

THE MIXING PROCESS

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The mixing process among Island people of various ethnic backgrounds goes on at several levels. From the beginning of contact with the wider world two centuries ago, mixing has occurred on the biological level of sexual relations and the birth of mixed children. This somewhat casual miscegenation was, of course, between native women of the land and men from the outside. Today available statistics indicate the proportion of persons in the total population who are mixed is above 25 percent, while the proportion of children born who are mixed is just over half, and larger if one could gauge the number of hidden mixtures.

A second kind of mixing takes place at the level of the way of life, by assimilation to American ways and by cultural interchange of customs, etiquette, ways of celebrating, folkways, mores, and institutions. Traditional patterns of behavior are modified in various directions. While the predominant pattern to which people are assimilating is that of the mass culture of modern, urban America, they have also been developing a common "local" way of life of their own, which might be referred to as the "pidgin culture" of Hawai'i, because pidgin English has been a central component of it.

Finally, a third level brings together people in social relationships which make the social structure of modern Hawai'i. Haoles, Hawaiians of various degrees of mixture, persons of other mixture, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and members of the smaller groups—Puerto Ricans, Koreans, Samoans, and Blacks—occupy positions in government, in the educational, professional, industrial and business, religious, welfare, athletic and other recreational institutions and agencies in the community. In the informal life of neighborhoods, families, and groups of friends, the social relationships among all ethnic groups are becoming inter-connected.

So mixing is at three levels: miscegenation or amalgamation at the biological level, assimilation at the cultural and behavioral level, structural integration at a level having to do with social relationships,

social roles, and social institutions. In Hawai'i biological fusion that began with the first contacts has continued as rapidly as the other two. Assimilation to the ways of the dominant group, it has often been argued by representatives of that group, would lead to participation, or structural integration. But the disillusionment of U.S. Blacks which led to the militant movements of the 1960s has shown that these assumptions had not been realized. The Hawai'i experience, on the other hand, has shown that integration or inter-ethnic social relations and participation may come even before full cultural assimilation to American speech and ways has taken place.

What makes Hawai'i distinctive is that the three kinds of mixing have gone on continuously and more or less simultaneously in an unforced, natural way. Laws did not seem to be needed to encourage the process. Laws did not seem to be needed to encourage the process, although pressures, political and economic, did help to foster more representative slates of party candidates, more representative juries, etc. Now of course such laws, Federal and State, are in effect here.

Biological Mixing

The biological process may appropriately be considered first, not only because it occurred at the beginning of contact but because there are available statistics: the U.S. census, special tabulations of the state Department of Health annual Hawaii Health Surveillance Program (using a racial breakdown different from that of the U.S. census, as given in the *Hawaii Data Book*), annual state Department of Health of Health statistical reports, the *Hawaii Data Book* published annually by the state Department of Health and Economic Development, and occasional special reports issued by these two departments. These statistical data have been analyzed by Hawai'i's sociologists and demographers: Andrew W. Lind, Robert C. Schmitt, Eleanor C. Nordyke, and others. These sources have been drawn on in this article.

The proportion of mixed people in the total population is now about 25 percent, possibly a bit higher. This proportion is certainly increasing. Going back, we find that in 1950 the U.S. census attempted to count the total number of mixed people, its only attempt ever to do so. It found 18.9 percent of the total population to be mixed, 14.8 percent part-Hawaiian and 4.1 percent people of other mixture. Still farther back, in 1930, only 7.3

percent were part-Hawaiian, in 1910 only 6.5 percent. At these pre-World War II dates there were very few mixtures other than part-Hawaiian. The upward trend is obvious.

That the proportion of mixed people will increase is apparent when one notes a similar growth in the number of mixed children born. In 1979 of all children born the race of whose parents was known (15,805 in all), the mixed children came to 51.9 percent, when Portuguese and Puerto Ricans were listed separately. In 1971 the mixtures came to 43.7 percent. For the period 1970 to 1974 Lind found 42.0 percent mixed births, in 1960-1964 32.2 percent, and in 1931-1950 only 31.3 percent. The trend is clearly and cumulatively upward.

Because the parents of mixed babies who are themselves mixed are reported as mixed only if they are part-Hawaiian, otherwise by an unmixed category, an unknown but probably increasing number of mixed births *seem* to be unmixed but are not. These are the hidden mixed births. So the percentage of mixed births is actually higher than indicated.

