necessary for the immigrant to acquire basic understanding of American cultural practices. Their objective participation in the American socio-economic system as producers and consumers sets the basis for the linguistic and cultural changes that mark the process of assimilation and amalgamation. By amalgamation, we mean the fusion or merging of distinct peoples into a new nationality.

Generally, within two or three generations, immigrants begin to lose touch with the "homeland." They become monolingual in English and thoroughly attuned to the national culture of the U.S. and self-identify as "American." The descendants of immigrants are effectively absorbed into the U.S. or American nationality.

The second process involves the social reproduction of the Filipino national minority or ethnic community in Hawaii. A number of factors have contributed to the development and continued existence of the ethnic Filipino community. The most important of these are the continuing large influx of immigrants from the Philippines, on the one hand, who replenish the Philippine nationality, ethnic culture and identity and, on the other hand, the continued subjection of Filipinos to anti-immigrant prejudices and institutional discrimination.

An important factor that has served as a powerful brake on the assimilation of non-white immigrants in the U.S. is racism. Essentially, the process of assimilation in the U.S. has been polarized along racial lines (see Jiobu, 1990; Geschwender, 1978; Bonacich, 1976; Daniels and Kitano, 1970; Cox, 1948). Whereas immigrants from Europe, with the exception of some eastern and southern Europeans, shed their ethnic minority status quickly and become in their own minds "true-blue Americans," the racial distinctiveness of non-white ethnics is reinforced generation after generation. The hyphenated designation (i.e. Filipino-Americans, Japanese-Americans, Mexican-Americans, etc.) which non-white ethnic Americans carry is a mark of their "imperfect" assimilation into the American nationality. Thus, distinct ethnic communities made up mainly of non-white Americans continue to be socially reproduced, while those of European descent experience the process of dispersion, assimilation, amalgamation and inclusion into the American social system and nationality.

The experience of the Filipino community in Hawaii supports the notion that ethnicity should not be considered a fixed cultural quotient that either simply persists, as in the pluralist version of America, or gradually diminishes, as with the assimilation thesis (Yancey et al., 1976). In reality, ethnicity ebbs and flows, depending upon the ecology or political economy of the cities or regions of the country in which ethnic groups find themselves. If people are commonly grouped by occupation and residence and share common institutions and services, then ethnic solidarity should flourish and persist. If these factors are absent, ethnicity should diminish.

### The Pre-World War II Filipino Community in Hawaii

The Filipino community has its roots in the plantation system dominated by the Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) and the powerful Big Five companies (i.e. Alexander & Baldwin, Amfac, Theo H. Davies, C. Brewer, and Castle & Cooke). Between 1906 and 1935, approximately 120,000 Filipinos were enticed or recruited by HSPA labor agents to work on the plantations (Sharma, 1984; Teodoro, 1981; Dorita, 1954). Almost all who arrived, including a small number of families and women, emigrated under the auspices of the HSPA. By 1926, the HSPA had ceased its practice of recruiting Filipino workers and paying for their passage to and from Hawaii. Despite the ending of active labor recruitment, however, thousands of Filipinos continued to flow into Hawaii until 1934 when immigration from the Philippines was restricted by the U.S. Congress' passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act. The act, also called the Philippine Independence Act, was passed by Congress due to the lobbying pressure of American labor leaders on the West Coast and their anti-Filipino labor agitation as well as certain agricultural interests in the U.S. that sought to limit the entry of Philippine agricultural products into the country. With the act's passage, the migration of Filipinos to the U.S. and Hawaii from 1935 on virtually stopped (Dorita, 1967).

Upon arrival in Hawaii, Filipino contract laborers were assigned to the HSPA-affiliated plantations throughout the territory. Their lives would now come under the dictates of the plantation bosses. They had no choice as to which plantation or island they would be assigned. Men from the same families, the same towns or provinces were often broken up and separated. They became totally dependent on the plantation for housing, medical care, food supply and even recreation. This was the first phase of "proletarianization" of Filipinos in Hawaii as they were integrated into the territory's political economy (Takaki, 1983; Beechert, 1985).

A number of factors played a role in the forging of the Filipino community in this early period of their history in Hawaii. Among these was the policy of the HSPA of segregating and separating workers of different nationalities and races (Takaki, 1983; Beechert, 1985; Fuchs, 1961). Like the other immigrant laborers, Filipinos were assigned separate camps or housing on the plantations. This facilitated the spontaneous reproduction of Filipino communal and cultural practices, including the use of Philippine languages. Each Filipino plantation camp generally contained several hundred workers, including a few families and women. As more Filipinos were brought to work on the plantations, Filipinos gradually replaced Japanese as the backbone of the sugar and pineapple industries in the islands (Sharma, 1984; Fuchs, 1961).

While the planters generally placed all Filipinos in the same camp, they were also aware of the regional and linguistic differences among them and often took advantage of these differences to keep Filipinos disunified as an ethnic bloc. Thus even within the Filipino camp, there existed separate Ilokano camps and Visayan camps. Despite these nuances, however, the process of assimilation and amalgamation of Filipinos into Hawaii's plantation working class was set into motion.

The nascent Filipino community made adjustments and adapted to the difficult social conditions they found in Hawaii. Despite lacking normal family structures and women, Filipinos on the plantation were able to develop artificial family and kinship networks. Two types of informal social structures were created by the early Filipino migrant workers. The first dealt with problems related to individual housing collectives. The other dealt with problems faced by Filipinos in the camp as a whole.

Generally there were between 5 to 10 men assigned to a bunkhouse or housing collective. Following Filipino cultural tradition, the oldest member of the house often acted as the "authority figure," assuming the role of the older brother or father figure.

The orientation and goal of most Filipinos who came to work on the plantations in this period was to finish the term of their contract (3-5 years), save as much money as possible that could be sent home, and then return to the Philippines. Given the very low wages they earned at that time, it was not unusual for many Filipino plantation workers to have very little money left at the end of the month. In order for these men to meet their obligations to their families in the Philippines, they developed what has come to be called the *kumpang* system (see Cariaga, 1937). Each month, members of the housing collective or

bunkhouse would put a small amount of money into a pool. The men would then take turns in sending the large "pool" or pot of money to their families.

In some cases the *kumpang* was expanded to cover other members of the Filipino camp thus leading to the development of informal credit arrangements called the *amung* (Cariaga, 1937). These informal credit association later evolved into mutual aid associations called *saranays*. One of the main purposes of the *saranay* was to assist members in dire need (Alcantara, 1981). For example, members would provide assistance to workers who met tragic accidents or untimely death. The *saranay* took care of the funeral expenses or sent money home to the family of the deceased.

These informal social structures and networks were the building blocks of the early Filipino community in Hawaii. The *saranays* were often formed by people from the same town. The larger *saranays*, however, reflected the regional origins of its members. Among these were the Ilocos Norte Aid Association and the Bisaya Hinabangay Association.

As an emerging community institution, the *saranay* was based on the plantation camp or town. It was not until the mid-1930s that there were attempts by Filipinos, often with the assistance of the HSPA, to bring together the emerging organizations scattered throughout the territory to consolidate them under a single umbrella. The effort to unite these Filipino community groupings was part of the campaign hatched by the HSPA to neutralize the attempts of Pablo Manlapit to bring Filipino workers under his Filipino Labor Union (FLU) (see Beechert, 1985; Fuchs, 1961; Manlapit, 1924). At this time, the FLU was the only organization with a territorial-wide presence among Filipinos in Hawaii.

Besides the mutual aid associations and the attempts at forming a labor union to represent their interests, Filipinos organized masonic societies similar to those that existed in the Philippines (Okamura, 1981). Among those formed in Hawaii were the Legionarios del Trabajo, Caballeros de Dimasalang, and the Gran Oriente Filipino. These societies were openly nationalistic and actively supported the campaign for Philippine independence from the United States. One of the central activities of these associations was the observance of Rizal Day, an annual event in honor of the Philippine national hero, Dr. Jose Rizal, that was once widely celebrated throughout the Filipino community on December 30. Rizal Day became an occasion for all Filipinos to express their collective national identity as Filipinos and continuing love for their Philippine cultural heritage. Rizal Day celebrations played an important role in the maintenance of Filipino ethnic identity in Hawaii.

Another Filipino organization which developed a territorial-wide following was the pseudo-religious Filipino Federation of America (FFA) (see San Buenaventura, 1990; Thompson, 1941). Originally formed by the messianic Hilario Moncado in the late 1920s in California, the Filipino Federation of America was largely based among Visayans. The FFA later expanded to Hawaii among Filipinos and continues to exist in both states until today. A deeply religious and politically conservative social formation, the Moncado-led FFA was viewed favorably by the HSPA. Moncado's image as "the leader of the Filipino" in Hawaii was supported by the ruling elite in Hawaii to counteract and downplay the influence of Manlapit among Filipino workers. The FFA discouraged its members from joining Manlapit's labor organizing activities.

Perhaps one of the most important and powerful institutions in the pre-World War II Filipino community was the Philippine Labor Commissioner in Honolulu. It was the predecessor of the Philippine Consul General, the representative of the Philippine government in Hawaii. While purportedly working in the interest of Filipino laborers in Hawaii and representing the colonial authorities in Manila, the Labor Commissioner actually functioned as an agent of the Big Five and HSPA within the Filipino community. Cayetano Ligot, the longtime Labor Commissioner in Hawaii in the 1920s and 1930s, was perhaps the most notorious among them and often counseled Filipino workers to "not bite the hand that 'fed' them" (Beechert, 1985; Fuchs, 1961; Manlapit, 1924).

#### *Early Filipino "Calabash" Family*

The few hundred Filipino women and children who arrived in the 1920s and early 1930s provided the initial foundation for the emergence of a more rounded community life on the plantations. With the presence of Filipino women and families, the Philippine cultural practice of observing "life cycle" celebrations or "rites of passage" such as weddings, baptisms and funerals became an important focal point for bringing together Filipinos on the plantations.

Fuchs observed that given the small number of school-age Filipino children before World War II, it was often a major community event whenever a Filipino youth graduated from high school (Fuchs, 1961). It was an even bigger cause for celebration when a Filipino graduated from college. These occasions were not only observed by the student's immediate family but by his entire *partido* or kinship network and community.

The events that centered on the Filipino family reinforced the social reproduction of Philippine cultural practices in Hawaii. The observance of "life

cycle" celebrations among Filipinos in Hawaii led to the development of artificial kinship networks especially among the single Filipino men with no families (Alcantara, 1981; Cariaga, 1937). Flowing from the practice of having multiple sponsors for baptisms and weddings, "calabash" family ties were established by single men and women who became *ninongs* (godfather) and *ninangs* (godmother). In this way, the *ninong* and *ninang* became "uncle" and "aunty", which enabled single men with no families to enter into the extended kinship or *partido* network. Many of these *partidos* often crossed or overlapped with the *saranays* or Filipino community associations on the plantations, particularly those based on regional or township levels.

Towards the end of the 1930s, a number of events led to a change in the orientation of Filipinos towards their view of their life and future in Hawaii. One was the great distance between Hawaii and the Philippines which made it difficult, especially for the single men, to maintain close ties with the families they had left behind. Another factor was the harsh economic conditions most Filipinos faced during the Depression years. Thousands of unemployed Filipinos in Hawaii and the mainland U.S. were "repatriated" (McWilliams, 1986/1944; Dorita, 1967). Many Filipinos were unable to send money home to their families in the Philippines. Others cut their ties with the families back home altogether and decided to stay in Hawaii for the rest of their lives or to move on to the mainland if the opportunity arose. The outbreak of World War II completely closed the flow of communication as well as migration between the Philippines and Hawaii. It forced Filipinos to begin thinking of permanently sinking their roots and building a future in Hawaii.

#### Post-World War II to Pre-1965 Period

The period following WW II represents the second phase in the history of the Filipino community in Hawaii. The war and the events that followed consolidated the feeling that was building up among most Filipinos in Hawaii before the war to settle permanently in the islands. The years following WW II witnessed more and more Filipinos becoming U.S. citizens, especially those who had served in the armed services (McWilliams, 1986). Others returned home to the Philippines to get married or to bring their families to Hawaii.

Among the main highlights of this period was the successful drive to organize Hawaii's longshore and plantation workers led by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union or ILWU. These organizing drives, which resulted in a series of dramatic and sometimes bitterly fought

strikes, were able to mobilize Filipinos to support the ILWU. Under the slogan of "an injury to one is an injury to all," the ILWU succeeded in breaking down divisions among Hawaii's workers based on race and nationality and united them on the basis of working class solidarity.

A corollary aspect of the ILWU-led strikes was their success in winning Filipinos to struggle against narrow and sectarian "blood" or racial unionism (Beechert, 1985; Zalburg, 1979; Fuchs, 1960). A crucial test occurred in the 1946 sugar strike when the HSPA imported more than 6,000 Filipinos from the Philippines—freshly liberated from Japanese occupation—to help break the strike (Beechert, 1985; Zalburg, 1979; Fuchs, 1960). The planters hoped that the anti-Japanese sentiment among Filipinos resulting from their bitter war experience would help break the solidarity forged by the ILWU between Filipino and Japanese workers. The HSPA ploy failed, however, as the freshly imported Filipino workers refused to scab against the strikers and instead supported the ILWU-led strike.

The hardfought and lengthy strikes which marked the organizing drives of the ILWU became a central dynamic and focus in the life of the Filipino community on the plantations during this period. In the decade following the war, the ILWU fought four major strikes which drew Filipinos into the frontline of the main social movements in Hawaii—the 1946 sugar strike, the 1949 longshore strike, the 1952-53 pineapple strike, and the 1958 sugar strike. These strikes lasted between four to ten months. In the course of these struggles for basic trade union rights and for improved working and living conditions, Filipinos on the plantations were greatly politicized and made important contributions to the struggle of all working people in Hawaii for greater democratic rights. As the largest ethnic group in the agricultural industries—sugar and pineapple—Filipinos made tremendous sacrifices and played leading roles in ensuring the victory of the ILWU in these strikes. During this phase of the Filipino community's history in Hawaii, the ILWU became a central institution on all the plantation communities and was a great influence on the lives of Filipinos.

By the 1950s the pace of structural integration, acculturation and assimilation of Filipinos in Hawaii was proceeding steadily. The number of immigrants from the Philippines in this period was small. The bulk of the community was still made up of those who came before World War II. The number of women and children, however, was slowly beginning to increase. The number of second generation Filipinos also was growing (Lind, 1967).



With the ILWU's influence in the plantation communities at its height, the number of Filipino mutual aid associations—and the need for them—began to decline. Most Filipino adult men and women on the plantations belonged to the ILWU and relied on the union to deal with their social problems, ranging from immigration to alcoholism. The ILWU throughout the territory (and later state-wide) set up a sophisticated system of organized social and recreational activities for its members—baseball, softball, basketball, volleyball, bowling and golf leagues. Members actively participated in these activities. In the process, these social activities helped break down ethnic and racial divisions and fostered greater solidarity among the union's membership. Filipinos participated actively in these activities as a sizable part of the union's membership as well as of the communities on the plantations.

The 1950s saw the reorganization of the Filipino community with the active participation of Filipinos in the ILWU. Many of the smaller township or province-based groups were consolidated and brought under the umbrella of a single organization on the plantation. Thus, we see the establishment of a single plantation-wide organization such as the Filipino Community Association of Waialua, Waipahu, Ewa, Kekaha, etc. It was not unusual during this period for Filipino leaders in the ILWU also to serve as leaders in these associations. These associations continued to organize the main social activities in the Filipino community—the annual Rizal Day festivity, beauty contests, terno balls (the traditional Philippine dress worn by Filipino women for important social occasions), etc.

While helping to consolidate Filipino groups into unified plantation-wide associations, ILWU members also played an active role in developing community organizations on the plantation towns which crossed ethnic lines. For example, organizations such as the Waipahu Community Association and others like it in Ewa, Kahuku, Naalehu, Honokaa and elsewhere throughout Hawaii were formed during this period. These broader, community-wide organizations were open to anyone who wished to join and took up issues affecting the entire community. As in the Filipino community, the ILWU played an influential role within these local community associations.

Another key institution in the plantation communities in which the ILWU played a central role was the Democratic Party. The impressive victories won by the ILWU on the labor front in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s was matched by an even more dramatic series of electoral victories won by the Democratic Party over the Republicans in this period. The labor movement in general, and the ILWU in particular, played a major role in the emergence of

Democratic Party dominance in Hawaii's electoral scene. For the most part, Filipinos—who constituted the bulk of Hawaii's agricultural work force—identified with and supported Democratic candidates. A number of Filipino supporters of the ILWU ran under the Democratic Party banner and won (Fuchs, 1961).

While the campaign for Hawaii's statehood was reaching its climax, Filipino community leaders were seeking ways to maximize their participation in the political life of the broader society. Inspired by then Philippine Consul General in Honolulu, Juan Dionisio, Filipino community leaders began a drive to bring the scattered Filipino groups throughout the territory under one umbrella. Thus, with the help of Dionisio, the United Filipino Council of Hawaii (UFCH) was formed in 1959. The stated goal of the UFCH at its founding convention was "to further the political, economic and social aims of Filipinos in Hawaii... The Filipino here must first achieve unity through a common identification before they can be successfully integrated into the (larger) community..." (Okamura, 1982; Fuchs, 1961). Clearly, the statement of purpose of the UFCH speaks of the desire among Filipinos to become an integral part of Hawaii. Filipinos were no longer dreaming of returning to the Philippines but were now determined to enter the mainstream of society in Hawaii.

### The Post-1965 Period: Diversity, Growth and Change

The years following 1965 saw the beginning of the third major period in the history of Filipinos in Hawaii. As the era of the 1950s closed with Hawaii's statehood, the 1960s saw the introduction of major changes in Hawaii and on the national level which would have tremendous impact on the Filipino community in the islands. Locally the 1960s saw the decline of agriculture—the sugar and pineapple industries—as the main foundation upon which the economic life of the islands is built. Tourism began to emerge as the main source of livelihood for most people in Hawaii. At the national level, the passage of a more liberal immigration law by the U.S. Congress in 1965 would open the door wider for immigrants, particularly those from Asia, Latin America and southern and eastern Europe.

Ironically, these three events—the decline of agriculture, the rise of tourism, and Congress' passage of the 1965 U.S. immigration law—would contribute to contradictory but interrelated developments in Hawaii's Filipino community.

On the one hand, the decline of agriculture would lead to the "break-up" of the plantation-based Filipino community as sugar and pineapple companies closed or phased out their operations in many plantation towns throughout the

islands (see Kent, 1983; Matsuoka, 1990; Fujimoto and Seto, 1990; Miller, 1989; Smith, 1989). As the largest ethnic group in the sugar and pineapple industries, Filipinos were the most affected by the gradual decline of these industries. Thousands of Filipino workers were forced to look elsewhere for jobs in the emerging tourism industry—in the hotels, golf courses, restaurants, and construction sites. In the process, Filipinos were breaking out of occupations they “traditionally” held and were being employed in non-plantation jobs. Many others were forced out of their former plantation communities to relocate to urban centers where more job opportunities existed. Thus, the structural integration of Filipinos into wider sectors of Hawaii’s political economy was proceeding steadily.

While the phase-out of sugar and pineapple and the growth of tourism were introducing changes in the Filipino community, at the same time other developments were taking place. The Filipino community was rapidly growing in numbers. This time the increase was the result of the growth in number of Hawaii-born, second generation children (Okamura, 1982; Lind, 1969). The number of Filipino interracial marriages was also increasing. Immigration from the Philippines, which had practically ended in the years prior to and throughout World War II, resumed following the war. However, the number of Filipinos who arrived, with the exception of the so-called “1946 Boys,” was relatively small.

Entering the 1960s, assimilation and amalgamation of Filipinos into the broader “American” nationality or “local” society (in the case of Hawaii) had become the main trend. Ethnic minority reproduction, however, was still dominant within the community. This was due to the still considerable size of the “first wave” (pre-World War II) and “second wave” (post-WWII) immigrants which made up the overwhelming majority of Filipinos in Hawaii (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1980, 1982; State Immigrant Services Center, 1982; Carino, 1981).

On the other hand, the enactment of the 1965 immigration law by the U.S. Congress greatly contributed to the persistence and social reproduction of the ethnic Filipino community in Hawaii. The new U.S. immigration law precipitated a major new wave of immigration from the Philippines to the U.S. and Hawaii. Two of the main thrusts of the new immigration policy were family reunification and recruitment of more skilled workers (Alegado, 1988; Pido, 1986). Thus, between 1965 and 1985, approximately 670,000 Filipinos entered the U.S. Many of these Filipino immigrants came by way of the principle of family reunification or the so-called “family chain migration” (Caces, 1985). Thousands of highly skilled and educated Filipinos also made their way into the U.S. which often led to criticisms of the so-called “brain drain” from the Philippines.

Of an average of more than 40,000 Filipinos who arrive in the U.S. every year, ten per cent come to Hawaii (Operation Manong, 1985; Carino, 1981; State Immigrant Services Center, 1982). A large majority of the new immigrants come from the Ilocos region of the Philippines, which has continued the dominance of the Ilokano linguistic group in the Filipino community in Hawaii.

An important result of the large influx of the “third wave” immigrants (post-1965) is the reinvigoration and reinforcement of Filipino culture and ethnic identity in Hawaii. Thus, despite the fact that Hawaii-born and raised Filipinos continue to increase in large numbers, this important social grouping in the community is overshadowed by the continuing presence and growth of the immigrant sector composed of the “first wave,” “second wave” and the “third wave.”

At the same time, Filipinos in Hawaii continue to experience discrimination and anti-immigrant chauvinism (Alegado, 1990; Haas and Resurreccion, 1976). Employment discrimination in the work place serves to stratify systematically Filipinos into the lower and unstable sectors of the labor force—in the hotel and restaurant sectors of the visitor and agricultural industries (Okamura, 1990). Continued concentration in jobs associated with Hawaii’s “new plantations”—as housekeepers in the hotels, as busboys and kitchen help in food/restaurant services, and as janitors in airports, banks and other business establishments—sets the basis for the subjective reproduction of national culture and social relations among Filipinos. This stratification in the work place is reinforced by the re-emergence of ethnic enclaves—identifiable Filipino neighborhoods and districts in new and old urban areas of Hawaii.

In sum, the post-1965 period witnessed a number of trends in the Filipino community in Hawaii that were set into motion by several events. Foremost among these was the transformation of Hawaii’s economy in the 1960s, the decline of agriculture and the rise of tourism, which began to “break up” the Filipino community that was largely based on the plantations. Filipino workers laid off from the sugar and pineapple industries were absorbed into various occupations in the rising tourism and resort development industries. As the jobs “moved” from the rural, plantation areas of Hawaii to the urban centers and developing resort spots, so did the workers—including Filipinos.

A change in national immigration policy in Washington also ushered in new dynamic forces into the Filipino community. The thousands of new “third wave” Filipino immigrants who arrived in Hawaii under the 1965 immigration law reinvigorated Filipino ethnic identity and culture. Unlike the previous “waves”

of Filipino immigrants, the new arrivals viewed themselves as permanent residents of the islands. Thus, while the "local"-born second and third generation Filipinos were growing in numbers, their presence continued to be overshadowed by the predominance of Philippine-born Filipinos.

By the 1970s and 1980s, two contradictory but interrelated processes were occurring in the Filipino community. On the one hand, this period witnessed greater structural integration and assimilation of Filipinos into Hawaii's political economy. Filipinos were no longer isolated in their plantation enclave as the decline of agriculture forced many of them to find jobs in other sectors of the economy. Many moved off the plantation communities and established residences in new urban centers and towns. The size of second generation "local" as well as "hapa" or part-Filipinos grew. More Filipinos than ever before were going on to secondary and college education. In short, the children of Filipino immigrants were steadily and rapidly becoming assimilated into the "local" version of American culture and nationality.

On the other hand, the immigrant population in the Filipino community—those who came in the first and second "waves"—who were already the dominant influence within the community—were further strengthened and replenished with the arrival of thousands of new immigrants due to the passage of a more liberal U.S. immigration policy in 1965. This is manifested in the emergence of a variety of new social formations and community institutions whose purpose and functions are to meet the social, cultural and economic needs of the Filipino ethnic community. The following section will discuss the role of these community institutions in the social reproduction of the ethnic Filipino community in Hawaii.

### Filipino Community Institutions in Hawaii

Historically, the emergence of ethnic solidarity among Filipinos is defensive in nature, that is, defensive reactions to what they perceive to be injustices committed against them by employers or those holding political power. Like other ethnic groups such as the Hawaiians, Filipinos do not express their ethnic solidarity simply because they share common occupations, residential or ethnic enclaves, or common institutions, but because they feel they have been long ignored and receive little from government. Though less overt and intense, Filipinos continue to experience discrimination and anti-immigrant chauvinism.

The ethnic Filipino community in Hawaii contains a variety of formal and informal networks of structured or institutionalized activities which serve to

bring individual Filipinos into complex sets of social relations. A distinct Filipino ethnic community has evolved in Hawaii primarily in response to the particular social and economic environment that Filipinos confronted in Hawaii. Among the most important factors that shaped the development of the Filipino community were policies of social control implemented by the plantations. The ability of Filipino immigrants to respond and adapt to the social conditions they found in the islands was also shaped by the "cultural baggage" they brought with them to Hawaii.

The key social networks and community institutions include family/kinship networks (also called *partidos*); various types of social organizations (mutual aid associations, sectoral interest groups, township/regional associations, cultural organizations); Filipino residential "neighborhoods" or "districts"; the community media, and the Philippine Consulate. This complex of organizations make up the various components of the ethnic Filipino community social structure. They all play particular roles in the sometimes contradictory but interrelated social process the Filipino ethnic minority is undergoing: change (assimilation and amalgamation into the larger American nationality and Hawaii's "local" version) and continuity (social reproduction and maintenance of Filipino ethnicity in response to racial and ethnic discrimination and continued immigration from the Philippines).

### Community Organizations

**Social club types.** These types of organizations are the most numerous in the Filipino community. The majority of social clubs are the township or regional-based organizations (i.e. Anak ti Batac, Marcos Town Association, La Union Circle, Cagayan Valley Association, etc.). The main purpose of these groups is to bring together Filipinos in Hawaii who originally came from the same town, province or region in the Philippines. These groups hold picnics, annual banquets and social dances, including the observance of town fiestas. Most of them are composed predominantly of third "wave" immigrants and have been formed only within the past 10 to 15 years. Social club type of organizations make up the bulk of the groups under the umbrella of various island-wide Filipino community councils.

There are still a number of organizations formed as community-wide Filipino associations. These are based on the plantation communities such as Kekaha, Waialua and Waipahu and are remnants of the Filipino community organizations initiated by the ILWU in the late 1940s and 1950s.

**Mutual aid societies.** These organizations were the most prominent in the Filipino community before World War II. As discussed earlier, these *saranays* were based on particular plantation communities with the goal of assisting the immediate needs of their members. There were (and are today) territorial or statewide mutual aid groups, such as the Ilocos Norte Aid Association of Hawaii, the Luzonian Aid Association of Hawaii, and the United Visayan Hinabangay Association of Hawaii. Besides helping their own members, these groups often provide aid to victims of natural calamities in their home provinces and regions in the Philippines.

Another type of mutual aid association that cuts across linguistic and regional lines are the masonic lodges or societies such as the Legionarios del Trabajo, Caballeros de Dimasalang, Gran Oriente Filipino, and the Knights of Rizal. These groups are among the oldest organizations in Hawaii's Filipino community and were established before World War II. Today, however, they no longer play as active and influential role in the community as they did 30 to 40 years ago. Very few among the younger generation of Filipinos join these masonic lodges and they are, therefore, in danger of going out of existence as many of their members are passing away.

**Sectoral interest groups.** There are a variety of sectoral interest groups that have emerged over the last 20 years. These groups are often among the more socially and politically active and community-minded among the various organizations in the Filipino community.

**Business and professional associations.** These groups include the Filipino Jaycees, the Filipino Chamber of Commerce, the Philippine Medical Association, the Filipino Nurses Association of Hawaii, the Fil-Am Lions Clubs, the Hawaii Association of Filipino Travel Agents, the Filipino Lawyers Association, the United Group of Care Home Operators and the Filipino Contractors Association of Hawaii. They represent the emerging business and professional sectors in the Filipino community.

**Cultural and recreational groups.** While a number of Filipino cultural groups have their roots in the post-World War II period, the overwhelming majority of cultural and recreational organizations have a recent history. These groups include the GUMIL Association of Hawaii, an organization of Ilokano writers, poets and producers of theater productions. Some of the best short stories written by GUMIL members are published in *Bannawag*, the most widely read Ilokano magazine in the Philippines which has a large circulation in Hawaii. Other cultural organizations in the Filipino community include various dance,

singing and martial arts clubs. A group dedicated to discovering and developing Filipino performing artists is the Hawaii Talent Searchers Club. There is also a Philippine Language Club at the University of Hawaii organized by students and faculty.

**Youth and student groups.** Since the 1970s with the influx of large numbers of immigrant Filipino students in Hawaii public schools and colleges, there has been a rapid growth in the number of Filipino student organizations. In schools with large concentrations of Filipino students, there now exist student clubs with names such as *Susi ng Pilipino* (The Key of the Filipino), *Bayanihan* (Association) and *Kaisahan* (Unity). Filipino student groups have also been established at the University of Hawaii campuses in Manoa, Hilo and the community colleges. The membership of these Filipino student groups is predominantly third wave immigrants and a few "local" Filipinos. The most important development within this sector was the formation of *Sariling Gawa* (Our Own Work) at a statewide conference of Filipino students in 1981. *Sariling Gawa* has now become an annual conference which brings together Filipino student leaders statewide to discuss issues and problems of concern to Filipino youth.

**Filipino religious organizations.** Among the most influential groups in the Filipino community in Hawaii are the Filipino religious organizations. The largest of these is the Filipino Catholic Clubs which have a network scattered throughout the state. Filipino Catholic Clubs exist in parishes with large Filipino concentrations. While constituting perhaps the biggest base of support of the Catholic faith in Hawaii—including a large percentage of students enrolled in Catholic-run schools—Filipinos, however, exercise very little influence or power in policy-making or day-to-day operations of the church and its institutions in the state.

Another important social force within the Filipino community is the *Iglesia ni Kristo* (Church of Christ) and its well organized and predominantly conservative followers. Members of the *Iglesia ni Kristo* have been known to constitute a reliable base of support for the late Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos and his widow, Imelda.

The Philippine Independent (or Aglipayan) Church, which has a large following among Ilokanos in Northern Luzon, has a presence in Honolulu. It holds services under the auspices of the Episcopalian Church. Smaller numbers of Filipinos belong to other religious communities including the Methodist Church, the Jehovah's Witness and the Seventh Day Adventists. The pseudo-religious group, the Filipino Federation of America, which attracted a fairly sizable

following before World War II, still exists today but its membership has dwindled considerably. Unlike during its pre-WWII heyday, the FFA exercises very little influence in the Filipino community today.

*Filipino civil rights and community advocacy groups.* The arrival of professional and college educated immigrant Filipinos in Hawaii and the increase in the number of Filipinos entering colleges and universities in the early 1970s saw the emergence of new political activism in the Filipino community. College age and younger Filipino professionals who had been exposed to student political activism in the Philippines or the civil rights and anti-war movement on campuses in the U.S. began to draw together the Filipino community to deal with social and political issues affecting the community: employment discrimination and lack of affirmative action programs in the state, the need for bilingual programs in state social services and educational system, under-representation of Filipino students in higher education to advocacy of immigrant rights. The younger community activists also addressed problems faced by Filipino youths and senior citizens, affordable housing (in Chinatown and Waipahu's Ota Camp) and support for the Ethnic Studies Program at the University of Hawaii. One of the most controversial issues taken up by Filipino community activists was opposition to the martial law regime of President Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines.

As a whole these issues were brought by Filipino activists into the agendas of community organizations and councils for deliberation. Sometimes symbolic resolutions were passed which called on state and county governments to implement more equitable hiring and employment practices. On rare occasions the community activists were successful in getting the Filipino community councils to form task forces to deal with issues such as the youth gangs and affirmative action in employment and education.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Filipino community activists were involved in the following groups: Ota Camp/Makibaka Village Association, Ating Tao Conference/Kabataang Katipunan, Operation Manong, Union of Democratic Filipinos (or Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino/KDP), People Against Chinatown Eviction (PACE), Filipino Immigrant Rights Organization (FIRO), Movement for a Free Philippines (MFP), Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines (CHRP), Friends of the Filipino People (FFP), and other issue-based community task forces organized under the Oahu Filipino Community Council (OFCC). While the community activists constituted a small minority in the Filipino community, their painstaking organizing and educational work throughout the 1970s and 1980s was critical in the gradual

political maturation of the community. Their efforts enabled hundreds of immigrant as well as "local" Filipinos to be drawn into political activism and the electoral arena. By the late 1980s, many of the issues that were once considered "radical" political positions advocated by the community activists in the 1970s were enjoying widespread support throughout the Filipino community. Their political organizing and educational work contributed to strengthening Filipino ethnic identity and community awareness.

*Filipino community media.* Like other American ethnic groups that felt an irresistible need to express and record their experiences, to share with fellow community members critically needed information, and to educate the larger public about the issues, problems and interests that concerned the ethnic community, Filipinos developed their own ethnic media. Since their arrival in Hawaii in large numbers approximately eighty-five years ago, Filipinos have established a number of community media—ethnic newspapers, newsletters, radio and television programs—which addressed the social, cultural, economic and political interests of the Filipino community. These community media often utilized Philippine languages, mainly Ilokano, Visayan and Tagalog, in addressing their predominantly immigrant audience. English, however, is the main medium of communication used in the Filipino ethnic media.

*Filipino community newspapers.* From the very beginning, Filipinos in Hawaii have struggled to develop their own ethnic newspaper. Many of these efforts were unsuccessful, however, largely due to financial instability and because of lack of support from a community which—until recently—has historically had a generally low level of education and literacy. Since the 1970s, however, as the community has grown in size and along with it the emergence of a sizable "ethnic Filipino market", a number of Filipino newspapers have succeeded in establishing fairly stable operations. The most prominent is the *Fil-Am Courier* which claims a circulation of 50,000. Like other ethnic newspapers, the contents of the Filipino community press are varied, but certain things are characteristic. The most important news articles are often those of events in the Philippines. But they also contain news about the Filipino community in Hawaii not available elsewhere—Filipino "success" stories, activities of Filipino organizations, social events (who got married to whom), Filipino short stories and poetry, and advertisements of Filipino business establishments. Ordinary readers as well as community leaders, professional writers and journalists contribute to Filipino community newspapers without pay. The Filipino community newspapers perform an important function as they enable members of the community to exchange ideas and information that would otherwise be un-

available. Overall, the Filipino ethnic press has historically stood as a guardian against unfair treatment of its constituency.

*Filipino radio and t.v. programs.* Like the Filipino community newspapers, Filipino radio programming has been around since the 1930s. Commercial radio stations in Honolulu, such as KGU, KPOI, KUMU, KAIM, KZOO, KORL and KDEO have had regular 30 minutes to one hour-long Filipino programs over the years. Other radio stations on the neighbor islands have also had programs catering to Filipino listening audiences. The most popular radio stations that carry extensive Filipino community-oriented programs are KISA and KDEO. These programs broadcast news from the Philippines and about events in the Filipino community. They play traditional and contemporary Filipino songs. Filipinos have also made use of television as a medium to popularize Filipino cultural entertainment, music, dances, and talents. One of the most popular and the longest running program on Hawaii television was Faustino Respicio's "Filipino Fiesta" which began in 1950 and lasted until 1986. Today, a number of weekly Filipino TV programs are on Hawaii television.

*Filipino neighborhoods/districts.* After the family/kinship network, the second most important building-block for the social reproduction and development of ethnic immigrant communities is the so-called ethnic neighborhood or district. These neighborhoods historically have been called "ghettoes" or "barrios" and the American ethnic mosaic has seen various immigrant groups build such communities (i.e. Little Italy, Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Little Havana, etc.). The emergence of the ethnic neighborhood sets the basis for the development of informal and more formal community institutions beyond the family or kinship network. In the case of Filipinos in Hawaii, the early Filipino neighborhoods in the pre-World War II and pre-1965 era emerged in the plantation camps.

The process of concentrating Filipinos into separate and distinct "Filipino camps" on the plantations, as discussed earlier, was not the result of the spontaneous assertion or subjective desire of Filipinos to be clustered together. It was primarily due to the deliberate policy of the plantation bosses to keep the various racial and ethnic groups segregated in separate plantation camps and housing. Isolated as a group and, for the most part, sharing the same cultural attributes such as language and regional backgrounds in the Philippines, the plantation camps enabled Filipinos easily to maintain and socially reproduce Philippine cultural patterns.

Despite the decline of old plantation towns and the expansion of urban development into former rural communities, many Filipinos continue to live in

plantation communities throughout Hawaii. This is due to the fact that Filipinos continue to comprise a large bulk of the remaining agricultural workforce in the state. Until the mid-1970s, a majority of Filipinos in Hawaii lived in residential areas considered "rural Hawaii." By the late 1970s, however, more than half of all Filipinos in the state were residing in areas categorized as "urban" (see Carino, 1981). Among the "rural" towns on Oahu with large Filipino concentration are Waipahu, Ewa/Ewa Beach, Wahiawa/Whitmore Village, Kunia, Waialua, Haleiwa and Kahuku (U.S. Census, 1982; 1980). On Kauai, Filipinos make up a large percentage of the population in the towns of Kekaha, Waimea, Hanapepe, Hanamaulu and Kapaa. On Maui, large concentrations of Filipinos are found in Lahaina, Puunene and Paia. On Molokai, Filipinos make up the majority in the towns of Maunaloa and Kualapuu, and they constitute the overwhelming majority on Lanai. On the island of Hawaii, Filipinos form a large part of the rural communities in Naalehu, Pahala-Kau and Honokaa.

In urban Oahu, Honolulu's Kalihi-Palama district is widely identified as a "Filipino district" (see Okamura, 1982). Many Filipinos also reside in the Chinatown-Liliha district of Honolulu. Other "urban" areas in the state with sizable Filipino populations are Kahului on Maui, and Hilo and Kailua-Kona on Hawaii.

For the most part, the nature and function of the Filipino ethnic neighborhood, like those of other ethnic communities, were and are not signs of clannishness or unwillingness to assimilate into the mainstream society. Rather, they were and continue to be the first step toward Americanization. Many immigrants arrive with little or no money, no job, and little or no knowledge of English in an island society culturally and economically different from the ones they had left. In the Filipino ethnic community and neighborhoods, the immediate needs of the immigrant were met. Here they found information in their own language, familiar food, and lodging they could afford among people with whom they felt at ease. Here they got help in finding work, usually from relatives and ex-townmates who spoke their language and could help them find a new job. Here they found the sympathy and friendship of others who shared their values and life experiences. These factors helped ease the cultural shock of immigration and made new beginnings possible.

*The Philippine Consul General.* The Philippine Consulate in Honolulu has historically been one of the most important institutions in the Filipino community. Officially, as an arm and representative of the Philippine government, the mission of the Consul General is to look after the interests of Philippine nationals and immigrants in Hawaii. The Consulate maintains ties not



only with the key Filipino community organizations and leaders, but with major political forces in Hawaii as well including the governor, legislators, businessmen and corporations with interests in the Philippines, military commanders of the U.S. armed forces in the Pacific based in Camp Smith, and the local media.

The office of the Philippine Consul General in Honolulu, including its predecessor, the Philippine Labor Commissioner, has historically been a center of controversy among Filipinos in Hawaii. In the pre-World War II period, for example, many Filipinos viewed the Philippine Labor Commissioner with disdain since he was regarded as an agent of the Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association. The popular notion among Filipinos in Hawaii that the Labor Commissioner represented the interests of the plantation bosses and not those of the Filipino workers was supported by the fact that the Labor Commissioner's salary and housing were paid for by the HSPA (Dorita, 1967). Among the most controversial Philippine Labor Commissioners was Cayetano Ligot who actively exhorted Filipinos to maintain cordial and harmonious relations with their plantation employers. Ligot worked tirelessly to neutralize the efforts of Pablo Manlapit to organize Filipinos into joining his Filipino Labor Union.

The Philippine Consulate in Honolulu was established after the Philippines gained independence from the United States in 1946. One of the most popular and well-liked Consul Generals was Juan Dionisio. As discussed earlier, Dionisio played a prominent role in the effort to unify the various Filipino organizations scattered throughout the islands into a state-wide network under the umbrella of the United Filipino Council of Hawaii (UFCH).

Because of its role and function as an arm of the Philippine government, the Consulate often plays an influential role in the internal political life of the Filipino community in Hawaii. The Consul General and members of its staff are almost always invited as guests or speakers to every important Filipino community function and event. During the long rule of the Marcos regime, the Philippine Consulate was at the center of political controversy as it carried out its function as the representative of the dictatorship in Hawaii. From 1972 until 1986 when the Marcos regime was deposed by Corazon Aquino and the People Power Revolution, the Philippine Consulate was the target of demonstrations by the opponents of the Marcos regime. In response, the Philippine Consulate carried out its well-known policy of "rewarding its friends and punishing its enemies" within the Filipino community. Thus, for more than a decade, the Filipino community was deeply divided, often along regional lines, between Ilokano and non-Ilokano supporters of the Marcos administration and its critics. In the present period, the division falls between the loyal supporters of the

Marcoses who are living in exile in Honolulu and the supporters of the Aquino government (see Ryan, 1989).

But regardless of the political loyalties of the Philippine Consulate or the character of the government it serves, it continues to be a formidable institution within the Filipino community in Hawaii. With a large immigrant base which maintains ties with relatives in the Philippines, it is almost impossible for Filipinos to ignore the office and services of the Philippine Consulate, particularly in matters regarding passport, immigration, taxes or any business transactions.

### Conclusion

The ethnic Filipino community in Hawaii is more than the sum of its institutional parts. It has its own values and priorities, its own social and political atmosphere determined by the cultural baggage its members brought from the Philippines and the circumstances of their lives in the new environment in Hawaii. Early Filipino immigrants, who were largely of peasant origins from the rural countryside of the Ilocos and the Visayas in the Philippines and accustomed to relating mainly to their own extended families, succeeded first in forming small localized institutions. However, they soon established plantation, island-wide, and even territorial or statewide organizations.

Some Filipino immigrants never affiliated with any Filipino community organization, either by choice or because none was available. The majority, however, did affiliate and reaped many benefits. Through the formal and informal networks of the ethnic Filipino community, they found companionship to ease the pain of loneliness and separation from their loved ones thousands of miles across the ocean. They received information in their own language to help them find jobs and establish artificial households. Mutual aid and other self-help societies mitigated their poverty, and social events alleviated their spiritual hunger. Recreational activities such as cockfights, *terno* balls and taxi dance halls helped overcome boredom and kept them in touch with townmates. Nationalist and civil rights organizations enhanced their self-respect. It is not surprising, therefore, that some social scientists view the participation of immigrants in the affairs of their ethnic communities as contributing to their rapid adjustment to their new environment in America (see Portes and Rumbaut, 1990; Dinnerstein and Reimers, 1988; Sellers, 1977).

There are other benefits, less tangible but equally important. The Filipino ethnic community offered status and recognition to people who otherwise might have attained neither. Outstanding Filipino entertainers, athletes and politicians

are acclaimed by the larger Hawaii public but individuals with less spectacular abilities go unnoticed. Most immigrants, with their "broken English" and "Filipino accent" and their menial jobs, had few opportunities to feel important. But within their ethnic community, as officers of their township association, mutual aid society or community council, these immigrants and "local" Filipinos received the recognition they needed and deserved. Through the Filipino ethnic community, thousands of talented men and women whose abilities might otherwise have been wasted are given opportunities to make significant contributions not only to the Filipino community but to the larger Hawaii society as well. Many Filipinos who received their "basic training" in their ethnic community organizations went on to positions of leadership in the larger mainstream society in Hawaii.

Finally, the Filipino ethnic community institutions—neighborhoods, newspapers, social organizations, civil rights advocacy groups, etc.—helped fill the moral vacuum in the lives of immigrants. These ethnic community institutions were in the past and are today a positive force in support of stable and responsible participation in the social and economic life of the larger society. In a bewildering new environment, they gave immigrants solid ground to stand on in determining what their priorities should be and how they should behave toward one another as well as to those "outside" of the community.

