FRACTURED COMMUNITIES:

FILIPINO AMERICANS IN SAN DIEGO AND THE IMPERIAL VALLEY

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by

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Fractured Communities:
Filipino Americans in San Diego and Imperial Valley
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This thesis involves the Filipino American communities of San Diego and Imperial Valley as case studies to examine issues of unity. These two locations were chosen as representations of urban and rural spaces respectively. Within these two spaces, I consider how "home bound" linguistic, ethnic, regional loyalties, and values acted and continue to act as a barriers to long term sustained unity. This thesis has shown that in both "spaces" under consideration, San Diego County and Imperial County, there is no cohesive "Filipino Community" *per se.* What needs to be done in both these places is to re-examine goals, positions, and infrastructure to see if there is a will, and grounded on material reality, a concrete need, to develop a sense of salient cohesiveness. Language and ethnic/home bound loyalties are, as evidenced from the literature and field work, becoming less and less important with the advent of each new generation. The Filipino as we know him/her was an invention of the recent past, but is now in a liminal state of redefinition.

Previously, studies concerning the Filipino American community have focused on either the atomized individual or issues of homogeneity among the Filipino Americans – both of which are problematic and not wholly informative. Moreover, most (if not all) studies that examine the Filipino American community limit themselves to either an urban space or a rural space, never both. In this paper, the notion of a community without unity addresses the Filipino Americans who, because of a lack of salient community cohesiveness, lack mainstream political agency and are left without a voice.

This essay begins with the development over historic space and time of the Filipino American migration and settlement experience writ large. Having considered the why and how, the paper takes a step back to consider what the immigrants brought, as well as bring, with them in terms of "Cultural Luggage." The cultural valise is opened by transitioning into an inter-disciplinary examination of "Philippine Values" that closes out the background and context sections.

Filipino American communities of San Diego County and the Imperial Valley region are juxtaposed in an effort to compare and contrast current urban and rural spaces. This approach is important as it treats each space as discrete and unique. However, both spaces are also seen *vis-à-vis* each other in the context of a larger "space." The paper concludes with the finding that despite both urban as well as rural communities as fractured, individuals, sub-groups, and in some cases the community at-large continue to move with inexplicable momentum to make significant contributions to the health, welfare, and education of both the San Diego County and the Imperial Valley areas.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Carlos Bulosan writes:

> One night when I could no longer stand the heat in the closed room, I screamed aloud and woke up most of the steerage passengers. The boy who had been playing the guitar came to my bed with cold water and rubbed my forehead and back with it. I was relieved of my discomfort for a little and told him so.
>
> "My name is Marcelo," he said, "I came from San Manuel, Pangasinan."
>
> "San Manuel?" I said. "I used to work there – in the mongo fields. I am glad to meet you."
>
> "Go to sleep now," he said, "Call for me if you need my help."
>
> I heard his feet pattering away from me, and I was comforted. It was enough that Marcelo had come from a familiar town. It was a bond that bound us together in our journey. And I was to discover later this same regional friendship, which developed into tribalism, obstructed all efforts toward Filipino unity in America (Bulosan 98).

Did the tribalism that Carlos Bulosan presaged above really exist? Does it exist today? Within this rubric, this thesis involves the Filipino American communities of San Diego and Imperial Valley as case studies to examine issues of unity. These two locations were chosen as representations of urban and rural spaces respectively. Within these two spaces, I consider how "home bound" linguistic, ethnic, regional loyalties, and values acted and continue to act as a barriers to long term sustained unity.

Previously, studies concerning the Filipino American community have focused on either the atomized individual or issues of homogeneity among the Filipino Americans. However both issues are problematic and not wholly informative. Moreover, most studies that examine the Filipino American community limit themselves to either an urban space or a rural space, never both. We find such limitations in Rick Bonus's *Locating Filipino Americans: Ethnicity and the Cultural Politics of Space* and Yen Le Espiritu's *Home Bound – Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries*. In this thesis, the notion of a "community without unity" addresses the Filipino Americans who, because of a lack of salient community cohesiveness, lack mainstream political agency and are left without a voice.

The study begins with the development over historic space and time of the Filipino American migration and settlement experience writ large. Having considered the why and how, I then take a step back to consider what the immigrants brought, as well as bring, with them in terms of "Cultural Luggage." The cultural valise is opened by transitioning into an inter-disciplinary examination of

"Philippine Values" that closes out the background and context sections. The whole notion of a unique set of Philippine Values under examination is in and of itself a problem. However, its inclusion, in a self-referential way, is important as a starting point to better understand the interpersonal dynamics of Filipinos at home and abroad. The section on Philippine Values is paradoxical because it raises as many questions as it answers.

The Filipino American communities of San Diego County and the Imperial Valley region are juxtaposed in an effort to compare and contrast current urban and rural spaces. This approach is important as it treats each space as discrete and unique. However, both are also seen *vis-à-vis* each other in the context of a larger "space." Despite both urban as well as rural communities finding themselves fractured for very different reasons, individuals, sub-groups, and in some cases the community at-large continue to move with inexplicable momentum to make significant contributions to the health, welfare, and education of both the San Diego County and the Imperial Valley areas.

The "Metropolitan Racial and Ethnic Change - Census 2000" reports that 145,132 persons of Filipino ethnicity reside in San Diego County. In the Imperial Valley area the situation is different. According to the "Imperial Valley Community Profile 2004" published by the Imperial Valley Economic Development Corporation out of a total population of 142,361, Filipinos comprise only .005% with an estimated total representation of 741 (10-11). For both communities, religion plays an important role. Filipinos in the San Diego and Imperial Valley are predominantly, but not exclusively, Roman Catholic. However, although an overwhelming majority is Catholic, Filipinos more importantly are divided in terms of specific Filipino regional and ethnic groupings.

The number of discrete languages/dialects native to the Philippines is roughly estimated at 80 (Reid vii) but commonly believed to be well in excess of 200 (Yap xii). One could argue that Tagalog, often referred to as "Filipino" or "Pilipino," is simply another dialect. Hence its position as national language is a fiction unnaturally propagated by a dominant discourse in the southern Tagalog region, which is the seat of the federal government.

In a limited convenience survey conducted in 2004 examined language use in the San Diego Filipino American community. It was discovered that the languages and/or dialects spoken by Filipinos in the San Diego area include Batangeno, Bicol, Cantonese, Cebuano, Chabacano, English, Ilocano, Ilongo, Japanese, Mandarin, Pangasinan, Spanish, Tagalog, Waray, and Zambales. Conversely, in a series of interviews conducted in and around the Imperial Valley area, it was discovered that the linguistic range is limited to Ilocano, Cebuano, Pangasinan, and Tagalog.

In both "spaces" under consideration, Filipino ethnics come from as far north as Ilocos in Luzon, Cebu in the Visayas, and in San Diego specifically, as far south as Davao and Zamboanga in Mindanao. Based on a shaky framework of ethno-linguistic origin, shared interests, or social causes,

the Filipinos in San Diego have organized several associations. These are formulated along ethno-linguistic as well as regional lines under the auspices of a blanket organization called the Council of Philippine American Organizations of San Diego County, Inc. or simply COPAO. This pragmatic move has been a double-edged sword. Based on this framework, Filipinos find many spaces and opportunities to bond together with their cohorts. However, when multiple organizations are formed along tentative specific lines, group dynamics cause the groups to further subdivide and split. While Filipinos in San Diego County are found in numerous professions, those who go into business for themselves frequently opt for the food industry, more specifically "oriental markets," (Bonus 12,57-91) that provide food and goods preferred by Filipinos and others of "Asian" origin. In San Diego, Filipino and Filipino Americans make individual residential choices based primarily on dynamics other than ethnicity – specifically socio-economic factors. As a result they are concentrated mainly in south and southeast San Diego and the Del Mar-Mira Mesa areas.

In Imperial Valley, the situation is different and less diverse, leading to greater disintegration. The Valley houses groups that are a carryover from the first *manong* wave – growers' associations, fraternal organizations, and civic organizations. The most important are the kin and home bound provincial groups such as the Sons of Batac – formed by first generation *manongs* in an effort to seek protection from the ever increasing tide of resentment and lack of infrastructure providing insurance and medical assistance.

In terms of urban space, Rick Bonus' *Locating Filipino Americans: Ethnicity and the Cultural Politics of Space* is by definition an ethnographic study. Ethnographic studies carry with them certain benefits and risks. One is able to push forward an agenda without really stating one's agenda up front. In this case, however, Bonus is clear that his agenda is clearly descriptive, and not prescriptive. Unlike this study, Bonus describes the Filipino American communities in Los Angeles and San Diego, limiting himself to an urban arena. Bonus is also clear that he is working within a multi-disciplinary framework, as is this thesis. However, he limits his examination to the connection between identity and space. Bonus posits that particular spaces allow Filipino Americans to react to and oppose the ways in which the dominant discourse has throughout history and via hegemonic institutions removed this group of agency, hence its voice. Bonus focuses on three particular "spaces": [1] "Oriental" stores, [2] community centers, where the pinoys practice "palengke" politics, and [3] through the media via the local newspapers (Bonus 93-114).

By identifying the spaces of as well as articulating Filipino mechanisms of 'resistance,' Bonus greatly benefits Filipinos. First, he allows Filipinos to see what they are doing, making them more self-reflective. Second, through this articulation Filipinos can now self-reflect on how they use

these mechanisms of resistance to their advantage. Self-reflexivity then allows Filipinos to become more aware of their actions and initiate positive change.

Bonus also shows Filipinos how they "invent" themselves. Although the fixation with liminality does not really allow anyone to pin down anything in a definite way, through a reverse sense of "Orientalism" Filipinos shape their identity. According to Bonus, Filipinos in America tend to appropriate what they need and exclude what is not useful to cope with the situation at hand. On the other hand, Bonus flirts with the idea that migration becomes a homogenizing experience. Successive generation are losing touch with their roots, and becoming more "American" or what they perceive to be "American" and this point is well taken. What is missing is a sense of the complexity within the community itself or a thick description.

The majority of Filipinos currently living in San Diego arrived in the last 50 years. As mentioned previously, Filipinos in San Diego organized several associations in the latter half of the 20th Century whose starting point is ethno-linguistic or regional and/or based on other shared agendas. These agendas could be among professionals, such as nurses and teachers (Choy 104-105), or those in the military service, such as Veterans and the Navy personnel (Oades, *Beyond* 27-39). In categorizing themselves "as such," Filipinos look for the companionship of their peers and reassuring conversation in "home bound" languages and dialects (Espiritu, *Filipino* 1-36; Espiritu, *Home Bound* 26, 72, 194-196, 219).

Urban as well as rural Filipinos seek political agency as well as socio-economic advancement for themselves and their fellow Filipinos. Focusing on urban Filipinos, with San Diego as a test bed, reveals a penchant for organization and politics leading to several successes. Conversely, the body politic is also held back by divisive factors. The development of group configurations is marked by change/flux, with new groups sprouting from older ones. Some may continue or realign themselves, others may disband. Several people may belong to several associations concurrently. By gathering together Filipinos of disparate interests, skills, wherewithal, and links in shared ventures, Filipino groups in San Diego County and Imperial Valley, despite the fractured nature of the communities, provide a wellspring of new ideas. They are a constant source of new responses to contemporary urban as well as rural community concerns and needs.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The methodology used in this study is twofold: Firstly, to examine a broad base of literature on the subject of Filipino American migration, settlement, and organization over historic time, with particular reference to San Diego and Imperial Valley. Secondly, to evaluate the linguistic/regional differences in San Diego a survey was conducted. For Imperial Valley, interviews were conducted with key members of the Filipino community.

Using various direct contacts in the San Diego area, a "convenience sample" was conducted hereafter referred to as the *2004 Filipino American Community Study*. The survey was conducted to assess how Filipinos in San Diego feel about delineation along ethno-linguistic or regional lines, as well as to uncover other markers. The various results, outlined in Appendix B, are provided by a sample of 154 informants. The main focus of activity relating to the survey was the San Diego State University area, using randomly selected Filipino American students from the Andres Bonifacio (AB) Samahan, a student organization composed of Filipino American students, and the SDSU Nursing Department. Survey forms were also distributed in National City at the Kalusugan Wellness Center and to students of the SDSU AS460 Spring 2004 class. To include Filipinos in the north county area, a set of students at Mesa College was also surveyed. These sources explain the disproportionate representation of respondents in the 18 to 25 years age group. Friends and relatives of those originally surveyed were randomly selected in a follow-up collection in an effort to distribute the ages and locations of the informants.

In Imperial Valley, the center of Filipino presence in the community is the Pioneers Museum in El Centro. Organizers of the display were contacted and provided both information and further contacts under the auspices of what will hereafter be called the *2005 Combined San Diego and Imperial Valley Filipino American Community Study*, under which the *2004 Filipino American Community Study* has been subsumed. Due to constraint of time and distance, in place of a blind survey, a series of interviews were conducted with key members of the Filipino community in Imperial Valley. Informants from Niland, Brawley, and El Centro were interviewed in order to cover as broad a spectrum as possible. To protect the identities of the informants pseudonyms are used below. The summaries of the interviews are provided in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3

DIASPORA

Due to strong colonial ties, the United States remains the number one "settling point" for most Filipino migrants (Scharlin and Villanueva xviii–xix). However, Filipinos are found in numerous other countries, often working as "Overseas Contract Workers" (Conclara 25, Mangiafico 41). According to Kevin Mellyn in a report written for the Asian Development Bank, "The Philippine diaspora covers over 140 countries. Filipinos are present in significant numbers in North America, Europe, the Middle East, and both high income and developing Asian countries" (Mellyn 7). More importantly, however, as James Tyner states in, *The Philippines: The Dilemma of Philippine International Labor Migration*: "Poverty often serves as a push factor for migration" (Toro-Morn and Alicea 161).

3.1 GLOBAL DISPERSION OF FILIPINOS

Breaking the global diaspora down further, we see that nearly a million Filipinos are employed in the Middle East, in such places as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, and Iran. Filipinos mostly work in the medical field as doctors and nurses (Conclara 25-26, Mangiafico 41). In addition, Filipinos are hired to do manual labor (Domingo 43, Mangiafico 41). Some Filipinos find employment as domestic servants, while others work in construction (Mangiafico 41). Filipinos are also represented in and around the Asia-Pacific region in Hong Kong, Japan, and Singapore. In East and Southeast Asia, Filipinos work predominantly as entertainers and domestics (Mangiafico 41, Toro-Morn and Alicea 163)[1].

Overseas Contract Workers (OCW) send vital remittances of nearly seven billion dollars back to the Philippines yearly (Bonus 143, Espiritu, *Filipino* 1-36, Espiritu, *Home Bound* 90-94, Mellyn 5, Toro-Morn and Alicea 166). Ironically, despite the damage to the domestic economy in terms of a "brain drain," the sizeable contribution of remittances is deemed essential to the very survival of the

[1] See Tyner's vignette of "Nelia" (a pseudonym). Nelia grew up in Olongapo – a town close to the former United States naval base at Subic Bay. After completing high school, Nelia was approached by "talent scouts" in an effort to recruit her to work as a "dancer" in Okinawa. Nelia worked for several years – under a renewable six month contract basis – in order to send home much needed remittance. Nelia decided to quit "dancing" and Japan for good after meeting her husband – a U.S. seaman then stationed in Okinawa. No dates were provided we can surmise however, as the discussion following is situated in 1997 that Nelia's story is fairly recent (Toro-Morn and Alicea 163).

Philippine economy (Bonus 46; Espiritu, *Filipino* 1-36; Espiritu, *Home Bound* 90-94, Toro-Morn and Alicea 166). In spite of the significant contribution made to the economy, very little is actually done to address the oftentimes abysmal working conditions these workers endure (Hilsdon 172-192; Scharlin and Villanueva 22-30; Sison 55; Toro-Morn and Alicea 166-167, 171).

In an effort to better understand the current context of both San Diego and Imperial Valley, we must narrow our scope to the two areas in question. This can be done by examining the historical development of Filipino diaspora into the United States in general. Then we can address the specific locations under consideration.

3.2 FILIPINOS IN THE UNITED STATES

3.2.1 The Manila Men

Filipino migration and settlement to the United States began as early as 1565. Stanley Karnow, in his groundbreaking book *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines,* states that the Philippines experienced, "Three centuries in a Catholic convent and fifty years in Hollywood" (Karnow 9). Spanish colonial rule began in 1521 when Ferdinand Magellan encountered the islands in his search for spices in the Indies. It lasted until the Spanish-American War in 1898 (San Juan, *One Hundred* 6-7; Karnow 9-10; Pigafetta 67). This was quickly followed by United States rule, which ended in 1946 (San Juan, *One Hundred* 7; Karnow 323-355).

The first arrival of the "Manila Men" to this hemisphere occurred in what is currently New Orleans, at an astonishingly early period (*In No One's Shadow*). These sojourners worked on the Manila-based Spanish Galleons that sailed back and forth between the Philippines and Mexico, as early as 1565 until as late as 1815 (Espiritu, *Filipino* 1). Luciano Mangiafico writes in *Contemporary American Immigrants: Patterns of Filipino, Korean, and Chinese Settlement in the United States* that in 1833, 100 deserters from the Spanish Galleons established the village of St. Malo, on the Mississippi River adjacent to New Orleans (31). Sucheng Chan writes in *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*:

> The first Asians to set foot in the New World came with the Manila galleon trade. Filipino and Chinese sailors and stewards were employed in the specially constructed ships that carried cargoes of Chinese luxury goods between Manila and Acapulco from 1565 to 1815. A number of Filipinos apparently had settled in Acapulco by the late sixteenth century, while some Chinese merchants had setup shop in Mexico City by the seventeenth. Marina E. Espina and Fred Cordova have surmised that the Filipinos known as Manilamen found in the marshlands of Louisiana's Barataria Bay (about thirty miles south of New Orleans) in the 1760s were descendants of sailors who had worked on the Manila galleons (Chan 25).

Mangiafico claims these former crewmembers represent the first recorded immigrant community from the Philippines. In the United States the floodgates were not yet ready to open. However, eventually stronger push/pull forces drove Filipinos from the social safety net of their homeland to

venture into *terra incognita* in search of employment. The Filipinos were conditioned for dependency first by the colonial projects of Spain, followed by those of the United States.

3.2.2 *Pensionados*

In October of 1903 the initial group of Filipino students arrived in the U .S. as *Pensionados*[2] (Choy 33-34, Karnow 206-207, Mangiafico 32, Scharlin and Villanueva xx-xxi)[3]. The majority of graduates returned to the Philippines. Others, who fell on hard times and lacked badly needed funds to continue studying, abandoned school to try their hands at unskilled labor to survive in the United States (*In No One's Shadow*, Mangiafico 32). Between 1910 and 1938 almost 14,000 male students migrated to the United States (Espiritu, *Filipino* 4)[4]. Between 1920 and 1925, at the apex of pre-WW II Filipino enrollment in United States schools, an estimated 2000 attended high school or college. In 1939, toward the end of the Great Depression, this enrollment number quickly plunged to around 300 and students turned to farm work (Mabalon, *Stockton* 38). Yen Le Espiritu writes in *Filipino American Lives* that: "Stranded by the Great Depression and lost ambitions, most of these 'unintentional migrants' lived out their lives as laborers in the United States" (4).

3.2.3 The Navy and the Merchant Marine

An alternative route for entrance into the United States was made available by service in the Merchant Marine and the United States Navy. This eventually played a significant role in San Diego's current demographic picture (Oades, *Beyond* 11-26). After WW I, Filipinos were permitted to work as stewards and mess boys. When their service on board ship ended, they were allowed to remain in the United States. This policy lasted until 1936 (Oades, *Beyond* 11-26; Mangiafico 36). During the 1920s and 1930s, the number of servicemen was around 4000 (Espiritu, *Filipino* 15). Military recruitment increased dramatically with the start of the World War II (Chan 121; Mabalon, *Stockton* 38).

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[2] Derives from the root word "Pensyon" meaning "an allowance of expense money" (Ramos 218). Early students to the United States where called *Pensionados* because it was assumed that they were on a scholarship or stipend.

[3] See Appendix E for known cases of *Pensionados* in San Diego.

[4] In the Imperial Valley we find one such case. Paul Retutal came to the United States in 1928 to pursue further studies. At 14 he made the trek to the United States to start school only to leave to work in the fields. He met his wife in Montana and decided to settle in Niland in 1946. A successful grower, he started and nurtured "Niland Beauty Tomatoes" – a brand he was to produce proudly until the late 1950s. Kindly see Retutal family pictures and label in Appendix D.

3.2.4 *Manong* Migration

The first major stream of migration began with the end of the Spanish-American war. Large scale recruiting in 1907 provided Filipinos the opportunity to work in Hawaii. Annexation of the Philippines by the United States instantly gave Filipinos status as "American Nationals" (Takaki, *Strangers* 315). Finances allowing, the new status resulted in seamless entry in and out of the United States, giving the sojourners unimpeded movement between the Philippines and the United States (Takaki, *Strangers* 331).

Subsequent to the Spanish-American War in 1898, the United States denied Filipinos their independence. The United States government began their imperialistic project, killing hundreds of thousands and conquering the islands by 1901 (Kolko, 42, 286-287; San Juan, *One Hundred* 6-8; Karnow 10-12). Immediately following this event, to borrow Michel Foucault's terminology, came the "disciplining" and "punishing" of the Filipinos – rendering them "docile bodies" in a "carceral" community (Rafael 19-51, Foucault, *Discipline* 307-308; San Juan, *One Hundred* 7-8). This led to the development of what Vicente Rafael refers to as "White Love" (Rafael 23) in the complete census of the Philippines (Rafael 19-51).[5] The census formed the underlying infrastructure that allowed United States businessmen to create an agricultural export economy, by taking advantage of the abundance of sugar in the Philippines (Espiritu, *Filipino* 3). As has happened to many other colonial sites around the world, the impact of the colonial experience resulted in economic dependency. On the other hand, the Americans quickly introduced universal public education based on an American model (Karnow 196, 204-5; Scharlin and Villanueva 11, 25) setting the stage for the training of and eventual out migration of medical personnel in the 1960's to today (Choy 17-40).

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[5] Foucault writes in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* that: "That the prison is not the daughter of laws, codes or the judicial apparatus; that it is not subordinated to the court and the docile or clumsy instruments of the sentences that it hands out and of the results that it would like to achieve; that it is the court that is external and subordinate to the prison. That in the central position that it occupies, it is not alone, but linked to the whole series of "carceral" mechanisms which seem distinct enough - since they are intended to alleviate pain, to cure, to comfort - but which all tend, like the prison, to exercise a power of normalization. That these mechanisms are applied not to transgressions against a "central" law, but to the apparatus of production - "commerce" and "industry" - to a whole multiplicity of illegalities, in all their diversity of nature and origin, their specific role in profit and the different ways in which they are dealt with by the punitive mechanisms. And that ultimately what presides over all these mechanisms is not the unitary functioning of an apparatus or an institution, but the necessity of combat and the rules of strategy. That, consequently, the notions of institutions of repression, rejection, exclusion, marginalization, are not adequate to describe, at the very center of the carceral city, the formation of the insidious leniencies, unavowable petty cruelties, small acts of cunning, calculated methods, techniques, "sciences" that permit the fabrication of the disciplinary individual. In this central and centralized humanity, the effect and instruments of complex power relations, bodies and forces subjected to multiple mechanisms of "incarceration," objects for discourses that are in themselves elements for this strategy, must we hear the distant roar of battle" (Foucault, Discipline 307-308).