Mixed children come from mixed marriages. In 1973 40.6 percent of all marriages were inter-ethnic. For a few years in the late 1960s it appeared the out-marriage rate was down, to as low as 33.7 percent in 1969—from a high of 38.1 percent three years earlier. The drop was brought about, however, not by a reassertion of ethnic identity, as some believed, but by a great decline in the Caucasian out-marriage rate due to the many "R&R" marriages between men on leave from Vietnam and their fiancées from the Mainland. These racial in-marriages, although registered in Hawai'i, did not involve Hawai'i residents.

This unusual situation no longer exists, but a new one has been added. Filipino, Chinese, and Korean immigrants have been coming in. This is seen by the fact that the high out-marriage rates for these groups has become stabilized and for Chinese grooms and Korean grooms and brides even declined. This may also account for the fact that from the overall high of 40.6 percent in 1973 the annual subsequent rates of out-marriage have been 40.1 percent (1974), 39.5 percent (1975), 38.8 percent (1976), 37.5 percent (1977), 37.9 percent (1978), and 38.1 percent (1979).

Lind, following Romanzo Adams in putting years together in groups, reports the following percentages of interracial marriages: 1912-16, 11.5 percent; 1930-40, 22.8 percent; 1950-59, 32.8 percent; and 1975-77, 39.1 percent. Clearly the long-run trend has been upward.

The larger groups tend to be more conservative in regard to out-marriages, since their young people have a wider range of choice within the group and because such groups are able to maintain ethnic cohesion, both culturally and biologically, longer than small groups. Therefore a look at the larger groups should confirm the overall trend. For the Japanese, Filipinos, and Chinese, the trend is clear, but it is not determinable for the Hawaiians, because of their close involvement with the part-Hawaiians. With the high proportion of white military in the population it is understandable that the Caucasian figures are also problematical, but using Lind's tables summarizing the 1931-50 and the 1970-74 periods it is clear that the proportion of pure Caucasian children born continues unchanged to be over 60 percent of all births to Caucasian parents.

But the trend is clear when one inspects the data provided by Lind. The Japanese, the largest established "local" group, with the reputation of being the Islands' culturally most conservative and least out-marrying group. In the five-year period, 1970-1974, the total births to Japanese parents came to 15,847, of whom 43.8 percent were mixed, that is, not Japanese on both sides. In the period 1931-1950 there were only 12 percent mixed children born. So the mixed percentage has risen dramatically from 12 to 43.8. Further, it must be emphasized again that, particularly in the most recent period, an unknown proportion of the "pure" Japanese parents already is mixed. Perhaps the Japanese mixed births already come to half of all children born to Japanese.

The mixed Filipino children born in the 1931-1959 period came to 38.3 percent. That is now up to 45.3 percent in the last five-year period, 1970-1974. The mixed children born to Chinese parents are up from 42.7 percent in the first twenty-year period to 68.4 percent in the last period. Thus in these major groups, the Japanese and Filipinos are approaching the half-way point in proportion of mixed births; the Chinese are well beyond it. Out-marriages, too, have increased markedly for these three groups, as Lind demonstrates. In the decade 1931-1940 less than

10 percent of Japanese brides and grooms married non-Japanese. In the period 1970-1977, 39.4 percent of the brides married "out" and 32.1 percent of the Japanese grooms did. The Chinese brides and grooms were marrying out at 28 percent in 1931-1940, but are now marrying out between 61 and 69 percent. In the 1931-1940 decade, 37.5 percent of Filipino grooms married out, but only 4 percent of the brides—a reflection of their proportionately small number. In the 1970-1977 period, just 47.2 percent of the grooms and 51.1 percent of the brides married out, just about half of each.

Since most Hawaiians already are mixed, they do not lend themselves to this kind of inspection. We know that virtually all children born to Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian parents are mixed. In the six years 1969-1974, only 79 marriages were registered in which both bride and groom were identified as Hawaiian, not part-Hawaiian. In those same six years, only 126 presumably pure Hawaiian children were born both of whose parents were Hawaiians.