But there are negative sides to the Filipino ethnic community as well. Group pride sometimes can spill over into destructive chauvinism. Factionalism and narrow regionalism within the Filipino community, even within community institutions, can be a serious problem. Quarrels within Filipino community organizations and councils can be bitter, even degenerating on rare occasions into threats as well as actual physical violence (Ryan, 1990). But violence can be spiritual as well as physical. In their zeal to preserve traditional values and conservative political positions, Filipino community leaders can be cruel to nonconformists. New and sometimes controversial ideas have been sacrificed to tradition or, worse still, to pettiness or narrow-mindedness. Some Filipino community organizations have created bureaucracies with their attendant dangers of corruption and lack of responsiveness to the people they were meant to serve. Some community leaders sometimes become less interested in leading and serving than in maintaining their own positions and enhancing their own fortunes. It is not surprising that younger Filipinos—and mavericks of any age—often find the organized Filipino ethnic community more stifling than stimulating.

Like all human institutions, Filipino ethnic community institutions reflect both the strengths and positive aspects as well as the faults and weaknesses of the

people who comprised them. Their problems were magnified by the fact that they struggled to survive in a non-Filipino society that was often indifferent or even hostile. Yet, despite these difficulties, the Filipino ethnic community organizations served their members well enough that subsequent generations have continued to maintain at least some affiliation with them.

The survival of the Filipino ethnic community and its institutions in the second and third generation is largely determined by the role these institutions have on the lives of new Filipino generations. Despite increasing participation in the life of mainstream Hawaii society, most second and third generation Filipino-Americans maintain at least some ties with their ethnic community, and many have deep commitments to particular institutions within the Filipino ethnic community. There are several reasons for this. Like the first generation immigrants, they enjoy the companionship and recognition they receive in the Filipino community. Like the immigrants, they have problems that could be understood and handled best by people with backgrounds similar to their own. Finally, like immigrants, even second and third generation "locals" experience discrimination and anti-Filipino chauvinism from the dominant mainstream society in Hawaii.

Over the past eighty-five years, the Filipino ethnic community in Hawaii has persisted and evolved. The variety of community institutions that came into being and which responded successfully to the changing needs of the second and third generation Filipinos survived. Those that did not faded into insignificance. Changes in the character and nature of many Filipino community organizations and institutions reflect the changing needs and interests of the "Americanized" or "local" generations. Along with the idea of Filipino ethnicity as a cultural heritage, Filipino ethnic identity has persisted in an organizational or institutional form, in the context and reality of Hawaii's changing political economy.

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## Crosscurrents: Filipinos in Hawaii's Politics

Dan Boylan

The chapter on Filipinos in Hawaii's political history is a slim one. Their numbers in elected ranks have been and remain few and, only recently, three Filipinos—Lt. Gov. Ben Cayetano, former Kauai Mayor Eduardo Malapit, and Big Island Mayor Lorraine Rodero Inouye—have won executive offices.

Filipinos were the last of Hawaii's major ethnic groups to come to the Islands. Plantation contract laborers began arriving from the Philippines in 1906 but, longer than most of Hawaii's immigrant workers, Filipinos remained intent on returning to their homeland. Few brought wives with them; fewer still intermarried with non-Filipinos. The result was that, prior to World War II, complete Filipino families committed to staying in Hawaii were rare.<sup>1</sup>

Following World War II, Filipinos began putting their families together. The 1965 liberalization of United States immigration laws accelerated the process—and greatly increased the number of new Filipino immigrants. But the constant refertilization of provincial rivalries, the clash between new, often better educated recent immigrants and the locally born descendants of plantation Filipinos, and the intrusion of the politics of the Philippines into Hawaii have left Hawaii's Filipinos, in the words of Lt. Gov. Cayetano, "a struggling community seeking to find itself."

Yet at no time in Hawaii's political history have Filipino prospects looked better. Cayetano appears to have an excellent chance at the Democratic Party's nomination for governor in 1994. Attempts to woo the growing Filipino electorate—approximately 11 percent of Hawaii's registered voters (15.2 percent of the state's population)—have resulted in more appointed Filipinos in county and state governments than ever before.<sup>2</sup> Filipino pluralities are the rule in several state legislative districts, and in recent years political analysts have taken to writing frequently of the growing Filipino vote as Hawaii's "sleeping giant" (or "tiger," choose your metaphor by size or ferocity).<sup>3</sup>

### Patronage Politics: Hawaii's First Filipino Politicians

The early history of the Filipino role in Island politics can best be told through the lives of three men: Peter Aduja, Alfred Laureta and Benjamin Menor. Their personal and political lives often intersected; indeed, they frequently coincided. And they were, along with no more than a half dozen more minor figures, the entire Filipino political presence in the first quarter century following World War II.

Aduja and Menor grew up on the Big Island of Hawaii. Aduja arrived there in 1927 as the seven year old son of immigrant plantation laborers from Ilocos Sur. His father attended one year of elementary school in the Philippines; his mother was illiterate. They were assigned to Hakalau plantation, where Aduja attended Hakalau elementary and intermediate schools, then bussed to Hilo for high school.<sup>4</sup>

At Hilo High School Aduja met Ben Menor. "We were classmates and good friends," Aduja remembers. Menor had come to Hawaii from San Nicolas, Ilocos Norte, in 1930 at the age of seven. He grew up in Pahoa, one of seven children of plantation laborers Angelo and Paulina Menor. His father had received a third grade education in the Philippines; he could read and write—which would eventually qualify him for a luna's position.<sup>5</sup>

That Aduja found Menor in high school was unusual. "In those days older males in Filipino families seldom went beyond the 8th grade," Menor remembered. "They quit school and went to work to help the family out financially. But my parents never entertained such an idea; they took pride in all of my achievements."

So too did Alfred Laureta's more extended family. Laureta's parents came from the Philippines in 1922; he was born two years later in Ewa Plantation's Banana Camp. His parents divorced while he was still young. At the age of five he joined his father on Maui, in Makawao's Libby Camp. "The bachelor Filipinos all took responsibility for me," says Laureta. "My report cards became community property. They'd all give me 10-25 cents for a good report card." He got those good report cards at Makawao Elementary School, a three mile walk from Libby Camp.<sup>6</sup>

Following elementary school Laureta attended Lahainaluna High School as a boarder. He fit in well. Laureta played softball and ran track, excelled in oratory and debate, served as freshman class president and, in his senior year, as student body president.

At Hilo High School, Peter Aduja also served as student body president. Indeed, in 1941 two of the predominantly Japanese-American high school's top four student offices were held by Filipinos: Ben Menor served as student body treasurer. Both young men learned a lesson in schoolboy politics that would prove valuable in Hawaii's larger political arena. Says Aduja: "Filipinos at Hilo High School were rare. We were a very small minority. But I mixed well with other ethnic groups. I wasn't afraid to mingle with them"—and develop a multi-ethnic constituency.

By his senior year in high school, Aduja had long since fixed on a political career, but "not necessarily in the United States. I was not yet a citizen, so I thought about going back to the Philippines." For Menor, on the other hand, the lack of American citizenship blighted any youthful political ambitions he might have had: "I never considered a political future because I wasn't a citizen and consequently I wasn't eligible for a political career."

Although his family's ambitions for him did not go beyond high school, Menor felt compelled to continue his education. The Hilo High School Class of '41's salutatorian went to Honolulu following graduation, first to Honolulu Business College, then to the University of Hawaii. Aduja also attended the University, and both young men helped support themselves through war-time defense work, Aduja as a timekeeper at Pearl Harbor and Menor in construction.

Aduja completed his bachelor's degree in 1944 and immediately joined the Hawaii First Filipino Regiment. A draft call interrupted Menor's studies; again he found himself in the same outfit with Aduja. Both men shipped to the Philippines in 1945 where they came to know a young officer named William Richardson, later the Chief Justice of the Hawaii State Supreme Court.

Following his graduation from Lahainaluna, Alfred Laureta also matriculated at the University of Hawaii. In his sophomore year he moved into a cooperative students' house whose residents included future Lt. Gov. and Judge Nelson Doi. His Filipino classmates at the University of Hawaii were few; there were only five of them. But they included a future Department of Education District Superintendent, Domingo Los Banos, and Hawaii County Supervisor, Elias Yadao.

Laureta excelled in speech and oratory as an undergraduate. Following graduation, he went on to complete his fifth year teaching credential. The offer of a University graduate assistantship in speech kept him out of the Territorial Department of Education, however.

While teaching at the University, Laureta was approached by a Fr. Osmundo Calip. Calip was on a mission to Hawaii, trying to shore up the slackening religiosity of the Islands' Filipino Catholics. "Fr. Calip urged me to go to law school," Laureta remembered. "He stressed the need for Filipinos in the professions." Laureta was interested, but he admitted he knew nothing about law schools and had no money. Calip promptly found him a law school—New York's Catholic Fordham University—and a scholarship from the Hawaii Memorial Foundation.

Laureta was not the only would be Filipino lawyer on the East Coast in the early 1950s. After his discharge from the Army, Peter Aduja taught school for two years at Naalehu Intermediate School on the Big Island. In the meantime, his former high school classmate, Ben Menor, was completing his bachelor's degree in political science at the University of Hawaii. It was Aduja who made the first move toward law school, at Boston University. "Peter was always talking about going to law school, and so I began thinking about it for myself," Menor remembered. "Peter assured me that Boston University would let me in if I wanted to go."

Upon graduation, Aduja and Menor returned to Hawaii and passed the Territorial bar examination in 1953, thus becoming Hawaii's first Filipino lawyers. Laureta soon followed in 1954. So too did Bernaldo Bicoy and Elias Yadao.

"When I got back to Hawaii in 1953, Aduja and Menor were the only Filipinos practicing law in Hawaii," Laureta remembered. "I went around to all of Hawaii's larger law firms looking for work. None of them would hire me." A University classmate took Laureta to meet Bert Kobayashi and Russell Kono, two young Japanese-American attorneys just getting started. They agreed to take him on at \$100 per month with no responsibilities so that he could study for the bar exam. Soon after Laureta passed the bar in January 1954, he joined his two benefactors and another newly minted lawyer named George Ariyoshi to form the firm of Kobayashi, Kono, Laureta and Ariyoshi.

"Our offices were at the corner of King and Bethel streets in downtown Honolulu," says Laureta. "My clients were mostly Filipinos, and they often couldn't pay their bills. So I took payment in vegetables and poultry, bedspreads and bed sheets.

"On our lunch hour we played pool with other lawyers, and during slack periods I played cards with Donald Ching, Walter Heen and George Holt, all attorneys. It was Ching (later a state senator) who recruited me into the Democratic Party."

Nineteen fifty-four was, of course, a big year for Hawaii's Democrats. They would win control of the Territorial Legislature for the first time in history. Laureta did his part by working in the campaign of law partner Russell Kono for the Territorial House of Representatives. With the Democrats' victory, Laureta garnered his first piece of political patronage—an appointment as House attorney for the 1955 session, along with future U.S. Congresswoman Patsy

Mink, future Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court Herman Lum and George Holt and Donald Ching.

Peter Aduja was a member of the Territorial House class of '54, but not as a Democrat. Aduja won one of three House seats from the Big Island—as a Republican. Why a Republican when most of his countrymen were plantation workers and members of the Democratically inclined International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union? "I always believed that the person himself determines the shape of his life, not government," says Aduja. "I've always believed in *laissez-faire*."

Aduja's decision to run as a Republican proved fatal to his political career for in 1954 the Republican Party began a decline that would leave it almost totally powerless within a quarter century. "My wife reminds me from time to time that it was a big mistake," says Aduja. "If I'd chosen to be a Democrat, I would still be in office."

Aduja's poor choice of party was compounded by his impatience. In 1956, instead of running for a second term in the Territorial House of Representatives, Aduja tried to win a seat on the Hawaii County Board of Supervisors. He lost—and moved to Oahu.

Upon his return from law school, Ben Menor had also sought a place for himself in Hawaii County government, but not an elected place. When Nelson Doi became Hawaii County Attorney in 1953, Menor accepted a position under him as a Deputy County Attorney—a job he would hold until 1959.

In that year Menor threw in his lot with John A. Burns, the Democratic candidate for governor in Hawaii's first statehood election. "I became completely committed to Burns in 1959," Menor remembered.

I worked in every Burns campaign thereafter, usually as campaign coordinator for the Big Island.

Burns encouraged people of every ethnic background—including Filipinos—to participate in politics and government and show what they could do. He solidified and strengthened Hawaii as a multi-racial society. And, most important for Filipinos, he stressed educational opportunity for all.

Burns lost the 1959 gubernatorial election to Republican William Quinn by a scant 4,000 votes. As Burns's Big Island campaign coordinator, the kind and conscientious Menor took Burns's loss hard: "I wanted a 2,000 to 2,500 vote victory margin for Jack on the Big Island to offset Quinn's expected majority on Oahu. But Burns only carried Hawaii County by 250 votes."



Few Democrats blamed Ben Menor for Burns's small Big Island margin over Quinn. The Republican lieutenant governor candidacy of Jimmy Kealoha, a popular Big Island County Supervisor, undoubtedly explains the big Republican vote on Hawaii. In order to make the statewide run, Kealoha had had to resign his position on the County Board of Supervisors.

The Board's Democratic majority chose Filipino labor lawyer Elias Yadao to replace him. The Philippines born Yadao had come to Hawaii while a toddler, the son of the Rev. Emilio Yadao, a Protestant preacher brought over by the sugar companies to impart spiritual uplift to the Filipino community. Most of his youth was spent on Maui, but he graduated from Kauai High School and then went on to the University of Hawaii.<sup>7</sup>

World War II interrupted his undergraduate education. Yadao never made it overseas, but he qualified for the GI bill and that got him through the University and George Washington University Law School. While preparing for the Hawaii bar examination, he clerked in the Honolulu labor law firm of Bouslog and Symond. "My husband was very well trained by Harriet Bouslog," Josephine Yadao DeLuz remembers. "She made him do research on all her cases, and she was a task master—which was good for him."

In 1954 Bouslog and Symond opened three new offices, two on Kauai and one on the Big Island. Yadao got the Hilo assignment and thus took over most of the ILWU's Big Island legal work. In 1958, with the union's endorsement, Yadao made a run for the Territorial House of Representatives. He lost, but his consolation was a staff attorney's job in the Democratic majority's office. Then came Kealoha's resignation and his appointment to the Hawaii County Board of Supervisors.

"Oh, there was an uproar," Josephine Yadao remembers. "The newspaper asked 'Who is this Yadao person?' They claimed the Communists were taking over. And my husband was genuinely concerned about being labeled pink."

Yadao served as a supervisor until 1965 when he died prematurely, at age 40, of asthma. "My husband worked so hard to almost get there," Josephine Yadao remembers. "Between his law practice—the assignments from the ILWU and the UPW—and the Board of Supervisors, he barely had time for his four children. My husband never thought he was successful."

The 4,000 vote Quinn statewide win in 1959 had provided no Republican coattails, and Peter Aduja failed in a bid for a State Senate seat from Oahu. Alfred

Laureta's political career took a new direction, however, as a result of the 1959 election. Soon after the returns were in, newly elected U.S. Congressman Daniel Inouye called to offer him a job as his administrative assistant in Washington.

"As a Speech graduate assistant at the University of Hawaii, one of my peers was Maggie Awamura," Laureta remembered. "Dan Inouye was always coming around the Speech Department to romance her. So I got to know him in college." He had gotten to know him better at the Territorial Legislature and through working with him on John Burns's 1956 and 1958 congressional campaigns. After so much exposure to other men's campaigns, Laureta "had decided that, one of these days, I would also run for office. I saw the congressional AA's job as a preparation for my own future race."

The thinness of Filipino leadership ranks was never more graphically illustrated than during the administration of Gov. William Quinn. Like the Democrats, Republican Quinn sought to build a party of all ethnic talents, and he was willing to use gubernatorial patronage to that end. Quinn appointed a freshly minted University of Chicago lawyer named Carlos Ramelb as his Deputy Director of Labor and Industrial Relations. Tragically, Ramelb came down with colon cancer. He died in 1963 at the age of 29. "Carlos Ramelb's passing was a great loss to the Filipino community," says Laureta.

It was in large part because the ranks of Filipino leadership were so terribly, terribly thin. Laureta found that out just before Thanksgiving 1962. He could have undoubtedly claimed a prestigious position on U.S. Senator-elect Dan Inouye's staff. But he received a call from Hawaii Governor-elect John Burns, offering him a position in his administration. "I consulted with my wife, and she said that if I wanted to run one day for an elective office from Hawaii, I should take the job."

In January 1963, Burns appointed Laureta Director of the Department of Labor. In doing so, Burns established a Democratic Party tradition, i.e., that labor would be earmarked as a piece of Filipino patronage. His motives were obvious. By the early 1960s the membership of the state's dominant blue collar union, the ILWU, was overwhelmingly Filipino, as were workers in the burgeoning tourist industry. If the Democrats wanted that vote, the Labor Department's directorship was a small price to pay. During the Democratic governorships of Burns, George Ariyoshi and John Waihee, Filipinos would hold the post for over 20 years. They were Laureta, educator Joshua Aghsalud, and attorney Mario Ramil.

Ben Menor helped deliver a much larger margin of victory for Jack Burns on the Big Island in 1962, and he got himself elected to a term in the Hawaii State Senate. One term was enough for him. Says Hideo "Lefty" Kuniyoshi, a fellow Hawaii County Democrat who knew Menor well in that period: "He never told me why he didn't run for reelection, but I think I know. Ben was a sweet and conscientious guy. And I don't think he enjoyed the kind of compromise and deals that the Legislature demanded."<sup>8</sup> Menor's intention was to return to private practice.

Burns had other ideas. In January 1967 he attended the inauguration of the Hawaii County Board of Supervisors. In a conversation following the festivities, Burns offered Menor a Circuit Court judgeship. Menor asked for time to think about it—and ultimately rejected the appointment. Burns was obviously intent on appointing a Filipino to the Circuit Court bench. When Menor demurred, he offered the job to Alfred Laureta, who accepted it.

By 1967 Laureta was ready for the security of a judicial seat. Laureta's dreams of running for office himself had begun to fade. In 1964 he had considered a bid for Hawaii's recently created second congressional seat. "A number of labor people urged me to go for it, and I thought I could have won it in a crowded field," Laureta remembered. But Burns discouraged him, arguing that he thought he was doing a good job at the Labor Department.

While Menor returned to private practice and Laureta ascended to the bench, Peter Aduja found new life in elective politics. On the windward side of Oahu, in a district that included Kailua, Kaneohe, Laie, Kahuku and the North Shore, Aduja found enough Republicans to win a seat in the State Legislature. "I got Haole and Hawaiian votes, and a Filipino vote out of Kahuku," Aduja remembered.

He would hold the seat for four terms, and he never felt any sense of exclusion in the predominantly Japanese-American legislature of that era. "I always felt accepted as an equal by my fellow members," says Aduja. "I never heard any ethnic slights. Not in politics. In the community, yes."

But Aduja knew the frustrations of being a minority Republican member:

There was little that you could do. I introduced a lot of bills, but they were grabbed up by the Democrats. They controlled the committees, so they got credit for all the legislation. It would have been easier had I been a Democrat. But I'd already been elected as a Republican, and I didn't want to change. I could have done a better job in the majority party. I'm afraid the best of me didn't come out.

Aduja lost his reelection bid in 1974. Following his defeat, he moved across the mountains to Kalihi in search of more luxuriant political pastures for a Filipino. There he ran for a House seat three times in the late 1970s and 1980s, ultimately switching parties and running as a Democrat. "I never won an election as a Democrat," he says.

Nor did he ever get a solid Filipino vote. "Just because you are a Filipino does not mean that the Filipinos will come out and vote for you," Aduja argues. "Filipinos tend not to vote in the primary, only in the general. They're lazy. The Japanese are much more solid in their voting. Watch Rep. Dennis Arakaki in upper Kalihi. The Japanese always come out to vote for him in the primary, but the Filipinos aren't there to support Arakaki's Filipino challenger."

In 1968, given a second chance at a Big Island Circuit Court judicial seat by Gov. Burns, Ben Menor accepted. In 1973 State Supreme Court Justice Kazuhisa Abe announced his intention to retire. Menor was in Honolulu on business; he stopped in to see Chief Justice William Richardson. The talk turned to the Supreme Court vacancy, "Bert Kobayashi mentioned Alfred Laureta for the seat, but what about you?" Richardson asked. Menor agreed that if Burns wanted him, he would be happy to serve. In one of his last acts before the pain of his cancer stopped him, Burns went down to the Legislature to lobby for the appointment of Menor as the first State Supreme Court Justice of Filipino ancestry.

Menor's political career would run out on the Hawaii State Supreme Court from which he retired in 1981. On the high court Menor gained a reputation for intelligence and industry. "He was very smart. An extremely hard worker, and very committed to being a good Supreme Court Justice," says Abelina Madrid Shaw, a former clerk to Justice Menor. "He drew on his experience and background in plantation Hawaii from among working people. It showed in his writing, which was clear and simple. He didn't condone 'citified' opinions. He wanted them simple and commonsensical. He was a really down to earth man who never, in my experience, played up his position as a Justice."<sup>9</sup>

In 1977, Alfred Laureta's judicial career took another turn, the result of an appointment from his original political patron. In 1977, as his ten year term on the State Circuit Court was coming to an end, U.S. Sen. Dan Inouye called Laureta to ask if he would be interested in a federal judgeship in Guam or the Northern Marianas. Laureta said he would, and in May 1978 he was appointed to the Northern Marianas federal bench located on Saipan. He served there until his retirement a decade later.

### The Politics of Localism

Among the first generation of Hawaii's politicians, the appointive route to political office proved the only dependable one. Legislative districts dominated by Filipinos were few or nonexistent; their formation awaited the large migrations of complete Filipino families from the Philippines, families committed to remaining in Hawaii and becoming American citizens.

And come they did. In 1970, for example, Hawaii claimed 33,175 foreign born Filipinos. A decade later the number stood at 58,510, an increase of almost 100 percent, considerably more than double that of any other group in the population. The trend continued throughout the 1980s. In the last five years of the decade alone, just under 20,000 Filipino immigrants took up residence in Hawaii; that was approximately 55 percent of the total number of immigrants settling in the Islands.<sup>10</sup>

Hawaii's recent immigrants have, to some extent, spread out through the population more than in the plantation past. Many come to the Islands better educated than their agrarian predecessors and thus find work that allows them to buy homes in pricier neighborhoods. But most gravitate to those areas that have historically drawn Hawaii's working class newcomers—places like Kalihi-Kapalama, Upper Kalihi, Waipahu and Ewa-Makakilo.<sup>11</sup>

The political result has been several legislative districts in which the Filipino population constitutes a marked plurality over that of any other ethnic group. They become, in effect, "Filipino districts." Julie Duldulao, the Philippines born lawmaker from Waipahu-Village Park, represents one of them (the 45th). So too does Philippines born Romy Cachola from Kapalama-Foster Village (the 39th).

What these districts promise over the long run is the type of legislative security which eluded Hawaii's first generation of Filipino politicians. Barring scandal (like the voter fraud which did in his predecessor in the 39th, Gene Albano) or impatience (which has shortened the careers of countless politicians of every ethnic background), Cachola can expect to hold his seat for a good long time, as can Duldulao. The result will be increased experience and seniority, precisely the advantages needed to assume more influence and power in state government.

Much as House Speaker Daniel Kihano has done. Waipahu born and bred, Kihano's district has shifted markedly since his initial election. But never has

his Filipino ancestry worked against him in his twenty years of electoral success. Indeed, Kihano is, if you will, the first Filipino politician on the state level to fashion a sustained elective political career (Ben Cayetano is the second). Noted for his kindness and quiet demeanor, Kihano belies the political stereotype, not to mention a whole host of Filipino stereotypes, i.e., the Filipino politician is a florid speaker, flamboyant, proud.

Kihano is, instead, a nice guy in politics. And it is arguable that Kihano's political profile is more representative of the Filipino politician than the more common one. It certainly applies to at least three of the Filipinos' first generation political luminaries: Peter Aduja, Alfred Laureta and Ben Menor. In a state where Hawaiians, famous for their spirit of aloha, have set the political tone since the monarchy, it is a profile that can be very effective. Witness the political careers of U.S. Senators Daniel Akaka and his predecessor, Spark Matsunaga, for example. Longevity in office, his willingness to play the insider's political game, and his good guy reputation have carried Kihano to the highest position the members of the House have to give one of their own.

The new, "safe" Filipino districts may not be able to offer as much—particularly if they become overseas battlefields for the provincial politics of the Philippines. This was precisely the case in the 39th District in 1988. At the last moment, Philippines born Connie Caspe Chun, a former two term Democratic Representative who had been reapportioned out of her district, filed to run in the 39th's primary election against Cachola. Chun is Visayan, Cachola Ilocano, and in the narrow confines of Kalihi the provincial animosities spewed forth. The primary election ended in a tie; in a special election scheduled to coincide with the general, Cachola won.

Connie Caspe Chun emerged with a dim view of Filipino politics, Hawaii style. "Everything is provincial, clannish," she says. "Visayans voted for Connie Chun because she was Visayan. Unfortunately, Visayans make up a very small portion of Hawaii's population."<sup>12</sup> To bridge the gap between herself and Hawaii's Filipinos, Chun studied Ilocano at the University for a year.

"Too often Filipinos vote personalities, not issues. They want to know what's in it for me, so he who promises them the most wins," she argues. For many Filipinos, they do not have time to study issues. "They're too busy trying to make a living," says Chun. "Every adult in the household will work two or three jobs. They're never at home. And their latchkey kids turn to gangs for their identity."

Chun also dismisses the "sleeping giant" metaphor as a misnomer for Filipinos as a voting bloc. She sees them as beset by too much factionalism—and apathy. She echoes Peter Aduja in arguing that

local born Filipinos don't vote. They don't care. The only vocal Filipinos are the foreign born—like Amy Agbayani at the University. Second generation local Filipinos are totally into instant gratification. Me. Me. Me. They want a car, a house, but education is unimportant to them. I want it now, now, now. Hawaii's Filipinos will never be a major force until the local born and bred recognize that they have to get involved.

Chun cites the problem of factionalism as perhaps the single biggest obstacle to the political progress of Hawaii's Filipino population. "There are over 200 Filipino clubs and organizations. If someone can't be the president of the club he's in, he forms another club. There's so much envy and jealousy among Hawaii's Filipinos, so much factionalism. It's the crabs in the bucket story: If one goes to the top, someone else tries to pull him down."<sup>13</sup>

Abelina Madrid Shaw is one of the contemporary Filipino patronage politicians. Born on Kauai of plantation parents, she graduated from Kauai High School and the University of Hawaii. With Gov. John Waihee, she was in the first graduating class of the University of Hawaii Law School, the class of 1976. After clerking for a year with Supreme Court Justice Menor, Shaw accepted a job as a Deputy State Attorney General. Gov. George Ariyoshi made her a special assistant in human resources. Articulate and well spoken, Shaw campaigned long and hard for Ariyoshi in his 1978 and 1982 campaigns. Her last years in the Ariyoshi administration were as a Deputy Director of Health.

Shaw does not share Chun's view that Filipino voters can be promised out of their votes. "Filipinos want to know what a candidate can do for their children," she says. "Most Filipino adults are resigned to the position they're in—working two jobs, barely making it or only an average life. But they want the promise of the good life for their kids."

She also thinks that too much is made of the fragmentation in the Filipino community. "Sure we come from different provinces with different languages and different foods and different cultures, but we're all Filipinos and we all share the same goals," she argues. "We want an education for our kids, a better future, equal access to jobs and housing. So what's the beef?"

Data from voter exit interviews conducted by Ward Research for KGMB and the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* tend to confirm Shaw's argument. Forty-three

and one-half percent of the 570 Filipinos interviewed cited "cost of living and housing"—very much "better future" issues—as most important to them as voters. No wonder. According to the exit interview data, 46.9 percent of the Filipino voters in the 1990 election rent their living quarters, the highest of any ethnic group by far. And 12.6 percent of the Filipinos, second only to the Chinese, cited "jobs and the economy" as an important issue.<sup>14</sup> Again, their choice indicates their future orientation.

The numbers do not, however, negate some very real differences between local born and Philippines born Filipinos. Joshua Agsalud, an educator turned Director of the Department of Labor under Gov. Ariyoshi, came to know both parts of the Filipino community during Ariyoshi's gubernatorial campaigns. "Local born Filipinos are no different than any other local group," says Agsalud.

Local is local, and you cater to that population in a particular way.

Immigrant Filipinos require a lot more flair in campaigning than is required for, say, the local Japanese community. That's why they preferred Mayor Fasi over Gov. Ariyoshi. Fasi had more flair—in dress, in his emotional speeches.<sup>15</sup>

Abelina Madrid Shaw offers another explanation for the creation of a local political bloc as opposed to simply a Filipino one—and of Frank Fasi's appeal to Filipinos. "Local born Filipinos, those whose parents came as immigrants to work on the plantation, know what our parents' life was like on the plantation," she says.

We know that their struggle was shared by every other ethnic group that lived through the plantation experience. So we're better equipped to work beside other groups. Philippines born Filipinos have a lesser sense of the history of Hawaii than local born. It's easier for them to switch loyalty to a Republican Fasi than it is for Filipinos nurtured in a Democratic union like the ILWU.

On his return to Honolulu mayoralty in 1984, Mayor Fasi made a determined effort to bring his large personal popularity with Filipinos into the Republican Party, his new political domicile. Fasi appointed an unprecedented number of Filipinos to City jobs, and he looked forward to delivering the Filipino vote to his friend D.G. "Andy" Anderson in his bid for the governorship in 1986.

Fasi's strategy does not appear to have worked. In 1986 the presence of Ben Cayetano, a local born Filipino attorney of Ilocano-Visayan ancestry, on the Democratic ticket obliterated any hope Anderson might have had of garnering a majority of the Filipino vote. In 1990's major election races, Filipinos lent their support to Democrats. In the Second Congressional District election, for

example, Democrat Patsy Mink received 76.9 percent of the Filipino vote; her Republican opponent, Andrew Poepoe, got only 20.6 percent. In the most hotly contested race of Hawaii's 1990 election season, the face-off between Democrat Dan Akaka and Republican Pat Saiki for the U.S. Senate, Filipinos gave Akaka 61.6 percent of their vote; 37.5 percent went to Saiki. Only Hawaiians gave to their favorite son more heavily.

One statistic might offer Republicans some hope. Filipino voters remained uncertain about which way to vote in the year's key race, the Akaka-Saiki contest, until the very last moment. Twenty-five percent of the Filipinos admitted that they did not make their decision between Saiki and Akaka until the last day or two before the election. Another 17 percent said they had not decided until the last two weeks of the campaign. The implication may be that a strong Republican candidate might well carry the Filipino vote.<sup>16</sup>

But for the foreseeable future, it appears Fasi and the Republican Party have not seduced the mass of Filipinos into giving up their Democratic political affiliation. Says Abelina Madrid Shaw: "The Republicans are still too distant and unapproachable. Filipinos do not get the feeling that they'd be welcomed with open arms. If the Republicans get Filipino support, it will be for a specific candidate, not on the basis that the Republican Party is better for the future of their children." Connie Caspe Chun, who made a second run against Romy Cachola in 1990 as a Republican, agrees. She says simply, "The future of the Filipinos is not in the Republican Party."

But it is also not in the Filipino population pockets like Kalihi and Waipahu, like the 39th Representative District in which Chun faced off against Cachola. "Filipinos have to mainstream," says Joshua Agsalud.

They have to get out of their enclaves. Ron Menor's candidacy for Congress in 1990 is a prime example. Ron was put up as a Filipino candidate. Or at least that was the scenario that was painted for him. The Filipino community grabbed him and made him their candidate. And you can't win in either congressional district without breaking out of the Filipino vote, without mainstreaming.

But then again perhaps Ron was just playing ball in a losing ballpark. The Second Congressional District was more suited to a liberal Patsy Mink than to a more conservative Ron Menor.

The congressional candidacy of Ron Menor (a State Senator and attorney son of Supreme Court Justice Ben Menor) did indeed turn out to be an ethnic candidacy. According to exit interviews, Menor received 61 percent of the Filipino vote cast in the Democratic primary election. Among the other major

ethnic groups, however, he ran no better than third, garnering 17 percent of the **Hale** vote, 13 percent of the Hawaiian vote, and 12 percent of the Japanese vote. Interestingly, no ethnic group voted for one of their own in the Second Congressional District as overwhelmingly as Filipinos supported Menor.

In all likelihood, Agsalud is correct: Menor attempted to play in the wrong **ballpark** against too many other teams. The four person race—Menor, Patsy Mink, Mufi Hanneman and Mike Crozier—almost ensured an ethnic vote. An intelligent, issue oriented politician who has represented a decidedly non-Filipino suburban district, Menor would undoubtedly have done much better in a less crowded field—and he might well have won.

The most mainstream Filipino in Hawaii politics is, of course, Lt. Gov. Ben Cayetano. By now his Horatio Alger story is well known.<sup>17</sup> Brought up in Kalihi by a divorced father, Cayetano graduated from Farrington High School far down in his class. After passing through a succession of entry level jobs, he took his wife and two young children to the mainland where they worked his way through college and law school. Within a few years after his return to Hawaii, Cayetano won election to the State House of Representatives and, soon thereafter, to the State Senate. Neither district was predominantly Filipino.

In 1986 Cayetano won the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor, and as John Waihee's running mate became the highest ranking Filipino office holder in the United States. At this writing, he has to be considered the favorite for the Democratic nomination for governor to succeed Waihee in 1994. "I don't think people see me as a Filipino candidate," says Cayetano. "If they do, I won't make it to the governorship. Filipinos make up only 11 percent of the registered voters in the state. I'll only win if I'm acceptable to the population at large, cutting across all ethnic lines."<sup>18</sup>

"Ben Cayetano wins elections because of his positions on issues, not because he's a Filipino," says Joshua Agsalud, "and he gets knocked down occasionally because of his positions on issues, not because he's a Filipino. I think a Filipino and, more specifically, a Filipino named Ben Cayetano can win the governorship in '94."

It will not be easy for Cayetano can be outspoken and controversial. "I've certainly destroyed the stereotype of the Filipino as a nice guy," he admits. Many Caucasians express an almost visceral reaction to Cayetano. "There's a perception that Ben is prejudiced against Haoles," says Abelina Madrid Shaw. "He's a scrapper for the underdog, and therefore Haoles think 'If he's for them, he's not for us.' I think it's a false impression, but there it is."

Shaw thinks Cayetano presents a problem for many establishment Democrats as well. "Democrats don't know what to do about Ben," she says. "Because of what he represents: the underdog, the fight against discrimination, coming up from the ranks. He's really one of them, and even though they don't always agree with him or like his manner, to reject him goes against their basic principles."

A Cayetano candidacy in 1994 will force both Haoles and establishment Democrats (which means primarily Japanese-Americans) to decide what they will do about the candidacy of a local Filipino-American for the highest office Hawaii's citizens have to offer. Their decisions, in the main, will determine Cayetano's fate. But his candidacy will also bring into sharp relief the crosscurrents that agitate the Filipino community, politically and culturally. A Cayetano victory would mark the culmination of a half-century of struggle for acceptance by Hawaii's Filipinos; his defeat, in Cayetano's words, yet another expression of everyman's "equal opportunity to fall right on his face."

#### Notes

1. The story of the slow development of Hawaii's Filipino community has been told, in whole or in part, in Laurence Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961) and Luis V. Teodoro, Jr., ed., *Out of This Struggle: The Filipinos in Hawaii (1906-1981)* (Honolulu: Filipino 75th Anniversary Commission, 1981). For my knowledge of the subject, I am also indebted to a former colleague in the American Studies Department at the University of Hawaii, Ruben Alcantara.
2. My thanks to Lloyd Nekoba of the Lt. Governor's office for the percentage of Filipino registered voters. The figure is not very solid. It is based on last names which sound Filipino compiled by Voter Contact Services, a local consulting firm which sells lists to politicians. Unfortunately, it's the best information available.
3. For the "tiger," see Jerry Burris's "'86 Could Be the Year of the 'Filipino Vote,'" *Honolulu Advertiser*, A-1, 4, June 13, 1986.
4. My biographical information on Aduja comes from Benjamin B. Domingo's *Hawaii's Eminent Filipinos* (Los Angeles and Honolulu: L. L. dela Cruz Publishing House, 1981), pp. 32-33, and from an author's interview on March 26, 1991 in his law office. Remarks attributed to him come from the interview.
5. Menor's biographical data and quotations come from *Hawaii's Eminent Filipinos*, pp. 187-188, and from an interview by the author December 8, 1981 in Menor's Supreme Court office.
6. Quotations from and biographical data on Laureta are found in a University of Hawaii senior honors thesis by Gilbert C. Doles entitled "An Oral History Biography and Analysis of a Contemporary Political Leader: Judge Alfred Laureta," submitted October 29, 1979. It is, incidentally, an excellent oral history.
7. My knowledge of Elias "Epie" Yadao's career is based on a telephone interview with his widow, Josephine Yadao DeLuz, June 21, 1991. Following Yadao's death, Josephine Yadao was appointed to the Hawaii County Board of Supervisors to fill the vacancy caused by his death. She served 11 years, losing to Republican Joseph Garcia in 1976.
8. Telephone interview with Hideo "Lefty" Kuniyoshi, June 19, 1991.
9. Author's interview with Abelina Madrid Shaw, June 13, 1991.
10. *The State of Hawaii Data Book 1990* (Honolulu: State Department of Business and Economic Development, 1991), pp. 44, 53.
11. *Out of This Struggle*, p. 30.
12. This and the following comments by Chun are from an author's interview with her June 5, 1991.
13. The "crabs in the bucket" analogy was made to me by both Peter Aduja and Ben Menor as well.
14. My thanks to Becky Ward of Ward Research for making this data available to me.
15. Author's interview with Aagsalud, March 27, 1991.
16. KGMB and *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* voter exit interviews, courtesy of Ward Research.
17. I, for one, have told it in "The Odds Against Ben Cayetano," *Honolulu*, April, 1979, pp. 44-49, 112-117.
18. Author's interview with Cayetano, March 28, 1991.

# Beyond Adaptationism: Immigrant Filipino Ethnicity in Hawai'i

Jonathan Y. Okamura

Over fifty years ago, Roman Cariaga (1936a: 38), who conducted some of the earliest ethnographic studies of Filipinos in Hawai'i, observed that, "The story of Filipinos in Hawaii has its sadder side—problems of family life, sex disproportion, maladjustment and misunderstanding—common to all immigrant groups and well nigh inevitable in their process of *adaptation* to the life of the new country" [emphasis added]. Despite the passage of time and the advances in social science theory, research on Filipino immigrants in Hawai'i and the continental United States continues to be conducted according to an adaptationist perspective (e.g., Alcantara 1981; Caces 1985, 1986; Card 1984; Sharma 1980; Soriano 1982). What should have long been apparent is that the concept of adaptation does not advance our understanding of Filipino immigrants or of other immigrant minorities in American society. As will be shown below, adaptationist analyses are essentially functionalist, teleological and reductionist in nature and inevitably result in all manner of immigrant sociocultural activities and institutions being viewed as positively adaptive.

In this article I discuss the theoretical and methodological limitations of the concept of adaptation, review how it has been applied in studies of immigrant Filipinos in Hawai'i and indicate how it does not provide a sufficient explanation of various social processes in a particular urban Filipino community where I have done field research (Okamura 1983a). Lastly, I present an alternative analytical perspective on Filipino immigrant social relations and institutions in terms of the affirmation and maintenance of ethnic identity.

To make my position clear from the outset, I do not deny that Filipino immigrants engage in adaptive processes and use aspects of their culture and social organization in their adjustment to Hawai'i society. However, there are other more salient sociocultural processes than adaptation that are occurring in Filipino communities. Furthermore, these processes cannot be explained adequately in terms of adaptation, or they can be analyzed from a more theoretically significant perspective than adaptation. Data from a study of post-1965 Filipino immigrants in an inner city area of Honolulu called Kalihi are used to illustrate my arguments.

## The Concept of Adaptation

Adaptation has been defined in terms of its social science usage (at that time) as the "process, and the resultant condition, in which changes in an organism,

system of social organization, group, or culture aid the survival, functioning, maintenance, or achievement of purpose on the part of an organism, personality, group, culture, or any part thereof" (Honigmann 1964: 8). Honigmann (1964: 8) points out that this is an especially broad definition so as to be "diffuse and almost meaningless." Significantly, there is no reference to the term adaptation in the more recent *The Social Science Encyclopedia* (Kuper and Kuper 1985). This trend is perhaps indicative of the increasing nonsalience of the concept for social science theory and analysis (see Bargatzky for a review). For example, Bargatzky (1984: 402) maintains that the notion of adaptation "makes sense" only in the restricted context of the relation between human physiological needs and sociocultural institutions but not in terms of the relation between such institutions and the natural environment.

The concept of adaptation was initially and is still used to refer to biological processes, e.g., "the good fit of organisms to their environment" (Gould and Lewontin 1979: 592 as cited in Bargatzky 1984: 400). Biological adaptation proceeds through natural selection and genetic mutation (Bargatzky 1984: 400). That is, plants and animals adapt to their natural environment as a result of greater numbers of progeny being born to those organisms that have a more positively adaptive genetic constitution. These more advantageous and beneficial genes are transmitted with greater frequency to the next generation and thus change the genetic composition of the reproducing population to a more adaptive makeup.

However, since cultural traits are learned and not biologically inherited, differential reproduction does not necessarily result in adaptive cultural change for human populations. In order to demonstrate that cultural adaptation is occurring, a cultural equivalent to natural selection must be established which has not been the case (Burnham 1974: 95). Furthermore, "not one of the existing theories of culture can explain just how cultural behaviors came to be adaptive in this biological sense" [survival and reproduction] (Durham 1976: 91). Nonetheless, some anthropologists have argued that decision making provides the operative principle for cultural adaptation (Cohen 1968: 47). Furthermore, the assumption is made that human rationality ensures that decisions will be basically adaptive for the culture or group in question. Due to cultural relativism, the rationality of decisions and therefore the adaptive salience of institutions and activities must be measured and evaluated according to the values and knowledge of the particular society concerned and not ethnocentrically against Western science or values (Burnham 1974: 95). As shown below, this line of reasoning has the ultimate effect of protecting adaptationist explanations from any possibility of refutation.

While it has been argued that culture is humankind's primary means of adaptation to our social and natural environment (Carneiro 1968: 551), one might reasonably question if all of culture is positively adaptive or if there are maladaptive cultural traits (Burnham 1974). In this regard, a major methodological problem with the adaptationist approach is the difficulty in demonstrating that a particular cultural practice or activity is maladaptive. Bargatzky (1984: 400) has pointed out the "tautology that whatever exists is adaptive" which essentially informs the adaptationist argument. Adaptationism adherents will always find some unforeseen adaptive significance of the cultural trait in question in the same way that proponents of functional analysis inevitably can determine some positive function for an institution or activity. Indeed, there is an obvious functionalist and teleological thrust in the concept of adaptation insofar as adaptive mechanisms are viewed as ultimately contributing to the maintenance or stability of a social system. Therefore, as with functionalism, it is difficult to disprove arguments or explanations in terms of adaptation since the concept can be used to establish the adaptive (functional) salience of virtually any cultural trait or practice. While adaptationist generalizations thus are protected from being refuted, as a result they also are prevented from stating anything of much significance about human social behavior.

In addition to being functionalist in orientation, the adaptationist perspective also is essentially reductionist since it limits the analysis of sociocultural processes and institutions to their presumed adaptive function while ignoring other important aspects of them. From the adaptationist framework, a necessary and sufficient explanation need only specify adaptive functions that are being performed. In sum, adaptationist analyses are theoretically and methodologically deficient because the nature and level of the explanations they provide are tautologous and superficial.

Given the frequency with which the terms "immigrant" and "adaptation" are found together, and not only with regard to Filipinos, one might have the impression that only immigrants are involved in adaptive processes or that adaptation is the only appropriate approach for their analysis. However, adaptation is a universal social process that all human populations undergo. There is no *a priori* reason for analyzing the social relations or institutions of immigrants in their new social settings in terms of adaptation. Alternative theoretical perspectives that place emphasis on other social processes or social relations of immigrants are equally as valid, if not more enlightening.

The tendency to view immigrants from an adaptationist framework is perhaps attributable to their generally depressed socioeconomic status in their

host societies. Holding low paying menial jobs, concentrated in overcrowded housing in decaying inner city wards and subject to discriminatory treatment and prejudiced attitudes from the larger society, it would seem as though adaptation is their only viable course of action. However, a concern for the adaptive strategies of immigrants tends to emphasize their relatively passive accommodation to their subject position while ignoring the structural constraints in the wider society, such as those engendered through class and ethnic relations, that maintain immigrants in their servile condition.