Filipino sojourners primarily worked in agriculture, in the 'rural' spaces, but also worked in private homes or businesses as helpers, cooks, gardeners, bus boys, janitors etc., in the 'urban' spaces. Sometimes workers would transition in and out of both. Many Filipinos did manual labor, because they were willing to accept the low pay (Takaki, *Strangers* 320). Filipinos worked hard and rarely complained about their pay – giving the impression of a compliant/docile "Other." It is argued that this image of the compliant "Other" is one of the main reasons why more and more Filipinos were employed – creating a vicious circle. Not until much later did Filipinos, with the violation of the principles of SIR, which will be explained later in Chapter 4 – Philippine Values, seek political agency. The outcome of this awakening was disastrous to the Filipino American community.

In the Philippines instruction was conducted mainly in English using textbooks from the United States (Choy 41-49). As a result, Filipino students educated in United States culture and values began to desire to visit the United States and find out about the opportunities depicted in their textbooks (Espiritu, *Filipino* 3; Liu and Ong 490-492). According to political activist and United Farm Worker leader Philip Vera Cruz, "because of our colonial education we looked up to anything American as good" (Scharlin and Villanueva 11). In the 1920s, Filipino farm workers stretched throughout the coastline of California, where gangs of Filipino workers were hired (Takaki, *Strangers* 317-318). Some of the field workers from the mainland used their vacation time to work in the Alaskan canneries to earn extra money (Domingo 43-44; Takaki, *Strangers* 317). Filipinos found themselves working for Chinese and Japanese contractors as factory workers in the larger Alaskan canneries (Domingo 43-44; Takaki, *Strangers* 318).

As sojourners – with no wives – most Filipinos completed their contracts and returned to the Philippines. Most of these workers accumulated savings and purchased land in the Philippines, eventually returning home. According to an interviewee in the film *In No One's Shadow* upon hearing about the success stories of Filipinos abroad, Filipinos in the Philippines were inspired to seek work in the United States. This was a precursor to the current phenomenon of "chain migration." Other Filipinos, not so fortunate or looking for better options, used Hawaii as a bridge to the mainland. Filipinos traveled to the United States as "American Nationals," mostly in the western states such as California, Washington, and Alaska (Takaki, *Strangers* 314).

Aside from the stereotype of "sexual threat," which will be dealt with separately below, what makes the Filipino American experience unique *vis-à-vis* other Asian Americans is the close knit relationship of the Philippines as a colony of the United States. This relationship insulated Filipinos from several of the racially inspired exclusion laws, but did not completely insulate them from subsequent racist acts and repatriation legislation. For Filipinos who migrated from Hawaii and had previously worked in the fields, similar employment opportunities waited for them on the mainland.

Prior to 1965, arguably the most significant factor in Filipino migration to the United States – more than the *pensionados* and the naval service/merchant marines – was the structural need for agricultural laborers in the United States mainland and Hawaii. This attracted the largest group of Filipinos. The impetus for many Filipinos to travel abroad was a homeland stricken by particular types of chronic poverty due to a lack of economic opportunities, coupled with the structural demand for labor in the United States. The combination of poverty and structural demand makes for strong push/pull motivators, which will get more extensive treatment below. As the United States occupied new land, and began new agricultural projects, there was predictably an increase in demand to hire contracted laborers to replace those misplaced by ever increasing restrictive Chinese as well as Japanese exclusion laws in the United States. Many migrant Filipinos worked in sugar cane fields in and around Hawaii, while some harvested pineapples**.**

Reflecting on research done on the early farm workers in Hawaii in the *manong* era, Juanita Tamayo Lott writes:

> The present and future profiles of Filipinos depict a cosmopolitan and complex community – one with mixed neighborhoods of renters and property owners, primarily in major cities and suburbs. This community is distributed across all income and occupational groups and diverse living arrangements. The issue facing this community is whether this demographic profile can be transformed into an effective political constituency and economic force in and of itself and in unison with other population groups under a pan-ethnic coalition (19).

Lott unconsciously sets up the problematic of salient unity and cohesiveness. In a move to survive under such trying circumstances – a key point for the unity question explored in this thesis – Filipino *sakadas* prized the connections between friends and family. Thus they banded together by forming fraternal organizations as well as robust cultural, religious, and community organizations (Castillo, *Once Invisible* 66; Espiritu, *Filipino* 11; Chan 75)[6]. In Imperial Valley fraternities such as the

[6] Particularly, in the case of Imperial Valley, proof of the formation of and Filipino membership in fraternal societies – particularly the Freemasons – is evidenced in the 1,200+ photo negative archive called the Hetzel Collection housed in Imperial's Pioneer's Museum. According to author Joe Livernois in *Hetzel the Photographer - Impressions of Imperial Valley*: "Hetzel was a straight-forward documentarian, which meant he photographed life exactly as he saw it" (ix). A complement of fifteen includes a Filipino component: H12-14-G36-1, Group portrait of the Vivroa Lodge, U.D. members. Filipino men - Caption reads Vivroa Lodge, J.D. Caballeors De Dimas Alang, Inc. El Centro, Calif., Farewell to illustrious Cosme Brasil of the Regional Supreme Concision, 2/5/1933; H12-15-G38-1, Group portrait of the Vivroa Lodge, U.D. members. Filipino men and women - Caption reads C. 13rasil - organizer, J. Olidan, sub organizer, Vivroa Lodge, U.D. Caballeors De Dimas-Alang, Inc. El Centro, Calif., 11/22/1931; H38-17-W441-1, Group portrait of Filipino Masons re: Installation of Officers., 11/23/1935; H38-18-W44-2, Filipino - group of people at a banquet. Caption reads "Social Night Banquet, California Hotel, El Centro.", 11/23/1935; H38-21-W46-1, Group portrait of Filipino Masons Mactan Lodge No. 32., 11/20/1938; H38-22,-W46-2, Group portrait of Filipino Masons Subordinate Lodges., 11/20/1938; H38-23-W47-1, Group portrait of Filipino Masons Mactan Lodge No. 32., 1/2611937; H38-24-W48-1, Group portrait of Filipino Masons Lodge No. 32.,1/11/1938. Despite documenting the *pakikisama* and Kin elements of Filipino Values, this small set of pictures also evidences the contrary notion of organization along ethno-linguistic lines. Mactan is a small island adjacent to the main island province of Cebu

Caballeros de Dimas Alang (Chan 75), the Legionarios de Trabajo, Inc., and The Sons of Batac (Interviewees 1, 2, and 3, personal communication Sep. 2005) as well as umbrella groups like Filipino Community of Imperial Valley, Inc. They held massive community events as early as the mid-1920s and continued to do so at least through the 1950s. The union hall was a valuable tool for the Filipino community, hosting annual dances, various social functions, and, of course, promising employment.

After the Hawaiian plantation strikes of the 1920s, roughly 18,000 Filipino laborers left Hawaii for the mainland to continue on as field laborers in states like California and Washington. Many *sakadas* and *manongs* found employment in the Alaskan canneries as well. In the closing years of the 1920s, more than 45,000 Filipinos settled on the mainland, primarily in California, where they did harsh "stoop-labor" in the fields for low wages (Takaki, *Strangers* 315-354; *In No One's Shadow*; *Silk Screen: A Dollar A Day, 10 Cents a Dance*). The migrant housing accessible to them was unhygienic, high-density, and even hazardous (Espiritu, *Filipino* 10-11; Melendy 85-94). Jobs were in short supply during the Great Depression. This led to antipathy towards the Filipino workers expressed in race riots and the drafting of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 (Takaki, *Strangers* 14, 331-332, 337).

As will be explained later, what differentiates Asian and non-Asian immigration to the United States is the sticking point of race. However, for present purposes, we will focus on one of the elements that sets the Filipino American experience apart is. As has already been alluded to the Filipino was seen as a sexual threat (Chan 60-61). Not a trivial distinction, this label has been cause of much suffering and will play itself out in a real sense when we deal with the Imperial Valley in general and Niland in particular (Interviewee 2, personal communication Sep. 2005).

The early Filipino migrant, not unlike his cohorts from other Asian countries came to the United States alone. Without the time consuming task of raising children and the companionship of a wife, the lone Filipino sought diversion and distraction in more readily available spaces (*Silk Screen: A Dollar A Day, 10 Cents a Dance*). It is in those spaces that the Filipino encountered some of the most virulent forms of racism. He was seen as a threat. Takaki outlines the conditions, the sources, and consequences of the anti-miscegenation phenomenon in *Strangers from a Different Shore*:

> The extreme violence of the anti-Filipino fury betrayed fears of Filipino sexuality. "The Japs and Chinese have never mixed with 'white' women to any extent,"[7] said a Stockton resident in 1930,

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– which is a Visayan locale. It was intimated to me that prior to the diaspora out of the Imperial Valley in the 1950s, particularly in Niland, a group from Pangasinan maintained a ghetto just outside the city proper – close to what is now "Slab City" effectively distancing themselves from the mainstream Ilocano component (Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 3, personal communication Sep. 2005). See Appendix D.

[7] The whole issue of Chinese, Japanese and Koreans not mixing with Anglo-European women is more extensively covered by Sucheng Chan in *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (60-61). Chan's take on the

> "not to the extent that the Filipino does anyway." Unlike men from China, Japan, Korea, and India, men from the Philippines seemed to seek out white female companionship and to be attractive to white women. "The Filipinos are… a social menace as they will not leave our white girls alone and frequently intermarry," said a white man before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in 1930. […] Explaining the "Filipino's success with white women," the deputy labor commissioner said: "The love-making of the Filipino is primitive, even heathenish… more elaborate." A California businessman put it more bluntly: "The Filipinos are hot little rabbits and many of these white women like them for this reason" (Takaki, *Strangers* 328).

According to Espiritu, in Watsonville, California, "four hundred white vigilantes attacked a Filipino dance club, beating dozens of Filipinos and killing one" (Espiritu, *Filipino* 13). Simultaneously, race riots occurred in California and Washington. California and 12 other states enacted miscegenation laws banning marriages between Filipinos (then called "Malays") and "whites" (Ancheta 82-103). Race and race issues take on a more human character in the exploration of the stories of Carlos Bulosan and Philip Vera Cruz.

Carlos Bulosan and Philip Vera Cruz immortalized their struggles in their moving autobiographies *America is in the Heart: A Personal History* and *Philip Vera Cruz: A Personal History of Filipino Immigrants and the Farmworkers Movement* respectively. In Hawaii, the largest group was the Ilocanos constituting two thirds of the Filipino migrants to Hawaii. They were forced to seek employment outside of the Philippines after their homegrown textile industry was supplanted by imports (Espiritu, *Filipino* 6-7). Based on recruiter preference, the second largest group was from the eastern Visayas. By 1930, in excess of 61,000 Filipinos lingered as permanent residents in Hawaii after their contracts expired (Espiritu, *Filipino* 6-7).

Reading *America is in the Heart* is difficult. On the surface, the Archive (in the Foucault sense) points to a death due to a broken heart. However, closer examination of Bulosan's situation points to a death brought on by collective affliction, deprivation, and maltreatment since his arrival in the early 1930s. The narrative clearly points to bouts of excessive drinking and violence. What is more important is that *America is in the Heart* leans toward a united effort to combat global fascism. However, this poignant autobiography is really a testimony to years of struggle against racism and violence.

In an autobiography in four parts, Bulosan takes us back, literally and figuratively, to his roots in Binalonan, Pangasinan. Bulosan describes how in his adolescent years how his family barely survived on four hectares of land, which they eventually lost to the moneylender and the absentee

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situation is interesting because she writes that the Filipinos were seen to be of "mixed" origin, "primarily Melayo-Polynesian, Spanish, and Chinese" (Chan 60). This fueled the hysteria of "hybridization," giving the issue new meaning. A more extensive explanation (or justification) thus is provided for the intensity of Anglo-European animosity towards those who were deemed their "little brown brothers."

landlords, and the efforts of his mother to save the farm. In the end, things got so bad that the men, most barely adolescents, opted for the promise of jobs and survival in America. Scholars often overlook the fact that the suffering of the Filipinos really started at home. Despite his suffering, Bulosan as well as his direct kin and *kababayans* (Countryman) elected to remain in the United States.

At this junction, I would like to juxtapose the optimism and the rage that formed the collective consciousness of Bulosan and his inability to reconcile the contradiction:

> America is also the nameless foreigner, the homeless refugee, the hungry boy begging for a job and the black body dangling on a tree. America is the illiterate immigrant who is ashamed that the world of books and the intellectual opportunities is closed to him. We are all that nameless foreigner, the homeless refugee, that hungry boy, that illiterate immigrant and that lynched black body. All of us, from the first Adam to the last Filipino, native born or alien, educated or illiterate. We are America (Bulosan xxiv)!

Almost echoing the angst of Richard Wright, Bulosan's proletarian experience is translated quickly to a racism *tour-de-force.* It cuts right into the heart of his critique. Despite being laced with communist verbiage, the autobiography is a critique against the savagery of prejudice. The subaltern has spoken. We simply need to take heed. One of the most compelling and fascinating issues brought up in *America is in the Heart* is the issue of miscegenation. The laws prohibited marriage to Anglo-European women by so-called "Mongolian," later expanded to include Malay, exacerbated the racist problems. What is the "real" impact on the psyche of a law such as this?

Bulosan may not have meant this work to be representative of the entire Filipino-American experience, but it suffers an editorial/historical problem. Bulosan certainly edits his experience. In terms of the veracity of the entire book, one has no problem believing the accuracy of the experience. We are already removed one step from history by the writer and are removed one more step again by the writer due to his actual experience. We may never get to the "real" truth and the "real" extent of the violence. Nonetheless Bulosan's triumph of the spirit is inspiring. If but one experience of violence against a Filipino "as such," or a denial of lodging to a Filipino "as such," or any group for that matter, is accurate, then an injustice has occurred. *America is in the Heart* is therefore a call for collective agency. Do we still have such a need today?

Although this book may not be fully representative of the Filipino American experience writ large, certainly Bulosan should be read carefully. His book is an indictment of a negative social condition – where one man can create the "Other" in a society that plays up universal brotherhood. This is not an uncommon malady. The question that begs to be asked is: Does Bulosan write as if he is writing about the whole group? Bulosan is a necessary read because he augments the selection of the Asian American experience and ethnic studies in general and articulates "a" not "the" Filipino American experience. It is a deep and cutting exploration of the Filipino experience, adding to the

complexity of identity creation. This book incites self-reflection on the past for both the "Same" and the "Other."

The narrative of Philip Vera Cruz adds another dimension to the Filipino American story in *Philip Vera Cruz: A Personal History of Filipino Immigrants and the Farmworkers Movement*. Somewhat moving on from Bulosan's narrative, Vera Cruz provides us with a more lucid articulation of the development of the United Farm Workers Union and his brush with Cesar Chavez. Philip Vera Cruz's story, although less emotional and somewhat more reflective, is no less passionate then the one told by Bulosan. Craig Scharlin and Lilia Villanueva are scribes in a very intimate portrait of Philip Vera Cruz's struggle as a new immigrant, farm worker and then later activist. Vera Cruz through Scharlin and Villanueva takes us to a more contemporary space. In this book, much like Bulosan before him, Vera Cruz gives us a very personal account of his experience.

According to Vera Cruz, as early as the 1930s, Filipino migrant workers organized labor unions and established charters in the AFL. It is established in common sense understanding that the farm workers movement was a Mexican American movement set in motion by the 1965 Delano grape strike in the San Joaquin Valley (Scharlin and Villanueva 3, 8-21; Interviewee 1, personal communication Sep. 2005; Mabalon, *Stockton* 38). Mexican dominance in the creation of the UFW could not be further from the truth. According to Vera Cruz, the farm workers movement was actually initiated in the 1930s with the Filipino Workers Association, the Filipino Labor Union, and the Filipino Agricultural Laborers Association (Bulosan 195; Bautista 135; Espiritu, *Filipino* 11).

Veltisezar Bautista argues in *The Filipino Americans from 1763 to the Present: Their History, Culture, and Traditions* that the 1965 grape strike was instigated by the Filipino Labor Union, headed by Larry Itlong. A week later they were joined by Cesar Chavez and his National Farm Workers Organization (Bautista 135, Scharlin and Villanueva 31-51). The two unions were merged into the United Farm Workers with the support of Vera Cruz, who became a vice president of the UFW (Bautista 240; Castillo, *Once Invisible* 66; Mabalon, *Why the Flock* 67; Scharlin and Villanueva xiii). Philip Vera Cruz provides us with poignant insight regarding the Filipino immigrant experience beyond the turn of the century *manong* experience:

> New immigrants, who will compete with the workers already here, are arriving everyday from the Philippines, Puerto Rico, the Arab countries, from Jamaica, and especially Mexico. Third World countries have been exploited so much by the multinational corporations that their people, moved by extreme poverty, leave their home countries to seek work in an industrialized country like the United States. The multinationals suck the wealth out of their homeland like a vampire sucks blood. And these same big businesses here greet these new immigrants with open arms. These poor foreigners bring their cheap labor which means increasing profits for the big corporations. When the present group of workers here starts to get organized and win some of their struggles for better wages and benefits, then the big agribusinesses here in California, with the help of the government, try to bring in new groups of workers (Scharlin and Villanueva 145).

According to Vera Cruz, the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 was instigated by the fears and insecurities of local workers concerning their job situation. Although it is not reflective of the conditions of all immigrant groups, particularly Asian, Vera Cruz's experience does echo, to a large extent, Carlos Bulosan's and forms part of the discourse and narrative of the *manong* experience.

3.2.5 The Tydings-McDuffie Act

Immigration into the United States was nearly stopped in 1932, when the Great Depression severely curtailed recruitment of Filipino workers abroad. The passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act by the United States Congress granted the Philippine Commonwealth independence, thus re-categorizing Filipinos as aliens. It also limited their entrance to the United States to 50 per annum (Ancheta 26; Anderson, *Cacique* 13; Chan 55-60; Karnow 255).

Angelo Ancheta writing in *Race, Rights, and the Asian American Experience*, provides a different perspective of the Tydings-McDuffie Act story:

> Filipinos, who were United States nationals because of the Philippines' colonial status, were not affected by the 1924 act.[8] Because of the need for low-wage labor, Filipino workers were recruited to Hawaii and the West during the 1920s. In time, anti-Filipino sentiment became as vitriolic as other forms of anti-Asian feeling, but exclusion could not be invoked against the inhabitants of an American colony. In time, the movement for Philippine independence combined with American nativism to promote Congress's passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934. The act granted commonwealth status to the Philippines and led to independence in 1946 (Ancheta 27). [9]

In Washington, moves were made by Manuel Quezon and with Senators Harry Hawes,[10] Millard Tydings and Representative John McDuffie to see if independence, or at least Commonwealth status, could be granted to the Philippine Islands:

> Quezon turned to Millard Tydings of Maryland, who chaired the Senate committee responsible for the islands. Tydings, knowing that Quezon mainly hoped to advance himself was cool. But Hawes had recently left the Senate and Quezon, flush with sugar money, enlisted him as a paid lobbyist. Together they convinced Tydings that only Quezon had the influence to line up the Philippine legislature behind an independence bill. He and Representative John McDuffie of Alabama essentially repackaged Hawes motion of the previous year, and Roosevelt's blessing steered it to an even bigger majority in Congress in March 1934. For Quezon, success had justified duplicity.

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[8] Ancheta is referring here to the 1924 Immigration Act that limited the number of immigrants, on a nationwide basis, by the establishment of quotas based on the population figures by group as of 1890 (Ancheta 26).

[9] Lucy E. Salyer writes in *Laws Harsh as Tigers*, "Filipinos were the only Asians unaffected by the act of 1924. As noncitizen U.S. nationals (by virtue of their colonial status), Filipinos were exempt from the law. Their immigration to the United States became restricted in 1934" (Salyer 284 n.87).

[10] Senators Harry Hawes and Bronson Cutting drafted legislation in 1930 that was the precursor to the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934. Within the framework of the collaboration of Hawes and Cutting, independence was granted to the Philippines within 5 years.

> "When the historian passes on what we have all said and done at this momentous period," he wrote at the time, "how petty and how small must our dissensions and disputes seem to him" (Karnow 255).

Ronald Takaki writes in *Strangers From A Different Shore : A History Of Asian Americans*, "The purpose of the Tydings-McDuffie Act was Filipino exclusion: as residents of an independent country rather than a United States territory, Filipinos would no longer have unrestricted entry to the Unites States" (Takaki, *Strangers* 331).

Prior to, during, and after the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, to placate their respective constituencies, mostly labor, moves were undertaken by Richard Welch and Hiram Johnson to repatriate Filipinos living in the United States. The repatriation effort stopped with the passing of the Nationality Act of 1940. A provision in this act granted American citizenship through naturalization to the Filipinos (Avery 931). Citizenship was also granted to Filipinos after their required registration under the Alien Registration Act of 1940 (Auerbach 12).

The political motivation for granting American citizenship was linked to the state-of-war situation of the United States; it was important to strengthen its relationship with its allies and protectorates (Chan 121-142). Approximately sixteen thousand Filipinos in California obtained American citizenship in 1940 and during the war years as a consequence of the provisions in the above acts (McWilliams 244). Caught between the political agenda of Filipino nationalists *vis-à-vis* American exclusionists, the Filipino immigrant, inhabiting once again a liminal space, was effectively left to his/her own devices until 1965. Following on the heels of the civil rights movement was the passing of the Immigration Act of 1965 and not until then were the effects of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 fully reversed.

3.2.6 Post 1965

Asian immigration is distinct from it counterpart European immigration based on one concrete sticking point – Race (Aguilar-San Juan 1-15, Ancheta 19, Daniels 3-20, Dudley 14-22, Takaki, *Strangers Again* 13). Early Chinese immigration and eventual exclusion under the parameters of The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 set the trend for subsequent discriminatory laws and policy that impacted all subsequent "Asian" immigration (Salyer 17-18 and 105-106; Takaki, *Strangers Again* 12). The passing of The National Origins Act of 1924, aimed at limiting Japanese immigration, has its basis in The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (Takaki, *Strangers Again* 13). The combination of The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, The National Origins Act of 1924, and as explained above, the introduction of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 predictably halted Filipino migration to and settlement in the United States.

Based on a recent visit to Angel Island in Tiburon, California and The National Archives and Records Administration in San Bruno, no records exist of Filipino entry prior to 1934. No records exist in Angel Island pre-1934 because up until then Filipinos were seen as nationals and therefore did not need to clear immigration. Two cases of interest exemplify very similar yet entirely distinct experiences. Both individuals were denied entry in to the United States, for very different reasons. The case of Leoncio Abenis and Andres Calendad are marked more by their differences than then similarities (The National Archives 12-15).[11]

Leoncio Abenis's denial was based on health as well as an imagined economic reason, a clear manifestation and implementation of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934. Conversely, Andres Calendad's petition was denied on the premise that he "looked" Chinese, clearly indicating racialized legislation that began with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 as well as subsequent actions to bar Chinese entry into the United States. To extract from the deportation order of Inspectors Dunton and Butler, "It appears that, inasmuch as his father was full-blood Chinese, applicant should be considered as being of the Chinese race and that he is therefore subject to the Chinese Exclusion Law" (See Appendix C).

It was not until 1943, with the advent of World War II, that the United States experienced a fundamental shift in diplomatic relations vis-à-vis Japan. The change in relations with Japan in 1942, due to wartime activity, resulted in tragic repercussions for Japanese Americans (Kim 755-895) but was a boon to the Chinese as well as other Asian Americans, particularly Filipinos (Melendy 46-57). With this change in attitude toward Japan the Chinese Americans saw a reprieve from the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (Takaki, *Strangers* 376-378).

