



UNIVERSITY of  
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ROBERT N. ANDERSON  
WITH  
RICHARD COLLER AND  
REBECCA F. PESTANTO

# FILIPINOS IN RURAL HAWAII

Filipinos  
in Rural  
Hawaii

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ROBERT N. ANDERSON  
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UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII PRESS

*Honolulu*



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# Preface

THE ADVENTURESOME FILIPINOS who came to Hawaii to work on the plantations typically went through their early working years with the singular goal of saving money in order to return to their *barrio* (rural neighborhood) with enough wealth to establish their social and economic security. That ambition was never achieved by the Filipinos who remain in Hawaii. In many cases they decided that life in Hawaii was better than they could ever have in the Philippines, but in too many instances they have been victimized by various get-rich-quick schemes, or they have simply never earned enough beyond their needs to save the money needed to achieve their original goal of a prosperous life in the Philippines.

Living conditions on the plantations in Hawaii may have been deficient by American middle-class standards, but plantation life was attractive by rural Philippine standards. Furthermore, the plantations have served as steppingstones for many of Hawaii's citizens to move into mainstream lifestyles and very comfortable living conditions. However, many people remain in the traditional plantation camps, even though some of the plantations have closed, leaving the workers unprepared to move into other jobs or communities in Hawaii. The families who are still emotionally and socially tied to the plantation community, but who are now without a plantation economy to support them, face tremendously difficult decisions as to whether to move elsewhere for employment and housing or to stay and hope for the best. By staying, they could keep the tightly knit social system and personal identities that have sustained them through decades of economic and social difficulties. By leaving to find jobs and better housing, they would

be cut off from their cherished social networks and the familiar habitat of the plantation towns. This dilemma and the absence of an easy solution were the reason the series of research projects that led to this book were conducted.

The research undergirding much of this study had its roots in a multistate effort in the mid-1970s to investigate the phenomenon of social and economic "marginality." In brief, this concept embodies a naive stereotype of a person who lacks the skills or inclination to be involved in the mainstream of society. Recurrent unemployment, poverty, alienation, and the instability of family structures were thought to be prime indicators of this phenomenon. In particular, it was thought that we might most readily be able to perceive the actual process of marginalization if we were to focus on people who were undergoing the upsetting experience of having a major industry withdraw from their community.

Consequently, the portion of the study conducted in Hawaii began as an examination of family strategies and reactions to the phaseout of a pineapple plantation in a rural part of the state. Four study teams in other states also launched similar investigations of rural communities where families were facing similar drastic changes in employment patterns and social structure.

Very early in the Hawaii study it became apparent that our expectations concerning the processes of marginalization had very little basis in fact, for the families we observed had far greater resiliency than various social science myths had led us to believe. Although the closing of the plantations did cause incomes to decline and some families to move elsewhere, only a few of the families evidenced bitterness and resentment toward the company for the pullout, nor was the structure of the family drastically affected. In fact, the hiring of previously nonemployed women in two communities by new resort developments nearby seemed more disruptive to family structures than did the loss of employment by their husbands.

As we further examined the dynamics of the families in question, we came to realize that there were large gaps in the understanding of these people's behavior and motives by key people in government, business, labor unions, the public at large, and the academic community. Consequently, we undertook the role of attempting to clarify relevant portions of the lives of the families involved so that actions taken by "outsiders" in the future would



more often be valid and useful. In the process, we examined in varying detail the lives of plantation residents on the islands of Kauai, Oahu, Molokai, and Hawaii. We also briefly investigated the living patterns of more economically successful Filipino residents of urban Oahu in order to better understand the facets of living that are uniquely rural as opposed to being uniquely Filipino. Such a study can never be complete, but the results of this research effort may be useful.

A people can be described in a number of ways. Their size, color, shape, and personal decoration may be of interest to some. But an economist tends to be fascinated by the flow of goods and services among people; anthropologists and sociologists are concerned with networks, social institutions, and social stratification. Those concerns often lead to the use of academic jargon that may be confusing to the lay reader. We have tried to avoid such jargon. However, some specialized terms are occasionally useful, because these terms are considered necessary to gain an understanding of how people have agreed to manage their complicated methods of creating and disbursing goods and services and of making the myriad decisions involved in relating to each other.

A student of the interchange of goods and services soon realizes that exchange based on market prices is not the predominant form of interchange, although it has dominated much of the discussion by economists. An alternative system that may be more widely used is reciprocity, which involves a complicated system of alliances and agreements, both formal and nonformal. The rules governing such behavior may be widely understood, but they are subject to substantial alteration in response to changing circumstances. A third prominent form of interchange is charity, which may be considered as a one-way donation performed out of love or social obligation.

All of these forms of interchange are important in the daily lives of the Filipino families who have patiently and graciously provided us with their knowledge and wisdom about the various aspects of their lives. We can hope to describe these types of behavior, but we cannot hope to fully convey the warmth and kindness that were shown to us as we probed for ever greater detail. The uncompensated contributions of these families to this study can only be classified as acts of charity, for which we are deeply grateful.

A number of research methods were employed in developing the information reported in this book. The standard literature review gleaned a fair amount of material concerning living conditions in the Philippines. Significant work has been undertaken in regard to other ethnic groups in Hawaii, but relatively little published material has been available that analyzes the Filipino experience in Hawaii. By virtue of their backgrounds, two of the authors brought to the study years of living experience in the Philippines and in rural Hawaii. One of the authors spent nearly a year as a resident in a rural plantation village setting and at the same time administered two data surveys of the community's residents. This time was also devoted to "participant observation" by all three authors in community affairs, social events, and long hours of open-ended discussion with numerous individuals about their lives and hopes for the future. A number of these conversations were taped in order to preserve the feelings and flavor that mere numbers cannot convey. Excerpts from the transcriptions of these tapes have been included.

The initial study stages were followed by comparative surveys of another rural community and of urbanized Filipinos on Oahu. Still later surveys were conducted of residents of sugar plantation villages on the islands of Oahu and Hawaii. Altogether, the various study efforts that have provided a basis for this book took place from 1974 to 1981.

The funds for this research were received through the Hawaii Agricultural Experiment Station from various state and federal sources. One of the major sources of funding was the U.S. Department of Agriculture under terms of the Rural Development Act of 1972. The Western Rural Development Center, located at Oregon State University, also provided substantial assistance in conducting these studies.

## CHAPTER 1

# Historical Setting

FILIPINOS CAME TO HAWAII as a result of a chain of complex circumstances and events. Hawaii's Great Mahele in 1848 resulted in large tracts of land ultimately coming under the control of transplanted New Englanders who had the entrepreneurial drive and political abilities to develop a substantial market in the United States for Hawaii's sugar production. The consequent plantation agricultural system required large numbers of low-skilled workers, but by the 1850s the planters in Hawaii had already realized that the Hawaiians were not an appropriate labor pool from which to draw plantation workers. Not only had the number of Hawaiians declined drastically as a result of disease and massive disruptions to their society, but they had never seemed sufficiently tractable to meet the demands of the planters. As the planters gained what was to become total political control of Hawaii by the end of the nineteenth century, their demand for labor became a priority of government policy. The Bureau of Immigration, created in 1864 and assisted and effectively controlled by the sugar planters, sought immigrants who would fit into Hawaii's society as "cognate races" as well as being satisfied to live out their lives as plantation employees.<sup>1</sup> Ultimately, laborers were brought in from a number of places (see table 1) in the attempt to maintain a labor force that would behave properly and remain on the plantations.

The American annexation of Hawaii in 1898 brought the virtual guarantee of a rich, protected market for sugar, but it also caused labor problems for the planters, because legislation and diplomatic agreements had by 1908 effectively prevented further immigration from Japan, China, and Korea. A small group

Table 1. *National Origins of Contract Laborers Coming to Hawaii, 1852-1909*

Country of Origin	Number of Immigrants
Koreans	6,925
Chinese (including Manchurians)	45,064
Japanese	140,457
South Sea Islanders	2,450
Norwegians	615
Germans	1,279
Austrians (Galicians)	372
Portuguese	14,670
Spanish	2,299
Puerto Ricans	5,200
Negros	200
White Americans	100
Russians (Molokans)	110
Total	219,825

Source: "Immigration and Emigration in the Hawaiian Sugar Industry" (Paper presented to the industrial relations section of the Hawaiian Sugar Technologists, Honolulu, November 15, 1950), p. 9.

of laborers was brought from India in 1908, but most of them quickly moved on to the U.S. mainland. About 2,200 laborers were brought in from Russia through Asia, but apparently further recruitment from this source was judged to be too difficult.<sup>2</sup>

These problems led the sugar planters to focus increasingly on the Philippines as a source of laborers. Not only were the people thought to meet the needs of the planters, but the problems arising from international agreements and immigration across national boundaries essentially were absent, since the United States had taken possession of the Philippines.

#### INITIAL FILIPINO IMMIGRATION

The first contingent of fifteen Filipinos was brought to the Territory of Hawaii in December 1906 by Albert J. Judd. These men were intended only as precursors of larger numbers, so they were given a general tour of plantation working and living conditions and then sent back to spread the "good word." This began a period of experimentation that lasted in various forms until 1919. Only 150 immigrants were recruited in 1907, and already by 1908 the prospects of future immigration from the Philippines

appeared unlikely. (The use of the word "immigrant" may not be entirely precise, since many intended to stay only temporarily. Nevertheless, the net effect has been immigration.) However, once full-scale recruitment by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) began in 1909, the recruiting met with success, despite considerable opposition by the Manila press and some violence directed against the recruiting agents in rural areas.<sup>3</sup> The actions of the HSPA were not without opposition even in Hawaii. Some church leaders were concerned that the social imbalances caused by the relatively few women immigrants would cause serious problems. Other opposition occurred from the Japanese in Hawaii, who saw Filipino immigration as a serious economic threat, since the new immigrants would undercut the wages received by the Japanese as well as effectively eliminate any serious strike threats that the Japanese plantation workers might mount.

Although the government did not officially oppose the efforts of the HSPA, there was a desire to bring in laborers who might somewhat offset the numbers of Oriental immigrants. The efforts to "Americanize" the territory were strongly supported by influential men in the community who were not directly involved with the operation of the sugar plantations. However, their efforts to bring in immigrants from Europe who would be willing to compete economically with the Filipinos or other Asian immigrants were foredoomed. Repeatedly, the Portuguese and others brought in from Europe would stay on the plantations only long enough to accumulate the information and resources necessary to leave Hawaii, often moving to California.

The early attempts to bring Filipinos to Hawaii were generally concentrated in the urban areas near the city of Manila on Luzon Island, where the people spoke Tagalog, and in the vicinity of Cebu City, where they spoke Cebuano, one of the Visayan languages.<sup>4</sup> The backgrounds of the recruits were generally urban and they frequently lacked agricultural experience. They were part of the unskilled labor pool in Manila and Cebu City, which consisted generally of copra workers, fishermen from the different areas, and various urban workers. These people were neither interested in nor committed to a long-term stint in the way of life that characterized the isolated plantation towns of Hawaii. Following the recruitment of a relatively few Tagalogs, efforts were

concentrated on the Visayans, who were from the central part of the Philippines. By then the recruiters were deliberately selecting workers who showed physical evidence of having toiled in the fields.

The initial difficulties faced by the HSPA in its recruiting were largely overcome by 1915. By that time the press had become more receptive to the techniques used by the planters, and apparently living conditions on the plantations had been upgraded considerably. Also, as some laborers had returned to the Philippines with what appeared to be pockets full of money, people began to see Hawaii as a place to get rich.

The HSPA recruiters then turned to the Ilocos region as a new source of labor. The two major provinces, Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur, had long been known as primarily rural areas with limited amounts of land on which farming was difficult and productivity low. Thus the Ilocos region had a long history of outmigration.

This socioeconomic situation generated a ready response to HSPA recruiters. Ilocanos began to enter Hawaii in a steady stream and, to the satisfaction of the plantation managers, proved to be productive agricultural workers who became a stable population in the plantation communities.

Throughout this first period of immigration prior to 1920, the Philippines was entering a period of economic expansion. Land was being opened for homesteading, highways were being built by the appointed governors-general, new gold mines were being developed, and the market for the leading Philippine products of copra, sugar, and lumber was expanding rapidly. Prosperity was furthered by the worldwide economic demands created by World War I and the subsequent economic boom of the 1920s. Despite these increasing opportunities in the Philippines, young men continued to come to Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations. Even after the HSPA stopped paying the costs of transportation, the immigrant numbers hardly declined, for the chance to get rich in Hawaii continued to attract immigrants.

Filipinos typically left home so they could save up enough money to buy land and achieve higher social status when they returned. In the Ilocos area in particular, as previously noted, land was very scarce in relation to the number of people living there and consequently was too costly for many workers. These economic pressures strengthened the natural desire for adventure

and for satisfying the curiosity aroused by accounts of returning immigrants. These factors were further strengthened by their exposure to American culture through the school system being developed by the American government, which then had political control of the Philippines. Furthermore, there seems to have been considerable dissension in some areas, again particularly in the Ilocos region, due to religious strife and the general social disruption of the American displacement of Spanish rule.

## RECRUITMENT AND TRAVEL CONDITIONS

Despite the federal law forbidding contract labor, the HSPA required each recruit to sign a three-year labor contract. In strict legal terms, the contracts were essentially one-sided: the plantations were legally forced to live up to their side of the agreement, provided the laborers kept theirs. No legal sanctions could be applied to the laborers if they accepted free passage to Hawaii but then did not accept the labor assignment given to them. In reality, it was doubtful that many of the laborers fully understood the nature of the legalities involved. Many believed that they had to work the period of time specified in the contract.

During the first years of Filipino immigration, the basic contracts offered by the HSPA provided for free transportation from the Philippines to Honolulu and then to the assigned plantation. This basic contract was changed in 1915 to also provide free transportation back to Manila following completion of the terms of the labor agreement. By 1920, the contracts had evolved to provide a laborer and his family with passage from his home to the plantation and then back home after he completed 720 days of work within a three-year period. For signing up, laborers were also promised a bonus of 10 pesos for the unmarried men and 20 pesos for those who brought their families with them. They were given clothes for traveling and free housing and fuel during their stay on the plantation. During the three-year period of labor on the plantation, laborers were expected to work a ten-hour day in the field or a twelve-hour day performing lighter work for a salary of 75 pesos per month.<sup>5</sup>

In 1921 the basic contract was amended again by the Honolulu Labor Agreement, which resulted from negotiations between the HSPA and the Special Labor Commissioner of the

Philippine government. This agreement specified that the same provisions were to be given to men who had not fulfilled their original three-year contract but who were nevertheless willing to work on the plantations for three years. In 1926 the same offer was made to laborers who had come to Hawaii without sponsorship of the HSPA. In 1937, faced with a surplus of labor and considerable unemployment throughout the territory, and having made strenuous efforts to maintain the Philippines as a ready source of labor, the planters agreed to permit Filipinos who had not fulfilled the requirements of previous contracts to reestablish such a relationship and thus receive paid return transportation. The HSPA records show that approximately 6,500 people took advantage of this offer.<sup>6</sup>

However, these bare facts tell little about the hardships, schemes, and fears experienced by the Filipino immigrants. The circumstances and motivations involved in their moves to Hawaii are better reflected in some of the experiences told to us.

I came to Hawaii in 1925. My sister had come here a year earlier, and since she and her husband had not written to us in the Philippines, we were concerned about a rumor that we had heard that she had died in Hawaii. So I planned to come to Hawaii and find out what had happened to her.

I went to the HSPA recruiting office to learn of a possible job with the pineapple or sugar companies. I learned from friends that I was too young to qualify, so I borrowed a residence certificate from a friend of mine who was older and I used that as my identification. I was given a contract to sign. There were a lot of people in the immigration office, some of whom I knew, but we did not talk to each other because of the fear of being found out about our questionable means of applying for the available jobs.

I noticed that the others pretended they did not know how to write and when it was my turn to be interviewed, I was asked if I had any education. I told them the truth because I really only had a first-grade education. I didn't even finish the first grade because my teacher threw an eraser at me and I never went back.

The interviewers then told me that I had to pass a physical examination. They checked to see if I had tuberculosis and other diseases, and they asked me to show them my hands. They looked at my hands to see if I had callouses because they said calloused hands were the sign of a good and diligent worker. Since I had been working in the



fields I had strong and calloused hands and so I thought I had a good chance of being selected. They told me that soft hands were “student hands” and the lazy workers would not meet this qualification.

Once we had passed these steps of selection, the immigration officers told us that we had to clean the office to prove our ability to work. Since I was afraid I wouldn’t get accepted, I decided to clean the office even though it meant sending a friend to inform my parents that I had been selected and also to tell my girlfriend. The officers told us that if we passed the test, we would leave for Hawaii the very next day. After we cleaned the office, they gave us 10 pesos and told us we would leave the next day. I was happy that I would be able to find out about my sister’s fate, but at the same time I was sad because I knew I wouldn’t even have time to say goodbye to my girlfriend.

We spent the night before departure on board the ship. I only had the clothes on my back and the 10 pesos in my pocket. My father came to the boat early the next day and told me he felt very sad to see me go. We cried, but I thought, what else can I do? I told my relatives who also saw me off to not be sad, that I would be able to help them, and I gave them 7 of the 10 pesos I had been given by the immigration officers. There were many friends and relatives who saw me off, but my girlfriend was not one of them. I cried all night.

Our first stop was in Manila where we were told we could buy our straw suitcases. I spent my remaining 3 pesos buying the suitcase and also a pair of pants and a shirt. In Manila a large number of Ilocanos and a few Tagalogs joined us. On the way to Hong Kong many of us were seasick. Since we had no money we didn’t get off the ship in Hong Kong or when it landed in Shanghai, Kobe, and Yokohama. One of the passengers in the boat died on the trip to Honolulu and they calmly threw his body into the sea. I felt very sad.

We were met by the HSPA and told to group together as Visayans, Ilocanos, and Tagalogs. I wanted to be assigned in Waipahu because my brother-in-law was working there, but they told me that I was already assigned to work on Kauai. We left the next day to go to Kauai, so I wasn’t able to see my sister. The work in the plantation was very difficult! I sometimes went to bed at night crying and wishing I were back in the Philippines.

I arrived in Hawaii in 1928. I came here for the job and to see if I could find an opportunity for good living. I was only seventeen years old when I came. We had a hard life in the Philippines, and I couldn’t find work. I only had a fifth-grade education. I came to Hawaii with my father who had come back to the Philippines on vacation after working in Hawaii for four years. However, the rest of the family, my mother,

my two brothers, and my two sisters, stayed in the Philippines. My father died three years later on Maui at age fifty-six. I had plenty of cousins in the fields in Honolulu.

I have never gone back to the Philippines, and I have become an American citizen. I haven't married because I can't support a family. I almost cannot support myself.

I was only eighteen years old when I came to Hawaii. My brothers had come in 1927 and 1929. It has been a hard life here, and so I haven't been able to get married. I have never gone back to the Philippines. I have only a fourth-grade education, and I have not become an American citizen. My oldest brother is in Seattle and my second oldest brother lives on Lanai. Hawaii is good because you can get a job. As long as you work, you get money—not like in the Philippines where you may work for a year but then not get a job the following year. I would like to marry a Filipina girl, but since I haven't gone home, I don't know. Sometimes I think I would like to go home to the Philippines.

I left the Philippines in May 1930. I first went to Kauai and worked on a sugar plantation for three months. Then I went to Molokai and worked for six or seven months. Then I went to Hilo and found a job on a sugar plantation there where I worked for three months. Then I came back to Molokai again where I lived on the East End with the Japanese pineapple growers. We didn't have any furniture—just beds, so we had to make our own tables, chairs, and other things we needed.

We arrived in Hawaii in 1924 when I was only ten years old. My parents were contract laborers for the sugar plantation. I got married when I was only fifteen years old. My parents went back to the Philippines in 1936, and we went with them. We had a gasoline station in my home province. My husband and I had eight children. He died in 1946, so I decided to come back to Hawaii. I borrowed my cousin's name, so I came as the wife of her husband, who was a contract laborer for the HSPA. There was a huge crowd of us on the boat for four days. We were afraid because we had falsified our names, but I told myself that if they were going to deport us, I would just jump from the boat. I have plenty of brothers and sisters in Hawaii, so I had come to stay with them.

I came to Hawaii on a contract with HSPA. My father was already here, but he didn't know that I was coming. I came as the "son" of another couple that had the same last name. I was assigned to the

plantation in Kohala where I stayed for three months. I moved to a new sugar plantation where I stayed for a year before I went to California to harvest lettuce and tomatoes. But over there, there was no such thing as a steady job. I worked in California on the docks and the navy yards from 1934 until 1942 when I joined the service. Since I was already an American citizen I was assigned to Japan, Germany, and the Philippines. I came back to Hawaii in 1949.

I came to Hawaii in May 1927. There were about 400 people in our group. I came because of the hard life in the Philippines—because I knew my relatives and friends had come to Hawaii and were able to send money to their families at home. I figured the money would be easy in Hawaii. Some of the guys who had come to Hawaii sent pictures home of them wearing ties and suits like they were working in an office or something. We figured that they were only sitting down over here and making all that money. But it has been good in Hawaii because after each day's work I have been able to sit and relax. In the Philippines you could never relax because you never could be sure if you would have enough money. Also in the Philippines when you came home, you had to go get water from the river for a bath.

The HSPA liked us to have plenty of relatives here in Hawaii. When we applied, they first asked if we had relatives. If we didn't, it would be that much more difficult for us to be accepted. I have never gone back to the Philippines since I came to Hawaii. I was only twenty years old when I came to Hawaii, and I only had a fifth-grade education. With no money I haven't been able to go to school any more. Life has been hard, real hard.

My parents felt sad when I left, but I told them that if I didn't come to Hawaii I couldn't improve their lives, so they had to let me go. But I've had bad luck and I've never been able to save enough money. When I applied to be a contract laborer they asked me why I wanted to go to Hawaii. Did I know how to work? How much education did I have? My friends had told me how to dress so I wouldn't look like a student and look lazy. On the voyage to Hawaii we had to work in the boat if we weren't seasick. They only paid us a little bit so we could afford to buy cigarettes or something.

When we got to the plantation we had to work hard, but in the old days at least we had fun. We celebrated Rizal Day with a parade and a big celebration, but now that's all gone. But so are the fleas and the bed bugs. But when you're old in Hawaii, you're no more. That's why maybe if I get a pension I will go home to the Philippines.

My father first came to Hawaii in 1927 as a contract laborer with the HSPA. He returned to the Philippines in 1931 because my mother was

ill. He was never able to return to Hawaii, but he always told me that some day I should try my luck. He said Hawaii was a place to work and earn good money. I didn't take my father seriously at first, because I already had a family and Hawaii seemed so far away.

Shortly after World War II an HSPA agent came to town, and many of my townmates were applying for jobs. At that time the life of a farmer was not easy. I never thought I would come to Hawaii, for my wife was pregnant with our third child. But as luck would have it, my second cousin approached me. She was planning to go Hawaii, but could do so only if one of the hired men took her along as his wife. She begged me to help her by posing as her husband so that we could both go to Hawaii. I told her I would ask my wife, and when I did my wife told me it was up to me, so I agreed to the plan. Through a little bribery at city hall I produced a fake marriage certificate and my cousin and I were "married."

When I left the Philippines I was twenty-seven years old. Plantation life in Hawaii was hard, but in the Philippines it was three times harder. Even though I had a piece of land for rice planting, I couldn't make ends meet because of the inflation after the war. As my father told me, "it is lucky for me to come to Hawaii." You know, in my home town a "Hawaiiano" was very popular because he had a lot of money. Only later did I realize that he had to work very hard to get that money. The main thing is that one has to work every day, and I mean really work!

Perhaps the most successful recruitment techniques were those used by the native Filipino agents who recruited among the rural residents. The agents showed motion pictures depicting the brighter side of plantation life. These movies had scenes of payday, when what appeared to be large sums of money were distributed, as well as some of the social festivals. A previously published memoir describes these recruitment visits as follows:

One day when I was just about at the end of my rope, two well-dressed men arrived in the city from Hawaii. They were royally welcomed by everyone. The fact that they had come from Hawaii gave them great distinction and they were greatly envied by the inhabitants. News spread that these men brought great fortune home with them as everything they bought was paid for with cash no matter how high the price was. One of them was always jingling the silver pieces in his pockets. As money was very scarce the inhabitants truly believed everything that was said about the wealth of

these strangers. Whatever stories about Hawaii were told by these men were sure to be the subject of conversation in every household. Although there was hardly a newspaper in the city everyone seemed to know everything that went on.... But instead of remaining to live in Cebu, both announced that they would go back to Hawaii. If anyone wanted to go along with them, he could do so if each paid ten pesos, or five dollars in American money. There was plenty of gold paid to laborers in Hawaii, they said. No one need worry about clothes or having to work hard for them either. People lived in houses made of lumber, a luxury which only wealthy people could enjoy in the Philippines. People could not believe that water could be gotten by turning a little handle instead of drawing it from a spring. A person working for a few months was able to own a car of his own, which would be able to take him around the island of Oahu in only a few hours. Everyone became fascinated by the tales told them of Hawaii. True!—the community had heard more or less that Hawaii was the land of gold and wealth, as many families in the city had received as large sums as twenty-dollar bills from their sons or married daughters, yet no one said much about going there himself until the two strangers stirred everyone with fascinating and sensational stories. A week was given to everyone wanting to go to Hawaii to pay ten pesos for the boat fare.<sup>7</sup>

A prominent investigator of the processes of Filipino immigration prior to 1931 found that the men who were hired were generally between twenty and thirty-five years of age. Those with physical health problems were not accepted, including any with temporary illnesses such as a common cold.

Each worker (who paid his own transportation and that of his family) is provided with a full suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, socks, underwear, blue denim shirt, hat, sweater, blanket, cup and plate, at the Association's [HSPA] expense. The purpose of this equipment is to protect the worker against changes of temperature and possibility of infection through the loaning of such articles during the passage.

All bunks are freshly painted and covered after each trip; women and children were segregated. Exercise on deck, when the weather allows, is insisted upon; cathartics are regularly administered. The ship's surgeon and steward are given special instructions to those seemingly in need of precaution, a Filipino-speaking nurse is in attendance; the food is prepared by a Filipino cook. At the end of the trip, the ship's doctor hands to the medical staff of

the Association's receiving station in Honolulu a list of those requiring a new medical test or special care.

After the official medical examination by the public health service in Honolulu, all arriving passengers destined for the plantations are again examined by the Association's own physicians. Those in need of special medical care are sent, at the Association's expense, to one of the local hospitals; others are retained for observation and rest at the station itself. If a worker is found unfit for plantation labor, in spite of the earlier precautions, he and his dependents are sent back to their hometown at the Association's expense.

Distribution from Honolulu to the plantations, at the Association's expense, is in accordance with the needs of the various plantations which are filled in the order of the number to which the various groups of plantations may be entitled on the basis of their proportion of the total tonnage produced during the preceding year. The cost of all this as of all other HSPA activities is financed by assessments on the plantation companies on a per tonnage basis. Each plantation contributes in proportion of tonnage of sugar produced in the previous year.<sup>8</sup>

## SOCIAL RECEPTION IN HAWAII

Economic competition combined with ethnic differences often produces social conflict and racial tension. This situation in Hawaii was further compounded by language barriers, which prevented other ethnic groups from fully understanding rural Filipino lifestyles and value systems. Most Filipinos were isolated on the plantations and very little communication with the rest of the island population seemed to take place. Consequently, a number of grotesque stereotypes developed, particularly among the haole elite. ("Haole" is the term commonly applied to Caucasians of Northern European ancestry.) The following quotation from a 1937 publication, for example, reflects widespread racist impressions:

They are confirmed knife-toters and much given to fighting over women, who are scarce among them. It is a common saying in Hawaii that "the Filipino is only one pair of pants removed from the jungle." And that pair is likely to be purple or strawberry-red or wine-colored or something of the sort, topped by shirts—on gala days whole suits—that make a rainbow seem colorless.... "Japanese steal big; Filipinos steal little," is another island saying.<sup>9</sup>

These types of extreme thinking were not limited to journalists or others who might understandably add color to their stories for the titillation of the reader on the U.S. mainland. The following quotations from a book published in 1926 by two professors of clinical psychology at the University of Hawaii, one of whom is considered distinguished, further indicate the widely accepted, demeaning, pernicious stereotypes. Only a lengthy excerpt can adequately reflect the wide-ranging observations of these respected "authorities."

The Visayans' ... ambition is to live as nearly as possible like the lilies of the field—without toiling or spinning—and yet to be arrayed like Solomon.... In other words, if left to his own devices the laborer works just as long as he must and no longer.... Another evidence of Filipino lack of foresight is that they work very much more contentedly if they are paid twice a month instead of once and even better still if they are paid weekly. The reward that seems a long way off is as good as none to them.

One group [of Ilocanos] sent all their first wages home to the Philippines and then left work to live on the beach. They stated they wanted to work but couldn't because it took them all day getting enough fish to live on.... [The Ilocanos] have the reputation of being less courageous than the rest of the Filipinos, in this respect again resembling the Chinese. On account of the proximity of their native provinces to China it is very likely that they had originally a larger mixture of Chinese blood....

Perhaps one of the most outstanding traits in Filipino makeup is his extreme super-sensitiveness especially towards the suggestion that he is in any way racially inferior.... Their contact with American methods and ideals of efficiency has rudely disturbed their habitual lethargy.... Resenting the suspicion of their inferiority they find a malicious pleasure in anything which may mean the discomforture [sic] of the dominant race.

Like the American negro, the Filipinos' first ambition is to have new clothes. Many of them find it very profitable to peddle clothes among their countrymen. Games of chance and gambling serve a twofold purpose. They give the emotional temperament the excitement it craves and at the same time they offer a means, other than hard work, for self-support. Hence the large number of connections for gambling among the Filipinos....

Filipinos represent a fine example of a race in an adolescent stage of development. Obviously these defects must interfere se-

riously with good judgement and a balanced and sane reaction to affairs in general.

Possibly in the conflict of racial temperaments lies the secret of Filipino ineffectuality.... Their distrust of each other, the instability of purpose, their lack of foresight and organizing ability are flaws of character which, if sufficiently wide-spread would be fatal to national security and advancement.<sup>10</sup>

The ignorance and racism in these quotations are all too reflective of the feelings commonly encountered by Filipinos when they first came to Hawaii. Those attitudes had profound effects on their opportunities for mobility and were undoubtedly an important factor in influencing many of them to return to the Philippines or move on to the U.S. mainland. With no other immigrant group coming to Hawaii to occupy the very bottom of the social ladder, the Filipinos were repeatedly frustrated in their attempts to improve their situation. Only after 1946, as the labor unions gained power, did the Filipinos make significant progress in improving their socioeconomic status in Hawaii society.

#### IMMIGRATION UP TO 1934

During the 1920s the HSPA sponsored about 74,000 Filipino immigrants, 89 percent of whom were male laborers (see table 2 for detailed figures). During this time the planters did not use any other source of recruitment for cheap labor. There was very little resistance from the Philippine government to this immigration, and the Filipinos themselves had come to believe that this was a great opportunity to improve their individual economic conditions. Indeed, after 1925 the HSPA did not have to actively recruit laborers; they simply maintained an office in Manila and processed contracts for those who came in requesting them. This did nothing, however, to prevent private recruiters from exploiting laborers who wished to come to Hawaii. Some of these individuals fraudulently rounded up entire boatloads of laborers and brought them to Hawaii without securing a guarantee from the HSPA that jobs would be provided.

With the onset of the Great Depression and the reduction in prices paid for sugar and pineapple, the need for continued immigration of laborers from the Philippines declined drastically. The decline in the number of jobs, combined with the opposition



Table 2. Filipinos Coming to Hawaii Through HSPA, 1909-1946

Year	Men	Women	Children	TOTAL
1909	554	57	28	639
1910	2,653	169	93	2,915
1911	1,363	173	74	1,610
1912	4,319	553	362	5,234
1913	3,258	573	351	4,182
1914	1,848	360	228	2,436
1915	1,363	238	185	1,786
1916	1,674	141	134	1,949
1917	2,536	182	210	2,928
1918	2,196	298	395	2,889
1919	2,642	312	278	3,232
1920	3,060	232	181	3,473
1921	3,982	434	240	4,656
1922	8,513	704	457	9,674
1923	4,830	1,482	787	7,099
1924	4,915	1,414	648	6,977
1925	9,934	459	252	10,645
1926	3,960	121	96	4,177
1927	8,976	95	88	9,159
1928	10,508	193	156	10,857
1929	6,971	152	186	7,309
1930	6,904	177	291	7,372
1931	5,597	217	200	6,014
1932	953	151	122	1,226
1933	9	22	10	41
1934	25	43	39	107
1946	6,000	446	915	7,361
TOTAL	109,544	9,398	7,006	125,947

Source: Sister Mary Dorita Clifford, "The Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association and Filipino Exclusion," in *The Filipino Exclusion Movement: 1927-35*, ed. Josefa Saniel (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, Institute of Asian Studies, 1967), p. 14.

of organized labor and the emerging belief that the Philippines should be given independence, made the future of continued immigration from the Philippines doubtful. As unemployment rose in Hawaii, the sugar planters had an increasingly difficult position to maintain in their efforts to continue immigration from the Philippines. In addition, racial difficulties became more acute in Hawaii, particularly after the highly publicized Massie-Fortescue case in which the wife of a Navy officer claimed to have been raped by a group of nonwhites. One of the alleged rapists was subsequently murdered, and the haole murderers were judged guilty but then set free.

In March 1934, in response to a request from President Roosevelt, Senators Tydings and McDuffie introduced a legislative bill that provided for the independence of the Philippines, and fur-

ther provided that immigration from the Philippines to the United States be controlled by the standard immigration laws. There was a significant exception, however, in that the Secretary of the Interior would be allowed to specify exemptions based on a determination of needs for labor in Hawaii. The bill was quickly passed by Congress and was accepted by the Philippine Assembly on May 1, 1934. This seemed to guarantee Hawaii's planters continued access to laborers in the Philippines.

Filipinos in the Territory of Hawaii totaled 63,000 by 1930, comprising over 17 percent of the total population but not including the many who had returned home or had moved to the U.S. mainland, since up to that time—under HSPA sponsorship alone—more than 110,000 Filipinos had come to Hawaii. With the surplus of labor that had developed in Hawaii, the flow of people began to move in the other direction. By 1935 of all the Filipinos who had come to Hawaii, nearly half had returned to the Philippines and approximately another one-sixth had moved to the U.S. mainland.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIONS

The planters in Hawaii during the late nineteenth century realized that having a diverse population of laborers with no common language among them was an effective damper on repeated efforts to organize unions among the workers. Furthermore, the planters had been able to agree among themselves to levels of wages and to hiring practices, so as to avoid having one plantation hire away the workers already employed at another plantation. Any time there was resistance among the laborers, the entire oligarchic web could bring punishment on the dissident elements. Early strikes led by the Japanese demonstrated quickly that leaders would be arrested and imprisoned, often with little regard for the niceties of Bill of Rights protections. Nevertheless, Japanese strikes during the early stages of Filipino immigration were followed by improvements in plantation living conditions. Housing was improved, physical punishment in the fields was essentially eliminated, and rudimentary schooling was provided. By 1925, there had been nine strikes that involved Filipino workers.<sup>11</sup>

Pablo Manlapit, a charismatic lawyer who came to Hawaii as a plantation laborer in 1910, organized the Filipino Federation of

Labor in 1919 and began vigorous organization of the Filipinos on Oahu. The first test of the new union's strength came on January 19, 1920, when the Filipino workers on Oahu were called out on strike after the HSPA rejected their demands. Within days most of the Japanese laborers on Oahu had also gone on strike in support of similar demands by their union. But the strength of the union organization broke down under the pressure of the strike, and Manlapit called the strike off about three weeks after it began, only to resume it five days later. The response of the HSPA was to evict about 12,000 workers, most of them Japanese, from plantation housing. The HSPA also drastically increased its efforts to bring laborers from the Philippines to break the potential strike-making power of the Japanese. As a consequence of the disorganization of Manlapit's union and the return to work of a significant portion of its members, Filipinos were not recognized as having played a decisive role in the Oahu-wide strike. However, the solidarity of the Japanese strikers aroused fierce opposition and even fear in the haole community. By July, the strike had straggled to a stalemate, with no formal concession being made by the planters.

The next major attempt to involve Filipinos in a union action was in 1924 when Manlapit, leading the Higher Wages Movement, again called for a strike. The workers were defeated by their own weak organization and by the importation of strikebreakers from the Philippines. The struggle became violent on Kauai when the police attempted to rescue two Filipino strikebreakers being held captive by union members. This led to a clash in which sixteen strikers and four policemen were killed.

Manlapit and other leaders were convicted shortly afterwards for subornation of perjury, and Manlapit was sentenced to two years in prison. He was subsequently "exiled" from the Islands, but he returned in 1932 and formed a new Filipino labor union with the assistance of Antonio Fagel and Epifanio Toak. Manlapit was again deported from Hawaii in 1934, and his confederate Toak was jailed. The union was renamed *Vibora Luviminda* by Fagel, who called a strike in June 1936 at four plantations on Maui. The union demanded higher wages and the dismissal of five foremen. After eighty-five days, the planters agreed to a 15 percent pay increase, marking one of the first victories for the union forces, for the planters had finally been willing to

negotiate a settlement. Fagel and other Filipino laborers were imprisoned in September 1937, charged with a conspiracy to kidnap a Filipino worker during a strike. Following this imprisonment, the union organization fell into disarray, marking the last of the exclusively Filipino unions in Hawaii.<sup>12</sup>

In this last racially exclusive strike, it became apparent that it would be necessary to cross ethnic lines in order to develop dependable union power. In the 1936 strike, only harvesting had been prevented, since all of the other plantation operations continued with the use of Japanese and other laborers. Although part of the success of the strike had to be attributed to financial support from Japanese and U.S. mainland unions, the efforts of plantation management to divide and conquer had succeeded, at least until 1937. Management had been aware of this strategy as early as 1895, as evidenced by a plantation manager who testified that

Strikes will continue as long as men combine and the only measures that can be taken, which may be effectual to any extent, are those which will reduce the opportunities for combination and their inclination for same.

It seems to me that this can be done by employing as many nationalities as possible in each plantation. If immigrants of various nationalities would come in until there are sufficient of them in the country to offset any one nationality, we would then be better off.<sup>13</sup>

In 1934, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) began a major organizing drive among plantation workers throughout Hawaii. From the outset, their strategy was to break down the mistrust that had developed between ethnic groups. The ILWU's history of concern for the injustices of racial discrimination stood them well in these attempts, but early on they also met with considerable frustration. For one, the influential Filipino Federation of America, headed by Hilario C. Moncado, opposed all union membership. (The Filipino Federation of America was a religious fraternal organization that developed a strong following among Filipinos in Hawaii, California, and the Philippines during the 1930s and 1940s.) The following personal account by a Filipino who had worked as a longshoreman in California and subsequently had returned to

Hawaii to help organize workers for the ILWU tells vividly of some of the difficulties involved in the organization attempts.