The tendency to focus on the adaptive processes of immigrants also derives from the view that adaptation is the initial stage for them in an inevitable processual sequence that is followed by their eventual acculturation, assimilation and ultimately integration into American society. For example, note the following conception of adaptation employed in a study of Korean immigrants in the United States: "adaptation is a broad concept to include its various modes and resultant conditions such as acculturation, assimilation, segregation, pluralism, 'adhesion', etc." (Hurh and Kim 1984: 188). The validity and utility of such sequential stages approaches to immigrant minorities have long been disproved. Furthermore, the view that adaptation is the dominant sociocultural process initially experienced by immigrants in American society, and therefore of considerable importance, hinders sociological concern for other possibly more significant social processes that also are proceeding at the same time as adaptation.

### Filipino Adaptation in Hawai'i

In studies of the adaptation of Filipino immigrants in Hawai'i, the term generally refers to their processes of adjustment or accommodation to the constraints and demands of the wider society. Immigrants are understood as using their cultural practices and social institutions, which have to be changed appropriately, as adaptive mechanisms or strategies in order to accommodate themselves to the generally harsh socioeconomic conditions they face in Hawai'i. For example, Soriano (1982: 165) refers to "adaptive strategies as positive adjustment and effective solutions to [migration] problems." Similarly, Alcantara (1981: ix) states that "the processes of adaptation (analyzed through changing life goals and strategies) are seen in the context of the changes over time in the nature of plantation life, of Hawaii society, and of immigration laws." Only Sharma (1980: 92, 112) in her concept of "active adaptation" views Filipino immigrants, specifically plantation laborers, as adapting by actively seeking to change their socioeconomic environment through labor organizing and agitation



rather than only through a "one-way adjustment process" in which the burden of change falls upon the immigrant.

In general, the adaptive strategies said to be employed by Filipino immigrants in Hawai'i include modifying their kinship and marital institutions, creating fictive kinship relations through *compadrazgo* (godparenthood), establishing localized voluntary associations, and using their interpersonal networks to obtain employment and housing (Alcantara 1981: 57; Caces 1985, 1986; Sharma 1980: 111; Soriano 1982: 165). For example, Soriano (1982: 169) maintains that retired Filipino plantation workers married late in life, generally for the first time, as an "adaptive strategy" in response to a previous demographic situation in which there were far greater numbers of Filipino men than women during their younger years. However, it is questionable if such delayed marriages legitimately can be considered rational "strategies" rather than the outcome by default of a grossly unbalanced sex ratio over which Filipino plantation laborers had little control. That is, given the relative scarcity of Filipino women and the generally negative attitudes toward Filipino men in Hawai'i, the plantation workers did not then decide to adapt to this situation by developing a strategy to marry late in life in the Philippines. This latter course of action presented itself much later as an option for them due to harsh economic conditions in the Philippines which made marriage to a *pensionado* from the United States desirable as a means of upward social mobility for one's family.

As was first observed by Cariaga (1936b: 22) some fifty years ago, another means that Filipino plantation workers are said to have devised in adapting to their difficult life in Hawai'i was the creation of numerous fictive kinship ties through modifying the cultural institution of *compadrazgo* or godparenthood (Sharma 1980: 109; Soriano 1982: 172-176). Given the general absence of kin in Hawai'i, Filipinos initiated ritual kinship relations with one another by naming multiple godparents or sponsors for their children, rather than the customary few, for baptisms and marriages. *Compadrazgo* generally establishes formal quasi-kinship relationships of mutual assistance, loyalty and trust between the parents of the child and his or her godparents. It is claimed that multiple sponsorship provided an effective adaptive strategy to the "abnormal profile of a large number of family-less men yearning for some family life" and that "the ritual kinsman became an active member of his adopted nuclear family" (Soriano 1982: 173, 176). However, the argument has been advanced that because of the transient orientation of plantation laborers and the large numbers of designated godparents, *compadrazgo* relationships generally did not develop into close kinship ties (Alcantara 1981).

Also with regard to the adaptive significance of multiple sponsorship, numerous godparents continue to be named at baptisms and marriages of Filipino immigrants in Hawai'i despite their wide networks of kin (Okamura 1983a: 176). Furthermore, multiple sponsorship also is followed in the Ilocos provinces in the Philippines whence come the great majority of Filipino immigrants in Hawai'i, again in spite of the presence of numerous relatives. In defense of their approach, adaptationism proponents would maintain that naming many godparents may no longer serve as an adaptive mechanism for Filipino immigrants because their social circumstances, particularly in terms of the presence of kin, have changed substantially since the period of plantation labor recruitment. This reasoning is indicative of the problem in refuting adaptationist explanations, not because of their inherent logic or validity, but because their superficial nature allows for facile counter arguments.

With regard to post-1965 immigrant Filipinos in Hawai'i, it has been argued that their interpersonal networks of kinship, friendship, neighborhood and other ties serve as adaptive mechanisms insofar as they can be used to obtain work and housing (Caces 1985, 1986). In terms of gaining employment, such networks assist immigrants, especially the newly arrived, by directly providing work, by furnishing specific and timely information on job opportunities, by assisting immigrants in applying for work, by providing orientation or elementary training in certain occupational tasks, and by referring immigrants to agencies that can assist in obtaining work (Caces 1986: 33). In particular, social networks are especially advantageous for Filipino immigrants with few occupational skills or minimal employment experience since without network connections such persons would have considerable difficulty in finding regular work.

However, personal networks are less beneficial for better qualified immigrants who might be able to gain higher status occupations under less restrictive employment conditions (Caces 1986: 35). This conclusion follows because most of the jobs that are obtained through network ties are in the secondary labor market and thus require little or no previous training, are concentrated at the low end of the wage scale, have minimal or no upward mobility opportunities and are characterized by rapid turnover (Caces 1986: 25). In short, social networks tend to channel Filipino immigrants into low level occupational categories, although they may have the educational and employment qualifications for higher level positions. Another disadvantage of personal networks is that they can result in immigrants becoming resigned to their low employment status, despite their initial aspirations for high occupational positions and full utilization of their

skills and training, through the reinforcement that immigrants receive from regular interaction with similarly situated persons (Caces 1986: 34-35).

Thus, the adaptive significance of the interpersonal networks of Filipino immigrants is dependent on the time frame that one employs. In the short term, such networks can be of initial assistance to immigrants, especially those newly arrived who are unfamiliar with the job market and its requirements and procedures. However, in the long term, continued reliance on social networks to obtain employment can result in both individual and collective occupational downgrading of Filipino immigrants, particularly those qualified for higher status occupations.

Furthermore, a focus on personal networks as adaptive mechanisms that assist Filipino immigrants to gain employment deflects concern for the structural constraints in the wider society, such as institutional discrimination against Filipino immigrants, that ultimately account for their socioeconomic status in Hawai'i (Okamura 1990). An adaptationist analysis of the use of interpersonal networks by immigrant Filipinos cannot provide an adequate explanation of their presence in low status occupations. While social networks indicate how immigrants adapt themselves to their class status, they do not provide a sufficient explanation for that status which is a much more important sociological issue.

### The Inner City as a Setting for Immigrant Adaptation

Inner city wards are commonly viewed as "zones of transition" where successive waves of immigrant minorities first settle upon arriving in a new country before they eventually move on to the suburbs (Dahya 1974: 90). Given the socioeconomic circumstances of immigrants, the specific attraction for them of these working class areas is said to be the availability of cheap housing and their proximity to work in the city. In terms of being transition zones, it is argued that inner city neighborhoods, such as Chinatowns, "J" (Japanese) towns or "Little Manilas", provide an initial setting for the economic and cultural adaptation of immigrants to American society, and eventually either they or their children will relocate to the suburbs as they attain middle class status. This movement to suburban America is viewed as part of a larger overall process of the assimilation, acculturation and integration of immigrant minorities into the mainstream of American life. The transitional process continues as immigrants are replaced in the inner city by other more recent immigrant groups that similarly undergo adaptation processes before being able to achieve upward socioeconomic mobility.

Probably the first such inner city area in Hawai'i was Chinatown in Honolulu as described by Lind (1980: 65):

The people who have lived in Chinatown over these hundred years—whether Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, or Koreans—usually utilized the low-rental housing facilities of the district for only as long as was needed to establish a firm economic foothold in the new community...

The tendency of immigrants to seek the comfort and security of a ghetto community among their countrymen during the initial period of adjustment to the urban setting...has occurred among all the immigrant groups in Hawaii [emphasis added].

As a multiethnic working class community, the Kalihi district, which is located two miles west of downtown Honolulu, is another inner city ward. It has served historically as an area of settlement for various immigrant minorities including Japanese, Portuguese, Filipinos and Samoans. Indeed, Kalihi has been termed a "Place of Transition" in a four volume collection of interviews with longtime Kalihi residents (Ethnic Studies Oral History Project 1984). However, Kalihi is not necessarily a locale for the adaptation of post-1965 Filipino immigrants. The primary reason that they initially settle in Kalihi is not because of the availability of inexpensive housing or its proximity to work places but because of the presence of their close relatives and other Filipinos. This factor also accounts for the settlement and residence of Filipino immigrants in other Filipino communities in Hawai'i, such as Wai'alua or Waipahu, or in the continental United States such as San Francisco or Chicago. Immigrants settle in these towns and cities not primarily because they are Filipino communities but due to the presence of their relatives who provide them with immediate accommodations and assistance in obtaining a first job (Okamura 1984: 34). Since the 1965 liberalization of U.S. immigration laws that provided for family reunification, Filipino communities have developed through the accretion of groupings of extended family kin. This process is attributable, not to the inherent desirability of the inner city as a setting for immigrant adaptation, but to the kin sponsored basis of Filipino immigration to the United States, to the obligation to lend support to relatives, and to the preference for living with or near relatives.

Upon arriving in Hawai'i, substantial numbers of immigrant Filipinos settle immediately in middle class suburban communities, such as Waipahu and Mililani, with their relatives and thus bypass the inner city altogether in their initial adjustment to American life. Other immigrants settle in plantation towns and hence could be said to reverse the historical process of Filipino integration

and socioeconomic mobility in Hawai'i, at least from the perspective of inner city adaptation. Thus, there is no *a priori* reason for viewing Filipino immigrants as adapting to American society by first residing in an inner city neighborhood.

With regard to the availability of cheap housing as a primary factor in immigrant settlement in the inner city, it is the case that inexpensive rental units in houses are more available in Kalihi than in other areas of Honolulu or the island of O'ahu, and it is cheaper to rent a room in a house than an entire apartment. However, houses in Kalihi are not necessarily cheaper to purchase than in other areas of O'ahu. In fact, on average they may be more expensive because there are so many two storey homes with six to ten bedrooms. Some of the people I knew when I was doing my fieldwork in Kalihi who have since purchased homes in suburban communities told me that they wanted to continue residing in Kalihi but could not afford to buy a house there.

The view of Kalihi as a transitional zone of adaptation for immigrants is not in accord with Filipino immigrants' perception of the area. Their substantial investments in the renovation, construction and ownership of homes and in small scale businesses clearly demonstrate their commitment to the stability and further development of the Filipino community in Kalihi. In general, the settlement and aggregation of immigrant Filipinos in Kalihi is best understood in terms of their perception of their situation rather than from an adaptationist perspective. The latter approach would place emphasis on the low socioeconomic status of Filipino immigrants and assume that this condition alone accounts for their presence in Kalihi. However, sufficient analysis of the development of the Filipino community would have to include consideration of the preference of immigrants for living with or near their relatives, their kinship norm of support for extended family members, and their perception and appreciation of Kalihi as a Filipino community (Okamura 1984: 37).

### Voluntary Associations as Adaptive Mechanisms

In social anthropology there was a substantial amount of literature in the 1950s and 1960s that demonstrated the role of voluntary associations as adaptive mechanisms for rural migrants in towns and cities, especially in Africa (Banton 1956; Kerri 1976; Little 1957, 1965; Parkin 1966). Functional analysis resulted in an overemphasis on the positive features of those organizations such that a great variety of association activities were understood as being of eufunctional adaptive significance for their members (Okamura 1983b: 345). In particular, voluntary associations in West Africa were viewed as facilitating the adjustment

of urban migrants by serving as a substitute for the extended family and thus meeting many of the same needs as the family (Little 1957: 593). Associations provided support and assistance to their members in the form of companionship, legal advice and protection, and sickness and funeral benefits.

In the past, Filipino plantation workers, the great majority of whom were single young men, could receive such familial aid and support by joining a *saranay* or mutual aid association. These "clubs", as they were often called, were organized by workers from the same hometown in the Philippines ("townmates") or from the wider Filipino plantation community to provide various social and security benefits for their members, for example, in times of illness or death (Alcantara 1981: 57-58). Financial assistance also was available through membership in an *amung* or rotating credit association in which each member contributed a prescribed amount of money each month and received in turn the entire amount collected.

At present, Filipino voluntary organizations, particularly hometown associations, no longer function as a surrogate for the extended family because most immigrants have real kinsmen whom they can depend on for assistance and support after their arrival in Hawai'i. Kin provide the newly arrived immigrant with his or her initial place of residence and with assistance in obtaining a first job. Even after residing in Hawai'i for a period of time, relatives continue to rely upon one another for advice and support. Also, various security benefits, such as health and unemployment insurance and welfare assistance, are provided by employers or by the State government, thus lessening the dependence of Filipino immigrants on voluntary associations.

Voluntary associations in West Africa also were viewed as fostering the adaptation of urban migrants by serving as acculturative mechanisms insofar as they inculcated new standards of dress, etiquette, hygiene and punctuality (Little 1957: 593). However, Filipino voluntary associations in Hawai'i do not furnish this adaptive role for immigrants because they do not exert that degree of influence or control over their members. Immigrants experience acculturation processes much more so at their work places and through their daily interactions with non-Filipinos than through membership in a voluntary organization.

The primary reason that Filipino voluntary associations do not contribute to the adaptation of immigrants is because the organizations are not very active. Furthermore, the activities that they do organize for their members, e.g., beauty contests and social gatherings, are not especially adaptive in nature. Thus, hometown and other voluntary associations established and maintained by

Filipino immigrants no longer serve as adaptive mechanisms for immigrants essentially because they are not needed or are not able to perform such a role.

### Philippine Catholic Rituals

Since the early 1970s various Philippine Catholic rituals have been conducted in the streets and at the homes of immigrant Filipinos in Kalihi. The observance of these rites is a direct result of the influx of Filipino immigrants into the area following the 1965 changes in U.S. immigration laws. Their cultural significance is that, while they are standard Catholic rituals, they are conducted in accordance with Philippine Catholic tradition beyond the confines of the church in the surrounding neighborhood and at parishioners' homes. As will be made evident below, performing the rituals in the community besides in the church requires a considerable number of active participants which only became available with the emergence of the Filipino community in Kalihi in the late 1960s.

The rituals are organized by the Filipino Catholic Club of one of the churches in Kalihi. Participation in the religious observances is open to all members of the parish, which includes Portuguese, Samoan and Hawaiian Catholics, although the overwhelming majority of participants are Filipino immigrants. Various rites are observed by the Club throughout the year, such as the *misa de gallo* (early morning mass during the Christmas season) and *novenas* (nine consecutive evenings reciting the rosary) for different saints, but I will limit my discussion to only two of them.

The Stations of the Cross rite commemorates fourteen events that occurred as Christ carried the cross along the Via Dolorosa to His crucifixion. It is primarily observed in Catholic churches on six consecutive Fridays during Lent, the six week period preceding Easter Sunday, generally after the mass. In Kalihi, besides being conducted in the church, the Stations of the Cross ritual also is performed in the community on Friday evenings during Lent. The fourteen stations are situated at nearby houses along one or two streets in the parish that are within walking distance of the church. The families at these homes set up a temporary altar in their front yard or garage with a picture that depicts the particular station their home represents along with flowers, votive candles and other religious ornaments.

Led by a priest from the church, the worshippers recite standard prayers and a reading from the Bible and sing a short song at each station. As they walk to the next station, they recite the rosary which consists of a formal set of prayers.

The number of participants increases as the observance proceeds as members of the host families join the group such that by the last station it consists of about fifty adults, primarily women, and twenty children. In the Philippines, this ritual is oftentimes referred to as "block" Stations of the Cross because it is held at adjacent or nearby homes on the same neighborhood block. Essentially the same procedure is followed in Kalihi because of the close proximity of Filipino residences along the same street or in the same apartment complex, although Filipinos comprise only about one-third of the population in Kalihi (Okamura 1984: 28).

Another Catholic ritual that is localized in the community is the daily evening rosary during the months of May and October that is observed at the homes of parishioners. Although it is not uncommon for the rosary to be recited in Catholic homes on various occasions, its daily frequency in May and October makes performance of the rite by Filipino immigrants distinctive in Kalihi. A pastor from the church leads the rosary which consists of a standardized set of prayers, including the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary and Glory Be to the Father, that is repeated several times in a prescribed sequence. About twenty to twenty-five adults, mostly women, attend the rosary each evening. As in the Stations of the Cross observance, the overwhelming majority of worshippers and host families are immigrant Filipinos.

The culmination of the May rosaries occurs on the last Saturday of the month when a procession, called the *Santa Cruz de Mayo* or, alternatively, the *Flores de Mayo*, is held through the neighborhood around the church. This procession, which is widely celebrated in the Philippines, is a reenactment of the search and finding of the true cross of Calvary by "Reina Elena" (Queen Helen). About 200 people participate in this procession including the worshippers in the evening rosaries, Filipino Catholic Club members, Catholic school students, and other Filipino parishioners.

The observance of Philippine Catholic rituals represents a revitalization of Filipino culture as a direct consequence of the emergence and growth of the Filipino community in Kalihi since the late 1960s. In the past, these rites were conducted in their standard Catholic mode (at least in Hawai'i) within the church or were not performed at all. Another significant difference between the present and past performance of these rituals is their regularity and frequency at present. This continuous observance of religious activities throughout the year followed the settlement of immigrant Filipinos in the parish since numerous families are required to serve as hosts for the prayers, and there has to be a community of worshippers to participate regularly in them. The increased presence of Filipino

families made it possible for the rituals to be localized in the surrounding neighborhood according to Philippine custom rather than being held only in the church. Indeed, the substantial numbers of Filipino immigrants in the parish was stated as one of the primary reasons that the Filipino Catholic Club began to organize its religious activities.

With regard to the concept of adaptation, the adaptive salience of the performance of Philippine Catholic rituals is not immediately apparent. While an argument could be made that they serve as a means of cultural continuity for immigrants with their religious traditions in the Philippines and thereby mitigate the culture shock that they experience, the same could be said of any manifestation of Filipino culture in Hawai'i, no matter how trivial.

Far from being merely adaptive mechanisms, the Philippine Catholic rituals represent collective expressions of immigrant Filipino ethnicity. As such, the rituals have a greater social and cultural significance than any adaptive function that might be attributed to them. This much larger significance pertains to their demarcating the social boundaries of the Filipino community in Kalihi. That is, the localization of the rituals in the streets and homes of the area is a sociocultural manifestation of the extent to which Kalihi is a Filipino community.

### Beyond Adaptationism

The above discussion was concerned with demonstrating the theoretical and methodological inadequacies of the concept of adaptation for analysis of the social relations and institutions of immigrant minorities in American society. In particular, the limitations of the adaptationist approach were made evident in the review of studies of Filipino immigrant adaptation in Hawai'i. The salience of various reported adaptive strategies and mechanisms, such as delayed marriages, the establishment of multiple ritual kinship ties, and the use of personal networks to gain access to employment and housing, was questioned in terms of their respective contributions to immigrant adjustment. The concept of adaptation also was shown to provide an essentially insufficient explanation of various social processes and groupings in an urban Filipino community in Hawai'i, including settlement in the area, immigrant voluntary associations, and the localized performance of Catholic rituals.

Given the inadequacy of the adaptationist perspective, an alternative approach for the analysis of Filipino immigrant social institutions and activities needs to be specified. It was noted above that the localization of Philippine Catholic rituals in the community represents a collective articulation of immi-

grant Filipino ethnicity. The other two social processes in Kalihi discussed in this article, i.e., the development of the Filipino community and the establishment of immigrant voluntary associations, also can be viewed as corporate representations of Filipino ethnic identity. These three processes and other related immigrant sociocultural activities, such as language and cultural values retention, are part of a larger overall process of the affirmation and maintenance of immigrant Filipino ethnicity in Hawai'i. Rather than being primarily concerned with their adaptation, acculturation or assimilation into the wider society, immigrants can be viewed as demarcating the structural and cultural boundaries between themselves and other ethnic groups, including in some social contexts Hawai'i born Filipinos.

Despres (1984: 14) has argued that social boundaries supportive of ethnicity will persist to the extent that they confer competitive advantage with regard to particular resource domains such as political power, employment opportunities, etc. The social resource with which the Filipino community in Hawai'i can be said to be primarily concerned is their socioeconomic and political advancement given their low social status in Hawai'i since their arrival as plantation laborers 85 years ago. Ethnic identity among Filipino immigrants has been maintained because it contributes to their collective effort to gain economic and political power by promoting group solidarity. However, Filipinos, whether immigrants, Hawai'i born or both groups acting in concert, have not been successful in mobilizing the larger community in collective action towards attainment of their shared interests for greater participation in the political and economic status orders in Hawai'i (Okamura 1984a: 304). At present, immigrant Filipino ethnicity lacks the corporate organization necessary for it to be employed as a collective strategy in pursuit of their material interests. The nature of immigrant Filipino ethnicity represents a condition of "ethnic solidarity" in terms of conscious identification moreso than "ethnic mobilization" in terms of collective action (Olzak 1983: 356-357).

If anything, the expression and maintenance of immigrant Filipino ethnic identity could be said to be maladaptive rather than adaptive for immigrants insofar as they reinforce derogatory stereotypes of Filipinos prevalent in Hawai'i that originated with the largely uneducated plantation laborers. The emergence of a residential enclave, the formation of voluntary associations, the performance of traditional religious rituals, and the observance of other cultural norms and activities could be construed by nonFilipinos as demonstrated evidence of immigrant unwillingness or inability to adapt, assimilate or integrate into the larger society and therefore "explanatory" in a superficial sense of their subordinate

socioeconomic status. However, in going beyond the theoretical and methodological limitations of adaptationism, the affirmation of immigrant Filipino ethnicity can be viewed more significantly and validly as part of the worldwide phenomenon of ethnic movements since the 1960s.

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## Community Impacts of Migration: Recent Ilokano Migration to Hawai'i

Amefil R. Agbayani

Immigration has been and continues to be of great importance to Hawaii's social and economic life. The 1980 census shows 14.2 percent of the state's population is foreign born. With the 1965 amendments to U.S. immigration laws, Hawai'i has received more immigrants proportional to population than any other state and over four times the national average. Over 80 percent of these immigrants are Asian; over half are from the Philippines. Of those from the Philippines, most are from the Ilocos provinces.

The first section of this article is a brief overview of immigration to Hawai'i historically and currently. The final section will present findings of a portion of a study on Ilokano migration conducted by the East-West Population Institute and the Institute of Philippine Culture of Ateneo de Manila University.

### Migration, 1850-1975

When viewed historically, the 14.2 percent foreign born population of Hawai'i in the 1980s is relatively small. A major part of Hawaii's history can be summarized by information on place of birth of persons from 1853 through 1975 (see Table 1). In the 1850s, when American whalers used Hawai'i ports for provisioning their ships, 97 percent of the population were Hawaiians born in Hawai'i, 1 percent were U.S. born Caucasians, and 2 percent were foreign born Europeans and Chinese.

By 1900 there were dramatic changes: 38 percent Hawai'i born (Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian); 3 percent U.S. mainland born (Caucasian missionaries, plantation owners and military); and 60 percent foreign born (Japanese, Chinese and Portuguese immigrant plantation workers). By 1940, a majority of the population (66%) was Hawai'i born (mostly Hawaiians, part-Hawaiians and children of Portuguese, Japanese, Chinese and Korean immigrants); 13 percent mainland U.S. born (Caucasians in business and the military); and 21 percent foreign born (Filipino and Japanese immigrants). The proportion of foreign born in Hawai'i has decreased from the 1900 high of 58.9 percent to a low of 9.8 percent in 1970.

The effects of implementing the 1965 amendments to the immigration laws are reflected in the 1975 data which show an increase over the 1970 data. The 1975 distribution is 65 percent Hawai'i born (Caucasian, Hawaiian, Japanese,

Table 1  
Population of Hawaii by Place of Birth, 1853-1975  
(Based on national boundaries as of 1978)

	1853	1900	1920	1940	1960	1970	1975
Total	73,138	154,001	255,912	423,330	632,772	768,559	833,449
Native Born	72,002	63,221	149,943	334,939	563,875	692,964	724,758
Hawaii	71,310	58,931	136,349	278,506	421,168	455,060	536,709
Mainland U.S.	692	4,238	10,816	54,224	128,992	178,531	181,000
U.S. territory	—	52	2,778	2,209	4,965	17,286	7,049
Not reported	—	—	—	—	8,750	42,087	—
Foreign Born	1,136	0,780	105,969	88,391	68,897	75,595	105,765
China	364	21,741	11,164	4,868	3,541	4,663	7,169
Indochina	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,159
Japan	—	56,234	60,690	37,362	24,658	19,685	24,144
Korea	—	—	3,498	2,454	1,124	2,063	4,901
Philippines	5	—	18,728	35,778	28,649	3,175	48,029
Other	767	12,805	11,889	7,929	10,925	16,009	18,363
Not reported	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,925
Percent							
Hawaii	97.5	8.3	53.3	65.8	66.6	59.2	64.4
Mainland	0.9	2.8	4.2	12.8	20.4	23.2	21.7
Foreign	1.6	58.9	41.4	20.9	10.9	9.8	12.7

Source: Nordyke 1977.

Filipino, Korean and Chinese); 22 percent mainland U.S. born (mostly Caucasian); and 13 percent foreign born (primarily Filipino and Japanese).

### Post-1965 Migration to Hawai'i

The 1965 amendments to the immigration and nationality laws reflected major changes in American immigration policy. They abolished the national origin quota system and allowed for family reunification and the entry of professionals and workers identified as needed by the United States. Two significant results were the total increase of immigrants and an increase in the proportion of Asian immigrants. Asians represented one out of fourteen immigrants before the changes and one out of three immigrants after 1965.

The impact on Hawai'i was even more pronounced because of the historical migration from Asia and proximity to Asia. The data on migration to Hawai'i from 1965-1981 is shown in Table 2. This table is limited to immigrants using the technical definition of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and does not include U.S. nationals from Samoa, undocumented persons or other foreign born persons.

The largest number of legal immigrants reporting Hawai'i as their intended residence comes from the Philippines—59,318 or 53.6 percent, followed by Korea—14,000 or 12.7 percent, China/Taiwan (6.6%) and Japan (6.2%). The estimated distribution of immigrants by age and sex (based on 1978 immigration data) shows a large number of children and youth (29% are 17 and under) and a median age of 26.0 for males and 26.6 for females. The male to female ratio is 90 males to 100 females. The vast majority of resident aliens lives on Oahu.

Of Hawaii's 14.2 percent foreign born population, the largest number is from the Philippines (60,555), followed by Japan (22,738). The proportion of foreign born for ethnic groups in Hawai'i is high for the following: Vietnamese (86.0%), Other (62.3%), Korean (54.1%), Filipino (45.8%), Samoan (28.1%) and Chinese (22.1%) (see Table 3).

An analysis of the 1975 Census Update Survey of Hawai'i revealed that recent Asian foreign born persons are in "occupational and income levels far below what would be expected, given their educational levels. Longer residence appears to result in greater improved income, but not occupational improvement" (Wright and Gardner 1983). This same study found that a "high proportion of Filipino immigrants are in both service and agricultural jobs," and that "the availability of immigrants willing to take low-paying service jobs has



Table 2  
Immigrants Admitted to Hawaii by Country of Birth  
Reporting Hawaii as State of Intended Residence, 1965-1981

Year	Total	China/ Taiwan		Korea		Japan		Philippines		Other Countries	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1965-74	53771	3338	6.2	4748 <sup>1</sup>	8.8	3873	7.2	30651	57.0	9764	18.2
1975	7012	555	7.9	1476	21.0	587	8.4	2913	41.5	1394	19.9
1976 <sup>2</sup>	9671	784	8.1	1793	18.5	556	5.7	4081	42.2	2302	23.8
1977	7825	527	6.7	1488	19.0	495	6.3	3568	45.6	1572	20.1
1978	9053	409	4.5	965	10.7	394	4.4	4398	48.6	2664	29.4
1979	8944	586	6.6	1192	13.3	365	4.1	5016	56.1	1650	18.4
1980	6729	555	8.2	1153	17.1	260	3.9	3983	59.2	717	10.7
1981	7634	553	7.2	1185	15.5	295	3.9	4708	61.7	816	10.7
Total	110,639	7307	6.6	14000	12.7	6825	6.2	59318	53.6	20879	18.9

<sup>1</sup>The figure 4,748 covers the period between 1969-74; Korea was previously included with "Other Countries."  
<sup>2</sup>Adjustment, year ended June 30 through 1976 and September 30 thereafter.

Sources: Hawaii State Department of Planning and Economic Development, 1974, 1975, 1976.

Table 3  
Distribution of Foreign Born in Hawaii by Ethnicity, 1980

	Number	Foreign Born (N)	Foreign Born (%)
Total	964,691	137,016	14.2
White	311,068	15,154	4.9
Black	16,966	467	2.7
Hispanic	71,399	9,358	13.1
American Indian, Eskimo, Aleutian	2,605	83	3.2
Asian and Pacific Islander			
Japanese	239,734	22,738	9.5
Chinese	55,916	12,340	22.1
Filipino	132,075	60,555	45.8
Korean	17,453	9,434	54.1
Vietnamese	3,403	2,927	86.0
Hawaiian	118,251	807	0.7
Guamanian	1,630	46	2.8
Samoan	14,349	4,033	28.1
Asian Indian	708	496	70.0
Other	7,140	4,453	62.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1983.

certainly fueled the economic growth of the State." Another study using the same data found that "On the whole, the Filipino immigrants stand below the non-migrants in the host society's social and economic structure" (Carino 1981).

#### Early Filipino Immigrants to Hawai'i, 1906-1946

The first Filipinos were brought to Hawai'i in 1906 as plantation laborers like most of the early immigrants to the islands. The great bulk of the workers was from three Asian groups: Chinese were dominant in the 1850s, Japanese during the 1880s and the first two decades of the twentieth century, and Filipinos were in the majority since that time (see Table 1).

Between 1909 and 1931, 113,000 Filipinos migrated to Hawai'i, 55,000 stayed in Hawai'i, 39,000 returned to the Philippines, and 18,000 moved onward to the Pacific Coast of America. A final group of over 7,000 came to Hawai'i in

1946 to work on the sugar plantations. Some of the structural and historical forces that influenced these Filipinos to leave their homeland and come to Hawai'i include: 1) American colonization of the Philippines and Hawai'i at the turn of the century; 2) the condition of peasants in resource poor areas like the Ilocos; and 3) the need for cheap labor in Hawaii's sugar industry.

Among the conditions that kept early Filipino immigrant workers at the lowest status of the society were: a) they were the last major immigrant group and occupied the lowest status in an ethnically stratified plantation society; b) most were illiterate, single male workers; c) most regarded themselves as temporary residents; and d) they were nationals of a U.S. colony and deprived of many political rights and protection.

#### Recent Ilokano Immigration to Hawai'i

The Philippines is second only to Mexico in sending immigrants to the United States. From 1970-79, an average of 34,000 Filipinos each year migrated to the U.S. About ten percent or 4,000 migrate to Hawai'i. The most current and comprehensive survey of recent Filipino immigrants is the Philippine Migration Study conducted by the East-West Center Population Institute and the Institute of Philippine Culture of Ateneo de Manila University. The study consists of six separate surveys, four in the Philippines and two in Hawai'i. The research data used in this article is from one of these surveys, the 1982 Honolulu Destination Survey (see Table 4). Interviewing was carried out in Oahu census tracts where Filipinos comprised at least 15 percent of the population. Persons eligible for interview were adults born in the Ilocos who entered the United States at age 18 or older between 1965 and 1981. Interviews were completed with 1,484 individuals belonging to 853 households. The interviewers were bilingual (Ilokano/English) Filipinos.

Filipino immigrants in Hawai'i come from various regions in the Philippines, but the study sample was only Ilokano immigrants. Estimates of Ilokanos in Hawai'i range from a high of 90 percent to a conservative estimate of 70-80 percent. Ilokanos have been the vast majority of Filipino immigrants to Hawai'i in the early period (1906-46) and more recently since the 1965 amendments. Filipinos in Hawai'i differ from Filipinos migrating to the mainland U.S. Two important differences are their place of origin in the Philippines and their socioeconomic position. Unlike Filipinos on the mainland, Filipinos in Hawai'i are predominantly from the rural Ilocos region and occupy a lower socioeconomic status in Hawai'i.

Table 4

#### Ilokano Survey: Agency Use

	Use of Agencies and Services			
	Ever Used	Never Used	N	(%)
Total	34.3 (509)	65.7 (975)	1484	(100.0)
Remittances to Philippines in last year (N=1483) (p=.0643)				
Yes	35.5	64.5	1162	(78.3)
No	29.8	70.2	22	(21.7)
No. of return visits to Philippines (N=1474)*				
None	30.0	70.0	583	(39.6)
One	35.6	64.6	489	(33.2)
Two	40.2	59.8	229	(15.5)
Three	40.8	59.2	103	(7.0)
Four or more	31.4	68.4	70	(4.7)
% of family in Hawaii (N=1484) (p=.0827)				
Less than 20	33.6	66.4	146	(9.8)
20-39	17.8	72.2	288	(19.4)
40-59	32.9	67.1	298	(20.1)
60-79	36.4	63.6	341	(23.0)
80-99	39.6	60.4	202	(13.6)
100	37.3	62.7	209	(14.1)
% of family in Philippines (N=1484)*				
Less than 20	39.4	60.6	482	(32.5)
20-39	32.2	67.8	329	(22.2)
40-59	36.2	63.8	279	(18.8)
60-79	27.1	72.9	251	(16.9)
80 or higher	30.8	69.2	143	(9.6)
% of family on the U.S. mainland (N=1484)				
Less than 10	33.3	66.7	1229	(82.8)
10-19	39.8	60.2	118	(8.0)
20-29	32.5	57.5	73	(4.9)
30 or higher	34.4	65.6	64	(4.3)

*Continued*

Table 4 Continued

	Use of Agencies and Services			
	Ever Used	Never Used	N	(%)
Whose decision to move (N=1483)				
Completely respondent's	43.1	56.9	399	(26.9)
Other's	31.1	68.9	1084	(73.1)
Marital Status (N=1484) (p=.0762)				
Currently married	35.4	64.6	1222	(82.3)
Other	29.4	70.6	262	(17.7)
Home Ownership (N=1478)*				
Owned	30.5	69.5	554	(37.5)
Not owned	36.6	63.4	924	(62.5)
Daily Contacts (N=1484)*				
All/mostly Filipino	30.8	69.2	636	(42.9)
Mixed/mostly non-Filipino	36.9	63.1	848	(57.1)
Citizenship (N=1484) N.S.				
U.S. citizen	36.5	63.5	491	(33.1)
Non-citizen	33.2	66.8	993	(66.9)
Voter Registration (N=491, eligible only) N.S.				
Registered to vote	37.4	62.6	398	(81.1)
Not registered to vote	32.3	67.7	93	(19.1)
Current pay for workers (N=1163)				
\$150/week or less	28.3	71.7	283	(24.3)
\$150.01-200	32.4	67.6	324	(27.9)
\$200.01-250	37.8	62.2	246	(21.2)
More than \$250/week	43.5	56.5	310	(26.7)
Household income (N=1463) N.S.				
Less than \$10000 per year	40.5	59.5	116	(7.9)
\$10000-19999/year	32.9	67.1	508	(34.7)
\$20000/year or more	34.4	65.6	839	(57.3)
Adequacy of household financial condition (N=1458) N.S.				
More than adequate	39.6	60.4	139	(9.5)
Just adequate	33.7	66.3	1031	(70.7)
Not adequate	33.3	66.7	288	(19.8)

	Use of Agencies and Services			
	Ever Used	Never Used	N	(%)
Comparative household financial condition (N=1470) ***				
Better off	40.5	59.5	405	(27.6)
About the same as most	30.1	69.6	900	(61.2)
Worse off	41.8	58.2	165	(11.2)
Current Occupation (N=1181)***				
Management, professional, technical	27.8	72.2	54	(4.6)
Sales, clerical	29.1	70.9	127	(10.8)
Production, operation, transportation	42.6	57.4	277	(23.5)
Service	27.9	72.1	541	(45.8)
Laborers, handlers	51.6	48.4	93	(7.9)
Farmers and farm laborers	51.7	48.3	89	(7.5)
Ever had housing problem (N=1484)***				
Yes	42.3	57.7	381	(25.7)
No	31.6	68.4	1103	(74.3)
Ever had job problem (N=1484)***				
Yes	44.2	55.8	303	(20.4)
No	31.8	68.2	1181	(79.6)
Ever had schooling problem (N=1484) N.S.				
Yes	42.9	57.1	42	(2.8)
No	34.0	66.0	1442	(97.2)
Ever had language problem (N=1484)***				
Yes	46.3	53.7	281	(18.9)
No	31.5	68.5	203	(81.1)
Are Filipinos discriminated against (N=1484)***				
Yes	42.2	57.8	410	(27.6)
No	31.3	68.7	1074	(72.4)
Value expectancy for Ilocos (N=1484) N.S.				
0	34.1	65.9	416	(28.0)
1-2	37.3	62.7	236	(15.9)
3-5	35.4	64.6	342	(23.0)
6-9	31.0	69.0	329	(22.2)
10+	34.8	65.2	161	(10.8)

Continued

Table 4 Continued

	Use of Agencies and Services			
	Ever Used	Never Used	N	(%)
Value expectancy for Hawaii (N=1484) N.S.				
5 or less	32.1	67.9	246	(16.6)
6-8	31.1	68.9	315	(21.2)
9-11	32.9	67.1	392	(26.4)
12-14	37.9	62.1	277	(18.7)
15+	38.6	61.4	254	(17.1)
Ladder score-financial satisfaction (N=1460)*				
0-3	36.0	64.0	139	(9.5)
4	34.9	65.1	195	(13.4)
5	29.6	70.4	297	(20.3)
6	34.6	65.4	295	(20.2)
7	28.8	71.2	233	(16.0)
8-10	41.9	58.1	301	(20.6)
Ladder score-general satisfaction (N=1461) N.S.				
0-3	36.2	63.8	94	(6.4)
4	35.4	64.6	127	(8.7)
5	33.3	66.7	249	(17.0)
6	33.0	67.0	303	(20.7)
7	30.1	69.9	269	(18.4)
8-10	38.2	61.8	419	(28.7)
Number of previous moves (N=1484) N.S.				
One	33.6	66.4	917	(61.8)
Two	34.3	65.7	277	(18.7)
Three	35.6	64.4	188	(12.7)
Four or more	38.2	61.8	102	(6.9)
Province of birth (N=1484) N.S.				
Ilocos Norte	34.9	65.1	1037	(69.9)
Ilocos Sur, La Union, Abra	32.9	67.1	447	(30.1)
Number of years in Hawaii (N=1484)***				
Less than 1	13.4	86.6	127	(8.6)
1-3	29.6	70.4	345	(23.2)
4-6	37.1	62.9	213	(14.4)
7-9	38.1	61.9	239	(16.1)
10-12	41.3	58.7	339	(22.8)
13+	36.2	63.8	221	(14.9)

	Use of Agencies and Services			
	Ever Used	Never Used	N	(%)
Reason for original move to Hawaii (N=1484) N.S.				
Affiliation	33.9	66.1	579	(39.0)
Other	34.6	65.4	905	(61.0)
Sex (N=1484)*				
Female	31.6	68.4	844	(56.9)
Male	37.8	62.2	640	(43.1)
Education (N=1484)***				
Less than 6 years	32.1	67.9	321	(21.6)
6-9 years	41.3	58.7	455	(30.7)
10 years	32.8	67.2	229	(15.4)
Some college (11-13 years)	34.2	65.8	225	(15.2)
College graduate (14+ years)	26.0	74.0	254	(17.1)
Age (N=1484)**				
18-29	28.0	72.0	43	(23.1)
30-39	37.1	62.9	34	(29.2)
40-49	41.4	58.6	02	(20.4)
50-65	31.4	68.6	05	(27.3)

Significance of X<sup>2</sup>: \* p <.05, \*\* p <.01, \*\*\* p <.001

Recent Ilokano immigrants to Hawai'i are very different from the earlier immigrants in many important ways even though they are relatives of previous immigrants. The early immigrants were predominantly male, single young plantation workers who intended to return to live in the Philippines. The survey of recent Ilokano immigrants shows that nearly 60 percent of the respondents were female, 82 percent were married, and their mean age was 40. A majority of them (60%) do not intend to leave Hawai'i.

While 27 percent of the households interviewed included at least one adult member who arrived in Hawai'i prior to 1964, 74 percent included only persons who had arrived after 1964. A finer breakdown of this information shows that 78 percent of the households had at least one member who had arrived in Hawai'i since 1971; 50 percent had at least one member who arrived between 1966 and

1970; 11 percent had at least one member who arrived between 1947 and 1965; and 20 percent had at least one member who arrived before 1947.

This article will present an analysis of the 1982 survey which may be of interest to researchers, policy makers, service providers and the immigrant and local community in Hawai'i. A brief description of the sample of households and individual respondents will be presented along with an analysis of self-reported problems and patterns of utilizing agencies and social services in Honolulu.

### Household Characteristics

Household level data were obtained from the first available adult who could provide information on adult members and household characteristics. Household size ranged from single member households to one 15-member household, with an average of 4.9 persons per household. This mean is much higher than the state mean of 3.2 members per household. Nearly half (49%) of the households were nuclear families and only 5 percent were single parent households. The overall sex ratio for adult members was 98.4, where 49.6 percent were male and 50.4 percent were female.

In all, 67 percent of the households were in Kalihi, 14 percent in Waipahu, 12 percent in other urban areas outside of Kalihi and 7 percent in rural areas other than Waipahu. The majority (59%) were renting, while 37 percent owned or were buying their home, and 5 percent had other housing arrangements. The highest percentage of homeowners lived in Waipahu (60%). Twenty-two percent of the households shared their dwellings with at least one other household.

### Individual Characteristics

Virtually all of the individual respondents (92%) had worked at some time since their arrival. Forty percent were in service occupations (the major industry in Hawai'i is tourism), and only 5 percent were professionals. This is in contrast to the distribution of occupations for the state (14.3% in service occupations and 15.5% in professional positions).

Nearly half of the respondents was graduated from high school in the Philippines with ten years of schooling. Twenty-two percent had less than six years of schooling and 17 percent were college graduates. As noted earlier, 60 percent of the respondents were female, 82 percent were married, and the mean age was 40.

### Migration History and Intentions

The average length of residence in Hawai'i for the sample was seven years. Less than a tenth had been in Hawai'i less than a year, 38 percent from one to nine years and 38 percent had been in Hawai'i for ten or more years. About sixty percent of the respondents did not intend to move from Hawai'i, over 25 percent did not know if they would move, and the rest were more or less certain that they would move.

A majority of respondents (61%) moved directly from the Ilocos and had not moved outside Honolulu since their arrival in the United States. Nineteen percent reported two moves since leaving the Ilocos, while 20 percent reported three or more moves. A majority (73%) said the decision to move to Honolulu was at least partly influenced by others rather than being entirely their own. The reasons or motives given for moving to Hawai'i were either to join relatives or affiliation (39%) or other reasons such as work or a better life (61%).

### Connections to the Philippines and to Hawai'i

Only a tenth of the sample had 80 percent or more of their family in the Philippines. A majority (55%) had less than 40 percent of their family in the Philippines. A majority (60%) of the respondents had visited the Philippines at least once since their move to Honolulu. Most respondents (78%) maintained ties with relatives in the Philippines through sending remittances at least once during the preceding year.

Over half of all respondents had 60 percent or more of their family in Hawai'i, and less than 10 percent of the sample had under 20 percent of their family in Hawai'i. A majority (57%) reported that their daily contacts were primarily mixed or with nonFilipinos. Over 80 percent of the respondents who were U.S. citizens were registered to vote; only 33 percent of the respondents were U.S. citizens.

### Economic Achievement in Hawai'i

Of the employed respondents, 24 percent earned \$150 a week or less, while 27 percent earned over \$250 a week. Fifty-seven percent of the respondents lived in households where the combined yearly income was \$20,000 or more. Less than 10 percent of the households were under the official poverty level. Most of the respondents (71%) lived in households where the household informant judged the household income as adequate, while 20 percent judged it as

inadequate. A majority (61%) lived in households which, according to the informant, were about the same as most other Filipino households. Nearly 40 percent of the respondents rated their current financial situation as relatively high.