In *Not Like Us: Immigrants and Minorities in America 1890-1924*, Roger Daniels argues that United States wartime considerations *vis-à-vis* their allies prompted moves by Congress in this direction (Daniels 155). After the 1942 repeal of The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Asian Americans saw the lifting of the bar to naturalization. Prior to the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, in dramatic turn of events, The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, allowed some Asians (non-whites) to become citizens (Takaki, *Strangers Again* 22). Takaki argues that before 1952, "…only white immigrants could be naturalized" (Takaki, *Strangers Again* 23).

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[11] Source: The National Archives and Records Administration, San Bruno. Note: The box (#3271) that I researched during my visit contained files of men, including Leoncio Abenis, arriving in San Francisco aboard the SS President Hoover on May 9, 1934. Andres Calendad was not aboard that ship. He arrived much earlier aboard the SS Colombia on November 6, 1920 (file 19667/2-1 from box 1472 @shelf 3286H) which is more in line with the Chinese exclusion element. There is was no "Certificate of Medical Examination and Identity" in Mr. Calendad's file.

Filipinos and Asian Indians would have to wait until 1946 to seek naturalization except for those Filipinos who signed up to serve during the war (Ancheta 34). Subsequently, the passage of the McCarren-Walter Act of 1952 removed race as a criterion for naturalization (Ancheta 34-35). All other Asian Americans would have to wait until 1964, and later 1965 for the passage of the Civil Rights Act and Immigration Act respectively – both of which truly removed the caustic effects of racialized laws and acts that began as early as 1882.

Following in the footsteps of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the passage of the Immigration Act in 1965 is a clear and distinct break from decades of explicit legislative and governmental discrimination against Asian Americans (Ancheta 19). According to Ancheta, The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 was a "watershed" event in the long history of discrimination against Asian Americans (Ancheta 19). Ancheta states: "It was not until reforms enacted in the Immigration Act of 1965 that race-based exclusions were fully removed from the immigration laws" (Ancheta 27).

The change in immigration policy that took effect in the mid-sixties ultimately resulted in a dramatic change in the demographic composition of the United States: "The immigration Act of 1965 reopened the gates to immigrants from Asia, allowing a quota of 20,000 immigrants from each country, as well as the entry of family members on a nonquota basis" (Takaki, *Strangers* 5). The introduction of the quota system in the 1960s drastically changed the immigration horizon for all immigrants, but more so for Filipinos (See Appendix A). Unlike the earlier sojourners the entrants were urban rather than rural, as they had been in decades past (Takaki, *Strangers Again* 57).

Unlike the previous migration by predominantly single men with plans to return home, the post 1965 migration was marked by settlement. Ronald Takaki states in *Strangers at the Gates Again*:

> In contrast to the earlier immigrants, who were mostly men, the recent Filipino newcomers have been mostly women. The new immigrants include professionals such as engineers, scientists, accountants, teachers, lawyers, nurses, and doctors. Between 1966 and 1970, for example, 10% of the Filipinos immigrants were laborers, and 65% were professionals and technical workers (Takaki, *Strangers Again* 57).

As will be expanded on later in this thesis, there were several reasons that "pushed" the post 1965 Filipinos to migrate – political and more predictably, economic (Takaki, *Strangers Again* 58). As we will explore later, although push/pull theory has explanatory powers economics is not the sole motivator and not fully informative.

Doctors and nurses filled structural needs in the United States making their entry easier than most other immigrants. According to Takaki, doctors and nurses can be found on staff in hospitals from California to New York and New Jersey (Takaki, *Strangers Again* 60). The migration of medical personnel – doctors and nurses, it can be argued, is the coming full circle of the United States based medical training infrastructure initiated during the colonization days of the turn of the century.

In a more playful scenario, Rizalino Oades writes in *Beyond the Mask: Untold Stories of U.S. Navy Filipinos* about a more contemporary scenario, setting the stage for a more complex look at push/pull:

> Like their Navy counterparts, Filipino nurses came to the United States for adventure, professional growth, prestige, higher income, and better working conditions. In other cases, nurses emigrated because of personal circumstances that included parents wanting their daughters to temporarily separate from their boyfriends in the Philippines or vice versa. Other nurses left home to escape their controlling parents and achieve personal independence (20).

Another issue is the class fissure that formed with the entry of "professionals" post 1965. In both places under consideration, San Diego and Imperial Valley, a strong north/south and professional cum working class distinction arises. Ana Cabato speaks to this issue in an interview for *Filipino American Lives*: "I think the parents up north are more enthused because they are professionals. They value education tremendously. On the other hand, the people down south are just trying to make ends meet. They are not as educated. They want their kids to be involved, but they don't take an active role in helping the organization" (Espiritu, *Filipino* 149).

In Imperial Valley, it was suggested that final implementation of the Filipino display could have been facilitated with greater ease had there been increased communication with the "professionals" on the one hand and the older "working class" on the other. Once again, through inexplicable momentum, dancing (in San Diego) and display (in Imperial Valley) – both manifestations and celebrations of a long and vibrant culture – flourish.

In San Diego, as opposed to and in comparison with the Imperial Valley, we see a convergence and divergence of motivational factors for out migration from the Philippines. While the Imperial Valley area forms more of a continuum in terms of descendants of farm workers, San Diego conversely is characterized by a sense of flux; lending itself to a more modern and dynamic cityscape. No matter what the story is, whether pressing economic or political concerns, Filipinos come to the United States, past and present, with the mindset, if you will, more like a value set that guides them. The discussion that follows is not the definitive statement on that mind set but it is a starting point to understand the complexities of the Filipino psyche. The value set can be seen to cause all things from cognitive dissonance to the fracturing of the family and the community that grows out of it. At the core of what can be loosely identified as Philippine Values is the family.

CHAPTER 4

PHILIPPINE VALUES

Undertaking a project like an interdisciplinary examination of Philippine Values, particularly to understand a culture, is a risky but nonetheless informative enterprise. From the outset, it should be understood that this is "a" rather than "the" examination of Philippine Values. This section is divided three main areas: an anthropological-sociological examination, a literary-aesthetic perspective, and a political-historical angle.

The first sub-section, "The Research on Philippine Values," is an examination of the dominant discourse pertaining to Philippine Values and definition of terms. The dominant discourse centers on the work of Frank Lynch and researchers at the Institute of Philippine Culture at the Ateneo de Manila. Much of the research revolves around the principles of Smooth Interpersonal Relations (SIR).

The second sub-section, "The Exploration of Philippine Values in Fiction," moves away from an anthropological-sociological approach to an articulation and reinforcement through culture via literature. Literature is important to the likes of Benedict Anderson in terms of nationalism, a topic we will deal with more extensively later in the thesis. Edward Said writes in his seminal work *Orientalism* and later *Culture and Imperialism* that fiction is a compelling force in cultural production and hence should be reckoned with:

> First of all it means all those practices, like the arts of description, communication, and representation, that have relative autonomy from the economic, social, and political realms and that often exist in aesthetic forms, one of whose principal aim is pleasure. Included, of course, are both the popular stock of lore about distant parts of the world and specialized knowledge available in such learned disciplines as ethnography, historiography, philology, sociology, and literary history (Said, *Culture* xii).

It is argued that such works as *Noli Me Tangere* by Jose Rizal set values and archetypes, perhaps unconsciously, contemporary pieces like *Eating Fire and Drinking Water* by Arlene Chai and *Dogeaters* by Jessica Hagedorn build on this historical precedent and perform an aesthetic articulation or re-articulation. The extent to which Rizal was read and understood is not really known. We will put that aside for now in favor of simply understanding what Rizal brings to the table. It should be noted that none of the books under consideration here specifically take into account articulations of SIR. However, careful reading reveals that they echo, reflect or articulate the values and cultural norms and mores. The books and writers under examination should not be mistaken for moralists; they

simply exemplify the values outlined by Lynch et al. and his counterpart in F. Landa Jocano. The values as articulated by Lynch, et al. reverberate through the novels.

The third sub-section, “The Exploration of Philippine Values in Politics,” turns away from the fictional to a narrative that is based on political science and history. The archive relates actual events and people who have interacted, both positively and negatively, with Philippine Values as articulated by Lynch and his ilk.

Much like the broader thesis, the undertaking in this sub-section aims at a broad rather than a specific area of study, encompassing as many disciplines as possible. Philippine Values are examined independent of comparison to other frameworks that may exist in other countries. Reductionism is resisted through extensive comparisons to other countries, although superficial comparisons are inevitable. Purposefully ignoring pundits who say, “The Philippines should be more like...” the last sub-section argues that Filipinos are in many senses unique, within a socially constructed context. A possible technique or strategy that may prove beneficial to the Filipino people is to work within the dynamics of the system rather than trying to impose *deus ex machina* some form of alien value system in an attempt to understand it.

There is a risk of possibly re-articulating the dominant discourse of Philippine Values without actively critiquing it. Presented herein are different perspectives and contradictions that will be problematic as there will be contradictions. One will inevitably be plagued by the question: If the Filipino *manongs* who were (1) certainly not all lowland Tagalogs, and (2) supposedly steeped in ensuring smooth interpersonal relations, how could they be involved in large scale labor unrest and be involved in the fights at the Taxi dances? How could they be so militant? What does that say about both the whole concept of SIR as well as the transcendence of such a value system under new conditions? What does this say about internal political infighting? What does it say about the eventual *sauve qui peut* of the 1960s and beyond? In this thesis, I neither fully endorse nor negate the empirical studies done by Lynch et al., preferring to have undertaken a new archeology instead. The aim of this section is to begin to try to understand the complexity that is the Filipino psyche, as another marker for unity, or lack thereof.

4.1 RESEARCH ON PHILIPPINE VALUES

Philippine values, it is often argued, have their roots and basis in the family. No examination of the Philippines or any sub-region thereof is possible without first situating, contextualizing and/or articulating some sort of the development of the family. How did the family come to form the loci in Filipino society? One possible explanation emerges by examining Filipino history, the history of the *Barangay*.

Part collective consciousness but mostly collective unconscious, these sets of values under examination and their history accompanied the migrant to the new land. It is important to pause to reflect on what those values are because what the migrant brings along as "luggage" impacts his/her experience. The migrant/sojourner experiences some form of cognitive dissonance until such time as contradictions are resolved. In the end we see convergence and divergence of history, values, psychology, politics, etc. into either a sense of cohesion or a fractured community. To begin with it is important to ground this whole thesis with a historical narrative.

According to Dr. Penelope Flores of San Francisco State University, a few thousand years ago ten Bornean Datus fleeing Datu Makatunaw made their way to what is now Panay (Flores 1). In a more extensive article exploring pre-colonial Philippines, "Pre Colonial Period," the legend is more elaborately laid out:

> According to one legend, at around 1250 AD, ten Datus and their families left the kingdom of Borneo and the cruel reign of sultan Makatunaw to seek their freedom and new homes across the seas. In Sinugbahan, Panay, they negotiated the sale of Panay's lowlands from the Negrito dwellers, led by their Ati king Marikudo and his wife Maniwantiwan. The sale was sealed by a pact of friendship between the Atis and the Bornean Malays and a merry party when the Atis performed their native songs and dances. After the party, Marikudo and the Atis went to the hills where their descendants still remain, and the Malay Datus settled the lowlands (1).

The migration theory of H. Otis Beyer is disputed by none other than Robert B. Fox and F. Landa Jocano (Pre Colonial Period 1). In his textbook F. Landa Jocano (Jocano, *Outline* 65) examines the "Ten Bornean Datus" legend:

> An interesting old story tells about a group of men who came from Borneo and settled in the islands of Panay in the thirteenth century. This story is called Maragtas. Pedro Montecarlo wrote it in the Ilongo dialect in 1907. Earlier, in 1885, Fr. Tomas Santaren wrote a Spanish version of this narrative. At present the Maragtas is under study by scholars. Some scholars believe that it is not a true story. They say it is legendary, not historical.[12]

So much speculation and argument surrounds *Ang Alamat ng Maragtas*[13] that the truth may never be known. What is important is that according to legend the family began to form around the concept of the *Barangay* (Barangay 1). A form of kin bonding around a village configuration emerged.

The history of the Philippines quickly jumps to one grounded more on historical fact, the story of Ferdinand Magellan. In an instant the "clash of civilizations" begins and takes on tragic proportions as this *Barangay* based culture locks horns with the men of a distant land (Pigafetta 61-73). In 1521 Magellan, finding himself in the middle of a territorial dispute between Rajah Humabon

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[12] He goes on to spin a tale and a few more in Jocano *Outline* page 1. For more information on the Maragtas story I have found (*Maragtas* 1) very insightful. For a more extensive treatment of the rise of Islam, where this story features prominently I have consulted (*History of Islam* 1).

[13] The Legend of Maragatas

and Lapu-Lapu meets his untimely demise. The chronicle of Magellan is succinctly narrated in (Spanish Expeditions to the Philippines 1):

> The Philippines were the death of Magellan. The expedition sighted the islands of Samar on March 16, 1521. Magellan was welcomed by two Rajas, Kolambu and Siagu. He named the islands the Archipelago of San Lazaro, erected a cross and claimed the lands for Spain. The friendly Rajas took Magellan to Cebu to meet Raja Humabon. Humabon and 800 Cebuanos were baptized as Christians. Magellan agreed to help Raja Humabon put down Lapu-Lapu, a rebellious Datu of the nearby island of Mactan. In a battle between Spanish soldiers and Lapu-Lapu's warriors, Magellan was killed on April 27, 1521 (1).

Today Mactan is considered part of Cebu and is an integral part of its landscape and commerce. However, the inhabitants of the nearby island of Negros speak Ilongo despite their Visayan heritage and therefore are considered distinct.[14] The pattern is echoed all over the archipelago and is carried over into the migration experience. We see this with the formation of regional based fraternal societies such as those discovered in Imperial Valley, one of which is specifically from Mactan.

There is a major break between the peoples of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. Much insight can be gleaned from Nick Joaquin when looking for kin dynamics that deals with family loyalty growing out of regional groups. We are already seeing what I will outline in more detail elsewhere in the thesis as a lack of "deep horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, *Imagined* 7):

> A true consolidation was never effected, nor did a kingdom arise, but from Prince Balagtas, according to tradition, descended the native principalia, or nobility, that included such families as the Soliman, the Lakandula, the Gatbonton, the Gatchalian, the Gatmaitan, the Gatdula, the Malang, the Puno, and the Kapulong – families in veins ran a mixed Tagalog-Pampangan blood, and in the knots of whose marrying the two tribes became so intertwined as to form a single growth (Joaquin 1). […] Tagalog and Pampangan were to unite later in several revolts, the Battle of Bangkusay can be said to have been their last joint engagement under the old alliance. Only three years later, in 1574, the Tagalogs and Pampangans are being inducted into the army they battled in Bangkusay, and a new alliance has begun (Joaquin 1).

If narrowed even further, there are marked linguistic differences between sub-groupings. However, within these localized towns the *Barangay* framework is the root of it all, the family, and this is where the values considerations really begin.

4.1.1 Smooth Interpersonal Relations (SIR)

The dominant discourse on Philippine Values centers on the notion of Smooth Interpersonal Relations (SIR), as outlined by Frank Lynch in his essay "Social Acceptance" and later reconsidered and expanded on in the Yengoyan and Makil collection of Lynch's works in an essay entitled "Social Acceptance Reconsidered":

> *Smooth interpersonal relationship*. For the American newly arrived in the Philippines, the most striking quality manifested by Filipinos is their pleasantness, and among Filipinos getting their

[14]For more information on this section please refer to (Pensar 1-3).

> first full taste of American ways, a recurrent complaint is that Americans are often "brutally frank." These reactions are traceable to a clear intercultural difference, for smoothness of interpersonal relations (or SIR), while valued in both societies, is considered relatively more important by Filipinos than by Americans. After expanding somewhat on the meaning of SIR, and common ways of achieving it, I will propose an explanation for this difference. SIR may be defined as a facility at getting along with others in such a way to avoid outward signs of conflict: glum or sour looks, harsh words, open disagreement, or physical violence. It connotes the smile, the friendly lift of the eyebrow, the pat on the back, the squeeze of the arm, the word of praise or friendly concern. It means being agreeable, even under difficult circumstances and of keeping quiet or out of sight when discretion passes the word. It means a sensitivity to what other people feel at any given moment, and a willingness and ability to change tack (if not direction) to catch the lightest favoring breeze. SIR is acquired and preserved principally by three means; namely, *pakikisama*, euphemism, and the use of a go-between (Lynch 8).

SIR is more extensively explored in a collection of works by Frank Lynch collected by Aram Yengoyan and Perla Makil in *Philippine Society and the Individual - Selected Essays of Frank Lynch, 1949-1976*. In both *Philippine Society and the Individual* and *Four Readings on Philippine Values* Lynch explores in detail his foundational notion of SIR. As the above quote explains, Lynch highlights *Pakikisama*, using euphemisms and a go-between. Working from this foundation, the SIR framework is part of a more extensive network of social mores that will be explored in this section. Lynch should be seen as a starting rather than as an end point.

Examined and outlined here is the network of values from an empirical rather than a theoretical approach. We will approach this section from the perspective of values as discourse. We fall into them, much like language. According to Lynch, the SIR framework of values is intrinsically linked to *pakikisama*, the use of euphemism and the use of a go-between. Much as this seminal writing of SIR, which revolves around these three areas, is foundational, it is not all encompassing. It leaves room for including other values and aspects of Philippine culture and values, such as *hiya*, *amor propio*, *utang na loob*, the *compadrazco* network. Not discussed in detail here are the alternative values of *bahala na* and *lakas na loob*.

4.1.2 *Hiya*

We enter a value system much like we do language, without much prior preparation. If you treat Philippine Values much like you do the discourse of language, you will find at its center the concept of *hiya*. Consider shame, whether external or internal, as a barometer or force that molds and controls Philippine society, controls it as well as drives and polices interaction.[15] Mary Hollnsteiner has a more extensive explanation of *hiya* as outlined in her essay on reciprocity:

[15] In this section, discourse is used the same way Michel Foucault outlines it in *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse of Language*. Foucault writes: "We can now understand the reason for the equivocal meaning of the term discourse, which I have used and abused in many different senses: in the most general and vaguest way, it denotes a group of verbal performances; and by discourse, then, I meant that which

> A word on *hiya* is called for. *Hiya* is the universal social sanction that regulates the give and take of reciprocity and, in general, all social behavior. *Hiya* may be translated as "a sense of social propriety"; as a preventive, it makes for conformity to community norms. When one violates such a norm he ordinarily feels a deep sense of shame, a realization of having failed to live up to the standards of the society. To call a Filipino *walang hiya*, or "shameless" is to wound him seriously (Lynch 31).

As indicated by Hollnsteiner as well as Lynch that *hiya* has in effect become "panoptic,"[16] an internal mechanism, a controlling element of society (Foucault, *Discipline* 265-267). *Hiya* becomes the means of public censure through private censure. There are both negative and positive sides to this censure, as it both restricts action and becomes a forum for approval of action. Building on that foundation, *amor propio* rises and falls based on this framework of *hiya*. If an individual is the subject of public ridicule it is very likely that one's *amor propio* will drop. Conversely, to be on the receiving end of public praise causes owner's *amor propio* to rise. Behaving outside the community approved framework is to be *walang-hiya* causing the owner's *amor propio* to drop. To be without shame is akin to being labeled anti-social.

Any Filipino, whether at home or living abroad among his/her kin folk, who loses kin support, is left to his/her own devices. In a sea of networked individuals one becomes atomized. In contrast to the rugged individualism prevalent elsewhere, this causes interesting possible inter-cultural anxiety for the Filipino abroad and for expatriates in the Philippines. However, within the

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was produced (perhaps all that was produced) by the groups of signs. But I also meant a group of acts of formulation, a series of sentences or propositions. Lastly - and it is this meaning that was finally used (together with the first, which served in a provisional capacity) - discourse is constituted by a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements, that is, in so far as they can be assigned particular modalities of existence (107). [...] the term discourse can be defined as the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation..." (107).

[16] Foucault explains in *Discipline and Punish* that the penal structures were not created based on the altruism. According to Foucault prisons were a natural outgrowth of the *carceral* society that was beginning to develop. In the prisons, in the schools, the factories, and the army, the "body" was being subjected to the technologies of - discipline and surveillance. Foucault is interested in the development and use of the "Panopticon" – invented and developed by Utilitarian Jeremy Bentham. The Panopticon is an observation structure with an elevated observation platform. This configuration allows a singular/primary watcher to "gaze" on the cells below and around the dome. The psychology behind the Panopticon is efficiency – the prisoners in these cells always have an acute sense of being observed. The beauty of this configuration is that it took only one guard to watch over several prisoners concurrently. The prisoners were, in effect, policing themselves – internally. This microcosm serves as a model of the new *carceral* society. Incarceration implied knowledge of the person being observed and thus giving the viewer control over that person. In the *carceral* community, power and knowledge were to form the two towers within which this mechanism would work. There is a caveat, power according to Foucault is not static and itself experiences a major change – it is, to coin a phrase, "messy." In Foucault's analysis power is diffuse. Power now becomes a "technology" and it is the mechanism by which a society controls its members. The creation of the self is contained (or some may argue, as would I, constrained) within this framework of rules and agendas – within the *episteme* – the knowledge of the prevailing time. One could make the argument that since the whole mechanism of SIR is aimed at societal censure it has, in effect, become its own Panopticon. W*alang hiya* as an internal mechanism of control in this sense acts as the "gaze."

framework of the Philippines, it would certainly be a bane for anyone to carry the label of *walang-hiya*. In small *Barangay*, or within a family setting, *hiya* forces a web of self censure which ranges from family harmony to the prevention of acts of violence. Within the framework of SIR, *hiya* and *amor propio* work in tandem, so at this point it is beneficial to explore the concept of *amor propio*.

4.1.3 *Amor Propio*

As mentioned previously, Smooth Interpersonal Relations (SIR) works within the context of *hiya* as a form of common sense understanding. According to Lynch, et al. the dominance of SIR is so pervasive that it forms the basis of the Filipino values system. The value system itself has come to be regarded as "common sense." Any definition or discussion of hegemony is deferred until the final section of this chapter. A value system is so pervasive as to constitute our common sense of being "on the same page." SIR implies the need to avoid causing offense - by either preventing or rectifying any form of social unraveling. Why should we be so concerned about causing offense? Aside from the obvious affront to the individual, there are the consequences for the individual's ties to his /her kin-group. One could posit that the ontological and subsequent epistemological framework of the Filipino is outward or community centered.

To argue that the Filipino community is centered is to lead one to assume that a similar dynamic exists when the Filipino is abroad, at least within the first generation. This disposition slowly weakens in subsequent generations. Based on the values section outlined above, one would surmise that based on this framework, the Filipino abroad should find it easy to get along with others, creating a sense of unity. However, particular racial formations are partially to blame for the denial of and eventual rejection of home bound culture, values, and language.

Doing a "thick description,"[17] large networks of siblings, cousins, etc. are visible manifestations of community bonding. However, what is less visible is a web of *compadres* and *comadres*, *barkadas* and *kaibigans*. In effect, conflict with one Filipino is likely to extend through to the entire web. What is *amor propio*?