Of all mixed children born since 1931, two-thirds or more were part-Hawaiians; the others were other-than-Hawaiian local ethnic mixtures. Similarly, in the quarter of the population which today is mixed, the part-Hawaiians constitute about two-thirds and the non-Hawaiian mixtures the other third. It appears, however, that the non-Hawaiian mixtures are gaining.

New immigrants continuously add to the ethnic complexity of Hawai'i, particularly since the new immigration act of 1965. In the ten years until 1974, some 52,000 immigrants entered the Islands from abroad, of whom 30,000, or more than half, were from the Philippines, many others from Hong Kong and Korea. This does not include an unrecorded number of Samoans who, as nationals of the U.S., are not separately counted as they enter Hawai'i. There were several thousand of them. Most recently, Vietnamese and Laotian refugees, preceded by Vietnamese war brides, have been added. These immigrants will, if they stay, eventually be drawn into the mixing process.

Assimilation

Assimilation or acquisition of the common culture of the U.S. goes on in Hawai'i as in the rest of the nation, although immigrants here are differently derived from those on the Mainland. The schools, the

mass media, political and economic ties with, and fads and fashions from, the U.S. Mainland—all are strong influences in the direction of assimilation. Travel, educational objectives, and occupational opportunities tie the people of Hawai'i ever more closely to the nation as a whole. Second- and third-generation persons of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino ancestry now probably have more of these ties with the U.S. Mainland than with their ancestral countries in Asia. A large number of persons from Hawai'i ethnic groups have gone to the Mainland. The 1970 census even found 28,804 persons on the Mainland who identified themselves as Hawaiian, between a third and a half as many as the 71,375 who so identified themselves in Hawai'i. Their influence on their relatives here, especially when they return, would most probably be in the direction of assimilation to American mainstream ways. Such influences reduce local peculiarities of speech and custom which, without these contacts, would have led Island people to develop their own distinctive, insular culture, with its own provincial dialect of English. Instead these various influences foster assimilation to the mainstream of the American way of life.

Thus while Hawai'i is not developing a separate distinctive culture of its own, cultural assimilation is nevertheless a continuing part of the mixing process as Islanders exchange their own traditions in a kind of "inter-simulation" instead of "as-simulation"—that is, becoming like one another in a mutual interchange, rather than becoming like the target and dominant people among whom immigrant groups have gone to live, in a one-way process. This is simply a Hawai'i variant of the national process among European immigrant nationalities, which has made Americans culturally different from the English.

Cultural mixing takes place both at the very "local" level of working class residents among whom the pidgin culture has been developing, and at the level of the mainstream of national and international life, among intellectuals and those associated with higher education, the professions, science, and the performing and graphic arts. At both levels, people are at the same time cosmopolitan and provincial.

First, the local level. Pidgin English had its beginnings in trading activities on the Honolulu waterfront and in the artisans' shops and merchants' stores of early Chinatown; between the lunas, or foremen, and the foreign contract laborers on sugar plantations; among neighbors of different ethnic

backgrounds; among children at play. When hardly anyone on the plantations, except the bosses and teachers, knew Standard English, the only way for Hawaiians, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos to communicate was through the "business," that is, "pidgin," English, which had been brought from the trading frontier in Canton-Hong Kong-Macao, and which soon developed its own special Hawaiian style. Laborers on plantations received orders in pidgin—and words from Hawaiian, such as *ukupau*, for pay according to piece work, and from Japanese, such as *bango*, for a laborer's work number, became common.

Children developed their own versions of cops-and-robbers and tag which they called "chase-master." Filipino cock fights were shared with men of other nationalities. Baseball, softball, football, basketball were accepted by all. A kind of pidgin recreation grew up. Men courted women in pidgin and raised their children speaking it, and so formed a pidgin family style. Women exchanged foods and recipes across the side hedge and served pidgin meals of Hawaiian poi, Chinese sausages—*laapcheung*—or the Chinese meat-filled rolls, *charsiubaau*—which somehow acquired a Hawaiian name, *manapua* or *mea-ono-pua'a*—and Portuguese sausage, bean soup, and sweet bread. Japanese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Chinese, and Portuguese folk beliefs and practices were exchanged—to be used to court good luck, ward off evil, cope with illness, a mixing of folk beliefs into a sort of "pidgin" religion. In plantation camps and in towns, in urban slums and ghettos, on ranches and among independent farmers, there gradually evolved a very cosmopolitan way of life. It formed at first haltingly, being retarded in ethnic enclaves, and by the assertions of nationalism of immigrant leaders. It was impeded by a variety of interethnic misunderstandings and tensions. But it achieved a mutual tolerance which helped break through ethnic barriers among these working-class people.