Before I came here, the union was not really organized well because the people were all hardheaded. It was hard to convince them, and it took a tremendous struggle. I almost got poked with a knife because they didn't like to join the union. They hated me because the company told them I was going to make trouble. I tried to talk nice to the men, but the company had told the men that if they joined the union they would be fired. I promised the men that if the company was going to fire them, they would have to deal with me first.

Now the union is strong, but it took fifteen years to make it strong. The people were scared because the company had made them scared. The struggle was long, and it was really a job. I was sick, sick, just thinking how to help them. I continued to try to speak for the workers against the company, but if we did strike, the members often didn't back us up. Finally in 1949, we had a real big strike. The people were really happy. Finally we had learned to work together and fight together.

The courage of the Filipinos in supporting the unions was somewhat strengthened by their acquisition of the right in 1946 to become citizens of the United States or of the newly independent Republic of the Philippines. Since they had been U.S. nationals—neither alien nor citizen—their questionable and vague legal status prior to 1946 had always intimidated them somewhat in their pursuit of political rights. Furthermore, their history of being politically repressed in the Philippines under both the Spanish and United States colonial rule, as well as being dominated locally by landlords and politicians in their hometowns, had somewhat conditioned them to suffer, to endure, and to try subtly to circumvent or to undermine injustices imposed on them rather than to challenge the source of the injustice by direct confrontation.

The efforts of the ILWU to weld together a multiracial union were often burdensome. Many members objected to the time-consuming use of a number of languages to inform all members of the issues being discussed. Nevertheless, the union continued to pursue its policy of protecting the rights of disadvantaged ethnic groups. One means of doing this was to encourage the election of representatives of each group to offices within the union.

The ILWU also gained support by extending its activities to concerns not strictly limited to labor-management negotiations. For instance, they helped the Filipinos by attempting to prevent stock swindles and by assisting them to register and be fingerprinted, as required by law in 1940 of all "aliens."

One of the early union leaders gave the following account of some of the difficulties that occurred among the ethnic groups within the union.

These prejudices and jealousies came quickly to the surface as the Union was organized. Japanese, generally the most aggressive group in the formation of the Union, tended to under-rate the importance of other groups, dismissing the Portuguese as being generally "no-good" and not worth organizing, while the Filipinos were recognized as necessary to successful organization, but too "ignorant" to be admitted to leadership. Portuguese workers shared Japanese scorn of the Filipino, but regarded the rising Japanese leadership with alarm and indignation as a threat to their own generally superior status on the job and in the community. Filipinos shared the Japanese suspicion of the more favored Portuguese, but were resentful of the condescending attitude of both groups toward them and positively outraged by the thought that they as the largest group of workers should not enjoy a proportionate leadership position.<sup>14</sup>

The divisions among the Filipinos and the Japanese are further illustrated by a pamphlet circulated in 1947:

We cannot afford to decide the issue of a strike in a membership meeting because the Filipinos are too ignorant and easily swayed by emotion. Filipinos are irresponsible because they do not intend to live here forever; they don't care if the plantation goes broke.

The Haole Union leaders are clever and selfish like all Haoles, only interested in getting rich. What do they care if the strike ruins everyone? They'll go back to the coast with their money. Yes, they married local girls, but that was only to get "in" with local people. They'll leave their wives behind.

The Japanese dominate the union and are only using the Filipinos as tools.

The Haoles dominate the union and are only using all local people as tools. We should form a Union with strictly local leaders.<sup>15</sup>

The impressive accomplishments of the ILWU in not only achieving considerable benefits for the workers but also in gaining tremendous political power in the state is a well-known story that need not be repeated here. Under these conditions, it became desirable for Filipinos to consider Hawaii their permanent home. With the Union as an available and often effective spokesman, Filipinos were no longer confined to the bottom of the social, economic, and political structures of Hawaii. They could exert their rights and foresee a far more worthwhile future for themselves and their children.

### THE 1946 IMMIGRATION

During World War II the working force on the plantations was reduced considerably due to natural attrition and the departure of many plantation laborers to work on Oahu at military bases or in other sectors of Hawaii's booming wartime economy. Measures had been taken by the military government to keep the workers on the plantations, but they were often ineffective, partly because they were not rigidly enforced. Consequently, plantation management as early as 1945 widely discussed their need to import labor. Under the terms of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, the Secretary of the Interior had the power to approve requests for the importation of laborers from the Philippines. By virtue of his authority, the secretary could bypass the normal immigration quotas and procedures. The secretary quickly approved requests by the plantations through the territorial governor. The planters realized that the Philippines would shortly gain its independence (as it did on July 4, 1946), and future immigration might be cut off, so it was necessary to take such action despite the uncertainties of future labor needs.

The final decision to import 6,000 workers together with the maximum of 3,000 dependents was an arbitrary estimate of the number of employees needed. The looming possibilities of statehood, technological improvements, and changes in the world economy made forecasts cloudy at best. Sugar plantation management was concerned that the trade barriers and price controls that had been set up to stimulate domestic production of sugar would be eliminated following World War II. This would

expose Hawaii's industry to worldwide competition with sugar producers in nations where low-priced labor was readily available. This, in fact, was the rationale planters often used against the argument that plantation wages be raised in order to attract Hawaii's residents as workers rather than continuing to import plantation workers.

Sugar plantation management was also unable to forecast with any useful precision the degree to which labor would be saved with improved technology and operating conditions then being developed. Furthermore, it was not known how many Filipino laborers then in Hawaii intended on returning to the Philippines once the disruptions of World War II were past.

Apparently there was never a question of whether 6,000 laborers could be recruited from the Philippines, However, the Filipino community in Hawaii did not support the importation of the requested laborers because they realized that any increase in the supply of plantation labor would only harm their own economic status. They feared that wages would be lowered as a result of this revived recruiting and that long sought improvements of social position would be diffused and even lowered by illiterate, unskilled, and culturally inept newcomers to the community.

This opposition was also shared by some people who occupied elite positions of influence in Hawaii, for they had long objected to the earlier territorial government policy of maintaining low wages by bringing in poorly skilled foreign labor. They considered it immoral for the elite to maintain their status by artificially reducing the standard of living of those in lower paying jobs. Although less out outspoken—but presumably as sincere—a segment of Hawaii society perceived that the importation of laborers would clearly operate to its advantage. The muscle flexing of the ILWU that led up to the sugar strike in 1949 only underscored these beliefs. As one observer at the time noted:

Apprehension that this would be a permanent resumption of the policy which dominated the economy of the Territory prior to 1932, namely that of keeping wages low by bringing in unskilled workers from abroad under contract, roused mixed reactions. Those who wanted to climb up the ladder to comfort and American standards of living felt that this policy might well provide the community with a supply of hewers of wood and drawers of water over whom they



themselves could exercise supervision, and thus secure better paying, pleasanter jobs. But on the other hand, the newcomers might prove to be a permanent depressive influence on the standards of pay and possibilities of achieving the desired standard of living for all non-haole residents. Attitudes toward this immigration were, therefore, often charged with emotion and intense feeling, as well as confusion and conflicting reactions.

Few social problems concerning the new immigrants have been reported as yet, and the general level of education of the new immigrants and their familiarity with Hawaii is such that there is little promise of difficulty in this direction.<sup>16</sup>

The unions showed little enthusiasm for the 1946 importation of laborers, because the Philippines had been the common source of immigrant strikebreakers who had been used by the plantations in the past to prevent the unions from gaining bargaining power. The laboring classes, at least on the plantations and in oceangoing transportation, were in effect demanding an increased share in the wealth of the Territory of Hawaii.

As in earlier recruitment programs, the HSPA attempted to give preference to immigrants who had relatives already residing in Hawaii. In order to do this, workers on the plantations were given an opportunity to submit requests for certain individuals to be brought from the Philippines to Hawaii. Plantations apparently varied in practice in providing these opportunities; it is recorded that 10 people were requested on one plantation while 1,264 were requested by residents of another plantation.<sup>17</sup> Due to delays in the mail and administrative blunders, many of the requests were ignored. However, 8,152 men in the Philippines were invited to apply for migration to Hawaii. Of these, 2,655 were actually sent to Hawaii and another 800 who showed up to apply were rejected because of ill health or other problems. An additional 380 were discovered to have assumed false identities in order to acquire passage to Hawaii and were also rejected. In six shipments from January 14, 1946, to June 19, 1946, a total of 6,000 men, 446 women, and 915 children were brought to Hawaii.

This was the last major wave of immigration from the Philippines to Hawaii until a change in the law in 1965, which abolished the national origin system favoring European and

Latin American immigrants. The change in the law also specifically provided for the reuniting of families, which was of particular importance for many Filipinos living on Hawaii's plantations. As an indication of the numerical importance of this later immigration, in one plantation town on Oahu we studied in 1978 over half the immigrants had arrived since 1965.

## RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The Filipino immigrants were the last major group to arrive in Hawaii, so they had to fit into a niche in a social structure and pattern of life that had already been established by preceding ethnic groups. Instead of having a chance to assimilate into a strictly Hawaiian or American culture, the Filipino immigrants had to adapt themselves to the unstable cultural synthesis of the diverse ethnic groups the plantations had assembled for their labor pool. For example, the Filipinos found that they had to learn "pidgin" English in order to deal with plantation labor procedures. Standard English was not particularly useful in that situation, but on the other hand, proficiency in pidgin was hardly advantageous in achieving upward economic mobility, for it was not as useful outside the plantation setting. Although plantation wages were low, there were usually enough resources available to allow dances, parties, gambling, and other forms of recreation. The Filipinos were also financially able to support such organizations as the movement led by Dr. Hilario Moncado.

After independence was granted to the Philippines, immigration to Hawaii dropped considerably. Filipinos were defined as aliens, being citizens of a foreign country, and were subject to many more restrictions in entering Hawaii. This curtailment of immigration was accompanied by significant improvements in the economic and social conditions of the Filipinos in Hawaii, despite the fact that the sugar plantations began to mechanize and to make other changes in their operations and consequently there was less demand for labor. Pineapple plantations were in increasing economic difficulty, and production was curtailed in the 1960s and 1970s. During that time many of the Filipinos born in Hawaii reached adulthood and moved into the mainstream of Hawaii society. The development of the tourist economy offered new sources of employment to replace plantation labor.

After 1965, large numbers of immigrants from the Philippines again began to come to Hawaii, this time as relatives of existing households in Hawaii or as highly skilled workers. The imposition of martial law in the Philippines in September 1972 resulted in some curtailment of immigration, although the exact effect is difficult to determine because immigration had already been declining in the previous year.

In a sense, Filipino migration to Hawaii during the last twenty years has constituted a sort of "catching up" process in which families have been trying to replicate the extended kinship networks that were the basis for the social structure in the rural Philippines. This process is not unlike that followed by earlier immigrant groups in Hawaii. In other words, the more recent Filipino immigrants are justifiably regarded as the long-delayed components needed to "normalize" the social life and community structure of Filipinos in Hawaii.

Filipino society in Hawaii is now at a crucial turning point. The society of poverty of the immigrants on the plantations before World War II is dwindling. This is by no means an overnight process; many plantation residents are still living in rather humble conditions. However, the passing of this older society is not entirely a benefit, because it also means loss of certain cultural values and practices that are already hardly known or understood by many in today's Filipino community, much less by the wider community that has had little or no contact with Filipinos on the plantations. The remainder of this text attempts to document and to analyze the types of plantation life among Filipinos that continue to exist in Hawaii. In a far more limited fashion, we assess the future possibilities for Hawaii's Filipino population.

## CHAPTER 2

# Economic Conditions

THE WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS on the plantations in Hawaii, at least from the perspective of those from rural Cebu and Ilocos in the Philippines, were a powerful attraction for laborers to come to Hawaii. Being provided with shoes and gloves to wear to work, working only a ten-hour day, having Sundays off, and having houses made of lumber or concrete instead of bamboo seemed to be vast improvements. Furthermore, the wage promised was more than even a schoolteacher earned in the Philippines. But the immigrants did not know about the necessity of buying virtually everything at the plantation store, often at high prices due to shipping and other costs, nor did they fully anticipate the loneliness of living in a foreign culture without family or townmates. After they had been in Hawaii for a while, they often also came to resent the heavy hand of the foremen and the social discrimination they experienced as Filipinos.

The economic life of the early immigrant Filipino laborer in Hawaii was very different from his serflike life in the rural Ilocos. Instead of owing the local political boss a portion of his agricultural production and labor in return for the privilege of using the land, in Hawaii he was paid a specified dollar wage for performing well-defined tasks. Instead of having to borrow at usurious rates of interest in order to plant next year's crop and in hard times to buy enough to even survive until harvest time, in Hawaii he was able to charge his purchases at the plantation store where the interest rates appeared far more reasonable. Instead of working without supervision on a wide range of agricultural tasks that could occupy

all his waking hours and that required complex skills he had inherited from generations of farmers in his region, in Hawaii he was closely supervised while he performed simple repetitive tasks on a rigidly designated schedule. Men who strongly desired to control their lives without supervision, who were innovative, or who were socially abrasive lasted only a short time as employees. When eventually turned out of plantation employment, the "successful" plantation workers were poorly equipped for most other types of work available in Hawaii.

In the rural Philippines the farmer typically worked in the fields with the entire family, but in Hawaii his family members could work only by selling various goods, operating bathhouses, doing laundry, or providing boarding services for the single men in the community. In contrast to the earlier immigrant groups, it was less common for the Filipina women to work in the fields in Hawaii. It seems that this was because most of them had small children at home and because plantation management had readily available male laborers throughout most of the 1920s and 1930s.

The commercial nature of even the simplest transaction was often a cultural shock to the early immigrants. Some found the practice of fixed prices in the plantation stores and elsewhere to be a minor violation of their personal freedom, since they had nothing to say about the prices. They could at least bargain in the Philippines, even if they had little to spend.

On the other hand, the structure of the plantation town and the orderly layout of the simple houses were often more appealing than those of the villages in the Philippines. The Philippine villages had been organized to suit the purposes of the Spanish colonial administration, which had grouped the people of the countryside into small towns in order to control their actions more effectively. By the twentieth century, such villages typically had a church, a post office, and an open market area in the center of town, all in a general state of disrepair. A few small buildings were used for government affairs, including education, and the surrounding houses were not laid out in a regular order. The houses were made of bamboo and thatching materials and had considerable space under the floors for pigs and chickens that served as pets, sources of food, sentries, and scavengers. The towns in Hawaii had no greater variety, but the buildings

were generally in better condition, and the houses resembled those of more prosperous members of the rural communities in the Philippines.

## HOUSING CONDITIONS

A more accurate comparison of Hawaii's plantation living conditions can be made not with small towns in the Philippines, but with the sugar haciendas that were operating there at the time most of the immigration to Hawaii was taking place. The Philippine haciendas usually provided small, two-room houses of bamboo with thatched roofs, although some had houses with iron roofing. The houses were not provided with toilet facilities, nor did they have running water; the people had to wash in the nearby streams and bring their drinking water from wells dug close to the villages. Kerosene lamps and firewood rather than electricity were provided for lighting and heat. It was extremely rare for the hacienda to provide free medical treatment or primary education.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast, during the 1920s and 1930s plantations in Hawaii provided workers with housing that was then considered quite adequate; it had running water and toilet facilities. The houses had four or five rooms and were generally on 6,500 square-foot lots. Medical services and fuel for cooking were also provided. The territorial government provided primary education at convenient locations.

The oldest, poorest housing on the plantations was given to the Filipinos, since they were the lowest skilled, held the least prestigious jobs, and were the most recent arrivals. Better houses were reserved for the Japanese laborers, who usually had higher status jobs on the plantations; veritable mansions were provided for resident plantation managers, who were generally haoles. Filipino men without families lived in barracks with two or three men in a room or with a group of seven or eight other men in the four-or five-room houses.

One study made in the late 1930s estimated that the average annual value of these "free" perquisites amounted to approximately \$210.<sup>2</sup> Typical housing occupied by Filipinos in Hawaii was described as follows:

The houses assigned to Filipino workers are small, unpainted frame dwellings, consisting of a living room, two or three bedrooms, a kitchen, and front porch. The kitchen is separated from the other rooms by a covered porch. All rooms are small, ventilated by one or two windows. With a few exceptions, there were not screens at the windows or doors. The houses are provided with electricity, a faucet in the kitchen for running water, an outside toilet, a wash house equipped with two stationary tubs and plumbing. The toilet has a drainage canal with water running through it much of the time. Nevertheless, in hot and damp weather, it is likely to emit unpleasant odors. In Filipino Village and Middle Village the houses have individual showers equipped with cold running water, but in Banana Camp the families use a community bath-house reserved for Filipinos. The bath-house has two rooms separated by a partition, one room for the women and children and one room for the men. In each room there is a large tub filled with warm water and several small tubs filled with cold water which are available for individual use. The warm water is dipped out of the big tub by the bathers.<sup>3</sup>

The furnishings used by Filipino families in Hawaii were also different from those of rural families in the Philippines. Record players, pianos, factory-made furniture such as beds and sofas, refrigerators, and linoleum were scarce or absent in most Philippine villages. These "luxuries" were undoubtedly appreciated by the families who came to Hawaii, although they sometimes felt culturally uncomfortable with the new lifestyles that came with their new possessions.

The comforts of living, particularly as experienced by wives in their responsibilities as housekeepers, were much better in Hawaii than in the Philippines; refrigerators and washing machines lightened their day-to-day burdens. Studies indicated that nutritional levels were higher, clothing was of better quality, and health and medical conditions were considerably better.<sup>4</sup> However, since the grandparents and other relatives rarely immigrated, Filipina mothers in Hawaii had no help with child-rearing and other tasks. All of this work had to be faced single-handedly, and it was more difficult because the women were in a foreign cultural situation with new demands on their own as well as their children's behavior.

In the 1970s, the typical plantation worker living in traditional

plantation housing in Hawaii might have had a three-bedroom house for an out-of-pocket cost of \$35 per month or a two-bedroom unit for \$27 per month. Electricity bills ran approximately \$35 per month for a five-member family. Water was usually provided free of cost by the plantation. Although the houses were of standard quality in the 1920s and 1930s, fifty years later these same houses were substandard and often considered so officially by the health or fire departments. Many were virtual firetraps with unsafe electrical wiring systems and wood weakened from age and termite damage. The structures were also susceptible to invasion by mice and other pests.

Although unattractive on the outside, many plantation houses were charming on the inside. Workers took considerable care in keeping the houses and yards neat and clean. Most houses had flower gardens in front and vegetable gardens in back; in some cases plantation management allocated several plots of land close to the village for vegetable gardens or raising chickens. By raising their own vegetables and chickens, by hunting and fishing, and by trading services for various commodities, plantation families were able to lessen their dependence on cash for their daily needs.

An average house in an older plantation community in Hawaii in the 1970s had a refrigerator, a washing machine, a sewing machine, a television set, one or more radios, and an electric or gas range. Almost all the families owned a car; families with grown children typically owned more than one vehicle. A number of these families invested in freezers to store bulk quantities of meat and fish. Some had stereos, extra television sets, and such items as tape recorders.

We found the atmosphere of the plantation homes cheery and bright, communicating a feeling of warm welcome. Chairs and sofas are adorned with colorfully decorated cloth covers made by the women in the household, and the attractive patchwork quilts used to cover the beds and sofas identify the diligent seamstresses. Oranges, bright greens, and blues are often prominent in the decor. The Catholic homes often have statues and pictures of saints and even elaborate wall hangings depicting Jesus Christ, sometimes complete with fluorescent lighting. Along with these religious icons are rows of photographs of relatives, members of the household, and friends. Often prominently displayed in the living room are group pictures of *compadres* and



*comadres* taken at baptisms or graduations. Graduation portraits of children in the family and the children of friends are also prominently displayed.

These homes are generally similar to each other inside and out, although a plantation community might have as many as five different models of houses and some of them might have been improved with the addition of a covered lanai, garage extension, or another bedroom. The major complaints of families living in these houses are the old-style electrical wiring, lighting, and ventilating systems. Families generally appreciate the roominess of their houses and say that they would not wish to live in Honolulu with its small apartments.

An urban visitor to these homes is impressed by the families' habit of leaving the doors unlocked or even open, although after a rash of thefts or more serious crimes in the community, families were observed to lock their doors. But they are soon back to the warm, engaging, and more relaxed attitude of an open-door policy. A person unfamiliar with these communities also notices the constant traffic of visitors from household to household, which is an important cultural part of the social life of these Filipino communities.

Outsiders who have been heard to criticize the apparent reluctance of many families to improve their housing poorly understood the situation. As a housewife back in 1936 reported perceptively: "Plantation house. Too much trouble fix him up. Fix good, paint too much trouble. You *pau* (through) live plantation, no can keep house. Plantation keep house."<sup>5</sup> Tremendous changes occur in the style of furnishings and the level of interest in home improvement when families move away from the older style plantation housing, which has been provided almost free by the plantations. If they own their new houses, they are assured that any increase in value will result in improved fortunes for themselves rather than resulting in higher rents.

In our 1978 study of a plantation town on Oahu 12 percent of the houses were judged by their residents to be in terrible or inadequate condition. A formal assessment of these housing conditions by outside observers during the same period indicated that 39 percent of these houses were substandard, including 11 percent that were dilapidated.<sup>6</sup>

The houses in this town averaged over thirty years in age and

were about 900 square feet in size. Since the plantation owned these houses, no market value existed, but for tax-assessment purposes the average value was \$4,685 in 1978. The approximate average market value thus would have been about \$10,000, excluding the value of the lot.

No complaints about their housing were offered by 31 percent of the residents. Even in obviously inadequate conditions, some residents did not complain because they saw the alternative as having to leave the plantation housing and pay market rents. (It could also be speculated that their perceived socioeconomic role prevented them from openly expressing dissatisfaction.) When asked if they were interested in buying their houses from the plantation, 44 percent said they definitely would, 37 percent said it would depend on the price or other factors, and 19 percent said they definitely were not interested.

In our judgment, the Oahu community described above is fairly typical of the older plantation villages remaining throughout the state. Although plantation owners have repeatedly indicated that they wish to discontinue their roles as landlords, transferring or converting the use of such property is a complex, cumbersome business. In the meantime, the communities continue to be closely knit, and most houses are comfortable places for raising families and enjoying retirement years.

Ownership of housing in the plantation camps of today reflects decisions made by management in past years. The typical preference of the companies today to "get out of the housing business" has meant that some of the plantation families have been able to take title to new or existing houses, on terms that have been favorably negotiated by their union. The large investments for new furnishings made by families involved in relocation to new houses are comparable to those of mainstream America. The furnishings are the same as seen on television, in the mail-order catalog, or in the furniture showrooms. These purchases are vivid illustrations of the capacity and tendency of these families to invest and behave in the idealized middle-class manner, provided they are given even limited opportunities to do so.

The Puhi subdivision on Kauai is one example of this type of behavior. People driving through this new housing development, in which the homes are owned by the residents, could readily imagine that they were driving through a middle-class suburb of

Phoenix, Arizona. Unfortunately for some residents, however, the immaculate lawns, the concrete driveways, and the well-lighted streets have displaced to some extent the comfortable, homey, and colorful atmosphere of crowing roosters and visiting among neighbors.

## INCOME VARIATIONS

A study conducted in 1936 of Filipinos on Hawaii's plantations indicated that those who were working on a contract that included a bonus tied to the world price of sugar earned approximately \$436 per year, not including perquisites.<sup>7</sup> Others who were on a regular wage basis earned an average of \$509. The same study noted that the men who had some education tended to earn more than those who did not, that Ilocanos earned slightly more than Visayans did on the average, and that men in the age bracket of thirty-five to thirty-nine tended to earn slightly more than the others. Incomes earned by wives generally were derived from activities in their homes. Virtually no Filipina women were employed in the fields. One of the women's economic activities—continued today, as can be easily observed in certain parts of urban Honolulu—was a short-term lottery whereby articles of clothing or other merchandise are sold by selling chances.

The 1936 study found that the women who were involved in activities to supplement the household income earned an average of only \$139 per year. About 40 percent of the wives were not employed in any way due to pregnancies or having to care for small children. A greater percentage of Ilocano women as compared to Visayan women had earnings to supplement the family income.

The median family income in this study was \$627 annually, with a range of \$244 to \$1,597. These figures did not allow for perquisites provided by the plantation, which amounted to approximately \$210 per year. (Nineteen thirty-six dollars can be converted to 1980 dollars by multiplying by six, giving a rough idea of comparable dollar values. In other words, the median family income of \$627 in 1936 is comparable to \$3,750 in 1980 terms, and to \$5,000 if plantation perquisites and items produced at home are added.)

A survey we conducted in the spring of 1975 indicated that the average family in three plantations towns on Molokai and Kauai had a mean income of \$8,400 and a median income of \$8,100. This did not include allowances for the perquisites provided by the plantation. In 19 percent of the households supplemental earnings by the wives were derived from part-time work or employment off the plantation. These supplemental incomes, which are included in the previous figures, averaged \$3,000. When converted to 1980 dollars in order to allow for inflation, the average income in 1980 terms was about \$13,000 annually. This figure is virtually equal to the average family income reported in another survey we made in late 1978 in a plantation town on Oahu.

Data from the 1975 survey showed that family heads employed in the sugar industry during 1974 had considerably higher incomes than those employed in the pineapple industry. There are two possible explanations for the difference. First, the sugar industry invested heavily in new techniques and equipment that have permitted it to maintain production levels while reducing the labor force by approximately one-half since 1948. This change in production techniques required increasingly better educated and more sophisticated workers than those needed in the pineapple industry where production techniques have changed less over the past twenty-five years. Thus, the sugar industry has tended to select workers who could command higher wages elsewhere in the labor market. This has not been the case for workers in the pineapple industry, who have been unable to find alternative jobs that pay as well. In other words, the sugar industry has been forced to pay higher wages for its workers simply because of the way the labor market operates and the competition it induces among employers.

Focusing on the talents and skills of individuals, however, tends to exclude the consideration that institutions, such as labor unions, affect the amounts earned by various workers. An explanation commonly expressed to us was that the ILWU has been able to extract higher wages from the relatively profitable sugar industry with its long-term capital commitments than from the low-profit pineapple industry, which is capable of pulling out of Hawaii by depending solely on foreign production. Statistical analysis supports both explanations: not only has the sugar industry been forced to pay a premium for its higher quality work

force, but allowing for that effect, it is equally important that the sugar industry, by virtue of having profits, has been more vulnerable in its labor negotiations.<sup>8</sup>

Part of the changes in the lives of people living and working on the sugar plantations after 1946 came as the result of mechanization and other technological changes. These improvements substantially reduced the number of employees needed and the number of days each worked per year, while allowing for a fairly constant tonnage in sugar production to be maintained. For example, the number of hourly employees dropped from 20,800 to 7,900 from 1945 to 1973, and the average days worked per year dropped from 305 to 220 in the same years. However, total cane production actually showed a slight increase, and the amount of sugar produced actually increased by about a third. This situation led to few new jobs being available, an increasingly aging labor force, and increasing requirements for technical skills. Although the total wages, excluding fringes, per worker from 1945 to 1973 went from about \$6.28 per working day to about \$43.34, an increase of about seven times, sugar prices increased by less than half that proportion, going from about \$3.75 per cwt. to about \$10.30 per cwt.

In any case, the worker in the sugar industry is better paid, particularly considering that the basic population pools drawn from thirty years ago were essentially the same. The differences in wage earnings between the two industries as reflected in our 1975 survey amounted to over \$1,000 in annual income. This difference was further magnified by the bonuses paid workers when sugar prices skyrocketed, bringing almost embarrassingly high profits to the sugar companies. The phasing out of the pineapple plantation we studied also magnified this statistical difference by causing the majority of these workers to be placed on four-day-per-month employment during the off-season. Since it was hardly possible in 1946 for a worker to foresee this future course of events, his good fortune in beginning to work in the sugar industry was as responsible for his present-day relative income advantage as were any educational advantages he might have possessed.<sup>9</sup>

These factors by no means fully explain the variations we observed in household incomes. Not only were schooling and type of industry important, but "professional" occupational status and

marital status also made differences. Furthermore, residency on the pineapple plantation that was phasing out its operations had a substantially stronger impact in lowering income than did residency on the other pineapple plantation.<sup>10</sup>

Some of the retired Filipino workers we interviewed complained that their social security payments, about \$120 per month in 1975, did not go as far as the dollar per day they had earned when they first came to Hawaii. While these comparisons may not be true on an absolute basis, they are undoubtedly true for many on a relative basis. These men are now at the very bottom of the socioeconomic structure. When they arrived in Hawaii they may have been close to the bottom, but it was not so obvious to them because of their isolation, and they still had opportunities for upward mobility. Furthermore, the conditions they experienced in most cases then were considerable improvements over their living conditions in the Philippines.

#### ECONOMIC STATUS OF FILIPINA WOMEN

The employment of Filipina women in rural Hawaii has often created tensions within the family. Among the plantation populations we observed, a number of the men had been laid off, forcing their wives to seek employment. Some of the women were able to find jobs in tourism or nonplantation agricultural endeavors, which constituted relatively unstable and highly seasonal employment. In the cases where this was the first employment experience for them, adjustments on the part of the husband and children were often major and upsetting for the families concerned.

As the Filipina women enter the employment market they face many of the difficulties their male counterparts encountered, such as wage discrimination. Their one advantage seems to be that they are often better educated and more comfortable in their use of English. Discrimination on the basis of sex will be a particularly significant problem for the Filipino population in Hawaii in the near future, because a disproportionate share of the female population will be forced to seek jobs, even though their counterparts in other ethnic groups who have young children may be able to avoid employment. This is true partly because a larger share of Filipina women are married to older men, many of whom are retired and receive small so-

cial security and pension payments. But the earning capability of even the younger Filipino husbands may be lower than that of the overall population. This necessitates the employment of wives more frequently than is the case for the rest of Hawaii's population.

Filipina wives are often employed in the tourist industry at the lower end of the wage scale. Not only are their hourly wages low, but they are often only seasonally employed and even then on a twenty-to thirty-hour-per-week basis. The hourly wages are not that unattractive when compared to plantation wages, but when the cost of commuting, the less valuable perquisites, the seasonality, and the part-time nature of the work are considered, the net annual salaries are generally lower. Some employers explain wage discrimination on the basis that female employees are less productive and tend to spend fewer years in the labor force, thus justifying the employer's investing less in their training. Such arguments seem more like rationalization than analysis.

The Filipina woman may thus experience a double degree of discrimination, because of her sex and her national origin. These effects are difficult to separate from those that would be socially sanctioned on the basis of education and productive ability. We have not been able to quantify such effects, nor were we aware of any study that had clearly done so.

#### ATTITUDES ABOUT MONEY

In our 1975 survey of 199 plantation households on Molokai and Kauai, we asked the adults what they would do with a \$5,000 gift or prize in order to determine the types of consumption values the people held given their economic circumstances. In many instances the respondents gave more than one possible use for the money, so the following percentages do not add up to 100 percent. Savings would be a primary use of the money for 34 percent of the people interviewed, with the economic uncertainties they faced often given as the reason. Twenty-three percent said they would use the funds for their children, generally for their education. Nineteen percent said the funds would be applied to current daily needs, such as purchase of an automobile or household furnishings. Another 18 percent said they would use all or part of the funds for charitable activities. Another 8 percent said they would use the funds to help their relatives. Other proposed uses were:

real estate purchases, 12 percent; paying off debts, 9 percent; financing a trip to the Philippines, 7 percent; and investment in a business or other nonproperty venture, 4 percent.

One of the more important attitudes examined in our survey was opinions of the ways in which people could make a great deal of money. A full half of our respondents indicated that riches are acquired by hard work. Eleven percent suggested that "connections" were a major means of acquiring a lot of money. Less than 4 percent felt that illegal or dishonest behavior was the most typical means of amassing wealth. About one-third felt that thriftiness or business skills were primary routes to obtaining riches.

These values must be considered in the context of the relative economic disadvantages experienced by these people. They clearly do not reflect the types of poverty-culture values that have been imputed in the past, such as a dependence on fate rather than work or tendencies toward immediate gratification of needs.

The use of credit cards was found to be a function of location more than of financial status. For example, plantation residents on the small, rural island of Molokai had little opportunity to use credit cards. Consequently, less than 10 percent of the respondents in the plantation towns there held one or more credit cards. In contrast, in a plantation located on Kauai over three-fourths of the respondents possessed credit cards. Credit card use was found to be universal among the professionals on Oahu who were interviewed.

Similar factors also seemed to affect banking practices, although income made more difference in this respect. The families interviewed on Molokai generally made use of savings accounts; about three-fourths had savings but not checking accounts. Approximately 21 percent had neither checking nor savings accounts. By comparison, on Kauai one-third of the families maintained both checking and savings accounts, 60 percent had savings accounts only, and only 4 percent had neither checking nor savings accounts. As a further point of comparison, the use of both checking and savings accounts was found to be universal among our small sample of urban Filipinos on Oahu with professional occupations.

In about one-third of the Filipino families on the plantations we studied both the male head of the household and his spouse handled the banking for the family. In nearly one-half of the families



only the female spouse did the banking. In the remaining cases the male head of the household exclusively handled the family's banking matters.

## SPENDING PATTERNS

When the early immigrant Filipinos arrived on the plantations they seldom had any experience in financial transactions. They were generally given the right to open a charge account in the local plantation store, and their purchases were deducted from their pay. Frequently, the workers did not know the prices of the goods they had purchased at the store, much less the total amounts they owed. They had no choice but to have complete trust in the management of the plantation. We found no evidence of price-gouging on the part of plantation management, although prices in most cases were higher than in urban Honolulu due to transportation and other costs. Nor were the workers cheated by the plantations by being charged for more than they actually purchased.

One of the major expenditures made by the immigrants was in the form of remittances to relatives back home. Although at various times, such as during the Great Depression, they had tremendous difficulty in sending significant amounts home, during the 1920s and even in the early 1930s these amounts apparently were fairly sizable. Estimates of the total amounts vary considerably, but the impact in the Philippines by 1926 was noticeable, as reflected in the following observation concerning the difficulty in absorbing such remittances:

This was rather embarrassing at times to certain provinces, because upon the arrival of Hawaiian mails the money remittances were so great that the funds on hand in provincial treasuries were exhausted and appeals had to be sent to Manila for more. Particularly in the Ilocos provinces the gain from Hawaiian work has been evidenced in the larger number of land holdings and the increased size thereof for the Hawaiians and their relatives.<sup>11</sup>

The capacity of the immigrants to save large amounts of money seems to have continued into the present. One popular story among members of the Filipino community tells of the man who regularly sent money home to his family in the Philippines,

which allowed them to live in grand style with servants and other "luxuries." The family finally decided to come to Hawaii to join the man and discovered that their standard of living, at least in relative terms, declined considerably. They found that the man had been forced to live in impoverished circumstances in order to save the large amounts he had sent over the previous decade. Of course, because of the exchange rates his income did not go nearly as far in Hawaii as it had in the Philippines, and the family was quite disappointed in their severely reduced standard of living.

As the immigrants became more attuned to American standards of living and as they acquired families or brought them from the Philippines, their spending patterns began to resemble more closely the patterns of mainstream Hawaii. Indeed, once the perquisites provided by the plantation are allowed for, the expenditures made today are not noticeably different. Filipino immigrants are fully affected by American advertising and living expectations. In the face of economic setbacks such as plantation closures, their worries are similar to those of other families in America who are economically disadvantaged. The wives talk of their sadness in not being able to meet the children's demands for new toys, clothes, or recreation money. Friction develops between parents and children over the things that peer pressure makes the children desire, but which the parents' value systems and economic circumstances require the children to do without. As discussed earlier, wives often feel compelled to enter the employment market, despite the problems of childcare, transportation, and difficult working circumstances.

In 1974 in the early exploratory stages of our research, we conducted a structured, detailed survey of thirty-seven households in one of the poorest and most rural of Hawaii's plantation towns. A number of questions were asked about the financial practices of the families. In order to supplement the income and perquisites received from plantation employment, 73 percent of the families grew vegetables on small lots provided by the plantation and another 22 percent raised chickens for household consumption. (Our 1978 study of 180 households in a plantation town on Oahu indicated that 69 percent of the families raised vegetables and 25 percent raised chickens.) There was no evidence that a large number of the families were involved in making most of their own clothes or in obtaining large portions of their food by fishing or hunting. However, considerable

“barter” did take place; about 40 percent of the families said that they shared items and services with others on a regular basis. A full one-fourth of the families were found to be sharing their households in boarding arrangements with nonrelatives.

These families in 1974 had an average of \$5,400 in savings, although only half of the families had savings above \$2,600. Approximately one-third of them owned land, generally an acre or less, with a mean value of about \$16,000 in equity. Automobiles were owned by 90 percent of the families interviewed, on the average worth slightly less than \$900 each and six years old. About one-fourth of the families had current personal loans, usually of less than \$2,000. They reported average food expenses for the household at \$145 per month, ranging from \$45 for a single man to \$330 for a household of ten.

Housing was provided by the plantation at a cost to the families of \$30 per month (market value was about \$160). Utilities averaged \$37 and clothing expenditures averaged \$30. They seldom drove to work, but because they lived in isolated areas, the families had gasoline expenses of \$20 per month. Money for luxuries was scarce, so recreation expenditures averaged less than \$10 per month per household. About one-fourth of the families were participating in some type of welfare program or purchased food stamps. Half of the families had net assets below \$8,600, and the mean net assets were \$16,000.

Previous studies of Filipinos made during the 1930s and 1940s suggested that it was socially expected for the male head of the household to present his pay to his wife, who would fully administer the family's finances. No such pattern was encountered among the families we studied in 1974 and 1975. Rather it appeared that the households were about evenly divided in having the head of household handle the finances, having the spouse handle all finances, or having both administering finances on an equal basis. These patterns seemed to depend on such obvious factors as the relative literacy of the male head of household versus that of the spouse and were not tied to any set of cultural values.

## NONPLANTATION CONDITIONS

Not all Filipinos in Hawaii have lived on plantations. Filipinos were employed by Japanese coffee growers on the Kona Coast, and it

is recorded that they worked in the taro fields and in the early pineapple fields on Molokai. Although we estimate that nearly half of the present plantation residents throughout Hawaii are of Filipino ancestry, they have increasingly moved into jobs and locations that are not on the plantations, and many now live in the cities. This movement away from the plantations began as early as 1930.

From the limited number of personal histories we gathered it appears that many of the men who left the plantations in the early years were not only unstable in their work but often had been dismissed because they were reluctant to accept the paternalistic methods of the plantations. Their attempts at farming were of necessity on poor lands considered unsuited for production by major agricultural developments. Their meager capital did not give them a sufficient advantage in fishing, although many supplemented their incomes in this way.