[17] Within the framework of what Clifford Geertz in *The Interpretation of Cultures* calls "Thick Description" we need to identify and gain a deeper understanding of the values as well as its contradictions (Geertz 9). According to Geertz: "Analysis, then, is sorting out the structures of signification - what Ryle called established codes, a somewhat misleading expression, for it makes the enterprise sound too much like that of the cipher clerk when it is much more like that of the literary critic - and determining their social ground and import. Here, in our text, such sorting would begin with distinguishing the three unlike frames of interpretation ingredient in the situation, Jewish, Berber, and French, and would then move on to show how (and why) at that time, in that place, their copresence produced a situation in which systematic misunderstanding reduced traditional form to social farce. What tripped Cohen up, and with him the whole, ancient pattern of social and economic relationships within which he functioned, was a confusion of tongues" (Geertz 9).

> *Hiya* is a universal social sanction in lowland Philippine society, for it enforces conformity with all aspects of the social code, whether the end in view is acceptance by society in general or by the individual with whom one is dealing at the moment. There is, however, a second sanction, more limited in scope, a special defense against severe interpersonal unpleasantness. I refer to *amor propio*, or self-esteem, which is sensitivity to personal affront. The sensitivity is not, like smooth interpersonal relations, for the attainment and enhancement of social acceptance; it serves rather to *retain* the acceptance one already has. It is an emotional high-tension wire that grids the individual's dearest self, protecting from disparagement or question the qualities he most jealously guards as his own best claim to others' respect and esteem. *Amor propio*, in other words, is not aroused by *every* insult, slighting remark, or offensive gesture. The stimuli that set it off are only those that strike at the highly valued attributes (Yengoyan and Makil 37).

The notion of *hiya* is joined then with the Spanish term *amor propio* (what Lynch above defines as self-esteem). The two dynamics: *hiya and amor propio*, function inter-dependently. When placed together they can result in added complexity. An example of *amor propio* would include an expert in his field is being questioned about his ability within a field and being caused to lose face, to lose self-esteem. Lynch is also clear to point out that to destabilize *amor propio* is to court disharmony. Anxiety is experienced when there is a conflict between *hiya* and *amor propio*. A good example would be if one lends money to others then find oneself needing the money returned. Because of *hiya* one cannot call in the debt because one places the other person's *amor propio* at risk. Lynch, et al. argues that Filipinos avoid public confrontations, at all cost, as the situation very quickly escalates into more serious issues of honor. What is the solution in this case? What might seem like a roundabout way of reconciling these social tensions is "the Soft Touch," including use of a go-between, euphemisms, and indirectness.

4.1.4 Using the Soft Touch

Delikadesa is considered the civilized way of conducting affairs. The use of a go-between helps to insure that face-to-face contacts that may or may not involve *hiya* and *amor propio* are handled objectively. In order to facilitate smooth interpersonal relations one seeks the advice, counsel, and even the services of a "fixer" as well as the creative use of euphemisms and an indirect approach.

A go-between makes it possible for someone who is *nahihiya* (cautious due to shame, *hiya*) to get his message across without causing any damage to the other's *amor propio* or self-esteem. Regarding debt and money, should one need the money back, one can solicit the aid of a mutual friend to remind the debtor of the debt owed and to gather information regarding the delay. Similarly, in cases where the outcome of a request is in doubt, it might be advisable to send an advance person to assess the likelihood of success or to allow for a graceful exit. The dynamics of the go-between are not limited the prevention, but extend to cases that require a remedy. To borrow again from Lynch:

> The go-between is used preventively in a number of common situations: the embarrassing request, complaint, or decision is often communicated through a middleman, to avoid the shame (*hiya*) of a face-to-face encounter (Lynch 13).

The go-between can afford to be objective, despite being chosen by either one of the parties involved, but nonetheless functions as a buffering and paving the way for reconciliation. Lynch further writes:

> Go-betweens are utilized not only to avoid possible embarrassment or bad feelings, but also to remedy an existing state of conflict or tension. We are familiar with extended negotiations that have been carried on through various third parties in an effort to reconcile major political figures in the Philippines. The same sort of activity is going on more quietly and less spectacularly in almost every town in the nation, the object in view being reconciliation for political, social, or personal reasons (Lynch 13).

In business, the use of a fixer or go-between is a common practice. Scenarios that require delicate handling, such as a request for employment, confirmation of affection or family matters, may benefit from the use of a go-between. If a request for a job is made and the qualifications are questionable, a go-between can allow the employer to gracefully bow out while allowing the applicant to save face. A smitten youth may ask his friend to inquire as to the likelihood of his affection being returned or a mother interceding between her children and their father – these are classic cases of the use of a go between. Clearly, if a go-between is used, it can be assumed that when dealing one-on-one, it would still be advisable not to be blunt or direct.

"Telling it like it is" is anathema to yet another cornerstone of Philippine Values - the creative use of euphemisms and the phenomenon of Indirectness. Despite what might seem *prima facie* evidence of inefficiency, it is actually a highly ritualized *modus operandi* that is very effective and efficient once understood. Filipinos are sometimes accused of being inefficient and soft because they prefer to use a soft form of *patama*. A more accurate way to explain it would be to say *bato-bato sa langit, ang matamaan ay wag magalit* (I throw a stone in the air and whoever gets hit should not get angry). Whoever gets hit by the truth should not be angry, because the accusation is never made directly. Contrary to the evidence uncovered by Lynch, empirical evidence suggests that this is a less than effective approach and may cause a slight to *amor propio*. For example, when one asks for a favor that is beyond the reach or ability of the one you are asking he/she replies with a half-hearted *titignan ko* (I will see what I can do) instead of the more assuring *hindi po pwede* (no sir it can't happen) or *akong bahala* (leave it to me).

4.1.5 *Pakikisama*

Filipinos value personal relations, known as *pakikisama*. Personal relations often influence business and other key decisions. The word implies consideration, fairness, and camaraderie. A person can go to considerable extents just to prove he has *pakikisama* and is a worthy part of group. As Lynch states:

> *Pakikisama*: This is a Tagalog word derived from the root *sama* "accompany, go along with." At times the word *pakikisama* is used as synonymous with what I understand as SIR; when so employed, the word is very frequently (almost predictably) translated as "good public relations." But I believe the term *pakikisama* is more commonly used with a meaning narrower than SIR. In this more restricted sense it means "giving in," "following the lead or suggestion of another"; in a word concession. It refers especially to the lauded practice of yielding to the will of the leader or majority so as to make the group decision unanimous. No one likes a hold-out (Yengoyan and Makil 31).

An interesting treatment of the phenomenon of *pakikisama* can be found in a Tagalog language article penned for the Filipino Overseas Workers (FOW), "Bawasan ang Yabang, Maprinsipyong Pakikisama." In summary, it observes that a few Filipinos, who are experiencing a sense of superiority, are ruining it for the rest of the FOWs through their condescending attitude towards their Saudi Arabian employers. The section quoted below asks fellow Filipinos to reconsider their attitude and take into account the situations of others in a situation bigger then themselves. This article is advising FOWs to tone down the *yabang* and follow *pakikisama*:

> Ang problema ay kung makipagsabayan ang ating kababayan at makipagtaasan din ng ere sa mga kasamang Arabo. Dito magsisimula ang paglala ng sitwasyon. At kahit ano pa ang sabihin ninuman, talo lagi ang Pilipino. Hindi namin sinasabing yumuko na lamang at patuloy na magpa-api. Dapat maging mas mapamamaraan at malikhain tayong mga Pilipino sa makikisalamuha natin sa mga Arabo. Mas magiging makabuluhan ang paglaban kung babawasan natin ang ating kayabangan at pakisamahan natin ang mga Arabo ng hindi natin sila pina-patronize. Ang problema sa iba nating kababayan ay susunod ng susunod sa utos ng mga amo dahil gusto nilang makisama. Kapag natauhan silang umaabuso na ang mga ito saka sila magsisimulang umangal kung kailan huli na at hinayaan na nilang umabuso ang mga ito. Sa madaling salita, huwag tayong makipagsabayan ng yabangan sa mga Arabo. Pakisamahan natin sila dahil unang-una tayo ay nasa teritoryo nila. Pakisamahan natin sila ng hindi natin isinusuko ang ating dignidad. Mag-iwan tayo ng puwang para sa tiwala sapagkat kailangan natin ito upang mapakisamahan sila. Minamaliit na nga nila tayo dahil sa iba ang ating relihiyon kaya huwag na natin silang bigyan ng dahilan upang lalo pa tayong laitin. Bawas ng konti sa kayabangan, kabayan. Magpakumbaba ka. Hindi mababawasan ang prinsipyo mo dito. At lalong hindi mababawasan ang pagkalalaki mo. Di ba (Bawasan 1)?[18]

Note the "Di ba?" at the end that is a characteristic way of handling things delicately. Despite telling it like it is, the tone is conciliatory and the *patama* is to the group not to anyone in particular. Despite

[18] A problem will arise when our countrymen interact with their Arab peers and start to be boastful and stand-offish. That is when the situation will worsen. No matter what anyone says, the Filipino is always on the losing end. We are not saying that they should just bow their heads and allow themselves to be abused. There should be some way to enable the Filipino to interact freely with the Arabs. The effort (to interact) will be of no consequence unless we lessen our boastfulness and just associate with them without patronizing them. The problem with some of our fellow-citizens is that they just follow the orders of their superiors because they want to maintain good relations. After they realize that they are being mistreated, they start to complain but that is already too late and of no consequence after they allowed themselves to be abused. In other words, let us not join the Arabs in boastfulness. We should get along with them because we are in their territory in the first place. We should interact with them in such a way where we do not sacrifice our dignity. Let us make room to earn their trust because we need this to get along with them. They look down on us because of our religion so we should avoid giving them a reason to further revile us. Lessen the boastfulness, fellow citizen – be a little humble. Your principles will not be lessened and neither will your manliness. Right?

the pragmatic nature of the article, it is clear that the author is appealing to the Philippine Value of Smooth Interpersonal Relations in the form of *pakikisama*. What is also implied by the above quote is that the Filipinos fortunate enough to land a job outside the Philippines and are able to send money home should not jeopardize the situation lest he/she not lack a sense of *utang na loob*. The turn from humble to *mayabang* is clearly a violation of SIR and a manifestation of ego over gratitude.

4.1.6 *Utang na Loob*

Interdependence is fostered through a series of *utang na loob* relationships. *Utang na loob* is translated as "debt from inside," a network of favors asked and favors repaid. The favor may be as direct as finding someone employment or it may mean performing duties an outsider would consider "his job." In politics, if *utang na loob* exists where the supporters and benefactors of the winning politico expect to be given juicy roles in the administration later on, there is also *pagbabayad ng utang* (payment of debt), not financially though but rather emotionally or morally. This issue of debt will be dealt with in more detail in the last section of this chapter, "The Exploration of Philippine Values in Politics".

Within the *utang na loob* web one is under an obligation to repay favors in whatever way he can. An individual is "charged" according to his ability to pay. While poor employees may never be able to repay a large loan, they can, for example, volunteer their services. In this case it is an honor to ask a favor of a Filipino. On the other hand, he is too *mahiyain* to ask for a favor in return as it affects his *amor propio*. When applied to a business environment *utang na loob* can blur the lines and cause some confusion, even a conflict of interest. *Utang na loob* signifies an ever present sense of obligation. In other words, one is always indebted to someone else for something. *Ang ibig kong sabihin ay ang utang na loob ay isang malaking pasasalamat na hindi kayang bayaran ng ano pa man* (*Utang na loob* is a debt so immeasurable that it can never be repaid).

The assumption is that a person never achieves anything alone. A network of other people is necessary for the attainment of all goals, particularly in business. This network keeps people interconnected and "in line," through *hiya* acting as a powerful motivator for those accused of being *walang hiya* or without shame since no Filipino wishes to be considered selfish or inconsiderate, Filipinos will be as accommodating as possible under the most trying circumstances. Filipinos are compelled to hire relatives to work in their businesses. Moreover, Filipinos help their relatives find jobs, taking whatever action is necessary to resolve a troublesome family situation. In response to poverty and economic trials, other family members emigrate to find a decent job whether blue-collar, professional, or service and send money back home to the family, as a form of paying back some *utang na loob*. This interconnectedness forms the network that works with "chain migration." As of

1965, the new immigration laws, based on family re-unification, stress to both "claim" by and then "support" for the family member – for the interim, and sometimes for longer, until such time as that member can find work.

In an extended essay, which included a discussion of Philippine Values in business Chu et al. came to several well-articulated conclusions. Among the conclusions drawn is the terminal nature of the gratitude cycle in the Philippines and beyond. It forms an unofficial kin system in the practice of entrepreneurship:

> Second, Filipinos value *utang na loob* – forever gratitude. *Utang na loob* is a feeling of indebtedness which is incurred when one receives a favor, service or good, and a deep sense of obligation to reciprocate when the appropriate moment comes. It is that principle of behavior wherein service, solicited or not, demands a return; and proposition of the return determined by the relative status of the parties involved and the kind of exchange called for (Chu et al. 2).

Mary Hollnsteiner echoes this sentiment in Frank Lynch's compilation of essays *Four Readings on Philippine Values* in her chapter "Reciprocity in the Lowland Philippines":

> Every Filipino is expected to possess *utang na loob*: that is, he should be aware of his obligation to those from whom he receives favors and should repay them in an acceptable manner. Since *utang na loob* invariably stems from service rendered, even though a material gift may be involved, quantification is impossible. One cannot actually measure the repayment but can attempt to make it, nevertheless, either believing that it supersedes the original service in quality, or acknowledging that the reciprocal payment is partial and requires further payment (Lynch 29).

Within the context of the Filipino family, parents expect their children to be forever grateful to them. Their *utang na loob* to them should be immeasurable and eternal. From a Filipino perspective this is unlike the assumption in the West where parents regard it as their duty to raise their children, with little expected in return. A child is indebted to his parents throughout his life and is considered ungrateful or *walang utang na loob*, if he fails to provide for them in their old age. A common Tagalog saying shows that gratitude is highly valued in Philippine society: *Ang hindi lumingon sa pinanggalingan any hindi makarating sa paroroonan* (He who does not look back to the place he has been to will not get to where he's going).

The role of a "good" Filipino son is placed above all other male roles. It is more important to be a good son than a good father or a good husband. Again, Filipinos stress the importance of remembering your past, where you came from and what your parents have done for you. Chu et al. state:

> Unlike American and other Western cultures, where sons are pushed to early autonomy, independence is not a matter of urgency in the Philippine culture. In some cases, this is not an issue at all. Sons are not expected to leave the family home, fend for themselves and find their own place in life. They are expected to help their parents on the farm or in the family business when they are old enough while continuing to live off, and with their parents. One may suggest that many Filipino businesses survive the founding generation because of the Filipino value of *utang na loob* instilled into the Filipino culture (Chu et al. 2-3).

4.1.7 Kin, Family, and *Compadrazco*

Where does all this come from? What does all this mean? Why bother exploring this whole issue of Philippine Values? All these questions and more are the subject of this section. All that has been introduced comes full circle to its true social locus in the examination of Kin. The *lagay* system pervades in the Philippines. The individual and kin phenomenon is the neo-social cancer that is affecting the Philippines. Jaime Bulatao S.J. articulates in *The Manileno's Mainsprings*:

> The acute sense of reciprocal obligations, loyalty and general good fellowship within the small group often makes appeals to fidelity and service beyond the in-group ineffective and probably also encourages the so-called *lagay* system (bribery and extortion) and other forms of corruption in government and society. Breaking through *utang na loob* is difficult indeed, for the mechanism of mutuality in in-group identification is strongly reinforced by *hiya*, or a sense of inadequacy or shame, resulting from transgressing the proper relationship with authority figures or institutions, including one's in-group. In turn *hiya* operates within the context of *napasubo* - a situation from which one cannot retreat once one has become involved and once the pattern of reciprocal demands has been established. The self assertive, highly individualistic person is eschewed, and social psychological analyses of Filipino behavior have convincingly demonstrated the emphasis on smooth interpersonal relationships under the 'authority' value, the need to be careful of other people's *amor propio* so that they will be careful of one's own (Lynch 84). [19]

Based on extended reciprocity and Lynch's conception "SIR" outlined above, it is evident that a value system can, if taken to its logical conclusion, go one way or the other. It can build cohesiveness or degenerate into a system of *quid pro quo* that leads to endemic corruption.

Rampant corruption and kin protection has gone to such extremes that the loss of resources is beyond measure and recovery. Ironically, the Philippines had its first unambiguous impeachment in the trial of former president Joseph Estrada. Chu et al. observe:

> Social organization in the Philippines generally follows a pattern reflecting the influence of local traditions. Among lowland Christian Filipinos, social organization continues to be marked by personal alliance systems, that is, groupings composed of kin (real and ritual), grantors and recipients of favors, friends, and partners in commercial exchanges. Bonds of ritual kinship, sealed on any of three ceremonial occasions - baptism, confirmation or marriage - intensify and extend personal alliances. This mutual kinship system, known as *compadrazco*, meaning godparenthood or sponsorship, dates back at least to the introduction of Christianity and perhaps earlier. It is a primary method extending the group from which one can expect help in the ways of favors, such as jobs and loans (2).

One way of examining Chu et al. as well as Bulatao's articulation is to reconstruct society using the current discourse to understand and to effect some form of socio-psychological deconstruction. Re-examine the entire framework and use this knowledge to turn the body politic around, in effect, resulting in counter-hegemony. Unfortunately, like many malignant cancers, which defines the whole "give and take" system, it all seems terminal.

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[19] *Lagay* literally means to place. "*Lagay mo diyan*." is an order to "Place it there." *Lagay* however, has taken on a whole different meaning in a larger cultural milieu – it has come to mean a bribe. *Lagay* literally means to place in the hand.

Although Filipinos are a resilient lot, after having gone through 300+ years of Spanish occupation, the turn of the century United States "Benevolent Assimilation," massacre, and subsequent paternalism, the outright exploitation by the Japanese, Marcos, and subsequently Estrada and now Arroyo, it all seems like a logical progression. We say *bahala na* and move one. In an interesting post-colonial rejection of the discourse of Philippine Values started by Frank Lynch and continued by F. Landa Jocano, Arnold Azurin has this to say about *bahala na* in his article "The City Versus Ethnicity":

> Indeed, it must have been very easy for F. Landa Jocano to amplify or reproduce the researchers of Frank Lynch on Filipino Personality traits that have been patently biased with a neocolonial agenda. Lynch's consistent depiction of the allegedly dominant values of *utang na loob*, *bahala na*, *pakikisama*, *awa*, and all that web of sentiments that entrap the Filipino in the *status quo* has been the "infrastructure" or framework in subtly manipulating younger colleagues in that circle subsidized by American intelligence funds began shying away when their senior researcher, Mary Hollnsteiner, started questioning the validity of their own premises and methods. More so when Virgilio Enriquez challenged the narrow and arbitrary standpoints of the *utang na loob* social psychology. He showed that *utang na loob* has its deep set counterpoint, *lakas loob* and that *bahala na* need not be defeatist, but can be an assertive attitude. It may not be a mere coincidence that the same *utang na loob* experts were also active propagating a retrogressive view of ethnicity in the Philippines, including the "legitimizing" of the Tasadays make believe primevals as stone tool using denizens of the caves (1).

Azurin attempts to build a counter-hegemony with terms like *lakas loob* and *bahala na*. Although finding this line of argument to be a solid counterpoint to the dominant discourse, it is difficult to ride Azurin's bandwagon. His examination seems less than systematic and it needs to be expanded, examined in more detail. Absent any other more developed body of work than that of Lynch and Hollnsteiner, the inclusion into the discourse already in place might adjust the dominant discourse and simply expand on it. The only way to really locate the weaknesses of a discourse, is to start by trying to understand it then deconstruct it and hopefully reconstruct it. Vital to this process are the concepts of: family loyalty, kin protection, regional loyalties as well as linguistic affiliations, and respect for elders.

The family is at the heart of the Philippine Value matrix. The family forms the basic unit of social interaction. It is the origin and the infrastructure that nourishes, it sustains the traditional Filipino. Community life is centered on and revolves around a community structure with the family at the core. If you take the analogy of waves expanding outward in rings you will have the individual at the center, his family as the next ring with marriage descent as a defining element. The next level consists of the neighborhood, followed by the peer group then the village. How did all develop?

Francisco Demetrio undertakes to explore the history of the family in his article "On Human Values in Philippine Epics" On the subject of family and elders, he observes:

> ***Respect for Elders:*** In the epic *Aliguyon,* while the hero Aliguyon is fighting his enemy, Pumbakhayon, in the rice fields of Daligdigan. Dangunay, the mother of Pambukhayon, carrying

> the child Bugan on her back, raises a double bladed bolo to attract the attention of both combatants. Then she shouts to them:
>
> > You two men, what do you get from your fighting in the field?
> > You are of equal strength in the field!
> > What is the use?
>
> Aliguyon looks up at Dangunay, wife of Pangaiwan. He sees how motherly Dangunay is. Then Aliguyon pauses and speaks to his foe, inquiring who the lady and the baby she carries on her back are. Pumbakhayon tells him that the lady is his own mother Dangunay and the baby his younger sister, Bugan.
>
> Aliguyon reacts with respect for the dignity of the woman, saying, "Is not my own mother Dumalao like her?" Dangunay appeals to the hero saying, "Aliguyon, go to your camp, for Pumbakhayon must go to eat."
>
> On another occasion Aliguyon and Pumbakhayon were once again fighting it out in the yellowing rice-fields of Hannaga. Dumulao, the mother of Aliguyon, with her baby on her back, climbs to the terrace to observe the fight. Like Dangunay in Daligdigan, she also sees that:
>
> > Neither seemed the better of the other –
> > Aliguyon nor Pumbakhayon.
> > Dumulao shouted, "For what reason
> > Do you fight on the terraces, children, everyday?
> > Say, Pumbakhayon go up the terraces to the granary yard,
> > So that Aliguyon can do the same and go to eat.
>
> Pumbakhayon looks up and sees the lady and the baby. He pauses and asks Aliguyon who they are. Aliguyon confesses that the lady Dumulao is his mother, and the baby child, his younger sister, Aginaya. Then, just as in the case of Aliguyon in Daligdigan, Pumbakhayon in Hannanga land thinks: "Is not my mother Dagunay just like her?" Pambukhayon respects her and leaps to the granary yard. Aliguyon follows, puts down his shield, and goes up to the house to eat. The respect with which elders are valued is clearly evident here (Demetrio 208-209).

Still within the literary sphere exploration of the dual role of literature and culture presents as well as reinforces Philippine Values. Time and space are set aside to examine *Noli Me Tangere*, the groundbreaking subaltern piece by Jose Rizal. In this examination the archetype of Maria Clara is introduced. Maria Clara is central in Filipino typology. However, she is already frequently written about, as an alleged model of behavior. She is a model of behavior not because of the Christian values ascribed to her, because of her restraint. To presage the upcoming exploration in *Noli Me Tangere* Crisostomo Ibarra has an altercation with Padre Damaso with regards to his loss of *amor propio*. Maria Clara suffers the collateral damage as Ibarra's excommunication causes a stain to her family's honor. Maria Clara had to sacrifice her love for Ibarra to save her family's *amor propio* by exchanging Ibarra's letter for the letters written by her mother, who confessed that her real father was Padre Damaso. Maria Clara, thinking that Ibarra is dead, decides to become a nun. While the tragedy of Maria Clara and Crisostomo Ibarra is a representation by Rizal of the triumvirate of family, *utang na loob* and *amor propio*; Demetrio's exploration of Aliguyon, conversely, is an attempt to find the mythical solution to how it developed.