### Problems and Satisfaction

Respondents were asked if they had ever had problems with jobs, housing, schooling and language. Housing problems were reported by 26 percent, jobs by 20 percent and language by 19 percent. A small percentage (3%) reported schooling problems (this question referred to the adult respondents and not to children in the household). Of a total of 425 other problems mentioned by respondents, the three most named were: high prices, cost of living, inflation (n=78); low pay, insufficient earnings or desire for better pay (n=51); and visa, citizenship and petitioning related problems (n=33). Twenty-eight percent of respondents thought Filipinos were discriminated against.

In addition to questions on problems, respondents were asked about their current level of satisfaction and expectation of achieving important values in Hawai'i and in the Philippines. In general, they were relatively satisfied in Hawai'i. Only 15 percent rated their current general satisfaction as relatively low (scores of 0-4), compared to 38 percent who reported midlevel satisfaction (scores of 5-6) and 47 percent who reported relatively high levels of general satisfaction (scores of 7 or more). A majority (67%) of the respondents had relatively low expectancies (scores of 0-5) of achieving important values in the Ilocos. In contrast, 83 percent of the respondents had relatively high expectancies (scores of 6-15) of achieving important values in Hawai'i.

### Agency or Service Use

Respondents were asked if they had ever used specific services or agencies. With the exceptions of unemployment compensation which was used by 21 percent of the respondents and food stamps which were used by 5 percent, each of the other identified agencies or services was used by less than 2 percent of the respondents. The agencies or services listed were the Kalihi-Palama Immigrant Service Center, Susannah Wesley Community Center, Operation Manong, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, housing assistance and Medicaid. Of the 10 percent who used other agencies, the top three agencies were all employment assistance. In summary, very few respondents reported utilizing agencies or

services, and the most used services of agencies were employment or unemployment assistance services.

### Problems and Use of Agencies

Of interest to service providers and policy makers is the provision of services to those with problems. While keeping in mind that the survey questionnaire did not relate problems to particular services, it is possible to look at the relationship of those who mentioned problems to those who said they had ever used services and agencies. For the following discussion, 784 of the respondents who mentioned one or more problems were defined as "problem reporters" in contrast to the remaining 700 respondents who reported no problem and were defined as "reported no problem." The use of any agency or service constituted an "agency user." By this definition, 509 respondents were agency or service users and 975 reported no use.

Although very few persons reported ever using any service or agency (except unemployment compensation), it is gratifying to see that a higher proportion of those reporting problems also reported agency use. Thirty-six percent of the sample reported no problems and no agency use, and 23 percent reported both problems and agency use. Nearly a third of the sample (30%) may be a target population for service providers, i.e., those who reported at least one problem but no agency use. A number of persons (11%) reported no problems but reported using a service. This may be because many of the services used are in the nature of entitlements or benefits, and the users may not have perceived that any problems led to their use.

### Profile of Problem Reporters

"Problem reporters" are characterized as having fewer connections or social support in Hawai'i and are less successful economically than persons who report no problems. Problem reporters had fewer members of their family in Hawai'i and more family members in the Philippines. More of them gave reasons other than affiliation for their reason for migrating to Hawai'i. They also scored higher on expectancies of achieving important values in the Ilocos. More were noncitizens, had been in Hawai'i less than three years and had more previous moves before migrating to Hawai'i. Problem reporters had either never visited the Philippines or visited four or more times. More of them sent remittances to the Philippines.

More problem reporters did not own their own home and were in households with less than \$10,000 annual income. They also had a lower mean score on financial satisfaction and current general satisfaction. Most of them were laborers, farmers and in production/operation/transportation than in service or professional categories. Problem reporters were also more likely to have used an agency, to agree that there is discrimination against Filipinos and to have most of their daily contacts with nonFilipinos or a mixed group.

### Profile of Agency Users

"Agency users" are characterized as having more connections or social support in Hawai'i and are more economically successful than persons who reported never using an agency. They had fewer members of their family in the Philippines and more in Hawai'i and had been in Hawai'i longer than persons who had never used an agency or service. Those who had gone back to the Philippines one to three times were more likely to have used services than those who had never been back or had returned four or more times. Agency users were more likely to have a higher mean current pay but not to be a home owner. In addition, agency users were more likely to have reported housing, language and job problems as well as to agree that there is discrimination against Filipinos.

### Problem Reporters and Agency Users

A higher proportion of those reporting problems also reported using an agency or service. A number of items characterize both agency users and problem reporters. Both agreed that there is discrimination against Filipinos and had most of their daily contacts with nonFilipinos or a mixed group. Both were not home owners and considered themselves financially better off or worse off rather than the same as other Filipinos. Both had sent at least one remittance to the Philippines in the past year and reported that the decision to move to Hawai'i was their own. More problem reporters and agency users were in production/operation/transportation, laborer/handler and farming occupations.

### Conclusion

Immigration should be understood primarily within the context of the global economic system where economically advanced economies create a demand for certain kinds of immigrants. The historical and present economic role that Ilokano (and other Asian) immigrants played in Hawai'i was as "cheap labor" for

the sugar plantations and "cheap labor" as service workers in today's tourist economy. Within this political economy framework, it is still appropriate to study and be responsive to the adjustment and integration of recent immigrants in their new community. The problems mentioned by the 1982 Ilokano sample confirm the findings of other studies that immigrants continue to have problems with jobs, housing, discrimination, language and use of services.

Reformist efforts to seek equal access to better jobs, housing and social services may, in fact, be complementary to efforts to change fundamental economic inequalities. In Hawai'i, recent small but significant changes have been accomplished by local and immigrant groups. Most of these efforts have utilized American legal language and concepts of civil rights and affirmative action. Perhaps the most significant illustrations are three litigations involving members of the Filipino community. The first is the Domingo case where a Filipina successfully sued the City and County of Honolulu which had denied her a job because she was a noncitizen and lacked sufficient length of residency in Hawai'i. The Mangrobang case requires the State of Hawai'i to provide equal access to health care for nonEnglish or limited English speakers. A new case involves a recent Filipino immigrant who was not hired because of his accent.

Cases such as these three as well as countless other efforts to empower recent immigrants as well as local born groups (e.g., unionization) may help change the traditional role of immigrants as "cheap labor" or shorten the time spent in that role.

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## Pilipino Americans and the Scholastic Aptitude Test at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa: A Review of the Literature

Amando Cablas

The Scholastic Aptitude Test is one of the traditional measures of academic potential used by many colleges and universities in their admission decisions. Combined with high school grade point average (HSGPA) and extracurricular activities, the SAT acts as a screening device for the selection of freshman students. The history of the SAT and its use with ethnic minorities has been one of controversy. In many colleges across the nation, the SAT has been criticized as an inadequate measure of minority performance due to cultural and test bias (Thorndike, 1971; Cleary, 1968; Sue and Abe, 1988). In Hawai'i, with its diverse ethnic population, the SAT has met similar criticism (Ikeda, Pun and Totto, 1985; Social Science Research Institute, 1988; Cablas, 1987; 1988; 1990).

The purpose of this paper is to review the current literature on the SAT and Pilipino American academic performance at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa (UHM). From this review, conclusions about the SAT and its use with Pilipino Americans will be drawn with recommendations about future directions for research.

Essentially, two types of research have been conducted on the SAT with ethnic minorities: descriptive and predictive. The descriptive studies are presented first.

### Descriptive Research

Four studies have examined the pattern of SAT scores and college grade point average. The first study to be reviewed focused upon a proposed policy change that would increase university cutoff scores on the SAT and raise the minimum high school grade point average (HSGPA) (Ikeda, Pun and Totto, 1985). The next study examined the freshman performance of Native Hawaiian, Pilipino American, Japanese American and all students at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa from 1979 to 1981 (SSRI, 1988). Another study confirmed data from previous works (Takeuchi, 1988), and a final paper examined the performance of freshman Pilipino American students from 1979 to 1985 (Cablas, 1989b).



In 1985, Ikeda, Pun and Totto studied a proposed increase in admission criteria. UHM's Admissions and Records Office set the SAT cutoff score for each subtest at 430 points. The combined minimum score is 860. The minimal entering high school grade point average is 2.5 on a 4.0 scale. The proposed change would raise the current SAT cutoff point for each subtest from 430 to 450, thereby raising the combined total score to 900. Concurrent with the increase in SAT scores, the minimum high school grade point average would be raised from 2.5 to 2.8. In an effort to determine if the new admissions criteria would be equitable for the diverse Hawai'i population, the researchers focused upon ethnicity as related to SAT scores and university performance.

The subjects consisted of first-time resident freshman, enrolled for fall semester 1983. Evaluation of the proposed changes in admissions criteria was based upon the percent of correct decisions made by rigorous application of each criterion. Hence, any person with a score under 430 on the verbal or math portions would not be an acceptable candidate based upon the current criteria. With the proposed changes, anyone with a score of 450 or less would be eliminated. The performance of Chinese American, Pilipino American, Native Hawaiian, Korean American, Japanese American, Caucasian/Hispanic American, mixed ethnicity and other students was observed for the freshman year with comparisons made among the above mentioned groups. These contrasts were based upon Type I error rates. A Type I error is often referred to as a false negative and indicates, for the purposes of this paper, a decision making error that denies admission to students capable of university academic success. Academic success is defined as a 2.0 or above on a 4.0 grade scale. The ideal criterion for selection reduces Type I error to a minimum.

Results supported the current criteria as predicting fewer false negatives than the proposed change. Findings found the proposed criteria would make more Type I errors, thereby eliminating a greater number of students able to maintain academic standing, than current standards. The undergraduate student population at UHM would be dramatically reduced should the new criteria take effect. When combined with the new minimum high school GPA, 70.1% of the freshman population would be eliminated for the first semester, and would climb to 74.5% for the second semester.

Additionally, the study found that in practice, the Admissions Office did not adhere strongly to the 430 or 860 cutoff. In some instances, more weight appears to be placed on the minimum 860 combined score than upon any single subtest score. Thus a student with a verbal score of less than 430 can make up for this deficit by scoring high enough on the math portion to meet the combined

minimum. In other cases, the admissions criteria combined with entering GPA sufficiently outweighed poor SAT scores. Had the current criteria been based solely upon subtest cutoff scores, 75.3% of the first-time freshman class would have been denied admission.

Another finding in the Ikeda, Pun and Totto study (1985) was a significant disparity between the verbal and mathematics scores of all ethnic groups on the SAT. Math scores were, on the average, 100 points higher than the verbal scores. The researchers suggested that the math subtest may be the least culturally ambiguous and therefore a better reflection of student abilities than the verbal portion.

As regards verbal mean scores, European Americans scored highest, followed by Japanese Americans, Native Hawaiians, Chinese Americans, Pilipino Americans, and Korean Americans. Korean Americans had the highest mean SATM score, followed by Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, European Americans, Native Hawaiians and then Pilipino Americans.

The researchers found all ethnic groups increased their second semester cumulative GPA over the first semester. Of the students who dropped out or withdrew during the first semester and who did not re-enroll in the second, Native Hawaiians had the largest percentage (11%) of all groups. Japanese American and Chinese American students displayed the lowest attrition rates (4%).

Finally, Ikeda, Pun and Totto (1985) found that in actual practice, the Admissions Office does not rigorously apply the current 430 subtest score minimum. They do allow math scores to attenuate verbal score deficits by considering combined scores rather than individual subtest scores. As with any university, the admission decision is not solely based upon SAT scores. Other aspects of the pre-college experience such as high school GPA and extracurricular activities are also utilized.

In 1988, Alu Like, Inc. commissioned a study by the University of Hawaii Sociology Department and the Social Science Research Institute (SSRI) to assess the status of Native Hawaiian students in the University of Hawai'i System. A portion of this study systematically traced the progress of first-time Native Hawaiian, Japanese American and Pilipino American freshmen from the years 1979 through 1981 at the Manoa campus. Information contained in the report covers pre-college admission characteristics, demographic characteristics, educational achievement at UHM, and graduation rates for both first-time freshmen and community college transfer students. In regard to SAT scores,

Table 1

Mean SAT Verbal Scores of First Time Freshman  
Fall 1979 - Fall 1985\*

Year	Ethnicity																	
	Pilipino American			Native Hawaiian			Japanese American			European American			Chinese American			All		
	N	SATV	sd	N	SAT	sd	N	SATV	sd	N	SATV	sd	N	SATV	sd	N	SATV	sd
1979	106	389	75	69	413	100	970	429	84	275	490	98	302	409	103	2,098	432	95
1980	114	389	75	125	419	73	934	435	79	256*	484*	94*	307*	408*	100*	2,028	431	87
1981	132	377	83	136	411	78	941	427	77	238	478	90	312	408	97	2,047	424	90
1982	124	390	81	109	430	79	865	440	79	236	478	82	273	411	102	1,889	435	89
1983	146	408	86	117	423	86	910	433	84	245	471	87	290	411	96	2,033	431	91
1984	138	395	91	93	414	78	735	433	83	189	471	85	253	404	95	1,730	426	91
1985	153	402	76	120	424	83	767	444	84	181	490	95	218	419	95	1,745	437	91

\* scores for Chinese - American and European - American students prorated for 1980.

Table 2

Mean SAT Math Scores of First Time Freshman  
Fall 1979 - Fall 1985\*

Year	Ethnicity																	
	Pilipino American			Native Hawaiian			Japanese American			European American			Chinese American			All		
	N	SATV	sd	N	SAT	sd	N	SATV	sd	N	SATV	sd	N	SATV	sd	N	SATV	sd
1979	104	481	91	69	463	104	970	532	95	275	521	99	302	537	92	2,096	522	98
1980	114	471	90	125	499	78	933	542	87	256*	519*	93*	306*	547*	97*	2,027	529	93
1981	132	465	89	136	493	94	941	530	88	237	516	87	311	557	102	2,045	521	94
1982	124	481	91	108	484	92	865	537	86	236	517	91	273	561	103	1,888	527	94
1983	146	490	85	117	490	90	910	537	90	245	519	109	290	555	97	2,033	529	96
1984	138	496	80	93	491	91	735	543	85	189	513	95	252	564	91	1,728	531	91
1985	153	489	82	119	508	97	767	546	85	181	528	101	218	551	91	1,744	532	91

\* scores for Chinese - American and European - American students prorated for 1980.

Table 3  
Mean SAT Combined Scores of First Time Freshman  
Fall 1979 - Fall 1985\*

Year	Ethnicity									
	Pilipino American	Native Hawaiian	Japanese American	European American	Chinese American	All				
	N SATV sd	N SAT sd	N SATV sd	N SATV sd	N SATV sd	N SATV sd	N SATV sd	N SATV sd	N SATV sd	N SATV sd
1979	106 860 161	69 876 186	970 960 156	275 1011 165	302 946 156	2,098 953 164				
1980	114 860 138	125 918 128	934 977 142	256* 1001* 159*	307* 952* 157*	2,028 960 150				
1981	132 842 150	136 903 151	941 957 141	238 991 153	312 963 159	2,047 944 154				
1982	124 871 135	109 910 137	865 977 140	236 995 146	273 972 160	1,889 962 151				
1983	146 989 143	117 910 153	910 970 150	245 990 172	290 966 151	2,033 959 156				
1984	138 890 145	93 905 151	735 976 144	189 983 148	253 966 145	1,730 957 152				
1985	153 891 136	120 927 165	767 990 146	181 1017 170	218 969 145	1,745 969 155				

\* scores for Chinese - American and European - American students prorated for 1980.

findings presented in Tables 1 to 3 indicate that the average SATV score for Native Hawaiians over a six year period was lower than those of Japanese American students and higher than for Pilipino American students. The Alu Like study also found that despite SAT scores below the university cutoff, most Native Hawaiians, Pilipino Americans and Japanese Americans attained grade point averages of 2.0 or better. Although verbal scores below the cutoff point were not adequate discriminators of college performance, Native Hawaiians had the highest attrition rate across all ethnic groups at the end of the freshman year: Native Hawaiian (12.2%); Pilipino American (6.7%); Japanese American (3.2%); and all students (5.9%).

Another study (Takeuchi, 1988) found that SAT scores reflected the same pattern as in the Alu Like study. Takeuchi found that Pilipino Americans scored the lowest on the SAT, with Korean American, Native Hawaiian, Japanese American and Chinese American students all scoring higher. Similarly, graduation rates for Native Hawaiian students were the lowest (34%), while graduation rates for Chinese American students were highest (70%). The Pilipino American graduation rate was 50%.

In a study that focused exclusively on the academic performance of Pilipino American students using the Alu Like database (SSRI, 1988), Cablas (1989b) reported that in a seven year period (Fall 1979 through Fall 1985) Pilipino Americans had the lowest SAT scores of all groups studied with a greater range restriction than European Americans. In terms of the other ethnic groups, Native Hawaiians had the second lowest scores, with Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans in between the European Americans who had the highest scores. Academically, Pilipino Americans had an average first semester GPA higher than that of Native Hawaiians and lower than Japanese American students (see Table 4). Of those students who scored below the 430 SATV cutoff, approximately 70% performed at or above a 2.00 grade point average during the first semester of university study (see Table 5). Findings support the differential validity hypothesis for Pilipino Americans regarding SAT scores.

In brief, Pilipino Americans score consistently lower on entrance exams than Native Hawaiian, Japanese American, European American and Chinese American students. Yet, most of the Pilipino American students maintain academic standing. Fortunately for low scoring minority populations, the Admissions Office criteria entrance exam cutoff scores are not rigidly applied (Ikeda, Pun and Totto, 1985), especially since the SATV scores of minorities are generally 100 points lower than their SATM scores. In short, the laxity in application of admission standards by the university regarding SAT cutoff scores

Table 4  
First Semester GPA of Ethnic Groups of the  
Freshman Classes of 1979 thru 1981

Freshman Class	Ethnicity							
	Pilipino American		Native Hawaiian		Japanese American		All	
	N	GPA	N	GPA	N	GPA	N	GPA
1979	119	2.44	85	2.25	1,023	2.48	2,271	2.50
1980	137	2.36	152	1.96	986	2.60	2,225	2.51
1981	146	2.32	159	2.12	975	2.58	2,228	2.55

Table 5  
First Time Freshman by Ethnic Group Maintaining  
Academic Standing with SAT Verbal Scores  
Below Admission Cutoff in the First Semester

Year	Ethnicity							
	Pilipino American		Native Hawaiian		Japanese American		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1979	77	68.8	40	60.0	514	69.8	1,062	71.3
1980	80	72.5	73	49.3	432	76.6	1,001	73.1
1981	97	70.1	83	60.2	478	75.3	1,063	74.7

may reflect a greater emphasis upon other pre-college admission criteria or upon combined scores.

### Predictive Studies

Four recent studies examined the predictive validity of the SAT for ethnic minorities at UHM. Of these, two focused on the long-term prediction of persistence of four ethnic groups (Kerkvliet, Nagtalon-Miller and Cablas, 1987; Cablas, 1988a). Another studied the predictive and differential validity of SAT scores for Pilipino Americans and Native Hawaiians (Cablas, 1989a). The final work also focused upon the predictive and differential validity of the SAT for eleven ethnic groups at UHM during a ten year period (Cablas, 1990).

The prediction of long-term persistence study involved four ethnic groups: Pilipino Americans, Native Hawaiians, Japanese Americans and European Americans (Kerkvliet, Nagtalon-Miller and Cablas, 1987; Cablas, 1988a). Findings support the descriptive research in that SAT mean scores followed the same incremental pattern when ranked from lowest to highest, Pilipino Americans scored lowest. However, SAT scores successfully predicted the graduation rates of all European Americans and Pilipino American males. However, the traditional predictors of college performance did not work with Japanese American students who had the highest graduation rates. Furthermore, findings indicate that many Pilipino American, European American and Japanese American students who withdrew from UHM did not do so based upon academic standing. Most of those who did not re-enroll maintained a college GPA of 2.00 or better, indicating that academic ability was not a factor in the withdrawal of these students. As a result, SAT scores are poor indicators of graduation from UHM for these ethnic groups.

In another study, Cablas (1989a) assessed the differential and predictive validity of the SAT for Pilipino Americans and Native Hawaiians at UHM. The average cumulative college GPA (CMG) for the freshmen class of 1981 for both ethnic groups was used as the criteria. The various SAT scores were used as the predictors (SATV, SATM, SATC). Pilipino Americans (n=99) had a CMG of 2.47 (sd = .68) and a SATC = 779, SATV = 363, SATM = 458, while Native Hawaiians had 2.09 (sd = .94), 802, 411, 478, respectively. These findings indicate differential validity for Pilipino American students. On the average, Pilipino Americans scored below the admissions cutoff on the verbal portion of the test and had a lower combined admissions test score than Native Hawaiians. Yet Pilipino Americans performed adequately in college. Thus the lower scores

of Pilipino Americans support differential validity in that they maintained academic standing. In fact, the SATV score was the only predictive test score for this group. However, predictive validity was not supported for Native Hawaiians. The SAT did not work for Native Hawaiians even though they did perform within academic standards. However, generalization of this study to the whole population of Pilipino Americans and Native Hawaiians remains difficult because of its limitations. The sample was small and restricted to only one freshman class. College cumulative GPA was inclusive of all data and not just grades for the end of the freshman year.

In 1990, Cablas expanded his research to include ten years of freshman data from 1979 to 1988. Unlike previous predictive studies, this work focused only on the prediction of freshman year performance. The study examined the differential and predictive validity of the SAT. Additionally, norms were developed for eleven ethnic groups in Hawai'i: European Americans, Japanese Americans, Pilipino Americans, Korean Americans, African Americans, other Asian Americans, Portuguese Americans, Native Hawaiians, Chinese Americans, Pacific Islanders, Chicano/Latinos, and mixed ethnicity. Differential validity was confirmed for first year performance by testing the orientation of the hyperplanes for the regression equations for each ethnic group. The hyperplanes for each group were significantly different and indicated that separate regression equations for the various ethnic groups were necessary and appropriate. Furthermore, the criterion referenced norms revealed that the UHM cutoff scores require adjustment for each ethnic group. In other words, the subtest cutoff of 430 and the combined score minimum of 860 may exclude many students who are able to succeed at UHM. Cablas summarized these results and formed six categories. Table 6 presents a synopsis of these results. In brief, a single cutoff score does not apply equally well across ethnic groups. Different cutoffs for each ethnic group would indicate judicious use of the SAT if it is to remain a part of the screening process in admission decisions.

Briefly, the predictive studies have focused on long-term prediction and the predictive and differential validation of the SAT for select minority groups. Although the SAT was not designed to predict university persistence, it was successful with European Americans and Pilipino American males. It was not predictive of Native Hawaiian performance. Both of the above studies are limited in that they used one freshman class and the research results may reflect a cohort effect. Cablas (1990) focused upon freshman year performance for ten freshman classes. This study found that the SAT was not a consistent predictor of minority performance and confirmed differential validity for the various

ethnic groups in the study. Hence, separate cutoff scores are necessary to screen accurately prospective students of differing ethnic backgrounds.

As related specifically to Pilipino Americans, it appears that the males within this group are, in long term prediction, as predictable as European Americans. In terms of first year performance, the SAT was differentially valid for Pilipino Americans and required a separate regression equation for improved prediction. Additionally, Pilipino Americans succeed at the UHM with low SAT scores.

## Discussion

Many of the issues that surround the SAT and U.S. mainland minority populations appear applicable to ethnic minorities in Hawai'i. For example, both mainland and island minority populations generally have lower scores with a greater restricted range than European American counterparts. As with mainland minorities, the restricted range may produce lower validity and endanger the reliability of the results for island minorities. Thus, there appears to be consistency in the arguments of test bias and measurement error as a result of a measurably decreased score range. Self-selection issues may also play an important role in Hawai'i since it is costly to send an island student to a mainland college. Hence, those who remain in Hawai'i may be from lower socioeconomic (SES) background. It is known that SES is very much a confounding factor on the SAT (Pedhauzer, 1988). Those from low SES backgrounds tend to score lower than their middle and upper SES peers.

Additionally, the question of item discrimination among ethnic groups remains. Apparently the items do not discriminate well between Pilipino Americans and Native Hawaiians. However, there does appear to be better item discrimination among Chinese American and Japanese American students. The standard deviations of Chinese American and Japanese American students resemble the European American sample more than any other minority group (Cablas, 1989b). Chinese American students in Hawai'i have the highest mean SATM score among the different ethnic groups. They also have the greatest standard deviation indicating a broader range of scores. Yet European Americans still have the highest total mean for combined SAT scores. All island minority groups have lower SATV scores and, in some instances, higher SATM scores than European Americans. Interestingly, the lower verbal score was predictive of long term performance rather than the higher math score.

Table 6  
Six Categorical Findings Based  
Upon SAT scores and First Year GPA

Category	Definition	Ethnic Group
I	SAT scores near university cutoff range perform as expected.	Portuguese-American
II	SAT scores perform in the expected direction, however, established cutoff scores do not distinguish increases in criterion performance.	Pilipino-American, Korean-American, Mixed Ethnic
III	No effect of SAT score. Students perform consistently above chance levels regardless of test score.	Chinese-American, European-American, Japanese-American
IV	Increased SAT score may not mean increased criterion performance.	Pacific Islander, Native Hawaiian
V	Combined SAT scores provide more consistent information about performance than either the math or verbal sections separately.	Other Asian-American
VI	Inconsistent findings, groups not otherwise classifiable.	Chicano/Latino

Additionally, some of these issues take on a very different perspective when applied to minority groups in Hawai'i. For example, cumulative college GPA had no relationship with SAT scores for Native Hawaiians. Test scores did not account for the persistence of Japanese American students, who score the second highest of all groups on the entrance exam. Thus, it would seem that many people would erroneously conclude that since Japanese Americans do well in school and meet the SAT requirements, the SAT would be predictive of persistence. Furthermore, Pilipino Americans, who score the lowest of all ethnic groups on the SAT, perform as well as any other student group with higher scores. Native Hawaiians, who have higher SAT scores than Pilipino Americans, have the highest withdrawal rate and the lowest average college GPA (SSRI, 1988). Another related issue arises when considering the admittance of students with lower scores. Are academic standards lowered when a number of minority students with lower SAT scores are admitted into undergraduate studies? Do professors then reduce their standards of academic performance because the

class grading curve could be lowered as a result of admitting students with lower SAT scores? The assumption of less academic skills based on low SAT scores seems logically appropriate. However, grade point averages of these populations reflect a lower, but not significantly lower, GPA than their non-minority peers. Pilipino Americans have the lowest SAT scores, but they also have the highest entering GPA (Ikeda, Pun and Lotto, 1984; SSRI, 1988; Cablas, 1988b). Clearly, differential validity with concurrent assignment of meaning to SAT scores for different ethnic groups in Hawai'i becomes more pronounced.

### Conclusion

Research on the SAT at the University of Hawai'i has answered some vital questions about the SAT. First, unlike mainland ethnic groups, Hawai'i ethnic groups have a broader range of scores. Chinese American and Japanese American students in Hawai'i score higher than Chicano/Latino and African American students. Pilipino Americans and Native Hawaiians have scores equivalent to Chicano/Latinos and African Americans. However, like mainland ethnic groups, verbal scores are lower than the scores for mainstream students. Across all ethnic groups in Hawai'i and the mainland, verbal scores were markedly lower than scores for their European American counterparts. Unlike mainland students, island minority students' math scores are much higher than those of mainland minorities. Often some minority students have math scores that are higher than those of European Americans. Despite lower verbal scores, ethnic minorities succeed at UHM. However, not all minorities succeed even with acceptable admissions scores. Native Hawaiians, who score above the 430 and 860 criteria, do not perform as well as other ethnic groups. Pilipino Americans, who have the lowest entrance exam scores, perform acceptably. One study found that the SAT did not predict the long-term performance of Native Hawaiians. Native Hawaiians are the first group reported for which the SAT had no long-term predictive value, and this finding raised the issue whether the SAT is a useful measure for Native Hawaiians. The implications of this possibility may have serious repercussions for the SAT nationwide.

The issues raised regarding the psychometric integrity of the SAT for ethnic minorities are just as significant in Hawai'i as they are in the rest of the United States. The standardization group for the SAT remains problematic. Again, the group is not sufficiently diverse as the population that attends UHM. Range restriction is also problematic. Ranges are as restricted as for other minority groups, but there are some exceptions in the Hawai'i population. Chinese

American and Japanese American students appear to have ranges equivalent to the European American student population.

All ethnic minorities tested and admitted to the UHM scored markedly lower on the verbal portion of the test than on the math section. The European American population does not reflect this same difference. This finding supports previous claims of cultural bias within the verbal subtest (Thorndike, 1971; Goldman and Hewitt, 1976). Hawai'i minorities identified as capable of succeeding in college, such as Chinese American and Japanese American students, score low on the verbal section of the test.

In summation, Pilipino Americans demonstrated that despite low SATV scores, they are able to succeed at the university level. This finding has been consistent for ten years. Furthermore, at least in Hawai'i, differential validity does exist and is a factor when considering students from this ethnic group for admission. However, one major question remains to be answered and that is whether or not the Pilipino American population has met with adverse impact, or discriminatory selection processes, as a result of use of the SAT as a screening device.

Finally, another question arises as the new form of the SAT is prepared ("Test facing," 1990); will this new form create further barriers for ethnic minority students, especially Pilipino Americans, since it will include a written essay? It would appear that this written portion has a high probability of being fraught with the same problems as the current verbal subtest. Of course, the reality of this assumption remains to be seen, but it is clear that unless the new test is carefully pretested on selected ethnic groups, it is highly likely that it will be as problem laden for ethnic minorities as previous forms of the SAT.

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## Filipino Educational Status and Achievement at the University of Hawai'i

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This article describes and analyzes the educational status of Filipino "first time freshman" students at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, the main campus in the statewide University of Hawai'i system, between 1979 and 1986. The data for this article come from a larger study that was primarily concerned with Native Hawaiian first time freshmen at the University (UH Department of Sociology 1988). These data were obtained from student information files maintained by the University's Office of Admissions and Records. For the purposes of this paper, a first time freshman is defined as a student who, after graduating from high school, initially began college studies at UH Manoa, i.e., a nontransfer student.

The first section of the article reviews the demographic and educational background characteristics of Filipino first time freshmen (henceforth referred to as FTF) prior to entering the University such as their locale of residence and high school grade point average. The next section is concerned with the educational achievement of Filipino FTF students at UH Manoa in terms of their cumulative grade point average, attrition rate and academic status. The third section discusses the graduation of Filipino FTF students from UH Manoa. In addition to FTF students, the following section reviews the educational attainment and graduation of Filipino community college transfer (henceforth referred to as CCT) students at the University. In each of the above sections, the data for Filipino students are compared with those for Native Hawaiian, Japanese and "All" FTF or CCT students. Lastly, an analysis is provided of the educational status of Filipino students at UH Manoa in terms of institutional constraints that restrict their access to and persistence in higher education.

### Precollege Background

This section reviews the demographic and educational background prior to attending college of Filipino first time freshmen who entered the University of Hawai'i at Manoa during the fall semester in the years 1979 through 1985. The various precollege characteristics of Filipinos discussed below include their relative representation, gender division, high school grade point average (GPA) and rank, Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores, public and private high school graduation, and locale of permanent residence.



Table 1

Filipino, Native Hawaiian, Japanese and All First Time Freshmen  
at UH Manoa, Fall 1979 to Fall 1985

	Filipino		Native Hawaiian		Japanese		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1979	119	5.4	86	3.9	1,025	46.6	2,285	100.0
1980	138	6.4	152	7.1	986	45.8	2,230	100.0
1981	146	6.5	160	7.2	976	43.7	2,239	100.0
1982	144	6.9	139	6.7	892	42.9	2,090	100.0
1983	162	7.3	144	6.5	937	42.2	2,224	100.0
1984	156	8.3	113	6.0	757	40.3	1,888	100.0
1985	171	8.8	137	7.0	790	40.5	1,975	100.0
Mean	148	7.1	133	6.3	909	43.1	2,133	100.0

The Filipino FTF cohorts comprised a mean of 148 students and 7.1 percent of all entering freshmen at UH Manoa between 1979 and 1985 (see Table 1). Filipino freshmen generally increased their absolute number and relative percentage each year from 1979 to 1985 which is a significant factor in the increasing representation of Filipinos at the University during the same period and until the present (see Table 2). The above percentage approximates the 6.7 percent of UH Manoa undergraduates represented by Filipinos in 1985 (Office of Institutional Research and Analysis 1985a: 3). However, both percentages are considerably below the 18 percent represented by Filipinos in the public school system in Hawai'i and thus indicate the severe underrepresentation of Filipinos among FTF students admitted to the University.

In contrast to Filipinos, declining numbers in absolute and relative terms was the case with the Japanese and All FTF cohorts between 1979 and 1985. This trend is consistent with the decreased enrollment at UH Manoa since 1983, particularly of Japanese students which is largely due to their declining college age population. Nonetheless, the mean percentage of the Japanese (43.1%) FTF cohorts constitutes considerable overrepresentation relative to their public school enrollment (16%). As for Native Hawaiians, their mean percentage (6.3%) of 1979-85 entering freshmen at UH Manoa indicates substantial underrepresentation in terms of their public school enrollment (23%).

Table 2

Filipino, Native Hawaiian and Japanese Students at UH Manoa,  
Fall 1980 to Fall 1990

	Total		Filipino		Native Hawaiian		Japanese	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1980	20,175	100.0	779	3.5	571	2.8	6,957	34.5
1981	20,446	100.0	838	4.1	801	3.9	7,326	35.8
1982	20,880	100.0	938	4.5	939	4.5	7,461	35.7
1983	20,966	100.0	1,023	4.9	976	4.7	7,441	35.5
1984	19,965	100.0	1,045	5.2	972	4.9	7,067	35.4
1985	19,606	100.0	1,111	5.7	986	5.0	6,993	35.7
1986	18,918	100.0	1,135	6.0	917	4.8	6,625	35.0
1987	18,382	100.0	1,165	6.3	929	5.1	6,191	33.7
1988	18,424	100.0	1,272	6.9	970	5.3	5,960	32.3
1989	18,546	100.0	1,364	7.4	1,037	5.6	5,803	31.3
1990	18,810	100.0	1,488	7.9	1,120	6.0	5,612	29.8

Sources: Fall 1980-84; Office of Institutional Research and Analysis, University of Hawai'i 1985b.  
Fall 1985-90; Institutional Research Office, University of Hawai'i 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989,  
1990, 1991.

With regard to the gender division of the Filipino FTF students, there were overall more females (59.3%) than males (40.3%), and this relative ratio generally was the case for every cohort. The Native Hawaiian, Japanese and All students cohorts also had more women than men but in slightly lower percentages than Filipinos.

In terms of high school grade point average, the Filipino FTF cohorts had the highest mean GPA from 1979 to 1985 (3.25 on a maximum 4.0 scale): Native Hawaiians (3.00), Japanese (3.16) and All students (3.14) (see Table 3). Data from another study which included several other ethnic groups (e.g., Chinese) indicate that Filipinos may well have the highest mean high school GPA of all freshmen entering the University (Takeuchi 1988: 32).

High school quintile rank refers to a student's relative ranking on a five point scale in his or her high school graduating class that is based on cumulative grade

Table 3

Mean High School Grade Point Average of Filipino, Native Hawaiian, Japanese and All First Time Freshmen at UH Manoa, Fall 1979 to Fall 1985

	Filipino		Native Hawaiian		Japanese		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1979	102	3.27	69	2.99	968	3.16	2,062	3.15
1980	115	3.29	128	2.98	934	3.19	2,000	3.16
1981	129	3.21	135	2.99	919	3.16	1,941	3.13
1982	114	3.26	108	3.05	852	3.16	1,826	3.14
1983	147	3.24	119	2.97	902	3.16	1,999	3.13
1984	138	3.26	92	3.06	730	3.17	1,708	3.15
1985	153	3.22	117	2.99	771	3.15	1,752	3.14
Mean		3.25		3.00		3.16		3.14

point average. Given their comparatively highest mean high school GPA, it is not surprising to find that Filipino freshmen had by far the highest mean quintile rank (4.64) compared to Native Hawaiians (3.97), Japanese (4.40) and All students (4.33). Filipinos also had by far the greatest mean percentage of students in the fifth or highest quintile (upper 20% of high school graduating class): Filipinos (72.2%), Native Hawaiians (37.1%), Japanese (58.6%) and All freshmen (55.3%).

As for Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores, the Filipino freshmen generally increased their scores between 1979 and 1985, particularly their SAT verbal and combined scores. However, their mean SAT mathematics (482), verbal (393) and therefore their combined (873) scores generally were lower than those of the other groups: Native Hawaiians (908), Japanese (972) and All students (958). These lower SAT scores of Filipinos are somewhat anomalous given that they had the highest high school GPA of all entering freshmen and thus perhaps are an indication of the inherent cultural biases of standardized achievement tests such as the SAT (Cabras 1989: 10). The relation of SAT scores to the academic performance and graduation of Filipino and other students at the University is discussed below.

A majority of Filipino entering freshmen at UH Manoa from 1979 to 1985 was graduated from a public (80.7%) rather than a private (15.9%) high school in Hawai'i. The data also indicate that the overwhelming majority (96.6%) of Filipino FTF students was graduated from a Hawai'i high school (as was the case with Native Hawaiian and Japanese freshmen) with smaller numbers graduating from schools in the continental United States, Guam and the Philippines. The Native Hawaiian FTF cohorts had by far the highest mean percentage of private high school graduates (59.9%), especially from the Kamehameha Schools, compared to Japanese (18.4%) and All students (25.1%). Conversely, Native Hawaiians had the lowest mean percentage of public high school graduates (37.8%) in comparison to the Japanese (79.1%) and All (64.7%) freshman cohorts.

In terms of locale of permanent residence, the Filipino FTF cohorts between 1979 and 1985 were primarily from rural O'ahu (39.7%), followed by Honolulu (32.0%) and the neighbor islands (26.1%). Native Hawaiian freshmen also resided for the most part in rural O'ahu (42.3%), then Honolulu (34.0%) and the neighbor islands (22.8%). In contrast, Japanese freshmen were primarily from Honolulu (44.8%), followed by rural O'ahu (30.8%) and the neighbor islands (23.0%). Similarly, All students generally were from Honolulu (45.2%), then rural O'ahu (29.8%) and lastly the neighbor islands (17.1%).

Thus, the typical Filipino first time freshman at UH Manoa is female, had a "B+" grade point average in high school which numerically is the highest of all FTF students, was in the fifth quintile of his or her high school graduating class, has lower SAT scores than the average entering freshman at the University, was graduated from a public high school in Hawai'i and is from rural O'ahu.

#### Academic Achievement at UH Manoa

This section reviews the educational achievement of Filipino first time freshman students at UH Manoa between 1979 and 1986. In contrast to the previous section, the discussion is limited to the 1979, 1980 and 1981 FTF cohorts since they are the only groups of which a significant proportion of students would have been graduated by 1986. The college achievement characteristics reviewed below include grade point average, attrition rate, and academic status, i.e., probation, suspension or dismissal from the University.

The Filipino freshmen had a mean GPA of 2.37 (on a maximum 4.0 scale) after their first semester at UH Manoa which is substantially above the Univer-

sity standard for satisfactory academic performance (2.0). Their GPA was higher than that of Native Hawaiians (2.11) but lower than that of the Japanese (2.55) and All (2.52) FTF cohorts.

The University of Hawai'i at Manoa has as one of its admission requirements for incoming freshmen an SAT verbal score of 430, although this minimum standard is not applied rigorously in the admissions process (Ikeda et al. 1985: 12). A substantial majority (70.5%) of Filipino students who had SAT verbal scores below 430, nonetheless, achieved grade point averages of 2.0 or higher during their first semester at UH Manoa. That is, those students performed satisfactory or better college work despite having SAT verbal scores that would have prevented them from being admitted to the University if the SAT verbal standard was strictly applied as the sole criterion for admission. In fact, none of the seven Filipino FTF cohorts from 1979 through 1985 had a mean SAT verbal score above 430, although their grade point averages at UH Manoa demonstrate clearly that they are more than capable of successful college study. Significant majorities of Native Hawaiian (56.5%), Japanese (73.9%) and All (73.0%) FTF students who had SAT verbal scores less than 430 also attained grade point averages of 2.0 and above during their first semester at the University. Recall that the Native Hawaiian (419), Japanese (434) and All (431) FTF cohorts all had mean SAT verbal scores very proximate to the 430 standard. Thus, the above data indicate that the present SAT verbal standard for admission to UH Manoa is not an especially accurate predictor of satisfactory academic performance insofar as it would deny entry to the great majority of incoming freshmen who are quite able to perform successfully in college. Therefore, its salience as an admission criterion relative to other criteria such as high school grade point average should be reevaluated.

The mean attrition rate of Filipino freshmen from UH Manoa after the first semester was 6.7 percent, i.e., that proportion of each entering cohort between 1979 and 1981 did not enroll for the second semester at the University. However, based on other data that were obtained through interviews, some of those students later may have resumed their studies at UH Manoa or transferred to a community college or another university. At any rate, the first semester attrition rate of Filipinos was lower than that of Native Hawaiians (12.2%) but higher than that of Japanese (3.2%) and All (5.9%) students.

Filipino freshmen who were enrolled at UH Manoa for the entire first year performed more than satisfactorily on the whole. They had a mean grade point average of 2.43 compared to that of the Native Hawaiian (2.23), Japanese (2.64)

and All (2.61) FTF cohorts. Also, a substantial majority of Filipino freshmen (70.7%) had a GPA of 2.0 or above after their first year at the University, although this percentage was lower than that of Japanese (80.6%) and All (76.8%) students but higher than for Native Hawaiians (59.4%).

In terms of their academic status as determined by cumulative grade point average, a considerable majority of the Filipino FTF students (61.6%) experienced no academic difficulty (probation, suspension or dismissal) while attending UH Manoa. This percentage was below that of Japanese (73.7%) and All (72.3%) students but above that of Native Hawaiians (57.8%).

With regard to students ever placed on academic probation (cumulative GPA below 2.0), the Filipino FTF cohorts (27.7%) had a slightly greater mean proportion than Native Hawaiians (26.8%), Japanese (20.0%) and All students (20.3%). However, in terms of students ever academically suspended from the University, Filipinos (24.5%) were intermediate between Native Hawaiians (32.9%) on the one hand, and Japanese (16.2%) and All students (17.7%) on the other. Filipinos also had an intermediate ranking in terms of the mean percentage of students ever academically dismissed from UH Manoa: Filipinos (8.5%), Native Hawaiians (10.9%), Japanese (5.4%) and All students (5.6%).

Almost one-half (46.9%) of the Filipino FTF nongraduates of UH Manoa, that is, students who had not yet completed their bachelor's degrees or who had left the University, did not experience any academic difficulty, at least as evident from their cumulative GPAs, while at UH Manoa. This figure suggests that many Filipino students do not graduate from the University for nonacademic reasons, perhaps because of financial constraints or family commitments that require them to terminate their studies or because of transfer to another university. In comparison with the other groups, the Filipino percentage approximated that of Native Hawaiians (46.2%) but was lower than that of Japanese (53.7%) and All students (56.8%).

#### Graduation from UH Manoa

For reasons stated above, data on graduation from UH Manoa for only the 1979, 1980 and 1981 Filipino FTF cohorts were analyzed. The graduation rate of the 1981 FTF cohort was lower than that of the other two groups because the data available extended only through the 1985-86 academic year, i.e., for five years in the case of the 1981 cohort but for six and seven years for the 1980 and 1979 cohorts, respectively. The longer period of matriculation at UH Manoa

Table 4

Filipino, Native Hawaiian, Japanese and All First Time Freshman  
Graduates of UH Manoa: 1979-1981 Cohorts

	Filipino		Native Hawaiian		Japanese		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1979	119	49.6	86	33.7	1,025	66.1	2,201	56.9
1980	138	43.5	152	30.9	986	62.0	2,154	52.6
1981	146	27.4	160	21.3	976	42.2	2,231	36.9
Mean		40.2		28.6		56.8		48.8

reviewed for the latter two groups contributes to their higher rates of completion of college studies. For this reason, those rates are probably more representative of the ultimate graduation outcomes of the FTF cohorts than the tabulated means on graduation for the 1979, 1980 and 1981 groups discussed below.