It was primarily the second generation, those born in Hawaii, who gravitated to the city and the increased prestige of employment there. In this the Filipinos were simply following the patterns of the earlier immigrant groups. As early as 1930 the census shows that there were nearly 5,000 Filipinos living in the city of Honolulu, which offered a better chance for higher status employment for second-generation Filipinos and particularly better opportunities for the Filipina women. The higher chance of unemployment for the disadvantaged male in the city was somewhat offset by the greater job opportunities for his wife, as well as by the fact that once he obtained a job it was usually better than plantation work.

As on the plantations, much of the urban work found by Filipinos in the 1920s and 1930s was seasonal, such as working in the canneries and, in the 1960s and 1970s, in the tourist industry. A rough idea of the occupational distribution of urban Filipinos during the 1930s can be gained from table 3. The life histories we gathered indicated that when Filipinos on the plantations were laid off during the Depression, they often ended up living in the low-rent, poorly furnished tenant areas of Honolulu. Apparently it was not unusual for as many as eight or nine men to sleep in one room, often sharing only two beds.

A 1976 study of Filipino immigrant families on Oahu found that only 20 percent of the families in the sample received public

Table 3. Urban (Honolulu) Filipinos in Specific Occupations in the 1930s

Occupation	Number Married Men Interviewed	Single Men
Stevedores	2	5
Canneries	143	58
Hotels	32	115
Restaurant	2	6
Private homes (housework)	0	7
Private homes (yardwork)	6	4
F.E.R.A.	142	2
Army, Navy, and Coast Guard	42	5
Hospitals	3	105
Salesmen	2	2
Janitors and watchmen	8	12
Lumber yard	14	7
Laundries	12	9
Royal Hawaiian Band	3	1
Barbers and shoe shine	7	4
American Can Company	8	2
Stores	11	4
Clerical—office	2	4
Steamships	6	0
H.S.P.A. Experiment Station	5	2
Fishermen	7	0
Boxers	3	3
Printshop	0	4
Tailors	4	0
Mechanics	0	3
Drivers, garage	1	8
Totals	465	372

Source: Inter-Church Federation Survey, *Filipinos in Honolulu* (n.d.), chap. 6, p. 2, Hawaiiana Collection, University of Hawaii Library.

assistance, even though 30 percent of the heads of households were unemployed. The majority of the families receiving government assistance were getting only food stamps. Two percent were receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children, another 2 percent received Aid to the Disabled or Aid for the Blind, and only another 1 percent received any other assistance.<sup>12</sup> This means that the immigrant families were self-sustaining, with little or no assistance from government, although they may have found sources of financial maintenance from kin or friends within the Filipino community.

Immigrant urban families had difficulty in finding jobs. In the 1976 study it was found that unemployment among household heads was nearly four times the rate for the entire labor market in

the state at the time. One-fourth of the heads of households either were collecting or had in the past collected unemployment benefits. Half of those who said they had not collected unemployment said they did not know how to file for benefits. Fifty-five percent of the female spouses were employed, most frequently in a service capacity. About one-third of those who were not employed were seeking employment.

The continued immigration to the state from foreign countries of about 6,000 persons per year since 1970 has had a negative impact on the wage levels of Hawaii's Filipinos. (This figure does not include migration between Hawaii and the U.S. mainland.) The immigration of aliens often results in a common pattern whereby the immigrants, usually having no choice but to take the worst jobs, force down the wages in those occupations. Entering the occupational structure at the bottom stratum was not only a result of problems of adjustment and the lack of opportunity to put in sufficient time on the job to achieve vertical mobility, but all too often such low-paying jobs were structured around policies of racial discrimination that held back otherwise qualified individuals who could not obtain other work. Since such feelings are still sometimes held toward Filipinos, they must compete directly with incoming immigrant aliens.

Skilled immigrants coming to Hawaii also often face employment problems. At the insistence of resident professional groups, the state has enforced certification procedures that sometimes prevent otherwise qualified individuals from entering the professions for which they have been trained in other countries. In some cases the training has indeed been substandard, but this often has not been verified by the certification procedures used.

## CONCLUSION

The discussion in the preceding chapters has considered individual as well as institutional behavior. The process of choice open to individuals and families is often illusory, for people are highly constrained by culture, by the economic rewards offered by society, and by their perceptions of reality. Perhaps ultimately the truly unresolved problem is the reality of freedom versus the mere illusion of it.

In our study of Filipinos in the rural areas of Hawaii we found

considerable energy, mental and otherwise, directed toward the pursuit of the best possible economic options available to them. In the face of plantation closings, we found intense activity and discussion centered around the options of what businesses might be pursued or what places might afford the best economic opportunities. The families were willing at least to consider the possibilities of moving back to the Philippines, to the U.S. mainland, or to other parts of the state. Our field researchers were repeatedly questioned by members of the community about retraining programs that might be available. Even given what the community considered to be a lack of action by their politicized union and by plantation officials, they still optimistically discussed possible financial opportunities with remarkable vigor. In the following four chapters we attempt to probe further the strategies pursued, particularly in the context of the social structure of the community and the emphasis given to reciprocal obligations.

## CHAPTER 3

# Working Conditions

PLANTATION LIFE IN HAWAII centers around work. Laborers on the plantations of today tell of their difficult physical work and the routine monotony of their work. Their sun-darkened faces and muscular bodies are direct evidence of lives of hard outdoor work. Even though they may be past retirement age, many of the older plantation residents still want to work during the summertime peak demand for laborers.

Daily life on the plantation begins at around 4:30 A.M., when the workers arise to prepare breakfast and to pack their lunches to take to the fields. Pineapple plantation workers report at the turnout stations before 6:00 A.M. By 6:15 they have already started their day's toil. The less skilled workers hoe, strip, plant, or harvest pineapples, or on the sugar plantations they may perform irrigation chores. Others operate trucks or heavy machinery in the fields and mills. The demanding work in the fields requires strength and endurance. But working with friends makes the job more tolerable. The workers tell of singing and "talking story" while on the job and of the importance of the comradeship of working with their close friends. In contrast, one woman told us of her work experience in a cannery on Oahu. She couldn't put up with the job because "they don't like you to talk or tell jokes while you're working." She said she missed the personal interaction in working with her friends, and chose field work over working in such an "impersonal" atmosphere as the canneries.

The plantation worker may have invested twenty-five to thirty years of hard work in the fields, and in many instances two gener-



ations of a family have toiled in the industry. It is easy for them to be bitter when they are told that the plantations are about to close and will no longer need their services. Others who have not been displaced feel more kindly toward a system that has given them decades of security.

Because of the seasonal variation of plantation work, during the off-season many of the workers may work as little as four days a month, just enough to make them eligible to continue receiving unemployment compensation. While such a subsidy is really to the industry itself, for it increases the likelihood that the workers will continue to be available, it is greatly valued by the plantation families. But in many instances the unemployment checks are irregular or arrive late, causing the families to be forced to borrow from relatives or close friends to make ends meet.

## WORKING CONDITIONS PRIOR TO WORLD WAR II

Many of the men who came to Hawaii in the 1920s tell of the many hardships of the old-time plantations. Their lives were necessarily characterized by docility toward plantation management, and, at least in retrospect, they saw themselves almost completely at the mercy of their employers. In their view, their employer had established rules for their conduct, including when to wake up in the morning, when to go to sleep at night, whom they could associate with, what to do with their leisure hours, and so forth.<sup>1</sup> The validity of such recollections of the paternal atmosphere of early plantation life is substantiated by the following rules, which were formulated by planters in 1866 and continued into the early 1900s:

Laborers are expected to be industrious and docile and obedient to their overseers.

Any cause of complaint against the overseers of injustice or ill treatment shall be heard by the manager through the interpreter, but in no case shall any laborer be permitted to raise his hand or any weapon in an aggressive manner or cabal with his associates or incite them to acts of insubordination.

Laborers are expected to be regular and cleanly in their personal habits, to retire to rest and rise at the appointed hours—to keep their persons, beds, clothing, rooms, inclosure, and offices

clean—and are strictly forbidden to enter the cook house set apart for plantation cooking or to use any of the firewood for their private cooking arrangements.

No fires will be allowed after 6:30 P.M. and no lights after 8:30 P.M. Every laborer is required to be in bed at 8:30 P.M. and to rise at 5:00 A.M., the hour before breakfast being devoted to habits of cleanliness and order about their persons and premises. During the hours appointed for rest no talking is permitted or any noise calculated to disturb those wishing to sleep.

Gambling, fast riding, and leaving the plantation without permission are strictly forbidden.<sup>2</sup>

The older workers describe their life prior to unionization as “one hell,” because they worked long hours in the hot sun under the harsh command of the *lunas* (foremen), then went home to what they increasingly considered to be crude living quarters and distasteful food. A number of older workers told us stories of their humiliation under the paternalism of the plantation management. During earlier times they had expressed their discontent with management by their high rates of deliberate absenteeism (“Go Hawaii sick, even if it means a headache”) and other devious means to “outsmart” their bosses. A 1924 arrival tells of what plantation life was like before 1946:

Hard life in Hawaii. You no more nothing. Get no place to stay, when you are old that time, you no more. Then come General Inspector from the Phillipines, Joe Figueras, and investigate all the labor; he no can do good to us. The company call the Big Five, strong, so we no can fight. They say they agree, then they go back the same way again.... Housing, da kine no good house, almost fall down. Since that time Figueras come, they change little bit, after he left, go back to same situation.

Before in the field, they get sassy to you. They tell you, “You gotta do da kine, fast work you.” If you no do, they gonna scold you or fire you, but some like that, you know, some bosses, they wild bunch, high temper, they whack you sometimes, mostly haole bosses.

Our house was the worstest place before. Plenty mosquitoes. Get *pukas* [holes]. They no even fix the *pukas*. We use a wooden stove and firewood. Get no water too; we get water with buckets....

Before, we work almost ten hours a day, six to six. If you go work twenty-three days, you get 10 cents bonus. In our boarding house, we like cook, but they no like us cook. We hide cooking in the house, we

no like the food in the camp kitchen—junk them, but no choice. You no can do nothing if you not smart. When you cook in small stove and hide 'em 'cuz get camp check-up time....

Camp boss check around the houses, you know, the ones who stay home. If they catch you, they say, "You go work tomorrow, if not, take you *maleta* [suitcase]." They check you up in the turnout area. He know you house too. After the gang leave, he come check you up. He kick the door if you stay. "Goddamn you, why you no work?" "I get sick." "Then why you no go doctor?" Some of us before get tired, so when we not like work, we plan, like we wake up early then go out, and no stay home. 'Cuz sometimes they take you to the fields. They tell you, "Go change, go work!"

You have to play smart before. When they tell you something, we say, "Oh yes," but we no do.

When the war came, all of us prayed. Some still work, you know. If you no work, they call martial law. They bring you to army major. They say, "How come you no work?" Then we say, "'Cuz get rain." Then they fine you \$5 for talking. If you talk again, \$10, until you stop. More better you no talk. With planes coming over your head, you still had to work. Some of us think Philippines *pau* already, some come crazy minds you know.

During the 1920s and 1930s most jobs on the plantations involved little skill. Men specialized in the performance of one or perhaps several particular tasks, such as clearing and plowing, preparing and maintaining the irrigation system, planting, weeding, spraying insecticide and fertilizer, harvesting, or hauling the harvest to the mills or canneries. The laborer worked between twenty-three and thirty days per month, often because he was anxious to earn as much as possible to hasten the day of his return home.

In 1934 the field laborers ... worked 8¾ or 9¾ hours a day, but were away from home 11 or 12 hours. At 5 A.M. the first whistle warned those living some distance away to be ready for the bus or train which carried them to the railroad crossing. At 5:20 a second whistle was the signal for the assignments for the day; latecomers missed their assignments and were not permitted to work that day. At 5:40 a third whistle was the signal for the truck or train to take the workers to the fields, and at 6 o'clock the day's work began. At 7:45 there was a 15 minute interval for breakfast, and at 11 A.M. half an hour was allowed for lunch. Both breakfast and lunch

were cooked and packed by the workers before they left home in the morning. Quitting time came at 3:30 depending upon the type of work. A train or truck carried the laborers back to their camps.

About 10 per cent of the plantation workers were employed in the sugar mill or other shops. The employees in the mill were on a 12 hour schedule during the year of this study. Their hours, too, were regulated by whistles, one at 5 A.M. to arouse the workers, a second at 5:30 A.M., and the third at 6 o'clock which started the day's work. The same schedule was followed for meals in the factory as in the fields—a 15 minute interval at 7:45 A.M. for breakfast, and 30 minutes at 11 o'clock for lunch. The day's work ended at 6 P.M.<sup>3</sup>

On payday the workers would line up and present their *bangos*, copper plates engraved with their identification numbers, to insure that the men each received their proper pay. In those days the pay was in coins or currency, often amounting to only several dollars after the plantation store accounts had been paid.

As machinery came into use on the sugar plantations in the 1930s and thereafter, the distasteful nature of much of the field work declined considerably. The replacement of horses with tractors, the practice of burning the cane fields instead of stripping the stocks by hand, and the widespread introduction of cane-cutters eased many of the discomforts of the field labor. The use of cranes to load cane for hauling to the mill also eased the physical demands of field work. As field laborers were paid higher wages, there was even greater pressure on plantation management to find further means of mechanizing the field processes of sugar production. The overall effectiveness of increasing mechanization is shown by the increase in sugar tonnage per employee from 5.6 tons in 1882 to 19.9 tons in 1934, and 125 tons in 1973.

## EMPLOYMENT CONTRACTS

A report in 1927 described the terms of employment for laborers on sugar plantations who were employed either on a short-term or daily basis, or on long-term contracts.<sup>4</sup> The latter workers were paid the rate of \$1.00 a day plus a profit-sharing bonus based on the price of sugar and were eligible for a bonus of 10 percent, which was paid if they worked twenty-three out of twenty-six of the available working days during the previous month. As such it

was an incentive used by plantation management to discourage absenteeism and sick days.

Short-term contracts were generally used for field work such as planting, cultivation, or harvesting. The workers were paid according to the amount of work accomplished, averaging \$2.25 to \$2.50 per day. However, the short-term workers comprised only about 10 percent of the plantation labor. The earnings of the long-term workers, once the bonuses are considered, amounted to \$2.00 to \$4.00 a day, averaging about \$2.40.

At that time the workday was ten hours in the fields and twelve hours in the mills, including necessary time for meals and rest. Work on Sundays was forbidden by law, unless it was considered to be "work of necessity or mercy." The law also required that children under sixteen work no more than eight hours a day, with a maximum of forty-eight hours per week.

The long-term contract system essentially allocated a portion of the plantation to a particular working gang supervised by the contract-boss. The plantation advanced a dollar per day for each man on the gang during the period of cultivation, and this advance was deducted at the end of the season when payments were made to each man in proportion to the labor he had performed. A sugar plantation management official gave the following description in 1924 of the long-term contract procedures:

"Long Term Contracts" are entered into by a number of laborers, usually from 6 men to 10, who voluntarily band themselves together and agree to cultivate and care for the cane on a definite area of land until maturity. They are paid on the basis of the tonnage of cane produced, so that increased care is directly reflected in an increased amount of cane produced and consequently increased pay.... This form of contract is taken by laborers of proven reliability for industry and steady working. It is usually the most lucrative form of contract to the laborer whose daily earnings there under range from \$1.50 to \$4.50. The daily earnings average over \$2.00.<sup>5</sup>

This type of contract procedure was continued on the plantations well into the 1940s. Plantation management found it convenient to utilize gang labor in order to reduce the need for close supervision and complicated incentive programs, although the contract system did require the management to establish differ-

ential rates of pay per ton of sugar harvested. These rates varied with the natural conditions faced by the men, so as to assure that the workers were able to earn approximately equal amounts at the time of final settlement. Management thus found it necessary to take into account the type of soil, moisture, and topography involved, since some areas required considerable irrigation and there were great variations in level of difficulty in harvesting. Furthermore, the bonuses were directly tied to the world price of sugar, which meant that the workers effectively took part in risks more typically shouldered by management in most forms of business.

#### EMPLOYMENT AFTER 1946

Labor and wage conditions as they have evolved under conditions of Union strength since 1946 may best be illustrated by individual examples. A man who came to Hawaii in 1946 told us that he first worked on Maui picking and harvesting pineapples at a wage of \$4.50 per day. By 1953 he had become a truck driver with a wage of \$20 per day. In 1962 he transferred to another plantation where he was paid \$25 per day, still working as a truck driver. At the time we interviewed him in 1974 he was receiving unemployment compensation of \$80 per week.

Another man told a similar story about coming to Hawaii in 1946 and receiving an initial wage of \$4.60 per day. By 1957 he had become a truck driver and was paid an hourly wage of \$1.40, ultimately reaching \$3.55 per hour. In 1974, at age forty-nine, he was unemployed following the closing of the plantation and had no job in sight.

Another man arrived in Hawaii in 1929 and began as a field laborer in Waipahu at a rate of \$1.00 per day. In 1933 he moved to a plantation on Hawaii where he was paid \$1.50 per day. By 1941 he was making \$2.00 daily. During the war he worked in the navy shipyards in Honolulu at a rate of \$1.15 per hour, finally rising to the rate of \$1.35. At the end of the war he moved to Guam for two years where he worked for \$1.80 per hour, but he was soon displaced by immigrant Filipino laborers who were willing to work for as low as 25 cents per hour. Consequently, he came back to Hawaii and worked on a plantation from 1948 until his retirement in 1973. During that time he moved from a wage

Table 4. Qualities in Workers and Bosses Desired by Plantation Workers, 1975

Characteristics	Frequency of Response (%)
Of Ideal Boss	
Honest, fair, good, helpful	89.5
Diligent, hard worker	85.0
Filipino ethnicity	6.4
Other	3.2
Of Ideal Worker	
Diligent, hard worker	50.9
Dependable, follows orders	44.5
Honest	14.1
Good, kind	31.8
Filipino ethnicity	11.4
Other	1.4

scale of \$1.15 per hour to the \$2.90 he was paid when he became a truck driver in 1965.

The labor history of a more recent immigrant who came to Hawaii in 1967 begins with his job as a field laborer at \$1.60 per hour. After three months he was given a raise to \$2.30. In 1969 he became a truck driver and received \$3.39, which was his wage up until 1974 when we interviewed him. Another worker arrived in Hawaii in 1971, also beginning at an hourly wage rate of \$1.60. This had steadily risen to a point in 1974 when he was considered a regular employee, working forty hours a week during peak seasonal employment at a rate of \$2.90 per hour.

A number of qualities and attitudes have been acquired by workers in the plantation setting. Some indication of this is revealed by the types of answers given by plantation residents (workers, not supervisors) who responded to our open-ended questions in 1975 concerning the characteristics of ideal bosses and ideal workers (see table 4).

Notably absent among the characteristics desired in their bosses were intelligence, knowledge, innovativeness, and experience. The workers themselves also did not see such characteristics as being important for success as laborers. They perceived—probably accurately—that diligence, subservience, and amiability are the most important qualities for survival and success on the plantation work gangs. Unfortunately, these qualities, even if they are well-developed, are usually not sufficient to qualify them for anything but the poorest paid jobs off the plantation.

## TRAINING FOR JOBS

One of the biggest problems faced by the Filipino immigrants who came to Hawaii during the 1920s and 1930s was their lack of literacy skills in English. Although the state of Hawaii has a large adult education program, it has generally been unsuccessful in teaching English to these people.

The State Department of Education had for the most part attempted to establish such programs in the plantation communities we studied, but usually the programs had failed because they lacked instructors perceived by the community to be culturally, emotionally, and linguistically compatible with them. Consequently, the Filipinos often found these programs irrelevant to their actual needs.

In one of the towns we studied that was facing closure of the pineapple plantation and consequent loss of jobs, there was a tremendous interest among the workers in training that would give them new job skills and the underlying literacy skills they realized were necessary to attain those jobs. Although they sought new training programs, the residents emphasized to us that they had usually lost interest in the programs previously offered in the community because they felt that the courses were not set up on a "personal" basis. We understood them to be arguing that there was no rapport between teacher and student; for example, on some occasions a teacher had communicated by telephone from another island or had simply dropped in only for the duration of the lesson with no personal time available. This seemed to be a major cause for the waning of enthusiasm that had occurred with the previous programs.

Other seemingly avoidable errors had also been made, at least according to the residents of the community. For example, in one course the beginners had been grouped with those who were more advanced, with the result that the beginners were unable to respond in class for fear of being ridiculed. In most instances it only took one such occasion for them to decide not to return to the subsequent sessions. In other words, the courses had been designed without an understanding of the concept of "feeling shame," which is important to the Filipino, who feels terribly sensitive to criticism directed against him individually. It is not so much what is said, but how it is said that



is important. For the more advanced students, being grouped with the beginners resulted in a feeling of restlessness, because they were eager to progress; thus they too felt alienated.

It seemed that many problems could have been avoided by a more effective classification and grouping of students in the classes, as well as by simply trying to establish more informal, friendly, and personal means of teaching. This seems to be more a matter of common sense than a need for cultural sensitivity. (In fact, one of our researchers during her spare time voluntarily taught a class and was fairly successful in achieving progress within the community. Her facility in Tagalog and Ilocano was also an important factor, however. It appears that the teachers previously hired by the Department of Education for the community did not have this language facility.)

Our survey of people in the community found that 20 percent of the adults had enrolled in adult courses that were at least remotely related to occupational improvement. Of those who had enrolled, three-fifths had completed the courses. Another 17 percent had enrolled in self-improvement courses. Perhaps most significantly, only 5 percent of the respondents had enrolled in any type of English improvement courses. The use of correspondence courses was virtually absent among this population.

## MOBILITY AND JOB SECURITY

Although it may be obvious to some, it is important to understand that there are substantial differences in the job-security and job-seeking problems of the Filipino man who is married and has children as compared with a young Filipino without such responsibilities, who likely has a high sense of adventure. In our discussions with many of the older men still on the plantations who had come to Hawaii in the 1920s, we were told by most that they had intended to hold jobs at a number of plantation locations during the two to ten years they had planned to be in Hawaii. Some of these men worked at as many as seven or eight different plantations. The most common reason for moving was their desire to see as much of Hawaii as they could during the few years they expected to remain.

Another reason many gave for the early transfers they initiated was the desire to be near relatives or townmates living in other

parts of the territory. We frequently encountered stories of them moving to another plantation to stay with such people, even though they were unable to find employment for some months on that plantation.

Particularly during the 1920s and early 1930s high rates of mobility were induced by the plantations themselves, because of inconsistency in the wages paid and the different working conditions among plantations. This was in sharp contrast to the uniformity of wages and hiring practices that had prevailed earlier. In addition, Oahu plantations were particularly popular with the laborers, for only by working on Oahu could they be exposed to the American way of life that existed in Honolulu. The remote plantation towns on the neighbor islands were hardly mainstream America.

The standard plantation labor contract required that at least one continuous year of a workers' three years on the plantations had to be at one plantation if the HSPA was to provide funding for them to return to the Philippines. In 1929, the HSPA in attempting to reduce the high degree of labor turnover further specified that the first year of the three years had to be at one plantation. This was an effort to combat an apparently serious problem, since in 1923 the turnover rate on the plantations was as high as 80 percent.<sup>6</sup>

It has not been possible to make a quantitative estimate of the number of laborers who left the plantations prior to the 1930s because they were fired by the management. Various accounts indicate that firing practices varied among the plantations and often occurred because of unruly behavior, illness of the laborer or his family, or even such considerations as rapidly expanding family size. In many or these cases, the HSPA simply paid the passage for the return trip to the Philippines and thus removed the offending laborer and his family from the plantation system. In other instances it appears that plantation management was able to effectively blackball laborers from employment on other plantations if they had been particularly offensive or disrespectful to management or had engaged in activities such as attempting to organize other laborers into unions.

Layoffs on a massive scale first occurred in the 1930s, particularly from 1933 to 1936. Since Filipinos typically were the last hired and generally held the least essential jobs on the plantation,

they were usually the first ones to lose their jobs in the face of cutbacks in plantation operations. Partially as a response to the layoffs, support was generated for labor union organization, but threats of layoff were also an important weapon against union support.

Layoffs in the past decade due to the termination of some of the sugar and pineapple plantation operations have come in the face of strenuous union opposition and valiant, if somewhat ineffective, attempts by government to counter these problems. These layoffs are especially tragic, because those laid off have often been people who have worked in the fields for twenty-five to thirty years and in some cases involve two generations of families who have spent their lives in the industry. After decades of being fully employed and confident in the security of capably performing the tasks assigned to them, they find themselves being forced into the ranks of the unemployed. Their opportunities to find new jobs, given their ages and lack of training, are very limited. Their chances of relocation to communities where they will be readily accepted and comfortable are also remote. Not only are their individual resources negligible, but the basic decision to opt for a job elsewhere is a tremendous risk to take, particularly for families with several children. If they take positions on other plantations, it generally means a loss of seniority, and they fear that such a move would jeopardize their severance pay rights from their previous jobs.

#### SEEKING EMPLOYMENT

Of the plantation residents we interviewed in 1975, 77 percent of the workers said that if they lost their source of income because of unemployment they would turn to the government for help. Another 10 percent cited their union as a primary source of assistance, 7 percent referred to various other sources of assistance such as charitable organizations or family and friends, and 6 percent simply said they did not know what they would do in such a situation.

Families facing the prospect of plantation closure often expressed a feeling of helplessness and ended up simply waiting for whatever fate might bring. Few anticipated wanting to leave the plantation and being able to succeed in dissimilar types of em-

ployment. The most prevalent attitude we observed was a marked reluctance to go elsewhere because of the expectation that the ultimate authority figure, the government, would prevent living conditions from dropping below untenable levels:

This is where Hawaii is very much ahead of the Philippines. Here, the government won't let you down. When you are poor, there is the welfare program to turn to.

When you not get job, you can get unemployment compensation. When you retire, you get Social Security. Good life over here.

Why should we have compunctions about going on welfare? The hippies do it; the Hawaiians do it; so we do it too.

One of the basic difficulties a plantation employee has in deciding whether to leave the community in order to take a job elsewhere is the prospect of giving up the deeply valued social relations that have been built within his community. When a plantation closes the residents are haunted by fears of the forced disintegration of the community. They express concern over the loss of friends and *compadres*, and they make intense efforts to keep their community alive.

It is not a simple matter of packing up and going elsewhere for another job because Filipinos in rural Hawaii are tied to the culture of their upbringing as well as to the daily rewards of behaving in particular ways. Their social contacts and many of their fellow workers are often almost exclusively Filipino. Certain behavior that has been reinforced by the Filipino culture of the plantation camps may cause them difficulty in their quest for employment. Because they have little or no experience in negotiating terms of employment with non-Filipinos, often they do not have the social skills necessary to deal with people who have little knowledge of or appreciation for Filipino culture.

For example, we observed that some individuals, from lack of experience in such situations, found themselves immobilized in the presence of a perceived social superior, which caused severe problems for them in the evaluation process for prospective employment. To culturally unsophisticated eyes, a Filipino may display discomfort and a considerable lack of self-confidence in

such a situation. In the perspective of the employer, the prospective employee is unable to react appropriately to the subtle opportunities he is given to sell himself. His cultural difficulties may be further compounded by other very real disadvantages. For example, if he is only partly literate in English, he will be unable to use newspaper advertisements in his job search. Feeling uncomfortable with the government bureaucracy he will be reluctant to deal with the government employment services supposedly available to him. Typically he will rely only on word-of-mouth referrals by friends who know of job openings.

When a Filipino in rural Hawaii attempts to locate a job or to improve his employment status, he typically attributes the results of such a quest to luck or chance, referred to as *gasat* by Ilocanos. Whether he passes or fails a qualifying test is supposedly determined by his luck rather than by his skill or lack of it. It is obvious to him as well as to others that the results are tied to his skill, but by attributing them to luck, he is able to avoid two problems. He does not have to acknowledge his relative lack of ability nor do his associates have to recognize his superior ability if it proves clearly to be above theirs. In this way, if he is successful he is able to reduce the envy and tension that would occur among his friends, and if he is unsuccessful he is able to reduce the shame or sense of failure that he otherwise might feel.

There are also historic barriers to employment and better jobs for the immigrants that have had a secondary effect on later generations who have not had the advantage of seeing their parents or others as role models in higher status jobs. The vague legal status of Filipinos as neither aliens nor citizens prior to 1946 caused them problems in obtaining civilian jobs at military facilities such as Pearl Harbor until a specific bill was passed in 1941 permitting such employment. They were also barred from public employment by the territory by terms of the Organic Act of 1900. Despite the difficulties in obtaining nonplantation employment, however, considerable numbers of Filipinos have made their way into the urban environment of Honolulu. Many of them have been able to obtain jobs in the construction industry, transportation or public facilities, and in many of the lower paid service occupations, especially in the tourist industry.

The typical Filipino displaced from his plantation job also may suffer from the handicap of having little or no savings. He is thus

forced to accept the first job available, since he does not have sufficient resources to support himself and his family while he conducts an extensive job search, particularly once he has become ineligible for unemployment compensation. A few also have police records, for what they consider to be relatively unimportant offenses such as illegal gambling, cockfighting, or public drunkenness and disorderly behavior. Such police records are seldom a problem for the men who are seeking low-skilled, low-paid employment. However, if they desire other employment such as civil service jobs or entry into the professions these records may prove to be serious obstacles.

Finally, there is the problem of racial discrimination. Although few of the respondents in our study seemed to believe this had been an important obstacle in their pursuit of better employment, a kind of pernicious reverse discrimination may still be functioning. Just as plantation management in the past sought Filipinos for employment in the fields, we encountered a few employers who openly prefer Filipinos for certain types of poorly paid jobs, such as hotel maids or housekeepers.

## CONCLUSION

Out of necessity, the Filipinos on the plantations adjusted to the demanding working conditions and social behavior required by the plantation system, which has in turn provided improvements in overall working and living conditions. The workers have been poorly prepared to pursue nonplantation employment, however. Because of curtailments in plantation employment and because some of the plantation towns have disappeared, the workers and their families are facing formidable challenges. At the same time, the union, plantation management, government, and other parts of society have a responsibility to assist these families in coping with the alternatives they face.

By virtue of their cultural and physical identities, Filipinos on Hawaii's plantations are somewhat set apart from other major segments of the population. Although some of these segments control the political and economic system in Hawaii, it seems clear that the Filipinos are destined to have a larger voice in it. This will require substantial efforts by the Filipinos to "adjust" their behavior, which is a price of admission to any system.

However, the system will also change to accommodate the new participants and new situations. If not out of social responsibility then perhaps at least out of self-interest, other segments of society will be better prepared to deal with Hawaii's rural Filipinos if they understand not only their economic circumstances but also their cultural and social behavior.

## CHAPTER 4

# Social Characteristics

PEOPLE HAVE DIFFERENT MEANS of dealing with different sets of problems, and their ways of behavior become distinctive as they develop solutions to those problems. When a common behavior becomes widespread, it may be referred to as a cultural pattern, particularly if the problems are consistent and the resources for their resolution are similar among the people. Indeed, a culture can be created, as occurred among the diverse peoples inhabiting the Ilocos region of the Philippines. Despite considerable linguistic differences, the Ilocanos emerged as a cultural group in response to the pressures of Spanish colonialism.

In the typical rural areas of the Ilocos region from which most of Hawaii's Filipino immigrants came there were a common language and religion, and social distinctions were based on land ownership, inherited wealth, occupation, and civil service status. People who had neither wealth nor occupational achievement had little opportunity for advancement. Only in the larger metropolitan areas was there a small middle class.

In Hawaii's plantation communities class distinction usually coincided with language and ethnic background, which made advancement difficult for the Filipinos. The highest positions in plantation management were usually held by haoles, who often were not raised in Hawaii. Although rigid class distinctions have dramatically decreased through the years, vestiges remain. Higher level supervisory positions are typically held by men of Japanese or other non-Filipino backgrounds. These higher status individuals—and their families—have a



work history on the plantations, and they are well acquainted with local traditions. Their command of pidgin lessens the social distance with the Filipino members of their community, but the status differences are still very evident.

The earlier Filipino immigrants, some of those who came in 1946, and most of the ones who came since 1965 see themselves as caretakers of the Filipino values of their community and often strive to maintain Filipino celebrations and other activities that give them a sense of unity. But not all Filipinos on the plantations are committed to maintaining cultural identity; their ages, education, family membership, occupation, income, and especially their immigrant status directly affect their behavior and outlook. The character of the community is thus determined in large part by the aggregate nature of these individual characteristics. Not only are ethnic activities affected by these characteristics, but so are a host of other actions such as job advancement, career choice, family formation, and residence locations. What follows is a brief discussion of some of the more important individual characteristics that affect these decisions.

## IMMIGRATION

The time of immigration has been an important factor in determining the subsequent experiences of immigrants in the plantation towns in Hawaii. Not all towns had similar mixes of immigrants from the Philippines. For example, of the three villages we studied in greatest detail, the one on the sugar plantation (Village Three) had a much smaller percentage of people who had immigrated in the 1920s and 1930s (see table 5). This is largely because the new tract housing in the village did not include accommodations for older, unmarried men. On the other hand, immigration patterns in Village One and Village Two are quite similar. They show that migration in the 1920s and early 1930s was followed by a major influx in 1946—which was much larger in Village Two because of its greater need for workers at the time—after which there was virtually no migration until 1965 when a new immigration law was enacted that eased restrictions on immigration. Spouses and other family members were then able to come to Hawaii in greater numbers. This influx began trailing off somewhat in 1971.

Table 5. *Immigration Years of Filipinos in Three Plantation Communities*

Year of Immigration	Village One (%)	Village Two (%)	Village Three (%)
1920-1939	27	24	5
1946	14	28	16
1947-1965	3	3	13
1966-1970	29	30	21
1971-1975	13	8	5
Born in Hawaii	14	7	40

Considerable differences exist in the sexual balance of the immigrants in the study villages. For example, in Village One only 9 percent of the adult males were born in Hawaii compared to 29 percent of the females. Fifty percent of the adult males had come to Hawaii prior to 1940, compared to only 1.4 percent of the females. Thirty-two percent of the males had arrived in 1946, but only 3 percent of the females had done so. A full two-thirds of the adult female population had arrived after 1965 in comparison to only 8 percent of the males.<sup>1</sup>

For purposes of subsequent analysis, it is also useful to distinguish the people in these communities according to their place of birth—the Philippine born and the Hawaii born. Based upon the time of their arrival in Hawaii, the immigrants can also be classified into the groups who arrived prior to World War II, those who came in 1946, and the more recent immigrants, most of whom came after 1965. (Citizenship was also a possible distinguishing characteristic, but we found it to be closely related to the period of migration, which would thus be redundant. Furthermore, the nature of this relationship proved somewhat puzzling.<sup>2</sup>)

### THE EARLY IMMIGRANTS

Those who came to Hawaii in the 1920s and early 1930s are now well past retirement age and form a considerable portion of the unmarried male population in these communities. Such men tend to have little or no formal schooling, they are less capable in their use of standard English, and most of them have only limited social contacts with women. Their position in the community is somewhat ambiguous, but the nature of plantation life does accommodate the needs of these men. Being retired, they are free to give ample time and effort to cockfighting and gambling. A few

of them still fish and hunt, and many of them raise fighting chickens with much devotion and expense. The retired single man often shares a house with others in the same situation, and they cooperate in performing household tasks. A number of them, however, live with old friends who have married and established families. They are essentially boarders who help out with the household expenses as well as perhaps tending the vegetable garden or assisting in child care.

These men in many instances express strong desires to remain in the plantation communities, and they are the ones who are most tragically left isolated if the communities disintegrate after the phaseout of plantation operations. Essentially they have nowhere to go if their village society ceases to exist. They have been away from the Philippines for so many decades that their ties there are virtually nonexistent. Some of those we interviewed indicated that they would likely feel culturally out of place and uncomfortable in their homeland. The Philippines has changed in ways they may not understand or appreciate. Furthermore, their lives as bachelors often have not permitted them to accumulate sufficient funds to return to the Philippines to buy land or other income-producing property to permit them to live in a desirable style there. On the other hand, the loss of plantation jobs per se is not entirely important to them because they are receiving pensions and social security. Indeed, upon reaching retirement workers celebrate their thankfulness by offering a nine-day prayer, or novena, to mark the occasion. However, if retirement is the occasion for plantation management to seek their eviction from the company-owned village housing, these men become sorely distressed about their loss of community relations and the erosion of social identity.

These older men have been somewhat insulated from the mainstream of American life; their minimal educational background has meant that their exposure to the mass media has been very limited. They seldom watch television and do not become engrossed in the popular shows. One example of the degree of their isolation is that they knew little or nothing about the Watergate controversy at the height of its publicity.<sup>3</sup> The oral histories of some of these older workers suggest that they can be considered the residual elements of the selection process used by the plantation system that channeled out individuals who

were discontented with the "fatherly care" of plantation management. It appears that the number of voluntary resignations among the malcontents was fairly high; those who remained stayed because "they used to it already" or because "no can do nothing." In other words, it appears that those who stayed had done so because they were more temperamentally suited to the regimentation of plantation life and were sufficiently comfortable with this type of existence.

### THE 1946 IMMIGRANTS

The immigrants we studied who came to Hawaii in 1946 are distinctive in comparison with the earlier arrivals. They tend to be better educated than their older countrymen, with an average of about four years of formal schooling. Having been educated in the American style school system that had been established in the Philippines, they were more proficient in English. Many were able to bring their wives and families with them or to maintain contact with their families in the Philippines and subsequently bring them to Hawaii. Of course, many had come to Hawaii under the assumption that they would return to the Philippines after a few years and rejoin their families there. A few eventually severed their family ties in the Philippines and remarried in Hawaii. Although we were unable to prove this, our study gave us the strong impression that the tendency for these men to have an earlier start in life with a stable family situation has been a key factor in their relative upward occupational mobility as compared with the older single men. In addition, the 1946 arrivals more easily adjusted to plantation life in Hawaii. Arriving at a time when labor organization was in full progress, they were spared much of the frustration and depressing work environment that their older countrymen had experienced.

The demarcation between the 1946 arrivals and their predecessors should not be drawn too sharply, however, because there is not a great deal of social distinction made within the community on that basis. Rather, distinctions are drawn on the basis of the differences in the marital, educational, age, and income characteristics that are coincidental with the two groups of arrivals.

The 1946 immigrants came to Hawaii at the express request of the plantations, and they soon experienced the heady victory

of an important labor strike. The growing power of the ILWU introduced them to the dynamics of power politics in Hawaii and they became committed to the labor union as an institution of authority. Perhaps because of these experiences, the 1946 arrivals tend to be more outspoken than the earlier immigrants. One plantation supervisor told us he believed that the 1946 group produced the largest number of troublemakers of any of the immigrant groups he had observed over the past four decades. We most often encountered expressions of resentment among the 1946 group against perceived racial discrimination in the labor market and against the Japanese as an ethnic group.