The bilateral nature of a family includes the husband and wives counting equally. Unlike the traditional matrilineal or patrilineal configurations, equal care must be taken to ensure that both sides of the clan are happy. When an individual decides to marry, he/she must be cognizant that marriage includes the family and that family joins with you and you with it. The kin phenomenon comes full circle and gets extended. Special care is taken when choosing a match as both the advantages and liabilities to a match are taken into account. The background of a potential suitor and his suitability as a partner is considered seriously. Marriage then extends further than the individuals, but forming a union of two legacies, a concept that will be better articulated with the examination of Arlene Chai's *Eating Fire and Drinking Water*.

A marriage or baptism is a time of celebration, but it is also a time of opportunity unmatched by any other ritual in the Philippines. Being asked to sponsor a wedding or baptism is an honor not taken lightly. It is a time to repay debts, to create new ones, and to become part of a family. Special care must be taken in turning down such an invitation without causing *hiya*, thus slighting the requester's *amor propio*. It is an honor to be asked. Becoming a *compadre* or *comadre* forms a bond between two people in kinship. The implications of becoming a *compadre* or *comadre* are long term so care must be taken in choosing or accepting such an invitation. Choosing a sponsor of esteem attaches the requester to the office or status of the *compadrazco*.

Gaining acceptance to high office of wealth makes the bond an almost opportunistic one. As a general rule, one asks one's best friend or long time colleague. However, should the opportunity arise to include a supervisor, a high government official, making it difficult for them to turn down a future request for a favor. It is not unusual to have multiple sponsors at a wedding. Two is the *de facto* standard for a baptism.

In a baptism, the sponsor carries the baby during a short ceremony. The gender of the child being baptized takes on special significance as it impacts the role of the Godfather (*Padrino*) or the Godmother (*Madrina*). The role is not merely social. The promise that the godfather/godmother makes is to be the replacement spiritual guide in the event of the death of the parents. While the parents are alive, the godparents, according to church canon, promise to provide spiritual guidance. As a practical rule, godparents provide gifts or endowments at Christmas or birthdays. The bond between the parents and the godparents is mutually honoring and usually lasts a lifetime. The obligation of the godchildren is to show respect to the godparents. While the gift giving forms part of the tradition, it is not the most important implication. Help in the form of a letter of recommendation or connections made when a godchild is looking for employment later on in life usually comes to play. Patronage thus forms a large part of the reason for careful deliberation in choosing or accepting to become a *compadre* or *comadre*.

Michael Hess of the Australian National University, in his article "Management and Culture under Development," provides a strong and insightful scenario, and considering work dynamics based on culture (Hess 7). He asks us to consider how to manage in a group as opposed to an individualistic framework (Hess 8). Hess is opposed to this form of patronage as it interferes with the basic tenets of a free market economy (Hess 7-8). However, Hess further asks the reader to consider and account for non-market rationality versus the imperative of market rationality (Hess 9).

Hess is pragmatic. If a situation exists in the real world it should be dealt with. More than that Hess advises us to use it. Hess centers everything on *pakikisama* (10). Working within the same discourse, he is also stuck in the Lynch/Jocano SIR based discussion. Hess argues that it is *pakikisama* that underlines SIR and not the reverse (Hess 11). *Utang na loob* frames the SIR rather than the *pakikisama*. However, in light of his thesis, it is easy see why he chose this route. Hess's focus then is on the community aspect as opposed to the dynamics within the individual that it motivates.

Hiring practices, Hess argues, should really be based on such "objective" criteria as qualifications and such. In the end hiring will be decided, in most cases, either on a "connection" or a "suggestion" from above (Hess 11-12). Bordering on nepotism, it is clear that this dynamic will win out as real or imagined regional affiliations and *compadre*/*comadre* pressure is brought to bear, resulting in a low level of trust internationally (Hess 12). He ends his section on the Philippines as follows:

> The consequences of Filipino culture for work organizations have been summarized by foreign observers in terms of low levels of trust, the need for close supervision, central decision making and avoidance of conflict. For Filipino commentators, however, the factors which appear so negative to an outsider have positive value. Jocano, for example, argues that the implications of cultural familiarism are simply that work relationships rather than work functions are of primary importance in the Philippines cultural setting (Hess 12-13).

Taking into account all that has been laid out so far, it is difficult to disagree with either Hess or Jocano. The problems begin, if you agree that this *modus operandi* is so, when the Filipino brings this whole mind set to the United States or elsewhere as a form of cultural luggage. The result is, predictably, a temporary or, in some cases permanent, form of cognitive dissonance.

The *compadrazco* system is entrenched in the framework of a wedding. Aside from the baptism, the wedding is the space where compadres and comadres are constructed, solidified, and reified. We see this particularly in the case of Imperial Valley, where on the weekends the get togethers were based on formal affairs such as baptisms and weddings (Interviewee 3, personal communication Sep. 2005). The Filipino wedding is a multi-faceted affair. A wedding, beyond being the special moment for the bride, becomes a bond of kin extension and two legacies. Moreover, it becomes the forum for potential social climbing as well as opportunism. The sponsors become

extended kin, not to the extent that the baptism allows, but unique in that there can be several pairs of sponsors. The wedding can be a forum for a returning one's *utang na loob*. In a country where very little pretense is made concerning the class divide[20] much is made of sponsorship at weddings.

Sacred as the institution of marriage is, the Philippines being a predominantly Catholic country does not allow divorce. Educator Paul Clark outlines in his article "Ethnographic Notes from the Philippines" his brush with Religion:

> The religion in the Philippines (as you already heard) is Catholic. However, what is not clear in that statement is how Catholic they are. Every activity relates to the church at some time and in some way. Being a good Catholic is associated with being a good person and so one could not be a good person without being a good Catholic (Clark, *Ethnographic Notes* 4).

Not to disappoint, this section is also full of contradiction, proving that things are not always what they seem. The root of the religious experience in the Philippines is animistic and its manifestations are as alive today as the day they were created. Paul Clark outlines:

> … Although the country is Catholic from the Spanish conquest (beginning with Magellan's landing at the end of his global circumnavigation in 1521). The Filipino culture has existed far longer than that and while on the surface it is Catholic, it is more deeply rooted in animism. There are pagan beliefs that transcend and are washed together with the Catholic (Clark, *Ethnographic Studies* 4-5).[21]

As a country that values "face," it allows for several "outs." In the case of marriage there is the phenomenon of the *Querida*. Elena Yu and William Liu in *Fertility and Kinship in the Philippines* explore in detail the phenomenon of extra-marital affairs.

> *Querida* is a Spanish word which means "beloved." As it is widely used nowadays in the Philippines, it carries the connotation of "kept woman" or "mistress." It can - as sometimes happens - includes a relationship with "the other man," in which case we may speak of that man as the wife's *querido* (or lover). In its most elemental form, the relationship is triadic, involving a legally contracted or socially recognized married couple and one other individual, either male or female, whether single, married, separated, divorced (abroad), or widowed. It does not necessarily exclude the possibility that this other person may be a *querida* (or *querido*) to someone else. In terms of emotional involvement and financial commitment, querida relationships fall into a spectrum which ranges from very high to very low. Objective feelings of involvement are irrelevant here. What matters is that either one or both of the partners in the *querida* relationship subjectively feel that some kind of emotional bond exits, enough to distinguish it from a fleeting encounter between strangers (Yu and Liu 179-202).

In a country built on a tenuous foundation of a Value system whose landscape is riddled with loopholes and contradiction, it is no wonder that there is no actual articulation outside the discourse of Frank Lynch and F. Landa Jocano. There is, however, an aesthetic articulation of Philippine Values, as SIR can be found works of Jose Rizal, Arlene Chai and Jessica Hagedorn.

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[20]More about this can be read in Frank Lynch's "Big and Little: Social Class in the Rural Philippines" in (Yengoyan and Makil 94-99).

[21] More on this issue can be read in Frank Lynch's "Ang Mga Asuwang: A Bicol Belief" in (Yengoyan and Makil 175-189).

4.2 VALUES IN FICTION: RIZAL, CHAI, AND HAGEDORN

Jose Rizal has not only set some of the archetypes and norms of restraint, but also reinforces values and archetypes in the reading of his novels. *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* are canon texts in high schools and universities in the Philippines today. Arlene Chai has come out with a series of books, *Eating Fire and Drinking Water* and *The Last Time I Saw Mother*, that delve very creatively into the Filipino psyche. Lastly, Jessica Hagedorn writes, in a hip and stylish manifestation of representation of values in *Dogeaters* and *Gangsters in Love*. Jessica Hagedorn asks us to pause, consider, and reflect on whether we are to remain "dogeaters."

4.2.1 *Noli Me Tangere*: Jose P. Rizal

"Noli" as Noli Me Tangere has come to be affectionately called, forms part of the canon of texts in Filipino education. *Noli Me Tangere* (Touch Me Not) has gained a place of national importance since it was completed, in its original Spanish, in 1887. In an effort to bring this work to an English speaking audience the version used in this thesis is Soledad Lacson-Locsin's English language translation. The original Spanish version and its first "reimpresion" of the "Off-Set Printing" of the principal edition was published in Berlin in 1886, and published by Martinez & Sons in 1958 as well as the Tagalog fifth edition by Guzman-Laksamana-Guzman. The Tagalog copy is the actual text, along with *El Filibusterismo*, which is used in Filipino schools today, was read and used to get a broader sense of its impact.

The story centers on Crisostomo Ibarra and the trials and tribulation surrounding the restitution of his *amor propio*. Standing between him and vindication is Padre Damaso and a power structure triad of the Church - mostly the Holy Orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans; the State: the Civil Guards, the Alferez, etc.; and the Culture - Spanish Imperial Culture to be more precise.

Locked within the constraints imposed by all these forces, Ibarra and Elias - forming both sides of Filipino existential angst and liberating spirit - are crushed beneath the wheel. Everyone is a victim. After seven years in Spain, Crisostomo Ibarra returns to the Philippines and reunites with his childhood sweetheart, Maria Clara discovering the truth behind his father's death. Upon his return, Ibarra attempts to fulfill his father's dream of uplifting his people through education. Ibarra encounters the same fate as his father as he is nearly killed during the laying of the school's cornerstone.

A confrontation occurs between Ibarra and Padre Damaso, the town's senior Priest in the chapter titled "La Comida." This is a major turning point in the story and my focus of engagement in this section as Damaso is vehemently opposed to Maria Clara's marriage to Ibarra, and insults the

memory of Ibarra's father. In a fit of rage Ibarra physically attacks Damaso. Maria Clara stands between them to block the knife. Ibarra is excommunicated and is forbidden to see Maria Clara, who is forced to marry a man of Padre Damaso's choosing. Maria Clara threatens to kill herself or join the nunnery if this occurs. Maria Clara had to sacrifice her love for Ibarra to save her family's *amor propio* by exchanging Ibarra's letter for the letters written by her mother, who confessed that her real father was Padre Damaso. Elias, a town activist, saves Ibarra from imprisonment. Maria Clara, thinking that Ibarra is dead, decides to become a nun.

Rizal was by no means a seer or a moralist but he is a social critic and proto-nationalist. However, what rings true then, as it does now, are the ways Filipinos create values. In a unique perspective as an émigré, Rizal completed this novel while he was in Europe - with a sense of perspective that only distance allows. *Noli Me Tangere* is iconoclastic, taking direct aim at the abuses of the church in general and the Holy Orders in particular. Rizal's "Noli" – especially the English version – is perhaps the best peek into Filipino values. For the Filipino at home and abroad *Noli Me Tangere* needs to be read. We obviously did not learn about ourselves the way Rizal meant to teach us, to be critical and self critical. For our purposes, *Noli me Tangere* centers on the violation of the *amor propio* of Ibarra in the killing of his father and subsequent insults by Damaso. In effect as Ibarra runs amok his resentment builds and expresses itself in the most fascinating area of Philippine sociology, the phenomenon of *juramentado*:[22]

> En otra ocasion el padre Damaso, hablando ante la presencia de muchos invitados, insulta la memoria del padre de Ibarra. Este se levanta de su asiento y golpea al sacerdote, sacando despues un cuchillo. Casi lo mata si no interviene Maria Clara. Este acto produce dos resultados: aunque se aman profundamente, se rompe el noviazgo entre Ibarra y Maria Clara, a la vez que lo excomulgan. Las autoridades espanolaas y los frailes intentan frustrar la naciente carrera politica de rebeldes. Las autoridades los persiguen. Otro personaje, Elias, es amigo intimo de Ibarra y lo ayuda escapar. En las ultimas escenas de la novel, hay un balacero entre la policia y los rebeldes. Elias es herido moralmente e Ibarra huye al monte; en efecto, desaparece misteriosamente (Guzman Rosales 1).[23]

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[22]The festering of resentment or *nagtatanim ng galit* (literally to grow or nurture angst) builds up to a boiling point and can result in either a harsh word or violence. As an aside, it seems clear that this is a negative manifestation of Philippine Values. Steeped in the Smooth Interpersonal Relations (SIR) and the *hiya* and *amor propio* that surrounds it - it seems clear to me that the standard or norm would be to practice restraint. However, to the extent this is true, the Philippines is a country of paradoxes and extremes. On the one hand, we have SIR and on the other there is the *juramentado*. One could say that *juramentado* and *amor propio* are two sides of the same coin.

[23] On another occasion Father Damaso, speaking before many guests, insults the memory of Ibarra's father. He (Ibarra) gets up from his seat and strikes the priest pulling out a knife. He (Ibarra) would have killed him (Damaso) had it not been for the intervention of Maria Clara. This action creates two results: in spite of the deep love for each other, the relationship is severed and he (Ibarra) is excommunicated. The Spanish authorities and the friars intend to curb the growing political unrest. The authorities go after the rebels. Another person, Elias, is a close friend of Ibarra and helps him escape. In the final scenes of the novel, there is a shootout

The chapter *La Comida*, The Luncheon or *Ang Pananghalian* is a pivotal one. Within the framework of SIR, although it was not articulated that way then; the character of Crisostomo Ibarra is in denial, at least up to this point, concerning the real story of the suffering, death and desecration of his father. In this chapter, things change for everyone in a very fundamental way as the circle of SIR is disrupted. As the title suggests, there is deceit. In an effort to maintain the status quo, the members of the Holy Orders are dropping hints that they are aware of the exploitive situation and are relishing it. What is clear in this section is that Ibarra is aware without doing anything about it. This manifestation of the need to maintain restraint and smooth interpersonal relations ends the first part of the chapter.

The discussion in the second part of the chapter starts with talk about spoons and knives. From here it deteriorates into an indirect assault on the vocation of the Holy Orders as compared to the vocation of a doctor. Not coincidentally, Ibarra is a doctor by profession, a profession that he will be accused of not being capable of performing because he is an *Indio*. Padre Damaso makes his entrance and insults *Indios* as incapable of constructing a rudimentary structure. Damaso further accuses the *Indios* of being corrupt. The results are disastrous. If Damaso was more aware of the more subtle forms of civilized living and took care to take into account the *hiya* and the loss of *amor propio* that he was causing Ibarra then he would be prepared for what was to come. Damaso takes aim both at Ibarra and at his father. As mentioned previously, the family is the central institution in Philippine society; to attack the family is to attack the individual and vice versa. Ibarra has taken all he could take, the suffering of his father, the continued insults that began at the church sermon earlier in the book, culminating here at the luncheon. It was all too much for Ibarra that leads us to the third and final portion of the chapter.

All things considered, Padre Damaso finished what the novel had been building up until this point, a confrontation with Ibarra. Having had his feud with Ibarra's father over taxes and land, Damaso decides to take on the son. Up to this point, it is not revealed that Damaso is Maria Clara's father - a *patama* by Rizal about widespread Holy Order hypocrisy - and Rizal's disapproval of tying Damaso's legacy in with the clan Ibarra. Ibarra goes *juramentado* and places Damaso under the knife. The Ibarra family honor or *amor propio* is tarnished in the scandal regarding the land. In so doing, his father is laid bare in *hiya* or shamed as he is falsely accused. While Ibarra was *nagtatanim ng galit* while trying to maintain smooth interpersonal relations, the straw that broke the camel's back were was the insults leveled at Ibarra's father, resulting in his going amok or *juramentado*. Unfortunately,

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between the police and the rebels. Elias is mortally wounded and Ibarra flees to the mountains; in effect he disappears mysteriously.

because of the stain caused by Ibarra's attack and subsequent excommunication, his marriage to Maria Clara was disallowed, causing her to choose family honor over love and join the nunnery. In the 20th century, Arlene Chai and Jessica Hagedorn revisit other SIR issues, which are the subjects of the next two sections.

The notion of *juramentado* and *nagtatanim ng galit* along with *lakas ng loob* may provide a counterpoint and an explanation for militant actions by the likes of Larry Itlong and others in the farm workers movement. Fed up of what they perceived as unfair treatment, that slow festering anger manifested itself in the form of group *lakas ng loob* or strength from within. It could also provide an explanation for the increased out-migration of women from the Philippines. The push may have been so great that the women found the strength within themselves to transcend their frustrations. Not to mention the rational consideration of opportunity cost this would certainly be explained by further study.

4.2.2 *Eating Fire and Drinking Water*: Arlene Chai

Chai writes with the insight of a *matanda*. In a semiotic analysis that will defy explanation, *matanda*, as a signifier, carries with it multiple meanings that are both static and dynamic. This brings us to another point. Chai writes for the Filipino. Chai succeeds in reminding one of his/her sociological roots, but moreover places the reader in the situation. *Matanda* means elder, a person who is respected, wise due to years of experience. She explores the subject with more detail and complexity in *The Last time I Saw Mother*, as if there is some sort of equivalent in other cultures. To understand Chai is to "be" in the discourse of the Filipino.

Chai speaks to an experience that is unique to the Filipino, with all the complexity that this *milieu* provides. Her works come highly recommended for their social commentary and easy style, and to all who seek to understand the contemporary Filipino psyche. Chai gives the Filipino a well deserved complexity while her aesthetic exploration is comprehensive and timeless. Wise beyond her years, her works should be required reading in both Asian and Women's Studies classes. Chai's work is a triumph for the Filipino, for women and for the human spirit.

In "The Don's Story" the reader gets an idea of the extent of the class divide as Chai deals with the notion of *hiya*. In *Eating Fire and Drinking Water*, Chai explores the experience of the rich in the caricature of the Pellicer family. It would be accurate to say that the Pellicers are a composite of the Filipino elite. The marriage of Greg Araneta to Irene Marcos is parodied in this novel. Chai makes Don Miguel clearly identify how different he and Consuelo are as defined by their status and the shame, the stain to his blue blood. It was as union doomed from the start.

Chai's caricature of the poor is by no means any less accurate. While the class divide treatment here is devoid of the middle class, it is argued that she took this angle, to emphasize the difference. There is nothing more indicative of the divide in the Philippines as wealth. There is a loss of face and shame or *hiya* to attaching one's legacy to the poor. Nothing more uplifting than attaching one's name, legacy and future to wealth or power. Family is important and preservation of that legacy is a preoccupation second to none. Saving face is the topic of the next section. However, before we engage that subject head on, it is important to reflect on the idea that family is important and what one does, its ramifications reflect on the whole family. One takes pains to maintain the *amor propio* of the individual as it impacts more than him or her self.

It is important at this junction to bring up an article by Liwag et al. called "How We Raise our Daughters and Sons: Child-Rearing and Gender Socialization in the Philippines." Written for the United Nations Children's Fund and Ateneo Wellness Center, as the article explains family roles *vis-à-vis* socialization:

> All the psychological concepts of how gender roles are formed and learned by children stress the central role of the family. The family is the child's fundamental socializing group and natural environment for growing into maleness and femaleness. Various questions have been raised in terms of family beliefs which influence gender determination, discriminatory practices for or against the girl child and over-all gender role expectations (3).

They provide extensive explanation of what they "The Girl-Child and Filipina Woman She is Expected to be" according to their findings:

> There are clear-cut gender role expectations in the Philippine society. The literature points to two main ideas: patriarchy brings about separate sexual standards (femininity is associated with being *mahinhin* (modest), *pino ang kilos* (refined), and *mabini* (demure), while being *malakas* (strong), *matipuno* (brawny), and *malusog* (healthy) are associated with masculinity); and second, the family is the primary socialization agent that perpetuates the disparity (3).

Liwag et al. bring this up because it is an articulation of the roles and demands made on children by Filipinos. They articulate how gender roles are defined and communicated.

"Heat Wave" is perhaps the best representation of the preservation of *amor propio* and turning a negative into a positive. Laslo's form of protest is to urinate on the statue that graces the entrance to the University. In this example, Luis Bayani[24] makes an effort to ensure that he disciplines Laslo away from the curious eyes of the others in the office. Despite the shame in having soiled their cause with his juvenile display, the public humiliation would have been too much to take. The results could have been devastating. However, by taking Laslo aside Bayani ensured that he quickly got his point across and still allowed Laslo to save face. The machismo of the male Filipino is also something to be cognizant of as well. In the passage above, Laslo was thankful that his girlfriend Sophia was not

[24] *Bayani* actually means hero.

around to witness his shame. By taking this route, Bayani left room for saving face by giving Laslo another chance. In this scenario Bayani adheres to the tenets of SIR.

Not dealing with things head on is another way of saving face and giving someone a second chance that introduces the notion of the go-between or the 'fixer.' It seems almost cowardly, to venture a normative risk here, but this value avoids direct confrontation by providing time to consider one's course of action. However, there is also a dark side, the cowardly side. Although Don Miguel did not send his mother, he allowed his mother to sever the ties between him and Consuelo.

Here we again see a convergence of values: the protection of the family lineage, the preservation of *amor propio* and the prevention of a direct confrontation between Don Miguel and Consuelo. Dona Carmela's pride and the preservation of the family legacy overrode all other values. She did, according to character, make a discreet investigation, but also allowed Consuelo to maintain her *amor propio* by confronting her privately. What should strike the reader is that values are pliant and which ones are mobilized are cause for all sorts of confusion. Values are also avenues for restitution but things are not always what they seem. With values, language, or other self definition markers, we may need to start with the thin to get to the thick. What is crucial to point out is that we made a start to understand.

"The Missing History" chapter is equally comprehensive in exploring the space of *utang na loob.* Here we are introduced to an extended web of characters: Charlie, Pepito and Sister Socorro. Charlie's story forms an integral part of the entire narrative. When he leaves to explore a different life, he falls on hard times. Finding Pepito was an unexpected boon. Helping Pepito inspired by a sense of altruism, Charlie gets a chance to get out of the "situation" he is in. He gets a new home, a new job and a new life.

Charlie builds his life on a business, a sari-sari store. Small businesses seem to be compatible with the constraints that Philippine values place on finances as well as the community and kin based system that the same value system works around. The strong sense of loyalty is brought to presence and the phenomenon of the *suki* is articulated. Chu et al. write about the *suki* or regular customer phenomenon as a bond:

> Filipinos like to build personal bonds even in business; and in the small retail trade, buyers favor shop owners who show them preference, offering the quality at special prices and permitting purchase on credit in return for loyal patronage. The relationship is called *suki*. The *suki* relationship is common between housewives and vendors. In the commercial context, *suki* relationships (market-exchange partnerships) may develop between two people who agree to become regular customer and supplier. In the marketplace, Filipinos will regularly buy from certain specific suppliers who will give them, in return, reduced prices, good quality, and often credit. *Suki* relationships often apply in other contexts as well. For example, regular patrons of restaurants and small neighborhood retail shops and tailoring shops often receive special treatment in return for their patronage. *Suki* does more than help develop economic exchange relationships;

> it creates a platform for personal relationships that can blossom into genuine friendship between individuals (Chu et al. 1).