A mean of about forty percent (40.2%) of the Filipino FTF cohorts was graduated from UH Manoa (see Table 4). However, with the passage of time, it can be conjectured that the eventual graduation rate of the three cohorts would exceed this percentage and approach or perhaps even surpass that of the 1979 cohort (49.6%). In contrast, the Native Hawaiian (28.6%) cohorts had a lower mean graduation rate, while the Japanese (56.8%) and All students (48.8%) cohorts had higher completion rates, all of which also can be expected to increase over time. For example, a study of the 1979 FTF cohort at UH Manoa over a seven year period found the following graduation rates: Chinese (70%), Filipinos (50%), Native Hawaiians (34%), Japanese (66%), Koreans (48%) and All students (56%) (Takeuchi 1988: 43).

Filipinos represented a mean of 5.0 percent of all FTF graduates of UH Manoa from the 1979-81 cohorts, a percentage which is slightly lower than their proportion (6.1%) of entering freshmen at the University between 1979 and 1981. Since more Filipinos from the 1980 and 1981 cohorts can be expected to have graduated, the actual difference between the above two percentages is probably minimal.

In comparison, Native Hawaiian FTF students comprised a mean of 3.5 percent of the FTF graduates from the three cohorts which is considerably lower than the 6.1 percent of entering UH Manoa freshmen between 1979 and 1981 that they represented. In contrast, Japanese students constituted 52.7 percent of the FTF graduates of the University which is substantially greater than the 45.4 percent of entering freshmen that they comprised from 1979 to 1981. Thus, in relation to their percentage of FTF students at UH Manoa, Filipinos are proportionately represented among FTF graduates, Native Hawaiians are underrepresented, and Japanese are overrepresented.

As for the schools and colleges of the University from which they were graduated, a plurality (41.6%) of Filipino FTF students were graduates of the College of Arts and Sciences. Filipinos also were graduated in significant percentages from the College of Business Administration (14.6%), School of Nursing (13.1%), College of Tropical Agriculture and Human Resources (10.9%), and College of Engineering (6.7%). Unfortunately, a somewhat low percentage of Filipino FTF students were graduates of the College of Education (5.0%) since Filipinos continue to be severely underrepresented as teachers in the Hawai'i public school system (3.6%) (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1989: A-3). Filipinos also were not especially well represented among graduates of the School of Travel Industry Management (3.1%) despite the substantial number of Filipino workers in the tourist industry in Hawai'i.

With regard to the other groups, they also had a plurality of their FTF graduates from the College of Arts and Sciences, and all had significant numbers of graduates from the Colleges of Business Administration, Engineering, Education, and Tropical Agriculture and Human Resources.

The Filipino FTF graduates of UH Manoa had a mean cumulative grade point average of 2.85. This figure was slightly lower than the GPA of Native Hawaiians (2.89), Japanese (3.06) and All students (3.04).

In terms of their academic status as determined by cumulative grade point average, 17.1 percent of the Filipino FTF graduates had been in some type of academic difficulty (probation or suspension) at some time during their undergraduate tenure at the University. This percentage was higher than that of the other groups: Native Hawaiians (13.7%), Japanese (11.7%) and All students (11.5%).

As for the number of years necessary to graduate from UH Manoa, for each of the Filipino FTF cohorts, a majority of graduates required at least five years to complete their bachelor's degrees. Of the Filipino graduates from the 1979

cohort, 59.4 percent required five years or less to finish their undergraduate studies. This percentage was higher than that for Native Hawaiians (55.1%) but lower than that for Japanese (68.8%) and All (68.7%) FTF graduates. The data also show clearly that less than one-fifth of the FTF graduates of the University are able to graduate in the traditional four year period. The extended period of study required for graduation is probably due to working while attending college.

To summarize the academic achievement characteristics of the Filipino FTF graduates of UH Manoa, they were likely to have had almost a "B" cumulative grade point average, not to have ever been in academic difficulty (probation or suspension), to have been graduated from the College of Arts and Sciences, and to have graduated in five years.

#### *Precollege Characteristics of Graduates*

The demographic and educational background characteristics prior to entering UH Manoa of the Filipino FTF graduates may indicate factors that can be correlated with academic success and thus which should be the focus of University concern. A majority of the graduates were females (61.9%) as was the case with their 1979-81 entering cohorts at roughly the same percentage. The other FTF graduates also were comprised of more women than men: Native Hawaiians (57.8%), Japanese (62.4%) and All graduates (60.8%). Native Hawaiian and Japanese females also appear to complete their degrees in a shorter period of time than their male counterparts.

A slight plurality of the Filipino FTF graduates were from the neighbor islands (35.5%) and were followed by those from rural O'ahu (34.8%) and Honolulu (26.8%), although only 29.8 percent of their 1979-81 FTF cohorts were from the neighbor islands. The higher graduation rate of neighbor island students might be attributed to their probable greater tendency to reside in University dormitories than students from Honolulu since campus residence has been found to be positively associated with undergraduate academic success. Dormitory residence provides students with facility of access to libraries, peer support networks, professors, computer laboratories and other campus facilities and academic activities.

There is a slight tendency for the Native Hawaiian FTF graduates to have rural O'ahu (38.5%) as their primary locale of permanent residence rather than Honolulu (36.1%) or the neighbor islands (25.4%). This residence pattern also was the case for the Native Hawaiian freshman cohorts between 1979 and 1981.

Table 5

Mean SAT Verbal Score of Filipino, Native Hawaiian, Japanese and All First Time Freshman Graduates of UH Manoa: 1979-1981 Cohorts

	Filipino		Native Hawaiian		Japanese		All	
	N	SAT	N	SAT	N	SAT	N	SAT
1979	56	399	25	440	660	433	1,228	433
1980	52	397	44	419	598	438	1,119	434
1981	37	395	32	403	409	432	800	427
Mean		397		421		434		431

The Japanese FTF graduates were primarily from Honolulu (44.8%), then rural O'ahu (29.9%) and the neighbor islands (24.2%) as were their 1979-81 FTF cohorts. Similarly, All FTF graduates were from Honolulu (46.4%), followed by rural O'ahu (27.2%) and the neighbor islands (19.1%) which also was the case with All FTF students between 1979 and 1981.

As for their high school educational background, the Filipino FTF graduates generally had higher educational achievement characteristics than their 1979-81 freshman cohorts. For example, the Filipino graduates had a mean high school grade point average of 3.36 which was somewhat higher than the mean GPA of the Filipino freshman cohorts between 1979 and 1981 (3.26). The Native Hawaiian (3.10), Japanese (3.26) and All (3.24) FTF graduates had lower mean high school GPAs than that of the Filipino graduates. The Filipino FTF graduates had a mean high school quintile rank of 4.80 which was considerably higher than that of Filipino freshmen between 1979 and 1981 (4.65). The quintile ranking of the Filipino graduates was much higher than that of the Native Hawaiian (4.21), Japanese (4.55) and All (4.51) FTF graduates.

The Filipino FTF graduates (84.4%) had a greater percentage of students in the fifth quintile of their high school graduating class than did the 1979-81 Filipino entering freshmen (74.2%). This percentage was substantially higher than that of the Native Hawaiian (48.2%), Japanese (68.2%) and All (65.2%) FTF graduates.

With regard to SAT scores, the Filipino FTF graduates (484) had a slightly higher mean SAT mathematics score than that of their 1979-81 entering freshman counterparts (472). They also had a similarly higher mean SAT verbal score (397) than Filipino freshmen between 1979 and 1981 (385) (see Table 5). The Filipino FTF graduates had a mean SAT combined score (881) somewhat greater than that of their 1979-81 freshman counterparts (854). Note that the SAT verbal score of the Filipino FTF graduates is well below the 430 standard for admission to UH Manoa and thus demonstrates that students who score below that standard are quite capable of graduating from the University.

In comparison with the other groups, the mean SAT scores, i.e., mathematics, verbal and combined, of the Filipino FTF graduates all were lower than those of the Native Hawaiian, Japanese and All FTF graduates. The mean SAT verbal score of the Native Hawaiian graduates (421) also was lower than the 430 admission criterion, while the scores for Japanese (434) and All (431) FTF graduates were only minimally higher, thus again bringing into question the relative significance of the SAT verbal standard for University admission.

A much higher proportion of the Filipino FTF graduates attended public high schools (88.0%) in Hawai'i than private high schools (8.7%) which also was the case for Filipino entering freshmen between 1979 and 1981. In contrast, Native Hawaiian (64.3%) FTF graduates generally attended private Hawai'i high schools, while Japanese (85.1%) and All (73.2%) FTF graduates primarily attended public high schools in Hawai'i.

Thus, in terms of their precollege demographic and educational background, the typical Filipino FTF graduate is female, is from the neighbor islands or rural O'ahu, had a "B+" grade point average in high school, was in the fifth quintile of his or her high school graduating class, had lower SAT scores than the other FTF graduates of UH Manoa and was graduated from a public high school in Hawai'i.

#### *Graduates and Nongraduates*

The precollege demographic and educational background characteristics of the 1979-81 Filipino FTF graduates can be compared with those of the Filipino FTF students from the same cohorts who did not graduate from UH Manoa. This comparison can delineate which, if any, of the background characteristics are potential predictors of graduation from the University for Filipino students and, conversely, which are not. Obviously, such information is relevant to University admission requirements and policies, particularly as they affect minority students.

The Filipino FTF nongraduates comprised a mean of 7.1 percent of the FTF students who did not graduate from UH Manoa. This percentage was higher than the representation of Filipinos among all FTF graduates (5.0%) and among all FTF students who entered the University between 1979 and 1981 (6.1%). Thus, Filipinos are slightly overrepresented among the FTF nongraduates of UH Manoa. Native Hawaiian nongraduates (8.4%) also were overrepresented among All FTF nongraduates, while Japanese nongraduates (37.8%) were considerably underrepresented in relation to their proportion of 1979-81 entering freshmen at the University (45.4%).

As were the Filipino FTF graduates, a majority of their nongraduates were females (56.7%). Native Hawaiian (51.8%) and Japanese (52.2%) FTF nongraduates tended to be men in contrast to their primarily female graduates, while All FTF nongraduates were almost equally divided between women (50.3%) and men.

The Filipino FTF nongraduates were predominantly from rural O'ahu (40.0%) in contrast to their graduates who had a slight tendency to be from the neighbor islands. Native Hawaiian FTF nongraduates tended to reside in rural O'ahu (47.5%) as was true of their graduates. Almost one-half of Japanese (48.3%) and All (46.8%) FTF nongraduates were from Honolulu as was the case with their graduates.

With regard to their high school educational attainment, the Filipino FTF nongraduates (3.19) had a considerably lower mean high school grade point average than both their graduates (3.36) and all entering Filipino freshmen at UH Manoa between 1979 and 1981 (3.26). The same general pattern also was true for the other FTF cohorts.

Similarly, in terms of high school quintile rank, the Filipino FTF nongraduates (4.53) had a lower ranking than their graduates (4.80) and the 1979-1981 Filipino freshmen (4.65). The same tendency also held for the other groups. A similar ranking pattern prevailed with regard to the percentage of the Filipino FTF nongraduates who were in the fifth quintile of their high school graduating class. This percentage was the lowest for the Filipino nongraduates (66.7%), was the highest for their graduates (84.4%), while their 1979-81 freshmen cohorts held an intermediate position (74.2%). The other FTF groups had the same general pattern as Filipinos.

As for SAT scores, the mean SAT mathematics score of the Filipino FTF nongraduates (466) was lower than that of their graduates (484). The nongraduates of the other groups also had lower mean mathematics scores than their respective

Table 6

Mean SAT Verbal Score of Filipino, Native Hawaiian, Japanese and All First Time Freshman Non-Graduates of UH Manoa: 1979-1981 Cohorts

	Filipino		Native Hawaiian		Japanese		All	
	N	SAT	N	SAT	N	SAT	N	SAT
1979	50	377	44	399	310	420	870	430
1980	62	382	81	419	336	430	909	427
1981	95	370	104	413	532	423	1,247	422
Mean	376		410		424		426	

graduates. The mean SAT verbal score of the Filipino FTF nongraduates (376) was also below that of their graduates (397) (see Table 6). As for the other groups, the difference in the SAT verbal scores of graduates and nongraduates was only 11 points for Native Hawaiians, 10 points for Japanese and only 5 points for All students with the graduates having higher scores in all three cases. These essentially minimal differences between graduates and nongraduates, particularly for All FTF students, clearly negate the supposed significance of the SAT verbal score as a predictive indicator of not only satisfactory academic performance in college but also of graduation.

The mean SAT combined score of the Filipino FTF nongraduates (836) was lower than that of their graduates (881). This pattern also was the case for the other FTF cohorts. However, the difference in the SAT combined scores of FTF graduates and nongraduates was only 31 points for All students, was 32 points for Native Hawaiians and was even smaller for Japanese (27 points), again raising questions concerning the predictive validity of SAT scores for academic performance and graduation.

A majority of the Filipino FTF nongraduates attended public high schools in Hawai'i (80.6%) as was also true of their graduates. Similarly, the Japanese (76.6%) and All FTF nongraduates (61.8%) were predominantly from Hawai'i public high schools as was the case with their graduates, although in greater proportions. In contrast, a majority of Native Hawaiian FTF nongraduates (58.7%) attended private high schools in Hawai'i as was also the case for their graduates.

### Community College Transfers

The following section is concerned with the academic achievement of Filipino students at UH Manoa who had transferred to the University from a local community college. In order to compare the educational attainment of community college transfer (CCT) and first time freshman students at UH Manoa, the discussion is focused on three cohorts of CCT students. These groups are defined in terms of the year that the CCT students were graduated from high school, i.e., 1979, 1980 and 1981. Thus, the CCT cohorts are somewhat comparable to the three groups of FTF students discussed above that entered UH Manoa in 1979, 1980 and 1981. However, the students in a given CCT cohort transferred to UH Manoa in different years and thus vary in terms of the number of years they were enrolled in the University.

#### *Precollege Background*

At UH Manoa much less information is available on the demographic and high school background of community college transfer students than of first time freshmen. For example, limited data have been recorded on the high school GPA and SAT scores of CCT students, although they may not have taken the SAT since it is not required for admission to community colleges in Hawai'i.

A mean of 77 Filipino students from each of the high school graduating classes between 1979 and 1981 transferred to UH Manoa from the community colleges. They comprised a mean of 9.0 percent of all such CCT students at the University which was intermediate between the proportion of Native Hawaiian (7.1%) and Japanese (37.3%) transfer students.

A slight majority of the Filipino CCT students were females (51.5%) as was the case with their FTF students. In contrast, Native Hawaiian (54.0%) and All CCT students (51.1%) were primarily males, while Japanese were equally represented by both sexes. Over three-fourths (76.9%) of the Filipino CCT students were graduated from public high schools in Hawai'i which also was true of their FTF counterparts. In contrast, almost one-half (49.9%) of the Native Hawaiian CCT students was graduated from private high schools in Hawai'i, while Japanese (88.0%) and All (67.9%) CCT students were predominantly graduates of local public high schools.

#### *Educational Achievement at the Community Colleges*

The data in this section are limited to the cumulative credits earned by the transfer students while at the community colleges. The Filipino CCT students

Table 7

Filipino, Native Hawaiian, Japanese and All Community College Transfer Students Graduated from UH Manoa: 1979-1981 High School Graduates

	Filipino		Native Hawaiian		Japanese		All	
	N	SAT	N	SAT	N	SAT	N	SAT
1979	79	24.1	68	39.7	307	36.5	891	32.4
1980	76	19.7	66	15.2	357	31.9	911	28.8
1981	75	12.0	48	12.5	290	13.5	767	14.3
Mean	18.6		22.5		27.3		25.2	

transferred to UH Manoa with a mean of 40.6 credits. This figure represents a little more than three full time semesters (12 credits per term) of study, although a majority of community college students attend on a part time basis. The mean number of transfer credits of Filipinos was quite comparable to that of Native Hawaiian (40.3), Japanese (41.8) and All (40.9) CCT students.

With regard to the year when the Filipino CCT students transferred to the University, a plurality (30.4%) of the 1979 high school graduates enrolled at UH Manoa in 1982, three years after leaving high school. However, of the 1980 and 1981 high school graduates, a plurality of students in each group transferred two years after graduating from high school. As for the other groups, in general, their transfer patterns to UH Manoa were quite similar to that of Filipinos.

#### *Graduation from UH Manoa*

A mean of 18.6 percent of the Filipino CCT students from each of the high school graduating classes was graduated from the University (see Table 7). The graduation rates of the 1980 and 1981 high school graduates are considerably lower than that of the 1979 graduates (24.1%) because the data available for our study extended only through the 1985-86 academic year, that is, for five and six years for the 1981 and 1980 groups, respectively, compared with seven years for the 1979 cohort. Thus, the actual graduation rate of the Filipino transfer students can be assumed to have increased over time and probably approximates that of the 1979 cohort.

In comparison with the other CCT groups, the mean graduation percentage of Filipinos was the lowest: Native Hawaiians (22.5%), Japanese (27.3%) and All CCT students (25.2%). The graduation rate of the 1979 Filipino high school graduates serves as an indication of the potential academic success of Filipino CCT students at UH Manoa. This low percentage (24.1%) denotes that the average Filipino CCT student does not graduate from the University as is also the case for all other community college transfer students.

The Filipino FTF students had a much higher graduation rate (40.2%) than their CCT counterparts. The same also is true for the Native Hawaiian, Japanese and All FTF students with the latter two groups having completion rates about twice as high as their respective CCT counterparts. Thus, it is clear that first time freshman students have much greater chances of graduating from UH Manoa than do community college transfer students.

As for their absolute and relative representation among CCT graduates of the University, a mean of 14 Filipino CCT students was graduated from each of the three high school graduating cohorts. They comprised a mean of 6.9 percent of the CCT graduates which is lower than the Filipino representation among all CCT students (9.0%). The minimal mean number of Filipino CCT graduates compared to the annual mean number of their FTF graduates (53) belies the claim made that the community colleges serve to prepare students, particularly those of ethnic minority background, for eventual transfer to and graduation from a baccalaureate degree granting institution. There are three times as many Filipinos (3,794) in the six community colleges in Hawai'i as there are Filipino undergraduates at UH Manoa, although not all of the former intend to earn a bachelor's degree (IRO 1991: 13). Nonetheless, the mean number of Filipinos from a given high school graduating class that eventually will transfer to the University (77) from the local community colleges is less than 60 percent of the mean number of Filipino students in a given FTF cohort (134). Furthermore, students from UH Manoa, UH Hilo and UH West O'ahu also transfer to the community colleges (at an annual mean rate of 842 students between 1979 and 1984), thus offsetting community college transfers to those baccalaureate granting universities (OIRA 1985b: 26).

Studies on the U.S. mainland have found that while three-fourths of community college freshmen intend to earn a bachelor's degree, only one-fourth actually do so (Astin 1982: 192). Similarly, the supposedly "open door" admission policy of community colleges in Hawai'i is actually a closed door for the great majority of their students who hope to transfer to and graduate from a four year institution. This situation is especially significant for minority students



such as Filipinos (17.4%) and Native Hawaiians (11.4%) given their much higher enrollment in the community colleges than at UH Manoa (IRO 1991: 13). Filipino and other students of any ethnic background would increase substantially their probability of graduating with a bachelor's degree if they begin their undergraduate studies at a four year university rather than at a community college. Therefore, the University should increase its recruitment and admission of minority students as first time freshmen rather than assume that their significant community college enrollment is an indication of their eventual transfer to and graduation from UH Manoa.

As for the other groups, a mean of 14 Native Hawaiian CCT students from each of the 1979-81 high school graduating classes was graduated from the University. They represented an overall mean of 6.2 percent of the CCT graduates, a percentage which is slightly lower than that of the Native Hawaiian CCT students at UH Manoa (7.1%). In contrast to the above groups, the mean of 88 Japanese CCT graduates constituted 39.4 percent of all transfer graduates which is a little higher than their mean proportion of All CCT students (37.3%). In sum, as is the case with the FTF graduates, relative to their percentage of CCT students at UH Manoa, Filipinos and Native Hawaiians were slightly underrepresented among CCT graduates, while Japanese were minimally overrepresented.

With regard to their academic achievement at UH Manoa, the Filipino CCT graduates had a mean cumulative grade point average of 2.76 which was comparable to that attained by the Native Hawaiian (2.79), Japanese (2.88) and All (2.88) CCT graduates. It also approximated the cumulative GPA of the Filipino FTF graduates (2.85).

The Filipino CCT graduates earned more cumulative credits at UH Manoa than the other groups: Filipinos (99.8), Native Hawaiians (88.2), Japanese (94.1) and All graduates (92.4). This result is partially due to their also having the highest number of cumulative credits carried at the University: Filipinos (101.9), Native Hawaiians (90.1), Japanese (96.7) and All graduates (94.7). The difference between the number of credits earned and credits carried by the Filipino transfer graduates (2.1) is one of the lowest of all the groups and indicates that they had minimal academic difficulty in terms of enrolling in courses for which they received no credit. However, the high number of credits carried by the Filipino CCT graduates might denote that they enrolled in several courses that ultimately were not required for them to graduate.

The mean number of community college transfer credits of the Filipino CCT graduates (40.2) is the lowest of all the groups: Native Hawaiians (47.4), Japanese (40.6) and All graduates (42.3). It would require somewhat more than three semesters of full time enrollment (12 credits per semester) at a community college to earn the transfer credits of the Filipino CCT graduates and eight full time semesters or four academic years of study to gain their cumulative credits at UH Manoa. Thus, it can be estimated that Filipino CCT graduates require about five and a half years of full time study in order to graduate from the University which is a semester longer than the five years generally required by the Filipino FTF graduates.

In sum, the typical Filipino community college transfer student who graduates from UH Manoa is female, was graduated from a public high school in Hawai'i, earned credits at a community college equivalent to more than three semesters of full time study before transferring to UH Manoa, earns credits at the University equivalent to about four years of full time enrollment, has a "B-" cumulative GPA at UH Manoa, is graduated from the College of Arts and Sciences, and requires a cumulative total of about five and a half years of full time study in order to graduate. In comparison with All CCT students, the Filipino transfer students are almost as likely to graduate from UH Manoa, although they have a much lower probability of graduating than their FTF counterparts.

## Discussion

The description above reviewed the educational status of Filipino first time freshman and community college transfer students at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa between 1979 and 1986 in terms of their precollege demographic and educational background and their academic achievement and graduation from the University. The comparatively lower educational status and achievement of both Filipino first time freshman and community college transfer students, particularly with regard to graduation from the University, were clearly established. In comparison to Japanese and All students, Filipinos tend to earn lower grades, have a higher attrition rate from UH Manoa, 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.

However, on a more positive note, it was shown that Filipino FTF students have the highest high school grade point average of all entering freshmen at UH

Manoa, although they also have the lowest SAT scores. This disparity in precollege achievement characteristics can be attributed to University admissions policies that have the ultimate effect of restricting Filipino entry to UH Manoa. While Filipino students with sufficiently high SAT scores and high school GPAs are being admitted to the University, it appears that students with adequate high school GPAs (>2.5) but with low SAT scores are being denied admission, and those with low SAT scores but with very high GPAs have a greater chance of being admitted. This admissions procedure may account for Filipinos having the highest high school GPA of all entering freshmen, but it also denies entry to Filipino and other students who probably could graduate from UH Manoa as indicated by their high school GPA. The study mentioned above of the 1979 FTF cohort at UH Manoa found that Filipino students with high school GPAs of 3.0 and above had a much higher graduation rate (58%) than students with GPAs below 3.0 (35%) (Takeuchi 1988: 35). Similarly substantial differences in graduation rates between students with high school GPAs of 3.0 and higher and those below 3.0 also were evident among Native Hawaiians (49% vs. 24%) and Japanese (74% vs. 55%). These findings suggest that high school grade point average may be a more significant criterion for admission to the University than SAT scores. It was shown above that SAT scores do not appear to be a valid predictor of academic performance in college. That is, a substantial majority of All FTF students who had SAT verbal scores of less than 430, the minimum standard for admission to the University, are quite capable of satisfactory academic achievement as evident from their college GPAs. It also was established that the SAT verbal and combined scores of FTF students do not discriminate significantly between graduates and nongraduates of UH Manoa, and therefore their relative salience as admission criteria should be reassessed. 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 into the University (see Cablas article in this volume).

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 of the cumulative academic qualifications or intelligence of individual Filipino students. These constraints restrict Filipino access to higher education even prior to entry into the University as evident in their SAT scores and the importance attributed to them as admission criteria. The relatively lower SAT scores of Filipino students are an indication that they are educationally disadvantaged by and therefore do not benefit equally from the public school system in Hawai'i rather

than that they lack the necessary academic skills and aptitude for college studies. The lower levels of educational achievement and graduation of Filipinos from the University also are largely attributable to institutional obstacles rather than to their academic deficiencies. These barriers include the limited number of Filipino faculty and students at UH Manoa, cultural differences in behavioral norms and values and thus in teaching and learning styles between faculty and students, and students' perceptions of prejudice and discrimination on the part of faculty and the administration. Other obstacles that have been identified as hindering Filipino access to higher education include financial difficulties, inaccurate measures of academic ability, the underpreparation of high school and community college students, and articulation problems in the transfer process from the community colleges (Agbayani and Takeuchi 1987: 7-9; UH Task Force on Filipinos 1988: 28-29). For example, in terms of financial barriers, even though the University has relatively low tuition fees compared to other public supported universities, a survey of 1985 UH Manoa freshmen found that 66 percent of Filipinos and 52 percent of Native Hawaiians were "much" concerned about their finances in college compared to only 35 percent of Japanese students (Takeuchi 1988: 40).

It was noted above that Filipino females outnumbered their male counterparts among FTF students and graduates and CCT graduates of UH Manoa. This gender pattern also prevailed among Native Hawaiian, Japanese and All FTF students. The greater representation of women among students and graduates of the University also can be explained by structural factors instead of by differences in academic abilities and aptitude between males and females. It has been argued that, given the considerable employment opportunities in Hawai'i for Japanese men that are not necessarily dependent on higher education, they may not have to obtain a college degree as much as Japanese women (Takeuchi 1988: 22). The latter, however, may perceive that they need to have a degree in order to compete effectively in the male dominated employment market. In contrast, males of subordinate groups, such as Filipinos and Native Hawaiians, may receive little or no encouragement to enter the professions or management, and this may deter their achievement in school and aspirations for college (Takeuchi 1988: 22). Filipino and Native Hawaiian females, on the other hand, have higher graduation rates than their respective male counterparts because they may expect greater benefits from a college education and may perceive greater occupational opportunities within a larger structural context in which Filipinos and Native Hawaiians are substantially underrepresented in the higher status occupations.

Ultimately, the structural constraints that restrict Filipino educational status and achievement at the University derive their force from the stratification by

ethnicity inherent in the wider Hawai'i society (Okamura 1990). The lower educational status of Filipinos in the University is a direct reflection of their subordinate socioeconomic status in the larger ethnic stratification order. While the educational system in Hawai'i, including both private and publicly supported schools and universities, can be viewed ideally as providing a means for upward social mobility, it is apparent that it also serves to reinforce the stratification order by limiting the access of Filipinos and other minority groups to higher education and thus to higher occupational and income statuses. Conversely, the educational system appears to prepare the socioeconomically dominant groups, such as Japanese, Chinese and Whites, for professional, managerial and other high status occupations denied to the subordinate groups.

### Conclusion

Despite the generally discouraging analysis of Filipino educational status and achievement presented above, it is more than likely that Filipinos will increase their absolute and relative representation at the University of Hawai'i and in higher education in general in the immediate future. This trend has been progressively apparent for over the past decade as Filipino students have steadily gained in numbers and proportion at UH Manoa from 616 (2.9%) in 1977 to 1,488 (7.9%) in 1990 (OIRA 1985b: 13; IRO 1991: 13). Filipinos have been increasing their representation at UH Manoa by about 0.5 percent annually for the past several years, despite the institutional obstacles discussed above that limit their access and persistence in the University. To some extent, this relative increase can be attributed to the declining enrollment of other ethnic groups, particularly Japanese, such that UH Manoa enrollment has decreased since 1983. Nonetheless, Filipinos have had a 31 percent gain at the University since 1986, the largest by far of Hawai'i's ethnic groups (IRO 1991: 16). This trend clearly demonstrates that substantial numbers of Filipino students would like to study at the University of Hawai'i if only greater and more equitable educational opportunities are made available to them.

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# Filipino Recruitment and Retention at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa

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This article is concerned with the recruitment and retention of Filipino students at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. The research study for this paper had three objectives. The first objective was to identify the various obstacles that a Filipino student faces in seeking higher education, i.e., recruitment barriers. Studies have shown that there are many such obstacles that Filipino students encounter in entering college such as financial barriers, lack of effective outreach programs, underpreparation in high school, articulation problems with the community colleges, and lack of educational role models (Agbayani and Takeuchi 1987; UH Task Force on Filipinos 1988).

The second objective of our research was to determine the obstacles faced by Filipino students in remaining at the University. Our approach to analyze the retention situation for Filipinos was first to review the various aspects of the problem for students. For example, what was their socioeconomic background, were they the first generation of college students in their family, did they receive any moral or financial support from their parents, how were their financial needs to remain in college met, and what kinds of academic problems did they encounter and how did they address them.

The third objective of our study was to develop recommendations on approaching and overcoming the recruitment and retention obstacles faced by Filipino students. For example, based on our review of the literature, one possible suggestion is that the University focus its recruitment efforts on high school sophomores and juniors since it is to the students' advantage to set their future educational goals prior to their senior year. Some may argue that the sophomore year is a bit early for students to be planning for higher education. However, sufficient college preparation requires several years of planning. Also, the well prepared student will not feel as much pressure in the senior year in high school as the others who did not consider college until their last year.

## Methodology

During the Fall 1989 semester, we drafted a five page questionnaire which consisted of questions on the high school background of students and on their

academic experiences in college. The questionnaire included both objective and open ended questions. It was pretested on five Filipino students at UH Manoa who were not enrolled in any Filipino language or culture courses. After the pretest, some adjustments were made to the questionnaire. For instance, the open ended questions were interspersed between the multiple choice questions so that the respondents would fully complete the former questions. Administering the pretest also allowed us to determine the appropriate amount of time needed to complete the questionnaire which was about 15 to 20 minutes. In general, the questions asked referred to recruitment to UH Manoa, retention activities to remain in the University, and recommendations to improve the recruitment and retention of Filipino students at the University.

To obtain our sample of Filipino students, we originally planned on visiting Psychology 100 courses or randomly selecting participants from the student files of Operation Manong (a UH Manoa support services program for Filipino students), but both ideas were not feasible. The Psychology classes would not have had sufficient numbers of Filipino students, and by randomly selecting students from the Operation Manong files, our chances of reaching juniors and seniors, our intended sample group, would have been restricted. The reason for focusing on juniors and seniors as the respondents was because of their probably greater experiences with recruitment and retention obstacles and with developing solutions and strategies to meet them than younger students.

Through the assistance and cooperation of Philippine language instructors, the questionnaire was distributed in several of their classes at the University only to students who identified themselves as Filipino and who were willing to complete the questionnaire. We believed that this procedure would result in a combination of both immigrant and American born Filipino students in our sample. Five Tagalog and Ilokano language classes were surveyed which resulted in a total of 45 completed questionnaires. The instructions to the students were stated on the questionnaire itself. We verbally told them the purpose of the survey and stressed the confidentiality of their responses. The last 15 to 20 minutes of class time were used to complete the questionnaire.

The last question of the survey requested students interested in assisting us further with our research project through a personal interview to write their name and telephone number. Nineteen of the 45 students (42.2%) were willing to be interviewed. Initially we tried to interview junior and senior students but found it necessary to interview a few sophomores as well. Given the unbalanced male to female ratio of Filipino students at UH Manoa, six females and four males

were selected to be interviewed. The interviews were approximately 30 to 45 minutes long and were tape recorded with the students' consent. Questions that were asked included: "What obstacles did you face in entering and remaining in college?;" "How did you cope with these obstacles?;" "Do you have any recommendations for improving the education of Filipino students at UH Manoa?" Written notes of some of their previous responses on the questionnaire were used as prompts for the students to explain and expand their ideas verbally in the interview. Interviewing students was an important part of our research since it allowed for intimate conversations with Filipino students who are concerned with the educational progress and welfare of our ethnic group.

The following section discusses the results obtained in our survey. The first section is concerned with the high school and socioeconomic background of the students and the second section with their academic status and experiences in college.

### Pre-College Background

The questionnaire sample totaled 45 respondents, 24 of whom were males (53.3%) and 21 were females (46.7%). This result was not expected since there are more Filipino females at the University than males (Institutional Research Office 1991: 29).

The students were graduated from 25 different high schools. Thirty-six students attended public high schools (80.0%) and 9 were from private schools (20.0%). Three-fourths of the students were graduated from an O'ahu high school, 13.3 percent from a neighbor island school, 6.7 percent from a U.S. mainland school, and one student each from high schools in Guam and the Philippines. There was a ten year span in terms of the year the students were graduated from high school (1979 to 1989). The largest number of graduates in a given year was in 1988 (28.8%).

The students were asked who influenced them to attend college. Over forty percent (41.5%) gave their parents as the most influential persons, while other persons cited were high school counselors (18.4%), high school teachers (13.8%) and other relatives (10.7%). Our anticipated finding that parents generally encouraged their children to work right out of high school was not quite accurate for this sample group. Of course, we also have to take into consideration those who are working instead of attending college who were not reached in our survey.

All 45 students in the survey had parents with some kind of formal education. Their fathers' educational background ranged from elementary school (24.4%) to high school graduate (24.4%) and college graduate (22.2%). Four of the fathers even attended graduate school (8.8%). Very similar results were found for the mothers' educational level: elementary school (22.2%), high school graduate (24.4%), college graduate (24.4%) and attended graduate school (11.1%). These results indicate that not only parents who are college graduates are concerned about their children's educational future. It did not matter if their parents' highest educational level was elementary school, high school or college; the students still were most influenced to pursue higher education by their parents.

In reviewing the parents' occupations, the fathers were craft workers (26.6%), service workers (24.4%), professionals (17.7%), laborers (13.3%) and managers/administrators (4.4%). The mothers were in the professions (24.4%), craft or skilled work (17.7%), laboring jobs (15.5%), administration (8.8%), operative or semiskilled work (8.8%) and service work (6.6%). Seven of the mothers (15.5%) were not employed, whereas all of the fathers were employed. Almost two-thirds of the fathers had blue collar kinds of jobs, while the mothers were predominantly in professional and skilled work. These findings were not expected since we thought that a majority of the parents would be in service work such as room maids and food service workers in the tourist industry. Examples of the professional positions of the parents included medical doctors, electrical engineers, registered nurses, teachers and an economist.

A little more than half (51.1%) of the parents had a combined annual income under \$35,000. A majority of the students thus come from low to middle income families. Most of the parents were in the \$25,000 to \$29,999 (15.5%) and the \$30,000 to \$34,999 (13.3%) income brackets. A few families were in the \$5,000 to \$9,999 range (6.6%). The highest annual income for one family was \$70,000. However, over one-third (35.5%) of the students did not know their parents' combined income.

### In-College Background

The students had majors in the Colleges of Arts and Sciences, Business Administration, Education, Engineering, Health Sciences and Social Welfare, and Tropical Agriculture and Human Resources. A plurality (28.8%) of the students were in Arts and Sciences (e.g., Political Science and Sociology), while substantial numbers were also majoring in Business Administration (26.6%) and

in Health Sciences and Social Welfare (e.g., Nursing and Social Work) (20.0%). Significant percentages of the students were in Education (8.8%) and Engineering (8.8%).

The students had a wide range of cumulative grade point averages (GPA) from 2.00 to 4.00 with a plurality of them having a GPA of 3.00 or better.

We initially intended to focus our study particularly on juniors and seniors. However, due to the difficulty in finding respondents in only those two grade levels, the students ranged from freshmen to seniors. Nonetheless, the two largest groups were juniors (33.3%) and sophomores (35.5%).

There was a notable finding concerning the highest degree that the students planned to obtain. Over forty percent (44.4%) of the students wished to earn a master's degree, while about one-fourth (26.7%) hope to obtain a bachelor's degree. Lower percentages of the students planned to obtain a professional diploma (8.9%), juris doctorate (8.9%) or doctorate (11.1%). A professional diploma certifies one to teach in the State of Hawai'i educational system. In the College of Education, Filipinos represent only 6.0 percent of the undergraduate and graduate students (Institutional Research Office 1990: 2). Therefore, it can already be seen that within five years the number of Filipino teachers will increase very little. It also is clearly evident that not many Filipino students desire to earn a degree higher than a master's which implies that the number of potential Filipino faculty members will remain low. But because most of the students are young (18-23 years old), they may later decide to seek a doctorate and to pursue an academic career.

One of the primary obstacles for entering and remaining in college is financial need. One way to deal with this problem is to work while attending college. Two-thirds (68.8%) of the students were employed on a part-time basis. The number of work hours ranged from 6.5 to 30 hours per week with a majority of the students working between 15 and 20 hours. Another way that students can cope with their financial needs is by applying for financial assistance. There are different forms of financial aid such as Pell grants, guaranteed student loans, work-study grants, State and private scholarships, and tuition waiver awards. Almost one-third (31.1%) of the students reported that they were not receiving any type of financial assistance, while the others were on tuition waiver (35.6%), scholarship (17.1%) or work-study (8.8%) or had a loan or some other type of financial aid such as Veteran's benefits (6.7%). While one of the greatest obstacles for Filipino students in pursuing a college degree is financial in nature, the significant percentage of the students who were not beneficiaries of financial

aid could be explained by their not being aware of the various forms of assistance available or by their not qualifying. However, a majority of the students had parents with an annual income below \$35,000 and therefore should be eligible for some form of financial aid. As for guaranteed student loans or work-study grants, many students may not be aware of these other options, or they may not be attracting applicants.

With regard to where the students were residing, the greatest number was staying in a campus dormitory (44.4%). The next highest group was living with their parents or relatives (42.2%), and the remaining students resided in off campus accommodations (13.3%). Living on campus can have beneficial academic results for students primarily because of their proximity to university facilities and activities. The UH Manoa dormitories are within walking distance of the central campus. Living on campus, a student can easily study at the library, work at the computer and science labs, and meet with friends for a study group. In one of the interviews, a student said that commuting from Waipahu was one of his biggest obstacles in staying in college because of the considerable time taken up by traveling to and from the University.

### Recruitment to UH Manoa

As noted above, the students indicated that the persons who influenced them to attend college were primarily their parents and high school counselors and teachers. No student indicated a specific Filipino role model such as a public figure or professional as influencing their decision to seek a college education. Our own ideas as to who would be considered a role model did not correlate with the views of the respondents since we had initially thought a role model to be an elected official or a public individual of some sort. The students' not reporting a Filipino public figure could mean one of two things: either they are not aware of such Filipino professionals, or there is an insufficient number of Filipino professionals who are recognized as role models.

Based on our literature review, we identified various obstacles that a Filipino student encounters in entering college. We thought that financial need would be the most significant problem for them, and indeed almost one-half (48.0%) of the students said that financial need was the greatest obstacle they faced in entering college. The second most significant barrier they reported was lack of information on college (26.0%). Only 2 percent of the students said that lack of family encouragement was their biggest obstacle.

There were many significant responses given by the students concerning the ways they approached their greatest barrier when they entered UH Manoa. The most common way of dealing with these problems was to initiate action on their own to address them. For example, students said, "I had to learn on my own through experience;" "I attended the college fair;" "I obtained course outlines and application forms;" "I saved my money since my freshman year in high school;" "It was a big shock! I just learned to adapt quickly." While we believe that every Filipino student has the capability and initiative to act on these various obstacles, support services should be provided by the University to assist them.

The second most frequently given response in coping with recruitment barriers was that students applied for financial aid to meet their college expenses. The third most commonly reported means of overcoming obstacles was to join various student support services programs such as the College Opportunities Program or summer college preparatory programs.

#### Retention at UH Manoa

The most significant problems that the students reported facing in remaining in college were academic problems (25.3%), financial barriers (20.6%), lack of a support system (19.0%) and lack of role models (9.5%). Other obstacles mentioned included "lack of self motivation," "stress," "no guidance," "burn-out" and "no one to teach me about the system."

A majority of the students (60.0%) reported having no problems with their studies at UH Manoa, while the remainder (40.0%) requested assistance of some kind. The major areas in which these students stated that they needed help were time management, failing grades, comprehension of text material, taking notes, and being assertive in large lecture classes. A few students also expressed concern with the high student to teacher ratio at the University and for the need for more encouragement and a sense of direction in their major field.

Regarding classroom situations, the students indicated that they feel most comfortable in smaller classes which allow for one-to-one interaction between the instructor and individual students and in classes with other Filipino students to help them feel accepted and not intimidated by being the only Filipino in class. They also preferred instructors with innovative teaching methods to break the boredom of straight lecturing.

#### Recommendations

##### *Recruitment*

The third objective of our study was to develop recommendations on approaching and overcoming the recruitment and retention obstacles for Filipino students. Financial need was found to be the greatest recruitment barrier for Filipino students, and so the first recommendation is that students should be informed about and encouraged to apply for financial assistance even if they believe they may not qualify. By submitting the financial aid form students can receive: 1) Pell grants - money that does not have to be paid back to the federal government; 2) guaranteed student loans - funds that the student does not have to begin paying back until six months after graduating from college; and 3) work-study grants - campus employment opportunities. Oftentimes students ask, "Where do I begin to find information on scholarships?" High school counselors should have knowledge of locally available scholarships. Also, State and privately funded scholarships are listed in a book which is published each year by the State Department of Education called *Bulletin 15*. Each high school and the public libraries should have a copy of this book. We also recommend that the University continue to have scholarships, tuition waivers and other forms of financial aid available specifically for Filipino students. On its part, the Filipino community should establish more scholarships like the Justice Ben Menor Scholarship sponsored by the Operation Manong Alumni Association.

The second greatest recruitment obstacle for Filipino students was the lack of information on college. Many of the respondents said that they dealt with this problem by taking the initiative themselves to obtain the information they required. Our recommendation to the University is that more UH students, professors and representatives of campus organizations such as Operation Manong should go to the high schools and inform and recruit students to UH Manoa. Many Filipino students have entered UH Manoa with the help of organizations on campus such as Operation Manong, the College Opportunities Program, the Upward Bound Program and the Fil-Am Students Club. These organizations should continue to meet with high school students and inform them about the programs and services available at the University because it is evident that they have benefited many students. We also recommend that individual colleges and departments at UH Manoa send a Filipino faculty or student representative to talk about their degree programs with high school students.



High schools should designate a college counselor and a college information office at each school. If a high school already has a college counselor, his/her services should be made known to the students so that all seniors have the opportunity to meet with the college counselor. About three-fourths (73.3%) of the students indicated that their high school offered some kind of preparatory training for taking the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). All schools should offer specific training for the SAT examination given the importance which has been attributed to SAT scores as admission criteria.

In terms of higher education, it must be understood that the cultural background of Filipino and other minority students is such that they need a little encouragement and support from the community. If the education of Filipino students is to be enhanced, support services have to be made more available to them. We believe that every Filipino student is capable of becoming whatever they desire, but it must be remembered that they need assistance. The only way that there can be an increase in Filipino enrollment at the University is to have Filipino college students, faculty, administrators and community leaders work together for the benefit of future Filipino university students.

It does not seem that lack of family encouragement to attend college is a major problem for Filipino students. Given the parents' encouragement, we recommend that more parent information sessions on college admission, financial aid and degree programs be conducted at all high schools. These sessions will enable parents and students to understand and communicate better with each other about the student's future education. Parents should become actively involved in their child's education by having an understanding of their aspirations and career plans.

The students said that more Filipinos can be encouraged to attend college by recruiting, informing and supporting them at the high school level. Accordingly, Filipino role models, such as educators, politicians and businessmen, should speak at the high schools. More importantly, in order to have Filipino teachers in the private and public schools serve as immediate role models to students, there is a need for more Filipino college students to be interested in teaching as a career. We recommend having Filipino Education majors recruit high school students into teaching.

Lastly, a very important recommendation to high school students is to develop self motivation and individual effort. Students must realize that others will not always be there to give them information. Therefore we ask that all high school students take the initiative to obtain information on their own by seeking

out counselors and teachers, joining various organizations in high school such as Fil-Am clubs, taking part in the Sariling Gawa leadership conference and by asking college students for information about college.

### *Retention*

As stated above, the biggest obstacle faced by Filipino students in remaining at UH Manoa concerned academic problems. In response to this barrier, very few students sought assistance from campus organizations such as Operation Manong or the Learning Assistance Center (LAC). Other students relied on their friends for support such as in study groups or by taking courses from certain instructors recommended by their friends. More information should be made available so that Filipino and other minority students seek assistance from student services programs that can help them to continue at UH Manoa.