A large number of the 1946 immigrants had relatives in Hawaii and therefore had a better idea of living conditions when they arrived. In a sense, this also assisted them in their initial adjustment to plantation work and life. Consequently it was easier for them compared with the earlier arrivals who were far more ignorant of what they would face. The 1946 immigrants are nearing but not yet ready for retirement; therefore they are the most displaced economically of members of the plantation communities when the plantations close.

#### THE RECENT IMMIGRANTS

The more recent Filipino arrivals in the plantation communities, most of whom immigrated since 1965, almost invariably consist of young wives, brothers, sisters, or children of earlier immigrants. They are socially distinct from the Hawaii-born Filipinos, for although they may have somewhat equivalent formal educations, their social experiences are far different. They grew up in a Philippines that as an independent nation fostered in them a heightened sense of cultural and sociopolitical identity. Nevertheless, they strongly identify with their Hawaii-born counterparts as being of the same ethnic group. When it comes to certain cultural practices, however, particularly celebrations or special occasions, the Hawaii-born Filipinos are more likely to be anxious for the village to move closer to the American mainstream than are the recent arrivals, who understandably tend to preserve practices that have been important in their lives in the Philippines.

Some of the newer arrivals who have become plantation work-

ers consistently express little love for this work. They are usually very vocal in the communities about their desire not to spend the rest of their lives working on the plantations. Some of them almost seem to welcome the closure of the plantations. This does not mean they lack attachment to the community, for if they could have a wider choice of occupation they might prefer to remain living in the communities we studied.

The relations of the recent arrivals with the previous immigrants is generally excellent—they consistently display affection and tolerance for their elders and are often regarded with great fondness by the earlier immigrants. However, the earlier immigrants often commented on the lack of appropriate behavior by the Filipinos who have been born in Hawaii. Relatively little social interaction occurs between the more recent immigrant groups and Hawaii-born Filipinos, despite the similarities they have in their educational background and broader interests. Practically no social interaction seemed to occur between these more recent immigrants and the Japanese plantation families.

We found that “illegitimate” activities in the community are typically attributed to the males among the post-1965 arrivals. Gossip we heard suggested that it is this group who grows marijuana, drinks heavily, and who are the avid gamblers, poachers, and so on. Although such activities are undoubtedly exaggerated by the gossip and rumors that circulate within the communities, to the extent that such illegitimate activities do exist, they paradoxically may be the result of this group’s adaptation to American society, for these are people who have been considerably exposed to American society in Hawaii and in the Philippines. In many ways they are strong admirers of American lifestyles. Because they find routes to social mobility somewhat blocked by their immigrant status, however, they sometimes experience considerable frustration.

The more recent arrivals, because of their backgrounds, display a more cosmopolitan orientation and are frequently active in community affairs. They make more trips to Honolulu and are more widely exposed to the mass media, from which they gain considerable knowledge. The younger wives among them often expressed reluctance to return to the Philippines because it would mean giving up the material comforts they have come to enjoy in Hawaii.

Although the recent immigrants have a fairly good command of English, their use of pidgin is often weak. In the past they have been hesitant about intruding into the community power structure and thus were reluctant to take a leading role in planning community festivities or community responses to various difficulties. However, it is from among this group that we observed strong leadership emerging in the communities, often in the course of their attempts to retain things that are Philippine in origin. In doing so, they come into open conflict with other elements within the community. We observed that they are increasingly beginning to play key roles in planning and executing the actual details of celebrations and festivals, although they only seldom assume the honorific titles that go with chairing such festivities or take a central place in the formal events.

#### THE HAWAII BORN

Relatively few adult Filipinos in the plantation communities were born in Hawaii. The second-generation Filipinos in these communities consist mostly of youth, since the older children born of immigrant parents have grown up and left to obtain better education and jobs elsewhere. The few who remain are well-educated. In the few instances of marriages between local-born spouses, the couples are somewhat set apart from the rest of plantation society. The Hawaii-born members of the community sometimes accuse the recent immigrants of being too sensitive and provincial in their outlook. They complain that the immigrants lack initiative and motivation to get ahead. In response, the recent arrivals say that the Hawaii born are insensitive and that they overly criticize the immigrants' English, manner of dress, and child rearing practices.

Most of the Hawaii-born Filipinos do not have command of their parents' language, which is a major disadvantage in dealing with the older immigrants. The Hawaii born are thus sometimes uncomfortable in the company of those who are exclusively Philippine born.

In an extremely small number of instances, third-generation Filipinos also live in the plantation communities. For all practical purposes they are not socially distinct from the second generation.

## AGE-SEX STRUCTURE

The combined age and sex composition of the Filipino populations we studied in three traditional plantation villages is shown in figure 1. Figure 2 gives the age and sex composition for all of Kauai County and provides a basis for comparison with figure 1. (All diagrams are based on sample surveys, so they are not precisely accurate to the exact percentages shown.)

Certain characteristics were true of all three villages as well as of Kauai County, where 22 percent of the population was Filipino. In all cases there was a marked absence of young adults, particularly males. There was an equally obvious relative absence of females over age forty-five. The relative absence of young adults is due to their migration to other areas following high school graduation in order to obtain training or education or to find jobs. The absence of young people in Kauai County as well (fig. 2) indicates that about one-half to two-thirds of the young adults left Kauai after high school. In other words, the absence of young adults in the communities was not so much because of the structure of the Filipino plantation villages themselves, but rather because these communities, as is typical of most rural areas, do not afford training and job opportunities for young adults. This tendency was simply emphasized to a far greater extent for the villages shown in figure 1.

The shortage of women above age forty-five in figure 1 is attributed to the failure of the Filipino men to marry, at least until more recently when they have typically married women much younger than themselves, thus accounting for the bulges in the diagrams for females between ages twenty-five and forty-five, as compared to equivalent ages categories for the men.

A detailed, fairly comprehensive survey of Village One, conducted in 1975, revealed that 59 percent of the male adults in the village were over age sixty-two and thus eligible for retirement benefits and social security. Only 8 percent of the adult males were under age forty-two, leaving 33 percent between ages forty-two and sixty-one. In contrast, 60 percent of the adult females were under the age of forty-two, with only 4 percent sixty-two and older.<sup>4</sup> (Figures 1 and 2 are also similar to findings from a survey of Filipino families that was taken throughout Maui County in 1973.<sup>5</sup>)



A community that is in the process of renewing itself would have an age-sex structure that is roughly a pyramid in shape. The out-migration of the young adults not only drains the community of its strongest potential leadership, but also further isolates the residents from the social mainstream, since the young adults would be the most capable of being effective cultural and economic brokers for the older, disadvantaged members of the community. In other words, communities like those we studied have served as effective launching pads for Filipinos who are capable of making it socially and economically in the urban, competitive world of Honolulu or parts of the U.S. mainland. In any case, there has been very little choice in the matter. There were few employment opportunities in the communities we studied, with the exception of Village Three. Even there the flow of young adults from the community was only slowed rather than stopped by the opportunities making it possible for most of them to remain.

Although the parents of the young people who leave would have preferred that their adult children remain in the community, they generally accept that it is better for them to leave. The children may be less happy in an environment away from their family, friends, and cultural heritage, but as they grow into adulthood they seem to find these problems surmountable. Indeed, the youth have been socialized through the schools to develop a degree of independence that is often evidenced by rebellion against parental values and departure from the home at the beginning of adulthood. These acquired values are often contrary to the values held by their parents, who consider it important to maintain an extended family organization. Emphasis on the economic opportunities that exist elsewhere does not necessarily mean that the departing young adults do not value the family and friendship ties they have had in the community, but the fact is that most of them do not move back to the communities where their parents reside, and it does not take many years for the memories of plantation life to become nothing more than nostalgia.

The large differences in age between the adult men and adult women in the community bespeak a problem that will become increasingly serious over the next ten to fifteen years. An obvious source of difficulty will be the relatively large number of young

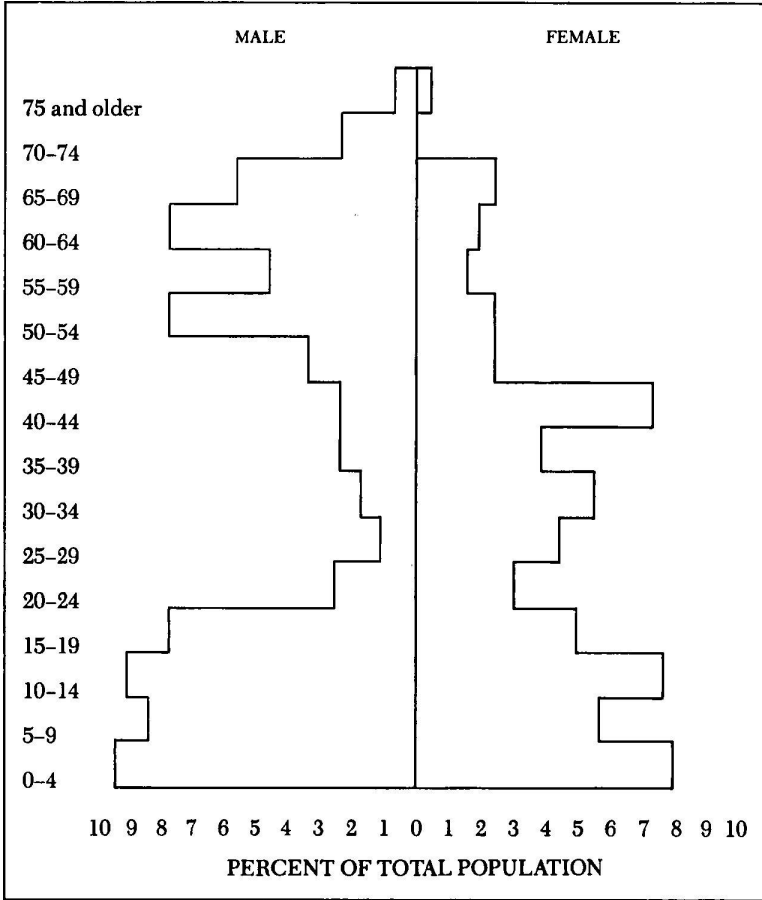


Figure 1. Age-Sex Pyramid, Three Study Villages, 1975

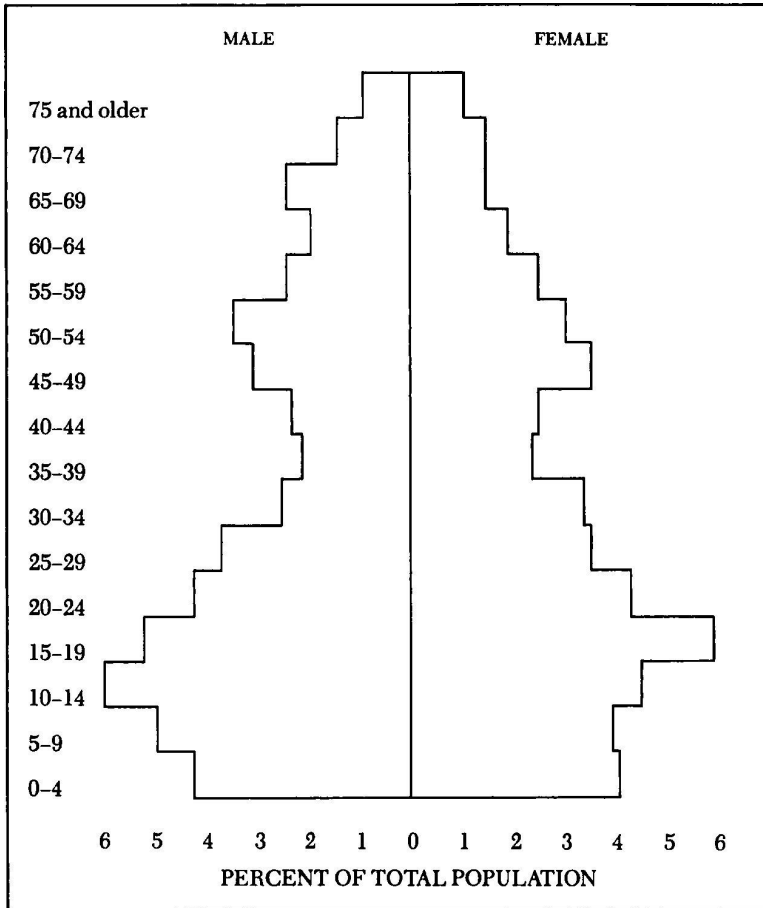


Figure 2. Age-Sex Pyramid, Kauai, July-August 1974

*Table 6. Occupational Structure, 1975*

Occupation	Village One (%)	Village Two (%)	Village Three (%)
Housewife	17	13	22
Retired or disabled	23	13	9
Skilled, machinery operator, craftsman	13	9	24
Tourism, services, other retail	8	19	26
Field worker	38	46	17
Other	0	0	2

widows in the community. The disruption of the social and economic structures of these families will be far more frequent than would be the case in a more typical rural community. Furthermore, the age disparities between husbands and wives may well lead to family stress, especially as the older husbands are no longer able to fulfill the role of major family breadwinner, and the wives must assume this role. Considerable stress often follows a husband's retirement or loss of his job on the plantation and the wife's subsequent employment in the tourist industry.

## OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Social classification within the plantation communities is to some extent based on occupational status. However, since occupational status also is often patterned along the lines of ethnic identification, social class among the Filipinos on the plantations is based much less on occupational rank than might be anticipated from experience elsewhere. Only when professionals or others who are essentially outside the plantation communities are considered does occupational status as viewed by Filipinos on the plantations become an overriding factor in determining social class.

On the plantation, the few Filipinos in supervisory positions almost always were in charge of Filipino subordinates. We found these individuals often particularly outspoken in their feelings of resentment toward plantation management for what they considered to be racial discrimination on the part of management in setting up barriers to their career advancement.

Table 6 indicates occupational distribution in the three villages we studied in greatest detail. The first village was a pineapple

plantation town whose residents had just suffered termination of employment due to the phaseout of plantation operations, so many of the people classified by occupation were actually unemployed. The second town was a pineapple town facing some degree of uncertainty about future employment. The third town was located on a sugar plantation, and a number of its residents worked in the sugar mill as well as in the fields.

In Village Three the larger percentage of housewives reflects the fact that many of the husbands in this town were receiving higher wages than those in the first two towns, thus enabling the wives to remain at home full time to care for their families, despite the fact that employment opportunities for women were more readily available in the third village than in the first two. Also, some degree of change in the makeup of the population had occurred since a part of this village had been developed as a modern subdivision. Many of the single men had not moved from the older traditional plantation housing to this newly constructed section; instead, some of those displaced had moved elsewhere.

The higher percentage of retired or disabled men in Village One resulted from workers near retirement age taking the option of early retirement in the face of the plantation closing as compared to the smaller percentage who had retired in the other two villages without having to face such unemployment pressures. The higher percentage of employment in Village Three in the third occupation category, involving a higher level of skill—machinery operation or crafts—reflects the fact that the sugar industry has become highly mechanized and that the men in this village had an opportunity to work in the mill as well as the fields. The contrasts in the percentages of people employed in tourism, services, and retailing can be attributed in part to the greater opportunities for such employment near Village Three. The relative absence of this kind of employment in Village One was partly because its isolated location made it more difficult for the residents to avail themselves of opportunities for such employment.

## EDUCATION AND INCOME STRATIFICATION

Education was an important means of social mobility in the Philippine *barrios* (rural communities). As a child was able to

Table 7. Education Levels, 1975

Education Level	Village One (%)	Village Two %	Village Three %
None	13	26	1
5th grade or less	37	26	34
6th grade	20	22	15
7th-11th grades	15	13	24
High school graduation	8	7	15
Beyond high school	7	6	11

progress through the educational system, perhaps even attending a vocational school or college in the provincial capital, the social status of the family rose accordingly. Education thus was a way to move out of the rural areas, much as it is today a means for the young people from Hawaii's plantation towns to move to the city and there acquire jobs. Women in the plantation towns who are recent immigrants from the Philippines tend to have relatively high educations and thus are capable of fairly rapid adaptation to urban situations in Hawaii.

Table 7 shows the educational levels of the adults in the three plantation villages studied. If we assume that those with a fifth grade education or less are functionally illiterate, it is evident that half the adults in Villages One and Two would have difficulty reading simple directions, reading newspapers, or taking exams. Due to the effective exclusion of the older men that was involved in the creation of Village Three, which essentially excluded many of the single men from the town, there were relatively few individuals with no formal education compared to the other two villages. Also in Village Three, because of the higher retention in the village of the community's young adults, the comparative percentages of those with a high school education were somewhat higher in this village.

The education levels we observed were definitely a factor of age and sex. For example, nearly 90 percent of the males in Village One had educations at a sixth grade level or below as compared with only 23 percent of the females in the same village with equivalently low educations.<sup>6</sup>

The income distribution of families in the three villages studied is shown in table 8. The lower annual incomes in Village One as opposed to Village Two are in part due to the slightly older age structure of the former. More important is the primary fact that

Table 8. Household Annual Income, 1975

Income Class	Village One (%)	Village Two (%)	Village Three (%)
\$5,000 or less	19	25	3
\$5,001 to \$7,500	48	18	18
\$7,501 to \$10,000	25	34	6
\$10,001 to \$12,500	8	23	18
\$12,501 to \$15,000	0	0	21
Above \$15,000	0	0	34

its plantation operations had ceased in September of the year described by the income data. Even before termination of plantation activities, the phaseout had resulted in layoffs and cutbacks to part-time work. The considerable differences in family incomes shown between Village Two and Village Three are primarily because the latter was involved in sugar cane production with its higher wage payments, but also because of the aforementioned process whereby the people involved in structuring the major portion of this village through a natural self-selection process turned the community into a mainstream "suburb," thus leaving out the older men with lower incomes.

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT

Socioeconomic advancement, becoming a union leader, for example, in the context of the plantation village is a tricky process at best. Among Filipinos it is particularly important that an individual not leave himself open to criticism that he is pursuing his personal self-interest to the detriment of the common interest of the alliance group or overall community. Anyone who derives narrow, selfish benefits from the resources of the village or group, such as a clubhouse, is particularly condemned. A person is also condemned if he is perceived to pretend to a greater status than he actually deserves by virtue of his socioeconomic standing. Individuals who gain from the use of community or group resources can avoid criticism by sharing the benefits, however, just as those who rise in status can mitigate public resentment by displaying considerable openness and generosity toward people in the community. In other words, by exerting efforts to remain one of the people, it is possible to advance socially and economically without incurring significant opposition

and resentment. If individuals are perceived to desire advancement and status too keenly, however, this too is widely resented.

Social or economic advancement within the community is thus very difficult, especially if the individual wishes to remain in the community. It must be done without acting in a selfish manner, without outward pretensions of undue status, and by avoiding the very appearance of desiring such advancement. Once a person gains high social status within the community he essentially has established a patron-client relationship with other members of the community and is thus obligated to operate as a "gatekeeper" for transactions with those outside the community.

Status considerations are so strong within the community that they often focus upon characteristics that are hardly discernible to someone from outside the local cultural milieu. Such status goes far beyond characteristics such as education or personal wealth. A person's role as a mother, success in gambling, or overall generosity to the rest of the community can all be important in establishing social status.

The value of the resources garnered in some cases of high-status achievement cannot be transferred readily to contexts outside the village. In the face of plantation closures that effectively obliterate the community's existence, such status may be easily destroyed. Consequently, high-status individuals are generally reluctant to seek employment or residence in other locations where they would not have the resources to provide themselves with the status they had achieved within their own communities.



## CHAPTER 5

# Social Relations

THE SOCIALLY COHESIVE NATURE of Filipinos in traditional plantation communities is built primarily on family ties, the system of ritual kinship called *compadrazgo* (described in chap. 6), and strong friendships built on patterns of reciprocity and cooperation developed over many years. The relationships within the village community and with people of similar social classes in nearby plantation villages are considered important and very personal. In contrast, dealings with people outside the plantation environment, especially if they are of a different social class or ethnic background, tend to be more impersonal and based on more clearly utilitarian needs that bring them together with the plantation Filipinos on a recurrent basis.

Older Filipinos describe their plantation communities as peaceful and insulated from many of the less desirable aspects of American society. The younger members of the plantation communities, particularly those born in Hawaii, and the better educated women who recently emigrated from the Philippines adhere far less to such beliefs. This cherished peace and isolation is not likely to continue over the next decade; not only will people be leaving the plantation villages, but others will be moving in who are not conversant with the social and cultural practices that have been central to the operation of the communities over the past thirty years. This is already apparent in cases where plantation operations have terminated or where Honolulu suburbs have expanded into these communities and changed their character almost beyond recognition.

Changes in the population are destructive to the alliances and factions within the village social structures that have evolved along the lines of intricate networks of mutual obligation. Furthermore, these networks are not easily separated from the geographic situation of the village itself. As plantations close down, the residents are unable to take the networks with them as they move to other jobs, and as a consequence, the social structure of primary importance to them disintegrates. Moreover, as new people who are not readily incorporated into the ongoing social structure move into the plantation communities, divisiveness and even bitterness may develop.

### KIN SOLIDARITY

The primary social unit in the plantation community is the nuclear family. This does not mean that the links between husband and wife are as predominant as in the nuclear families of mainstream America, however (see chap. 7 on courtship and marriage). The father often assumes a relatively low profile in the activities of the household, at least in relation to the strong ties between the mother and children. Our interview results suggested that this phenomenon has a fairly strong basis in practical considerations. The wife typically realized all too clearly that her husband might not always be with her, but she expected that her children would continue to be attached to her at least in some way throughout her life. A woman might expect to lose her husband through death, particularly when he is considerably older than she is or through divorce or desertion. In the face of such emotional and financial insecurity, a woman feels that in the long run she can more confidently depend on her children. Such confidence may be misplaced, since the intercultural, intergenerational conflicts that can develop might prevent such hopes from being realized.

Although Filipinos consider blood kin the most dependable source of security, in Hawaii the relative scarcity of sanguinary extended families among Filipinos has prevented the family from being a sufficient source of security and social capital for most, especially the earlier immigrants. Consequently, Filipinos in Hawaii have established vast networks of *compadrazgo* or ritual kin, another traditional base of solidarity in the community. Considerable efforts are made to build and nurture these extensive

social networks as a hedge against economic uncertainty and risk and the frequent perception among Filipinos even today that they have been put at the bottom strata of Hawaii's social structure.

These social networks undergo severe tests whenever a plantation closes. People who had previously established social relations in outside communities tend to pursue strenuously and strengthen such resources, while those who maintained relations only within the local community attempt to relocate these relationships, in their entirety if possible. We suspect that as family members become employed in nonplantation situations that do not involve a unified, monolithic institutional entity, their social alliances may simply evolve into a series of relationships for specific exchanges such as tending each other's children but with little other exchange of goods and services.

#### VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

Village solidarity is an important source of personal security in situations that involve major threats to the community itself—the closing of plantation operations being the primary case in point. However, we observed that major disturbances such as a murder in the community or a major public scandal are also handled through the structure of village solidarity. The village social structure is primarily utilized to enforce status or to ostracize individuals who have been involved in scandal or some form of deviant behavior. The village "society" is a vehicle for the redistribution of wealth, albeit in a very limited fashion, through its encouragement of various festivals or involvement with outside political groups in the development of public works projects.

Since major figures in the plantation communities may not always be aligned in their intentions or goals, patterns of alliance and opposition in the village are frequently based on allegiance to one or another of them. If a particular issue must be decided by the community, the merits and validity of a position may not be nearly as important as the consideration of what is owed to the key people involved and the mutual obligations that have been established. Alliances established in the past are likely to be dominant factors in determining the membership of alliances that develop around current issues.

The nature of the social structure and behavior in the community is of primary importance to efforts to bring about economic development or to maintain the economic viability of the plantation villages. The formation of factions and alliances within the community can be a major deterrent to communitywide efforts of any kind. Although some villages in periods of extreme stress have been able to overcome the tendency to split into factions, in times of less stress it is much more evident that residents tend to be concerned with the welfare only of their own alliance groups.

The depth of the commitment to assist a member of one's own group is profound, but such assistance is not considered the responsibility of members of other alliance groups, whose concern is the welfare of their own groups. In other words, the definition of community as perceived by village residents may not extend beyond these alliance groups unless they are forced to expand their concerns in the face of serious threats to the quality of their existence. In such instances, they can draw upon the spirit of *bayanihan* (in Tagalog), a cultural phenomenon that incorporates the basic idea that people must help themselves as a community. *Bayanihan* refers to a cooperative activity that traditionally enlisted the participation of the entire community, such as carrying a bamboo-palm leaf house to a new location in a village. The cultural basis of this practice is the willingness of community residents to help an individual or family in accomplishing a specific task, usually with the idea that the person or family will reciprocate when needed for similar projects. The difficulties in establishing mutual obligation between the somewhat impersonal entity of the entire community and individual families are great, but it has been shown in Hawaii that the concept of *bayanihan* can be expanded to bring about massive community efforts and unity. More typically, it has been used for small but important projects like the digging of cesspools.

The actual size of the village community itself is extremely important. Almost everyone in a village knows everyone else, and an outsider is immediately identified as such. Conflict is often expressed as resentment of outsiders who have intruded into village life, or alternatively, as differences between those who prefer change in the village versus those who cling to traditional patterns of life.

Table 9. Social Contacts of Filipino Residents in a Pineapple Town

Proportion of Friends in Village	Residents' Responses (%)	Proportion of Social Events in Village	Residents' Responses (%)
None	0	None	6
Few	5	Few	13
Some	25	Some	29
Most	69	Most	44
All	1	All	8

Source: Unpublished data provided by Sheila Forman.

## INTERACTIONS WITH OUTSIDERS

One basic impediment to developing social relations with people outside the plantation is the physical isolation of many of the plantation villages. In a study in the mid 1970s of one of the more isolated pineapple towns in Hawaii, it was found that the Filipinos living there had most of their friends and social events within the village (see table 9).<sup>1</sup> However, factors other than physical isolation have also substantially hindered interactions with people outside the plantation system. Outsiders often have problems understanding the individual behavior arising from Filipino plantation culture. Even union leaders who have decades of experience with Filipino plantation workers still tend to try to rely on the traditional American spoils system rather than using the alliances in the communities that are usually readily available through a local Filipino union official.

In most transactions between Filipino plantation residents and outsiders the outsiders are usually of a higher social status than the plantation residents. The subordinate role of the Filipino plantation resident—such as being a recipient of a bureaucratic favor, a patient receiving medical services, or simply a worker or customer in a retail or other business establishment—generally also places him in a position of inferior power. Moreover, the resources of kinship and *compadrazgo* or other alliances are not readily available when Filipinos deal with people outside the plantation system. Consequently, they are often anxious to work through an intermediary, such as an ILWU unit chairman, local lawyer, insurance agent, or some other trusted

individual within the community who has a proven capacity of dealing successfully with outsiders. Language barriers often make the use of such an intermediary necessary for such interactions.

It is also important to note that the use of an intermediary is a traditional strategem for dealing with outsiders or in a particularly delicate social situation—not only in the Philippines but also in most of Asia and in other parts of the world. The reason for the widespread use of this practice is simple and functional; in transactions conducted through an intermediary it is easier to maintain a more impersonal and rational tone and at the same time protect the status positions of the principal parties. Thus there is no loss of face or shame for anyone if the negotiations break down or are unproductive.

Contact with people who live outside the plantation for purely social reasons is minimal. The older men seldom involve themselves in recreation outside the plantation system. In the case of the bars, movie theaters, or other diversions enjoyed by plantation residents, they patronize those where they are likely to find residents from other plantations or those where close interaction with others is unnecessary. Although a plantation worker's wife may work as a housekeeper in a luxury resort, she and her husband would likely decline to patronize the fancy nightclub or restaurant at the resort. Of course, this is largely due to income considerations, but there is little doubt that the couple would feel uncomfortable in such places. Hesitation about participating in other kinds of nonplantation recreation and social activity is common.

During the time of our study outsiders were also living in some of these plantation towns. Various referred to as "hippies," "Hawaiians," or by other names, the Filipino respondents were quick to point them out. Their identification as outsiders was due as much to their recent arrival as it was to their lack of appreciation for plantation community conditions and behavior. Our Filipino respondents also often noted an apparent lack of a strong work ethic among some of these outsiders, and they tended to look down on them because their wives were apparently not working, even when they had opportunities to do so. Unemployment among the adult male outsiders was somewhat more readily accepted if work was not available, but the outsiders were often accused of preferring to live on welfare be-

cause they were lazy. Despite the attitude commonly expressed by the Filipinos that if they were not able to work they would have no shame about going on welfare, it appeared that they would indeed feel shame and that the talk about having no compunctions about being on welfare was simply brave talk in the face of impending economic adversity.

## ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

We concluded from our study that Filipinos' efforts to emphasize and cultivate their ethnic identity have tended to curb relations with non-Filipinos. This ethnic emphasis seems to have been in part a defensive response to the treatment Filipinos received in the past from members of the dominant society in Hawaii. The plantation system operated on a policy of paternalistic controls considered essential to the successful functioning of the plantation and tacitly aided in maintaining ethnic boundaries between the plantation workers. In response, the Filipinos found a degree of comfort in the insularity of their ethnic world, and thus took refuge from what appeared at times to be a strange and somewhat hostile environment.

The varying degree of vigor with which rural Filipinos asserted their ethnic identity in Hawaii was also affected by their prior experiences and practices in the Philippines. The Philippines were under foreign control for about 350 years—approximately 300 under Spain and 50 under the U.S.—and this collective experience left its impression on Filipino values. The term "colonial mentality" was coined to describe one aspect of this effect, in which the people and the culture of the foreign power are overvalued and the indigenous peoples and traditions are devalued. Analysts of the Hawaiian scene refer to this effect as it operates in Hawaii as "haole prestige."

The other side of the picture, however, is rejection of foreigners and their ways, which may lead to a "nativistic" movement. Such movements glorify the past and attempt to "purify" the society and culture of foreign elements. History shows that the colonial mentality tends to be more durable, popular, and long-lasting than the nativistic movements.

Hence we find that many of the early immigrant Filipinos were willing to discard much of their language and culture after

Table 10. Memberships of Adults in Community Organizations

Organization	Village One (%)	Village Two (%)	Village Three (%)
Civic clubs	8	0	4
Filipino clubs	7	9	2
P.T.A.	3	11	5
Community council	13	37	0
Catholic club	35	22	26
Labor union	52	61	24

settling in Hawaii. They tended not to resist the negative perceptions of Filipino language and culture that were promulgated by non-Filipinos. This often led to diffidence, timidity, deference, and passivity in their dealings with other segments of the society, who were perceived as being American or European.

The gradual fading away of the colonial mentality only began with the maturity of the generation of Filipinos born after 1946, the year of Philippine independence. This has become another factor in the generation gap between the older Filipino immigrants, who still often maintain a strong pro-Euro-American outlook, and the younger immigrants thirty years old or younger, who have a much more nationalistic feeling of pride in their people, language, and indigenous traditions. It is no wonder that the later immigrants are considered "more pushy," for they are more inclined to defend their rights than were the earlier groups, who often accepted mistreatment with resignation and deference.

## COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Of the various organizations in the plantation communities we studied (see table 10) the most popular were the ILWU and the Catholic clubs. The membership of the labor union is predominantly male, since men comprise the majority of the workers. The women are more commonly involved with the Catholic clubs. In two of the communities we studied there were reasonably active community councils involving a fairly widespread membership. Despite the opinion of many non-Filipinos to the contrary, we did not encounter a high level of participation in the Filipino clubs, which collectively constitute the statewide United Filipino Council, often looked to as the official voice of the Filipino community. We found participation in mainstream



organizations like the P.T.A. and standard civic clubs like the Lions and Rotary negligible. The patterns of membership in community organizations in a plantation village community reflect the degree of insularity experienced by that community.

The affairs of the community are conducted through the Catholic clubs, the labor union, and the community council in those communities where it is active. These groups may coalesce around community projects, for example, providing scholarships for village residents to attend technical school or college. Although community decisions may occasionally be expressed at meetings of organizations like the P.T.A., the limited participation in organizations of this kind severely restricts their effectiveness in community decision making.

Civic organizations informally supply the kind of political structure that might exist more formally in small towns elsewhere in the United States that have some degree of autonomy. Indeed, the lack of involvement on the part of plantation residents in formal government decision making processes that are generally based outside the community is a primary reason why the organizations within the plantation communities are active.

However, as important as these organizations may be, they suffer from shortages in capabilities, financial resources, and far-reaching "connections" that limit their potential for securing community objectives. Furthermore, because of the diversity of these organizations, only the united ILWU has come to be a consistently recognized representative voice. As individual Filipinos emerge as important political leaders in Hawaii, there may be an increasing tendency for the Filipino members of the plantation communities to follow their leadership instead of continuing the traditional pattern of accepting ILWU political endorsements. Consequently, the machinery of party politics may eventually prove to be a more effective means of achieving objectives important to Filipinos in rural Hawaii.

## WORKER SOLIDARITY

Generally speaking, Filipino families in the plantation communities perceive their status in the limited context of families and alliance groups within the plantation operation and town rather than in terms of the overall community of the state or nation. In

the event that the existence of the village itself is threatened, as has repeatedly happened in Hawaii in the last decade, their identity consciousness is then often expanded to the village rather than being limited to families or groups within the village. At most, they may identify with an amorphous community of Filipinos throughout the state, but they almost never identify themselves as part of the working poor or of the working class. This type of proletarian identity has been claimed on occasion in the upper levels of the ILWU and among radical organizers who are attempting to make the community more cohesive, but it has seldom been effectively felt at the lower levels of the union's membership or among the majority of the members of the plantation communities. Plantation union members commonly view the union in practical terms as a means of obtaining job security and improved incomes rather than as a means of solidifying class identity. Class identity, in other words, is not widely accepted by Filipinos on the plantations as a feasible means of improving their social and economic status. The plantation family is more often concerned with status improvements in the context of individual or family mobility.

Interviews with long-time members of the union reveal great contrasts in their perceptions of the role of the union. Devout union supporters proudly told us in rich detail of the great victories achieved in the late 1940s. These gains were real and cannot necessarily be discounted as overstatements made in an excess of zeal. Nevertheless, it is also clear that management was becoming more enlightened even before the successes of the union after World War II. It is a matter of debate whether the progressive innovations and concessions offered by management to labor prior to formalized collective bargaining were based on sound business practices and good Christian principles or were a coldly calculated means of avoiding unionization.

In contrast, other long-time union members we interviewed indicated considerable disaffection with the union. In some cases these feelings were understandable after we had found that at some point in the past the individuals had lost status in the local hierarchy. In other cases the members simply felt that the unions had claimed credit for accomplishments they had not really earned. Furthermore, the union was occasionally seen as a way to protect lazy people at the expense of those who were more en-

terprising. The argument was that individual differences in merit had not been effectively recognized by management through pay differentials or other types of rewards due to the leveling strategies that had been pursued by the unions. Disaffection with the ILWU was shown recently by instances of lack of support from Filipinos on the plantations for political candidates endorsed by the union, particularly when the opposition was of Filipino background.

## PATRON-CLIENT RELATIONS

An additional source of solidarity often engrained in Filipinos prior to their coming to Hawaii was the patron-client bond. A common social phenomenon throughout much of Southeast Asia, this relationship has been characterized as being

... not so reliable as kinship but infinitely more flexible in forging alliances with nonkin and nonvillagers.... A patron-client dyad may be described as partly instrumental friendship in which an individual of higher socioeconomic status (a patron) uses his own influence and resources to provide protection and/or benefits for a person of lower status (a client) who, for his part, reciprocates by offering general support and assistance to the patron.<sup>2</sup>

Patron-client relations in Hawaii have not been of great importance in achieving security, particularly since the ascendance of union power. Only in instances where the elite enjoy tight control of important resources and are considered to be legitimate have patron-client relationships been utilized. In these cases, the patron, (be he plantation manager, union official, or local politician) would provide such things as physical protection, employment, loans, personal intervention, and other resources in order to assist his client in dealing with various segments of society. In return, the client would be loyal to the patron and offer various services to him.

Upon the arrival of Filipino immigrants in Hawaii, the paternalistic plantation companies adopted the patron role in a limited fashion, although they were somewhat displaced by the labor unions during the late 1940s. However, neither of these relationships has ever been as strong as the patron-client relationships

that existed in the Philippines. Furthermore, they have deteriorated over time. Initially the immigrants needed such relationships, because they were in an environment that was alien to many of their values and drives. As they increasingly adapted to Hawaii's culture, the erosion of patron-client bonds became inevitable. Educational gains by the younger members of the community, the lessening of isolation through transportation and communication, and day-to-day interactions with non-Filipino elements of their society have done much to change their interests and perceptions. More recent arrivals have been socialized into Hawaii's mainstream even more rapidly, largely because they are better educated and have had more exposure to urbanization and mass communications.

Nevertheless, it is important to realize that the plantation residents do accept the validity of existing patron-client relationships. People in positions of power, such as local union leaders or minor politicians who function as cultural or economic brokers are seen as having a serious responsibility for taking care of the members of the village. Contrary to what might be expected in the context of Western cultural heritage, the bulk of the responsibility is considered to be held by the patron rather than by the client, although the client does have a degree of responsibility to fulfill whatever obligations are within his power to achieve for the interests of the patron.

### GATEKEEPERS

As is true of almost all rural villages, several individuals usually hold positions of prime importance in the local social structure. In the rural Filipino community in Hawaii they typically belong to the local labor union official, the manager of the plantation, and occasionally to one or more government officials who are involved in the delivery of social services, even though they may not actually live in the village. In the Philippines the local priest traditionally enjoys considerable influence and power, but this has never been the case in the plantation life of Filipinos in Hawaii. The key individuals are important to residents of the plantations as sources of communication with the larger community in the county, state, and nation. Thus the members of the plantation communities attach great value to friendship and the establishment of mutual obligations with them.

The basic role of these important individuals, that of gatekeepers, in a social sense, has been described in clear terms by Eric Wolf:

They stand guard over the crucial juncture or synapses of relationships which connect the local system to the larger whole. Their basic function is to relate community-oriented individuals who want to improve their life chances, but who lack economic security and political connections, with nation-oriented individuals who operate primarily in terms of the complex cultural forms standardized as national institutions, but whose success in these operations depends on the size and strength of their personal following. The position of these brokers is an "exposed" one for they face two directions at once. They must serve some of the interests of groups operating on both the community and national level, and they must curb the conflicts raised by the collision of interest. They cannot settle these, since by doing so they would abolish their own usefulness to others.<sup>3</sup>

As noted above, the local Catholic priest has not been as essential to community life in rural Hawaii as he is in the Philippines, despite the retention of at least formal allegiance to the church by most of the Filipino population. This was partly because of the relative absence of family life among the Filipinos in plantation communities in the past. We observed that the local priest today is far more influential with the women than he is with the men in the villages. Our respondents typically considered the priests to be remote and uninformed about the basic needs and concerns of village life, even though they were highly respected because of their position in the church and personal accomplishments of education and urbane sophistication. Perhaps the primary handicap preventing local priests from being important in village decision making today is that they typically lack any capability in Filipino languages and familiarity with Filipino culture, which hampers them considerably in achieving positions of power within the plantation villages. Generally, the priests are from Europe or North America.