Moreover, *Eating Fire and Drinking Water* is replete with stories of this arrangement. When Consuelo Lamuerta meets Charlie, they engage in an arrangement to sell her baking while she is trying to work her way through school. Clearly the symbiotic relationship of *suki* went beyond business partner roles in this case. Charlie and Consuelo were to become lifelong confidants.

Stories of this nature are not uncommon. In the Philippines, to feel indebted because of a "service granted," especially saving a life is cause to form a permanent bond. *Utang na loob* is a debt that one never really fully repays. To close out a debt may be honorable to some, but that is not typically how the game is played. Gratitude goes far in the Philippines, sometimes much to one's benefit and many times much to one's detriment. To help someone get into office through a donation or a connection sets in motion such unfair practices as favoritism, leading to corruption. At its ugly worst, it sets up a *quid pro quo* where everyone, even the unsuspecting, are victims.

One of the practices that leads to and becomes a forum for paying one's *utang na loob* is the wedding ceremony. Nothing in the Philippines seems more permanent, even when they break up, as the institution of marriage, despite the phenomenon of the *Querida*/*Querido*. It is the binding of two legacies. Much care is taken, even in this fictional scenario, to ensure the fittest fit for one's son or daughter. Since the families are of equal importance and the *compadrazco* set up during the wedding are so important, it is no wonder that Dona Carmela Pellicer went to the lengths she did to ensure that her son did not wed Consuelo Lamuerta. Don Miguel has second thoughts about the union of his son Luis with the daughter of "El President."

Clear parallels can be drawn to the story of Greg Araneta and Irene Marcos. While the Marcos's were the power *de jure*, although it seemed at the time that they would be there forever, the Araneta family is "blueblood." As old and regal in its history and legacy as the Lopez, the Zobel, the Ayala or the Soriano families, the Araneta stood for steadfast anti-Marcos sentiment. To feel that the Araneta clan had to link their name to the new rich was a stain that they will not be able to live down for a long time.

In a culture that prides itself on remedies in things like the go between, the *querida* comes through as the "out" for a country that, at least on the surface, is steeped in the institution of marriage. However, the querida arrangement, if not handled with *delicadesa* can be grounds for the disruption of SIR. In "Heat Wave" Ana becomes the personification of the lack of *delicadesa* and the target of Lorena Mijares-Zamora's rage.

Querida/Querido arrangements can be put in place but they need to be handled within a very controlled framework. It is not totally accepted and one is stigmatized by it. It is practiced by people

of means outside the framework of everyday life, outside of the view of everyone, in rented houses, apartments, condominiums, or "short time" motels. In these stolen moments, cars are hidden in curtained garages and discretion is maintained. How to reconcile the contradiction? Marriage is a major bond in society. The *querida/querido* system is accepted. The practice of this within the view of all is *bastus* and causes the wife or husband to lose *amor propio*. In some of these cases, partners who are slighted go amok or *juramentado*. Is the *querida/querido* really acceptable behavior?

In "The Evening News" as an early morning riot was being covered in the news, Senator Sixto Mijares was seen planting the seed for the end of his womanizing ways. His wife Lorena Zamora was aware of his past, as well as the present, she chose to believe she could change him. Unfortunately, this lack of discretion ignites the already bitter Lorena.

For the character of Lorena portrayed as "*nagtatanim ng galit,"* this was the last straw. The best indication is that she was aware of his past as well as every other *querida* he had. It was agreed between Senator Mijares and Lorena's father that he was to practice his "ways" with discretion. Nonetheless Lorena decides to take matters into her own hands. Her pride demanded that she put on a happy face. It was agreed that he was not to shame his wife and was given his senatorial post as a reward. The breech of *amor propio* moved Lorena Zamora-Mijares to stalk the *querida* and to unleash her wrath on Ana by throwing acid at what was described as an almost flawless face. What is curious here is that she levels her anger at the *querida* rather than at her husband. This reflects a system that protects the institution of marriage at all costs. One is compelled to ask the question: At what cost are these contradictions maintained?

Contradictions are found not just in the social space. They also appear in the space of theology. In "Seers and Prophecies" the scene is set for what is to be the overarching theme of prophecies coming true. Chai starts the story with the prophecies and weaves in all the interlocking stories around the fruition of each prophecy along the way. Although most traditions and rituals that cement the society are based on religion, baptisms, and marriages and like the whole book is premised on animistic prophecy. Like most religions do, the Catholic Church provides a metaphysical and ontological framework from which it reinforces its hold on one's existence. From the baptism all the way to the funeral, the sacraments are designed to remind us of and to bring us back to the "State of Grace." Without asking how this phenomenon came about, we are left with the question: Just how "Catholic" are the Filipinos anyway? It is unwise not to pay the seer. Why? Certainly it is rude and violates the more obvious *hiya*, or not to be seen as *walang hiya*. However, the value placed on the superstitious aspects or what the future may bring bad tidings. How different is that from the belief in miracles?

An on-going point of contention in the Philippines is, predictably enough, the use of birth control. As the story centers on the unwanted child, Clara Perez, exploration of this topic in some fashion is important. In the book, when the fictional Don Miguel Pellicer and Consuela Lamuerta begin their romantic encounters, birth control was never brought up. In reality, birth control is a highly charged issue for Filipinos, both in the Philippines and the United States. Hugh Levinson of the BBC writes in his article "Filipino Family Values":

> Lito Atienza has no doubts about his views. The mayor of Manila - a devout Catholic - seems to punch the air with his words as he explains why he has banned the city's public clinic from distributing free contraceptives. "I consider artificial contraception to be a very destructive practice which ruins Filipino values," he says "Value of life, value of family, value of relationships" (Levinson 1).

In a move that attempts to fuse and reconcile civil society and the public sphere, Mayor Atienza attempts to adhere to a version of Filipino Values, that of being tied to the church, the Catholic Church. Levinson further writes:

> Gladys Malayang, the foundation's executive director, says there is heavy demand for family planning services - but there is a problem. The foundation cannot obtain the free contraceptives to which it is entitled from the City of Manila because of the mayor's policy (Levinson 2).

As the debate rages on, the point of contention has less to do with the Catholic Church than with a clash of values. While Mayor Atienza's church-based values come into contention with Gladys Malayang's pragmatic, world view the issue of population growth remains. The article also points out that the carrying capacity of the environment is reaching such limits that the City of Manila is not providing basic services. How do we resolve the dilemma? How do we account for miracles or prophecies, seers or priests, values or beliefs? What is clear over and above anything else is not that we have answers to questions but that we question the answers. The first step is to realize that one is in a quagmire to begin with. So, is the Filipino destined to remain Carabaos in the mud?

4.2.3 *Dogeaters*: Jessica Hagedorn

Like Carabaos in the mud, Filipinos are quick to embrace their own "Otherness." Pause for a second from the breakneck pastiche that Hagedorn presents the reader. *Dogeaters* is seen as a "fragmented novel," containing "multiple narratives," effecting "disjointed plot progression." Everyone is quick to categorize *Dogeaters* as a postmodern *tour de force*. Epifanio San Juan, Jr. in the "Anticipating Intractable Paradigm-Shits" portion of his article "One Hundred Years of Producing and Reproducing the 'Filipino'" places in context with postmodern language the current state of the discourse of Lynch and the dangers of reductionism:

> That constellation of action, meaning, and *habitus* (in Pierre Bourdieu's construal) also explains the production/reproduction of dependency relations now assuming more covert and deceptive disguises. Reduced to a few pivotal notions like *hiya*, internal debt (*utang na loob*), "mutuality of power dynamics," and so on, culture with its complex symbolic economy is divorced from its

> constellation of determining forces, from the circumstantial network of power. It becomes a generalizing formula utilized to unravel affairs of "extreme thickness" and intricacy, with weighty ethical and moral resonance. The functionalism of deploying the patron-client dyad is not totally without value in shedding light on specific empirical phenomena. But the effects of neocolonialism exploitation, racism, and gender oppression are absent, marginalized, or concealed. Lacking the historical world-system dynamics involving "asymmetrical relations" between exploitive occupier and subjugated indigenes, devoid of any sensorium for registering the unequal power relations between contending subject who necessarily impinge on each other's physiognomies, what we have in such accounts is nothing but a banal exercise in apologetics (San Juan, *One Hundred* 10-11).

The real question we have to ask ourselves is: What now? How de we reconcile San Juan's rants *vis-à-vis* the empirical data and *vis-à-vis* the cultural expression like Hagedorn's? It is vogue to jump in to the fashionable world of so called post-colonial examinations and tangle your readers in so-called "Postmodern" purposeful ambiguity. What is the reader left with? Many would argue the reader is left with nothing. The reverse is true. It is a space full of promise and risk. Having shown how people create their own reality, one would think that we can and should begin to reconstruct. Hermeneutics is not so simple.

Today's good writers come out of the vast wealth of material that the turbulent recent history of the Philippines provided. Most contemporary writers like Jessica Hagedorn and Arlene Chai are products of the baby boom – at the tail end that is. Having grown up during the turbulent Marcos-era they always seem to get mired in that same Marcos and colonial identity search, a project that is defined by the Philippine's colonial past - hence the Filipino never seem to have his/her own. The reader is left with a sense of hopelessness. Hagedorn's work juxtaposed to Rizal's work is what impacts post-1965 migrants to the United States. Arlene Chai's *Eating Fire and Drinking Water* and Jessica Hagedorn's *Dogeaters* are both fascinating glimpses into the Filipino search for identity. The former is a bit sanitized, the latter a bit gritty, at times hard to take. However, Hagedorn takes a solid look at a really fragmented identity crisis.

Chai chooses a more conventional approach while Hagedorn chooses a stylish and angst-ridden version of the Filipino. The two converge in that the stories are ones they can't seem to help but write about. They include caricatures of the Marcos administration, our strong ties to our colonial past, infusion of Tagalog words whose *double-entendre* is lost to those outside the discourse. What they are really writing about is an embrace of the "Otherness" that Filipinos suffer from despite the eclectic nature of their value system.

The Filipino is object of the gaze in the Philippines and in the United States; it's most cherished space of migration. However, Filipinos seem to have reversed their role to become subject in this discourse. They are looking at the "Other," in this case the colonial benefactors, and have internalized this sense of "Otherness." Filipinos valorize American consumerism while being vilified

by the west as the “little brown brother.” This is evidenced by all the racialization that occurred during the *manong* era.

The fractured nature of the Filipino identity is a frequent topic. It is argued that the Filipino is an amalgam of a colonial past. What is missing is a homegrown and not a home bound sense of identity and the celebration thereof. The Filipino has not really had a strong enough rallying point, no definite signs and symbols, no long tradition to rally behind. This will become more and more evident as the country/nation comes to itself and it begins to send its people out into the migrant streams. We need to ask Hagedorn: Where are the positive representations? Where is the possibility? Is it to be found in the re-examination of the discourse of Filipino values or in the re-articulation thereof in cultural space, such as literature? San Juan further warns us about embracing the “Otherness” that is spoken of:

> Karnow’s retort is naively evasive: “History is responsible...” By acceding to the Filipino aspirations for sovereignty son after the conquest, Karnow counsels us, the United States deflated the nationalist élan in the course of tutelage; this left the Filipinos confused, ambivalent, duplicitous. To win hearts and minds, U.S. officials accommodated to Filipino traditions, “customs and social life,” the inertia of opportunistic alliances and “coils of mutual loyalties” that characterize the “tribal texture” of Filipino life. Karnow’s argument is plain: durable and seemingly impervious *compadrazco* system, with its familial dyadic ties that imposed the patron-client grid on political relations, frustrated any intent to duplicate the ethos and productivity of the American system. Clientelism in fact brought out the worst in the fallible American administrators (including Gen. Douglas MacArthur). Thus it is not U.S. colonial subjugation but the quasi feudal ordering of Filipino society and immutable hierarchy of values that account for the underdevelopment, corruption, and tragedies of the Philippines. What we observe here in this indictment of local mores and folkways is really the “insertion of colonial bodies into a metropolitan discourse [that] provides sanction for the politics of colonialism at the same time as it reproduces it (San Juan, *One Hundred* 11).

The quote brings to mind two very distinct questions, one regarding this section and the second regarding Jessica Hagedorn’s project in *Dogeaters*. If, after all the examination and research, we find no recourse but to accept the articulation of Lynch without an alternative value system, articulated as such, are we as guilty of perpetuating the old articulation as the colonials were during occupation? Are we guilty of accepting more neo-colonialism? Moreover, are we guilty of carrying it in our cultural valise and come bringing it to America?

Is the *compadrazco*/SIR articulation of Lynch really the way it is? If it is, can it then be subject to reconsideration? If not, how can it be used to foster a more positive outcome then the patron-client relations manifested so far, assuming San Juan’s observations are correct? It is argued that examinations of this kind can have no choice but to perpetuate the stereotypes. Those who attempt to understand the culture and its values should not merely echo the sentiments outlined by Lynch. They should be critical and come up with alternative studies. We can begin by being self reflective and to say that it could be wrong, which does not negate the study altogether. However, by articulating problems up front and making readers aware that there are contradictions one could be

said to be making a good start of it. Hagedorn needs to be held accountable. She portrays her characters as nostalgic for the west, thus holding on to a colonial mentality. Is Hagedorn valorizing the west or is she subjecting the colonial mentality to some form of parody or critique? One can only hope that her work is a critique. However, once the author has presented his/her work, like all discourses, the unintended consequences and readings take over. The complex books are easy to misunderstand. Only time will reveal the results of her writing.

Much of *Dogeaters* focuses on the maternal leanings of Filipino society. In *Dogeaters*, the Filipino is all things and nothing. The Filipino is Indo-Malayan, Spanish, and wanna-be Americans. According to Hagedorn, Filipinos watch western movies and listen to western music and yearn for a country that is "Other." Is the Filipino destined to remain Joey Sands or Rio Gonzaga? Despite the book not really going anywhere, it offers a slice of life. It is, however, not the whole picture.

Dogeaters is sexy, sassy and despite *burgis* language - the book is anti-*burgis*. It is kitsch. In *Dogeaters*, Hagedorn falls into the same trap of the caricature of the Filipino reactionary text with no depth. Where is the true "Intelektual" in the halo-halo? Where is Rizal? Is Rizal the answer? The language is pure sensationalism, but it is representative of a slice of life that the Filipino both at home and overseas. One might not be proud of it, but one seems to fall into it without much examination. The question confronting Jose Rizal, Arlene Chai, and Jessica Hagedorn is, if this is deconstruction, where is the reconstruction? Within our cultural and societal milieus, do we remain to the world and ourselves dogeaters?

4.4 HEGEMONY AND PHILIPPINE VALUES IN POLITICS

The work of Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci's and his ideas can be applied to the conditions in the Philippines and Philippine Values. In this section, we will explore Philippine Values in Politics guided by Gramsci's ideas in *Prison Notebooks Volume 1*. This section limits itself to the Marcos era under three main headings: Ideological Hegemony, Organic Intellectuals, and Gramsci on Schooling and Education. The Marcos administration and its cronies were able to usurp power using several key mechanisms, including deception and timing. Marcos mostly mobilized connections using the value system outlined above. How? We will explore the use of values by the Marcos administration within the scope of the three headings outlined above.

4.4.1 Ideological Hegemony through Values

Before exploring the case specific items in this section, we must define hegemony and then demonstrate its role within the Marcos case.

> By hegemony, Gramsci meant the permeation *throughout* society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that has the effect of supporting the *status quo* in power relations.

> Hegemony in this sense might be defined as an 'organizing principle' that is diffused by the process of socialization into every area of daily life. To the extent that this prevailing consciousness is internalized by the population it becomes part of what is generally called "common sense" so that the philosophy, culture and morality of the ruling elite comes to appear as the natural order of things**.** [Boggs 1976 p39] (Antonio Gramsci 1).

What were these hegemonic values that set the stage for Marcos to manipulate one of the most comprehensive political sweeps in the Philippines and maintain power for almost three decades? To answer this question we have to turn back Frank Lynch and his notion of "SIR" (Lynch 8, Yengoyan and Makil 31). We look back at the complicity of popular culture and even high literary expressions in Rizal, Chai, and Hagedorn. SIR has been the *modus operandi* in the northern lowland Philippines for centuries and has permeated throughout the islands.

Lowland Philippines really means Manila, the seat of government. However, the value system of SIR ingrained in the Filipino psyche is so complete, throughout the archipelago, that it allowed Marcos to use the value system to his advantage. It is by no means suggested that Marcos had articulated the values as SIR or that he set out to engage in his project with this in mind. It was "common sense."

Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos were tuned in to the mores, culture and values were the moves they made to achieve and keep power: the crony capitalism, the connection to the University of the Philippines Law fraternity Upsilon Sigma Phi, and the army through his connections in Sarrat, Ilocos Norte, and the ROTC. This has been written about *ad nauseum* so it would be too repetitive to elaborate on it here (Hamilton-Paterson 293, 308, 313, 320, 366, 385-386; Karnow 365-388; Go and Foster 285-286; Poole and Vanzi 307-331; Anderson, *Cacique* 3-47; Whitaker 35-37; Rosenblatt 14-15; Russell 26-34; Anderson, *Cory* 18-27; Anderson, *Marcos* 14-20; Anderson, *The Philippines* 30-38).

Justus M. Van der Kroef, a Visiting Professor of Asian Studies, University of the Philippines, during the 1966 Summer Session, explains how regional loyalties function as a result of SIR and *pakikisama* in local Filipino politics. Do the Filipinos take that home bound sense of loyalty with them to the United States and elsewhere? Van der Kroef writes in *Patterns of Cultural Conflict in Philippine Life*:

> Scattered over hundreds of islands, 33 million Filipinos today are bound by small group loyalties that pit what is commonly called the *Tayo-Tayo* ("just us") mentality against transcendent interests. Sometimes group loyalty is island or province focused. For example, looking ahead to the next Presidential election, in which Senator Sergio Osmena of Cebu might well run against incumbent President Ferdinand Marcos who hails from Ilocos Sur, one political analyst recently remarked that "a contrast between Marcos and Osmena will be decided once and for all which ethnic group- the Ilocanos or the Cebuanos- is dominant in the country's political setup" [Angel D. Quiambo in The Saturday Mirror (Manila), July 9, 1966]. Charges of ethnics group favoritism have long enlivened Philippine political battles. A whole range of Filipino personal and cultural values is determined by the group-loyalty matrix. *Pakikisama*, for example, simultaneously means a sense of belonging and being a good sport; it is typified by the winner at a cockfight who spends

> all his gains on feasting with his friends and companions lest he be considered *Mayabang* (haughty). *Utang na loob*, or a sense of reciprocity, governs the caring for aged parents by their children, as well as the assistance given in a job procurement, business dealings or in exploiting any kind of financial opportunity among members of a family or even of a civic or fraternal group. In a way *utang na loob* is also expressed in the system of *bayanihan* (self-help through mutual assistance) still common in the villages, and in the *padronismo* (patron-client) concept in which the protégé of a man of wealth and influence becomes bound by mutual obligation to his protector. The pattern of reciprocal service is, at least in theory, an enduring one; as one Visayan proverb has it, "a financial debt once paid is paid; a debt of gratitude paid remains a debt" (Van der Kroef 326-327).

The failure to rouse national support for or against a corrupt government has been the bane of Philippine politics. Paradoxically it has also been the country's saving grace. The paradox of SIR has manifested itself in the fact that Filipinos are tolerant. However, when, after a long drawn out series of proofs relating to exploitation has been revealed, they are moved to demonstrate "People Power." In the last two major shows of national consciousness: the EDSA Revolution of 1986 and the EDSA 2 People Power Revolution in the Philippines 2001, the lack of violence is a clear indication of the passivity and face saving that is the hallmark of SIR.

What is important to note is that Marcos may have underestimated the carrying capacity of the people, thinking that SIR would win out in the end, and we would all act like sheep. This is a gross oversimplification. There was no indication in Malacanang that the people simply had enough, so it was assumed sending the Marines with tanks would save the administration. SIR in the end won out as no shots were fired on the civilians. Much like discourse, less important how or why such values evolved is the real fact of their existence. In both cases of "People Power" indicated above, the lack of violence as a manifestation of a collective SIR worked to the advantage of the Filipino. Conversely, the same underlying value system also allowed the fast moving and value transcending Marcos to come to and maintain power.

In 1972, Marcos declared Martial Law. In a surprise move, he suspended the 1935 Constitution, which would have denied him a third term. An extended political game eventually cemented his rule by law. Marcos took advantage of docility and face saving as well denial, along with armed coercion, of the Filipino. The people did not challenge his claim of a perceived Communist threat until it was too late. The hegemony of face saving *amor propio* and non-violence, while advantageous in removing despots like Marcos and Estrada, was paradoxically one of the instruments that placed Marcos and Estrada in power to begin with.

4.4.2 Co-Opting Organic Intellectuals

There was more to the hegemony than meets the eye. Marcos had help from a cadre of intellectuals and co-conspirators who were effectively what Gramsci would call traditional intellectuals.

> He identified two types of intellectuals - traditional and organic. Traditional intellectuals are those who *do* regard themselves as autonomous and independent of the dominant social group and are regarded as such by the population at large. They *seem* autonomous and independent. They give themselves an aura of historical continuity despite all the social upheavals that they might go through. The clergy are an example of that as are the men of letters, the philosophers and professors. These are what we tend to think of when we think of intellectuals. Although they like to think of themselves as independent of ruling groups, this is usually a myth and an illusion. They are essentially conservative allied to and assisting the ruling group in society (Antonio Gramsci 1).

Marcos not only placed friends and relatives in key positions, such as Imelda as Human Settlement Secretary and Fabian Ver as the head of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, he also co-opted "outsider" technocrats to join him in his administration as Cabinet members. The *compadrazco* system and loyalty by region played a part in the appointments given out by Marcos to cousins, friends and political allies. Acceptance of posts based on fear or a chance to make a difference as an insider.

Based on the 1973 constitution, Marcos reconfigured the government from its original three divisions of judicial, legislative and executive with himself as president for life. Reconfiguring the government in this way, he was able to effect legislation and "Presidential Decrees" through his Cabinet as the party in power. Understanding the role of traditional intellectuals and the threat of the organic intellectuals, he co-opted such notables as Carlos Romulo (Foreign Affairs Secretary), Cesar Virata (Prime Minister), and Fidel Ramos (Head of the Philippine Constabulary). Their status as intellectuals is unique in each case. Both Romulo and Virata, with others like Roberto Ongpin and Fidel Ramos, were outsiders in the sense that they were not Marcos supporters. They were the old traditional intellectuals who represented the old guard that eventually opposed Marcos, the maverick. Aside from giving Marcos the much-needed legitimacy that his government needed, this cadre of independents allowed for some reform from the inside as well as giving a look and feel of a technocratic government to the rest of the world. In the end, despite pockets of opposition, Romulo, Virata, and Ramos along with all the other traditional intellectuals fell under Marcos's spell.

4.4.3 Schooling and Education

Despite Gramsci's advocacy of a Marxist based communist model, with the school system as just one of the cogs in the machine of ideological hegemony, rings true now as it did during Marcos's regime.