The cosmopolitan aspect of this very local and working-class assimilation has been emphasized because it has not been fully appreciated by the elite and by persons from the Mainland. It is much easier to note the provincialism among people following this "local way," their antagonism to people from the outside and to "local haoles," their resistance to learning the prevalent idiom of the country, and the like.

The horizons of those coming in, the future elite, from the beginning usually extended beyond the Islands. They were cosmopolitan people in their interests and

could feel at home in other big cities. Their interests gave them a perspective which was continental, even world-wide—extending to industrial agriculture for world markets, and eventually to music, art, drama, literature, architecture, the sciences, the professions, political and world affairs, the fashions of Paris and New York, the stock market. But they, too, had their insularity. They tended to become socially inbred, often unaware of and insensitive to the needs of obscure local people of all the ethnic groups that made up the bulk of the population.

In spite of the provincialisms, there is interaction between people of the elite and those emerging out of their local ethnic and pidgin roots. The stuff from the pidgin culture, particularly food and language, has pervaded the whole society. The speech has been used creatively. Young people have learned to tell fairy tales, like "The Three Bears," artistically, to write plays and present Shakespeare in the local dialect. Students at our more exclusive schools tell stories in pidgin to the delight of their friends and with consummate artistry. Hilo Hattie, Joe Hadley, and now Andy Bumatai have recorded in pidgin. In the entertainment world such efforts attract Hawai'i's people from all circles, as well as tourists.

At the same time this very process of extending the local culture throughout the society has stimulated wider interest in the high culture of the Great Society. In the 1920s, for instance, were seen the beginnings of an East-West mixing process, paralleling that among the ethnic groups but at the more sophisticated level of urban and world civilization. Students put on plays in the Chinese and Japanese styles—Chinese opera and Japanese *kabuki*—and today the University of Hawai'i is in the forefront of a movement to make Asian drama available to Western audiences. At a series of conferences, philosophers from all over the world considered "Philosophies: East-West." The music of the various heritages is being studied and creativity brought together by competent ethno-musicologists and practicing composers. The architecture of Hawai'i, domestic and institutional, shows the influence of China and Japan, New England, Europe. It is contemporary international and tropical open-air Hawaiian. In these ways Hawai'i actively participates in development of a world civilization.

Integration

The third dimension of the mixing process involves social relations and social organizations. Are people

segregated or do they mix in neighborhoods, business, industrial, and professional organizations, in labor unions, in political parties, governmental organization, schools, churches, community organizations, organized sports and informal recreational activity, underworld life and organized crime, and in the more informal relations among friends and within families? What do people, looked at ethnically, do apart, and what together? How integrated are the social life and the social structure of Hawai'i? People may be culturally assimilated, behave essentially alike—in their conversation, their family life, their political voting—and yet *live* apart and in separate worlds.

In Hawai'i, people live apart, yet they mingle; they participate in organized, informal, ethnically separate activities, yet they associate together. Mixed activities seem to be gaining on those which are separate. When Romanzo Adams was doing his pioneer sociological research in the 1920s and 1930s, he found this mixing taking place in the public sector, but not so much in the private. Today it occurs in both. In politics and government the mixing in the early part of this century was between Hawaiians and Haoles. But gradually persons of Asian ancestry, whose immigrant parents were at that time still ineligible for naturalization as U.S. citizens, began to vote and run for office. The first Chinese were elected in 1919. In 1975, Hawai'i's U.S. senators were a Republican of Chinese ancestry and a Democrat of Japanese ancestry. The two congressmen were both Democrats, one a Japanese man, the other a Japanese woman married to a Haole. The governor and lieutenant governor were both Japanese and both Democrats. The four county mayors were two Haoles and one of Japanese ancestry and one of Filipino ancestry. One of those Haoles was of Italian ancestry, originally from the U.S. East Coast, and married to a woman of Japanese ancestry; the other Haole was a "local boy" of Portuguese ancestry. The Filipino was the first of his ethnic group to hold such office. The chief justice of the State supreme court was Hawaiian-Caucasian-Chinese. His four colleagues were two Japanese, one Filipino, and one Haole.