In contrast, the local union official has increasingly become a figure of major importance. Prior to the achievement of union power following World War II, the local plantation management used to have an overwhelming influence in the village. A manager's word was law and often there was no route of appeal for reconsideration or overruling of his opinion. This situation was

tempered by the emergence of the ILWU, as recalled by a couple of old-timers:

Bad times before, but now get union so no more da kine humbug *lunas*. They treat us more better 'cuz if not, the union will get 'em.

Is good this one, the union, 'cuz you can fight back. Before, we only get little bit pay, and these guys get bad temper, too. Now, we go strike if we no like 'em do something to us. We get high pay, too, and get increase every time, but before no more.

Beginning around 1946 local union officials became the major source of communication for plantation residents with decision makers outside the village. As such, their responsibilities have sometimes been burdensome and often a source of considerable frustration or even regret. For example, they are expected to speak for the village community as a whole, which sometimes causes personal enmity and resentment on the part of the villagers who disagree with the platforms they espouse. In addition, local union leaders are obligated to participate in key ceremonies and to share a significant portion of their personal wealth with the community as a whole. This sharing often takes the form of contributions to various parties and celebrations. They may be called upon to actually host many of these events as well.

At the local level labor union officials can be described as gatekeepers, at a minimum, if not actually as patrons in a patron-client relationship. No group of persons is more actively involved in the important affairs of the plantation community. In the communities we studied, the local labor leaders not only had a professional relationship with the members but through the years had maintained an intimate, direct acquaintance with them. In other words, they were not only completely engrossed in the concerns of the institution they served, but they were also very much aware of and involved in the individual lives of many of their union members. This personalism characterizing relations between leader and member is not only desirable to both parties but to a certain extent is encouraged by the upper-level leadership of the union. It has worked well in the union's interest and has been the major means of gaining cooperation and confidence from the union membership.

In their role as patrons local union leaders are expected not only to take care of union affairs in the community but to sort out family problems, intervene in community disagreements, help arrange for the marriage of various individuals, arrange for trips back to the Philippines, emcee and coordinate social functions, help individuals with paperwork, and encourage union members to improve their conditions. The union leader is considered the community's spokesman, and he is expected to represent the village in various dealings with the outside community. In return, the village residents are expected to give him their respect and loyalty and to be hesitant about opposing any union proposals, for that would constitute going against the individual who represents the union.

Personalism, sometimes tinged with paternalism, seems to work better in some villages than in others. Local union leaders are often considered primary authority figures in the community. Those capable of occupying an important position in the community's decision-making processes would also be deeply involved in *compadrazgo* relationships. They are allied not only with small factions in the community but are able to extend their leadership across the community as a whole. They will know almost all members of the community individually, and they may often spend hours with them discussing their problems or personal lives. They typically would speak Ilocano and English fluently—and possibly Visayan and Tagalog—thus enabling them to communicate effectively with the older workers as well as with those who speak English. Their approach is generally very low-key but intense, and they are usually highly and openly appreciated by most residents of the community. The less successful local leaders may have language difficulties or may be more assertive in a public situation, which does not lead to support from the more tradition-oriented Filipinos. In any case, it is necessary for local union leaders to involve themselves in considerable social interaction in the community.

The major official responsibility of the local union representative is to serve as a liaison with the larger ILWU chapter. He is permitted very little decision-making power about union matters and is discouraged by the union from taking such initiative, since solidarity is necessary for the union to be able to deal effectively with statewide political interests.

Since the local officials are at the interface between the local members and the union hierarchy, they are sometimes placed in awkward situations in which intercultural misunderstandings may occur. In an instance we observed, a high union official came to a public meeting in the community and lavishly praised the local union leader, who was also present. This was a source of deep embarrassment for him and even for the community, which was embarrassed for his sake. Such public acts are considered unfortunate, for they are interpreted as transparent, blatant attempts to falsely enhance the position of the person being praised and in some situations to curry his favor. Thus what may have been an effective strategy in mainstream American social situations had the opposite effect. Only if the local leader had not been present could such a strategy even possibly have succeeded.

#### RELATIONS WITH THE UNION

The union manifests a paternalistic benevolence that is perhaps most evidenced in public meetings of workers, which are generally information-giving sessions for conveying decisions made by union officers rather than solicitations of suggestions or directions from the membership itself. The membership generally considers this well and good, for they feel that the officials know better than they about what should be done. This confidence, even in the face of a phaseout of plantation operations, was expressed in statements such as: "The union will take care of things as they always have." "It will not let us down." "Something good will come soon, the union will see to that." "It's a good thing there is the union to depend on at this time; if not, I don't know what would become of us."

In periods of severe economic stress, the union has taken an important role in preventing panic on the part of the membership. Indeed, their past record of delivering the goods has been quite impressive, and in any case the membership has little alternative but to loyally hope that the union will continue to provide help in the future. Nevertheless, there are limits to the devotion as well as to the opposition that can be accorded to the union. As one of the more independent members put it,

There is no question that the union has really helped us a lot, but it cannot dictate its every wish on us, and we cannot follow its every



command blindly. They can run our affairs where our work is concerned, but when it seems to run counter to what we want, they can only go so far. Of course, we do not protest openly, nor do we make our opposition open. We just go ahead and do what we feel we should do. Anyway, when election time comes, how would they know who I voted for? It's secret ballot anyway. As long as we don't hurt anybody's feelings, we do what we feel like doing. We are just careful we do not cause anybody to lose face, or us to lose face.

The absence of a communication flow from the members to the officers of the union was apparent in an instance we observed in one of the communities facing the phaseout of plantation operations. The union had taken the position in negotiations with the plantation management that job security and the promise of jobs on other plantations were of major importance. However, the implication that the union members were willing to move to other communities in order to continue their employment was not the case with the members themselves, and only after some weeks of negotiation in which the union took this position did its officers realize that the members did not have such a desire. Consequently, the union quickly changed its position to one more in line with the wishes of its members and focused instead on adequate severance pay and early retirement provisions that would enable workers to remain in the communities where they had lived for decades.

## INTERETHNIC SOCIAL RELATIONS

The immigrant Filipinos who came to Hawaii to work on the sugar and pineapple plantations initially were ethnic minorities in the plantation villages. Plantation management policy at the time was to separate the ethnic groups in the community, and this policy was facilitated by the tendency of the Filipino men to remain unmarried. As single men, they did not have the impetus for interactions across the broader community that might have been occasioned by having children in school, nor did they have the kind of community concerns held by the Japanese, Portuguese, and others who had families and were more likely to consider Hawaii their permanent home. Interactions with people of other nationalities did occur, however, in the context of business transactions, since retail business establishments in the

community were generally run by Chinese, Japanese, or other non-Filipinos. Athletics also provided opportunities for interethnic relations to develop.

It was easier for Filipinos to establish relationships with members of other ethnic groups who were at least nominally Catholic, such as most Portuguese and the few Puerto Ricans and Spaniards who came to Hawaii's plantations. It was possible for the Filipinos to draw Catholic non-Filipinos into the formalized bonds of the *compadrazgo* system, which was commonly done in one of the Oahu villages we studied. Despite some differences in expectations due to cultural differences, the practice seemed to be functional enough to be continued.

To the extent they existed, relations were harmonious among the Japanese, Portuguese, Chinese, Hawaiians, and Filipinos in the plantation communities. (The onset of World War II did create a temporary disturbance as far as treatment of the Japanese was concerned, but these feelings declined dramatically once the war was over.) However, the Filipinos suffered from stereotypic tales that were told among other ethnic groups in the community. For example, a non-Filipino woman who had been raised in a plantation village told us her parents did not want her to associate with Filipinos, so they told her wild stories about the sexual prowess of Filipino men. These tales so impressed her that she would not even walk past a Filipino man on the sidewalk. In fact, she went to great efforts to totally avoid encounters with Filipinos, because she so believed her parents' talk that she feared that if her eyes were to meet with those of a Filipino man who had come near her, she would immediately become pregnant. (Such folk tales are a common means in many societies to instill fear into the children in order to keep them from making undesirable interethnic contacts.)

Few Filipinos are in the higher echelons of the ILWU, considering the large portion of the membership that is Filipino. Some serve as unit chairmen and some as business managers, but the most central positions still tend to be held by haoles and Japanese. This is so partly because Filipinos as a group have had less education, and those individuals who do have sufficient education typically work in nonunion positions. Haoles remain in higher positions simply because they were usually the first to gain experience in the early days of union organization. Somewhat the

same is true of the Japanese, who were predominantly responsible for the first successes in organized labor in Hawaii. Only after considerable inaction and failure were the Filipinos united with other workers in the ILWU. Furthermore, historically the Moncadistas among the Filipinos, members of Hilario Moncado's Filipino Federation of America, were opposed to union activities, causing resentment against them. The ethnic patterns in union leadership clearly are not the result of racial discrimination by the union.

The central explanation for the structure of union leadership in terms of ethnicity is that the initial power of the union was developed by people who had the necessary community status and prestige to deal with the plantation management and the existing haole political structure. Some of the early haole organizers came to Hawaii with considerable reputations in the labor union on the West Coast, and they further had important financial and moral support from mainland sources. The factor of haole prestige in the 1940s was also an important influence they could draw upon in instances when the union had to have a haole as a "front man" to deal with the haole management. (Many of these early haole leaders married "local" women, which helped to substantiate their legitimacy among the workers.) The strength of the Japanese union leadership was drawn from their experience in earlier labor organizing attempts, their better educations, and their leadership experiences in the military during World War II.

Although many non-Filipinos are unaware of them, there have been appreciable interethnic differences among the Filipino immigrants themselves, who were usually Visayan or Ilocano. The Visayans mostly came to Hawaii in the first wave of immigration; few arrived after the mid-1920s. (The question may be raised as to why a "chain" migration phenomenon did not occur whereby the earlier immigrants would bring relatives and family to Hawaii over the decades following their arrival. The explanation may lie in the fact that the plantation managers were not as pleased with the attitudes and work performance of the Visayan immigrants as they were with the Ilocanos who came later. Consequently, they did little to encourage the Visayans to bring over their relatives, but were more encouraging to the Ilocanos.) Both Ilocanos and Visayans talk as though they feel slightly superior to the other, which is natural for any ethnic or subethnic group. This attitude is best described in both cases as a feeling of pride

in their identity rather than any sense of inferiority. The only languages of communication between the two groups are Tagalog or pidgin, except for the few who speak standard English. Only in rare instances will a person fluently speak both Visayan and Ilocano, and in such cases this skill has been developed only after that person has come to Hawaii and has come into close contact with Filipinos who speak the languages.

The distinctions that remain in the plantation villages between Visayans and Ilocanos in part derive from the times in the 1920s when Ilocanos were used to break the strikes called by the Visayans. Others are derived from the fact that it is the Visayans who most typically organize religious activities and maintain the existing novenas (nine-day devotions). Few novenas are supported by the Ilocanos. This difference is partly due to the stronger Spanish-Catholic influence in the Cebu area of the Visayan Islands as compared with the Ilocos area.

Too much can be made of these interethnic differences, however. We encountered many cases where an older Visayan man had married an Ilocano woman. Also, the typical Hawaii-born teenager of Filipino ancestry would not tend to identify himself as a Visayan or Ilocano—rather, he would say that he was Filipino. Only in the context of a Filipino social setting would an adult under age thirty say that he is a Visayan, and frequently then by using the phrase that his parents were Visayan, and that he was born in Hawaii. The distinction between Visayan and Ilocano among local born is almost of no importance. They see the conflicts and differences between these groups as relating to another country and another era that have little relevance to modern times in Hawaii.

## SOCIAL CONTROL

Statistics seem to indicate that persons of Filipino ancestry in rural Hawaii have an unusually high incidence of being charged by police with assault, carrying weapons, gambling, and miscellaneous offenses, excluding traffic violations.<sup>4</sup> Virtually all arrests in rural areas for cockfighting have involved Filipinos. Other relatively high percentages of offenses are for violations of fishing laws, firearms laws, and curfews and for runaways. In contrast, the percentages for offenses involving vagrancy, disorderly con-

duct, liquor laws, drug laws, and sexual offenses are relatively low. (Findings such as these should be looked at as tentative only, since they are based on arrest reports, which are sometimes remarkably misleading due to the relative infrequency of major offenses and the unofficial means by which some people are able to avoid having their known offenses recorded.)

The high degree of village solidarity and insularity in plantation communities makes it unappealing for an individual to pursue activities that would be widely recognized in the community as deviant. Deviant behavior may range from relatively mild behaviors such as lack of respect for authority or ingratitude to more serious acts such as theft or assault. Deviant behavior might require the individual to forego the considerable benefits that can be derived from the various networks of alliances that exist in the village. Conceivably, the loss of such resources would effectively cause him to leave the community and establish his identity elsewhere, likely in an area devoid of the culturally determined behavior pattern requirements he had violated in the plantation village.

Social control in the village is dependent on outside authority such as county police or other means of law enforcement for only the most severe and aberrant instances. In most cases, the power for exercising social control essentially resides with the members of the village itself. The small size of the community and the highly effective networks that have been established permit widespread knowledge of unusual activities. Deviant behavior may be costly not only to the individual involved but to the members of his various social networks, for they may be excluded from the networks. Quite often specific decisions required of the community in dealing with cases of deviant behavior are handled by the community gatekeepers who have established positions of authority.

In our consideration of deviant social behavior among Filipinos in the plantation villages, we were drawn to the conclusion that some of the people who exhibited various types of deviant behavior in an odd way served as spokesmen for some of the dissatisfied but less outspoken segments of the community. For example, we noted a young man who had begun to establish a respected reputation at the cockfights and who had been outspoken in community meetings. He was popular with many members

of the community, but his views and in particular his "wild" lifestyle were directly in conflict with the economic powers who controlled activities within the community. In many of these conflicts there was considerable covert support for him within the community, although there was a marked degree of reluctance to show it openly.

The actions of people in a mostly Filipino plantation village in dealing with major internal disruptions are well illustrated in a tragic incident we observed. The story began when a young woman in the village took her children to the home of another couple where they were looked after while she worked in a resort some distance away. When she came back to the house, she found the body of the woman of the household lying in the doorway. She summoned the neighbors and it was discovered that the entire family was dead. When the police established that the family had been murdered, the entire community was thrown into an uproar. Somewhat due to community pressures, the police quickly arrested an outsider living in the village. Although he was a natural suspect from the community's point of view, all evidence against him was purely circumstantial.

The terror that developed in the community was pervasive. Many of the women refused to remain in their homes alone, even in broad daylight. Almost every family instituted an around-the-clock watch in which the adults took turns sleeping and keeping watch. Many families purchased guns and other weapons. For the first three weeks following the murders, every social activity scheduled for the evening was cancelled. People carefully locked their doors and kept their weapons handy. Some even went so far as to place marbles in front of the door to make noise if the door were opened. People would call their friends and neighbors to let them know that they were leaving at certain times and returning at others so that any suspicious activities could be reported to the authorities.

Considerable resentment and suspicion began to be directed at various outsiders living in the community. There was even talk of vigilante action being taken against them. The leadership in the community, after some efforts, dissuaded the would-be vigilantes, but for some time some people openly carried shotguns in their cars, which only added to the tension.

Community gossip pointed the finger of suspicion at several

men who had reputedly been killing and eating dogs. Feelings against them were particularly evident among local-born people, thus resurrecting certain old negative stereotypes. Eventually, suspicion in the community began to focus on an insider rather than being generally directed at outsiders, but for some time any non-Filipino walking in the village at night would have been in real physical danger.

Members of several households had reportedly heard knocks on their doors during the night of the murders. After that night, the older single men also heard knocks on their doors in the middle of the night. One said he actually saw somebody outside his door who covered his face when he looked out the window. It soon became obvious that some of the teenagers and young men of the village were playing pranks.

A community meeting was finally called to discuss the situation, and the police and two public officials from outside the village were invited to attend. The community looked to the old patron-client relations in the community to handle the difficulties of the situation. In particular, the people in charge of handling the housing in the community were verbally attacked for not properly screening new outsider tenants. Although the murders were never solved, the means chosen to deal with such a threat demonstrated the reliance on the alliance systems and patron-client relationships that are not available in a typical American community. In other words, although the police played a central role, the community was able to draw on its other resources in its attempts to preserve its integrity.

## FIESTAS AND CELEBRATIONS

The social life of rural Filipinos in Hawaii includes any number of celebrations and special events. On a small scale, baby showers, baptisms, weddings, farewell parties, family reunions, and general get-togethers are the most frequent. At a higher level of social organization are the festive occasions that find roots both in practices in the Philippines and in the mainstream culture of the United States.

The Filipinos who came to Hawaii have tried to organize fiestas, parties, dances, and general celebrations similar to those held in the Philippines. Sometimes plantation management as-

sisted the communities by building recreation halls, helping with the purchase of musical instruments, and by generally giving their approval. Sympathetic priests in the community or nearby towns participated in celebrations by leading the novena prayers and helping to organize fiesta activities. Despite these efforts and the occasional encouragement given by the community at large, the unique demographic situation of the immigrants, the greatly different community setting of the plantations compared to the rural Philippines, and the impediments of language differences and cultural values in Hawaii usually converged to produce events quite distinct from those in the Philippines.

Many of the old fiestas that honored saints of the Catholic church or were related to other special holy events have given away in Hawaii to secular festivals such as the "Terno Ball," which today focuses on the formal evening gowns adapted from traditional Hispanic-Filipino clothing styles, with awards being given to the most original, most traditional, and most impressive versions of the *terno*. Other communities commonly sponsor "charity queen" contests and accompanying festivities with the avowed purpose of raising money for charitable causes. The Miss Hawaii-Filipina Pageant has become an expression of ethnic pride, even though it is heavily influenced by the Miss America Pageant. These celebrations usually are sponsored by Filipino civic clubs and are thus tied to efforts to boost Filipino pride or improve their social situation. In contrast, fiestas in the Philippines fifty years ago were directly related to church programs and often were related to expectations of life in the hereafter.

There is considerable variety in the types and numbers of fiestas and celebrations conducted by Filipinos in Hawaii. In part the differences go back to differences that existed in the Philippines. Although significant numbers of Tagalogs and Visayans came to Hawaii during the early years of labor recruiting by the sugar industry, the majority of the Filipino immigrants came from the Ilocos region. They were rural people of humble origins who came from small, isolated communities where Hispanization was not nearly as pervasive as it had been in the area near Manila and in the districts near Cebu City. Indeed, some of the Visayans interviewed as part of this study indicated that the Ilocanos simply did not bring "as much of those kinds of Spanish traditions to Hawaii as we did." This is not to say that all Ilocanos were relatively unaffected by Iberian culture,



since many of them came from famous old cathedral towns that had been very much involved in the Spanish way of life.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in sustaining traditional Filipino celebrations in Hawaii can be traced to the age and sex structure of the Filipino immigrant population. Since most of the immigrants prior to 1965 were young men, as a group they were generally not well-equipped to organize and sustain a traditional cycle of annual fiestas, celebrations, and traditions. For the young men without families, it was especially difficult to make the fiestas a meaningful part of their lives. Without the family system, the celebrations were not only difficult to organize but often did not seem relevant or important to the new life in Hawaii. Furthermore, according to Philippine tradition, many festive occasions required specific behavioral patterns in relation to age and sex roles. With women, children, and old people in relatively short supply, there was a general lack of drive to organize special prayer meetings, to plan the details of the various fiestas, and to provide the connection between everyday family life and the formal religious organization of the Catholic church. The absence of women who had traditionally filled these functions was the major handicap in attempts to carry out such Philippine traditions in Hawaii.

The difficulties were compounded by the religious makeup of the Ilocano population that came to Hawaii. A portion had split off from the Catholic church to follow a movement led by Bishop Gregorio Aglipay; others had been influenced by Protestant missionaries who made converts not only in Hawaii but also had made inroads into the Catholic population in the Ilocos region of the Philippines. Thus there was a significant number of men among the immigrants who had religious commitments that were in direct conflict with the objectives of the traditional celebrations and fiestas practiced in the Philippines.

The absence of *ilustrados*, central leaders in the community who had sufficient wealth to perform the role of donor-sponsor-benefactor essential to the funding and organization of the celebrations in rural towns in the Philippines, was another difficulty encountered in Hawaii. Without the presence of *ilustrados* in Hawaii it was difficult to finance the celebrations, to make sure that responsible leadership and organization were provided, and to make effective ties with the church programs.

There were certain elements in plantation society in

Hawaii who could perform to a limited extent the roles of the *ilustrados* in the Philippines. The plantation management, and subsequently the union leadership, for example, were willing to offer contributions of money and organizational talent to the Filipinos for celebrations. However, major differences did exist. These leaders were seldom connected to the Catholic church, and they had little enthusiasm for fostering and maintaining the fiestas.

Although some of Hawaii's leadership encouraged the Filipinos to assimilate and to become Americans, the prevailing opinion was to discourage them from putting down roots and becoming comfortable; they were expected to return to the Philippines after the need for their labor was past. The general feeling in the haole community was that the Filipinos should count on leaving Hawaii, and thus they were not encouraged to build a cultural semblance of the Philippines in Hawaii. Consequently, rather than encouraging the traditional fiestas and celebrations, support from the larger community—when such support was forthcoming—was directed toward undertakings such as learning baseball or celebrating the Fourth of July. Some encouragement was given by portions of the haole community to learning English and to converting to the Protestant church, especially the Methodist, but negligible encouragement was given to developing literacy in any of the native languages of the Philippines.

The immigrants who remained true to the Catholic faith encountered a situation in Hawaii profoundly different from that they had known in the Philippines. Many of the Catholic clergy were of northern European background (Belgian, French, Irish) and had little sympathy for the Spanish-Catholic traditions central to celebrations in the Philippines. Although some priests were Portuguese and thus had a degree of familiarity with Iberian traditions, Catholic priests in Hawaii were generally far removed from everyday affairs and cultural practices in the Filipino community. Furthermore, if any intrusion of a religious nature was permitted by plantation management in the day-to-day conduct of business or community affairs in Hawaii, it was much more likely to be Protestant than Catholic.

The multicultural, pluralistic nature of Hawaii's society also weakened the Filipino fiesta tradition. The relatively homogeneous population and culture in rural Philippine villages made it far

easier to organize the community around such events. In Hawaii, much of the general populace, even in plantation villages, was either hostile or apathetic toward the values represented by the festivals. As Filipinos formed alliances with other people in Hawaii through the labor unions, marriage, political involvement, and commercial dealings, the type of community identity and ethnic consensus necessary for organizing the traditional fiestas and celebrations began to diminish considerably.

The overall reaction to the situation by Filipinos in Hawaii was varied and represented adaptation to changing situations and needs. Efforts to hold on to the traditional celebrations as a means of replicating the homeland villages were less difficult in the early plantation camps, which were often isolated from other communities by lack of communications and transportation. Often these efforts were initially successful, particularly when the Filipinos were clustered with their countrymen and when such practices had the blessings of plantation management. Despite the feelings of happy nostalgia that many Filipinos have for the traditional fiestas and celebrations in the old days in the plantation camps, however, such celebrations have unquestionably gone into decline and have gradually become occasional rather than regular events. As their roots in the folk culture of the Philippines weaken and as the old plantation camps disappear and the Filipinos in Hawaii become more urbanized by television and other forms of contact with mainstream society in the United States, the community mechanisms responsible for these celebrations have inevitably eroded, and the festivals themselves have become more secularized.

One special celebration deserves to be singled out for attention because it not only represented homeland values but also because it developed additional significance in Hawaii. This is Rizal Day, celebrated on December 30 of each year. The foremost Filipino hero, Dr. Jose Rizal, a physician, novelist, and poet who was shot in 1896 for conspiring against Spain, represents the values associated with patriotism and noble character, but he also symbolizes Philippine national independence and Filipino identity. As Filipinos in Hawaii became aware of the fact that they were perceived and treated as one ethnic group—in great contrast to the Philippines where the demarcations of family, district, and region are important—they began to utilize Rizal Day as a means

of drawing together all Filipinos in Hawaii for their common welfare as well as to provide a united front against threats from other groups.

Rizal Day became the ideal mechanism for representing the theme of unity and solidarity in the Filipinos' struggle to achieve an improved living standard and a higher social status in competition with the immigrant groups who had preceded them to Hawaii. Newcomers from the Philippines often marveled at the Rizal Day celebrations, remarking that they were far larger and more elaborate than those in towns of comparable size back home. Over the past twenty years, however, despite the continuing apparent need to strengthen community identity among the Filipinos in Hawaii, Rizal Day festivities have become smaller and smaller as assimilation has proceeded. As the older immigrants fade from the scene and the Hawaii-born youth bring their concerns to the forefront, the usefulness of Rizal Day as a focal point of community identity has declined.

We observed a community decision in a plantation village in 1975 that is illustrative of the kind of change that is occurring. The celebration of the *Flores de Mayo* has been a longtime tradition in the Philippines but was seldom celebrated by Filipinos in Hawaii. The substitute for it, because of its proximity on the calendar, was the celebration of Mother's Day, and it was sponsored largely by Hawaii-born Filipinos. However, the women in the community who had recently come from the Philippines pushed hard for a more effective celebration of the *Flores de Mayo*. The difference of opinion resulted in a direct conflict between the Hawaii born and the more recent immigrants. After considerable discussion and involvement by various influential people in the plantation town, the issue was resolved by holding a celebration for Mother's and Father's Days—neither of which is celebrated in the Philippines. It was formally sponsored by the Catholic club and proved to be very similar to the traditional *Flores de Mayo* celebration; it was a fiesta, complete with program, band, and dancing by the children and the mothers in the community. The highlight was the selection of the Mother and Father of the Year. The community was thus able to appease the desires of those born in Hawaii who wished to pursue celebrations more in line with the larger Hawaii community, as well as to satisfy the newer immigrants by engaging in more traditional activities. Although

the name but not the substance of the traditional practice was changed, by changing the names the non-Filipino part of the community as well was able to relate to the celebration and become involved.

Celebrations among the Filipinos in Hawaii today are often cosmopolitan or universal in nature. They are organized for the wider community of Filipinos in the state and often are tied directly to events within the broader society. Tickets to the Miss Hawaii-Filipino Pageant are not only promoted among Filipinos. The annual Filipino Festival is organized, advertised, and implemented as part of a conscious, deliberate effort to match the Narcissus and Cherry Blossom festivals sponsored by the Chinese and Japanese communities, respectively. All three festivals are included in advertisements for travel to Hawaii and are used to promote tourism, although this was hardly intended by their sponsors. The Filipino Festival is quite different from the fiestas and celebrations of the old plantation camps, which were held by and for the parochial communities with localized and particularistic values. It is rare today for a group of Visayans to celebrate the special novenas that were traditional in Cebu, and the Ilocanos are changing at least the name and often the form of the traditional festivals from their rural communities in the Philippines.

Filipino associations and community clubs enjoy ties to similar groups throughout the state and direct their efforts to a much wider public. The production of the festivals has been transformed from a self-help, amateur enterprise to a polished, sophisticated and inevitably expensive undertaking, often involving professional stagecraft, costuming, lighting, makeup, musical accompaniment, scheduling, and advertising. Although some of these festivals are undoubtedly more dramatic, they may not be as authentically Filipino in nature as the traditional grass roots festivals. However, the present status of Filipino festivals and celebrations is an inevitable result of the economic and social improvements the Filipinos have experienced as they have become more assimilated into Hawaii's mainstream society and less isolated than they were under the old plantation camp conditions.

## CHAPTER 6

# Alliance Systems

“LUCKY COME HAWAII” is the Filipino plantation laborer’s common response to the question of how he likes his life in Hawaii. Isolated from the urgency of urban living, and leading a life with a regular tempo, the plantation families sometimes claim to be living in the best of two worlds.

Over here, you can plant vegetables, raise chickens, have good neighbors, turn to friends for help, share foods, while at the same time drive a car, see a movie, watch color TV, fill up the freezer, eat good food, bathe in hot water. In the Philippines, you can only have the richness of friendship, but none of the material comforts.

This place is very much like the Philippines. Of course, I thought Hawaii was rich and money was easy to get. But now I think living here is the best.

This community is a good place to bring up the children. They know everybody and everybody is concerned with everybody.

I come crazy mind when I go to the big city. Here you can go fishing, crabbing, hunting—man, the good life!

I will not leave the island for anything, even if that means going on welfare.

When Filipinos arrived in Hawaii they had a great need for the guarantees of security they had left behind in the form of extended-family and patron-client relationships. Satisfaction with

life in the plantation camps is based largely on the sense of security that the Filipino community developed through efforts to recreate the social systems of their homeland in response to the historically condescending and even somewhat repressive treatment they received in Hawaii from society at large. They have pursued a number of strategies to cope with such treatment. The concept of mutual obligation is a pervasive theme in relations among family and friends. This concept is firmly embedded in the Filipino cultural heritage and was a source of strength as the immigrants learned to adapt their behavior to the pressures of their new social and economic environment. This security and stability of post-World War II plantation life is now being threatened, after having typified Filipino family life over the past thirty years, by a number of factors, some immediate and obvious, such as plantation phaseouts.

Mutual obligation is generally referred to as "reciprocity" in the language of sociologists, social psychologists, and anthropologists.<sup>1</sup> Reciprocity is defined as the exchange of goods and services in the context of "giving" or as a "favor." This is contrasted with "selling" or being legally obligated to participate in the exchange of goods and services. As is true in virtually all cultures, reciprocity occurs most frequently among family members and close friends, but some cultural groups like the Filipinos have established a variety of relationships as an intermediate level of bonding somewhat between family ties and the obligations of friendships. This additional connection is formalized by the process in which friends are asked to be godparents or wedding sponsors. The acceptance of such roles indicates that the people involved have become almost as close as kinfolk and are thus referred to as "ritual kin" by social scientists. In social science literature on the subject, this formal system is most often designated by the term commonly used in South America—*compadrazgo*. The Filipinos in Hawaii generally refer to it with a more informal expression—the *compadre* system.

In simpler terms, Filipinos in rural Hawaii have usually been able to form a group of allies from among relatives, ritual kin, and other close friends. Members of such alliances are friendly, actively sympathetic with each other, and consider each other to be dependable in times of need. This alliance is the overriding social and dynamic factor of social organization. Thus, the Filipinos

in Hawaii, in the absence of an extensive family structure have consciously built up an alliance system composed of their countrymen, be they fellow workers, neighbors, friends, relatives, or *compadres*. The result has been a highly functional social network that has come about in several ways: (1) the ritual kinship structure through *compadrazgo*; (2) activities dictated by the dynamics and processes of reciprocal obligations; and (3) interactions developed and established in purely social rather than occupational activities.

The central importance of these alliance systems is illustrated by the repeatedly expressed open distrust for strangers or "outsiders":

Ever since these outsiders came over here, trouble began in this community. They are on welfare you know, and I think they are responsible for the store being robbed and the pool hall's windows smashed.

Those hippies! Why do they come over here? I just hope they are good. Do you think they are clean?

You never can tell once outside people live in the camp. At least before, you can keep track of your children and your neighbor's children.

Undergirding the system of alliances is the set of moral values held by many Filipinos who place considerable importance on "debts of gratitude" that are incurred when a person has been voluntarily helped in a manner clearly beyond the well-recognized obligations defined by existing relationships. The obligation thus generated is a heavy moral responsibility, and failure to respond when presented with any opportunity to reciprocate leads to shame and considerable loss of personal esteem. Such shame reflects not only on an individual, but it negatively affects the person's entire alliance system, particularly his family. This social sanction is powerful in the plantation villages, but it becomes less effective for Filipinos who move into a more anonymous urban situation.

Major social events in the community such as baptisms, weddings, funerals, fiestas, or just ordinary parties provide opportunities for the strengthening of alliance systems. One observer of



plantation life in 1936 described these processes in words that are essentially accurate today:

Attendance at a festival is the beginning of an alliance between giver and guest, social and economic: it starts a new cycle of economic reciprocity. Neighbors willingly loan the host everything he desires from furniture and china to kerosene stoves (on which to cook the feast) and personal assistance. Cooks, waiters, transportation vehicles and even a good share of the food, are supplied in service or money by friends.<sup>2</sup>

The mere existence of these extensive networks does not assure that each branch or portion of the network will be equally utilized. The conscious use of the network and the willingness to be involved on the part of the members of the network is as important as the establishment of the relationship itself. Indeed, some portions of the family's network are more frequently useful in particular types of need, whereas others are more useful in a general fashion. Nevertheless, whatever the nature of the existing relations, it is important to note that the portions of the social network most cherished by the individual or family will be supported continually by mutual exchanges of goods and services. These interchanges may involve items such as garden vegetables and fish, or services such as child tending or even professional services in the case of individuals capable of offering them.

Because of the basic uncertain or noncontractual nature of these relations, none of them can be counted upon to be entirely secure or dependable. Despite the strengths of the bonds involved, any part of the relations could fail at a time of great need. Thus, despite the intent of the networks to achieve added social and economic security, we observed frequent instances of stressful situations in which the mutual obligation systems did break down in terms of perceived ingratitude. In many instances this breakdown was attributed to individuals who had tried to gain undue advantages in the mutual obligations involved. Other factors also led to breakdowns, such as circumstances in which an individual is so caught up in his own problems that he fails to be sufficiently sympathetic to the plight of his presumed friend. In other cases, individuals found themselves caught in contradictory values of other cultures, which led them not to respond appropriately.

The construction and maintenance of alliance networks and the decisions concerning their use varies according to the situation, the degree to which the relationships are formalized, the informal understandings that have been established, and the relative status levels of the people involved. Some people have vast, complex networks of formal ritual kin that extend beyond the village, while others have virtually no kin or *compadrazgo* relations. Higher status individuals are generally associated with the more extensive networks, but some of the lower status families as well have constructed intricate networks.

The availability of networks involving relatives and ritual kin is shown by data from a recent study in the mid-1970s of Filipinos in a pineapple plantation village. About 38 percent of the adults had no relatives in the village other than in their immediate household; about 30 percent had five or more such relatives; the remaining 31 percent had four or fewer. The numbers of ritual kin in the village were far greater: 10 percent had fewer than ten; 27 percent had ten to twenty-nine; 47 percent had thirty to fifty; 16 percent had over fifty.<sup>3</sup>

As Filipinos increasingly move into more complex portions of Hawaii's society, a reduction of the place of debts of gratitude and the overall alliance system in their scheme of values is very likely. For example, such interactions are displaced in part by contractual and legal obligations. In these situations it will be natural for personal ambition and individualism to emerge as acceptable forms of behavior; in other words, they may become just like other Americans. Monetary remittances to family members in the Philippines are likely to decline. Such changes are unfortunate in many ways, but some people see urban living as a chance to seize new opportunities without being burdened by commitments to traditional forms of behavior.

## FAMILY TIES

We found that Filipinos in rural Hawaii perceive of a nuclear family system as insufficient for their needs. Extended family relations, where they exist, occupy an essential place in their everyday activities. For example, children may stay for days at a time at the home of their grandmother or an aunt. Kinship bonds seem particularly important to the women in the community, perhaps because

of their primary responsibilities in child-rearing; consequently, the children tend to become closer to their mother's relatives than their father's.

The extended family in Hawaii has been difficult to establish for the Filipinos, simply because of their immigrant status and the relative scarcity of Filipina women. Nevertheless, building a family network has been an important goal for many Filipinos. The most direct means of doing so has been to assist relatives from back home to come to Hawaii. For many individuals the beginning point was to bring their spouses to Hawaii. For others it meant the legal sponsoring of a relative such as a parent, son, or niece.

Because their longer residence in Hawaii gave them better legal status to qualify for immigration sponsorship, adult Filipino males in three of the plantation villages we studied in 1975 and 1976 were more likely than females—26 percent versus 15 percent, respectively—to have served as sponsors of relatives other than their spouses.<sup>4</sup> We found no important differences in such practices among the three villages, nor did education levels seem to make a difference. Our analysis of the incidence of those who had sponsored someone showed they were more likely to be men with more education. The women may have readily stepped aside for their husbands to fill this legal role, assuming that both were otherwise legally qualified.

Legal sponsorship under today's practices may include financial assistance for transportation and initial living expenses. Thirty years ago, much of this financial assistance was provided by the plantations for recruited laborers. For others no such offers were available. We found that education and sex were important factors in determining who had paid their own costs; the immigrants who had done so tended to be men with poor educations.<sup>5</sup> Virtually none of the better educated women had paid their own way to Hawaii. Financial assistance from family members had not covered any of the travel expenses of the very earliest immigrants, but in virtually all cases of the most recent immigrants who had come to the plantation villages, family members had helped pay their costs.<sup>6</sup>

What emerges from these data is a pattern in which Filipino immigrants have been able to take substantial steps only during the past decade or so to establish cohesive networks of relatives

in Hawaii. The arrival from the Philippines of a new bride, who is often much younger than her husband, typically initiates a series of other immigrant arrivals.

As more and more second- and third-generation Filipinos mature, there will be sufficient relatives for the operation of the multiple-household extended family in the classic style. However, these same people will be experiencing a cultural, social, and economic situation that is far less conducive to such practices. As with other immigrant groups, the practices that were a response to specific conditions elsewhere acquire less importance under different circumstances; that is, as it becomes possible to operate the Filipino family in a manner that has been deeply desired but difficult to achieve, it simultaneously will become less useful to do so.

### COMPADRAZGO

The *compadrazgo* system of formally establishing ritual kin is rooted in Catholic ceremonies of baptism and marriage. The intent was to have someone beyond the immediate family with an obligation for the child's or couple's welfare, particularly in spiritual and moral matters. Financial and even political matters also became part of the overall obligation as the *compadrazgo* system evolved. As such, it became an important ritual bonding of friends beyond the extended family that was often underlaid by a number of previously established interactions and obligations.

The system offered a ready route for Hawaii's immigrant Filipinos to fill the void in their alliance systems created by the absence of extended families. Instead of sparingly establishing only several godparents for a child as had been done in the Philippines, it became typical to have as many as thirty godparents for the baptismal ceremony. This does not mean that they all would assume important responsibilities, since most of them would consider it only an honor and a formal indication of friendship, often reciprocative of an equivalent honor previously given the baby's parents. Not all ritual kin come from within the village, nor are they all necessarily Filipino, but these are exceptions rather than the general rule.

The *compadrazgo* system has evolved into a means of strengthening bonds between the parents of a child and the godparents

rather than establishing important obligations between the child and godparents, although the latter is the formal nature of the ceremony. The ties among the sets of godparents themselves also are strengthened by this ceremonial system. Similarly, minimal obligations may be incurred between two young adults who are getting married and their older sponsors, who instead may become tied more strongly to the parents of the couple. However, the obligation may well be to the new bride and groom, for if they are well into adulthood, they are more directly involved in selecting the wedding sponsors. Wedding sponsorship is a socially ambiguous phenomenon, because the formal responsibilities involved are usually only vaguely understood. In some instances a prominent person may be asked to be a sponsor by people not even personally acquainted with him.