> There was no doubt in his mind that education in modern Italy was one way in which the mass of the population was kept in its place. In order to transform this situation, the education system had to be confronted and changed dramatically. He did not underestimate the huge mountain that had to be climbed. "If our aim is to produce a new stratum of intellectuals … from a social group which has not traditionally developed the appropriate attitudes, then we have unprecedented difficulties to overcome" (Gramsci 43).

Although Gramsci may have held other ideas regarding education, it is clear that traditional education kept the Filipino students at bay.

The vanguards in this case came from the University of the Philippines (UP). By withholding funding or threatening to shut UP down, UP being a government funded institution; Marcos in effect controlled the student population. Aside from this direct control, the top universities in Manila – the Ateneo de Manila and De La Salle University both run by religious orders, the Jesuits and Christian Brothers respectively, were managed under the pragmatic promise of SIR. Even if they were not explicitly told, the religious orders understood, there were to abstain from inciting any form of rebellion. By the time the armed forces and the Philippine Constabulary had taken hold of the nation, it was too late.

According to Dr. Serafin Talisayon of the University of the Philippines, there have been moves to reverse the hegemonic values by using the value system itself to effect reform. While former President Fidel Ramos had the reigns of power in 1992, he evaluated the problems of values and corruption and sought a solution in the form of a 'Moral Recovery Programme' (Talisayon 7). A possible course of action, diametrically opposed to that of Marcos and certainly that of Estrada, is to examine and evaluate the values of the leadership and Ramos's alternative is a "Christian" based value system. The outline below stresses a sense of co-optation rather than force, in Gramsci's terms counter-hegemony:

> A 'Moral Recovery Programme' headed by a non-governmental organization and civil society advocates included, among other programmes: (a) a host of courses and programmes to inculcate socially desirable values, including innovative training in spiritual leadership for senior government executives, known as the 'Pamathalaan Course'; (b) establishment of Integrity Circles throughout the bureaucracy to foster a counter-corruption culture within agencies, and (c) formal adoption of Four Filipino Principles or Ideologies of *maka-Diyos*, *maka-tao*, *maka-bansa* and *maka-kalikasan* (for God, for man, for nation and for nature). The moral example of the President himself was considered important: decisiveness in acting against corrupt leaders, sensitivity to and respect for public opinion, refusal to be drawn towards any narrow interest at the expense of the common good in all public issues, appointing individuals with strong records of public probity and high ethical standards to head graft-prone agencies, and emphasis on national unity and teamwork (Talisayon 7-8). […] Deregulation is an example of system reform, which is an external solution. President Ramos believes that discipline, to be most effective, is both external and internal. Externally imposed discipline - or discipline that comes from informed choice exercised by politically mature adults in civil society - is also a significant factor in governance. However, the emergence of internal discipline takes time because education and the capacity to apply do not evolve overnight. Nonetheless, it is hoped that once enlightened self-interest takes root in a person, he will need little external pressure to move towards socially acceptable behaviors (Talisayon 7-8).

It has been argued that we come into values much like we do language and discourse, with little or no preparation. In his extensive examination of language, Ferdinand de Saussure notes that the underlying fundamentals of language have been ignored in favor of philology or etymology so we overlooked the fundamental structure of language. Much like language, values seem to be a discourse

we fall into and are not very reflective about. In the case of Marcos, using Gramsci, it might be painful to admit that the Filipinos, at least in the beginning and in a lot of cases along the way, gave their consent but finally took it away twice.

This section is an examination of Philippine Values within the framework and guidance of transdiscursive writing of Frank Lynch and his cadre at the IPC, F. Landa Jocano and others who form the dominant discourse of values in the Philippines. Being cognizant of the risk of re-reinforcing the articulation, we began with an examination of how these values have been articulated in a cultural arena and how they have impacted culture. Lastly, we saw how these values functioned in the labyrinthine world of Philippine politics. Always aware that things are not always what they seem in both the definition and manifestation, critique was provided. A quote from Epifanio San Juan gives useful insights regarding truth creation:

> The procedure of truth-making is simple. The culture of one sector, the dominant landlord-merchant class, is taken as the normative consensus model for understanding the whole formation. Functionalism in its empiricist and positivist version was thoroughly mobilized for hegemonic purposes (a good illustration is Jean Grossholtz's Politics in the Philippines [1964]). The structural-functionalist deployment of notions like *hiya*, *utang na loob*, and *pakikisama* or "smooth interpersonal relations" propagated by Frank Lynch, George Guthrie, John Carroll, Mary Hollnsteiner, Chester Hunt, and their disciples became the approved operational paradigm for explaining any event or relationship, say, Quezon's duplicity,[25] Marcos' tactics toward Benigno Aquino, President Corazon Aquino's incapacity to reform or discipline her kins, the psychology of disaffected members of the New People's Army, and practically all aspects of Philippine politics and society. The imperative is to maintain and buttress social equilibrium. One recent example is Claude Buss's *Cory Aquino and the People of the Philippines* whose refrain echoes a now predictable reflex of scapegoating: "the Filipinos found it hard to break the habit of special dependence on the United States." This may be a slight improvement over the old rhetoric of conceiving the whole country as "a penal reformatory," an enlarged Iwahig underpinning the "logic of the *carcereal* continuum" that has structured the peculiar symbiosis between the two countries since 1989 (San Juan, *One Hundred* 16).

As mentioned previously, the discourse of Lynch, et al. is neither fully endorsed nor denied. However, I am grateful to them for providing a starting point and a framework within which much material was found. That material is used as a source for further understanding of this area of study. Aware of the concerns of E. San Juan, Jr. and others about simply echoing the discourse and using it to explain away just about everything, I see this is an easy trap to fall into. In the absence of an alternative discourse, there is very little recourse but self-referentiality. It is not so much that we answer the question, but in the future question the answers. Cognizant that it is difficult to critique a discourse while being in it, one must never lose hope. In closing, we reflect on and are comforted by the words of Arlene Chai.

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[25] E. San Juan is referring here to the incident discussed previously concerning the passing of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934. For more details kindly refer back to section 3.2.6 The Tydings-McDuffie Act.

> We were sitting in an alcove upstairs and the light streamed through the window. He was walking now, although still weak.
>
> "It doesn't end," he replied. "We just see things in a linear fashion. Beginning, middle, and end. But in reality life isn't linear. Look at our history. It's filled with cycles.
>
> "We are a strange people, Clara. We swallow so much of the injustice, hardship, and cruelty our fellow humans mete out to us. Why, we even have an expression for it: 'We can take it.' And we do. We would rather let things go and take all the wrong done to us than do something to correct the situation.
>
> "Then we find ways to defuse the crisis. It's like putting out a fire. Only this fire is inside us. In the belly of this country.
>
> "We can fight fire with water provided we can get it there soon enough. But often we act when it's too late. The result is splattered in the pages of our history: bloodbaths, uprisings, revolutions, you name it. And it goes. We learn so slowly. After so many centuries, we're still a people who eat fire and drink water."
>
> "Why bother, then?"
>
> "Because we have to believe that one day we'll learn" (Chai 243).

Like Chai, we need to be perennial optimists – optimists who believe that the greatest risk of all is not taking any risk at all. At the outset of this examination it was acknowledged that this project held as much risk as it did promise. This is the first step in a never-ending search - because we all have to believe that one-day the Filipinos will learn.

Having taken into account both the history of migration writ large and the value system that the Filipino immigrant takes with him/her as a cultural valise, we should now turn our attention to actual 'spaces' of consideration – in our case they are San Diego and Imperial counties. The contemporary Filipino immigrant, aware or not, comes to the United States riding on the coattails of those who have come before, carrying this cultural valise and the collective unconscious of historical development. Filipinos were subject to the same stresses and strains that afflicted other Asian Americans, beginning with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Thus began a legacy of searching for voice, for agency, in search of protection from the onslaught of racism and exploitation.

The search for agency, it can be argued, goes as far back as the *manongs*, eventually manifesting itself with the creation of the United Farm Workers in more contemporary times. Some would argue that it goes back even farther, to the Spanish colonial era or perhaps to the American "benevolent assimilation." Whatever the case may be, we have to contend with the here and now in San Diego and the Imperial Valley. One of the most crucial elements of political agency is a sense of cohesion within a community. Is the future of political agency to be found in identifying oneself as Asian? Is it in ensuring that by defining oneself as Filipino there is a ready infrastructure in place or even a group of people who define themselves as such? These and other related questions were asked of immigrants as well as subsequent generations of Filipino Americans in the San Diego and Imperial counties.

CHAPTER 5

FILIPINOS OF SAN DIEGO AND IMPERIAL VALLEY

In the United States today, Filipino Americans are the second largest Asian American group, just behind Chinese Americans.[26] In California, Filipino Americans are, once again, second only to the Chinese Americans.[27] More significantly, the Filipino Americans are the largest single Asian American group in San Diego County.[28] How did this demographic landscape come to be?

5.1 A HISTORY OF THE FILIPINOS OF SAN DIEGO

The Filipino American demographic landscape in San Diego County then and now is very fluid and dynamic. The Filipino American community in San Diego, its development and eventual maturity, can be linked, directly to its colonial ties with the United States (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 8). As Brett Melendy states,

> Filipinos came to the United States during the twentieth century in three general waves. The earliest, starting in 1903 and lasting until World War II brought many young men who came in search of university and collegiate education and then planned to return to the islands. The second influx lasted from 1907 to the 1930's when workers went to the Hawaiian Islands. Surplus labor and unemployment there put a brake on this immigration. During the 1920s Filipinos also arrived in Pacific Coast States from the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands. After 1934, with immigration regulated, West Coast ports had virtually no new arrivals. In 1946, there was an additional brief flurry of arrivals in Hawaii anticipating Philippine independence. Between 1965 and 1974, Filipino immigration increased 949.7 percent as 210,269 immigrants entered the United States in that ten-year period. The 1965 immigration act changed completely Filipino immigration

[26] Source: United States Census Bureau, Population Census 2000. In "Profiles of General Demographics in the 2000 Census of Population and Housing" released jointly by the United States Department of Commerce, the Economics and Statistics Administration, and the United States Census Bureau, the national statistics as of 2000 indicates that 100% or the full complement of the United States at 281,421,906. In the subsection entitled "Race," Chinese Americans comprise 0.9 percent with 2,432,585. In the same section Filipino Americans weigh in at 0.7 percent with a country total of 1,850,314.

[27] Source: United States Census Bureau, Population Census 1990 2000. In a report presented to the Korean American Coalition on July 2, 2003 – which quotes extensively from Source: United States Census Bureau, Population Census of 1990 and 2000 – Table 2 Population Change in California, the Chinese American population of 980,642 is 2.9 while the Filipino American population of 918,678 is 2.71 percent of the total California population estimates. As per the 2000 Census information just a little over 50% of all Filipinos in the United States live in California.

[28] Source: United States Census Bureau, Population Census 2000. Geographic Area: San Diego County, California. In "Profiles of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000" the demographic picture is much different. The Filipino American population comprises 4.7% of the county with a compliment of 121,147. The Vietnamese American compliment is second at 1.2% or 33,504 and the Chinese American compliment is similar with 1.1% of the county composition with a count of 30,750.

> patterns. During these years this third wave provided the United States with more newcomers than any other nation, with the exception of Mexico (Melendy 31).

Absent from Melendy's discussion of influx into the United States is specific reference to United States Navy sailors (Oades, *Beyond* 27-39) and medical professionals (Choy 104-105), who comprise a significant portion of Filipino American immigrants to San Diego.

In a survey of 154 respondents under the rubric of the *2004 Filipino American Community Study*, 57 of the 154 respondents indicated San Diego as their initial port of entry. Other informants indicated Virginia, Sunnyvale, Seattle, San Francisco, Oxnard, Maryland, Los Angeles, Hawaii, and Boston as their initial port of entry. When queried about which province they or their parents originated from, although weighted toward Manila other provinces like Cavite, Pangasinan, Lingayen, Cebu, Pampanga, and Olongapo, also have clear and significant representations.

Adding to the mix Yen Le Espiritu writes that, "Since U.S. bases in the Philippines doubled as recruiting stations for the U.S. Navy, for many years they preselected the regional composition of the Filipino Navy population, drawing the majority of the enlistees from the areas adjacent to the bases" (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 105-106). The recent survey echoes Espiritu's conclusion, as provincial origins are weighted on Manila, Cavite, Pangasinan, and Lingayen.[29] This diverse spread of individuals from Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao brought with them not only linguistic, regional, and provincial histories, but the development of Tagalog and English as the *lingua franca*. This prevented first generation respondents from communicating in their local language or dialect.

A Filipino, who lived through and virtually created the Filipino community in San Diego, is Delfin "Del" Labao. Labao is a charismatic yet enigmatic figure who has lived through it all. Born on December 23, 1911 in Baliwag, Bulacan Labao left school after the 7th grade. A humanitarian who values education, his dreams of education will have to wait and find full expression in the completion of college degrees by his three daughters: Anamaria, Guadalupe, and Teresita.

Labao joined the U.S. Navy on November 4, 1930 and served until his retirement in 1959. Labao was instrumental in the development of the Filipino American Veterans Association of San Diego (FAVA) upon his retirement from the U.S. Navy, "I joined the FAVA in 1959 after retiring from the Navy as a CPO, where I served for 28 years, surviving three major battles in the South Pacific, aboard Destroyer USS Gwinn (433) 22nd Destroyer Division, US Pacific Fleet" (Labao 1, Loss 1-2). Life changed for Labao in 1959 as he transitioned from his life in the US Navy to civilian life and community service. His service record as a community servant is worth retelling as it

[29] For more information on landing and point of origin: For the former check Appendix B B7 for the latter check Appendix B B8 of the 2004 Filipino American Community Study.

parallels the development of Filipino community in San Diego. Labao writes: “From 1950 to 1962, FAVA was the center of activity for the Filipino Community of San Diego. It held social functions like weddings, birthdays or christenings and also served as venue for civic activities such as reception for government officials and visiting contingents of the Armed Forces of the Philippines” (Labao 9). Labao served as the President of FAVA in 1967.

Labao was called on many occasions to represent the Filipino community in the area as President for three terms of the Philippine American Community of San Diego starting in 1959 as well as the President of the House of the Philippines at Balboa Park in 1960. In 1969, the mayor Frank Curran requested the participation of the Filipino community to help celebrate the 200 year anniversary of San Diego’s founding by Father Junipero Serra. According to Labao, “50 youths were mobilized to learn Philippine dances and songs” (Personal communication, Sep. 2005). On September 1969, Philippine culture was showcased to thousands at the Organ Pavilion at Balboa Park culminating “the Filipinos contribution to our beautiful city of San Diego” (Personal communication, Sep. 2005). The participation in this event spawned two local dance troops. Of note was the creation of the Philippine American Society and Cultural Arts Troupe (PASACAT) and Filipino Youth Cultural Group (FYCG). PASACAT is now managed by Labao’s daughter Anamaria Labao Cabato – who continues to actively participate and contribute to youth development in San Diego.

Labao also was called upon to represent the Catholics of San Diego. From 1974 to 1976, Labao joined then Bishop Leo Thomas Maher as a delegate to the Second Vatican Council in as a representative in the Diocese of San Diego. San Diego Diocese’s participation was focused on the need for change, so the laity could participate more fully. Despite myriad offshoots from the Catholic Church, especially such notables as the Iglesia ni Cristo, the Aglipayans, and the various Christian groups, Catholicism is still one of the largest and most influential forces impacting Filipinos in San Diego. As mentioned, the *compadrazco* system so prevalent in the Philippines has manifestations in San Diego as well as including into the mix a whole host of values that come with it. The Filipino community along with the local Hispanic Catholic community joined together and initiated, in the form of a resolution, a request to the Diocese of San Diego to recruit a Filipino priest. The resolution needed 12,000 signatures. With the help of the Church of Guadalupe and the Mexican American community, the resolution was granted (Interviewee 4, personal communication Sep. 2005). This incident, among the many others that Labao was involved in, clearly points to a vibrant and productive community. Labao continues to serve the community as a board member of Metropolitan Area Advisory Committee (MAAC) project.

5.2 A HISTORY OF THE FILIPINOS OF IMPERIAL VALLEY

The Story of the Imperial Valley Filipinos is more in line with the traditional migration streams. Unlike San Diego County, whose representation is mainly, but not exclusively, navy and medical personnel, Imperial Valley's current population is descended from the original immigrants of the 1920s. Added to the original component was a smaller influx of post 1965 migrants. The first sets of Filipino immigrants to the valley were of the *manong* generation of the 1920s and 1930s. The decade following their arrival was characterized by racial tension that eventually manifested itself in violence.

1930 was a landmark year in terms of violence for the Filipinos. According to Ray Castro in the poignant documentary "*In No One's Shadow*" Watsonville Judge D.W. Rohrback roused the Anglo-European crowd with inflammatory rhetoric. The demagoguery resulted in increased violence against the Filipinos, culminating in the shooting and eventual death of farmworker Firmen Tobera (*In No One's Shadow*). The details of the Tobera case reached the Philippines. It is alluded to in the film as fodder for the Philippine Independence Movement (*In No One's Shadow*).

In the same year, a similar case occurred in Imperial Valley, but more lethal, inexplicably got less attention than the incident in Watsonville. Relating to racial conflict during the *manong* era, the incident came to be known as the "bomb outrage" of the City of Imperial. In December of 1930, a large contingent of Filipino agricultural laborers, who were following seasonal agricultural work, arrived in the Imperial Valley for the purposes of working on the lettuce crop. The workers were billeted in a brick barn close to the heart of the city. According to newspaper accounts, on December 8, a bomb was thrown into the barn. Projectiles and fragments discharged from the bomb struck and wounded several Filipinos. Of those struck by the bomb, three were seriously injured and one of them died in the hospital a day later (*Outrage* 21-24).

The strife was not limited to the City of Imperial and was not limited to Filipinos and the dominant Anglo-European population. In January of 1930 in El Centro, tension between Mexican and Filipino farm workers came to a boil resulting in the arrest of 25 Mexicans (Lasker 17). According to Bruno Lasker in *Filipino Immigration – To Continental United States and Hawaii*, the Mexicans, irate about Filipino presence, attempted to rouse a strike as protest against the Filipino presence. Lasker points out that the Filipinos did not respond in kind and things returned to normal (17).

Truck farming is a large component of the rural experience for the Filipino in Imperial Valley (Lasker 49). Three individuals of interest have equally fascinating stories: Raymond Puyot-Gongora, Andy Almueti, and Paul Anzagay Retutal. Although diverse, the stories of Gongora, Almueti, and Retutal converged and diverged in the fields of the Imperial Valley from as far south as El Centro, Niland, and Holtville to as far north as Coachella, and Delano. Their narratives are informative in that

they reveal much of what was going on around them: the formal and informal organizations as well as the rise and decline of the Filipino population in the Imperial Valley.

Raymond Puyot-Gongora's story begins in 1926 when he arrived in the United States. At 16, the young Gongora was the baby of the clan. Not legally old enough to enter the country, Gongora began his career, with the host of urban Filipinos, in the greater Los Angeles and Hollywood area as a busboy. Coddled and protected by his brother Johnny, the young Gongora eventually learned to work the fields. In the 1930s Gongora grew up in a milieu that was marked by parties and get togethers (See Appendix D). Social activity began to decline as these single sojourners began settle down, marrying Mexican or Anglo-European women. After a ten year stay in San Jose, in 1952 Gongora decided to move his family to the country. He began his rural experience under the tutelage of his brother, the elder Johnny, who had taken up residence in Holtville. After a year in Holtville, Gongora decided to strike out on his own and moved to Niland. He finally settled down there, invested in property, and worked until his untimely demise in 1965.

Farming activity in the Imperial Valley included the planting and harvesting of tomatoes, squash, and cucumbers. In the off season, the farmworkers like Gongora would go to Coachella and Delano to pick grapes. According to Interviewee 1, competition with the mainland Mexican farmers in the 1950s over delivery of produce all but decimated the Filipino growers in the region. Price competition with the Mexicans, when the United States started importing tomatoes from Mexico, made growing economically unfeasible. This caused most Filipino growers to close shop, move (Interviewees 1, and 2, personal communication Sep. 2005). Interviewee 1 articulated that: "[…] what was left for Filipinos was to work in the fields" (personal communication Sep. 2005).

To counter the decline in the demand of local tomatoes, Gongora took his crew to Delano to work the grape fields. In conversation with Interviewee 3, concerning the United Farm Workers, it was intimated that if it were for the UFW then the Filipinos would not have had the retirement home, Agbayani Village, in Delano. In conversation with Interviewee 1, the story is much different. The introduction of the United Farm Workers in 1965 caused much "unrest in the fields" (Interviewee 1, personal communication Sep. 2005), between those who supported Caesar Chavez and those who did not. It is surmised then that the rise of UFW led to divisiveness among the Filipinos. According to both interviewees, this was the beginning of the end of the Filipino community in Imperial Valley. Despite the *pakikisama* and all the *utang na loob* so painstakingly outlined above, grounded in material reality, the Filipinos decided instead to violate all conventions and examine the issues instead utilizing their *lakas na loob*.

In the late 1950s the Holtville group of Tommy Rubio, Johnny Gongora, and Victor Dolente decided to build a community center for the Filipino Community of Imperial Valley, Inc. on Imperial

Avenue in El Centro. In 1959, Interviewee 3 intimates, the center was sold because of lack of activity. An aging population, moved north, and the return of members to their native Batac were given as reason for the community's sudden decline. The old community center in El Centro currently is occupied by Gordon's Carpet. It was not always that way. The thriving and robust Filipino community of Imperial Valley was graced by Gongora's active participation. A member of the Son's of Batac and the Filipino Community of Imperial Valley, Inc., Gongora contributed much as a member of the community. In 1939, Gongora made the rounds of executive positions in a local growers association (Interviewee 1, personal communication Sep. 2005).

Interestingly enough, when queried if language use was a barrier to communication and unity, Interviewees 1, 2, and 3 all made references to a separate village in Niland, inhabited by migrants from Pangasinan. The farmers from Pangasinan planted tomatoes as well as squash and worked the fields. Separate yet connected to the larger community, this ghetto of workers from Pangasinan, the intra as well as inter dynamics of this village, and its descendants should be identified as a possible subject for future study. Nonetheless, a Pan-Filipino community developed in terms of social get togethers with the other Filipinos for such things as baptisms and marriages. According to Interviewee 3, if there was a dance, all the Filipinos would be there, whether Ilocano, Cebuano, Pangasinan, or Tagalog. Food seems be the tie that binds. Such dishes as *Sarciado, Lechon* and *Kalding* were and are popular favorites. The Legionarios de Trabajo hosted dances to raise money for community members and to send money back to the Philippines. In these dances, single men would "bid" for chance to dance exclusively with the "Queen." Dropping money into a little wooden or cardboard box called a "Social Box," for a chance to dance with her. Half the proceeds collected in the "Social Box" would go to the Queen and the other half would go to the organization for various support causes in the community.

When queried about religion, Interviewee 3 responded that it is assumed as "common sense" understanding that the Filipinos are homogenously Catholic. In the case of the farm workers, nothing could be further from the truth. Several Filipinos in the United States were Protestant - mostly Methodist (Chan 77). Interviewees 2 and 3 confirmed that several Filipinos in the area were, in fact, Methodist. This religious affiliation could well explain bonding on religious grounds, not to mention several of the fraternal societies, and the low attendance at Sunday mass.