In political and other aspects of community life the significance of "first times" can be seen. There was a first time when a Chinese, Japanese, or Filipino was elected to public office, or a judge of a given ancestry appointed. Each first time is dramatic. Yet eventually, as second and third times occur, the unprecedented becomes simply a fact of life. The first

person of Japanese ancestry to become a school principal was appointed in the mid-1920s. The first superintendent of education of Japanese ancestry took office in 1967. His three immediate successors were all Japanese, and there were remarks about a Japanese "establishment" in the Department of Education. Then, in 1976, the Board of Education—with a majority of Japanese members—surprised the community by once more appointing a Haole. Japanese dominate public schools because (1) they are the largest of the Oriental groups, and (2) since well before World War II, Oriental families made sacrifices to give their children higher education, with strong emphasis upon careers in teaching, one of the most honorable in their tradition.

The high percentage of Japanese now in elective office has disturbed some people—usually non-Japanese, who regard it as a sort of Japanese takeover, but also those Japanese sensitive to such feelings on the part of the other-than-Japanese. However, this too must be seen in perspective: early in the century, Hawaiians were most numerous in public office, though not in top appointive positions, which were held by Haoles. Later, the Haoles also dominated the legislature.

In business life, integration is not as far advanced. Among major firms—the Big Five, major utilities, the four oldest and largest banks and trust companies, and other large firms like the Dillingham corporation and plantation companies—none has as yet had an Oriental chief executive. But at least two in the last decade have had part-Hawaiian heads, and Orientals are now found among vice presidents and directors of these corporations.

From the 1930s to the 1950s, integration gradually advanced among groups of professional associates, particularly lawyers and physicians. One notable firm of lawyers in the 1930s brought together a Chinese, a Japanese, and a Korean whose firm name indicated this three-way mix. It was not until the 1950s and 1960s that two prominent firms of physicians took in non-Haole partners, both part-Hawaiian and Oriental. By that time, however, participation of non-Haoles in formerly all-Haole medical firms was so natural that no public comment was made. The former Japanese Hospital was, before World War II, exactly what the name implied—the medical, nursing, and administrative staffs, as well as the patients, were all Japanese. During the war the name was changed to Kuakini Hospital, and today

it is quite inter-ethnic, although Japanese still predominate.

First-generation immigrants lived in ethnic villages or camps on sugar plantations because both they and management preferred it that way. But when in the 1940s the interracial and by then powerful ILWU brought about abolition of the union-detested perquisite system and substantial increases in wages, companies were forced into mechanization and supplanted the old camps with larger central towns where workers could own homes. In these towns ethnic integration replaced segregation. Residential segregation was never complete in Honolulu except for small ethnic "camps" in the working-class area and in certain exclusive all-Haole areas. But socially prominent part-Hawaiians could live in the exclusive areas. Today there are still sections where one ethnic group or another is somewhat concentrated. Residential areas close to military bases may have more than 90 percent concentration of Caucasians. The exclusive Haole sections in Honolulu have slowly become integrated. Central Manoa valley, for example, was "silk stocking," upper-middle to upper-class Haole with a sprinkling of part-Hawaiians in the 1920s. Now it is very mixed. There are sections in which 60 to 70 percent is Japanese, but the proportion is declining as new apartment buildings in these sections attract all ethnic groups. Neighborly intimacy gives way to impersonality. To illustrate the process at the other urban-rural extreme, a relatively isolated Hawaiian fishing village on the South Kona coast now has many resident Filipinos.

Certain exclusive clubs—a business and professional men's club, a golf club, and an athletic club at the beach—excluded Orientals from membership. The rationale was: "They have their clubs for their own people. Why can't we do the same?" However the policy increasingly became an embarrassment to members who had close associations with persons of the excluded groups and who felt the injustice of keeping prominent persons in the excluded groups from becoming part of the mainstream—for this is what membership in these clubs actually means. In 1968 the first of these clubs for the first time admitted a few Oriental members, beginning the inevitable breakdown of exclusion. Ethnic origin today has less and less to do with the selection process, though it is not yet totally irrelevant.