*Compadrazgo* rituals are taken seriously by the Filipinos in the plantation communities, and wedding and baptismal parties are important causes for community festivities. Much thought is given to who shall act as the main sponsor at a child's baptism. Close friendship is usually important in the choice (although social prominence also may be an important factor), and thus it is not surprising to find families who are godparents to each other's children. Parents seeking sponsors must personally ask the prospective sponsors; it is considered poor etiquette to relay a message or even call on the telephone for such purposes. Even though it might be convenient to make a request during a chance encounter, good manners dictate that the request be reserved until they have formally called at the prospective godparents' home. One mother, for instance, profusely apologized to one of us for making a request for sponsorship while in a mutual friend's house, saying that since she was at work when we were around the community and the one of us she asked to be a sponsor lived elsewhere, she had to ask our indulgence for such an "informality."

Some people have vast networks of formal ritual kin, but others have virtually none. We found a number of factors to be associated with these differences.<sup>7</sup> Those who were most likely to have been selected as primary godparents were those who had not had a relative or townmate already in Hawaii when they had immigrated and who were more likely to be living in Village Three rather than Village One, that is, they were in a more prosperous, economically secure situation. In other words, we perceived a ten-

dency for greater involvement among people who lacked family ties and who had something of value to offer.

Alliance systems also are consciously sought by the social and economic elite among the Filipinos we studied in urban areas of Hawaii. Attitudinal differences sometimes prevent them from using church rituals to formalize such bonds, but the obligations are nevertheless well understood and often explicitly agreed upon. Alliances among the elite are typically fewer in number than on the plantation, many times involving three or four households that are not kin-related. This seems to be the result of the lack of proximity to other families, since Filipino families are widely dispersed among other ethnic groups in the city and, perhaps more importantly, because they have numerous friendships among diverse groups outside the alliance network. A further difference noted was that alliances among the elite were more clearly mutually exclusive, whereas in the plantation communities alliance groups usually overlapped among their members. The elite alliance groups appeared to be as functional and strong as the plantation groups. (Not all the urban-oriented Filipinos have limited alliances; we noted a few exceptions who maintained statewide, highly complex networks that were particularly valuable for business and political purposes. Baptismal celebrations hosted by such key people may even be held at public auditoriums in order to accommodate a thousand or more guests.)

### SERVICING THE ALLIANCES

In Hawaii, friends have taken over the service functions that relatives assume in traditional Filipino families. In order to maintain an alliance, a continuing stream of reciprocal services would be offered. At parties or social events, for example, friends help as readily as though they were favored relatives. Providing transportation for someone to the health clinic in another town or baby-sitting for a friend is common. Since baby-sitting is a demanding task, if it becomes a matter of a regular schedule, a fee is expected and cordially arranged. (Relatives are relied on more often than are other members of a person's social network in personal matters such as borrowing money or taking care of the children when the parents work a night shift. Payment is rarely made for the services of a relative.) Visits to each others' homes

and telephone exchanges of gossip are frequent. Visits are not formal; a visitor is free to go about the house, attending to tasks such as changing the baby's diapers, cleaning up after a snack is served, or putting away chairs or toys.

Relationships formed during the plantation years have been nurtured through the *compadrazgo* system, for working and living together on the plantation produced extremely close friendships. It is not uncommon to find, for example, an older unmarried Filipino sharing a home with his best friend's family, where he is treated as a member of the household.

We more like brothers already. Maybe even more than brothers. My *compadres* and I have known each other for thirty-six years. Since 1938 we have been together.

As like me give my shirt on my back, and he give his shirt on his back. Long time good friends already.

We came together in 1946. I met them only aboard the ship when we sailed to Hawaii. Some of them I have lived with in Kauai, the Big Island, and here. We "adventured" together. A few of my friends have died already, but I still have some of my best friends here.

When get hard times in the fields, we no more work, you know, and we gonna ask our friends to cover up so the boss not gonna get us. We all do same thing. Gonna help each other 'cuz no more family to help you.

Oh, good times we get. We make good fun especially when get dancing like that. My friend, he get married one time, then by and by his wife going leave him. He come back stay with me, you know. Oh, that lady, she sassy. I told him, going leave her already, she no good.

One of the important ways of maintaining and using the alliance groups is the common practice of having one member serve as an intermediary between two members of the alliance for settling disputes or requesting favors. For example, if one member wants to have another serve as a primary godparent or to perform some other special service such as lending money, rather than directly ask for such a substantial favor, a third member of the alliance is informed of the potential request. The third member would understand that his responsibility is to explore whether the other member would likely agree to the request. If

he agrees, everything is fine and the formal request (or an offer may be made without an actual request) can proceed smoothly. If he is reluctant, then the person seeking his assistance is saved the embarrassment of actually being turned down, and more importantly, the person being asked is spared the intense social pressure that a direct request would imply if he is not in a position to grant it or if he considers it excessive. In this way the alliance group can remain functional without the disruptions that might come from stressful direct encounters. The involvement of a third person also polices reciprocity behavior, since failure to reciprocate will become more widely known and sanctions can be more easily applied. Similar effects occur when a person making a request oversteps the bounds of what is considered reasonable and thus abuses the system.

Maintaining the alliance group involves numerous interactions and social events, but three types of activities sufficiently different from ordinary social interactions may be considered valid indicators of the efforts to do so. The first is the sharing of goods—garden vegetables, fresh fish, and so on. The second is the sharing of personal services such as baby-sitting, preparing for parties, and providing transportation. The third indicator is recreational outings with other members of the alliance group—going on picnics, fishing or hunting, or going shopping in another town.

We found that the sharing of goods and services tended to be complementary, that is, one led to the other.<sup>8</sup> However, we also found that those who were more highly attuned to mainstream society were more likely to share services than to share goods. Furthermore, participation in recreational outings tended to occur in the absence of sharing goods and services; these activities tended to be mutually exclusive rather than complementary. Differences in income were not clearly involved in patterns of sharing goods and services, but individuals with higher incomes more typically indulged in recreational outings, presumably because they had the money to do so. We had anticipated that a high value on thriftiness might be an underlying cause for the behavior we observed. This did not prove to be the case for the sharing of goods and services; dollar-related motives are not important factors in this practice. However, the importance of thriftiness as a personal value did appear to be a factor in the



frequency of recreational outings. These findings cast serious doubts on the idea that alliance systems are maintained largely for materialistic reasons.

#### FUTURE OF ALLIANCE SYSTEMS

Despite the ascendancy of the ILWU and new social legislation in the U.S. by the late 1940s, the Filipinos in Hawaii continued to perceive their broader social and economic environment as somewhat alien to the values and drives they wished to pursue or preserve, although the need for the reciprocal relationships perceptibly declined as working and social conditions improved during the 1950s and 1960s. These networks are deteriorating as second-generation immigrants have become enculturated in American society. Educational gains, the prevalence of television and radio, and the day-to-day interactions with non-Filipino elements of Hawaii's society have broadened their interests and perceptions. Furthermore, more recent immigrants are much better educated than earlier arrivals; they have adjusted to Hawaii's ways much more rapidly and readily than did the early immigrants. Nevertheless, the vast uncertainties of the plantation environment and the perception of being placed at the bottom of the social structure continued to be sufficient inducements to preserve elaborate social networks as a hedge against life's vicissitudes.

Much effort has gone into establishing elaborate networks of ritual kin in Hawaii, but the *compadrazgo* system was only one way to build alliances. Kinship and friendship networks constitute a significant element of an individual's or family's social capital in the local Filipino community. Indeed, the system of ritual kin and formalized social circles are strong and highly valued.

The dependence on alliance systems can sometimes prove to be a handicap to communitywide efforts, since there is no set of interpersonal obligations that can be brought into play in behalf of the community as such. As a consequence, it may be more feasible for social intervention agents to work with established alliances than to try to initially establish relations on a democratic basis across the entire community.

Alliances and kinship relations undergo severe tests with the termination of plantation operations. Plantation workers are hesitant to transfer to other locations where similar employment is

available because they do not wish to abandon the tremendously important social capital they have developed in their networks of mutual obligation in the local villages. They fear losing their friends and having to go to a strange and alien place.

We no like leave Molokai. We like stay. Get plenty friends over here already. By and by we go Honolulu, Maui like that, no more.

It will be difficult to start all over again. Here, our friends are like our relatives already, everybody cares for everybody, and we feel secure knowing that we have people to turn to when we need help. What if we move to a strange place and God forbid, one of us in the family gets sick? If ever we move, we will move to Maui, at least I have an uncle there.

I scared go other place. I no live in another place before, only Molokai. I no can even go any place 'cuz I dunno da kine. I know some people over the other place, but not same as over here.

What will you do with a well-paying job when you do not feel secure in the place you are staying? For example, even if my husband gets a job in Honolulu we will not be happy living there because we have no friends there. How can we sleep well if we do not even know who our neighbors are?

As families have found employment in nonplantation settings, it has been apparent that their needs for social alliances have waned. Concurrently, it has been more difficult for them to maintain alliances. Individuals who have had contacts or relations in other communities, particularly in Honolulu, have pursued and strengthened the reliability of such resources, while those with relations only within the local community have attempted to broaden them or even to transfer them whole to other locations.

Such social networks will not disappear, however, as long as there is still a need for them. For example, it is culturally engrained among Filipinos that children need a larger number of adult role models than are available within the nuclear family. The *compadrazgo* system of ritual kin, complete with the exchange of child care services, is an effective response to this felt

need in lieu of the extended family. Even this can be expected to decline as time passes, however, for grandparents, aunts and uncles, and other members of the extended family will be available to serve as role models, and it will be less necessary to establish ritual kin.

## CHAPTER 7

# Courtship and Marriage

AS HAWAII'S MOST RECENT IMMIGRANTS, the Filipinos have yet to extend their generational roots in Hawaii. Their family structure often falls between the nuclear families of mainstream America and the extended families idealized by the Filipino culture. The nuclear family structure seen in many households is more often dictated by circumstance than by choice, since effectively it was only in the 1960s and 1970s that Filipinos were able to petition for the immigration of relatives from the Philippines. The extended family is generally in operation among second-or third-generation Hawaii-born Filipinos or those whose relatives who were born in Hawaii.

Recent immigrants, usually siblings, parents, or children of earlier arrivals, are taken into permanent households and supported until they are able to establish households of their own. In such cases, the families already in residence provide the financial backing necessary under recent immigration laws and often even pay for the transportation costs. The influx of relatives rose drastically after 1965 when it became legally easier to petition for their immigration. During the past few years immigration has been more limited, immigration regulations having become more restrictive and often permitting only parent-child or husband-wife petitioning.

The extended family system as it is practiced today among Filipinos in Hawaii involves frequent visiting by close relatives and the common pursuit of family interests. There is considerable mutual exchange of advice, and individual conformity to the expressed wishes of the family is expected, if not actually enforced.

Older siblings are protective of younger family members, and helping less fortunate relatives is considered a duty.

A typical Filipino extended family in Hawaii might have developed along the same lines as the following example. The family was initially formed from a nuclear household including a husband, a wife, and their three children. The wife then petitioned for her father to immigrate to Hawaii in 1973. When he found a job as a janitor in Honolulu, he in turn petitioned for his four other children. At that time the wife was expected to provide the financial guarantees required by the government for the immigration process, and she withdrew the family's savings for this purpose as well as to pay for transportation costs. Her father had moved into an apartment at the time he found his job, as did her sisters and brothers soon after their arrival. The wife explained that she had been fortunate and thus had an obligation to assist her less fortunate sisters and brothers.

I'm the older sister and I am the one here, too. Where will my brother and my sisters go if I do not take them in? It's a good thing my husband is very understanding. It's his money, you know, because I don't work, but he said that I should help out my brother and my sisters. After all, this generosity will come back to me in the end.

Even though these relatives now live in separate neighborhoods at some distance from each other, each is knowledgeable about the others' activities, and in cases of undesirable behavior, they are called upon to impose strict censure on the offending family member. Reciprocal obligations are strongly felt among the family members, which thus dictate the behavior of the relatives to each other.

In addition to the frequent absence of the extended family in Hawaii compared to the Philippines, other major differences in family structure have evolved. Since the nuclear household has often been free of the broader control effected by grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives, the power of the wives has been greatly enhanced in the plantation households, even though, in most cases, families have tended to retain their traditional paternal nature. Traditionally, the husband was clearly recognized as the formal head of the family, and his authority extended over all other members of the household. His role was to pass upon the ac-

tions of all other members, to provide economically for them, and ultimately to discipline the children in case the wife fails in her efforts to do so. The maintenance of paternal dominance has been difficult, however, for families in which the husband is older and poorly educated in comparison with his wife.

## MARITAL STATUS

A major difference between the social structure of Filipinos in Hawaii and in the Philippines has been the relative scarcity of women and the failure of a large proportion of the men to marry. The women, however, were almost always married. According to the 1930 census, more than 90 percent of the Filipina females fifteen years of age and older in Hawaii were married. Among those fifteen through nineteen years of age, more than 49 percent were married. In a recent study of a pineapple plantation town it was found that all of the Filipina women in the town were or had been married. In contrast, over 13 percent of the males had never married.<sup>1</sup> In our study of three plantation towns, we found that only 8 percent of the females over age eighteen compared with over 32 percent of the males had never married.

Given our knowledge of the history of the Filipinos in the plantation communities and the information we gained from observing life in these communities, we hypothesized that sex, citizenship, and possibly age would be important variables in predicting marital status for the adults in the three plantation communities we studied in detail. The obvious scarcity of women, the historical interest of the plantations in importing male laborers without a continuing concern for bringing their wives to Hawaii, and the bilateral kinship system of the rural Philippines all suggested that males clearly would be less likely to be married than would females. Citizenship was important, for those who were born in Hawaii or who had become citizens showed far greater commitment to maintaining or establishing family roots in Hawaii rather than in the Philippines. Indeed, causality would seem to work in both directions, since those who got married would be more likely to establish citizenship. We were less certain that age would survive as a statistical factor, because the unmarried members of the community were not only less likely to be older, but they were more likely to be male noncitizens.

As it turned out, age did not prove to be statistically significant when citizenship and sex were considered. Based on these latter two factors, the likelihood of being married ranged from 73 percent for male noncitizens to 98 percent for female citizens.<sup>2</sup>

From the family histories we gathered it was obvious that women almost never preceded their husbands to Hawaii. The wives who had immigrated before 1946 had virtually always come with their husbands or had met their husbands-to-be after arriving in Hawaii, while 41 percent of the women who came to Hawaii since 1970 had been preceded by their husbands or had previously known the men they were to marry. None of the husbands had been preceded by their wives.<sup>3</sup> Recent immigration processes may be substantially different, but little is yet known about these emerging patterns.

#### INITIATING COURTSHIP

Courtship patterns among Filipino men and women born in Hawaii are essentially those of mainstream American society and thus will not be described here. More interesting are the procedures by which the older male immigrants find their younger brides, particularly women who are well-educated and urban-oriented in contrast with the husbands who are poorly educated and come from rural backgrounds.

The following is a generalized account of how this might happen. Utilizing his social networks in Hawaii, an older man might approach his *compadre*, who may have married three or more years before, to inquire whether his wife has a sister, cousin, niece, or other female relative back in the Philippines. After a while, his friend and his wife might bring her relative, a sister, perhaps, to Hawaii on a tourist visa. The sister is given an opportunity to meet a number of men in the community—including her brother-in-law's *compadre*—from among whom she might wish to make a choice. She might reject an eligible bachelor because he is divorced and has adult children, in this way avoiding future problems regarding his finances and primary loyalty. On the other hand, she might consider the eligible bachelor in the community who fulfills the social function of "chief cook" in community celebrations and parties, since his prestige would be a desirable asset. Whomever her choice, she would consult her sister about him. If

the sister gave her approval they would then ask the opinion of the sister's husband. If the brother-in-law approves, it might be his responsibility to give the targeted man his cue that he has been approved. Only then would the man actually begin to court the woman—in line with Filipino custom. He would be permitted to have the “exclusive” privilege of winning the woman over; that is, he is informally given to understand that he is the current favorite and, if interested, may proceed to curry her favor and to further explore the possibilities with the family

If the suitor is considering marriage, he begins to perform certain favors for the woman's household, such as cooking various dishes for family parties, bringing fish or vegetables for them, and offering to drive the woman wherever she wishes to go. He also might offer to buy gifts for the woman's family members still in the Philippines.

All in all, he is offering time, money, companionship, and especially services. This is almost a period of indentured servitude for the prospective in-law. The time of service would vary, but if the woman's visa were expiring in a few months, she would be forced to make her decision fairly quickly—in contrast to the traditions in the rural Philippines where this period of service may last for a year.

It can be reasonably assumed that our “typical” woman came to Hawaii with the intention of staying and that her attitude was to make the best of the situation she encountered, and thus she would decide in favor of marriage. Since the relative scarcity of eligible women put her in a strong position, she could choose from a number of men in the community who would have wanted to marry her.

Once the bride has agreed to the marriage, the decision is conveyed to the prospective groom, generally through her brother-in-law. The family and the prospective groom then go through the complex process of looking for sponsors and soliciting community involvement. There is no formal engagement procedure as such; it is rather a process of simply deciding that the agreement has been made and the family is moving in that direction. They may shake hands and initiate the gossip chains in the community by letting a few friends know the proposed wedding date.

Other routes of courtship are also possible. One method that is not unusual is through pen pals. For example, a man has gone



back to the Philippines for a visit and has married a woman considerably younger than himself. He brings her to Hawaii with him, where she begins to correspond with a friend her age in Manila. A very close friend of her husband comes by and lets them know he is thinking about getting married, possibly for the second time. The new bride suggests that she and her husband make an arrangement whereby her friend and her husband's friend could write to each other and see if anything romantic develops. The man's friend may have only a fourth-or fifth-grade education and can write only crudely in Tagalog and Ilocano, or he may have someone who handles his writing chores for him. If he shows interest, the wife would write to her friend and inform her that her husband has a friend who asked if he could write to her. This actually serves as an introduction, for the wife is essentially saying that she approves of the man. Subsequently, the husband's friend will begin the correspondence by introducing himself to the wife's friend in considerable detail. As time goes on, the woman in the Philippines might begin to weigh her options: She may have a college degree and be working as a clerk or secretary. She is getting older, and the financial responsibilities claimed by her relatives may be beginning to be somewhat irksome.

She exchanges photographs with her pen pal, and finds that at least he is not ugly. He probably dressed himself in a coat and tie for the photo and has dropped a few hints about his car or other possessions. From her perspective, he may be her chance to get out of the trap she increasingly sees herself in. She may have had a number of boyfriends by that time, but none worth marrying, or she may have wanted to come to Hawaii anyway.

As she considers actually going to Hawaii, she realizes that with her good friend and all the other Filipinos there, it will not be a completely strange world. After some thought, she boldly writes to her new pen pal and gives him the opportunity, through gentle hints, to inform her that he is indeed looking for a wife, which he does. She suggests that he come to the Philippines to discuss the possibilities. Certainly, she implies, if he's really interested he should be willing to pay his way over to meet her family and to talk with her personally. In other words, she may be saying, "I won't assure you yet, but there's one way of assuring me that you are serious." So her pen pal takes the next plane to the Philippines, if he's really interested.

The prospective bride and all of her relatives meet him at the airport. They are enthusiastic about the idea of someone who has emigrated to Hawaii, and they consider the possible emigration an attractive option for her. Her pen pal tells them that life is great in Hawaii, that there are many conveniences, some of which they have only seen in the movies, and that he owns an automobile. He is less informative about the social and psychological problems that exist. He is optimistic in feeling that these things can be easily handled.

If the woman still is interested after meeting her suitor, she may come to Hawaii on a tourist visa at his expense. It may have been impossible for them to marry in the Philippines, maybe because of her or his previous marriage, or perhaps because she wanted to check things personally in Hawaii. On the other hand, it is more common for them to be quickly married in the Philippines, sometimes bribing somebody in city hall to get permission. In these cases the woman is then able to come to Hawaii as a nonquota immigrant because she is the legal spouse of a resident immigrant.

This pen-pal correspondence, in which the two individuals have been introduced by a mutual friend, is the most common and most trusted method of finding spouses through pen pals. Other ways, such as through pen-pal columns in magazines, are not considered reliable, although we did encounter several couples whose romance was initiated through a magazine column.

Another typical way for a man to marry a woman from the Philippines is for him to go there specifically to look for a wife. There he can use all kinds of contacts, including his relatives or old family friends. Even after thirty years of residence in Hawaii, it is possible for the returnee to reactivate these relationships. Once he locates just one relative, that relative can introduce him to the network of family relations that has developed in his absence. These relations will have many other connections through the systems of mutual reciprocity.

For example, a relative might get in touch with a close friend who then goes to his cousin to ask him if he knows of any young woman who would like to go to Hawaii because she is fed up with her job or for other reasons. As the word gets out, various candidates come forward, and the returnee is introduced to a number

of women. A party might be held to give him a convenient opportunity for introductions.

In such situations, the man has the advantage, since there may be several eligible women and he is considered an attractive catch. His visa is usually limited to six months or a year, or he can afford only a limited vacation, however. Consequently, he must rely heavily on his relatives and friends for their evaluation of the prospective brides, assuming he is interested in any of them after his initial contacts. There are obvious risks involved, and he realizes that they face marital problems and even divorce after the return to Hawaii.

### COURTSHIP TRADITIONS

Perhaps the only aspect of the traditional courtship still followed on the plantations in Hawaii today is the period of "servitude" to the prospective bride's family. The purpose of this practice is to give the family a chance to determine the true nature of the prospective groom. However, in most cases they have known him for decades, and it would be impractical for them to reject him. Essentially the commitment by the family has already been made. Any change in their willingness to proceed with the marriage during the period of servitude would be considered a serious violation of honor and friendship.

Twenty years ago there were still vestiges of traditional courtship practices among young Filipino adults who had been born in Hawaii.<sup>4</sup> In some instances, the boy's parents were required to pay a type of dowry to the bride's parents, particularly if she was the youngest member of the family. If a family followed such traditional customs, they likely also considered that the final decision concerning the match was up to the parents of the bride and groom, provided neither one of the couple objected too strenuously to the decision.

The most important difference in the courtships described thus far in comparison with Western-style courtship is the absence of any overriding or dominant romantic ideal and commitment to love. A bride in a traditional Filipino marriage, such as one between an older immigrant man and a younger woman who has recently come from the Philippines, is primarily interested in

whether the husband will be kind, a dependable provider, and a good father. However, it is important to emphasize that Filipinos who were born in Hawaii or who immigrated as children pursue courtships today that are virtually identical to those of the Western ideal. Love, romance, and even premarital sex apparently are as important in their courtship as they are in mainstream society in Hawaii.

## MARRIAGE RITES

The wedding ceremony is usually conducted in a Catholic church, unless the priest refuses for reasons relating to the background of the people to be married or if the husband is not Catholic. If one of the parties is divorced, they may receive a blessing in the church and then be married by a civil judge. To be married in the church, the couple must show proof that neither has been married previously, or if so, that the former spouse is now deceased. Time and effort are needed to assemble all the necessary documents, particularly a newly issued baptismal certificate from the person's home parish. If a certificate has already been requested for a previous marriage, the priest from the home parish will write to the priest asked to perform the ceremony to inform him that such was the case. In a situation where a man was married earlier in a civil ceremony, he may be able to get the documents from his original parish priest and somewhat deceptively proceed with a church marriage.

Sometimes, because of these difficulties, common-law marriages occur; they are acceptable, although somewhat frowned upon socially. By no means are such couples socially ostracized or openly castigated, however.

Immediately following the church wedding, the couple poses for photographs. Tradition then calls for them to light candles at the family altar of the groom's home. This candle-lighting ceremony is going out of fashion, although some families are still adamant in requiring that the newlyweds do so in order to avoid bad luck. Otherwise the wedding ritual follows the standard American practice, including attendants and having the father give the bride away. In comparison with the banquets and parties that surround the wedding event, the actual ceremony is usually poorly attended, with only thirty or forty guests at the church. As

many as five hundred to a thousand might attend the festivities following the ceremony.

### WEDDING FESTIVITIES

Most Filipino couples, even a bride and groom born in Hawaii, endorse the customary social events that are a part of the marriage celebration.<sup>5</sup> Variations in the way celebration activities are held are due to the social level of the families involved and the relative urbanity of their lifestyles. Only one pattern is clear. The ceremony is followed the same day or later by a huge banquet. Smaller parties before and after may also take place. In many ways, Filipino marriage celebrations and the activities that accompany them do not differ greatly from those of other ethnic groups who celebrate marriages with music, gaiety, and feasting.

Elaborate preparations for Filipino wedding festivities are carried out by the members of the two families' alliance groups. The primary responsibility for providing the banquet that follows the wedding ceremony rests with the family of the groom and its alliance. The men take care of preparing the meat—perhaps butchering a cow and several pigs and acquiring the fish. The wives are heavily involved in preparing vegetable dishes as well as in assisting the men with the meat. The bride's family is expected to handle the church decorations and the Western-style wedding gown worn by the bride. If the groom's family is economically disadvantaged, the bride's family may also assist in preparing the banquet. Certain recognized "experts" in the community may ask to help in the preparations as well, even though they are not members of either family's alliance group.

Highly rewarding social interactions occur as preparations get underway for the wedding festivities. Far more people than are necessary for efficiency's sake are involved in the preparations, but the joking and socializing that take place are an important aspect of the festivities. Tremendous amounts of beer and food are consumed and everyone has a great time. Often the equipment and utensils used in preparing for the banquet are owned by the community or are loaned by various friends or relatives.

The number of guests who will attend the banquet is not known in advance, and seldom are formal invitations sent out. It is understood in the community who should attend the festivities.

Guests are not expected to bring gifts to the party following the wedding as they would in a more westernized celebration. In instances where some of the guests are likely to bring gifts, a table is provided near the entrance hall where the guest book can be signed and the gifts placed. Many will bring envelopes with a card and money enclosed. The traditional presentation of gifts to the newlyweds, however, occurs when the guests pin money to their clothing or even toss coins at their feet, which are gleefully collected for them by the children. This is done as the couple performs a folk dance with a Spanish flavor, although Hawaii-born newlyweds generally dance in some other style. Once this initial dance is completed, everyone else is welcome to dance.

The amount of money collected is considered an indication of the prestige of the couple and their parents in the community. Often after the bride and groom have sat down the guests will continue to pin money to their clothing, or they will pin it to the clothing of the sponsors or the parents of the newlyweds as they dance. The sponsors or the newlyweds themselves may move among the guests offering drinks in "exchange" (in joking fashion) for monetary donations for the newlyweds. At some point the dancing is interrupted for extensive picture-taking and for the Western tradition of throwing the bridal bouquet and garter.

The festivities continue with much eating, entertainment by guests called forward to perform extemporaneously, and general merriment. At the end of the party the married couple leaves for their honeymoon, often going no farther away than Waikiki. The relatives and friends stay to clean up. Families considerably removed from plantation traditions may have had the entire celebration catered and thus not face the onerous clean-up task. Friends may be offered some of the leftover food to take home, particularly those who helped to prepare the festivities.

#### CONTRASTS WITH PRACTICES IN THE PHILIPPINES

One major difference in wedding practices among Filipinos in Hawaii compared to the Philippines is the elimination of the elaborate series of meetings conducted by the families prior to the wedding. This elimination of formal protocol may be largely a result of the lack of extended families among Hawaii's Filipinos. Western influences are also a significant factor. In the

Philippines, this series of meetings took as long as six weeks, which may have helped the bride and groom accustom themselves to the mutual interdependence of marriage in contrast to their dependence on their own families. The socialization experienced by Hawaii-born Filipinos and also by the older immigrant males who marry women in their twenties and thirties from the Philippines makes this transition period unnecessary.

Another important difference between practices in the Philippines and those in Hawaii is the absence of the bride-gift typically paid in the Philippines to the parents of the bride. Furthermore, in Hawaii the groom and his family are expected to spend substantial amounts of money in preparation for the elaborate feasts involved. These differences derive not only from Western influences, but also from the fact that the alliance groups in Hawaii are so much more extensive than in the Philippines. Not only are the feasts more expensive, since they involve far greater numbers of people, but they are arranged in a different fashion than in the Philippines where typically the wedding party was a four-day affair.<sup>6</sup> Such a party might have begun on Friday night at the home of the parents of the groom and lasted all through Saturday night. Great festivities were involved, and a number of "uninvited guests" might arrive. The celebration continued on Sunday following the wedding ceremony. On the following day at the home of the bride's parents a type of "farewell" party was held that was not as elaborate, nor did it involve as many guests.

Following the wedding festivities in the Philippines, it was expected that the couple would spend one or two nights with the bride's parents and then go to live with the groom's parents until their first child was born. This was not rigidly required, for the economic circumstances of the families involved might make it clearly advantageous to do otherwise. This practice rarely has been followed in Hawaii.

It is clear that Filipino marriage celebrations in plantation camps in Hawaii today have accommodated a number of nontraditional practices in response to constraints and conditions in Hawaii. The absence of the extended family, different economic circumstances, the patterns set by other ethnic groups, and the glamorization of Western wedding customs—all have contributed to the compromises whereby certain valued traditional elements have been combined with non-Filipino el-

ements from other segments of Hawaii's society seen as desirable. The most traditional practices are dying out; Hawaii-born youth are reluctant to follow them, even though they are still willing to make marriage a major social event. Despite all this, however, weddings are still seen as an opportunity to establish or strengthen alliances in the community, as Ruben Alcantara found in his study of Filipino weddings in Waialua, Hawaii.

... The ritual has given its participants a definite sense of being located in a particular place. The Hawaii plantation experience has always been an interruption in the lives of the workers recruited by contract labor, until they are able to reconstruct their family in Hawaii. The historical past has institutionalized certain practices around the Waialua wedding so the uniqueness of locality comes through in the way the participants perceive these practices.... [The] wedding ritual is significant to the orientation and perception of a human group defining for itself its distinct setting.<sup>7</sup>

## SEXUAL RELATIONS AND BIRTH CONTROL

We made no attempts in our study to examine the phenomena surrounding sexual relations and birth control practices of couples born in Hawaii. We had no reason to assume that they are significantly different from those of mainstream practices in Hawaii. However, we did attempt to investigate in a limited ethnographic fashion these practices in the marriages involving immigrant women. Typically, these women told us that their honeymoon night was a difficult experience.

Many of the women we interviewed said they had turned out the lights and closed their eyes in apprehension of the physical nature of their first sexual experience. Those who had married older men often did not consider their husbands physically attractive, but they generally believed them to be kind, understanding, gentle, and considerate. With experience, their sexual interactions moved to another level, one involving play and manual stimulation.

Generally, family planning is not permitted by the husbands, who are very desirous of having children. The older men apparently feel that having a child with a young wife is their last chance for immortality. Historically in the Philippines, the existence of



heirs was important, partly because it solved problems in the extended family in cases of property division. If there were no children, inheritance questions caused terrible fights among relatives and in-laws, since it was never entirely clear who should inherit the money or land involved.

The wives, on the other hand, were less enthusiastic about having children quickly, or about having more than three or four. Apparently the most popular method of avoiding pregnancy is abstinence. The wives will commonly discourage sexual relations by taking their youngest child to bed with them.

The women were fairly open about their sexual experiences. For example, we observed a young woman married to a far older man tease a childless thirty-year-old woman married to a man about her own age to the effect that she should trade her husband in for an older man, because "the old men are more experienced, you know."

## COMPANIONSHIP

Many of the women, although they had lived in urban areas of the Philippines, may have spent their childhoods in rural areas. Such women are not particularly interested in the cultural attractions of an urban environment because their focus is more toward having the conveniences of running water and household appliances. Of course, many of them realize that if they were to move to Honolulu or other urban environments they would have a better chance of finding employment and thus would be able to improve their living standards. However, they feel they have improved their social status simply by coming to Hawaii and, initially at least, they do not aspire to the same lifestyle desired by the urban middle class of Hawaii's cosmopolitan mainstream.

Many of the older men have had very little experience in close interactions with women, simply because there were so few women in the community. Life as a bachelor was not that bad, and many of the Filipina women who marry men far older than themselves come to realize that their husbands prefer to socialize with their friends in much the same manner that they had before marriage. Consequently, these women agree to their husbands pursuing a lifestyle that includes regular attendance at cockfights and gambling at card games. The women rationalize their husbands'

behavior in accord with what is expected of them in cultural terms. While they personally prefer that their husbands not pursue these activities to a great extent, they would be reluctant to aggressively oppose such actions. To do so would make them undesirable wives. One woman commented that "my husband gonna believe in his chickens. Is like me believe in my church, and he always dress up when he go."

This kind of easygoing relationship is in considerable contrast to some of the accounts we heard of marriages in the plantation camps during the 1920s and 1930s. One phenomenon known as "*coboy-coboy*," was often elaborately recounted. Although the origins of this term are not certain, it seems to have been derived from American cowboy movies in the 1920s in which the heroine was abducted by the villain. The *coboy-coboy* phenomenon as it operated in the plantation communities can be illustrated by the following story. A married woman is involved in an illicit love affair in one of the plantation villages. Since women were at a premium among the Filipinos in Hawaii, such temptations indeed may have been great. The woman's husband learns of this relationship, which may have not even gone past the stage of flirtation, and in fear that his wife may continue with the relationship behind his back, locks her in the house every day while he is at work. Then one day her lover, who works a different shift from her husband or who stayed home from work that day, breaks in and sets her free, presumably with her blessings. The two of them then flee to a remote site and become common-law spouses. Ultimately, after all the excitement has died down and hard feelings have been eased, the couple may safely return to the original plantation town, although some community scandal was inevitable.

Although no instances of *coboy-coboy* wife-napping could be documented, and the details varied greatly, it seems to have been considered a great danger and was widely rumored, even in the Philippines. However, we believe that very few such cases actually occurred.

## DIVORCE

The dissolution of marriage in present-day Hawaii hardly requires the extreme actions of *coboy-coboy*. Although it is difficult

to determine with accuracy, there is an indication that the divorce rate among Filipinos is relatively high and has been accelerating in recent years, particularly among Filipinos who have married into other ethnic groups. The most extreme case we encountered was a woman who had been married successively to several men of different ethnic groups, first a Filipino, then a Japanese, then a haole.

We anticipate that divorce will also occur with relative frequency in the marriages involving younger women and far older men. The following would be a typical case. A woman first came to Hawaii in 1969 on a visitor's visa to see a sister in Honolulu, one on Kauai, a brother on Molokai, and a sister on the U.S. mainland. She found that she liked Hawaii, and when her sister introduced her to a man thirty years older than herself, she overcame her initial reluctance and married him. As her sister advised, "You should marry so you don't have to go home." Following the marriage, the woman was still uneasy about her situation, but finally decided that "you get used to it." She came to see that her husband was a "kind and considerate man." But then her husband became ill and was forced to work part-time, or he retired and his income declined, or he lost his job as a result of a plantation closure.

In response, the wife obtains employment, and her salary supplements the family's income. As time passes and her salary improves, her role as economic provider increases, as does her relative authority in the family. Her husband, sensitive to what is happening, forbids her to work, although she continues to do so anyway. Through her work she experiences a more sophisticated style of living and meets people who are more educated and cosmopolitan than those in the plantation camp. In her defense she emphasizes that she is forced to work in order to give her children a chance at an education and a better life in the future. Also, the family may have mortgage payments and thus be under heavy financial pressure.

We encountered virtually no instances in which the wife, because of marital and financial pressures, became involved in illegal or even illegitimate economic activities. Only in an extremely small number of cases was the husband of the family involved in such activities in order to improve his economic situation. In the entire population of the three towns studied in

detail, apparently only four individuals depended substantially on gambling or other nonstandard means of securing their livelihood. None were found who made their living entirely from cockfighting, poaching, drug dealing, or other illegitimate economic activities. (Given the time we spent in these towns and the participant roles that developed, we are confident that these observations are accurate.)

But let us return to the woman who is beginning to experience a more exciting life outside the home than she has with her older, poorly educated husband. The husband becomes increasingly insecure because of the emerging domination of his wife. Furthermore, it had always been the husband who was considered fortunate in getting married rather than the wife who had her choice of any number of men in the plantation camp. The wife begins to complain that her husband disapproves of her activities, including her actions within the community. He is defensively pressuring his wife to "be a wife and stay home." The wife feels constrained from pursuing her personal interests. She may begin to remember her economic independence prior to marriage when she also had a job. At that point in the relationship the chances are poor for continued success in the marriage.

One major change for Filipina women in Hawaii as compared to the *barrio* environment was that divorce was not only legally accepted, but the social and religious stigma associated with it was not as severe. Also, since women were in demand because of their scarcity, it was far more tempting for wives to seek divorce. As we noted above, as wives married to older men become more fully assimilated into Hawaii's society, they will be more likely to consider divorce as a means of improving their situations.

Another reason for the high divorce statistics among Filipinos in Hawaii may be the "faked" marriages that took place in order to permit a man or woman to come to Hawaii. A number of people told us of such instances, including an attorney who claimed to have arranged a few of these marriages. In such an arrangement, a person in the Philippines would first approach someone like an attorney with an offer to give 10,000 pesos to any person who would marry him (or her) and bring him (or her) to Hawaii, the agreement being they would stay married only until American citizenship was acquired and then divorce. Apparently, both Filipino men and women have sought such

agreements in the past. These marriages were in name only, and there seems to be no reasonable way to determine their extent. Once rumors of such practices began to spread, the American embassy in Manila was alerted to watch for such cases, but they were difficult to spot. Sometimes the visas were issued and then immigration agents in Honolulu were directed to follow up on the couple to see if they were indeed living together. If they had not lived together since arrival, the "spouse" was quickly deported back to the Philippines.

A travel agent we interviewed who had arranged some of these return flights told us of a woman who had been living with her aunt and whose "husband" had been living with his parents. They decided to go out on a few dates and ironically they fell in love. They were married, legitimately this time, in church and moved into an apartment. The very next day an immigration agent came to check on whether they were living together.

#### SCARCITY OF WOMEN

The typical explanation we heard for the historical lack of women in the Filipino plantation camps generally runs along the following lines. Not only were the plantation facilities not set up to accommodate families, but the hardships of the meager pay, the difficulty in obtaining water, and the problems in taking care of the cooking discouraged the men from sending to the Philippines for brides. Some of the older men told us that their bosses discouraged them from marrying non-Filipinos. The overall social environment was thus conducive to the plantation workers remaining single. Furthermore, most of the workers considered their stay in Hawaii as temporary, and they planned on returning to the Philippines with great wealth and marrying there.