Many freshman students can become easily discouraged by their first semester's grades, not realizing that the adjustment from high school to the University is not that easy, especially when 80 percent of Filipino students were graduated from a public high school where the curriculum may not have been as difficult as at a private school. The LAC is a wonderful resource in teaching students basic college skills such as time management, notes taking, test taking, research paper development, and writing skills. Students should also be informed about other services on campus such as the writing, mathematics and computer labs, academic advising and personal tutoring. Lastly, another excellent means of assistance is to meet with the Teaching Assistant (TA) for extra help in a course. Only one student reported using the TA for help, and not one student mentioned seeing the course instructor directly for additional instruction or assistance. The reason for this could be the intimidation factor for minority students of approaching a White male professor, especially since the great majority of the professors on the UH Manoa campus are White males. Students must be encouraged to be more assertive and aggressive in the classroom setting and in their relationships with instructors.

The second most frequently reported retention obstacle was financial need. Students already have enough responsibilities keeping up with their courses, yet wondering where the next semester's tuition and housing fees are going to come from can be a constant source of stress. Operation Manong and the Centers for Hawaiian Studies and for Women Studies are a few of the units on campus which offer minority students tuition waivers or other kinds of financial aid, but there should be more assistance available to minorities especially since tuition is only part of the cost of attending college. Therefore we recommend that more



educational seminars be presented to parents and the Filipino community to make them better aware of the financial assistance available and perhaps to help them establish new scholarship programs within the community.

The third concern reported by the students in remaining in college was the lack of support systems. This concern has many different forms, for example, the lack of fellow Filipino students on the UH Manoa campus, feeling unassociated in some way with the other students, not feeling accepted because of differences in culture and economic background, not having any minority faculty or staff to help them with their courses and not having bilingual tutors available to assist them. The recommendation in this case is to establish a peer support system similar to Operation Manong's Buddy-Buddy program which provides a "big brother" or "big sister" to incoming students at UH Manoa whether freshmen or community college transfers. For some students, just having a friend with a common background helps them to make the adjustment to the large campus. To see familiar faces on campus and to have a few close friends would make any student feel much more accepted and comfortable. This is especially true for Filipinos since they comprise just 7.9 percent of UH Manoa students (IRO 1991: 18). Both faculty and students of other ethnic groups need to see the importance of and be sensitive to the very real adjustment problems which Filipinos face as minority students at the University.

With regard to instructors, the recommendations are for them to establish personal relationships with Filipino students, to make themselves available to assist students and to make students feel more like equals with them. Instructors also should be energetic, enthusiastic and friendly, besides being knowledgeable of their subject matter and having well planned, organized and prepared lectures.

### Conclusion

We were very pleased with our research findings since we did not initially anticipate being able to correlate so many concerns and recommendations to improve the educational system at UH Manoa for Filipino students. Many significant issues were raised which need to be addressed by University administrators and faculty as well as by community leaders. The Filipino community also needs to be informed so that it can contribute to the recruitment and retention of Filipino students at UH Manoa. Family support is the most essential factor in having Filipinos attain higher education and rise out of their low social status in the State of Hawai'i.

### Note

The research for this article was conducted through our participation in 1989-90 in the Hawai'i Minority Pregraduate Program which is sponsored jointly by the UH Graduate Division and Operation Manong.

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# Educational Needs of Filipino Immigrant Students

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Filipino immigrant students are the largest group served by the Hawaii State Department of Education's program for Speakers of Limited English Proficiency (SLEP). Data from the 1989-90 school year showed that 42% of the 8,879 students enrolled in the SLEP program were Filipinos, most of whom were newcomers to Hawaii (Hawaii State DOE, 1990). According to the 1990 census, the State, a port of entry into the United States, receives more than 8,000 immigrants a year (Glauberman, 1991). Among those who move to Hawaii, Filipinos comprise the largest single ethnic group. Immigration patterns seem to indicate that this trend will continue for years to come.

Teachers of Filipino immigrant students have identified problems that seem unique to these youngsters. These problems persist and predictably involve the areas of language learning, motivation and classroom interaction. These problem areas affect the students' performance in school and their sense of social competence. Eventually, for many, these problems lead to low academic achievement. This article is written for educators who are working with or are interested in knowing and understanding Filipino immigrant students. By describing and highlighting some key areas of difficulties that Filipino immigrant students experience, the authors hope to assist teachers gain insights into the nature of their problems in school. Furthermore, because many of these difficulties are related to problems of communication and interpersonal relations in the classroom, the authors believe that teachers will recognize similar struggles experienced and expressed by students from other ethnolinguistic minority groups. Understanding this population therefore may help teachers plan instruction more effectively for other minority groups as well. This is so because students who come from homes that are not representative of a western middle class environment also have difficulties relating to the school's cultural norms and conventions inspite of their ability to speak the language used in the schools.

From the perspective of immigrant Filipinos, the difficulties in school begin immediately after they become students in Hawaii due to dissimilarities between the two educational systems. The types of problems the youngsters encounter

initially are not caused by language difficulties. American English, after all, is not exactly "foreign" to Filipinos. They are and have been exposed to it while still in the Philippines. So although there may be a distinct accent and perhaps a hesitation to engage in dialogue due to inhibitions, Filipinos generally can understand enough to follow a conversation in English. A more significant hurdle for these youngsters is the major shifts they have to make, language being only one of them. This is further made more difficult in that often they are not themselves aware of this need to shift and, even if they were, they are unable to do anything about the changes to be made. For the immigrant Filipino student, the complex web of interrelated problems inherent in having to adjust can be grouped into two major categories: one relates to systemic differences that are more overt and technical, most of which can be resolved within a relatively short period of time; and the other relates to a more intangible and less explicit set of factors that have to do with socio-cultural characteristics about which information and knowledge alone will not bring fast and easy understanding.

## System Differences

One set of problems relate to differences between the school systems of the Philippines and Hawaii. These differences require some adjustments in thinking and attitudinal changes on the part of the immigrants. Knowledge and understanding on the part of the receiving schools' personnel would help minimize the trauma of the transition.

Of varying significance are different arrangements in the school's organizational structure regarding grade placement, school year calendar, class and lunch schedules. Provisions for field trips or school-sponsored camping trips, graduation and registration requirements, frequency and types of progress reports are other activities, and school-related functions that are structured differently and which difference may explain some of the disorientation students experience in their first few months. An amplification of each will be useful.

### *Grade Placement*

In the Philippines, schooling generally begins at age seven. When Filipino children of that age arrive in Hawaii, they are usually assigned to one grade level above where they are supposed to be. Skipping a grade because of one's age and not because of one's ability or readiness compounds the learning difficulty encountered by these children. Moreover, they are understandably overwhelmed by how much they are supposed to know already. Their counterparts

in Hawaii, although only in the second grade, have most likely had two to three years of schooling experience since children in Hawaii attend nursery and kindergarten schools. Therefore, the immigrant seven year old Filipino child lacks considerable experience relative to the rest of his/her classmates. In some instances, this gap is even wider. Some Filipino parents withdraw their children from school when the family receives approval to immigrate. However, the actual departure could take from one to two years. Meanwhile, the students are out of school.

Students at the end of their senior year have a different kind of problem. Elementary and secondary education in the Philippines is divided into six and four years. A high school graduate therefore is only sixteen years of age. When a sixteen year old high school graduate from the Philippines immigrates to Hawaii, he or she is unqualified to attend college. Often students expect either to go to college or to secure a full time job soon after they arrive. Disappointment and frustration are what they encounter instead. So the school has to deal with a reluctant junior or senior student. Hopefully, the unhappy situation does not last.

#### *School Calendar*

The school year in the Philippines begins in June and ends in March. April and May are summer vacation months. May is a special month because this is when flowers are in bloom, and summer fruits are in season and in abundance. At this time, immigrant students, not surprisingly, feel nostalgic and, although other reasons may be given for an early leave from school, these would be the preferred months to visit the Philippines. This request for leaving school before the year is completed becomes a source of frustration and irritation to local teachers. The teachers have generally interpreted this as an indication of the Filipinos' low regard for the value of education, and some attribute it to evidence of the Filipinos' lack of ambition.

#### *Daily School Schedule*

Most of Hawaii's Filipino immigrant students come from provinces where the school day begins at 7:30 in the morning and ends at 4:30 in the afternoon. In addition to studying the required curriculum, students are expected to stay after school to participate in cleaning the classrooms or to assist in school beautification projects. In urban Manila, where facilities are inadequate to accommodate the large numbers of students, some schools offer a separate morning and afternoon schedule of classes. Known as "double-single" sessions,

one set of students attend school from 6:30 to 12:00 noon and another from 12:00 noon to 5:30 p.m. These are large classes, each enrolling up to 40 students. The restrictions inherent in large classes and the long day for many, may explain why some students feel comfortable being reactive rather than proactive. This behavior in the Philippine context reinforces one of the important values in the socialization of children who are "to be seen, not heard." In Hawaii, this behavior is interpreted as passive and though it is not disruptive, this behavior is not valued nor is it rewarded. Sometimes, it is interpreted as a characteristic of people who lack ambition and drive.

#### *Lunch Arrangements/Meals*

Schools in the Philippines, especially in the rural areas, do not have cafeterias. There is ample time to go home since an hour and a half to two hours are allotted for lunch breaks. Students from distant barrios bring their home packed meal and join friends under the cool shade for the noon hours. In the cities, food concessions line the street alongside the campus grounds. Owned by private individuals, these small, portable fast food places are popular with older students who opt to buy lunch. In Hawaii no one is allowed to leave the school grounds without permission. Besides, there would not be enough time unless one skipped the first period after lunch.

Newly arrived Filipino students have to cultivate a taste for milk and raw vegetables which are served almost daily as part of the school lunch program. In Philippine style cuisine, vegetables are seasoned in various ways and always cooked. Milk is expensive, so the immigrant is not used to drinking it at home either. Consequently, they tend to avoid these items altogether.

It should be noted that these differences may seem inconsequential to most adults but, for children who have to cope with daily discomfort while trying to gain acceptance, these seemingly minor hurdles mean more than moments of unease. They can lead to feelings of strangeness and a sense of alienation which if ignored will very likely lead to other problems.

#### *Field Trips*

Public schools in the Philippines do not fund field trips. Overnight camping is not even an option. Field trips or "excursions" are solely family coordinated activities. Staying overnight in camps is an imported concept that remains foreign. Outings of students usually include older family members or friends who are known or "connected" with someone else in some way. This is

especially true with all teenage outings. Thus, when schools in Hawaii send notices home for these types of activities requiring parental permission, the initial response tends to be negative. It becomes one more aggravation in the home and school relations.

#### *Registration Requirements*

Seven different kinds of medical reports are necessary for completing Hawaii's school registration. These requirements are often overwhelming for newly arrived parents who need to register their children in the new school. Consequently, their children's school registration is often times delayed because of non-compliance with any one of these requirements. The medical reports as required by the State Department of Health (DOE, 1987) include the following:

1. Examination by a licensed physician within 12 months before entering school;
2. Certification of absence of active tuberculosis as determined by a tuberculin skin test or chest x-ray within 12 months before entering school;
3. Immunizations against: a) diphtheria-tetanus-pertussis (DPT), b) measles, c) mumps, d) poliomyelitis, e) rubella.

Because enrollment is not contingent upon such medical requirements in the Philippines, immigrant parents either fail to grasp the significance of the requirement or are intimidated into inaction. The consequence of not following through on the items creates further delays in registration.

#### *Frequency and Type of Student Progress Reports*

Report cards in the public schools in the Philippines are issued at the end of the school year for elementary grades and six times a year in the high schools. At both levels, final grades are computed either in a cumulative or averaging system. In the cumulative system, a student can make up the assignments/grades during the latter part of the year as the last grade at the end of the grading period is considered the final grade. In the averaging system, the student's six grades are averaged to become the final score.

In the Philippines, elementary and secondary grades are reported in specific percentage scores. A score of 75% is the cutoff mark separating a passing from a failing grade. So any score 75% and above means "pass," and any score 74% or below means "fail." Many Filipino parents in Hawaii are confused when their

children receive a letter grade of "S" (satisfactory) or "U" (unsatisfactory) and do not consider those as appropriate marks because of their lack of precision.

The problems generated by these differences, however, are transitional and, in time, the youngsters generally do become familiar with the rules and requirements. The process of adapting to the new context is made even easier if parents are informed or instructed about these differences. However, differences that generate problems that are more directly related to classroom participation and performance are complicated and critical as ultimately their long term effects may impact on decisions affecting life choices.

The following section will discuss another set of difficulties teachers have identified that directly affect students' performance and self-presentation in class.

#### **Socio-Cultural Differences**

School achievement requires the mastery of a complex web of interrelated skills. In the case of students who transfer from one school system to another, there are two levels of competencies that must be learned simultaneously. One is the subject matter itself or content; the other, the processes through which that content is received, interpreted and understood in the "new" school environment through test-taking, recitations or presentations. The form through which these competencies are expressed go beyond the use of language. This area of competence is more broadly defined to include a communicative system that has verbal and non-verbal aspects to it. It also extends into relational aspects of classroom interaction. Taken together, these dimensions of communication and relationships are what scholars regard as factors of a socio-cultural system.

Subject matter mastery is without question the primary objective of teachers and the ultimate intended outcome of successful school learning. Mastery of their discipline field is required of all teachers, and the goals of teacher education programs are explicit in this regard. However, teachers do not just teach content in an abstract way. They do so within an environment that they think will facilitate the understanding of their subject. That environment is comprised of a mixture of individuals and resources: the learners, materials and relevant instructional methods. All these elements are coordinated in some systemic fashion designed to assist teachers maintain order and cohesion while also guiding students toward the attainment of knowledge and understanding, appreciations and skills. What helps teachers keep all these elements in some sensible

fashion is the set of "classroom protocol" that underlies the rhythm and flow of classroom interactions. Translated into rules of appropriate conduct, classroom protocol defines to some extent what is acceptable or approved, encouraged and rewarded behaviors.

Furthermore, these rules are predicated on a societal value system, and knowledge of them is assumed. They are tacit rules, unexplained and applicable to all. For example, when students have some problem or difficulty with the task, they are to approach the teacher directly. This is not necessarily generalizable. Studies done on classroom behaviors indicate that ethnic preferences enter into the manner in which students deal with this situation (Jordan, 1984; Vogt et al., 1987; Nelson-Barber and Meier, 1990). The authors believe that these rules are like parts of a cultural script that may not be known and, in some instances, may even be contradictory with other cultural scripts. Rules of conduct are culture oriented.

In the case of Filipino immigrant students, unfamiliarity with these rules affects their performance and results in misunderstandings between them and their teachers. The authors believe that in the classroom two different cultural scripts may be operating. Where they are incompatible or not known well enough to be functional, neither the teacher nor the students benefit. The latter generally bears the more serious loss of missed opportunities, for example, opportunities to display what he/she knows or a chance to practice his/her skill at speaking and interacting with others and their ideas. The authors have selected a couple of these classroom contexts in which classroom protocol dictates the acceptance of student performance to illustrate the nature of problems newcomers experience.

#### *Classroom Protocol*

**Turn-taking rules.** Turn-taking is a process included in an interaction pattern which refers to the manner in which students participate in class discussion. Mehan (1979) identifies three ways in which turn-taking procedures are conducted in a regular classroom recitation period. One is to call on individual students to elicit a response, and the teacher "nominates" the respondent by identifying him/her. Only the person named is expected to answer. Another way is for teachers to invite students to "bid." This means the teacher asks the students to raise their hands or indicate somehow that they want to be called upon to answer. And a third way is to cue the students to volunteer their response without having to be called on or having to be selected over someone else. Filipino immigrant students, according to the observations of Ongteco,

(1987) are more comfortable with being "nominated." The student may try to indicate non-verbally that he or she would like to respond but waits for the teacher to call. This way the responsibility of the "rightness" or "wrongness" falls on the teacher rather than on the student. From the Filipino's point of view, to be "nominated" by the teacher would be less embarrassing than to have to bid and be in error. Not being able to answer correctly when called upon is not shameful. To have volunteered only to give a wrong answer would be cause for shame and ridicule. Why risk it!

An implication of this for teachers might be for them to realize that immigrant Filipino students need to exercise options for participation in class. They need encouragement and assurances while learning to transition into a different set of rules to follow. Not volunteering to answer or not asking to be called upon are often interpreted as indifference. Sometimes, from the teacher's point of view, lack of knowledge or preparedness is implied by this lack of response. The cumulative effect leads to a most unfavorable assessment of the newcomers.

**Participation in discussions.** Another shift in behavior that is needed may be from one who observes to one who participates actively in discussions. Filipino students have been taught at home to "use their eyes" and to follow a "model" and "do" the tasks as described. The quiet student is a good student. In American schools in general, although quiet and order may reign supreme in the classroom, verbal ability is valued, encouraged and rewarded. Asking questions in the Philippine context is asking to challenge the authority of the teacher, whereas in the American context the adage, "how will you know if you don't ask," still holds. In fact, it matters little sometimes whether you have the answer; the value is in the asking. A display of verbal skills is necessary to show what one knows. It is one frequent form of "feedback" in classroom activities. It is very important to provide opportunities for these students to break through the barrier of silence. Even when they come to realize that talk is important, the newcomers may not feel confident about their ability to use the language, or they may be uncertain about the rules of participation. The teacher might start by having them talk about things familiar and known to them to give the students more control over the content, freeing them to concentrate on the "how" part of communicating.

A summary of potential conflicting socialization practices between Filipino home culture and the school may stimulate dialogue about ways to be more culturally responsive to the newcomers' educational needs:

Item	Home Rule	School Perspective
Interaction	Speak only when spoken to.	Volunteer responses.
	Do not ask too many questions.	Learn by discussing, asking, verbalizing.
	Listen and do as I say.	Contribute to discussions.
Learning Attitudes	Learn by observing.	Ask questions and ask for help.
	Read the book and learn from it.	Review the book. Comment and critique. Question.
Working Preference	Work with others. Help one another like you do at home with chores.	Do your own work. Do what you think is best for yourself. You alone are responsible for your actions. The sooner you're on your own, the better.
Role Perception of Teachers and School	Do as your teacher tells you. He/she is your parent in school. Teacher "knows everything."	Self-initiative is good. Teacher is facilitator of learning, not parental surrogate. Teachers are not the only source of knowledge or information.
	The school is the major source of knowledge and information.	We need parental support and help.
	The school will teach you how to make a living.	We can only do so much.

What has been presented above are only a few selected categories of instances and areas of adjustment problems that Filipino immigrant students face. The language issue, a major one, has not been included. It is not dealt with in this paper because the subject alone would take an entire chapter in itself. For readings on the issue of native language use and Philippine languages, readers are invited to read the writings of Teresita Ramos (1978) and Clifford Prator (1950).

The purpose of this paper was to present some basic information to provide educators with a knowledge base from which to consider ways to assist Filipino immigrant students adjust to a new school environment. The authors have taken the position that the schools have the responsibility through the teachers to socialize these students in the ways of the adopted society. When students leave school and are problems in the community, the school as one of the agencies responsible for the development of citizenship skills cannot conveniently turn its back on the situation. Although the school alone cannot be blamed for what goes wrong or for every individual's failure in any community, neither is it completely exempted from being accountable. The idea is not to lay blame but to invite educators to clarify their role with respect to socializing newcomers. Are they a challenge or a burden? Are they participants or outsiders?

The authors believe that the sooner the schools accept the fact that the immigrants are here to stay, are willing to become active and contributing members of the community and are trustful that the schools will help them in this process no matter how it may sometimes appear, given the difficulties encountered on both sides, the schools will work toward designing more effective and culturally responsive programs for them. However, both parties need to be informed or reminded that they have to build cultural bridges to reach a common goal—successful instruction and academically successful students who graduate.

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## Pablo Manlapit's Fight for Justice

Melinda Tria Kerkvliet

In 1991 Filipinos in Hawaii will commemorate their 85th immigration anniversary to this State and recall their contributions to its economy from the sugar cane and pineapple plantations to today's tourist hotels. One aspect of the Filipino experience in Hawaii that needs remembering also is their long history of fighting for justice. Primary sources show that Filipino workers prior to the Second World War demanded improvements in their working conditions, but we know very little of their activities and of those who were blacklisted, arrested, jailed and deported to the Philippines.

This is an essay to honor Pablo Manlapit who was one of the early fighters for justice. Many people do not know of him. Some know him as the "leader" and "president" of an organization that demanded higher wages and changes in the working conditions of plantation laborers. Labor historians describe him as a labor leader who led a "haphazard" strike in 1924.<sup>1</sup> Survivors of that strike present another view; they remember him as a remarkable man who had the courage to express what many workers wanted.<sup>2</sup> A former Filipino councilman recalls that his parents used to call him "Pablo" after the "firebrand" labor leader.<sup>3</sup> In general, though, many young people of Filipino ancestry do not know who Manlapit was.

### Early Years and Migration to Hawaii

Pablo Manlapit was born on 17 January 1891 in Lipa City, Batangas, a province in southern Luzon, Philippines. He was five years old when the Spaniards executed Jose Rizal, the Philippine national hero, and eight years old when the Philippine-American War began in February 1899. He completed his elementary and intermediate education in Lipa City's public schools. He apparently moved to Manila soon after finishing his intermediate education and worked as a messenger for the Manila Railroad Company. He later transferred successively to the Bureaus of Civil Service and of Forestry where, presumably, he performed clerical or other office work less physically taxing than being a messenger. He then joined an electricity construction project on Corregidor as a timekeeper. Manlapit would recall later that it was a United States project and that he was soon dismissed for his labor union activities.<sup>4</sup>

Manlapit left Manila on 10 January 1910 and arrived in Honolulu the following month. This was his third attempt to leave for Hawaii. His earlier attempts had been foiled by his parents who on both occasions literally pulled

him off the Hawaii bound ship.<sup>5</sup> Upon arrival in Honolulu, the HSPA (Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association) sent him to Kukaiau sugar plantation on the island of Hawaii (Big Island) where he worked for about two years. He was later dismissed for getting involved in a strike there.<sup>6</sup> He then moved to Hilo where he made a living as a salesman and proprietor of a pool hall. On or about 6 June 1912 he and Anne Kasby, from Paauilo, Big Island, were married. Her mother was German and her father a white American homesteader. In February 1915 the couple moved to Honolulu.<sup>7</sup>

Reinecke has provided us with detailed information, taken from *Polk's Directory*, showing how Manlapit supported his family in Honolulu. He edited *Ang Sandata* in 1916 while working as a stevedore.<sup>8</sup> In 1918 and 1919 he worked as an interpreter and janitor for attorney William J. Sheldon who had an office at 12 Merchant Street in downtown Honolulu. Sheldon apparently acted as Manlapit's mentor, encouraged him to study on his own and probably allowed him to read the law books at the office. On 19 December 1919 Manlapit was granted a license to practice law in the district courts. He was in his own words, "the First Filipino lawyer to practice law in Hawaii."<sup>9</sup>

Manlapit, however, seems to have spent more time in labor organizing than in practicing law, particularly getting involved in the big strikes of 1920 and 1924. Details of those strikes have been told elsewhere.<sup>10</sup> Here we shall mention the general outlines of the strikes and describe Manlapit's role.

From 1906 to 1920 the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association brought to Hawaii 33,273 Filipinos, who were mostly single adult males, on three year contracts as plantation workers. The majority came from the Visayas region and "had been carefully screened by the HSPA to weed out those with schooling and thought least adaptable to manual field labor."<sup>11</sup> The HSPA also brought Filipinos because they were wary of the Japanese majority on the plantations; in June 1919 Japanese constituted 54.7% (24,791), while Filipinos constituted 22.9% (10,354) of all plantation workers.<sup>12</sup>

We have an official report on the working conditions of Filipino plantation workers around this time by Prudencio Remigio who had been appointed "Filipino Commissioner in Hawaii" by the Philippine (colonial) government. In general, Filipinos lived in barracks or huts made of wood and with iron roofs "so low that they permit the sun's heat to be felt severely, especially in the afternoons."<sup>13</sup> Although salaries varied according to the work performed (day laborers in the fields and mills, contract workers who cut and loaded cane, and group cultivators who tilled the land as tenants), the general complaint was that

a worker could make ends meet only with "great economizing of expenditures."<sup>14</sup>

Remigio also tried to understand the "moral and psychological life" of the Filipino workers. He reported that many went to Hawaii with high expectations led on by recruiting agents who talked of better opportunities in foreign lands:

Although their hopes are raised in this manner, when they reach the destination, it turns out from rude experience, that circumstances do not permit their desires and aspirations to improve themselves to be fulfilled, and the supposed opportunities that have impelled them to leave their own country are not found. The situation becomes odious for some, forced for others, and desperate for all.<sup>15</sup>

As latecomers to Hawaii, Filipinos occupied the lowest status among the ethnic groups. Moreover, there was a shared racist belief among the planters and other powerful individuals, such as the publisher Wallace Ryder Farrington, that Filipinos rather liked living poorly and miserably, such as having five or six people in one bedroom and a breakfast of a "loaf of bread dissolved in a bucket of water," evoking an image of a contented work horse.<sup>16</sup> Manlapit, who was fluent in Spanish, Tagalog and English, would later express the Filipino workers' complaints, which were also raised collectively during strikes.

### The Strikes of 1920 and 1924

Prior to the actual strike in 1920, Manlapit had contacted Filipino groups and Japanese community leaders to promote interethnic cooperation. In August 1919 Manlapit joined Japanese leaders in meetings with Japanese workers to discuss higher wages, the main cause of the Japanese plantation workers' strike in 1908-09. He contacted emerging Filipino leaders, such as Nicolas C. Dizon, Juan Briones Sarmiento, Hugo Ritaga and Pedro M. Esqueras, for support in forming a Filipino association. Thus, the Filipino Labor Union (FLU) was formed during a big meeting at Aala Park in downtown Honolulu on 31 August 1919. Manlapit was elected president and Esqueras, treasurer.

From September through December 1920, conflicts developed between Manlapit and the Japanese leaders (who also disagreed among themselves) on scheduling the planned strike. Manlapit had been eager to schedule a strike, while some factions of the Japanese recommended sending petitions to the HSPA which both groups eventually did without positive results. Still hoping for joint efforts with the Japanese, Manlapit cancelled the strike date twice until Filipino workers in Kahuku struck on 18 January 1920, which forced Manlapit to "lead"



the strike. The Japanese eventually joined the strike because HSPA officials had left them no choice; the HSPA had ordered evictions of Japanese workers from the plantation housing.

By March the HSPA had broken the strike by hiring Hawaiian, Portuguese, Chinese and, later, new Filipino recruits from the Ilocos region as strikebreakers. Leadership conflicts within the Japanese and Filipino camps only strengthened the HSPA. Soon the strikers drifted back to the plantations. The HSPA, apparently believing that the Japanese leaders had masterminded the strike, succeeded in having fifteen of them indicted and convicted for conspiracy. No charges were brought against Manlapit and other Filipino leaders. To block future labor activism, the HSPA convinced the Territorial Legislature to pass the criminal syndicalism act which penalized anyone advocating crime, violence, sabotage or other acts of terrorism for political or industrial ends. Finally, a centralized reporting or spying system coordinated from the HSPA Secretary's desk became a standardized practice for the sugar establishment.

Thanks to the HSPA spy network, we are able to document Manlapit's continued labor activities for the Higher Wages Movement from 1922 to 1924.<sup>17</sup> Specifically, 1923 was a busy year for Manlapit. He spoke at workers' meetings on government roads and sites nearby but outside the plantation premises and at Aala Park in downtown Honolulu. A confidential report of a meeting in Waipahu ("in front of the Chinese store near the bank") on 13 January 1922 began with:

The meeting was held about six o'clock P.M. Five men spoke. Antonio Balbuena spoke in Visayan, the plantation boys spoke in Ilocano, Manlapit spoke in Tagalog and in English. A white man, Mr. Sung, spoke in English. This man has been here about one year. Mr. George Wright spoke in English, speaking for the United Workers of Hawaii.<sup>18</sup>

The speakers urged the 500 to 600 people who attended to sign a petition to the HSPA asking for higher wages.

From plantation managers' reports, we know that Manlapit had a hectic schedule the following Sunday, 22 January 1923. At 2:30 p.m. he and Wright presided at a meeting on the government road near the Honouliuli ranch at the entrance to the Ewa plantation. About 200 people attended and heard Manlapit talk about working eight hours a day with \$2 as their wage. "He was applauded when he said that he and Wright fought the attempt of planters to bring in 50,000 coolies."<sup>19</sup> In the evening of the same day Manlapit and Wright spoke at a mass meeting held in the Japanese theater in Waialua. About 400 to 500 Filipino

workers from Waialua plantation and other districts attended. Manlapit spoke in English and in "one or more of the Filipino dialects." He, like Wright, pointed out that Ewa plantation had made considerable profits the past ten years and that some of it should be shared with the workers.

Those who heard Manlapit speak at meetings generally recall three things. First, because the plantations had banned him, Manlapit had a box handy so that when he needed to give a speech inside the plantation he would stand on top of the box. Second, he was a charismatic speaker who could deliver long speeches without notes. Third, his message to all Filipino workers was to unite and demand a wage of \$2 per day. Pedro Ponce remembers Manlapit's visit to Kauai:

Pablo Manlapit came here and he gave a talk. Basically, his talk was that we Filipinos have to pull together, be united, and we can raise our salary. We were asking for \$2 a day. Before we asked for that we were being paid ten cents an hour; one hour, ten cents. So Manlapit was going around and talking around the plantations and encouraging people to strike so that they could ask for the \$2 per day.<sup>20</sup>

Manlapit also tried to obtain the support of Cayetano Ligot, the Philippine Resident Labor Commissioner to Hawaii, who had arrived in Honolulu on 27 April 1923. Manlapit himself had advocated for the creation of this position, but unfortunately Ligot chose to oppose Manlapit and the Higher Wages Movement and instead sought close relations with the HSPA. Manlapit also accused Ligot, who was a former governor of an Ilocos province, of dividing Filipinos: "Mr. Ligot has endeavored to stir up tribal and factional antagonisms. He appeals especially to the Ilocanos, advising them to have nothing to do with the Tagalogs or the Visayans."<sup>21</sup> The rift between Ligot and Manlapit was publicized in Hawaii and the Philippines. In Hawaii, the establishment gave their support to Ligot, while in Manila outspoken labor leaders supported Manlapit's suggestion that Ligot be recalled.<sup>22</sup> In the end Ligot retained his post because Territorial Governor Farrington convinced Governor General Leonard Wood to trust Ligot, not Manlapit.<sup>23</sup>

Manlapit justified the demand for higher wages as the Filipino worker's right to live decently since the field workers' minimum wage of a dollar a day was not a living wage. Moreover, he argued that American traditions inspired the Higher Wages Movement: "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."<sup>24</sup>

The Filipino plantation workers' strike of 1924 occurred over a period of approximately five months from April through September. In reality, it consisted of loosely coordinated strike actions on Oahu, Kauai, Maui and the Big Island under the general direction of the Executive Committee of the Higher Wages Movement composed of Pablo Manlapit, George W. Wright, Patricio Belen, Prudencio Gabriel, Emigdio Milano, Pedro Valderama and Cecilio Basar. Local leaders on each island had an active role in directing strike activities, a topic that awaits detailed research. Many strikers who had been evicted from their plantation housing lived in "strike camps," a general term for all forms of temporary housing that included warehouses, hotels, public parks, sidewalks and beaches. Many people wondered how the strikers sustained themselves and their families for several months. Oral testimonies of the Kauai participants, mentioned earlier, reveal that local leaders maintained peace and order in the camps and organized a solicitation drive for food.<sup>25</sup> Also, the strikers themselves pitched in by catching fish in the ocean. In Hilo, outsiders theorized that the strikers had access to some "secret" funds, "or many of the strikers by this time would be dead of starvation, for it is known that many of them have no money and many owe balances in the plantation stores."<sup>26</sup>

That Manlapit and the central union officers did not control the strike was shown in the strike activities on Kauai which culminated in what is now known as the "Hanapepe Massacre," or "riot" from the establishment's perspective. Four police officers and sixteen strikers were killed during this confrontation in Hanapepe, Kauai. Manlapit was not there when the massacre took place, and it is clear from the testimony of the survivors that the police and temporary security hires panicked and started shooting indiscriminately. The establishment, however, claimed that the strikers provoked the police.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, they blamed Manlapit and other strike leaders on Kauai for inciting the workers. Governor Farrington, for example, concluded that "It is obvious that such an outbreak must have resulted from the Filipinos being misled through inflammatory counsel or speeches of their leaders..."<sup>28</sup> This incident led to Manlapit's conviction and imprisonment, to be discussed below.

The *Honolulu Advertiser* focused on Manlapit since its editor assumed, like Governor Farrington and the planters, that Manlapit controlled the territory wide strike. His presence or absence at the Sunday Aala Park meetings and his trips to the neighbor islands were described in detail; detectives followed him everywhere. For example, it reported that Manlapit went to Lihue, Kauai in the morning of 12 September 1924 "with Arthur McDuffie, Honolulu detective, at his heels."<sup>29</sup> The newspapers also published the many charges brought against

Manlapit, a form of harassment the HSPA routinely used to punish labor leaders and strikers.

### Charges Against Manlapit

The microfilm records at the First Circuit Court and the Hawaii Supreme Court reveal that in June 1917 the City and County Attorney for Honolulu charged Manlapit with "soliciting, inducing, procuring and hiring certain laborers" or Hawaii residents to travel outside Hawaii without a proper license. The court cases' index shows that Manlapit was just one of many accused of inducing laborers to leave Hawaii. The sugar bloc, apparently always worried about the labor supply for the plantations, had managed to have a law passed in 1915 requiring a license to be an "emigrant agent."<sup>30</sup> There is no record of conviction of Manlapit on this charge.

The next set of charges against Manlapit occurred in 1920, a strike year. In March, J. Lightfoot, Acting Attorney General of the Territory of Hawaii, petitioned the First Circuit Court to disbar Manlapit.<sup>31</sup> He used as evidence a report from F.E. Thompson, who had been hired by the HSPA to spy on Manlapit, that accused Manlapit of soliciting a sum of money in exchange for calling off the strike. Manlapit's attorneys appealed to the Hawaii Supreme Court after the Circuit Court judge accepted the petition. The Supreme Court later ruled in favor of Manlapit.<sup>32</sup> In April the grand jury of the Territory of Hawaii indicted Manlapit for embezzling \$86.40, money supposedly owned by two individuals mentioned in the case.<sup>33</sup> Five months later, Manlapit's attorneys moved to set a trial date for this case, but apparently no date was set.

No charges were brought against Manlapit from 1921 to 1923, but at least three were filed against him in 1924, all related to the strike that year. The first charged that Manlapit violated the Board of Health's sanitation code because he failed to provide adequate "water closets" at the Kalihi strike camp, a converted warehouse on Middle Street which was leased under Manlapit's name. Manlapit was found guilty and fined \$25.<sup>34</sup>

The other two cases stemmed from an article published in *Ang Bantay* which claimed that the staff of Waipahu Hospital, operated by the Oahu Sugar Company, forced the removal of a dying baby from the premises on 10 April 1924. The baby died eight days later. The baby's father, Pantaleon Inayuda, had been officially discharged as an employee of the sugar company on April 8. E.W. Greene, manager of the company, and R.J. Mermod, physician in charge,

contradicted the article and reported that, on the contrary, Mermod had advised Inayuda to keep the sick baby in the hospital but Inayuda would not listen to him. On April 22 the Territory of Hawaii charged Manlapit with libel. He was found guilty and fined \$100.<sup>35</sup>

In mid May, Pablo Manlapit and Cecilio Basan were accused of conspiracy in the first degree for having caused Inayuda to give false testimony in the Inayuda baby incident or, to use the technical term, "subornation of perjury." Inayuda became the star witness for the prosecutors. In mid September, a few days after the Hanapepe massacre, Manlapit and Basan were tried and found guilty, and were later sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor for two to ten years.<sup>36</sup>

W.B. Pittman, Manlapit's lawyer, may have unwittingly sent him to jail when he argued that Manlapit was fighting a "war" against capital: "In war all tactics are fair tactics...Manlapit saw his people crushed to the earth by the power of the sugar interests. He went to their rescue...The big interests are crying for the blood of Manlapit and Basan."<sup>37</sup> Judge Banks rejected Pittman's premise that a strike was a war situation which, therefore, justified all tactics. Submitting a new set of sworn statements which attested that detectives had offered to pay witnesses so Manlapit would be sent to jail, Pittman appealed the case. The Hawaii Supreme Court, however, ruled against the appeal on 29 May 1925 because it had been filed one day too late.<sup>38</sup> Manlapit went to Oahu Prison that same day.

### Road to Exile

Troubles pursued Manlapit. On 2 September 1925 the Attorney General of the Territory of Hawaii asked the First Circuit Court to disbar Manlapit for "gross misconduct" since he had been convicted and sent to prison approximately two months before. The court disbarred him on 7 January 1926.<sup>39</sup>

Meanwhile, his family suffered financial and emotional hardships. Anne Manlapit suffered a breakdown, and the four children were sent to the Catholic Orphanage while she recuperated. When the family reunited, they supported themselves by washing and pressing men's pants. This traumatic experience convinced Alice, the eldest Manlapit daughter, that organizing and participating in strikes meant personal suffering.<sup>40</sup>

On 13 November 1925 Manlapit asked for a pardon from Governor Farrington. He recounted his "contention that the evidence upon which I was

convicted was fabricated in important particulars, but, as those who testified against me were almost immediately hurried out of Hawaii and returned to the Philippines, my friends have experienced great trouble in producing the best evidence to sustain that contention."<sup>41</sup> Fortunately, his relatives managed to get an affidavit from Pantaleon Enayuda (or Inayuda) who admitted receiving payment in exchange for his testimony against Manlapit. This admission from the "chief witness against me...shows that I have been correct in continually asserting that the case against me was what is popularly termed a 'frame-up.'"<sup>42</sup> He admitted that Farrington was his last resort: "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."<sup>43</sup> He requested Farrington to conduct a new investigation, but his request was ignored.

In March 1927 the prison board paroled Manlapit on condition that he take the next boat to the Philippines. Since placing this type of condition on a parolee had never happened before in Hawaii, Representative Norman K. Lyman of the 5th district introduced a resolution in the Territorial Legislature that called for the removal of the deportation clause and asked the prison board to justify its actions. Between March and August the debate on acceptable parole terms preoccupied the legislators, the prison board, and Manlapit and his family. Finally accepting his friends' advice, Manlapit accepted Governor Farrington's parole, which was granted on condition that Manlapit leave Hawaii.<sup>44</sup>

Manlapit sailed for Los Angeles on 23 August 1927 with these parting words, "I will return."<sup>45</sup> He criticized the dominant few in Hawaii:

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 sugar planters who still hate and fear me, ordered me to leave Hawaii as the price of granting me my freedom. I am convinced that the governor will some day realize his mistake.

I hold it to be a shameful thing that Hawaii should bow to the will of a few men in private life who are not responsible to the citizens for what they do.<sup>46</sup>

From 1927 to 1932 Manlapit was in Los Angeles and other areas in California. He was only briefly involved with the Filipino Federation of America

because he and Hilario Moncado, the Federation's founder, had an early falling out. There was some suspicion, according to information gathered by J.K. Butler, that Moncado "double crossed Manlapit into the position of being a communist agitator and put the police after him."<sup>47</sup> Manlapit is credited for having introduced the idea of a Filipino labor union to Filipino field workers in California.<sup>48</sup>

His wife and children went with him but returned to Hawaii after a few months because they felt uncomfortable in the new surroundings, and Manlapit, who was always away and busy, could not persuade them to stay longer. His family realized that Manlapit was bent on continuing labor organizing with Filipino workers, despite the experience of having been imprisoned for that kind of work.<sup>49</sup>

On 29 April 1932 Manlapit returned to Hawaii and immediately resumed his role as spokesperson for Filipino causes. For instance, he delivered speeches at "Filipino mass meetings" at Aala Park in Honolulu and in Hilo, Lahaina and Koloa.<sup>50</sup> At these meetings, he advocated for the organization of a Filipino Labor Union, financial assistance for unemployed Filipinos, the recall of Ligot as Philippine Resident Labor Commissioner, and \$2 as the basic daily wage and eight hours of work for sugar plantation workers. Among the labor leaders he worked with were Epifanio Taok and Manuel Fagel. Taok was a labor leader from Maui, and Fagel came to Hawaii from California with Manlapit.<sup>51</sup>

Not everyone was happy to see Manlapit. The pro-HSPA publication, *The Filipino Outlook*, published a cartoon and an editorial indicating that the HSPA, specifically J.K. Butler, did not want Manlapit to enter the plantations. He would not give Manlapit a pass; the plantations were still *kapu*.<sup>52</sup> The editor of the *Hawaii Hochi* reported that Manlapit had been invited by many mutual aid organizations on the plantations to give talks, but the HSPA threatened to have him arrested. They suspected that Manlapit was agitating the workers to strike. "Our advice to the sugar planters is to be sensible and stop throwing fits every time Pablo Manlapit says 'BOO!,'" wrote the editor.<sup>53</sup>

In July 1934 Manlapit was arrested and charged with overcharging Juan Ephong, an Army Veteran who had asked for Manlapit's assistance in borrowing money from the U.S. Veterans' Bureau. According to federal regulations, the official charge for this kind of service was \$10, but Manlapit reportedly obtained a \$90.50 fee to help secure a loan of \$170.50. A federal jury convicted Manlapit the following October. Manlapit moved for a new trial but, since he was financially unable to continue the litigation, he requested that the court suspend

sentence. He then offered to be placed on probation "provided I leave the territory."<sup>54</sup> His request was granted. His wife and children chose to stay in Hawaii.

### Exiled Home

Manlapit spent the rest of his years from 1934 to 1969 in the Philippines. Before the Second World War his name was connected with an organization called the National Civics Union which supported the labor solidification attempts of the Commonwealth President Manuel Quezon.<sup>55</sup> He was in Manila during the Japanese occupation of the Philippines and served as a member of the Labor Advisory Board from 1942 to 1944. After the defeat of the Japanese and the return of the Philippine government to Filipinos, Manlapit became an adviser and consultant to Presidents Sergio Osmena, Manuel Roxas and Elpidio Quirino.

There is no evidence that Manlapit participated in grass roots organizing such as he did in Hawaii and California. He also did not support the militant peasant movement and labor federations in the post-war years. In 1950, at the height of the Korean War, Manlapit, as president of the National Civic and Patriotic League, urged President Elpidio Quirino to work with the Philippine Congress in outlawing communism in the country.<sup>56</sup> Further research is needed to understand how and why Manlapit took this position. He had apparently accepted the terms in vogue by referring to a "Red Regime" as opposed to his adherence to the "principle of democracy."<sup>57</sup> Thus it appears that Manlapit, who in Hawaii was called a communist by the establishment, supported the Philippine government's drive against communism. His basic concern and understanding of the needs of the working class must have guided his actions all along. For example, in 1953 he supported the Hardie Report which, among other things, recommended that estates be purchased by the government and distributed among peasants. President Quirino, who took the opposite view, denounced the report.<sup>58</sup>

In July 1949 Manlapit returned to Hawaii to visit his family. By then his four children were all grown up; Annie, who had filed for divorce in 1938, had remarried. Unfortunately, a longshoremen's strike gripped Hawaii then, which made the establishment once more wary of Manlapit. He was placed under the custody of the Philippine Consulate and was made to sign an agreement that he would not "address any meeting," nor "speak on any radio station or attend church mass nor write in any newspaper." Manlapit, feeling frustrated and disgusted, described this treatment as "worse than communist rule."<sup>59</sup>

In November 1952 Governor Oren E. Long granted a pardon to Manlapit with the explanation that this did not mean that Manlapit could come and live in Hawaii. "He must come here as an alien and he has no claim to stay here."<sup>5</sup> There is no record that describes how Manlapit received the news of his pardon, but he never returned to Hawaii and died on 15 April 1969.

### Conclusion

There are still many gaps in our knowledge of Manlapit's activities, particularly in California and the Philippines, but there is enough information that enables us to assess his contribution to the Filipinos' fight for justice in Hawaii. Manlapit's persistence and commitment in representing Filipino workers are clear. Even before he had set foot in Hawaii, he had been dismissed in Corregidor for his union activities. It happened again on his first plantation job in Kukaiaua, Hawaii. He knew the risks involved in resisting the HSPA, but he went ahead to join and sometimes lead the 1920 and 1924 strikes. He ended up in jail and then was deported to California, only to return to Hawaii later to pick up where he had left off. Finally, he was sent away to the Philippines.