The Mixing Process in Individuals

The whole mixing process is reflected in individuals who are caught up in it, mixed and unmixed. They feel

increasing identity with the community, rather than with any ethnic group, regardless of whether they were born in Hawai'i, have lived here long, or whether they simply acquire understanding and appreciation of Island people, even after a short residence. Such an attitude incorporates an identity as an American, but goes beyond it. Most of these people could make an easy transition to life on the Mainland, but there would always be an abiding longing for "the loveliest fleet of islands anchored in any ocean," to use Mark Twain's words.

These young people also recognize the way Hawai'i's loveliness is constantly marred by the exploitation, crime, corruption, and pollution which exist in Hawai'i, as elsewhere.

This sense of identity brings together the mixed and the unmixed. A young man who is a fourth-generation Chinese writes:

I am different from other Americans. I feel different because I am young, and because I am an Oriental. But more. I feel different not only from those Americans who are not Oriental. I seek my past, then, somewhat like Blacks who look not only to Africa but to Harlem, in Hawaii. That Hawaiian past is not so easy to define as my Oriental past. For as my family grew into Hawaiian culture, Hawaii became more and more like the rest of America. It is hard to separate the good America from the bad America. It is hard to differentiate what is peculiar to this one state from the others. Yet I feel a revulsion for that other America which wished to change me into nothing, and a love for the Hawaii which allowed me to become something special.

A fifth-generation Haole contrasts the first four generations of his family in their relationships to Japanese, upon whom they were dependent as servants, with his own:

For the first four [generations] the Japanese were a vital part of a way of life, while for the fifth generation the Japanese represent a new way of life of modern Hawaii. I myself feel well-assimilated into this way of life and find it both challenging and rewarding.

One of the two first recipients of a new undergraduate prize essay contest in sociology quoted one of his young Japanese interviewees in this way:

I don't see myself as Japanese. I have an island identity. I come from Hawaii, not from a foreign country, and not from an ethnic group.

Another "expressed the feeling that he was more comfortable thinking of himself and the things he does as 'local,' as a part of Hawaii, rather than 'Sansei,' as a part of being Japanese."

The first mixed persons—when only two strains, at most three were involved—attempted to keep the strains somewhat separate. As a Chinese-Hawaiian-Haole person put it some thirty years ago, "When it is to my advantage to be Hawaiian, I stress that part of my ancestry. At other times it is an advantage to be Chinese, or Haole." Today, mixed persons seem to share what their fellows of pure descent have expressed, except that in their case the local-ness or neo-Hawaiinness is even more natural.

The three kinds of mixing—biological, cultural, and social—have occurred together in Hawai'i. Biological fusion began the process, and today is as far advanced as the other two. For a time the curious situation in Hawai'i was that social mixing was ahead of cultural assimilation, at least in its sense of acquiring the dominant culture of the whole country in as complete a way as, for instance, Orientals on the Mainland. The people of Hawai'i had enough inter-participation in the mainstream of life in the Islands that they felt a part of the whole, including the whole United States. This was well shown by the response of Island nisei in World War II.

Hawai'i is participating in the national tendency to champion ethnicity, the movement which began with the civil rights and Black Power movements and spread to other minorities—Puerto Rican, Mexican Americans, Chinese, Japanese, even to European minorities. In the Islands an ethnic studies program at the University has received militant support and organizations in various ethnic communities assert "their" importance. Some, like Elizabeth Wittermans-Pino expect such rivals to gain in strength. Their point of view, their interpretations, their statistical analyses should serve to check those presented in this article.

It is problematical how much farther these ethnic movements in Hawai'i will develop. The mixing process is too far advanced, particularly in a population consisting solely of minorities, for the militancy to be easily maintained, despite its value in relieving feelings of inadequacy and inferiority.

We can expect all three kinds of mixing to continue here. The ethnic (or racial) factor will be

with us for a long time, for Hawai'i cannot be insulated from the racialism mounting elsewhere in the world. But individuals here will continue to join a multitude of other-than-ethnic groups—and in them become kaleidoscopically mixed. These groups—religious, political, interest, neighborhood, athletic, recreational—are as much a part of the pluralistic society of Hawai'i and the United States as are ethnic groups.

So we have a mixed people, a mixed culture, a mixed society—well-launched and far along toward an integrated community—and yet, still in process.