We see a number of difficulties with this explanation. First, practically all the other ethnic groups who came to Hawaii as plantation laborers faced virtually the same conditions. Yet they were able either to bring their women and children with them or to "import" them soon after their arrival. Although the plantation management may in some instances have opposed marriages, the stated policy of the recruiting officers in the Philippines was to offer a bonus for any agent who could sign up a couple or family. Even though the plantation wages were low, there are numerous

accounts of the men being able to put together enough money for recreation and luxury items, to support various organizations, and even to pay their way back to the Philippines. Furthermore, their wage levels were not relatively lower than those received by the earlier immigrants at comparable times. Almost every other ethnic group had also initially felt that they were temporary residents and would ultimately get rich and return home. But as they became more settled in Hawaii, they soon acquired families. The Filipinos seldom did so. Yet there seems to be no evidence that Filipinos are culturally inclined to be bachelors to any greater extent than are the other ethnic groups that came to Hawaii. In fact, it has supposedly always been difficult for the Catholic church to recruit young Filipino men for the priesthood because of their reluctance to remain unmarried.

We suggest that the answer lies in the particular structure of the traditional rural Filipino family system. Of all the ethnic groups who came to work on the plantations in Hawaii, only the Filipinos have a bilateral, extended family structure. This means that the kinship ties of the wife count just as strongly as those of the husband.

This is illustrated by the complaints of a woman in her twenties who had recently married a man twelve years her senior who told us of her loneliness and terrible homesickness. "I miss my brothers and sisters," she complained. When it was pointed out that she had her husband here she responded, "He's not family relation, he's just my husband."

In comparison with Japanese women who often came to Hawaii as "picture brides," the Filipina women less commonly left home because their identity was more deeply rooted in family relationships that were simply expanded at the time of marriage rather than being replaced, as was the case with Japanese women. The Japanese women had been raised with the expectation of eventually giving up their family ties and adopting those of their husbands, however they may be defined in the husbands' situations. The Filipina women saw little gain and considerable loss involved in a move to Hawaii, for they would not only lose their established family ties, but the prospective husbands seldom had developed substantial family relationships in Hawaii.

Japanese picture brides came to Hawaii in the early part of the twentieth century to become effective managers of the wealth

and income acquired by their husbands. Incomes in Hawaii were higher than in rural Japan, so the women had the opportunity to gain greater status. Thus the move had great appeal to the average women in rural Japan. Such was not the case for the typical women in the rural areas of the Philippines. There is little evidence that Filipino parents or prospective brides encouraged these moves, but marriages to men who had emigrated to Hawaii were commonly encouraged by the economically hard-pressed parents of prospective brides in Japan.

Among the Filipinos the status of the wife was considered essentially equal to that of her husband, although he was at least nominally the head of the household. Under those conditions, a woman married to a man who decided to emigrate was considerably more at liberty to decide whether or not she would accompany her husband to Hawaii than was a Japanese wife.

By the 1920s and 1930s it was no longer a practice in the Philippines for parents to arrange marriages without participation in the decision by the prospective bride and groom. It was thus necessary for a Filipino worker in Hawaii to go personally to the Philippines to arrange a marriage. Only an unusual woman in the Philippines at that time would have found marriage to a man in Hawaii and the accompanying long-distance move appealing. Prospective brides might include women who had passed the commonly recognized age for marrying and were considered spinsters. Or it might be that a woman's family had experienced financial difficulties and her economic future in the Philippines was more dismal than what she was willing to endure. Only in the rarest of instances did we encounter cases in which a woman coming to Hawaii had been involved in some public scandal or other source of embarrassment in the Philippines. In that event, the chance to move to Hawaii where she would be relatively anonymous was indeed welcome.

The fact that wives who came to Hawaii strenuously attempted to bring in their kin as soon as possible lends support to the idea that family structure plays a key role in explaining the preponderance of bachelors among the early Filipino immigrants to Hawaii and the persistence of that situation. We also found a number of instances where wives simply waited to emigrate until it was possible for a group of relatives to accompany them to Hawaii.

From the men's point of view it often was difficult for them to arrange their lives so they could feel justified in going through the lengthy processes necessary to marry a Filipina woman. These reasons were forcefully explained by one of the men:

How can marry, no 'nuff money? Us work ten hours a day, for 10 cents an hour before. Not 'nuff for me, so no more look for wife.

*Aiee ya*, me no more wife. How can? That time get family in Philippines you know. Gonna send money to them. One time I da kine like one wahine, one Hawaiian, but she get big family, and she like me help them. *Aiee ya*, no like I tell myself, more better like this.

I know no more nothing 'bout Hawaii. Me scared, you know. No joke. My friends and me, us stay together. We dunno nothing when we come over here.

Eh, hard life, that's why. Me no more money. I tell myself, I like go Philippines, so can find one wife, but I no more da kine save money—I gamble that's why. I wait and wait till I get 'nuff, buy no more—so now no more nothing. But get my chickens though. Ha! Ha! Joke only that one!

No more better *kaukau* [food] yet. Us come 1929, dunno no more nothing, us only new heah. So hard look for wife. But you know, I near get married. Get this one lady, me work in the sugar before. She da kine come in the *rifa*, you know da kine we pay 5 cents for one dance. She okay, but I think she like nice clothes, nice house like that, *aiee ya*, me no more.

Only get little bit money. No 'nuff for send to Philippines. I come Hawaii so can help my family, they always ask and ask for money. So how can get one wife? By and by, money no more.

I like marry one Filipino girl. So I look around over here, but they tell me go Philippines. I never go. Maybe next year, when close down the pineapple, I go.

I almost get married to one Samoan, you know. But my friends, they tell me that "marry her, and by and by you eat every time bananas." You know Samoans, huh? They like bananas and coconuts, like that. I never believe, but my boss, him one haole, and he told me to stay careful if marry people of another kind. I buy her plenty gifts already and one time she ask me to buy things for her in Honolulu—dress, food, and plenty kind for her family. I go, but I think she bullshit me, you know, 'cuz she different already. My boss, him happy kind when I no get married to the Samoan. More good for me, he said.



## SEX ROLES

Segregation between the sexes is the general pattern of male-female interaction among Filipinos on the plantations in Hawaii; that is, men socialize primarily with men, and women with women. In fact, some of the men feel distinctly uncomfortable in the company of women. This behavior is clearly defined among the older Filipino males and is also observable among some of the younger male population. Studies of families elsewhere in the United States show similar behavioral patterns among working class subcultures. One common theme has been the tendency to stress male vanity and defense against female domination either by becoming hostile or retreating.

The older bachelors in the Filipino plantation communities have not been forced into a marginal existence in relation to the larger community, however. They display remarkably cohesive behavior within their peer group society by maintaining close ties with their married male friends. Some of them share the households of married friends, sometimes including those in which the men are married to women of other ethnic groups. It is apparent that many of the older husbands have a warmer and more sustaining social relationship with their single male friends who are boarders than they do with their own wives. In fact, in some instances immense language barriers exist even today between husband and wife. The husbands in such marriages often have very little to say about important decisions in the household, for they are clearly dominated by their wives, who generally are better educated, younger, and quite assimilated into mainstream society.

The traditional family organization of Filipinos on the early plantations was paternal in nature. The husband was clearly the head of the family; he was expected to approve or disapprove of individual actions, to bring in a sufficient income, and to support his wife in the disciplining of the children. As was noted in 1937:

In case the wife fails in her effort to discipline her children, the husband intervenes and enforces parental respect. He does it by the use of the belt or rod in the case of the younger children who are not yet able to perceive the meaning of a firm and

determined scolding. A milder form of punishment such as depriving them of certain privileges is applied in the case of the older members.<sup>8</sup>

The concern by the men for their traditional role of dominance in the home is far less noticeable among upper and middle class Filipinos in Hawaii. This seems rooted in three factors: (1) the westernized cultural influences which increasingly encourage democratization of family life; (2) the greater opportunity for the men to achieve self-realization and security of their identity in their work rather than only at home; and (3) the general socialization pattern for upper-class men in many cultures (including the Philippines) to feel less threatened by the assertive activities of women.

The transformation of the extended family of the Philippines to the nuclear household common on the plantations freed family decision making from the broader control of relatives and thus enhanced the power of women in the plantation homes. Also, the wife's traditional responsibility to care for the household finances had far more significance in Hawaii, where commercial transactions provided for most of the family's needs—in contrast to the self-sufficiency that characterized family consumption in the Philippines. Their relative scarcity in Hawaii, sometimes on a ratio of ten to one, made Filipina women even more powerful, and they took advantage of this power. We observed that even in cases where there were not extreme differences in age between spouses, the wife was commonly the dominant person in the household. This was particularly true in disciplining the children.

The wife's power in a traditional marriage was the result of her competence in fulfilling her roles as manager of household finances and mother. An additional source of power and control for the younger woman married to an older plantation worker is derived from her typically higher social and educational background as well as her youth. She is generally the product of a younger, urban-oriented generation that is more innovative and aggressive. She comes into the marriage with power, so she seldom feels compelled to jockey for more. She is clearly the decision-maker in matters concerning the children. It is she who attends the PTA meetings, deals with the school system, pays the utility bills, se-

cures medical treatment for the family, and handles transactions with government or private-sector bureaucracies.

The older husband married to a younger wife leads a life not substantially different from that of his bachelor days, except that he babysits in his wife's absence and assumes a share of the household chores. He might comment that his work around the house, which is distinctly the traditional responsibility of the wife, is just his way of helping out: "She has the baby to take care of." He acquired some housekeeping skills during long years as a bachelor, so if he doesn't like his wife's cooking, it seems logical for him to do the cooking. His wife sees his actions as being prompted by understanding, consideration, and kindness, and overall regards her husband's attitude as "one very good thing."

In marriages with considerable age disparity between spouses, we observed that the children generally recognized the dominant role of their mother and seldom turned to their father for permission or recognition of their activities. The husband played a role more like that of a grandfather in other extended family situations in the United States.

The husband may assume basic domestic chores in the household, but despite this seeming reversal of roles in many families, most husbands were very explicit in their unwillingness to allow their wives to seek outside employment. In part, this was due to their need to protect the remaining vestiges of their deteriorating status that resulted from their seeming inability to adequately support their wives and children. Their lowered status made them very uncomfortable. They often viewed any further deterioration, which might result from their wives' employment, as untenable.

As plantations in Hawaii close, or as men who have younger wives retire, a woman may emerge as the family breadwinner and disrupt the operation of the family system because of the increasing power she gains. Marriages generally were stable under the plantation system. However, wider exposure to better economic opportunities, to other people, and to other cultures leads to a lessening of the social pressures to conform to marital expectations.

The husbands' refusal to permit their wives to work was often couched in terms of the children's welfare or consideration for the health of their wives.

I'd rather have my wife stay home than be out working. Anyway, there is no urgency in her working. I'll be retiring soon and we can still support ourselves with my salary. Her first responsibility should be her family. My son is quite sickly. Attending to his needs should be my wife's first responsibility.

I don't like my wife to work. It takes her away from the children. Look at some of my neighbors—the children are out in the streets. Sometimes they go without eating because their parents are working. I don't want that to happen to my children. I am already retired and we will be going to the Philippines soon. I don't want my wife to work because there is really no need for her to do so.

My husband tells me my place is to stay home and take care of the children. He doesn't want me to work. "There is no need," he tells me. He said he can still support me and the children. My husband gets mad whenever I mention my plan of work. He threatens me that he'll never let me enter our house again if I leave. He reasons out that, "What more do I want from life? I eat well, I have many friends, a comfortable home, and what will his friends say?" He cites that I have a bad heart and that I get short of breath easily. One time I insisted on working in the fields and fell ill. I never heard the end of it from him since then.

I used to work in the community credit union but was laid off. My husband said he prefers my staying home rather than working. He said I accomplish so much more by tending my garden, doing patchwork quilt and sewing.

The actual or potential increase in the woman's dominance in these households appears to be a threat to the stability of the existing family system; we observed serious problems because of these conflicts within the household. In one community we studied, the forced unemployment of the husbands due to the phaseout of plantation activities caused problems that the wives perceived as making their situations extremely uncomfortable and confining. They sometimes accused their husbands of being "in the way" and creating difficulties in disciplining the children. The husbands, in turn, frequently objected to the forceful manner their wives used in dealing with the children. The wives expressed reluctance to leave their children in the care of their lenient fathers. Neverthe-

less, they generally realized this would be necessary if they were forced to enter the labor market.

I can just imagine when I shall be out of the house and my husband is left to care for the kids! I don't think I'll have control over them anymore. I told my husband that by then, it shall not be my problem anymore.

I dread the day when my husband retires and stays home and I shall have to work. Our daughter will be as stubborn as ever.

I don't know how my husband will manage with our three children at the same time. Maybe that's why he doesn't want me to work so that he'll be free of disciplining the children.

As the husbands are stripped of their breadwinning status and substantial role reversal takes place, there will be considerable stress in response to the new type of family organization that emerges. Even though the wife had enjoyed a dominant role previously, her increased dominance would be discomfiting for both husband and wife. In a few of the cases we observed, the wife had worked in a demanding position before marriage and had already experienced some of the difficulties of transition in roles. Indeed, some of these conflicts were resolved in a way that maintained the stability and the security of the family organization and might thus be used to forecast the long-term results that can be expected in the far more widespread cases where families are experiencing almost total role reversal between the spouses. The comments of a wife in one such family provide insights into the possible effects:

I think I am the man in this family. My husband has no ambition at all. I tell him to take up plumbing, but he doesn't pay any attention at all. If he had, he would not have as much of a problem in looking for a job. I keep blaming him now because he lacked the foresight to invest money in a house and lot years before. If only I wore the pants in this family, we would have had a house by now.

My husband does not like parties at all. He just comes to eat and goes home, smokes his cigarettes, and watches TV. When I come home, sometimes I find him asleep in front of the TV set. My sons are all

grown-up now, but they are closer to me than they are to their father. I guess that's because my husband is very shy and reserved.

I don't like my children to have greater respect for me than they have for their father. That is not healthy. But I can't do anything because my husband is so timid and spineless. I have to push him every time and the children see me doing it.

The response of the husband surprisingly is not very defensive, although his remarks may not fully reflect the depth of his feelings:

My wife is okay, as she gets things done. I don't think I can do or achieve what she has done. It's good for the children because she encourages them and answers questions I don't know. It is terrible when she wants something done because she nags, nags, nags. But her nagging works most times, so I think that's good then.

Some of the feelings expressed by wives in households just beginning to experience role reversal are quite different.

My husband is still head of this house. Even if my children turn to me for permission, I still make it a point to have my husband say something, for after all, he is the breadwinner.

I never fail to impress upon my sons that their father worked really hard to feed them, clothe them, send them to school, and the only way to repay him for his hard work is that they do well in school and get out of trouble.

I tell my kids that their father has slaved for their good and welfare since 1931. That never fails to make them behave and accord their father the respect due him.

I'm scared that my husband will not get a job and I will. That would be too much, isn't it? He is only a truck driver and there are so many truck drivers around looking for employment too.

Obviously, the problems and stresses due to role reversal and the deterioration of family resources would be most severe in situations where the marriages were not strong in the first place. These tend to be cases where extreme age disparity exists, although some dissatisfaction with the role competency of their husbands within the family structure was expressed by wives in

all age-group marriage situations. Role competency of the husbands seems to be a major variable in the adaptive behavior of these families to the economic stress resulting from prospective unemployment. Some wives considered their husbands' role competency to be inadequate, and undoubtedly this factor will become more important as marriages are subjected to greater stress.

I feel like I am a widow already. I am the one who takes the kids fishing, swimming, like that. My husband just likes to go to the *sugalan* [gambling places] on weekends. I am left with the kids. He doesn't take the kids anywhere. It is really difficult to be married to an older man. He is not interested at all in the school affairs of the children. He feels ashamed maybe because he is old already. When my daughter was a candidate for queen last May, I worked hard to make her win, and it was one time he helped out. But I am always the one to attend meetings, sign papers, attend baseball games for my son. But I have gotten used to it already.

He is very gentle and kind. He is actually very good to the children and to my family in the Philippines. Sometimes I think he is too kind and too good.

Every time the children want to go out, they ask me not their father. At first I don't like it at all. But he was so permissive to them that now I think it's a better arrangement. I prefer that the children ask my permission because then I have control over them. The kids, when they ask my husband, he refers them to me, so it's better they come to me straight.

It's difficult when you are married to an old man. He tends to be hard-headed and stubborn. But he makes up for his shortcomings in so many ways too.

Of the two of us, I am the more outgoing person. I like to attend parties, organize community activities, and meet people. My husband is the at-home type. I have a difficult time convincing him to join me in my activities. But he doesn't have any interest at all. Maybe he is lazy or something or maybe because he is just old.

Our oldest son is very close to his father. He is always with him wherever he goes and that's fine with me because I have my baby to take care of, too. But the thing that I object to is that he takes the boy with

him gambling and sometimes he gets drunk when he is with his friends. I don't like that at all, but he gets angry when I tell him that.

We are not in a position to speculate on the long-term psychological effects upon the children of these stresses and transitions within the family organization. Nevertheless, the immediate effects on the family are generally recognized by all members to be unfortunate and undesirable.

It is important to note that any changes of role dominance we observed did not result from conscious decisions by members of the families. Rather, they were the results of rational responses to changing economic situations. It would appear that the erosion of a family's basic emotional resources goes far beyond the immediate effects of a decline in income levels or an inability within the family to take advantage of opportunities to participate in educational or training programs. As a consequence, the family may be even less well prepared to pursue the economic options available to them.



## CHAPTER 8

# Cockfighting

WHEN FILIPINOS FIRST CAME TO HAWAII legal cockfights were major social functions in the *barrios* of the Philippines. They essentially have served the same purpose for Hawaii's plantation families who have cultural roots in the Philippines. Cockfighting, more commonly referred to as "chicken fighting" in Hawaii, is a widely condemned though poorly understood activity. Newspaper accounts give highly distorted versions of what usually occurs. Disapproval in Hawaii is particularly directed at Filipinos, since they most commonly have been involved. With the exception of one county where police harrassment has been severe, it is still easy to locate the site of cockfights in the plantation communities on a weekend or holiday between December and July, which is when the birds are not moulting. The numerous cars, the crowds of people, and the large number of roosters staked out or still in the boxes used to bring them to the area make it obvious that a cockfight is taking place. We observed these events in all four counties of Hawaii.

Although cockfights at nonplantation community sites may draw as many as four or five hundred people, attendance at locations in the plantation villages we studied is more commonly fifty to two hundred people. Participation is almost exclusively male, although a number of women may socialize on the periphery, generally as spectators and vendors of foods or other small items. Barbecued chicken and common Filipino dishes complement the festive atmosphere of the occasion.

In most of the plantation towns cockfighting does not generate

an atmosphere of criminal behavior or blatant illegality, despite the fact that activities come to an abrupt halt in the event of any show of police interest. Only in some of the large arenas in places other than the plantation towns is there evidence of any real criminal element or "syndicate." The people who operate the cockfights in the plantation camps simply are not sophisticated criminals who would engage in illicit drug sales, extortion, or prostitution. Rather, the "house," or management of the arena, is composed of people in the community who hold everyday jobs and who are reasonably respected among the local populace. Cockfights may not be legal, but in practice—when they are limited to a narrowly defined community and do not involve blatantly public actions—they are generally tolerated by public officials. One county is an exception because of the vigor of its enforcement, at least for the past few years, but the location and time of the scheduled cockfights are widely known, even there.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Cockfighting originated many centuries ago and undoubtedly developed from the natural inclination of roosters to seek physical dominance. It was known in ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome, and throughout Asia. It was introduced to Europe through the Romans, who commonly equipped the birds with artificial spurs. Cockfighting was commonly practiced among the nobility in England and Spain and was carried to the Americas as well as to the Philippines. Some people believe it had already existed in the Philippines.

Although cockfighting was practiced in a fairly rudimentary form among the ancient Hawaiians, by the time the Filipinos arrived in Hawaii the missionaries had virtually stamped out the "barbaric" sport. The earliest group of immigrants from the Philippines brought cockfighting with them. An article in the December 20, 1907 issue of the *Pacific Commerical Advertiser* chronicled its arrival.

The fifteen Filipinos brought by Mr. Judd attracted considerable attention when the *Doric* docked yesterday afternoon. They marched down the gangplank in the wake of Royal D. Mead, one of them carrying a fighting cock under his arm. The authorities made him take

his pet back on board and leave it with the sailors until after he had passed through the Immigration office, much to his disgust.

The cockfighting practices that subsequently developed in Hawaii were derived from those in the Philippines, at least until mainland influences began to affect the sport over the last decade.

Filipino laborers who immigrated to Hawaii in the 1920s and 1930s faced difficult working conditions and had few diversions available to them during their Sabbath day of rest. Since there were few women in these communities what would have been the most common types of social interactions were limited. There was no transportation into urban areas where recreation would have been readily available. Given these conditions, the Filipinos in the camps soon persuaded plantation management to set aside an area where they could raise and match their gamecocks. Even though cockfighting was illegal in Hawaii, this was not considered an important obstacle, since the men ordinarily did not relate to the mainstream society and did not appreciate why a sport that was accepted and legal in the Philippines was frowned on in Hawaii.

Few of the early Filipino immigrants were skilled in cockfighting. Since most had been fairly young when they emigrated, they had not had a chance to gain cockfighting experience. In Hawaii they found it difficult to import birds of dependable fighting quality, because the shipping costs were high. Furthermore, most had little money to spare for such expensive purchases. Plantation Filipinos in the 1920s and 1930s were thus at a disadvantage when matching their birds against those of the more sophisticated bettors who came from Honolulu with expensive imported birds.

The concept of breeds, which had been well-recognized among cockfight aficionados in the Philippines, was little understood by the plantation workers. Rather, over a period of many fights they began to observe various characteristics, such as colors of birds, that seemed to be associated with winning performances. Although considered superstition by more sophisticated observers, these beliefs were worked out on a reasonable and logical basis of continuing observations of characteristics and fighting skill. Of course, from time to time a bird was singled out as a result of a lucky streak or an intuitive feeling on the part of a bettor.

## THE HOUSE

In each of the plantation camps where cockfighting is common today, there is a small group or perhaps several groups of men who manage it. For example, in 1975 on the island of Molokai there were at least six of these groups, some of whom seemed to be starting up and fading out almost yearly.

In order to operate the cockfights, these groups, known as the "house," must have at least the tacit blessing of plantation management, because management controls the use of the land in the camps. In the few rural communities where the land is not so controlled, it has been a group of friends involved in cockfighting who have made available sufficient open space for the crowds, prepared the tables for gambling not directly related to the cockfighting, and prepared the arena, or "pit," so that the dirt is of the desired consistency. The houses in neighboring plantation camps work out friendly understandings as to who will hold the fights on which days so that conflicting schedules do not become a problem. It is clear that each house has a common need to support the other groups, for if the groups become unhappy about a lack of cooperation they would tend to boycott that arena.

The house usually receives 5 percent of the total bet, or "contract," won by those matching birds; the overall commission received by the house for the contract is 2.5 percent of the money bet by both parties involved in a match. Side bets are not subject to commission. In addition, the house has a system of collecting from the gambling table operations that is worked out on an individual basis and seems to be fairly flexible; for example, in some cases the person who is operating, or "banking," such tables may be excused from paying a fee to the house if he has lost particularly heavily during the day's gambling. On the other hand, if the gambling operator has been particularly fortunate, it is anticipated that he will pay an extra amount in the form of a large tip.

In return for these payments the house takes the responsibility of supervising the operation so that nobody is cheated, either at the gambling tables or in the cockfight matches. This may require, at least in theory, that the house come up with enough cash to keep both parties happy in an otherwise bitter dispute that may develop during the day. Furthermore, the house theoretically is committed to ensure that bets are actually paid.

In the event that it can be proved that a bet was made but not paid, the house is supposed to pay the winner with its own funds and then use whatever means it has to collect from the reluctant loser. The house also agrees to pay the legal costs associated with arrests for cockfighting or gambling activities. If an individual caught in the act has been arrested several times previously for the same offense, the house may even arrange to have someone without such a record agree to be arrested instead, even though he may not have been the guilty party. This avoids a repeat conviction with accompanying higher penalties. In that case, the house would pay the arrested individual a fee in addition to paying his legal and punitive damages. This is a particularly important service for individuals highly skilled in cockfighting but who have been arrested for possession of gaffs (the knives tied to the birds' legs) or other associated offenses on previous occasions. We observed that the police sometimes apparently understand this practice and accept it as a reasonable means of dealing with an awkward situation.

The physical area where most of the matches are held is simply a vacant lot where a fairly level surface has been prepared, sometimes filled with soil that dries quickly after a light rain. A crude circle or rectangle is marked off in the dirt and spectators crowd up to the edge and often several feet into it to see the action. A few benches may be located some distance from the perimeter of the arena to provide a place for people to relax and socialize between matches. Gaming tables are set up under a shelter for shade and protection from the rain for blackjack, craps, Haikyū (played with dominolike pieces), and Payot (a card game). These games usually draw crowds between matches.

The big-time arenas in Hawaii, three of which are located in towns that used to be plantation camps, are more elaborate. The actual arenas may be enclosed by low fences made of chick-en-wire, which functions mainly to keep the crowd out of the arena rather than to keep the chickens in. Bleachers may be set up so that more people are able to see the match.

A further responsibility of the house in the plantation camps is to contribute to celebrations and to sponsor a community party at least once a year. The profits made throughout the season are used to provide refreshments and perhaps even small gifts for the children, a fact the husbands use to counter their wives objections

to their betting on the chickens. In this way the operation of the house is somewhat equivalent to the activities of a civic organization such as the Junior Chamber of Commerce rather than a source of individual income or illicit activity.

The house must also see to it that matches will be available to people who come from outside the community. For example, if people have brought birds from Honolulu to Kauai, they may not only be hosted in a private home of a member of the house, but the house may be pressured to match its own birds in order to assure that the outsiders are able to make matches successfully. The house is also responsible for assuring the regularity of the matches; otherwise, people become bored and drift away and the gambling activity at the tables wanes.

### THE FUNCTIONS OF COCKFIGHTING

A number of objectives are involved in cockfighting in the plantation camps of Hawaii. Despite the fact that it would be considered socially out of place for a person of very high status to attend the matches, prestige is undoubtedly a major factor sought by those who match their birds. A man who displays skill and honesty in his matches will be widely admired in the community. He can achieve a position of importance by serving as referee, being asked repeatedly to attach the knife to the birds being fought, or even being asked to handle other people's roosters during the matches.

Cockfighting is a major source of entertainment in the community, available at no cost to the spectators. It is also an important occasion for social interaction. The older men have a chance to interact not only with each other but with other elements in the community. The women will often sit on the periphery and idly visit or discuss the latest community scandal. One study of a plantation community revealed that only 12 percent of the men and 29 percent of the women never attended cockfights.<sup>1</sup> Sixty percent of the men and 22 percent of the women attended regularly.<sup>2</sup>

Cockfights also provide opportunities for certain types of economic exchange. Food is sold, either for on-the-spot consumption or to take home. Community parties are sometimes scheduled to take advantage of the fresh produce—vegetables or fish—likely to be available for purchase at cockfights.

The quest for money is obviously a motivation for attending cockfights; many come to bet on the matches. There seem to be no consistent winners, although some individuals appear to be consistent losers. Generally speaking, however, gambling on cockfights results not so much in a loss of money to the community but rather a redistribution of resources within the community.

In some instances, a chicken fighter is seeking capital to finance something of importance. Rather than scrimping and saving for a long time, he attempts to acquire this capital by gambling on the cockfights. Men have set up small businesses, yard-cleaning, commercial fishing, or even small-scale retail operations, with a grubstake won from cockfighting.

## THE PARTICIPANTS

In the traditional plantation camps at least 90 percent of the people who attend cockfights are of Filipino background. The rest are an ethnic cross section of the Hawaii community who generally come from outside the immediate community and include Portuguese, Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian, and haoles. These non-Filipinos bring birds as well, and the Filipinos will go to great lengths to make matches with them, since it is particularly delightful to defeat outsiders. It is also rewarding for Filipinos on the Neighbor Islands to defeat someone from Oahu. This is partly a reaction to the experience of the last fifty years when it was very difficult to defeat people from Honolulu who generally had superior birds.

Defeating someone in the community who has a reputation of success confers considerable prestige. Chicken fighting in Hawaii is an extremely ego-involving sport in which there is a strong identification with the bird. People commonly will act as though a loss is a minor event, even though in some cases it is clear that it has been a major personal catastrophe. In other words, it is not unusual to observe that a person whose bird obviously is losing will start to joke or to make light of the event. This is generally a transparent attempt to minimize loss of face. In an important match, the winners occasionally deride the losers unmercifully in an attempt to take further glory from their win.

The extensive alliances and friendship patterns in the planta-

tion villages often limit the possible matches that may be made. Furthermore, matches are not made against the person from whom a bird is purchased. These limits are more rational than they might seem, since friends and previous owners may have inside information about a bird and thus may have an advantage in betting. Whenever a match is made, most bettors will try to determine who raised the birds and what their bloodlines and their fighting experience are. If a bettor is particularly confident in the capabilities of the man who bred and raised a cock, he would tend to back that bird. It is virtually unthinkable for a person to bet against a bird he had bred and raised, even though he may not have been caring for it for some time and may even believe that it is matched against a superior bird. The raiser might, however, attempt to dissuade the present owner from making a match he feels is disadvantageous to that bird. Nevertheless, if the match is made there is a prideful obligation for the breeder to make at least a token bet on the bird he raised.

Many of the factions among people involved in cockfighting in Hawaii develop along the lines of subcultural groupings—Visayan, Ilocano, Tagalog, and especially non-Filipino. More importantly, friendships are based on years of experience. These alliances may have grown from instances in which assistance was rendered, such as when one person needed financial help in order to make a particular match or perhaps needed someone to expertly tie the knife to his bird. If this first-time combination proved fortunate and was then repeated, the men may have concluded they should stay together. Some of the alliances we observed were based on belief in good luck and the strength of a particular combination of names, numbers, or other characteristics.

It is also possible for groups to enter into effective financial alliances in which the betting monies are combined into a pool and one or more key individuals in the group determines the amount of bets made on each match. These individuals are highly respected for their judgment, so other people in the community may make great efforts to find out their decisions before making their bets. Such alliances may also be more loosely structured, for example in situations in which a certain individual feels a moral responsibility to help an ally come up with the money necessary for a contract. Also, if part of a group is matching the birds and the others think the match is undesirable, those



opposed would never openly bet against an ally, although they either may forego their bets or bet only a nominal sum. Of course, if they think a good match has been made, they may back their friend with more than a week's pay.

In some cases, strong obligations exist among individuals in a group. We observed instances in which a person agreed to contracts for \$600 or \$700, even though he had only \$200 in his pocket. He then went to the people in his alliance and asked them to provide whatever amounts they could to back up his bet. These are not loans, but actual bets. Even though his allies may not be terribly happy to do so, in a case like this they do recognize his moral claim and will provide the money if at all possible. In other words, a man can go into a matching situation with the intention of making a bet only for the amount he has in his pocket, but if his opponent demands a minimum contract of more than that, he is able to agree to the match without having to check beforehand with the members of his alliance. Not all alliances will stand such strains, especially in the event of losses. Of course, this depends on the closeness of the group and the circumstances involved.

Perhaps the closest alliances are between individuals who are operating the house. They not only have had to develop \$4,000 to \$5,000 in capital in order to back the operation, but they must trust each other. The capital is necessary to guarantee that they can pay legal costs, fines, and property losses in the event of raids by the police.

The social and economic status of the participants in cockfighting is also important. A person of high status, such as a government official or doctor, would be expected to stay away from cockfights. A haole would not necessarily be considered out of place at a cockfight, unless he holds a high-status job. A few of the outsiders attending a cockfight may be Filipinos from other communities and thus easily fit in. However, outsiders of other ethnic backgrounds are difficult to absorb. They are thus more easily noticed by the police, which may prompt greater pressure on the community.

This discomfort with outsiders has been a source of misunderstanding by the community at large about the nature of the chicken fighting in the plantation camps. Plantation management is often ignorant of the details of these activities, for it is not socially accepted for them to attend. Even local union officials are

forced to be circumspect in their behavior at cockfights, often cloaking their presence in terms of fulfilling their union leadership responsibility by assuring that nothing unfortunate occurs.

There is a further schismatic tendency related to cockfighting in the plantation communities. The men involved in cockfighting are usually immigrants in their forties or fifties. The young Hawaii-born Filipino men have seldom developed the skills needed to compete successfully with them. Some consider cockfighting socially undesirable. This is sometime due, however, to the natural tensions and competition between sons and fathers. The fathers could have passed their skills to their sons, but this has rarely happened. It appears that, as in many cultures, a young fellow in his late teens or early twenties tends to reject virtually everything his father stands for and yet at the same time is anxious to compete with his father in areas in which the father is skilled. The Hawaii-born young men have sometimes gone to other sources of expertise—even outside the Filipino community—to learn cockfighting skills. However, such opportunities are rare and often expensive. Nevertheless, a few are learning.

The first real match made by a younger man is a significant event; the older men are quite pleased about the participation of the younger generation. If the young man is successful in his first few matches—despite stage fright, shortage of capital, and lack of experience—the older men will even turn to them for tips on improving their own techniques. In one instance we observed, a young man had just made his first match and it was known that he was about to try a knife-tying technique not common among the older men. As a consequence, he had a rather large audience when the time came for him to tie the knife on his bird. Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this performance was the atmosphere of a rite of passage.

#### SELECTING AND CARING FOR THE BIRDS

Many factors are considered in determining the relative capabilities of the birds. A bettor may actually have seen a bird spar in the backyard of its owner and also knows the reputation of the owner of the bird, the person tying the knife, and the person handling the bird in the arena. He may know the bird's performance record in earlier fights or something of its bloodline.

However, other factors are also important. A purebred fighting rooster is often a beautiful animal, and the bettors react to these qualities. They often favor birds with particular color combinations. Likewise, a cockfighter may feel he has special skill with birds with certain markings and coloring and may breed and match only chickens of those colors. Many of the bettors examine the scales on the legs of the birds and the color of the ears and wattles, all of which would seem to have little to do with the birds' capabilities but probably at some point were related to particular bloodlines. In other words, they look for physical characteristics that they have observed to have a correlation with something important in actual fact. In some cases they are able to observe only superficially the factors and consequently they sometimes pick up on the wrong cues.

Many men have excellent memories concerning the performances of particular birds and are exceedingly well trained in spotting important details. When a bird is brought out they recognize it, remember the fight a year ago they saw it in, how it fought, how it won, and perhaps how it fought even before that.

A welter of considerations is involved in the decision about which bird is likely to win in a match. Some men can provide in great detail a veritable catalog of superstitions or observations in favor of a bird. However, it is not uncommon to see one of these same individuals invest his money against that bird, simply because he has a hunch or an intuitive feeling that the other bird will win.

The key ingredients in preparing successful gamecocks are bloodline, exercise programs, a healthful diet, proper handling at the time of the match itself, and a large dose of good luck. Various kinds of cages are used for keeping the birds, including the sophisticated flying pens that permit them the exercise and mobility conducive to the development of strength and good health. On the other hand, some birds are kept in cramped and unsanitary quarters where disease can spread rapidly. Several months before their first match, the birds' combs are carefully clipped so that they will not provide a convenient handle for the other bird's beak or an easy target for injury and blood loss. Their toenails are regularly trimmed, as is the spur of the left leg to accommodate the attachment of the knife.

The most successful birds are likely to have been imported

from the U.S. mainland. Although a few breeders in Hawaii are careful with their breeding techniques, most are relatively careless and do not achieve the quality mainland breeders do. Many birds are weakened because of the practices used in raising them. The type of feed used is probably the most important factor in this respect, for rations seldom are well-balanced nutritionally. Superstitions come into play, such as the widespread belief that if a gamecock is facing a certain direction at the time of the last scheduled feeding before a match he will fight poorly that day. Much disagreement and discussion is devoted to what constitutes the most desirable methods of feeding and training birds. Fads are common, and if someone meets with a string of successes, great effort is made to determine the feeding and training practices used.

#### MAKING A MATCH

The man who matches a bird in one of the plantation camp arenas most likely will have been involved in cockfighting most of his adult life. He would have purchased his birds from another individual in the community who had either hatched and raised them or had imported them from the mainland. This typical chicken fighter will own perhaps eight to ten birds and will spend two or three hours every day feeding them, cleaning their cages, and perhaps training and conditioning them. On the day of the match he selects one to three birds to bring to the arena. The birds he selects will have been fed special diets and will have been in some way trained.

An average cockfighter likely will have between \$200 and \$1,000 in cash on his person on the day of the matches, which permits him to bet some money on matches other than his own as well as larger amounts on his birds if he finds desirable matches for them. It would be unusual for him to continue matching his birds the same day after a loss with one of them, and it would not be unusual for him to take all three birds back with him at the end of the day without having matched any of them.

The actual matching process is a fascinating interchange of jesting, insults, fanciful statements, and displays of male pride. The owner deeply identifies with his rooster and puts much effort into the matching process. Before a bird is brought into the area

used for matching, it is usually weighed on a simple balance scale and the weight is written on adhesive tape attached to its tail. The owner then takes his bird to the matching area and squats on his heels, holding the bird closely to control his movements. If men with birds of comparable size are inclined to pit them against this particular cock, they then also bring their birds to the matching area. If an owner does not find an appealing match, he will return his bird to its box or stake it out in a convenient area until he sees an opportunity for a match.

Matching the weights of birds is important. Seldom are birds fought that are more than two ounces different in weight unless some sort of a handicap or other advantage is given one of them. The most common advantage is height, since it is believed that the greater reach of one bird may be a decisive factor in the match (this is directly comparable to the concept of reach in a boxing match). The reputations of the bird and its owner are also significant considerations in making a match.

Various subterfuges are attempted in the matching process. Some men will have others with less formidable reputations bring their birds out. This would be particularly true of men who have had a winning streak; potential opponents would be reluctant to go up against such luck or greater skill. A man will sometimes attempt to force his bird to stand in a slightly squatting position so it appears shorter than it really is. This kind of trick is quite transparent and only works on the rank amateur. Some individuals will waft cigarette smoke into the breathing space of their potential opponent's bird. The smoke supposedly irritates the bird and weakens its fighting edge.

Another ruse occasionally used is to bring in a bird that has been crippled or disfigured in a previous fight and appears unfit for future matches. The person making the match might point out the bird's obvious weaknesses and offer to match it for extremely small sums of money. If indeed his bird is more capable than its appearance would indicate and he gets a "sucker" match, he tries to bet large sums in side bets or simply accepts an unduly large amount for the contract.

In order to match birds that do not seem to be equal in fighting capability, handicaps involving the way the knife is attached to the bird's leg are sometimes offered. The knife may be tied to point in any particular direction or at any angle, but the height

of the attachment with respect to the structure of the leg must be carefully determined. In order to handicap the bird, the reach or length of the stroke can be shortened by raising the position of the knife. The first level of handicap, referred to as the *sadong* position, places the knife roughly one-half inch further up the leg than it would normally be set. This shortens the reach of the knife stroke by approximately one-fourth to one-half inch. This position is thought to be equivalent to about a three-to five-ounce difference in weight, a significant difference in birds weighing only five to seven pounds. The second level of handicap, the *sing sing* position, raises the knife about one-half inch further up the leg, which places it directly over the spur. Although this effectively shortens the stroke of the knife, it is a fairly strong position because it is the most direct hitting position. This *sing sing* handicap is approximately equal to an eight-ounce difference compared to the three-to five-ounce difference overcome by the *sadong* handicap.