Manlapit was aware of the power of the HSPA, but he believed in American ideals which, to him, included the notion that everyone should have a fair deal. He wanted to help secure that square deal for Filipino workers. He also had faith in the legal system, being a lawyer himself, and probably did not see that the elite used the courts to harass him and other labor leaders.

Manlapit was one of many Filipinos who demanded changes in the working conditions on the plantations and thereby defied the elite in Hawaii. The young Filipino-Americans of today should look back with pride and salute Pablo Manlapit.

### Notes

1. See, for instance, Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 218 ff.
2. *The 1924 Filipino Strike on Kauai*, Ethnic Studies Oral History Project, Ethnic Studies Program, University of Hawaii, June 1979.
3. Richard Caldito was the first Filipino councilman for the County of Maui. He was nine years old when his parents went to work as plantation laborers in Puunene, Maui in 1922. Benjamin B. Domingo, *The Philippines in Hawaii: Hawaii's Eminent Filipinos*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Los Angeles: L.L. dela Cruz Publishing House, 1981), 93-94.

4. Pablo Manlapit holograph, 1959.
5. Interview with Alice Manlapit Savard (eldest daughter of Pablo Manlapit), 23 July 1990, Honolulu, Hawaii.
6. Manlapit holograph.
7. Pieces of biographical information are from Manlapit's holograph, interviews with Alice Manlapit Savard (cited above) and John Reinecke, "The Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike of 1924-25," unpublished paper, ca. 1978.
8. Ruben Alcantara notes that Manlapit first published this weekly paper in Hilo and sold it before leaving for Honolulu. He resumed publication of the weekly after his buyer went out of business. Ruben R. Alcantara, "The 1920 Hawaii Plantation Strike: Ethnicity and Class in Hawaii Labor Organizing," Emerita S. Quito, ed. *Festschrift* (in honor of Dr. Marcelino Foronda, Jr.) (Manila: De La Salle University Press, 1987), 185.
9. Manlapit holograph.
10. Alcantara, "The 1920 Hawaii Plantation Strike..." has a wealth of details; Reinecke, "The Filipino Piecemeal Strike..." covers the 1924 strike; and Beechert's *Working in Hawaii* has two chapters devoted to these events.
11. Alcantara, "The 1920 Hawaii Plantation Strike," 182.
12. *Ibid.*, 202.
13. Prudencio Remigio, *Report on Hawaii Filipinos, 1919* (translated by Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr.) (Honolulu: Filipino Historical Society of Hawaii, 1982), 12.
14. *Ibid.*, 15.
15. *Ibid.*, 18.
16. Quoted from Alcantara, "The 1920 Hawaii Plantation Strike," 182. It is ironic that at present there is a public high school in Honolulu named after Farrington whose student population is predominantly Filipino.
17. Alice M. Savard remembers how two detectives followed her father around all the time and how she often assisted her father in eluding them. In those days, Manlapit often left his home through the back door or windows. Interview with Alice M. Savard, 23 July 1990.
18. J.K. Butler (HSPA Secretary) to Governor Wallace R. Farrington, 7 May 1924. This document, using Butler's words, "is a hasty resume and running comment of Wright's activities for the past two years or so." Butler, among others in the HSPA, believed that Wright was a "dangerous agitator" who had "associated

himself with the grafters and agitators of the Filipino community, lending his considerable cleverness and white man's intelligence to their efforts to create something on the order of dictatorship by working men of all nationalities."

19. *Ibid.* See John E. Reinecke, *Feigned Necessity; Hawaii's Attempt to Obtain Chinese Contract Labor, 1921-1923* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, Inc., 1979).
20. *The 1924 Filipino Strike on Kauai*, Vol. 1, 284.
21. Pablo Manlapit to Hermenegildo Cruz, Acting Director, Bureau of Labor, Manila, Philippines, 11 October 1923.
22. *Manila Times*, 14 October 1923, 1; 15 October 1923, 1.
23. Governor Farrington to Leonard Wood, Governor General of the Philippines, 26 July 1924. Farrington Papers, Hawaii State Archives.
24. Pablo Manlapit, *Filipinos Fight for Justice; Case of the Filipino Laborers in the Big Strike of 1924* (Honolulu: Kumalae Publishing Co., 1933), 26.
25. Some of the Kauai strike leaders were F.N. Caralde, F.L. Mendoza and A. Baring. All identified as such in the *Honolulu Advertiser*, 12 September 1924, 8.
26. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 10 August 1924, 7.
27. William Rice, Sheriff, County of Kauai to W.R. Farrington, 20 September 1924. Farrington Papers, Hawaii State Archives. The *Honolulu Advertiser* promptly concluded that the strikers held a "riot" that needed to be quelled. It printed a report by Capt. E.M. Bolton of the National Guard that had been sent to Kauai. See the issue of 10 September 1924, 1.
28. Governor Farrington to Governor General Wood, 6 October 1924. Farrington Papers, Hawaii State Archives.
29. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 13 September 1924, 1.
30. First Circuit Court, Docket #6600.
31. *Ibid.*, Docket #10.
32. Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii, #1264.
33. First Circuit Court, Docket #7661.
34. *Ibid.*, Docket #9120.
35. *Ibid.*, Docket #9129.
36. *Ibid.*, Docket #9134.

37. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 12 October 1924, 2.
38. Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii, #1604. The decision was also published in the *Hawaiian Reports*, Vol. 28, 455. Cecilio Basan withdrew his appeal and began serving his sentence as prescribed by the Circuit Court.
39. First Circuit Court, Special Proceedings #62.
40. Interview with Alice M. Savard, Honolulu, Hawaii.
41. Manlapit's letter is in First Circuit Court, Special Proceedings #62.
42. *Ibid.* Enayuda's affidavit is attached to Manlapit's letter.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 12 March 1927, 3; 13 March 1927, 1 ff; and 10 July 1927, 1.
45. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 14 August 1927, 1.
46. *Ibid.*
47. J.K. Butler to W.R. Farrington, 18 September 1928. Farrington Papers, Hawaii State Archives.
48. Howard A. DeWitt, "Pablo Manlapit: A Filipino Labor Organizer and the Hawaii-California Years." Paper presented at the 72nd annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, 10 August 1979, University of Hawaii. DeWitt's claim, however, needs more elaboration and documentation.
49. Interview with Alice M. Savard, 15 August 1990, Honolulu, Hawaii.
50. There are pictures of these meetings in Manlapit, *Filipinos Fight for Justice*, 108 ff.
51. Taok and Fagel are among a number of unsung Filipino labor leaders in Hawaii before the Second World War.
52. *The Filipino Outlook*, Honolulu, Hawaii, February 1934, 1.
53. Copy of editorial dated 15 July 1932 in Governor Lawrence Judd's papers, Miscellaneous; Unemployment Committee. Hawaii State Archives.
54. *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 9 July 1934, 1; 8 October 1934, 1-2.
55. List of Affiliated...National Federation of Labor, February 14-17, 1938. Quezon Papers, Box 143, Philippine National Archives. The other officer listed in addition to Manlapit was Cecilio Basan who was in Hawaii with Manlapit during the 1924 strike. I have no information on Basan's return to the Philippines. See endnote 38 regarding Basan's court case.

56. Pablo Manlapit to President Elpidio Quirino, 21 July 1950 in *Report on I. The Illegality of the Communist Party of the Philippines; II. The Functions of the Special Committee on Un-Filipino Activities* by the Special Committee on Un-Filipino Activities (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1951), 12.
57. Manlapit holograph.
58. Paul M. Monk, *Truth and Power: Robert S. Hardie and Land Reform Debates in the Philippines, 1950-1987* (Monash University, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Paper No. 20, 1990), 9.
59. Manlapit holograph.
60. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 6 November 1952, 2.

## The Master and the Federation: A Filipino-American Social Movement in California and Hawaii

Steffi San Buenaventura

The Filipino Federation of America, Inc. was a mutual aid organization that was founded in Los Angeles in 1925 and brought to Hawaii in 1928. It was the subject of much discussion and debate among the Filipinos in Hawaii and in the larger community, particularly in the thirties during the peak of its popularity. Leaders of the Filipino community denounced the organization; members of the larger community, on the other hand, accepted it as a “peculiar” part of Philippine culture and assumed that the Filipinos brought the organization with them to Hawaii. The Federation declined rapidly after the war, but it continued to attract the interest of Hawaii’s community even after its founder and president, Hilario Camino Moncado, died in 1956 and up until the early sixties, when his widow, Diana Toy Moncado passed away.

The controversy about the Federation centered essentially on the fact that its members held and promoted the belief that Hilario Camino Moncado was God and the Filipino “brown Christ.” Critics of the Federation denounced Moncado for this “fakery” and for exploiting his followers. Likewise, they derided the Federation members for believing in the divinity of Moncado and strongly disapproved of what the critics perceived were the members’ “bizarre” spiritual beliefs and practices.

Today, this Filipino-American organization in Hawaii consists of small factions of a dwindling first-generation membership, a loyal but negligible second-generation following, and support from a handful of third-generation youth. However, since the Federation was formed in Hawaii, the members of the organization—popularly known as “followers of Moncado” or “Federation men”—became permanent figures in the cultural landscape of Hawaii. They once occupied a very visible place in the community and partook in the development of the Filipino communities on the different islands. Now, they represent an important chapter in the history of the Filipinos in Hawaii.

This article presents an overview of selected aspects of the Filipino Federation of America which underscore the significance of the movement as it evolved in California and formed a new identity in Hawaii in the twenties and thirties. The study takes into account the perspective of the Federation members and the vantage from which they saw and interpreted events. It also places the Federation phenomenon in the context of the Filipino-American experience.

### An Early Study of the Federation

The first scholarly article on the Filipino Federation of America appeared in the 1942 issue of *Social Process in Hawaii*. The study by David E. Thompson offered a sociological explanation for the phenomenon. Thompson discussed the Federation in relation to: the proclivity of Filipinos to religious movements; the oppressive conditions which confronted the Filipino immigrants in America thereby setting the stage for the birth of a movement; the strong common beliefs and practices which held the members together in a fraternal bond; the symbolism of Moncado as having achieved the "worldly success and prestige" that eluded most of the Filipino immigrant laborers (Thompson 1942). Thompson analyzed the Federation as a "control movement" in California and Hawaii: Moncado opposed organized labor and instructed Federation members not to join strikes, thereby pleasing the agri-business industries in California and Hawaii. He also placed the Federation in the appropriate framework of its California background. Thompson gave an outsider's view of the phenomenon and was fundamentally critical of the organization, particularly its anti-labor union stand.<sup>1</sup>

### Mutual Aid Organizations

A study of the Filipino Federation of America is fundamentally a study of the experience of the pioneering Filipinos who came to America as *sakadas* in the twenties and thirties (San Buenaventura 1990). The members of the Federation were part of the thousands of Filipinos then who came seeking better opportunities in the frontiers of Hawaii and California. Like their *sakada* cohorts, majority of the Federation members came as recruited laborers for the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA); many worked briefly in the islands' plantations before proceeding to the West Coast. Driven by a strong desire to experience America it was common for Filipino plantation workers to break their three-year contract with the HSPA in order to work in California. The formation of large Filipino population communities on the West Coast made it an attractive destination where, through mutual dependency, it became a little easier for Filipinos to survive.

In the absence of a kin support system, the pioneering Filipinos sought the security of mutual aid, fraternal organizations to address their most fundamental needs in times of loneliness, sickness and death. These organizations functioned as surrogate families and helped in softening the impact of the painful encounter

with the new country. They also served as instruments of acculturation and symbolized the Filipinos' collective efforts to obtain some control over their existence away from home.

The early mutual aid organizations were the precursor of the Filipino community. Due to adverse and isolated conditions and the socio-demographic character of the Filipino immigration in the early decades of this century, diverse groups of *sakadas*, without the presence of families and female cohorts, essentially formed small self-help groups among townmates and co-workers. These organizations evolved as little pockets of independent communities. In Hawaii, Filipino mutual aid organizations and hometown societies evolved within the Filipino "community groupings" in the plantations (Cariaga 1937: 59).

In addition to these informal, small societies, two organizations were brought to Hawaii in 1921 and 1922 by their respective representatives from the Philippines: the *Caballeros de Dimas Alang* and *Legionarios del Trabajo*. These groups identified themselves as fraternal organizations and actively recruited for members from among the *sakadas* on the plantation. The HSPA monitored both organizations closely and viewed them suspiciously like any outside entity involved in solicitation of any kind among the plantation workers.<sup>2</sup> The HSPA's primary concern in the case of both organizations—and others—was whether or not they supported Pablo Manlapit's "high wage movement activities"—specifically, the strikes against the plantations (HSPA 1921, 1922, 1923, 1934). The *Dimas Alang* and *Legionarios* were also established in California where they competed aggressively for members against a third fraternal organization, the Filipino Federation of America, Inc.<sup>3</sup>

### The Federation in California

Unlike the *Dimas Alang* and *Legionarios*, the Filipino Federation was an organization with Filipino-American roots and concerns. It was formed on December 27, 1925 in Los Angeles and incorporated for fifty years in 1927 in the state of California. A factor that impressed those who joined the organization was this incorporation. It distinguished the Federation from other Filipino groups. The "Inc." after its name gave it an image of legitimacy, importance, status, power and connoted an organization that was serious about its business and purpose.



The Federation espoused twelve objectives<sup>4</sup> that reflected a fundamental awareness of the Filipinos' bicultural existence in America. In summary, these objectives defined the mutual aid character of the Federation, projected a different, positive image of the Filipinos as part of the organization's stated moral standards and Christian objectives, and addressed Philippine-American relations, specifically the issue of Philippine independence.

Taken as a whole, the Federation objectives represented an organizational strategy that was directed at the white establishment with one important goal: the American acceptance of Filipinos. They represented a "declaration of worthiness" coming from a group of Filipinos who believed in seeking and occupying a deserving place in America.

The Federation was also a "quasi religious" organization with strong mystical symbolisms that were derived from Filipino folk beliefs and practices. Prominent among these symbols was the number 12. It was therefore not coincidental that the organization had 12 objectives and its foundation started with 12 individuals led by Hilario Camino Moncado. The structure of the organization was planned based on what it considered was the mystical significance of the number 12: it would consist of 12 divisions; each division would have 12 lodges; and each lodge would be comprised of 12 members; the total membership would therefore come to 1728, a number which was featured prominently on the Federation logo from the time it was first designed.

This was the concept the Federation members referred to as "doce-doce" (literally, "twelve-twelve") which they used in their recruiting campaign (San Buenaventura 1990: 167-73; 1980: 14-15).

They tried to convince their peers to join by first showing them a photograph of 12 men standing side by side with their arms across their chests and their hands linked, six on each side of a thirteenth person in the center. This was the formal photograph taken of lodge 1, division 1 consisting of the founding members and Moncado. Subsequently, members of each lodge would have formal photographs taken in the same manner.

The "doce" photograph was a good recruitment strategy. Many were struck by the mystical symbolism of the image. They recalled that their elderly folks in the Philippines heeded them to join any group that had the number 12 associated with it (Blas 1980): Christ had 12 apostles; likewise, a folk belief had flourished after the execution in 1896 of the Philippine national hero, Jose Rizal, that Rizal was the second Christ and that he too had 12 disciples.<sup>5</sup>

### The Federation's Material Component

Federation members have always defined their organization as having two "divisions": the "material" and the "spiritual." The material division encompassed the general business of the organization, including membership recruitment, the publishing and circulation of the Federation's official publication, the *Filipino Nation*, and activities that dealt with the Filipinos' interaction with the community, expatriate issues, and Philippine-American relations as pursued under the political leadership of Moncado. Material members were active in promoting the Federation in public primarily through their participation in the organization's annual convention and in July 4th parades.

Moncado conducted the "material" activities from the organization's Los Angeles office. The first major responsibility he undertook was to organize the Rizal Day celebration in December 1926. The Federation spearheaded a series of Rizal Day activities which included decorating a street in downtown Los Angeles with American and Filipino flags, an essay contest, and a special celebration of the first anniversary of the founding of the Federation (San Buenaventura 1990: 173-79; Moncado 1927). The success of this event was quite significant: it symbolized the first public association of Moncado with Rizal; it aroused emotions of Filipino nationalism and pride; it reenforced the continuing desire of Filipinos to be accepted as equals of Americans as they saw the flag of their country wave side by side with the American flag;<sup>6</sup> it demonstrated potential empowerment through ethnic collective action; and it established Moncado's charismatic leadership and the ability of his followers to finance and successfully implement a significant public undertaking.

The 1926 Rizal Day catapulted Moncado and the Federation into public recognition and set its momentum as a social movement. The membership of the Federation grew astronomically: from 34 "matriculate" members in 1926 before the Rizal Day celebration to nearly 700 members by the end of 1928 representing 57 lodges (FFA 1928). Each matriculate member had to pay the required fee of \$1.00 plus \$10 for the Federation pin.<sup>7</sup>

### The Spiritual Dimension

Underneath the material structure of the Federation was its spiritual component. All Federation members underwent a form of spiritual initiation upon joining the organization. This consisted of specially-constructed prayers (e.g. prayers to obtain power, for protection against dangers and to resist all kinds of

temptations), a list of instructions as to what prayers to say and at what time of the day to perform them. In addition, the members were asked to fast for as long and as frequently as they could on a voluntary basis. After this orientation, the majority continued on as material members and engaged in promoting the activities of the organization in their respective places of work and in the Federation branches throughout California.<sup>8</sup>

Others chose to become "spiritual" members under the guidance of Lorenzo de los Reyes, the Federation's spiritual leader and a founding member. In fall 1926, Reyes<sup>9</sup> left Los Angeles to concentrate on his spiritual mission in the newly purchased Federation property in Stockton, headquarters of the Federation Branch No. 1. In no time, Stockton became the spiritual center of the Federation and was referred to as "The College of Mysteries" (Darilay 1931: 11). Those who wanted to know more about the organization's spiritual teachings and practices spent time in Stockton fasting, praying, learning "physical culture," and listening to Reyes' lectures. The "true" spirituals started the practice of celibacy, maintained a non-carnivorous and raw food diet, and did not cut their hair.

The body of Reyes' spiritual teachings was fundamentally an extension of Filipino folk beliefs and practices which the immigrant workers brought with them to America. However, as Reyes articulated Filipino nativistic beliefs he also drew symbolisms and ideas from American cultural elements, including popular culture, thus allowing the movement to take on a Filipino-American syncretic identity. He also paved the way for Moncado's dual charismatic role as a political leader and as the spiritual "Master" known as "Equifrilibrium."<sup>10</sup> Moncado was extremely competent and skillful in performing this leadership role by himself. However, Reyes played an indispensable role in promoting the acceptance of the idea of Moncado's "Divinity: Moncado could not have assumed the role of the "Filipino Christ" had Reyes not been there as his John the Baptist."<sup>11</sup>

### Moncado and Reyes

The symbiotic relationship between Moncado and Reyes was best manifested in the complementary roles that each played in the development of the organization as a social movement. While Moncado stood on center stage of the Federation activities and basked in the public limelight as the charismatic leader of this Filipino organization, Reyes worked hard and quietly behind the scene to reinforce the mystic character of the Federation and the "divine" attributes of Moncado to its members: Moncado, the charismatic leader in the material world

of the Federation, was also the hidden reincarnation of Christ and Jose Rizal. As the organization's spiritual leader, Reyes' mission was to make the members come to this realization; it was essential in the process of guiding them to lead moral lives.

Members of the Federation in Hawaii have indicated that the Federation was actually the idea of both Moncado and Reyes, not just Moncado. Part of this suggestion comes from the fact that Moncado and Reyes knew each other in the early years of their sojourn in America. They first met in San Francisco in 1916, just a year after Moncado arrived in California. According to Reyes' biography, he and Moncado went their separate ways, met several times after that and finally got together when it was time to form an organization (Darilay 1931: 9-11). Both Moncado and Reyes were HSPA labor recruits and came to California by way of Hawaii.

### The Bisayan Immigrant

Moncado was born to a poor rural family in Balamban, Cebu. His birth certificate from the town's Roman Catholic parish church show that he was born Hilario Caminos Moncada on November 3, 1895 and was baptized on November 4, 1895.<sup>12</sup> He legally changed his name to Hilario Camino Moncado around 1919, probably while still residing in San Francisco. He and the Federation also gave his official date of birth as November 4, 1898 (Moncado 1955: 7).

Moncado arrived in Honolulu in 1914 under HSPA contract no. 10221 with a declared age of 21 (HSPA/PA 1929). (Because HSPA required a minimum age of 18 for its recruits, it was not uncommon for underaged Filipinos to lie about their age in order to qualify to work in Hawaii.) An HSPA memo indicates that he was assigned to Kekaha Plantation on Kauai but all Federation documents, including Moncado's (1955: 7),<sup>13</sup> state that he was in Koloa, where he worked for one year before heading for the West Coast. He worked in San Francisco and in an Alaskan cannery before residing in Los Angeles. Through those years prior to the founding of the Federation, Moncado supported himself through odd jobs as laborer, labor agent, elevator "boy" and the like. He put himself through high school in San Francisco and obtained a college degree in a city university in Los Angeles in 1928 at the peak of the movement. Two years later, he was conferred an honorary doctoral degree from an unaccredited university which soon became defunct. Nevertheless, Hilario Camino Moncado held the title of "Dr. Moncado."

Moncado was tall for a Filipino, about six feet,<sup>14</sup> which immediately made him stand out among the rest of his countrymates. According to the Federation

secretary, Helen Borough (1984a), "when [Moncado] walked people would turn around and wonder who he was... Walking into the banquet room, walking to the [hotel] lobby, you could tell he was the leader. People would turn and look at him. It showed self-confidence when he walked." He was always immaculately dressed (Borough 1984b; Yap 1984; DeSeo 1931: 30-31). In addition to his charismatic personality, he was ambitious and visionary and possessed good organizational and leadership skills. Personally, however, he had "few if any intimate friends...feelings for him [were] usually those of intense loyalty or intense hatred" (DeSeo 1931: 31).

Moncado did not reveal much about himself and his personal background. This added to the "mysterious" aura that surrounded him and became consistent with his mystic persona. In the context of their indigenous world view, the Federation members linked Moncado's being a "*mysterioso*" (mysterious) with supernatural power. Thus, it was perfectly logical for members to accept the mystical background that was presented to them about Moncado: that he was trained in mysticism in India at age 9 and received "Ph.D. degrees in Kabala, Numerology and Human Nature" at age 12.

### The Tagalog Mystic

Lorenzo de los Reyes grew up in Tiaong in the southern Tagalog province of Tayabas (since renamed Quezon). From the middle of the 1800s, if not earlier, this region became known for its native mysticism. It has been the center of messianic movements—or the *colorum* tradition—which flourished and continue to flourish on the slopes of the mystical Mt. Banahaw (Ileto 1979: 86-92).<sup>15</sup> According to Darilay's biographical sketch, Reyes trained as a young child under an old Filipino mystic. Taking the appearance of Halley's comet in 1910 as a sign, Reyes left the Philippines for Hawaii that year and worked in Ewa plantation (Darilay 1931: 10; Felipe 1979).<sup>16</sup> He proceeded to San Francisco in the early part of 1911 and earned his living on the West Coast doing manual and domestic labor.

Reyes' personal background remained undisclosed even to those who knew him personally. They could only reveal what was already known about him from the biography that was featured in the 1931 "blue book" edition of his book, *Every Day New and Wonder*.<sup>17</sup> His loyal followers who studied under him in Honolulu have been unable to give any information about his birth date, his family, the details of his life in Hawaii and California. The material members in California could only say that he kept to himself and was always addressed as

"Mr. Reyes" by the members, except for Moncado who occasionally called him by a nickname, "Insong."<sup>18</sup>

Unlike the rest of the *sakadas* who came seeking economic opportunities and material benefits, Reyes left for abroad in search of the fulfillment of a mystic mission, reportedly to find a person who would someday be the "Master of Morality." He lived an ascetic life and did not personally or materially profit from the resources of the organization. On the contrary, there seem to be reliable indications that Reyes contributed his hard-earned savings to finance the formation of the Federation and that he may have been involved in Moncado's earlier attempt to form a Filipino organization before the inception of the Federation.<sup>19</sup> Some members in Hawaii have also implied that Lorenzo de los Reyes was actually responsible for financing Moncado's high school and college education in the years preceding the founding of the Federation.

It is practically impossible to know at this point to what extent Reyes recognized the charismatic personality of Moncado and his special qualities, and whether or not he believed that Moncado had extraordinary powers and a messianic identity. Or, did Reyes simply nurture this belief in Moncado as far as it went in pursuit of a bigger goal which was the fulfillment of his lifetime mission of practicing mysticism and teaching others to capture its hidden meanings and spiritual empowerment? Was his mystic undertaking not dependent, after all, on having a charismatic figure as a focus and an instrument of his mission?

### A Strong Spiritual Following

What certainly became clear was Reyes' success in building up a loyal following of spiritual members. One of these members, who still lives, resides in Honolulu and was interviewed in September 1979, related the task of *sacrificio* (sacrifice) which he undertook as a spiritual under Reyes in California about 1929. He was part of a group of 12 spirituals who lived in the mountains outside of Salinas without food and little water; each went separately to pray, meditate, and fast. According to this member, he did this for seven months although others were not able to last that long. This same member also said that the material members disapproved of the spirituals' physical appearance: emaciated-looking from fasting, with unkempt faces from not shaving and with long hair growing (San Buenventura 1990: 264-65). The material members felt that Reyes had gone too far and openly criticized his "superstitious" teachings

and practices. As early as 1928, Reyes became a divisive issue, and conflict ensued between the material and spiritual members (Darilay 1931: 11).

Moncado continued to support Reyes but handled the crisis by instructing Reyes and all the spirituals to move to Hawaii in 1930. This led to the establishment of the spiritual division in Hawaii and its formal separation from the material organization in California. The move did not involve the exodus of hundreds of individuals, but possibly three to four dozen hard core and well-trained followers made the journey to Hawaii—some accompanying Reyes, others following after they were able to save sufficient money for the cost of travel. Among those who came with Reyes was Geraldo Alvaro, considered Reyes' most exemplary student and noted for his spiritual prowess in fasting.

#### The Federation in Hawaii

Like Reyes, many spirituals had been former *sakadas* on the plantations and were no strangers to the way of life and economy of the islands. More importantly, the Federation had already established branches on Oahu and the Big Island in 1928, creating small communities of Federation members on the different plantations. The organizational mechanism and ingredients for growth were therefore already in place, with credit to Moncado's foresight; he saw the large population of *sakadas* in Hawaii as a resource for potential members very early on.

Moncado visited Hawaii two-and-a-half years after the Federation was formed with the idea of introducing the organization in the islands. On July 28, 1928, he sailed from Los Angeles to Honolulu on board the *SS City of Honolulu* as a member of an official Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce excursion group. The visitors were hosted by the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce and received due attention from the press. The presence of Moncado in the group also drew the scrutiny of the HSPA because of a letter from Mrs. R.H. Sweet of Yakima, Washington who wrote to Governor Wallace Farrington to warn him that Moncado was a "fake" and should not be allowed to "deceive" the Filipinos in Hawaii (HSA 1928). The Governor forwarded the letter to HSPA, which closely monitored Moncado's activities during the visit. The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (1928) reported Moncado's plans to open Federation branches in Honolulu and Hilo. In October of the same year, 24 members of the Federation from California arrived in Hawaii. A group of 12 led by Apolinario Felias stayed on Oahu to organize the Honolulu branch; the other group led by Eugenio Mabalad was assigned to the Big Island to start the Hilo branch (HSA 1928; HSPA 1928).

#### HSPA and the Federation

On October 20, 1928, HSPA Secretary-Treasurer J.K. Butler circulated a memo to all the plantation managers alerting them about the arrival of the Federation group from California (HSA 1928; HSPA/PA 1929). He followed this up with a confidential circular on January 30, 1929 which included a brief background on Moncado's family in Cebu gathered by HSPA agents in the Philippines. Butler also expressed concern about the recruitment of members on the plantations, particularly the \$100 membership fee and the kind of recruitment materials being circulated by the organization. Describing a Federation material that was confiscated from a member, Butler continued: "This [Federation] circular contained a lot of numbers and so-called equivalents in letters, together with a cross word puzzle or two and directions about reciting certain words seven times, certain words three times and other such cabalistic voodoo directions" (HSPA/PA 1929). He also mentioned "other [Federation] circulars which have come into our hands in which by numerology and otherwise it is demonstrated that Jose Rizal was the second Christ and Hilario Camino Moncado was the third Christ."

In a subsequent memo on September 17, 1929 addressed to Edward Broadbent, plantation manager of Grove Farm on Kauai, Butler noted "with regret" the Federation's "constant increase of membership amongst Filipinos particularly on our plantations." However, he reassured the plantation manager that "there is nothing directly conflicting with the interest of the plantations or any attempt to disrupt relations between the plantations and the Filipino laborers."<sup>20</sup>

Although it continued to be concerned about Filipino laborers being "duped" into joining the Federation and paying the exorbitant membership fee, the HSPA left the organization alone to run its own course. The monitoring of the Federation seemed to have stopped once the HSPA was reassured that the organization was not agitating for labor strikes and higher wages among Filipino workers. The HSPA's concern was unfounded as the Federation turned out to be pro management and directed its members not to participate in labor strikes.

#### California and Hawaii Compared

Establishing branches had been a major activity of the Federation in California; the formation of the branches in Honolulu and Hilo brought the number of Federation offices to 12. There were unifying factors that made the

Federation phenomenon a universal experience for the members in both California and Hawaii: the recognition of Moncado's special charisma, a basic acceptance of the material-spiritual dimensions of the organization, and belief in the objectives of the Federation.

However, the Federation in Hawaii evolved quite distinctly from the organization in California. The relevance and meaning of the organization's objectives changed under different conditions in a different time and place.

For one thing, the mutual aid aspect of the organization became less important with the passing of the pioneering years of immigration and as the members quickly proved themselves more than capable of mutual assistance. Mutual help became even less crucial in the paternalistic plantation environment of Hawaii where, in the later years, a more cohesive Filipino community developed and added to a better sense of security for the Filipinos. The Federation objectives that became more significant to all the members dealt with issues bigger than themselves: Philippine-American relations and the issue of Philippine independence. Obtaining the independence of the Philippines was the rallying force behind membership support of Moncado in California. However, this issue lost its timely relevance once the Tydings-McDuffey Act was passed in 1934 establishing Philippine independence on July 4, 1946. While this Federation objective was nonetheless an attractive force in recruiting members in Hawaii, its timely appeal lasted for only five years between the formation of the Federation in the islands and the act of Congress. What was really left then to sustain and strengthen the movement was its spiritual promise—of mystic empowerment and millennial reward.

Hawaii's rural world was more conducive to nurturing the spiritual dimension of the Federation than California's more urban and expansive surroundings and racially intolerant environment. Thus, the Federation communities in Hawaii reflected an organization that had a tightly integrated material and spiritual component. Material members who were married or who could not commit their entire life to *sacrificio* fasted whenever they could and were just as devoted in their prayers and beliefs in the *principios* (principles) of the Federation as the spirituals (San Buenaventura 1990: 267). The spiritual influence became even stronger because of Reyes and the formation of the spiritual division.

### The Federation in the Community

The movement quickly gained momentum in Hawaii. Many Filipino plantation workers joined the organization and sub-branches were established on

Maui and Kauai as well. In 1931, Eugenio Mabalod listed a membership of 435 men and women on the Big Island in a special souvenir book. Unfortunately, the Honolulu branch and subsequent sub-branches did not produce similar publications. However, it has been possible to reach some reasonable approximation of the extent of the organization's membership throughout Hawaii by reconstructing a loose membership list from Federation anniversary souvenir programs and publications which contain names of members from the different islands and from talking to the members. At this point, it would be safe to say that the Federation may have had as many as 600 members (perhaps even 800) during its lifetime in Hawaii, possibly a third of whom originally joined the Federation in California. Federation members in Hawaii, however, have given their membership as high as 11,000 and at times even more.<sup>21</sup> It should also be noted that like other *sakadas*, Federation members moved quite a bit between the islands; thus, members on the Big Island became members on Oahu when they changed their place of employment to Honolulu.

As membership increased, the Federation was able to maintain offices at the Watumull Building in downtown Honolulu and in Hilo. The material business of the organization was handled by its officers from these headquarters. Filipinos who wanted to join or members paying their membership fees by installment visited these offices. Lorenzo de los Reyes, on the other hand, had his own spiritual headquarters in a rented house in Makiki on Keeaumoku Street. He conducted his spiritual teachings from there, held "Sunday School" services, and taught fasting and physical culture.

### The Material Members' Activities

The first major activity of the Federation in Hawaii was in August 1931 when the members welcomed Hilario Camino Moncado on his first visit to Honolulu after the organization had been formed in the islands. He was on his way back to California after a trip around the world that began early in the year through Europe and Asia, and included his first visit to the Philippines.

The Federation members organized a convention for nine days in the tradition of the Federation convention celebrations in California. Members from the different islands came to Honolulu for the occasion, and the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (1931) reported the attendance figures (given by the Federation) as 200 delegates from Maui and the Big Island and 800 from Oahu. A special evening was reserved for a gala banquet at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel with Moncado hosting the occasion. Important people in Hawaii were invited all the

way from the Governor, Mayor to other public officials and community personalities. Those who came included Cayetano Ligot, Philippine Labor Commissioner to Hawaii. "Members proudly recalled how they decorated the streets of Honolulu with Filipino and American flags, similar to what was done in California during the early Federation conventions" on the occasion of Moncado's visit (San Buenaventura 1990: 273).

Just like California, the most significant activity of the Federation centered on observing the anniversary of the founding of the organization with a special banquet on December 27 of each year. As the organization became an integral part of the community, it participated actively in community celebrations and public concerns. During the war, it spearheaded a drive to sell war bonds among its members and in the Filipino community. Other ethnic groups in Hawaii performed their patriotic duties by selling war bonds also. However, under the able leadership of Benigno "Benny" Escobido, the organization's "Territorial Chairman for Public Relations," the Federation claimed to have outdone other community groups by selling over \$1 million worth of bonds. According to available records, the Federation sold \$130,559.25 worth of bonds in 1944. William Hanifin (1980), then Deputy Administrator of the Hawaii War Savings Staff and State Director of U.S. Savings Bond Division, did confirm that the Federation was the most organized and most productive of all the Filipino (and other ethnic) organizations in selling war bonds (San Buenaventura 1990: 382-85).

### Reyes and the Spirituals

The spirituals, on the other hand, increased in membership and intensified their observance of *sacrificio*. The core group from California had now been strengthened by new devotees from Hawaii. By 1938 there were "144" core spirituals who trained under Reyes and Geraldo Alvaro (Amper 1979, Felipe 1972, Nagal 1979). They kept their activities independent of the material members but worked among them in the plantation to support themselves. The two groups were unified, of course, in supporting official Federation activities and Moncado's agenda.

However, the spirituals distinguished themselves from the rest of the membership by their ascetic life style and strict adherence to the regular practice of fasting and physical culture, eating "raw food" (uncooked food) called *simento*, and not cutting their hair—all of which were meant to sharpen their spiritual prowess and test their unlimited commitment to the Federation and

Moncado. One practice they were able to observe much more easily in Hawaii than in California was "going into the mountain" ("*na-mundok*," or "*nag-ermitanyo*," not unlike a hermit) to pray, fast and meditate. In the context of Filipino mysticism, the 49 spirituals who did this (Nagal 1979) saw it as a test (*iahas*, in Bisayan) of one's extraordinary ability to face unknown spirits and confront nature's harsh conditions, a process through which one discovered supernatural power. One member who joined the Federation when he was already married—and could technically not be considered a spiritual—was a loyal follower of Reyes. This member relayed how he went up regularly in the Waianae mountain range and in caves to pray in order "to get power" (San Buenaventura 1990: 310-15.) In addition to testing their courage and faith, the spirituals saw this exploration as an opportunity to find special magical objects (called *anting-anting* or talisman) which were considered sources of empowerment (San Buenaventura 1990: 67-71; Iletto: 28-35). Others in this group reportedly explored places on Oahu like Nuuanu and some mountainous areas on the Big Island.

Lorenzo de los Reyes left for the Philippines in June 1932 with a group of Federation leaders under instructions from Moncado. They were given orders to expand the Federation colonies in Mindanao where about three dozen members had gone in 1930 to pioneer the project. Part of Moncado's reason for sending his able leaders back to the Philippines had to do with his plans to enter Philippine politics. He needed loyal and trusted followers to pave the way for his campaign since he had no political base there whatsoever. Reyes died in Balamban, Moncado's hometown in Cebu on August 21, 1937 after an illness.

Reyes' absence did not leave a spiritual vacuum. Geraldo Alvaro, referred to by members by his mystic name, *Bag-ong Yuta* (Bisayan for "new earth" or "new life") succeeded him. As Reyes' right-hand person, the spirituals not only accepted Alvaro's authority but also recognized his "special powers." He introduced other forms of ritual and expanded on the *ermitanyo* practice introduced by Reyes. However, there were those from the material division who strongly opposed Alvaro. In 1933, he ran into a serious conflict with some members of the material division, served time in jail and was eventually forced to return to the Philippines in 1938 (TH/Circuit Court 1934).<sup>22</sup>

### Criticisms and Attacks on the Federation

From the very beginning, the Filipino community in Hawaii was quite critical of the Federation especially at a time when the movement was gaining

momentum among the *sakadas* on the plantation. Filipino community leaders were extremely concerned about the "unfavorable" image that the Federation was giving to the Filipino ethnic group; they also considered it a responsibility to expose the "fakery" of Moncado in order to prevent "unsuspecting" *sakadas* from joining and being exploited.

The first formal attack against Moncado appeared in 1930 in a 20-page pamphlet written and published by Primo E. Quevedo, a student on government scholarship (a *pensionado*) in Los Angeles. Quevedo's purpose was "to enlighten the poor illiterate [sic] boys who have been misled and fooled by Moncado and his Federation." (Quevedo 1930: 19). He also hoped to stop Moncado from misrepresenting the Filipinos and for "belittling Philippine and American officials, and God."

Independent of Quevedo's work, Nicolas C. Dizon's 118-page volume was published in Honolulu in 1931. Dizon was a Tagalog Filipino Methodist minister who worked initially among the Filipino plantation workers in Hawaii and later established the Filipino Christian Church in urban Honolulu. As a Christian minister, Dizon's indictment dealt with the "superstitious" beliefs and practices of the Federation. He considered the organization "unethical" with "harmful effects on the character of the Filipino community in Hawaii" (San Buenaventura 1990: 438). Dizon drew important information about some of the spiritual practices of the Federation from former members who had left the organization. He also criticized "Moncado's lieutenants" for acting as if they were "wiser than lawyers and doctors" because they professed "to know some things that...other educated Filipinos [did] not know" (Dizon 1931: 50-52).

It was also not uncommon for the Filipino laborers in Hawaii to offer negative opinions about the Federation and to ridicule their peers who joined the movement. "Bonipasyo," the subject of Virgilio Menor Felipe's thesis (1972) did not hesitate to express his thoughts: "Wherever you went, especially on weekends in Hilo at the street corners, they preached, Let the light of Moncado guide your path in life! But these people were weak and lonely-hearted men and cowards like castrated chickens" (Felipe 1972).

"Bonipasyo" and other Filipinos perceived the Federation members as cowards because the members did not fight back even when directly ridiculed. According to them, Moncado and Reyes instructed them to be peaceful and to accept these insults as a test of their spiritual strength, just as Moncado did every time he was maligned by his enemies. On the contrary, the more criticisms were hurled at the Federation and Moncado, the more steadfast the members became in their beliefs, reenforcing the messianic nature of the movement. The Federation members took these assaults on their leader and themselves as their

form of persecution, similar to the persecution of Christ and his disciples by non-believers. The criticisms only served to strengthen their belief in the "Christ-like" persona of Moncado.

### Change and Changes

The members' conviction that Moncado was directly responsible for obtaining the independence of the Philippines was an integral part of their belief in his role as the "new Rizal" and the "Filipino messiah." Thus, his political leadership and activities were viewed as part of the material process of accomplishing a higher, spiritual mission of liberation. The dynamism and the spiritual identity which the Hawaii Federation developed in the thirties were therefore instrumental in sustaining the movement through the decades to come.

When the goal of obtaining the independence of the Philippines had been met, the relevance of the organization was maintained and shifted to a new agenda focusing on Moncado's political goals (which were part of his spiritual mission). The Federation members in California and Hawaii began to be intensively involved in supporting Moncado's political candidacy in the Philippines.

Because of its proximity to the Philippines and the existence of a loyal cadre of followers, Hawaii became a crucial resource center for Moncado. Moncado's trusted officials from California, like Andres Darilay, were instructed to move to Hawaii and eventually became the core of his campaign operations in the Philippines. More importantly, the Hawaii members—especially the spirituals—generated much of the financial support Moncado needed to run for political office. He ran for senator in Cebu against Sergio Osmena in 1934 and in Lanao province against Tomas Cabili in 1938; he was a presidential candidate against the incumbent Manuel Quezon for president of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1941 and for the first president of the Philippine Republic in 1946 against Manuel Roxas and Sergio Osmena. He did not win in any of these but was elected in 1934 to represent his district in Cebu at the Constitutional Convention.

Postwar changes and internal conflicts made the Federation a different organization after the war. Moncado suffered more than sufficient political defeat to make him realize that there was no place for him in the Philippines. He returned in 1948 to the U.S. via Hawaii and was received warmly by a loyal following but a much depleted membership. Many members went back to the Philippines before the war and were barred from returning to America because



of the immigration limitations set by the Tydings-McDuffey Act; the new law also stopped the influx of the large immigrant population from which to recruit new members. Moncado himself was faced with a crucial problem of fighting his deportation from the U.S. and was eventually forced to live in Baja California, Mexico where he died on April 8, 1956.

The focus of the organization veered farther away from the now outdated material objectives and energies were concentrated on the spiritual. Moncado himself foresaw the inevitable change and encouraged the new direction of the Federation. On April 4, 1956—his last visit in Los Angeles and four days before he died—he told a group of faithful followers: “The work of the Filipino Federation of America is finished. Our work now is Religion” (Mariano 1963). With this new directive, several members proceeded to organize an “Equifrilibrium” religion, based on the basic beliefs and practices of the Federation. Unable to attract a sufficient following from among the general membership in California and Hawaii, the religion was established instead in the “Moncado colonies” in Mindanao where it was initially well-received by Federation members and their kinfolk and later became a recognized Philippine religious sect (San Buenaventura 1990: 408-14; Elwood 1968).

### The Federation in More Recent Times

The internal conflict between the materials and the spirituals increased after Moncado's death as part of the leadership struggle that ensued. The spirituals in Hawaii split into several factions: the mainstream chose Moncado's widow, Diana Toy Moncado, to head the spiritual division; a new and small group called the “Liberal division” followed a young local-born spiritual leader, Raymundo Quiniones, who brought his followers to Molokai at Moncado's suggestion; and the rest of the spirituals chose to stay independent and true to the original spirit of the Federation. They refused to recognize Diana Toy Moncado as the legitimate successor of Moncado because she was a devout Catholic and did not believe in the teachings of the Federation. The rest of the material members tried to arrive at a leadership compromise among themselves and aligned themselves with the spiritual faction of their choice. A core group of the spiritually-devoted material members who were married also formed the Filipino Crusaders World Army (FCWA) in the mid-forties, which did both material and spiritual work.

On the other hand, the material membership in California now centralized in the old Federation headquarters in Stockton saw itself as the legitimate Filipino Federation of America, Inc. In December 1956, its elected vice-president, Victor Ramajo (Moncado was considered the permanent and only president of the Federation), claimed that the Federation had ownership over the

Kalihi and Manoa properties purchased in the early forties by the spirituals for their church building and Moncado's residence, respectively. The California group lost the battle in court and as a result, the spiritual division under Diana Toy Moncado formed a new trust, the Moncado Foundation of America. A number of spirituals named as members of the Board of Trustees belonged to the independent group of spirituals who had been committed to continuing the new Foundation in the spiritual tradition of the Federation—without the added Catholic rituals and imagery that Diana Toy Moncado introduced to the Foundation. Today, the Kalihi property and what it should be used for is still being contested in court between former spirituals and co-trustees, Alfonzo Nagal and Eleuterio Bulawan and Diana Toy Moncado's successor and son, Mario Moncado, also a Foundation trustee. Members who have not directly been involved in the dispute continue to remain faithful to the memory of the organization in their own private ways. The different groups meet regularly like family and organize separate functions every December 27 to celebrate the anniversary of the Federation.

### Conclusion

Federation members have differed and even contradicted one another in their interpretation of the many complicated aspects of the movement, leading to the creation of different factions among them. Their diverse positions have been caused by a number of factors: their individual needs and expectations and personal motives in joining the organization; the degree to which they devoted time, energy and material resources to the organization; the diverse interpretations they gave to events and the teachings of Moncado and Reyes; their positions in the structure of the organization, and whether or not they were material or spiritual members; the dynamics of their interrelationships with one another; and the historical circumstances surrounding their individual experience with the Federation.

However, inherent in this diversity was the fact that Moncado and Reyes encouraged the members to experience the Federation in individual ways. Their creative roles in putting together a unique phenomenon included allowing the members to engage in creative expressions themselves. Members were allowed to “philosophize” on their own and to unravel the Federation teachings for themselves. This was partly because the organization did not have a formal body of dogmas, and its *principios* were essentially loosely comprised of a combination of folk philosophy and myths, nativistic practices, Christian beliefs, and syncretic religio-cultural elements brought about by the Filipino-American



experience. As Moncado came up with new ideas, such as the postwar additions of *Man's Moral Concept* and the "Moncadian Calendar,"<sup>23</sup> the Federation members instantly incorporated these into their body of beliefs as if they had been always a part of the Federation since the very beginning. Following in the footsteps of Moncado, a number of members introduced new interpretations along the way with the intention of establishing their own group of Federation followers but met with little or no success.

Although the Filipino Federation of America legally ended as an organization at the end of its fifty years of incorporation in 1977, the members in Hawaii attempted to perpetuate the image of a dynamic movement in the successive years. The leaders of the material division in Honolulu held banquets commemorating the anniversary of the Federation and established March 5 (the date of Moncado's arrival in Hawaii) as "Immigration Memorial Day." These celebrations seemed bigger events than they actually were because they were advertised in the local dailies and in program souvenirs complete with solicited endorsements and congratulations from top public officials and community figures—in the true tradition of the Federation. As in past celebrations, prominent members of the community in Hawaii were always invited and many did attend a number of the Federation banquets at one time or another.

Today, the activities of the Federation have been drastically scaled down because of an aging and depleting membership, but the remaining members continue to perpetuate the legacy of a 75-year old movement in individual and collective ways. However, their tribute to the Federation and Hilario Camino Moncado should be seen instead as a homage to themselves and a celebration of their lifetime and extremely unique contribution to the immigrant experience in America.

### Notes

1. David Thompson was the education director for the ILWU and was involved with organized labor in Hawaii for many years before his death in June 1979. He was most supportive of the initial work on the Federation which an historian friend and colleague, Michael Cullinane, and I started in 1976. Thompson shared all the information he had on the organization with us and facilitated our use of the ILWU library in 1977 when we first met him.
2. The HSPA was naturally concerned with keeping outside "agitators" like Pablo Manlapit and other labor leaders from getting to the Filipino workers and organizing them to strike. However, the HSPA also kept a vigilant watch over those Filipinos with more education but who took advantage of the *sakadas* who

could not read or write and were vulnerable to being cheated. There was genuine concern on the part of the HSPA to protect unsuspecting Filipino workers from individuals and organizations with opportunistic intentions. In those cases where it gave solicitation approval (e.g., Cayetano Ligot's collection for the the Philippine Tuberculosis Society, Filipino baseball tournaments), it established a system whereby monies were collected from the workers by the plantation manager or his representative and submitted to the HSPA, which then issued a check directly to the recipient institution or group. One separate category in the HSPA Plantation Archives pertains to the subject of "Defraud of Filipinos."

3. An exploration into the background of the *Dimas Alang* and *Legionarios* in California and their interrelationship with the Federation in the twenties and thirties will be pursued during a postdoctoral research fellowship at the University of California, Los Angeles.
4. The Federation referred to them as "Objects" rather than objectives. These were: 1) to promote friendly relations between Filipinos and Americans; 2) to develop true Christian fellowship; 3) to show the real humanitarian spirit by offering their moral, spiritual, and material aid and protection to their fellow beings, most specially to the fellow members of the Federation; 4) to advance the moral and social conduct of each member; 5) to foster the educational advancement of each member; 6) to respect the superiors and office holders of the Federation; 7) to serve in any capacity for the further advancement of the Filipino Federation of America; 8) to be loyal to the Constitution of the Federation; 9) to peacefully obtain the immediate and complete independence of the Philippine Islands; 10) to work for a fair and truthful understanding of the relations between the United States and the Philippines; 11) to be an active agency of the solution of the Philippine problems; 12) to uphold the Constitution of the United States.
5. The belief in Rizal's "unfinished mission" and its fulfillment in his reincarnation was widespread among the members interviewed, whether Bisayan or Ilokano. To reinforce this, the Federation circulated a specially constructed photograph of Rizal showing him with "12 *ilustres*" (it should be "*ilustrados*") comprised of some of Rizal's colleagues in the *ilustrado* nationalist movement but also of Filipino heroes whom Rizal had never met, like Andres Bonifacio.
6. Older members related how proud they were of the fact that the Philippine flag was "equal" to the American flag. They declared that this was the first time this had ever happened and that Moncado was responsible for it.
7. Because this was a huge amount, especially during the Great Depression and for Filipino workers earning a very small wage, those who wanted to join the Federation paid the required fee by installment or waited until they saved the entire amount. When 12 people had accomplished this, they were then formed into a lodge and officially accepted into the organization.

8. The Federation established branches in Stockton, Salinas, Santa Maria, Pasadena, Oakland, Fresno, San Fernando, Sacramento and San Diego.
9. Although his last name should technically be "de los Reyes," "Reyes" will be used instead because the Federation members referred to him as "Mr. Reyes."
10. The word stood for: "EQUI—I am the Way of Equality; FRILI—I am the Truth of Fraternity; BRIUM—I am the Life of Liberty and the Master of Equifrilibricum." "Equifrilibricum" stood for Moncado's material identity, "Equifrilibrium" was his "divine" persona.
11. Thompson had also referred to Reyes' "John the Baptist" role in his article.
12. A typewritten copy of Moncado's baptismal certificate can be found in Francisco Dalumpines' 1971 master's thesis on the life of Moncado. Michael Cullinane saw the original baptismal certificate in the Balamban parish church records.
13. If Moncado was to have been reincarnated from Rizal, it seemed only logical that the year of his birth should come after Rizal's death in 1896.
14. His approximate height has been corroborated by a number of people and from examining photographs taken of him standing with individuals and groups of people.
15. The mystic tradition of Mt. Banahaw continues to be strong to this day. See, for example, the recent study of Vicente Marasigan (1985). Floro Alburo, a Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology at the University of Hawaii, is currently completing his study of another messianic movement in Mt. Banahaw.
16. Darilay's account and Faustino Felipe's interview seem to support the idea that Reyes must have been a minor when he left the Philippines. He attached himself as a dependent to a couple from Manila whom he did not know in order to come to Hawaii (which was not uncommon practice among the underaged *sakadas*). According to Darilay: "In Hawaii, young Reyes worked in the sugar plantation with some children. His salary was fifty cents a day." Adult workers were paid one dollar a day.
17. Reyes published three editions of *Every Day New and Wonder*: red (1929), white (1930) and blue (1931). The red edition contained 173 pages, the white had 243 pages, and the blue consisted of 300 pages. The material members received copies of the red and white editions, but the "blue book" edition was reserved for only the loyal spirituals.
18. This piece of information has been provided by Ted Dumaran, a Federation member from Waianae. He recalls a general meeting he attended in 1948 in Honolulu during Moncado's visit in which Moncado referred to Reyes by this nickname.

19. There is no clear evidence, so far, of Reyes' direct involvement with the first organization Moncado attempted to establish, the Filipino Federation of Labor, except for the fact that it was reported to have had a "one-room office" in a hotel in which Reyes was staying at that time.
20. This information was provided by Ruben Alcantara from research he did at the Grove Farm Plantation archives.
21. The Federation literature and the members all give different numbers. Cullinane (1983: 74) provides some of these figures from various sources. A January 1931 issue of *Screen Mirror* ("The Magazine from Hollywood") found among a member's collection of Federation literature a full-page ad of the Federation claiming "1,023,000 members"—"over 12,000" in the U.S., including Alaska, "over 10,000" in Hawaii, and "1,000,000" in the Philippine Islands.
22. The Federation ran a home for children, and charges of child molestation were brought against Alvaro. Spiritual members believed that this was a ploy on the part of some of the leaders of the material division to undermine the spiritual division.
23. *Man's Moral Concept* is a short essay Moncado wrote in the forties in the Philippines. Its basic idea is that "man and God are equal"—because God created man in His image and likeness but also because man created the idea of God. The Moncadian Calendar was introduced by Moncado around 1949 in California where instead 13 months in a year are given, each having 28 days.

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# Maunaloa, Moloka'i: An Ilokano Community in Hawai'i (1974-1976)

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This paper proposes to describe *as an Ilokano community* Maunaloa, Moloka'i in the State of Hawai'i, USA as it existed during our nearly two years of residence in 1974-76. Clearly this effort of ours at such description is problematical; how can some place not in the Ilokos, some place indeed many thousands of miles removed, some place in Hawai'i where people from Ilokos often describe themselves as "foreigners" be construed as "Ilokano"? Fortunately this problem has already been faced by others on whom we can lean. H.T. Lewis (1971) has described two barrios in the Philippines—one in Ilokos Norte and one in the province of Isabela in the southern part of the Cagayan Valley, concluding that the latter is still validly considered an Ilokano barrio. Our paper attempts to extend the distance and maintain the same claim. We utilize some of the criteria employed by Lewis, focusing on the maintenance of an "alliance system" (Hollnsteiner, 1963) and the extent of Ilokano language usage. Our observations on the social organization of the town support Lewis's contention that, aside from language, Ilokano culture is not fundamentally different from that of lowland Philippines.

The second purpose of the paper is to describe social and economic conditions that, over the years, modified the Ilokano character of the town (again focusing on language usage and the "alliance system").

A crisis, the withdrawal of the pineapple plantation company, in combination with the development of a nearby resort area, has, we believe, created a situation in which the alliance system can no longer operate. We predicted that Maunaloa would very shortly cease to be an Ilokano town.

Maunaloa is situated at approximately 157° 13' W longitude and 21° 7' N latitude on the island of Moloka'i. More specifically, it may be found at an elevation of 1,103 feet on the western slope of the extinct dome volcano Mauna Loa which reaches a height of 1,300 feet and forms the dry western end of the island.

The main county road that crosses the island and connects all the major communities ends at Maunaloa, which covers 200 acres of Moloka'i Ranch land.

Most of the houses in Maunaloa were built in the early 1930s. Most of the homes, except a few on the paved county road and two other small paved roads, are connected by narrow dirt lanes. Many homes have small front and back yard vegetable gardens. Scattered vacant lots around the town are extensively used for growing bananas, sweet potatoes, eggplant, bitter melon and other popular Ilokano plants. The use of these vacant lots was controlled by a complex "inheritance" system devised by residents. An analogous system applied to the allocation of several rows of detached garage structures.

Politically, the village of Maunaloa may be described with respect to federal and state governmental systems. Maunaloa has a federal post office and its own zip code: 96770. It is under the jurisdiction of Maui County which includes the islands of Moloka'i, Lana'i and Maui. The county provides Maunaloans with police protection. The state, on the other hand, through its Department of Education, operates Maunaloa's elementary school. Students must attend intermediate and high school at Moloka'i High in Ho'olehua, which is some 12 miles distant from Maunaloa. Some parents, however, elect to send their children to schools away from Moloka'i. During elections, villagers who are citizens may vote for county, state and national candidates.

Dole Company Office housing records in March 1975 showed the Maunaloa population to be approximately 850 persons with the following distribution of ethnic groups: Filipino (90%), Japanese (4%), Caucasian (3%), Hawai'ian (1%) and Others (2%).

Of the Filipino population, approximately 86% was Ilokano, 10% Visayan and 4% Tagalog. Approximately 13% of the Filipino population were pre-school children, and 20% 5-18 years of age. Approximately 13% of the Filipino adult population were between the ages of 19-31, 20% between 32-41, 15% between 42-51, 20% between 52-61 and 32% over 62 years.

The pattern of Ilokano settlement in Maunaloa was almost identical to that described by Alcantara for the Waialua plantation (Alcantara, 1975). Well over half of the Ilokano population arrived prior to 1947, practically none (1%) between 1947 and 1965 (a period characterized by restrictive United States immigration policy) and 44% after 1965, as a result of the liberalized immigration policies enacted into law that year.

Family reunification, which was a primary objective of the 1965 Immigration Act, was as successful in Maunaloa as it was in Waialua. In 1965, 73% of the permanent male Filipino residents of the town did not have wives and

families (Norbeck 1959: 62). In 1975 only 7% of the men were in the same situation. As in Waialua, the staggered arrival of Ilokans at Maunaloa perpetuated the largely first generation nature of the town. Eighty percent of the adult Ilokano population in 1975 was born in the Philippines.

The Maunaloa of 1974-76 was different from Waialua in one very important respect. According to Alcantara, the decision of many Filipino employees to remain permanently in Waialua was clinched by the opportunity to buy plantation homes (Alcantara 1975: 10). "By 1974, almost two-thirds of the homes originally purchased by the Filipinos as old, existing plantation homes...had been replaced by newer pre-fabricated dwellings" (Alcantara 1975: 12). In contrast, that same year at Maunaloa, a local newsletter featured the following report:

No More Maunaloa?

The May 9th Maunaloa Community Action Council Meeting produced some rather startling news for the already shocked west end town.

A Moloka'i ranch employee surprised the 65 people at the meeting by announcing that they would not be able to buy their homes...because Maunaloa would probably be relocated. This was due to plans being made by the Kaluakoi Corporation. "There is big money here" said (the manager) in reference to the decisions being made concerning the future of west Moloka'i (*Pukoo Examiner*, Vol. 1, No. 5).

Maunaloa residents did not accept the statements reported above as final. They organized to try to retain the town and buy their homes and lots. Their activities and statements during this crisis made explicit what it was that they valued about a town which many observers have labeled nondescript and even shabby. Above all, the residents made clear, they valued the "alliances" they had successfully established. The remainder of this section will detail the nature of these alliances as Ilokano residents of Maunaloa described them.

### Features of the "Alliance System" in Maunaloa

Lewis (1975) described the basis of Ilokano social structure as a combination of several ego-centered systems: bilateral kin groups, affines, agemates and friends, neighbors, workmates and ritual or fictive kinsmen. The total network of interdependence involving these social relationships is similar to the "alliance system" described by Hollnsteiner (1963: 63) as "a network of reciprocal relationships whose members extend to one another and expect mutual assistance and loyalty." The degree to which relatives and neighbors exchange goods and

services with one another is an important measure of the strength of mutual assistance networks.

Key informants in Maunaloa, when speaking of traditional values they wanted to preserve in the town, occasionally used the term *panagkakadua*, which translates broadly as 'feeling and behaving with responsibility towards one another'. This term is not normally applied to the whole village population, in everyday conversation, but is used for smaller networks of specific town residents whose day-to-day interactions demonstrate responsibility and good will.

In Maunaloa's networks, older men, including single men whether or not related, were explicitly recognized as integrated elements in the composition of the group. These men functioned as chief cooks for celebrations, as butchers, gardeners, fishermen, caretakers (for children) and so on.

These networks typically included six or seven families whose members were related to one another by consanguinity and/or ritual kinship ties. As with other descriptions of such networks in studies of Philippine social structure, it is not possible to define the boundaries between networks because they are in fact interlocking and overlapping and sometimes shifting as the result of the repatriation of members or major ritual events such as baptisms or marriages that introduce new ritual kin. We studied one such network closely and secondarily participated in the activities of another partially overlapping network.

The following are the most important and regularly shared goods and services within these networks:

1. shared services involving children, including watching each other's children, cooking for them and accepting general responsibilities to mediate in disputes among children;
2. shared food;
3. shared cooking activities;
4. shared gardening;
5. shared entertaining functions;
6. availability during emergencies;
7. helping newly arrived kin get started (with monetary donations being a typical form of help);

8. informing others about potentially dangerous situations;
9. looking after the needs of older members.

The few non-Ilokano Filipinos in town were also integrated into these networks.

In a survey we conducted of 146 Filipino residents, all the respondents said they had at least one fictive relative ("cumpares", "cumpares" or ritual kin, and their children). Eighty-nine percent could name more than ten such fictive kin.

Maunaloans commented, during some of our earliest interviews, that the networks at Maunaloa were larger and more intact than the networks of other places they were familiar with in Hawai'i. This, they explained, was what made the town a desirable place in which to live. Their convictions that, in this respect, the community was more integrated than other places they might be able to live are supported by data from Anderson et al. (1984). Table 1 presents these data which show that more Maunaloa residents stated that they shared consumer goods and services than did residents of either Kualapu'u, the other Filipino community on Moloka'i, or of Puhi, a predominantly Filipino formerly plantation community on Kaua'i, or of a group of Filipino professionals mostly residents on O'ahu. The latter group is not directly comparable to the first three since the professionals do not live in the same community. Anderson et al. were exploring differences on a rural-urban continuum, but their data are suggestive of the extent to which Maunaloans participate in networks of reciprocal relationships.

Lewis (1975: 14) cited cooperatively organized barrio fiestas as demonstrations of social cohesiveness. The frequency of such fiestas in Maunaloa and the number of residents actively involved in the months-long preparations for them impressed us a great deal during our residence in the town. By far the most elaborate and best attended of these fiestas was the Flores de Mayo, followed, roughly in order of importance or visibility, by Rizal Day, Parents' Night and Christmas. Besides these, there were also numerous large baptisms, weddings, "bienvenidas" (welcome parties) for new relatives, and "despedidas" for departing kin. Some Maunaloans adopted first birthday baby luaus as occasions for large celebrations. The biggest of these fiestas featured organized folk dances by several groups of children and adults. There were also speeches, contests, raffles, bands, singing and dancing, and plenty of Ilokano food. Activities were efficiently managed by the residents, underlining the extent of organization and communication within the town.

Table 1  
Sharing Consumer Goods and Services

Community	Number	Percent of Sample
Maunaloa	32	53.3
Kualapu'u	17	37.0
Puhi	17	20.0
Professionals	0	0.0
<i>Consumer goods chi square significance .0001</i>		
Maunaloa	39	65.0
Kualapu'u	17	37.0
Puhi	25	29.4
Professionals	5	23.8
<i>Services chi square significance .0001</i>		

#### Language in Maunaloa

While Lewis has described Ilokans as essentially like other lowland Christian Filipinos in culturally and socially significant ways, he recognized that at least one thing can reveal a particular Filipino community as Ilokano: "what clearly distinguishes Ilokans from non-Ilokans is language" (1971: 81).

Ilokans are noticeable as Ilokans by the way they speak, at least by the speaking of Ilokano. When we moved to Maunaloa we found from the first day that Ilokano was ubiquitous. Eventually we were to learn that the speaking of Ilokano was constrained in certain ways, but from the first we were scarcely ever out of earshot of someone speaking Ilokano.

The house which the plantation company rented to us, #333, was located in the middle of the third-lowest row of houses, facing the *bulangan*—the cockfight area—across two garden areas. These gardens were tended by a married couple who lived in the house at the south side of ours and by a single man, a camp barber, who lived in the house at the north side of ours. Paths which were in almost constant use by pedestrians cut through the spaces on either side of our

house. We could hear Ilokano being spoken by the people traversing these paths even when they were not speaking to us, nor yet aware of our presence.

On our first day in Maunaloa we met a man and his two children, aged four and two, both children born on Moloka'i and never away from the island. They brought food to our house as we moved in. One of the early topics of the conversation between us—conducted in Ilokano, Tagalog and some other variety—perhaps a variety of English or Pidgin English, concerned the ages of our own children (then four, seven, eight and ten). The father's interest was to know the ages of his own children relative to ours; when he had the information, he made a considerable point of instructing both sets of children in the appropriate use of the Ilokano kinship terms *ading* 'younger sibling', *manang* 'older sister', and *manong* 'older brother'. This neighbor's two children used Ilokano extensively in their efforts to communicate with us.

The garden in front of our house had large fruit trees at its corners. These were near enough to our house that often we could overhear conversations between those elderly Ilokano speakers who owned the trees and the many children who stopped to ask them permission to take some fruit. Through such events, we were soon enough able to develop a sizeable list of children who did use Ilokano in these conversations. Also, our growing closeness to certain families permitted us to observe the use of Ilokano in homes. We noted that many children were spoken to in Ilokano, and they normally responded to the parents' satisfaction to what were frequently quite complex directives given wholly in Ilokano. It was possible, and not at all unusual, to note Ilokano being spoken to children outside of the home: at the post office and the store, at gatherings in the community clubhouse and at picnics at the beach. Often on such picnics, we would notice one or two women off in a quiet corner reading a copy of *Bannawag* magazine, an Ilokano weekly published in the Philippines. Such copies were normally passed around among a set of readers, and in a number of homes we frequented, piles of back issues would be seen in the salas or more often stacked beside a sewing machine. Women were the main readers; there were only a few men we ever saw reading *Bannawag*. We did find a copy of Hermon P. William's English-Ilokano, Ilokano-English dictionary which one man had brought from the Philippines and carefully preserved, rebinding it himself with sewn-on cardboard covers.

What were the numbers of Ilokano speakers in Maunaloa? What percentage of the population spoke Ilokano? According to Norbeck in 1959, "[n]ative speakers of Ilokano, principally from the provinces of Ilokos Norte and Ilokos Sur, comprise nearly 70 percent of the total Philippine-born population of

Table 2

## Language Use as Reported by Residents

Named as language most used everyday in Maunaloa	Percent of Respondents born in Philippines	Percent of Respondents born in Hawai'i
Ilokano	42	2
(Combination)	13	9
English	8	10
No scorable answer	16	0
	79	21

approximately 350 people" (Norbeck 1959: 57). A decade later Peterson (1970: 117) told us that 74 percent of Maunaloans spoke, read and wrote a language other than English. Peterson did not say what language(s) were involved, but he was comparing Maunaloa's 74 percent to the 54 percent of Kualapu'u, the other predominantly Filipino plantation town on Moloka'i. His figures were taken from the 1969 State of Hawai'i State Planning System study. It is likely that Ilokano is most of what produced those statistics.

Our own language survey in Maunaloa, conducted with the assistance of three Maunaloans, asked residents to say what was the language most used in everyday talk in Maunaloa. Forty-two percent named Ilokano. An additional 22 percent named Ilokano as one of a set of ways of speaking used, declining to exclude other varieties from their choice. Only 18 percent named English as the most used language. Even then, what "English" means in this context is problematic.

This language information on use and attitudes was not simple data to gather. The word "language," gave considerable difficulty because many use the word "dialect" for Ilokano, not "language," and are not sure what to call the varieties of English they use. Labels recorded include "mix-up" and "mix-mix," "halo-halo," "kapakahi" from Hawai'ian, meaning "askew, inside-out, backwards" (often pronounced "kapakay" by Maunaloans), "pidgin English," "bro-

Table 3  
Language Use Reports by Immigration Periods

Languages selected 'most'	Pre-1946 %	1946 %	Post-1946 %	Date of arrival unknown %	Total %
Ilokano	10	7	21	4	42
(Combination)	1	3	7	2	13
English	7	1	0	0	8
No answer	2	7	7	0	16

ken English", "carabao English," "American English (because this is America)," "Maunaloa English", and "our English." In all the variety what seemed clear was that a high percentage of the verbal interaction in Maunaloa would, by Lewis's criterion, justify the claim that Maunaloa was an Ilokano community.

Possibly the amount of use of Ilokano in Maunaloa had risen throughout the decades, particularly so because of increased migration since the 1965 immigration law. Below is a closer look at responses of the Philippine-born Maunaloans, broken down by period of arrival. The split among the pre-1946 immigrants is noteworthy, but we are not prepared to discuss it in any detail here.

At least two local-born Filipino Maunaloa adults were recognized by others and identified themselves as Ilokano speakers. Both of them were born on Maui. The female worked in the store where she was the only clerk fluent in Ilokano. The male was recognized as a key figure in the weekend cockfights and said that it was an interest in cockfighting which motivated his developing skill in speaking Ilokano.

A number of Visayans were found to have learned to speak Ilokano while residing in Maunaloa. At least one case each of a single man, a married man, and a married woman can be cited. We are not sure of the exact number of Maunaloa residents born in the Visayas or born to Visayan parents, but we never heard Visayan spoken in Maunaloa (although we did hear it spoken a few times in East Moloka'i).

The Ilokano of all speakers showed signs of Hawai'i influence. Hawai'ian words such as *hula* and *lu'au* and *manuahi* (a gratis addition, a bargain) occur as loan words in Maunaloa Ilokano. The Tagalog of at least some speakers likewise showed Ilokano influence. Thus we noted that many speakers would use Ilokano post-clitic *mi* rather than Tagalog *namin* in their Tagalog, that Ilokano (and Visayan) *balay* frequently occurred in place of Tagalog *bahay* (house), and that people said things like *mabuti man* (fine thanks), using Ilokano *man*, rather than Tagalog *naman*.

Neither Norbeck nor Peterson provided figures on children's competence in Ilokano. We can provide a few relevant figures and some databased estimates, even though we did not do a full survey on this question. Reasons why such a survey would have been problematic are presented below.

The principal of the elementary school reported that "children from nearly 40 percent of Maunaloa School families speak primarily Ilokano at home" (Medeiros 1975). There were 120 students in the school (grades K through 6) at that time, coming from 67 different families. Ninety-three of the students had a Filipino ethnic background, but only 20 of them (or 16 percent of the student population) were born in the Philippines. Fifty-eight percent had at least one parent born in the Philippines. None of the teachers spoke Ilokano, although they did indicate willingness to learn about the language while we were there. In Ilokano orientation workshops which we organized, the one Filipina-American teacher revealed some competence in Ilokano of which even her co-teachers and principal had until then been unaware. The principal noted the

teachers' feeling that many students who have Filipino backgrounds would do much better academically and on standardized tests were there a good way for them to bridge the gap between the...American culture and language and their own.

The presuppositions underlying this quote should be noted: It is the students who are thought responsible for bearing the burden of doing this bridging, not the teachers nor the curriculum materials developers.

When we asked adults in the community other than the teachers to name children they could converse with using Ilokano, children (ages not specified) of 45 different families were named. A number of respondents said that there were many but considered it inappropriate to indicate names.



Our information adds up to a picture of substantial numbers of children in Maunaloa with at least some competence in Ilokano. It is clear to us that the widespread belief in Hawai'i that it is only Philippine-born and immigrant children who speak Philippine languages is a belief which does not accord with these facts.

### Pressures Against Ilokano in Maunaloa

It is true, however, that the observation in any depth or the recording of children's speech in Ilokano proved exceedingly difficult. Although we set about making efforts to do so early on, it was only in the second year of our stay that we managed to obtain any extended samples of preschoolers' Ilokano. This experience was the source of some real frustration in the fieldwork, arousing our curiosity to seek explanations. We expect that in any research site in the Philippines, we would not find a similar difficulty. Why then was it so difficult to obtain tape recordings of childrens' Ilokano in Maunaloa?

The reason, we believe, is that many children had been taught to conceal their ability to speak Ilokano, to exercise their skills only covertly, or only with considerable circumspection if in less than very private settings. Some children and their parents would deny that children spoke Ilokano. For example, at a Parent-Teacher Association meeting at the school, a classmate of our then nine-year-old stood beside MF and spoke Ilokano, sotto voce, with her mother. A number of sentences went back and forth. As the girl turned to leave, MF commented to the mother that he had been unaware her daughter spoke Ilokano. "Oh, but she doesn't," "No, I don't", they said to him almost in chorus.

Why deny the ability to speak Ilokano? After all, it is a major language of the Philippines and the Philippine language most widely used in Hawai'i. The United States Congress has even declared it a matter of national interest to support the learning of Philippine languages by American citizens. One of us enjoyed the financial support of this program. The denial requires explanation.

It seems that in Maunaloa influential persons have persuaded parents that it is un-American and not beneficial for the growth, development and futures of their children for them to speak Ilokano. This message is communicated in a number of ways, and the persons most often mentioned as source are certain nurses, first, but also school principals from earlier years, teachers, and especially one well-liked woman of Japanese-American ancestry whose husband was a plantation official. Twenty-three parents in our survey reported that someone

had told them they should speak English with their children for the sake of the children's futures. This message was probably communicated indirectly too as children came to realize the status held by many of those residents of Maunaloa who cannot speak Ilokano.

We knew of five children, all born in Moloka'i and all speakers of Ilokano, whose parents had been told by health services professionals that their children were learning disabled, as evidenced by language development assessment devices. The screening tests in questions were, of course, tests which presumed the acquisition of English rather than the acquisition of Ilokano. Normal development in the speaking and comprehension of Ilokano was not even considered by the testers.

In another case which parents and relatives of a first grader asked us to look into, we found that the child had scored quite low on a "professionally administered" battery of tests, after referral of the child to the (Department of Education/Department of Health) Child Study Team by the Maunaloa School staff. Teachers said they thought the girl had "an oral-aural problem." The clinical psychologist who tested her reported that she probably had

specific deficits in the auditory-verbal channel in addition to the interferences due to her bilingual background...Her language problems are further compounded by her bilingual background, but this does not seem to be the main cause of her language problems. I would, therefore, recommend learning disability certification and special assistance as soon as possible, before negative attitudes toward learning begin to develop.

Neither this psychologist who did the testing, nor earlier testers, nor the referring teachers, nor the special education teacher from whose classroom this first grader "dropped out" spoke Ilokano at all. We were told by another member of the Child Study Team that it is standard practice to score an error whenever a child being tested uses anything but English. This was a norm quite out of sorts with the norms of talk in Maunaloa.

We do not believe such incidents are isolated. In another case, a child psychiatrist in the service of the State of Hawai'i described a particular child as 'inarticulate'. Being rather well acquainted with the child, we asked the psychiatrist for more detail. When we mentioned that the child was one we knew to be a speaker of Ilokano, a look of chagrin came over this psychiatrist's face, and he admitted that this possibility had *never even occurred* to him, particularly as the records showed the child was born in Hawai'i.

One thing quite evident to us was that on the part of persons employed as professionals by the State of Hawai'i to serve children in Maunaloa, there was little or no regard for the children's existing and naturally developed language repertoires where these go beyond the confines of English. Such a situation must have some effect on the children's natural development, and thus some effect on the community into which these children were being socialized. Children learn that many powerful persons they and their kin and neighbors come into contact with do not speak Ilokano. Some of the children are pressed into service, for a time at least, as interpreters for grandmothers or parents, e.g., when a government agency's outreach worker comes to the door. They are not paid for such work, of course, and nothing is done in their schooling to practice and polish their work as interpreters or to prepare them for professional employment to serve this need. Soon enough they learn that there are people who disapprove of the use of Ilokano in America, and they begin to become more circumspect in their use of it. Some decide to stop learning. For these children, if not for all, the pressures against Ilokano are threats to the social cohesion of the groups to which they would otherwise naturally belong. The child who can no longer participate in the talk of the alliance network may drop out of it, be lost to it. How many Maunaloa children will maintain and develop their Ilokano we cannot say. We can only hope it will be many, though we know this is not likely unless some things change very soon.

### Threats to the Maintenance of Maunaloa as Ilokano

In addition to the constraints on Ilokano language use, the key threats to the community were the efforts (both implicit and explicit) of county decision makers to relocate and/or repatriate its residents.

The pineapple plantation company, which was the sole source of income for the vast majority of Maunaloa residents, terminated its employees on September 12, 1975. Few alternative jobs were available on the island. Since houses were rented from the company, the future of housing arrangement became critical, threatening the continued existence of the community.

County decision makers were either unaware of the value the Maunaloans attached to the maintenance of existing alliances or did not consider it a priority, as the following 1976 Maui County report suggests:

One of the immediate concerns of the Task Force was the unemployment situation. *Fortunately*, all but 35 of the 130 employees terminated by the Maunaloa company either *retired*, *relocated*, or found new jobs. (*Kalana o Maui*, 1976: 1) [emphasis supplied].

Unfortunately, however, many of these new jobs did require that families leave Maunaloa. We recorded the departure of 36 adults and 33 children while we were in Maunaloa. Friends report that the exodus continued until almost no one remained. We interviewed almost all those who left in the early groups, and the majority indicated they would have preferred to stay if there had been employment and housing options. Relocation alternatives were prominent in decision makers' discussions. One alternative offered by the manager of the Moloka'i Ranch (owner of Maunaloa land), at a May 1974 meeting reported by a local newspaper, was housing in a new ranch subdivision in Kaunakakai started earlier that year. The Moloka'i Task Force (a group authorized by the State Legislature to address the problems of Moloka'i) put money into an 88-unit low-to-moderate-income housing project just outside Kaunakakai, 17 miles away.

In late 1975 Maunaloa residents tried to pursue the option of purchasing existing homes and lots. "We took a petition around, asking who wants to buy houses. I had 150 signatures (there are 170 rental units—S.F.)" (Maunaloa Housing Committee meeting, January 31, 1976, Minutes, p. 15).

A few months later, the Housing Committee took an official vote, and the residents overwhelmingly chose the option of purchasing homes and lots in Maunaloa. The opportunity to do so failed to materialize for fifteen years. At one point, Moloka'i Ranch stated it would be willing to sell but that county zoning regulations would be a problem.

The county government also announced that federal funds would be used to construct housing to meet the needs of elderly Maunaloans—in Kaunakakai. Again Maunaloans objected. An elderly resident surveyed the town for a subcommittee of the Moloka'i Task Force, and there was virtual unanimity that such housing should be constructed in Maunaloa. Given the importance to elderly members of alliance networks, this response was not surprising. Task Force arguments about the conveniences of Kaunakakai (closeness to hospital, shopping, etc.) did not persuade Maunaloans to change their minds on this issue. Nevertheless, housing was constructed in Kaunakakai and excluded those elderly with children, reportedly to conform with federal definitions.

Another matter which figured prominently in discussions of alternatives for Maunaloans was incentives for repatriation. Two policies of the pineapple company and the union at the time greatly influenced residents to return to the Philippines: (1) lump sum pension payments coupled with free airfare to the Philippines, and (2) separation pay at the higher rate of eleven days' pay per year of work for those who would agree to return to the Philippines, as opposed to a

lower rate, without repatriation, of nine days' pay per year of work for those who would not commit themselves to leave Hawai'i. The union-company contract stipulated that those who accepted the benefits of the higher rate could not return to the United States.

Given the severity of the social and economic crises in 1974-76, these incentives were not dismissed lightly by Maunaloans. However, less than 20 percent of survey respondents said they intended to leave, and over half of these residents who did intend to leave specifically stated that this was not because they really wanted to but because they felt they had no choice.

Some bitterness was expressed about this lack of choice. A male immigrant in his early 30s who had come to Maunaloa in the 1970s summarized the repatriation dilemma and its relationship to alliance preservation goals:

To our father they say, 'Oh, if you go back to the Philippines, you will have plenty of money there; you will live like kings!' But to us, they say, 'How can you complain about the money you make here? Isn't it still better than what you'd make if you stayed in the Philippines? You young immigrants expect too much.' Both ways they get away with not doing anything to make it possible for both my father and me to stay here and live decently.

The irony was not lost on at least one old man: "They're *pau* with us. We can go home. But they need our sons for the hotel."

The attitudes of some decision makers toward the crisis had discernible impact upon residents of the town. There were a few residents who defended the unpopular relocation options as "progress," citing and repeating statements from county and company officials in defense of such a view. Such influences were important in determining how long and to what extent Maunaloa would remain an Ilokano town. The material we have presented clearly suggests that an erosion of the alliance system was taking place. Subsequent developments in Maunaloa—continued out migration because of the lack of options to buy existing homes and lots and severely limited employment opportunities—indicate that the residents' values, specifically those that relate to the maintenance of existing alliances, did not prevail.

In closing we would like to note, however, that residents' values had some impact on us as a family. The following is a quote from our field notebooks, dated 5 May 1976:

Sheila and I both note how much a role children seem to play in the inside-view definition of 'community'. People always talk about the children being a

major factor in what makes this a good community—how this is a good place to raise children—how they want to stay here, to try to preserve the community, so that their children can grow up here. Sheila observes that 'in the literature' few definitions or discussions of 'community' attend to the role or place of children. We note how we have been socialized into the Maunaloa view of community in that we refer to our own children in talking about how Maunaloa has come to affect us.

For years after our residence and study in Maunaloa, our children would look out at Moloka'i across the Kaiwi Channel and would ask when we were going back. We understood that it would likely not ever be possible, for the Maunaloa we had known would probably no longer exist. This year part of our family revisited Maunaloa briefly. We found the school and the post office still there, the general store still busy but under new management by a family who had come from India; we saw the same Moloka'i Ranch official who had managed the town when we left still driving around in a shiny company truck—but we found the gardens, the garages, and the old cockfight arena now bulldozed, our former house site now just a patch of weeds (the house burned down, we were told), and almost none of the people we had known still living there.

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## Filipinos in Hawaii: A Bibliography 1977-1990

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This bibliography updates two earlier compilations on Filipinos in Hawaii. They are:

*The Filipinos in Hawaii: An Annotated Bibliography*, by Ruben R. Alcantara et al. Honolulu: Social Sciences and Linguistics Institute, University of Hawaii, 1977. 152 p.

*Filipinos Overseas: A Bibliography*, by Shiro Saito. New York: The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc., 1977. 156 p. (The chapter, "Destination of Migration: Hawaii," has over 500 entries.)

This multidisciplinary listing includes materials which were published, for the most part, since 1977 and were identified in the resources of the University of Hawaii Library at Manoa. Excluded from this list are newspaper articles and government documents.

To find newspaper articles the following should be consulted:

*Index to the Honolulu Advertiser and Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. Honolulu: Office of Library Services of Hawaii. 1929/67 - . (The current index is available online from the Hawaii State Catalog.)

*The Garden Island Index: 1971-1980: A Subject, Author, and Photographer Index to Selected Articles in the Garden Island*, edited by Catherine Lo et al. Lihue: Kauai Library Association. 312 p.

*The Index to the Maui News 1900-1932*, compiled and edited by Gail Bartholomew. Wailuku: Maui Historical Society, 1985. 265 p.

*The Hawaii Island Newspaper Index: An Index to News of the Island of Hawaii As Reported in the Hawaii Tribune-Herald, The Honolulu Advertiser, The Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, edited by Junko I. Nowaki et al. Hilo: Edwin H. Mookini Library, University of Hawaii at Hilo, 1984 - .

State of Hawaii documents and documents from the four counties are listed and indexed in:

*Hawaii Documents*. Honolulu: Hawaii Documents Center, Hawaii State Library, Office of Library Services, Dept. of Education, State of Hawaii. 1967 - .

Citations found in the "Annual Selected Bibliography" published in *Amerasia Journal*, a publication of the Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, formed the core of this bibliography. The "Annual Selected Bibliography" has been a regular feature of the journal since 1977. It lists books, articles, dissertations, literary works, and government documents. Until the 1986/87 issue, the bibliography was arranged by ethnic groups. Since then, however, the bibliography was changed to a subject arrangement. The compilers of the bibliography use computer searches, as well as manual searches through indexing and abstracting services and periodicals not included in computerized indexing services, making for a rather comprehensive listing.

Master's theses and doctoral dissertations completed at the University of Hawaii were found in the following:

*The Philippines and Filipinos in Hawaii: A List of Dissertations and Master's Theses at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1934/1982*, prepared by the Philippine Studies Program, Center for Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa. Honolulu: The Program, 1982. 7 leaves.

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Most of the newspaper titles included in this bibliography were taken from:

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*Hawaii Newspapers* lists "all known extant newspapers published since 1834" for which copies are held by libraries and other institutions. For a listing of other known newspapers for which no copies were found see:

*Inventory of Newspapers Published in Hawaii: Preliminary List*. (This list is available from the Hawaii Newspaper Project. Inquiries should be made at the Reference Desk of the Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa.)

The entries in this bibliography are listed alphabetically by the format of the materials. The first section lists books, articles, theses, dissertations, unpublished papers and documents; the second newspapers; the third periodicals; and the fourth audio-visual materials.

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*Filipino News*. Lihue. Began in 1942. Editor: A. A. Albayalde. In English and Ilocano, some issues in Ilocano only. Continues: *Kauai Filipino News*. (1955 - 1959.)

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*Kauai Filipino News*. Lihue: Garden Island Pub. Co. Began in 1931; no more published? Editors: A. S. Fernandez (1932), A. A. Albayalde (1933-1941). In Ilocano. Continued by: *Filipino News*. (1932-1941.)

*Ti Managservi*. Kahului. Editor: V. Madamba. In English and Ilocano. Issued by Filipino Mutual Benefit Association of Maui. (1941.)

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*Ti Progresibo*. Honolulu: Union of Democratic Filipinos. Began Jan. 1980. In English and Ilocano. (1980-1983.)

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*Katha: University of Hawaii Pilipino Newsletter*. Honolulu: Dept. of Indo-Pacific Languages, University of Hawaii at Manoa. v. 1, Apr. 1988 - .

*Kiss*. Honolulu: R. C. Manayan. Nov./Dec. 1986 - .

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*Operation Manong*. Honolulu: Dept. of Educational Foundations, College of Education, University of Hawaii at Manoa. Continued by: *Ads and Odds*. 1980 - .

### Audio-Visual Materials

All of the following are available in the Wong Audio-Visual Center, Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa.

*Call and Response*. Honolulu: Hawaii Multi-cultural Awareness Project, 197(?) 1 sound cassette. (Issued as part of *A House United, Story of a Filipino Wedding*.)

*Filipino Beat*. Honolulu: KITV; Oct. 29, 1989 - Jul. 15, 1990. Videocassettes. (A weekly community oriented Filipino program which includes a talent showcase, interviews and features, showstoppers, cooking segment, community billboard and job line.)

*The Filipino in Hawaii*. Honolulu: Oceanic Cable Community Programming Center, 1986. 1 videocassette. (Gaye Glaser hosts a program on the Filipinos and Filipino culture in Hawaii.)

*Hawaii's Filipino Community*. Honolulu: KHET, 1989. 1 videocassette. (Bart Fredo hosts a panel which discusses the nature of Hawaii's Filipino community and especially the negative publicity they have been receiving.)

*Hawaiian Cockfighting*. Pearl City: Leeward Community College, 1977. 1 videocassette. (Covers Filipino operated cockfighting in Hawaii, from raising and caring for the cocks through the fights and paraphernalia.)

*Koloa, an Oral History of a Kauai Community*. Honolulu: Center for Oral History, University of Hawaii, 1987. 69 sound cassettes. (Autobiographical interviews with longtime residents of Koloa, Kauai, of various ethnic backgrounds, covering life in the early days of Koloa as a sugar plantation town and the impact on the area of population growth and tourism.)

Manlapit, Pablo. *Message to Filipinos = Talumpati*. New York: Columbia, 1950 (?). 1 sound disc.

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*The 1924 Filipino Strike on Kauai*. Honolulu: Ethnic Studies Oral History Project, University of Hawaii. 81 sound cassettes.

*Pete Tagalog and the Ota Camp Struggle*. Pearl City: Leeward Community College, 1977. 1 videocassette.

*Pete Tagalog Talks of Early Days in Waipahu.* Pearl City: Leeward Community College, 1977. 1 videocassette.

*Philippine Culture in Hawaii.* Honolulu: Oceanic Cable Community Programming Center, 1987. 1 videocassette.

*Philippine Culture in Hawaii.* Honolulu: Oceanic Cable Community Programming Center, 1988. 1 videocassette. (Continuation of earlier program with the same title.)

*The Philippines Visions & Dreams.* Honolulu: KGMB, 1987. 1 videocassette. (Portrays the dreams of older Filipinos who had returned to their homeland, and visions of young Filipinos about to emigrate to Hawaii.)

*Serial Killer at Large. Baracada: Filipino Youth Gangs.* Honolulu: KGMB, 1987. 1 videocassette.

*Sangang Daan = At the Crossroads.* Honolulu: Filipino Historical Society of Hawaii, 198(?). 1 videocassette. (An original teleplay on the Filipino-American experience in Hawaii.)

*Sights & Sounds of a Filipino Wedding.* Honolulu: Hawaii Multi-cultural Awareness Project, 1977. 1 filmstrip. (Issued as part of *A House Divided, Story of a Filipino Wedding.*)

*A Tiyanak's Magic.* Honolulu: Hawaii Multi-cultural Awareness Project, 1977. 1 filmstrip. (Presents a Filipino folk tale.)

*Waialua & Haleiwa: The People Tell Their Story.* Honolulu: Ethnic Studies Oral History Project, University of Hawaii, 1978. 78 sound cassettes.

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