The third handicap level is called *baobao*, and is considered to be equivalent to about a twelve-ounce weight differential and definitely shortens the reach of the bird. Fights in which this degree of handicap is used are fairly infrequent because it is believed that the arrangement leaves too much to chance rather than to the skill and capabilities of the birds themselves.

Agreement is reached on a match following intense concentration, generally accompanied by comments and recommendations from the spectators. The bet or contract on the match, for a specific amount ranging from \$25 to over \$2,000, is made. Sometimes a contract deliberately will be made smaller than the amount actually bet in order to lessen the percentage paid to the house. That is, the individuals matching the birds may make side bets in addition to the contracts.

## CONDUCTING THE MATCH

Once the match is made, the two men withdraw with their birds to secluded spots well away from the crowd. While the knives are being tied to the birds, generally by specialists in this art, various friends or colleagues of the opponents will often observe the process. There is tremendous social pressure to tie the knife in accord with generally accepted practices. Unless it is otherwise explicitly agreed, the knife is tied to the left leg.

Knife-tying is a highly respected capability. An expert is not only able to place the knife securely in the fashion most effective for delivering damaging power, but he is not overly excited or rattled while doing so. If he makes a mistake and has to undo the paraphernalia and retie it because his hands were shaking and his string got tangled, it is a clear loss of face and considered an unfortunate sign for the match.

The knives vary from 2½ to nearly 4 inches in length. They may be imported from outside Hawaii, but quite often they are made in Hawaii in small workshops from high-grade steel such as would be found in the leaf springs of automobiles. They are as sharp as razor blades and can cause nasty cuts if a person is careless in handling a bird. For this reason the knives are generally sheathed until immediately before the bird is released for the match. The elaborate, detailed tying process generally takes from five to fifteen minutes. Strategy may enter in here as well, for one side may deliberately delay the tying of his bird with the idea in mind that his opponent's bird may become stiff in the leg from the string and other binding material, which can hamper blood circulation. Furthermore, if one person brings his bird into the arena and waits for what may seem an interminably long time, he may become sufficiently rattled to mishandle his bird.

Once the birds are brought to the arena, they are usually handled by men with considerable experience in such activities, not necessarily by the owners themselves. The most important man in the match is the referee. Where visits by the police are fairly common, to avoid arrest the referee may stay out of the ring and cannot be directly on top of the match, but in most cases he is expected to be right at the scene of the action and to control the event with skill and a cool head. The word of the referee is supposedly final in the ring; when he declares that a bird is dead or otherwise has lost the match, the bird is definitely supposed to be dead. If it gets up and attacks the other bird after the match is declared over, the referee, in theory, has to be able to enforce his decision with authority.

In actuality, if the referee declares a victory and sees that the crowd is against him he will probably reverse his decision or declare a tie. However, a fully competent referee is never forced to do that sort of thing. If he were to do it repeatedly, he would not be asked to referee again. If the referee has a sufficiently unspotted reputa-

tion and shows skill, the crowd will seldom challenge his close or questionable decisions. A successful referee shows considerable expertise in observing the match, and he must be calm in making his decision, which can effect the transfer of thousands of dollars. He must not only have a reputation for fairness, but he must display bravado in the ring. Amazingly, the referee is allowed to bet large amounts of his own money on a match he is refereeing.

A successful referee achieves status and recognition in the community by being entrusted with this important position. In addition, he is often paid a nominal fee by the house or he may even be tipped by the winners. He also may earn small fees by placing bets, especially for one of the owners of the birds being fought. Bettors find it useful to have the referee place their bets, since he will not permit the match to begin until every effort has been made to place the bet.

The practices and rules of cockfighting vary slightly from site to site. Generally, the birds are brought initially to the center of the ring and permitted to peck at each other's ears. This is not so much to cause pain as it is to force the birds to recognize each other's presence over the distractions of the noisy crowds. The cocks are then brought back toward the edges of the fifteen-to thirty-foot diameter ring and released. One or both then fly the full distance to the other bird and directly mount the attack.

In the event a seriously damaging or fatal blow is not struck on the first attack, the birds often become entangled with each other, much like a clinch in boxing. The referee directs the handlers to separate the birds, and they are released at each other again. This is repeated until one bird is unable to return the attack of its opponent. The referee determines the winner of a match by demonstrating that one bird cannot even peck at its opponent. In most cases it is quite evident when a bird is dead. However, one or both birds may be injured and incapable of mounting an effective offense—at least until it can recover from the momentary shock of the injuries received. After the referee declares a winner, the body of the losing bird becomes the property of the owner of the winning bird. However, the spoils do not include the knife tied to the losing bird, which is removed by cutting off the losing bird's leg. Even if the losing bird was not yet quite dead, it is now on its way to the cooking pot.

In a small percentage of the matches both birds become so



injured that although their attacks continue, they are incapable of inflicting further serious damage. Such matches may seem interminable, although they seldom last more than twenty minutes before at least one bird becomes totally incapacitated. These matches are usually concluded in an area off to the side to free the main arena for other matches.

Overall, a great deal of skill is involved in cockfighting. The birds' capabilities, their fighting styles, speed, strength, and power—all help determine the outcome of the match. The birds display great prowess and endurance, but luck is always an important factor in winning or losing.

### SOCIETY'S REACTIONS

The police generally are in a difficult position regarding cockfighting. If stopping cockfighting is given high priority by their superiors, they can severely hinder it, because their very presence will prevent it at a particular site. But it is fairly difficult to make a valid arrest, since the police must actually observe the person with gaff in hand, actively using it on a bird, or handling a bird during a match. This is difficult when the actual tying of gaffs is done at a secluded spot remote from the actual match, and when the match itself is surrounded by hundreds of spectators standing shoulder-to-shoulder who can readily spread the alarm at the sight of a policeman in uniform or any other recognizable law enforcement agent. Without resorting to plainclothesmen the police find it virtually impossible to determine who is actually handling the birds. If they are able to approach an arena while a match is actually going on they will confiscate the knives tied to the roosters, ostensibly to hold them for evidence, even though an arrest may not occur. When this happens, the house is responsible for reimbursing the owner for his property loss.

Generally there is no open enmity between the police and the people who attend chicken fights. We observed that when police visited sites in rural plantation towns, they simply noted the nature of the crowd to determine whether any unusual activities were taking place. If there seemed to be trouble afoot, or if they saw a number of people from outside the community, they simply let it be known they would stick around to prevent further action. These dogged waits are tiresome not only to the police but also to

those attending, so it is often tacitly agreed that the operators of the fights will close down for the day, and the police then go on their way. In most areas of Hawaii, at least in the cases of cockfights held in remote plantation towns, the police have not gone to great extremes to arrest participants. Only in the one county, where virtually all such activities are harassed repeatedly, and in the few cases of more formalized arenas, where less socially legitimate elements are involved in the management of the operations, have strenuous efforts been undertaken to halt cockfighting.

Three criticisms are generally directed at cockfighting by society at large: the apparent cruelty to the animals; the gambling that is essential to the entire event; and what is considered the undesirable qualities of people who participate in or who sponsor such events. The last objection is most easily dealt with. In the plantation towns at least, the majority of the community attends, and the key people involved are often stalwarts of the community and are by no means considered riffraff or criminals in their own community. This kind of attitude often reflects gross intolerance and a sense of social superiority that seems out of place in a modern-day society that adheres to beliefs of justice and fairness to ethnic minorities.

The criticism against gambling historically has had a more solid basis in the law than it does at present. Since social gambling is no longer illegal in Hawaii, most of the gambling associated with cockfighting is now legal. Only in the case of the actual contracts themselves wherein the house is paid a percentage is gambling on the fights still illegal. The gamecock fancier would argue that society at large has never advocated the abolition of spectator sports like football, basketball, or baseball simply because illicit gambling is associated with them.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, he would point out that critics of cockfighting in Hawaii might consider that it is a rare round of golf that does not include at least some gambling and that it is ridiculously easy to place a patently illegal bet on any of the major sporting events.

The percentages paid to the house as a part of the contracts are fairly small. One of the practical concerns voiced by some people involved in the discussion of the legalization of cockfighting is that it might become a state monopoly with parimutuel betting in the same way that horse or dog racing is handled in some thirty other states in the country. If that happened, the cut taken by the

house would unquestionably be exorbitant compared to the percentage presently taken without state involvement.

Cockfighting supporters have greater difficulty countering the objection that the sport is cruel to animals. Nevertheless, they would first say that the birds are not forced to fight. Indeed, they have the option of running away at any time. Only their basic instinct to seek physical dominance over other birds causes them to engage in battle. The attachment of the knife makes the fight more efficient in that it will require less time to come to a conclusion. Gamecocks may fight to the death even without knives attached. The second typical response to this criticism is to talk of the violence involved in boxing. They find it ironic that society accepts the legality of a contest in which one man is permitted to beat another into physical submission, sometimes with terrible consequences. They might also make comparisons with bullfighting, which is considered a civilized sport throughout much of the world and is a major attraction for American tourists in countries like Spain and Mexico.

Cockfighters speak of society's approval of hunting, often with weapons that are used with little skill, resulting in the animals' suffering. They point out that often animals are killed as trophies rather than for food. Yet hunting is considered a manly art, and its best practitioners are admired throughout society. In cockfighting they add, the losing bird is not permitted to suffer if it survives a match with serious injuries; it is immediately dispatched. Furthermore, the defeated bird is always taken home for the stew pot.

## COCKFIGHTING AND THE LAW

At present the legal prohibitions against cockfighting are based on Section 1109 of the Hawaii penal code, which makes it a crime to be involved in any act considered to be cruel to animals. In practice this means anyone handling a bird with a knife attached is subject to prosecution.<sup>4</sup> It is also against the law in Hawaii for a person to be involved in sponsoring or managing a place used for cockfighting, as well as (somewhat parenthetically) for baiting bulls or bears. Prosecution under this segment of the law is extremely rare, because it is almost impossible to prove that an individual is doing this, unless he has been foolish enough to

charge an admission for entering the site of the fight, which is done only rarely. The City and County of Honolulu has passed a more specific law that makes it clearly illegal to manufacture, exchange, or possess the gaffs used in cockfighting.

Because of this kind of legislation, only a few people involved in a particular cockfight can be effectively arraigned and arrested. At one time the City and County of Honolulu made it illegal simply to be present at a cockfight. In other counties formerly it was illegal to be present at a place where gambling is taking place. It was not uncommon at that time for a large number of the spectators at cockfights to be arrested, and these massive raids were much more serious than is the case today. In 1968 the state supreme court rendered a decision that declared the laws barring attendance at cockfights unconstitutional. Since then spectators have not been arrested.

Administration of the law regarding cockfighting is by no means an evenhanded matter in Hawaii. In some locations police actions are severe, making it virtually impossible for cockfighting to be the social event it was in the 1920s and 1930s. Where police harassment has become severe, the cockfighters have sometimes reacted with equal severity. For example, in the County of Hawaii sharpened stakes were driving into the ground to make it more difficult for the police to enter through the back way. Elaborate lookout systems have also been set up.

On Oahu for the past several years police efforts have been directed almost exclusively at the larger arenas; the cockfights in the plantation towns involving only the immediate community are effectively tolerated. In other situations devoted fans gather at remote places in the mountains on very late notice in order to prevent the police from learning the location and mounting a raid. These subterfuges often take on the glamour and excitement of espionage or even guerilla warfare, which sometimes seems ridiculous given the nature of the event.

## CONCLUSION

Cockfighting is a cultural phenomenon among Filipinos in Hawaii as it is in the Philippines. The men in the communities we studied shared an intense communal interest in this regular social event.

The Filipinos' immigrant status, as well as their years of hard plantation work, have intensified the social and psychological function of cockfighting. It answered their need for cultural identification; cockfighting was as close to home as an activity could be. The risk-taking and the excitement of the fights broke the monotony of the tedious hours in the hot sun. As one respondent put it, "The whole week when get plenty work mean no more nothing when Sunday arrive." Cockfighting also countered the lack of diversions on the plantation as well as the otherwise predictable and repetitive work schedule. There are few social or financial rewards in plantation work and as the same respondent phrased it, he gambled because he "get no more nothing."

Cockfighting was in part an assertion of the ethnic identity that developed as a coping strategy among Filipinos in Hawaii. "Get no more nothing" was indeed what life was like in early plantation years. However, to attribute the sole reason for engaging in cockfighting to the need for divertisement would simply categorize it as an act of deviancy. Cockfighting, and to a certain extent formalized card gambling, were not deviant or dysfunctional behaviors, but were rational and functional. The Filipinos consciously sought to maintain their ethnic integrity—cockfighting being one symbol—and in so doing facilitate the continued operation of their value system and traditional social structure.

People in the communities we studied claimed that cockfighting took place for as long as they had been in Hawaii. While plantation management had passed regulations against it, keeping the men in line was a more desired goal. As long as their activities were closely monitored and the men kept under control, management had the least worries. Socially speaking, it would not be too presumptuous to suggest that cockfight activities serve the same functions as the traditional fiesta would in the Philippines. Alliances are renewed, mutual obligations are reinforced, personal prestige is developed, and community identity is strengthened.

It is difficult to make a clear and valid argument that cockfighting should remain illegal and that more effective police actions against it should be taken or that it should be legalized. There would appear to be difficulties in either case. For the Filipinos living in the old-style plantation camps, the tacit understandings that have been worked out with the police and

government officials in many parts of the state may be the most reasonable solution. Legalization would bring it into mainstream society, and it would likely become a tourist attraction. This would reduce or eliminate its effectiveness as a social function and cultural symbol for the Filipinos who are plantation residents.

# Afterword

LIVING STANDARDS AND OPPORTUNITIES for upward mobility undoubtedly have increased for Filipino families in Hawaii, but as they have become more like “average” families in Hawaii in terms of income, employment, and lifestyle, they necessarily have moved away from their cultural heritage. The rural sense of community and neighborliness seems bound to decline even further. Distinctive celebrations, patterns of alliance, networks of friends, and methods of interchange have undergone drastic change as Filipino families interact with people of different heritages, as they are immersed in metropolitan media, as they are taught in schools that induce conformity, and as the older caretakers of the turn-of-the-century culture of the Philippines pass on.

Many Filipinos, particularly in the plantation villages, continue to maintain a set of practices and beliefs that are uniquely Filipino. However, their very uniqueness derives from the isolation of these communities. This isolation has made the residents vulnerable; their dependence on the economic viability of the plantations has often meant that when the plantations go out of business, their employment opportunities become scarce. Indeed, even the continued existence of their towns may be threatened. Some of the old plantation camps have disappeared and the former residents have merged into other plantation camps, have moved into modern subdivision versions of the old camps, or they have dispersed into a wide range of residential arrangements.

In most cases the old plantation camps are not disappearing—they are being transformed. Ewa, a plantation town on Oahu,

is on its way to becoming a bedroom community of commuters to urban jobs. Maunaloa, on Molokai, is evolving into a community of workers in pineapple and tourism. The plantation camps in North Kohala on the Big Island thus far remain fairly cohesive communities, even without the continuation of the plantation. In all three cases the people who are moving into the towns often have little knowledge or appreciation for the beliefs, values, and practices of the Filipino families who have been living there for decades. Furthermore, political decisions at state and county levels increasingly are being made by individuals who have little exposure to the types of experiences we have described in the preceding pages. Misperceptions abound that negate public efforts to ease the adjustment difficulties of families left behind when the plantations close or when the nature of the communities drastically changes. Although the ILWU has retained its close contacts and political effectiveness within the plantation communities, even its leadership has occasionally discovered they have not fully understood the preferences and perceptions of some types of families affected by changing circumstances.

Deliberate efforts need to be taken by key decision-makers to better understand what is happening to the Filipinos who are being left behind by a rapidly changing society. Staying in a viable rural community is sometimes far better than forging ahead in a pressure-laden, alienating urban society. But under some unfortunate circumstances, being stranded in a dying or changing community that had its roots in a plantation economy can result in even greater pressures and severe alienation.

Most Filipinos in Hawaii are coping with the situation and are increasingly becoming successful in the professions, the trades, and in government. They often are able to retain ties to their Filipino cultural roots while adeptly dealing with other cultural circumstances. But they sometimes find themselves losing touch with the complex bundle of beliefs and practices that constitute the culture and lifestyles of Filipinos who have lived in rural Hawaii. This is inevitable, for it would be unrealistic to expect a people to remain as they were.

Wisdom often leads us to seek a better understanding of the drives, motivations, and identities that make each person unique. For many of Hawaii's Filipinos, their experiences in the rural villages of Hawaii's plantations will prove crucial in determining



whatever they become. The immigrants look to roots in their homeland, but for the Hawaii born, the homeland often is plantation life in Hawaii. Just as the older immigrants cherish a life and culture that no longer exists in the Philippines, Filipinos born in Hawaii will look back to a life and culture in plantation towns that are no longer there. They will be frustrated in trying to explain to their children why it is important to understand their cultural roots, just as their parents probably have felt frustrated that their children never properly appreciated what they tried to teach them about the Philippines.



# Notes

## CHAPTER 1

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2. Sanford L. Platt, "Immigration and Emigration in the Hawaiian Sugar Industry" (Paper presented to the industrial relations section of the Hawaii Sugar Technologists, Honolulu, November 15, 1950), pp. 10-11.
3. Sister Mary Dorita Clifford, "The Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association and Filipino Exclusion," in *The Filipino Exclusion Movement: 1927-35*, ed. Josefa Saniel (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, Institute of Asian Studies, 1967), p. 14.
4. H. Brett Melendy, *Asians in America* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977), chap. 2.
5. "Reports and Inquiries of Filipino Labor in Hawaii," *International Labor Review* 14, no. 4 (April 1927):581-586.
6. "Immigration and Emigration in the Hawaiian Sugar Industry," p. 13.
7. Delores Quinto, "Life Story of a Filipino Immigrant," *Social Process in Hawaii* 4 (May 1938):71-78.
8. Bruno Lasker, *Filipino Immigration to the Continental United States and to Hawaii*, pp. 384-385.
9. Harry Franck, *Roaming in Hawaii* (New York: Stakes, 1937), p. 270.
10. S. D. Porteus and Marjorie E. Babcock, *Temperament and Race* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1926), pp. 59-70.
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13. "Report of Labor Commission on Strikes and Arbitration, Republic Hawaii," Honolulu, 1895, pp. 23-24. Quoted in R. A. Liebes, "Labor Organization in Hawaii" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1938).
14. David E. Thompson, "The ILWU as a Force for Interracial Unity in Hawaii," *Social Process in Hawaii* 15 (1951):36.

15. Quoted in *ibid.*, which cites source as Ichiro Izuka, *The Truth About Communism in Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1947).

16. John A. Rademaker, "Community Analysis in a Free Community in Peacetime," *Applied Anthropology* 6, no. 3 (Summer 1947).

17. Slator M. Miller, "A Report to Mr. H. A. Walker, President, Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association on 1945-1946 Filipino Immigration Project," Honolulu, 1946, p. 6. Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii.

## CHAPTER 2

1. I. T. Runes, *General Standards of Living and Wages of Workers in the Philippine Sugar Industry* (Philippine Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, Manila, 1939), pp. 24-26.

2. Edna Clark Wentworth, *Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 68.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

5. Roman R. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Hawaii" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1936), p. 53. From 1974 reprint by R & R Research Associates, San Francisco.

6. Phillips Brandt Reddick and Associates, "*Ewa Plantation Villages Study*" (Prepared for the Department of Housing and Community Development, City and County of Honolulu, January 1979), pp. 95-123.

7. Wentworth, *Filipino Plantation Workers*, p. 56.

8. The basic statistical test needed is to identify the effects of education and industry on income earned by heads of households. Since the two explanatory variables are found to be highly correlated, it is necessary first to eliminate the effects of education on income and then to test for the effect of being in the sugar versus the pineapple industry on an income variable with the effects of education removed. The process is then reversed to test the effects of education on an income variable with the effects of industry removed. The OLS regressions to do this were performed on a sample of 66 males with the following results:

$$\begin{array}{llll}
 \text{INC} & = 7059 + 714 \text{ YRED} = u_1 & R^2 = .32, & F = 32.0 \\
 u_1 & = -0.307 = .673 \text{ SI} & R^2 = .17, & F = 15.4 \\
 \text{INC} & = 8060 + 5617 \text{ SI} + u_2 & R^2 = .32, & F = 13.0 \\
 u_2 & = 0.432 + .087 \text{ YRED} & R^2 = .18, & F = 14.1
 \end{array}$$

where INC = income of head of household

YRED = years of education of head of household

SI = sugar industry equals one, pineapple industry equals zero

9. In order to further analyze the relative effects of these types of variables, by using the 1978 survey data from Oahu we were able to examine the statistical effects on earnings of: (1) employment in the sugar industry versus a wide array of alternatives; (2) education; and (3) sex. All three variables proved statistically significant, and together they explained 59 percent of the variation. The strongest influence was sugar industry employment, which alone

explained 53 percent of the variation. In other words, at least for the population living in that town, securing a job with the plantation had been a more dependable means of improving income than improving one's education. However at least minimal levels of education may be necessary to qualify for certain jobs at the sugar company. The average monthly earnings reported in our survey were \$986 for sugar company employees versus \$565 for people employed otherwise.

10. The OLS regression is shown below, with beta (standardized) coefficients:

$$\log(\text{INC}) = .226 \text{ ED} + .371 \text{ PROF} + .148 \text{ VIL3} + .10 \text{ MRD} - \\ .27 \text{ VIL1} - .18 \text{ VIL2}$$

where INC = income of head of household

ED = education level

PROF = 1 if respondent was a "professional" in a high-status occupation

VIL3 = 1 if respondent lived in the village on a sugar plantation

MRD = 1 if the respondent was married

VIL2 = 1 if the respondent lived on the pineapple plantation with greater job security

VIL1 = 1 if the respondent lived on the pineapple plantation that was phasing out

$R^2 = .535$ .  $N = 211$ . All coefficients are significant at the .01 level or above, except the last coefficient, which is significant at the .025 level.

The same variables were used in a logit analysis that defined household income as a dichotomous variable equal to 0 if less than \$10,000 annually (47 percent of the respondents) and equal to 1 if equal to or greater than \$10,000. The results are as follows:

$$\log\left(\frac{P}{1-P}\right) = -0.551 - 0.001 \text{ MRD} + 0.130 \text{ ED} - 0.839 \text{ VIL1} - \\ (1.21) \quad (0.005) \quad (2.44) \quad (1.97) \\ 0.201 \text{ VIL2} + 0.825 \text{ VIL3} + 1.276 \text{ PROF} \\ (0.49) \quad (2.11) \quad (2.02)$$

Asymptotic  $t$ -ratios are noted in parentheses. All are highly significant except for the constant, MRD and VIL2. The signs for those that are significant are the same as for the above OLS regression,  $\chi^2 = 104.2$  which is significant above the .001 level. The logit analysis was also applied using only marital status and education as explanatory variables. The marital status variable was not statistically significant either for the plantation population or for the population inclusive of the professionals.

11. Quoted by Cariaga, p. 49, from Forbes, *Philippine Islands 2*, Appendix 18, p. 469, which further quoted from material furnished by secretary of the HSPA, 1926.

12. Kunio Nagoshi, et al., *Analysis Model of the Culturation of Immigrants to Hawaii* (Honolulu: Center for Governmental Development, 1976).

CHAPTER 3

1. Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii: The Last of the Magic Isles* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 19.
2. Quoted in Andrew W. Lind, ed., *Modern Hawaii: Perspectives on the Hawaiian Community*, Labor-Management Education Program, University of Hawaii, November 1967, p. 5, which cites source as File 51, Interior Department, 1866, Archives of Hawaii.
3. Edna Clark Wentworth, *Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 53.
4. "Reports and Inquiries of Filipino Labor in Hawaii," *International Labor Review* 15, no. 4 (April 1927):583-584.
5. A. W. T. Bottomley, "A Statement Concerning the Sugar Industry in Hawaii; Labor Conditions on Hawaiian Sugar Plantations; Filipino Laborers Thereon; and the Alleged Filipino 'Strike' of 1924," Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, November 1924, p. 36.
6. Roman P. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Hawaii" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1936), p. 36. From 1974 reprint by R & R Research Associates, San Francisco.

CHAPTER 4

1. Unpublished data provided by Sheila Forman.
2. The likelihood of the immigrants not having achieved U.S. citizenship was examined by the logit model with the following results:

$$\log \left( \frac{P}{1-P} \right) = -0.746 + 0.670 MV - 0.993 WG + 0.404 YI$$

(1.69)      (2.82)      (4.03)      (3.16)

where MV = 1 if the family thought they might move to the Philippines  
 WG = 1 if the respondent was aware of the Watergate scandal  
 YI = 1 if the respondent immigrated before 1946, = 2 if immigrated in 1946, = 3 if the respondent immigrated between 1947 and 1969

$\chi^2 = 30.59$  which is significant at the .001 level. The *t*-ratio statistics are noted in parentheses. Only immigrants who came in 1969 or before were included, giving an *N* of 128. The coefficients are all acceptably significant, and the signs are as expected. An alternative model included the additional variables of education and occupational status, neither of which proved statistically significant. The positive sign of YI simply says that once ties to the Philippines and levels of acculturation are considered, the longer a person has been in Hawaii, the greater are the chances that citizenship has not been acquired.

3. Awareness of the Watergate incident, which dominated the news at the time of our survey, was used as a convenient measure of acculturation into U.S. society. Our statistical model to measure the likelihood of this awareness was:

$$\log \left( \frac{P}{1-P} \right) = -0.498 - 0.075 BPLC + 9.263 ED$$

(1.35)      (0.63)      (5.36)

where BPLC = 1 if born in Hawaii, = 2 if born in an urban area of the Philippines,  
and = 3 if born in a rural area of the Philippines

ED = levels of education divided into 5 plateaus of achievement

$\chi^2 = 18.32$  which is significant at the .001 level.  $N = 220$ . The  $t$ -ratio statistics are shown in parentheses. The failure of the birthplace variable to be statistically significant in light of education demonstrates the overwhelming effect of education as a means of preparing for and achieving immersion into American culture. Since the older male immigrants have the lowest formal education, they are the ones who are least capable of understanding events in the larger U.S. society.

We also hypothesized that even if we controlled for citizenship and education, there still would be important effects on acculturation levels of the differences in the three plantation villages we studied. The logit model of this hypothesis was:

$$\log\left(\frac{P}{1-P}\right) = 0.704 \quad -0.657 \text{ ALIEN} + 0.194 \text{ ED} - 1.110 \text{ VIL1} - \\ (1.47) \quad (3.88) \quad (4.00) \quad (2.61) \\ 0.758 \text{ VIL2} - 0.830 \text{ VIL3} \\ (1.73) \quad (2.00)$$

where ALIEN = 1 if noncitizen of U.S.

ED = levels of education divided into 5 plateaus of achievement

VIL1 = Village One, etc.

$\chi^2 = 77.27$ , which is significant at the .001 level.  $N = 220$ . The  $t$ -ratio statistics are shown in parentheses. The far stronger negative effect of the VIL1 variable is explained by its relative isolation. The value of the standard error of the other two "village" variables does not permit a comparison of the relative strengths of each, although it was anticipated that VIL2 would have the stronger effect also as a result of the isolation of the village in comparison with VIL3.

4. Unpublished data provided by Sheila Forman.

5. "A Report on Filipino Immigration and Social Challenges in Maui County" (prepared by Artemio C. Baxa in cooperation with the Pacific Urban Studies and Planning Program of the University of Hawaii. A project of the County of Maui with the cooperation of the Maui Economic Opportunity, Inc., and the State of Hawaii Law Enforcement and Juvenile Delinquency Planning Agency, March 15, 1973).

6. Unpublished data provided by Sheila Forman.

## CHAPTER 5

1. Unpublished data provided by Sheila Forman.

2. James Scott and Ben Kerkvliet, "The Politics of Survival: Present Response to Programs in Southeast Asia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 4, no. 2 (1973).

3. Eric Wolf, "Aspect of Group Relations in a Complex Society," *American Anthropologist* 58 (1956):1075-1076.

4. "A Report on Filipino Immigration and Social Challenges in Maui County" (prepared by Artemio C. Baxa in cooperation with the Pacific Urban Studies and Planning Program of the University of Hawaii. A project of the County of Maui with the cooperation of the Maui Economic Opportunity, Inc., and the State of Hawaii Law Enforcement and Juvenile Delinquency Planning Agency, March 15, 1973), Tables H and I.

## CHAPTER 6

1. For a good discussion of reciprocity, see Takie Sugiyama Lebra, "An Alternative Approach to Reciprocity," *American Anthropologist* 77, no. 3 (September 1975):550-565.

2. Roman R. Cariaga, *The Filipinos in Hawaii* (M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1936). From 1974 reprint by R & R Research Associates, San Francisco, p. 53.

3. Sheila Forman, "The Social-Psychological Context of Planning in Response to Industrial Withdrawal: A Case Study of a Filipino Plantation Town in Hawaii" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hawaii, 1976), p. 52.

4. The Filipinos on the plantations who had sponsored anyone, including non-relatives, for immigration to the U.S. were expected to be male and have more education. It was also considered possible that this would prove less common in Village One, with its more depressed economic conditions and slightly more recently arrived residents. However, when sex and education were held constant, no statistically significant differences occurred between those villages. The logit model incorporating sex and education was:

$$\log \left( \frac{P}{1-P} \right) = +0.843 + 0.580 \text{ SEX} + 0.222 \text{ ED}$$

(4.25)      (3.36)              (4.72)

where    SEX    = 1 if male and 0 if female  
           ED    = 1 through 5 for various educational plateaus.

$\chi^2 = 29.5$ , which is significant at the .001 level.  $N = 199$ . The  $t$ -ratio statistics are shown in parentheses. Our data showed that 27 percent of the plantation respondents had sponsored someone.

The effects on the likelihood estimates of the probability of having sponsored someone by the two explanatory variables as derived from the logit model are as follows:

### *Education Levels by Sex*

Level	Males	Females
None	.35	.12
Grades 1-5	.47	.19
Grade 6	.71	.40
Grade 7-11	.79	.52
Grade 12	.87	.65
Beyond high school	.92	.75



5. The statistical analysis in logit form of whether an individual personally had financed to a substantial degree his immigration expenses without monetary aid from relatives or the HSPA was specified as:

$$\log \left( \frac{P}{1-P} \right) = -0.934 + 0.600 \text{ SEX} - 0.133 \text{ ED}$$

(3.50)      (2.41)      (2.16)

where SEX = 1 if male and 0 if female  
 ED = 0 through 5 for various educational plateaus.

$\chi^2 = 16.6$ , which is significant at the .001 level.  $N = 199$ . The  $t$ -ratio statistics are shown in the parentheses.

The effects of the two explanatory variables are shown by the differences in the likelihood estimates of the probability ( $P$ ) that a person's immigration costs were not paid by anyone else:

*Education Levels by Grade Completed*

Sex	None	1-5	6	7-11	12	13+
Male	.32	.25	.16	.12	.09	.07
Female	.10	.08	.04	.03	.03	.02

6. Financial assistance received from relatives during the immigration process was specified in the following logit form:

$$\log \left( \frac{P}{1-P} \right) = -2.246 + 0.775 \text{ YRMG} - 0.564 \text{ SEX}$$

(4.26)      (6.01)      (2.32)

where SEX = 1 if male and 0 if female  
 YRMG = 1 through 4 depending on the period of immigration.

$\chi^2 = 136$ , which is significant at the .001 level.  $N = 199$ . The  $t$ -ratio statistics are shown in parentheses.

The effects of the two explanatory variables are shown by the following likelihood estimates of probabilities derived from the logit model:

*Immigration Periods by Sex*

Period	Male	Female
Before 1946	.00	.00
1946	.10	.59
1947-1969	.79	.98
1970-1975	.99	.99

7. The logit analysis of the likelihood of being a primary godparent to at least one child was as follows:

$$\log \left( \frac{P}{1-P} \right) = 0.48 \quad -0.48 \text{ KNRT} \quad -0.02 \text{ CON} \quad -0.20 \text{ VIL1} \quad + 0.39 \text{ VIL2}$$

(2.36) (2.65) (0.07) (1.02) (1.98)

where KNRT = 1 if the respondent had known a relative or townmate who was already in Hawaii at the time of the respondent's immigration and 0 if not  
 CON = 1 if the respondent perceived that connections were a common means for a person "to get a lot of money" and 0 if not  
 VIL1 = 1 if the place of residence was Village One, and so on.

$\chi^2 = 22.04$ , which is significant at the .001 level. The *t*-ratio statistics are noted in the parentheses. Village Two was excluded as a variable to avoid overidentification.

8. The statistical test of our hypothesis was in the form of the logit model with three dependent variables (sharing frequency of goods, services, and outings) and three explanatory variables (household income, Watergate awareness as a measure of acculturation, and the degree of belief that thriftiness was a viable means of "getting a lot of money"). The results are as follows:

Items Share	Constant	Income	Watergate	Thrift	Services	Outings
Consumer Goods	-.063 (0.26)	-.076 (1.07)	-.235 (1.31)	.166 (0.95)	.496 (5.47)	-.515 (0.55)
Personal	-.086 (1.23)	-.086 (1.23)	.335 (1.89)	.054 (0.30)		-.228 (2.54)
Recreational Outings	.159 (0.98)	.166 (2.58)	.159 (0.98)	.372 (2.24)		

None of the explanatory variables was significantly associated with the sharing of consumer goods, but it was shown to be highly complementary with the sharing of personal services, which in turn was positively associated with the acculturation variable. As expected, recreational outings were more common among those with higher incomes and those who placed a higher value on thriftiness. Surprisingly, the outings variable was negatively associated with the sharing of personal services. Similarly, our expectations that the sharing of consumer goods would be negatively associated with the first two explanatory variables, and positively with the thrift variable was not fulfilled at acceptable levels of statistical significance.

CHAPTER 7

1. Unpublished data provided by Sheila Forman.
2. The first formulation of the model explaining the probability that the adults in the plantation communities were married was:

$$\log \left( \frac{P}{1-P} \right) = 1.28 \quad -0.09 \text{ AGE} \quad -0.41 \text{ SEX} \quad -0.64 \text{ CIT}$$

(3.43) (1.14) (1.72) (2.74)

where AGE = age

SEX = 1 if male and 0 if female

CIT = 0 if a citizen and 1 if not

$\chi^2$  was significant at the .01 level. The *t*-ratio statistics are noted in parentheses. The second version of the marital status model was:

$$\log \left( \frac{P}{1-P} \right) = 1.60 \quad -0.51 \text{ SEX} \quad -0.66 \text{ CIT}$$

(6.21) (2.23) (2.84)

where the variables have the same meaning as above and  $\chi^2$  was significant at the .001 level (14.96 with 2 *df*). Based on the second model, the predicted probabilities compare with the actual incidence (shown in parentheses) as follows:

Male citizens	.924 (.992)	Male noncitizens	.727 (.679)
Female citizens	.975 (.933)	Female noncitizens	.877 (.894)

3. The tendency for the Filipinos on the plantations to have sponsored spouses in order for them to immigrate to Hawaii was a complicated issue. Our data clearly showed that those who were born in Hawaii did not do so, which is hardly interesting, so we set that factor aside in our considerations. However, we did feel that sex (males rather than females had been sponsors) was such an important cultural and economic factor in such decisions, even though its effect was obvious, that it had to be considered in determining the validity of other explanatory variables. We also suspected that the differences in the three village settings we studied would be important, and that higher education levels would tend to lessen the likelihood of such sponsorship. Only the importance of sex was supported statistically:

$$\log \left( \frac{P}{1-P} \right) = -1.61 \quad +1.70 \text{ SEX} \quad +0.05 \text{ ED} \quad -0.45 \text{ VIL1} \quad -$$

(2.40) (4.38) (0.66) (0.90)

$$0.49 \text{ VIL2} \quad -0.09 \text{ VIL3}$$

(1.00) (0.18)

where SEX = 1 if male and 0 if female

ED = 0 through 6 for various plateaus of education

VIL1 = Village One, etc.

$\chi^2 = 43.47$  which is significant at the .001 level. *N* = 156 due to deletions for those who had not married, were born in Hawaii, or did not live on the plantations.

4. Caridad Martin, "The Filipino Wedding: A Comparison of the Past and Present," *Social Process in Hawaii* 21 (1957):50.

5. Ruben R. Alcantara's, "The Filipino Wedding in Waiialua," *Amerasia Journal* 1, no. 4 (February 1972):1-12, gives a detailed description.

6. Martin, "The Filipino Wedding: A Comparison," p. 51.

- 7. Alcantara, "The Filipino Wedding in Waialua," p. 12.
- 8. Anastacio Luis and Herman Sensano, "Some Aspects of the Filipino Family," *Social Process in Hawaii* 3 (1937):64.

### CHAPTER 8

- 1. Unpublished data provided by Sheila Forman.
- 2. We concluded that attendance at chicken fights in the plantation camps was a function of location and sex, which is fairly obvious. In other words, if there is no regularly used arena in the village, the frequency of attendance from that village would be lower. Furthermore it is not socially approved for the women to participate directly, so the attendance of women would be expected to be less frequent. We had expected that income, ties to the Philippines, and levels of acculturation might be important factors leading to attendance at chicken fights. The analysis should also control for sex to avoid the attribution of this factor to the other, which showed some correlation with sex. The logit analysis thus construed and applied only to the residents of the two villages with arenas is:

$$\log\left(\frac{P}{1-P}\right) = 0.15 \quad -0.06 \text{ INC} \quad + 0.004 \text{ RET} \quad + 0.47 \text{ SEX} \quad -0.11 \text{ WGT}$$

$$(0.66) \quad (0.19) \quad (0.012) \quad (2.05) \quad (0.47)$$

where INC = household income  
 RET = 1 if anticipates returning to the Philippines within 5 years  
 SEX = 1 if male and 0 if female  
 WGT = 1 if aware of the Watergate incident as a measure of acculturation

The *t*-ratio statistics are noted in parentheses. The only significant variable was sex; i.e., the other variables did not prove significant once we controlled for sex. We thus conclude that attendance among the plantation population is pandemic, for it is an important essential to the operation of the village social structure.

- 3. It is estimated that 70 percent of all Americans who see a football game on TV have money bet on the outcome. See "Gambling Goes Legit," *Time*, December 6, 1976, p. 54.
- 4. At the time this was written, in at least one court in Hawaii a judgment had been rendered to the effect that the law as written is sufficiently vague to make it unconstitutional, and prosecution under the statute cannot be continued in that jurisdiction. Ultimately, a ruling from the state supreme court would be necessary to determine the validity of this decision. In the meantime, the law can be enforced in other jurisdictions.

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