Returning to the language issue, the language that ultimately bonded the group was English. Lending credence to the homogenization that Rick Bonus alludes to began as early as the first migrants and their children. According to Interviewee 3, parents realized that the children were not interested in learning either Ilocano or Spanish. Interviewee 1 confirms this in saying there was no real need for these languages. It was suggested, to return to that "Filipinoness," with the advent of

current day protections such as infrastructure and insurance, the need for groups such as the Sons of Batac and Raymond Gongora had passed.

The story of Andy Mayo Almueti in many ways resembled that of Raymond Gongora, but it differed in many ways as well. Almueti was a contractor in the 1950s. Ill health and poor breaks kept Almueti from working the fields. He used his extensive knowledge of language to communicate and find work for his *kababayans* much to his detriment (Interviewee 2, personal communication Sep.2005). The competition in the 1950s from the interior of Mexico that decimated the farming activities of Filipinos in general and Raymond Gongora in particular affected Almueti as well, causing him to seek employment opportunities as a foreman as far up north as Oceanside (Interviewee 3, personal communication Sep. 2005). Almueti's case is unique because of two key elements: his ability to bind the community through his linguistic skills, and his brush with and personification of the anti-miscegenation laws. Since Almueti could no longer work in the field and lacking any form of insurance or workman's compensation program, he was encouraged to utilize his linguistic skills acting as foreman and contractor for his fellow Filipinos (Interviewee 2, personal communication Sep. 2005).

After fourteen years in the United States, Almueti decided to wed. Almueti and his bride-to-be, a woman of Anglo-European descent from Missouri, were not allowed to marry in California. They decided to marry anyway, and had the nuptials performed in New Mexico (Interviewee 2, personal communication Sep. 2005). The Almueti marriage was marked by an odd sense of constant surveillance by the authorities. Unlike Gongora, whose marriage to a Mexican American allowed more freedom of movement; Almueti when stopped on the street by a traffic or highway law officer was asked to produce, instead of his driver's license, his marriage license (Interviewee 2, personal communication Sep. 2005). Children of mixed origin were harassed in school less by their peers than by the school administration (Interviewee 2, personal communication Sep. 2005). Under these very trying circumstances, the second and third generations, who were brought up using English, would be less and less willing to organize as Filipinos or for that matter to speak home bound dialects. Encouraged by both parents to develop their English language skills, hearkening back to Old World traditions was relegated to the back burner in favor of more immediate needs. Almueti's children and grandchildren today are further and further removed from their Old Country roots as they have adopted more and more to life in the contemporary United States (Interviewee 2, personal communication Sep. 2005).

Paul Anzagay Retutal's story is both inspiring and informative. Retutal's story of travel echoes those of Gongora and Almueti. According to his Daughter Janet Smith, "… he moved from state to state following the crops" (Personal communication, Sep 2005).

> **A Daughters Memory**: Here is a little history. My father, Mr. Paul Anzagay Retutal came to the United States when he was 14 years old. He met my mother Annette Elizabeth Runk in Montana, and married in 1939. He moved from state to state following the crops, settling in El Centro, California in 1942-1943. In 1949 we moved to Niland, where he built a house and started growing tomatoes and squash with his brother Sebastian Retutal. I believe he had about 250 acres, and raised tomatoes and squash. He built his own packing shed in the early fifties and had a very successful farming and packing business, and employed 8 to 10 packers and the same number or sorters etc. until about 1957-1958 when there was an influx of Mexican tomatoes into the United States, and soon there after lost his farm and packing shed. My father had 9 children. He was active in the community, serving on the School Board and as a member of the Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors. Mrs. Retutal died in 1968 and my father re-married Marina Guerrero. He had one daughter by this marriage. My father died in August 1996 (Janet Smith, personal communication Oct. 2005).

Retutal's addition to the narratives of Gongora and Almueti only confirms the vibrancy and activity of the Filipino community in the Imperial Valley up until 1958. Smith's narration echoes Interviewee 1's recollection. According to Interviewee 1, in the 1960s, the Filipino community "wavered" (Personal communication Sep. 2005). It has never been the same since.

CHAPTER 6

ROOTS, VALUES, LANGUAGE, AND PUSH/PULL

Filipinos, scholars argue, are connected via a *compadrazco* system. Ironically both communities still find themselves fractured by linguistic/regional or, as Espiritu has examined extensively, "Home Bound" loyalties. These divisions are deeply rooted. Identifying the extent to which linguistic/regional loyalties hinder or facilitate the emergence of cohesive Filipino American communities is a major consideration of this study.

Understanding so-called Philippine Values provides insight and forms the foundation for understanding the lack of salient cohesiveness in the Filipino American communities. With so much hanging economically on foreign remittances, it is important for the Philippines, as well as the United States, to get as accurate a snapshot of the current overseas worker, as well as migrant population. *Utang na loob* forms the foundation for remittance regularity.

As previously mentioned, Filipino Overseas Worker (FOW), Landed Immigrants/Permanent Residents as well as Citizens act as economic lynchpins by sending foreign exchange back to the Philippines in the form of remittances. The Filipino overseas, then, is beset with a different set of stresses and strains experienced while in the Philippines to which he/she is still intrinsically linked. The survey in San Diego as well as the interviews done in Imperial Valley was conducted keeping in mind the pressures on migrants, settlers, as well as their descendants. The possible push/pull motivations behind migratory and settlement choices were also noted.

Reviewing the data on a macro level suggests that particular government policy, past and present, as well as societal or economic considerations. At a point in time policy or consideration was put in place or occurred, both at a specific locale in the Philippines and the United States, that resulted in the currently identifiable demographic configurations. Research has shown that workers from particular provinces were seen as more desirable for particular forms of labor. In the case of Imperial Valley the workers were from Ilocos, Pangasinan, Cebu, and some from La Union and other lowland Tagalog regions. In the case of San Diego with the Navy, the preference of entrants from Cavite and the outlying areas is telling vis-à-vis the location of the Naval bases. Continuing on with San Diego under consideration, in the case of the nurses, points or origin can be identified in terms of access to training, in most metropolitan centers by province.

Espiritu affirms the cultural as well as economic tie to the United States, quoting cultural critic Epifanio San Juan Jr., and he argues, "[…] as a result of a century of exposure to United States

lifestyles, cultural practices, and consumption patterns, Filipinos, even before they set foot in the United States, "[have] been prepared by the thoroughly Americanized culture of the homeland." […] The cultural Americanization of Filipinos was an integral part of the process of colonization. Convinced that education was one of the best ways to pacify the population, United States colonizers introduced universal public education and revamped Philippine educational institutions and curricula using the American system as its model and English as the medium of instruction" (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 72). Using English in the educational system prepared the Filipino for out migration and continues to do so. To identify particular cases, we need to first consider the motivation behind moving to the United States.

6.1 MUSINGS ON AN IMAGINED ROAD PAVED IN GOLD

There are several factors that both "pushed" and "pulled" Filipinos to the United States, historically reflected in the three streams of Filipino migration to the United States. Current Filipino immigration discourses point to the first migration stream as comprised of the *Pensionados* and the farm workers. The second stream of migrants resulted from post World War I hires of Filipinos as stewards in the United States Navy. Lastly, by 1965, a third major stream of migrants, mostly medical professionals, migrated to the United States. Today, the most visible Filipino Americans in the San Diego area are from the second and third streams of migrants, along with their children.[30]

Manong migration took place between 1907 and 1930 with most landing in Hawaii. Shortly thereafter Filipinos arrived in Washington, Oregon, California, and Alaska, from both the Philippines and Hawaii. As United States nationals the porous borders were open to Filipinos until the passing of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 granting the Filipinos independence. Independence effectively altered the status of Filipinos from that of nationals to one of foreigners (Takaki, *Strangers* 331-332). Did the immigrant come as a sojourner or a settler? What were their expectations? What were the motivations that drove them away from "home" and into "America?" Did the dream materialize? Interviews in Imperial Valley point to a work and life situation that proved either too difficult or too different from home bound experience. Some decided to return home while others settled and married producing *Mestizo* offspring.

With regards to San Diego, joining the military gave Filipinos benefits that they would never have received had they remained in the Philippines (Burdeos 35; Mabalon, *Why the Flock* 67). According to retired CPO Ray L. Burdeos of the United States Navy, "Despite the initial unjust treatment of Filipinos who enlisted as stewards, we proved to America that we are just as good and as

[30] For more information check Appendix B B10 of the 2004 Filipino American Community Study.

loyal as any of our other American shipmates" (36). Military service was a way for Filipinos to live the "American dream," as it increased their ability to financially support their families back home (Oades, *Beyond* v). The recruiting of Filipinos into the American Armed Forces continued until the closure of Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base in the early 1990s. In 1965, the structural need for migrant workers focused mainly on medical professionals. Hiring foreign professionals as well as recruiting students from other countries became policy post-1965. H-1 visas were granted much more freely than earlier, in an effort to get specific types of workers into the United States (Choy 170-171, 178-180). The result of this mass hire is now commonly referred to as the "brain drain." Many Filipinos took and continue to take advantage of this opportunity and quickly changed their status, staying permanently in the United States both in San Diego and Imperial Valley.

The concentrations of Filipinos can be traced back to the structural needs of the area. In the case of San Diego, there is a large concentration of military personnel, medical practitioners, and professionals. Military personnel are mostly from the areas surrounding the former bases in the Philippines, a link forged from the colonial bond that began at the turn of the 20th century. Beyond the colonial bond, we must pose the question: Why was migration to the United States so desirable? Significant numbers of Americans believe that anyone, high or low, can move up the economic ladder as long as they are talented, hardworking, entrepreneurial, and not too unlucky (Chua, *World* 196).

As Castles and Miller articulate in *The Age of Migration: International Populations Movements in the Modern World*, the basic push/pull theory of migration and wrote it "because they perceive the cause of migration to lie in a combination of "push factors," impelling people to leave the areas of origin, and "pull factors," attracting them to certain receiving countries" (Castles and Miller 20). Castles and Miller posit that although the theory has explanatory powers it is not complete. The factors are seen as ahistorical and individualistic, failing to take into account governmental constraints (Castles and Miller 20). According to Castles and Miller, "'Push factors' include demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political repression, while 'pull factors' include, but are not limited to, demand for labor, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedoms" (Castles and Miller 20). The theory as explained by Castles and Miller pertains to the individualistic and is independent of history. The foundation of this theory is the "rational" migrant, who performs a cost/benefit analysis, takes into consideration the upside markers of the benefits of moving vis-à-vis the downside markers of the costs of moving and the opportunity cost of remaining in his/her current scenario. The individual takes into account what Castles and Miller identify as, "constraining factors, such as government restrictions on emigration and immigration, … mainly dealt with as distortions of the rational market, which should be removed" (Castles and Miller 21).

The most representative example of the pure "push-pull" scenario would be the *manongs*. The *manongs* found themselves "pushed" out of the Philippines out of desperation (Bulosan 10-18) and "pulled" into the United States through a structural need for farm labor both in Hawaii and later on the mainland (Takaki, *Strangers* 316). Philip Vera Cruz provides insight regarding the Filipino immigrant experience at the turn of the century:

> New immigrants, who will compete with the workers already here, are arriving everyday from the Philippines, Puerto Rico, the Arab countries, from Jamaica, and especially Mexico. Third World countries have been exploited so much by the multinational corporations that their people, moved by extreme poverty, leave their home countries to seek work in an industrialized country like the United States. The multinationals suck the wealth out of their homeland like a vampire sucks blood. And these same big businesses here greet these new immigrants with open arms. These poor foreigners bring their cheap labor which means increasing profits for the big corporations. When the present groups of workers here start to get organized and win some of their struggles for better wages and benefits, then the big agribusinesses here in California, with the help of the government, try to bring in new groups of workers (Scharlin and Villanueva 145).

Classified as "American nationals" (Takaki, *Strangers* 316) the Filipinos from the lowest socio economic strata first migrated to Hawaii, using it as a launching point to eventually end up in the United States mainland, particularly places like the Imperial Valley. It should be noted that Filipinos did not see themselves as migrating to a foreign country. Until 1934, as mentioned previously, with the introduction of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, they thought they were "coming home" (Bulosan xxiv).

Working in a more contemporary context, Espiritu argues that the "push-pull" theories were never really sufficient to explain Filipino migration motivation:

> For many Filipino migrants to the United States, migration is attractive not so much because of the promise of lucrative jobs or unlimited mobility but because of the differential between their potential earnings in the United States and in the Philippines. […] But the push to leave was also political. Declaring martial law in 1972, President Marcos prorogued the legislature, controlled the media, suspended the writ of habeas corpus, and arrested many of his alleged political opponents. […] Since the 1960s, the Philippines has sent the largest number of professional immigrants to the United States, the majority of whom are physicians, nurses, and other health practitioners. The overrepresentation of health professionals among contemporary Filipino immigrants is not accidental; rather, it is the result of deliberate recruitment from U.S. hospitals, nursing homes, and health organizations seeking to fill their recurring shortage of medical personnel. […] Like the migration of Filipino Navy men, the migration of Filipino nurses must be understood within the context of U.S. colonialism. […] The establishment of Americanized professional nursing training in the Philippines during the U.S. colonial period laid the professional, social, and cultural groundwork for the "feminized, highly educated and exportable labor force" (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 31-3).

In the case of San Diego, and to a very limited extent Imperial Valley, we need to take into account the workers in the medical profession. In *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History*, Catherine Ceniza Choy discusses, much like Espiritu, the insufficiency of purely economic motivators for professional migration (57). Choy adds to the argument by first readily admitting that indeed economics did play an important role – but it did not stop there. In the 1970s,

Filipino nurses could earn salaries amounting to as much if not more than twelve times what they could earn in the Philippines (Choy 69). Moreover, Choy's research revealed that there were cultural as well as social factors at work. Such things as frustration with working conditions in the Philippines (Choy 67-68), dreams of professional advancement (Choy 64), higher levels of consumption which increased their status in the Philippines (Choy 70), and an escape from family surveillance/societal scrutiny (Choy 70), were all motivators for outward migration. Choy writes:

> However, the motivations of Filipino nurses for participating in the EVP went beyond simple monetary calculations. Filipino exchange nurses acted on the transformative potential of experience abroad as augmenting their socioeconomic status through the accumulation of material goods unobtainable and new forms of leisure unavailable in the Philippines. Their stipend in U.S. dollars, combined with the availability of credit cards and layaway plans, enabled Filipino exchange nurses to purchase stereos, kitchen appliances, and cosmetics unobtainable to all except the affluent elite in the Philippines: Broadway shows, Lincoln Center performances, travel within the United States. They lived in their own apartment and stayed out late at night. As Boado recalled, "You're very independent. You have your own apartment. In the Philippines, you live in the dorm, where everything closes at 9 o'clock p.m. Or, even if you stay at home, you don't go home late in the night of anything like that" (70).

According to a recent study conducted by the Philippine Overseas Employment Association, over 50,000 nurses have left the Philippines to seek out other opportunities (RP No 1 in Exporting Nurses 1). Interestingly enough, according to the same report, among the contingent of 50,000 nurses who left the Philippines are doctors who re-trained as nurses hoping for "greener pastures" in the United States and England (RP No. 1 in Exporting Nurses 1).

Recent survey results done in San Diego confirm Espiritu's and Choy's findings and reasons for migration beyond "push-pull."[31] In addition to the overwhelming 122 responses that indicated the prime motivator was "better opportunities abroad," other reasons such as marriage, parents employed by the navy and family reunification problematize a simplistic "push-pull" model.

6.2 HOMOGENEITY CONTRA HETEROGENEITY

The socio-economic as well as societal motivations for out migration, despite their vast explanatory powers, do not provide a comprehensive picture of Filipino migration and settlement experience in San Diego and Imperial Valley. The Philippines is an archipelago of more than 7,000 islands. Regional barriers provide some explanation for the ethnic and linguistic cleavages experienced by first generation immigrants. Ethnolinguistic as well as regional fissures coupled with Filipino Values, I contend, form part of the "luggage" of Filipino migrants.

Dr. Rizalino Oades of San Diego State University argues that Filipinos have common traits that account for their "homogeneity." Conversely, however, he further argues that Filipinos have

[31] For more information check Appendix B B10 of the 2004 Filipino American Community Study.

"regional" traits that differentiate one group from another (Oades, *Since You're A Tagalog* 5). Filipino immigrants from different regions, who speak different dialects, "tend to show dislikes and prejudices against one another"; "Old-country tensions and internal cleavages, arising from frustrations and disappointments in the new social situation, have troubled Filipinos in the initial phase of adjustment" (Oades, *Since You're A Tagalog* 5). Oades claims that in the end "Regionalism, the tendency to emphasize and value – oftentimes to the extremes – the qualities and characteristics of life in a particular region, partly explains why Filipino Americans cannot seem to put their acts together and achieve unity" (Oades, *Since You're A Tagalog* 5). That Filipinos as a body politic cannot get their act together is not a new argument.

At the turn of the century Carlos Bulosan presaged the notion of tribalism (Bulosan 98). Particularly among first generation Filipino Americans, the phenomenon of identity reification is strong.

> Since their arrival in the United States in the early 1900s, regional loyalties and provincial ties have shaped Filipinos' choice of residence, their network of friends, and their patterns of organization. The proliferation of hometown and regional associations – commonly perceived by Filipinos as evidence of divisiveness and disunity within their community – has been widely reported not only by the Filipino American press but also by returning Filipinos and the Philippine press (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 105).

Espiritu further elaborates on this sense of tribalism in the Navy in terms of two subjects who shared their oral histories: Jon Sario and J.J. Cruz. Espiritu writes,

> The Filipinos who served in the United States Navy in 1966 recalled that the Filipino enlistees often "go by groups": "[Filipinos] worked together, but when they go on liberty, when they go out there on their own free time, they have their separate ways: the Cavitenos have their own group, and the Ilocanos have their own group." Interregional tensions – even brawls – were not uncommon. J.J. Cruz recounted one such incident: "One time, in our barrack, there were about seventy-five of us there. This was the stewards group, and the Cavitenos were fighting the Ilocanos and I happened to belong to neither group, so I just sat there and watched them fight" (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 105).

Rick Bonus argues, conversely, that migration and settlement becomes a homogenizing experience; the next generation is losing touch with their roots and becoming more "American" or what they perceive to be "American." However, Bonus still alludes to an intra-ethnic division and loyalty that undermines social as well as political unity (Bonus 104). This is true for both San Diego and Imperial Valley. The Imperial Valley is marked by a strong sense of dissolution; the model is more telling in terms of the dynamics of the past and within the current complement of Filipinos and Filipino Americans in San Diego.

Espiritu complements and re-enforces Bonus's observation that identity formation is a reification process: Filipinos "invent" home by surrounding themselves with signs and symbols of what is thought of as "Filipinoness" (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 16). What is particularly interesting about

Espiritu's findings is that despite differences in class, a sense of "being Filipino," regardless of the deep sense of regional identification, is "created,"

> In their struggles for a place to be, Filipino immigrants have shifted between multiple and dynamic identities, simultaneously narrowing and enlarging their scope of affiliations. For example, those who do not think of themselves as Filipinos before migrating become Filipinos in the United States and/or reinforce narrower regional and linguistic identities. I am particularly interested in documenting the ways in which Filipino Americans are constructed among dialect and regional groups, between immigrant and U.S.-born Filipinos of different class background (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 16).

Relating to the issue of reification, Sucheng Chan confronts Philippine Values as previously articulated directly and explains what she sees as the cultural inconsistency of forming regional based fraternal unions. Given American influence in Philippines, Chan argues that the needs in the New World outweighed the Old World kinship ties and the *manongs* opting for more pragmatic alternatives (Chan 75). In her own words:

> Without the extraordinary panoply of organizations in each of the immigrant communities, the pioneer generations of Asians would have found it much more difficult to survive in a host society that needed their labor but tolerated them only so long as they "kept their place" at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. Denied access to the social and political life of the larger society, Asian migrant laborers and immigrants created a world of their own. Belonging to clubs was definitely not a habit they brought from the homeland, where kinship formed the basis of virtually all aspects of social life, but they readily became joiners in the New World out of necessity. Parochial villagers when they left home, they initially felt at ease only among others, who most resembled themselves, but as immigration exclusion cut off new blood, those who remained learned to form larger groupings in order to defend themselves. Slowly, ever so slowly, they became Chinese, instead of Toisanese, or Heungsanese; Japanese, instead of Hiroshima or Kumamoto kenjin; Koreans, instead of Pyongyang or Inchon residents, Indians, instead of Punjabi or Gujeratis; and Filipinos, instead of Ilocanos or Cebuanos. Perhaps even more important, they soon realized that while the organizations they formed offered them occasional respite from the harsh realities they daily confronted in their workaday lives, only the fighting back on the job, in the courts, and on behalf of their countries of origin in a world shaped by imperialism could they, as individuals and as people, enjoy a measure of dignity and hope (Chan 78).

"Becoming homogeneous" to coin a phrase, has both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, as indicated by Chan, it grew out of the need to reconcile with the New World shedding of Old World provincial roots. We must reconcile what Espiritu posits as cultural reification – reinventing Filipinoness, with Bonus's claim to the performative function of entering spaces to re-identify oneself as Filipino and then Chan's claim to the contradiction of becoming more community based by shedding one's more passive, less "in your face" imported home bound values. The emphasis then, is the state of flux in which change still happens "ever-so-slowly."

Confronted with the proof of ethno and linguistic based fraternal societies in Imperial Valley, and according to Chan throughout most of California, it seems homogeneity was a long time coming; however it is here now. In El Centro, California, the emphasis was placed on needs. Sans the protections of currently available insurance and programs, the *manongs* had no choice but to band together. With the advent of current day protections, there no longer seems to be a need to be

"Filipino" (Interviewee 1, personal communication Sep. 2005). So the question is an even larger one. It is not, for her an issue of "Filipinoness" but of some form of transcendence, to a larger "Americaness." The bonding element will come with dissolution of the use of home bound language. As we go deeper into the generations, we lose the need for "Old School" means of communication and shed "Old School" Philippine Values.

As per the *2004 Filipino American Community Study*, in San Diego, the *lingua franca* has changed over time due to a change in generational dynamics, to one of cultural hegemony where both Tagalog but more so English dominate. Oades, quoting E. Admirol of UC Davis, accepts the transition from the local dialect to English and Tagalog as the *de facto* standard for migrants who have spent some time here in the United States. However, Admirol argues that a community exists despite the clear differences in regional and linguistic identification.

> Regionalism is an important factor that cuts across the community. But this should not be misinterpreted as an absence of a "Filipino Community," according to Admirol. "The fact that there is a conflict does not mean that there is no feeling of community; quite the contrary, the conflict indicates that the members and different elements and interests within the community were in touch with each other, share common sympathies and loyalties and understand what is worth competing for within the ethnic community." The truth however still remains that the continued strength of regionalistic and linguistic group identification – although diminishing – is a roadblock to the development of national integration in the Philippines and Filipino economic and political muscles here in America (Oades, *Since You're A Tagalog* 10).

Survey results suggest the "roadblock" to unity that Oades outlined above is diminishing. In the *2004 Filipino American Community Study*, when asked what language(s) or dialect(s) respondents speak 105 responded English, 97 Tagalog, 22 Pangasinan, and 19 Ilocano. When asked about a first language, the survey reflects 126 instances of English and 47 instances of Tagalog, while 18 indicated Pangasinan, and 2 indicated Ilocano. When asked which languages the respondents spoke at home, 147 indicated English while 73 indicated Tagalog. Asked if language is seen as a barrier to unity, 16 respondents, representing 51% of the respondents who answered this question, agreed that language does form a barrier to unity.

Conversely, of those who answered 46% disagreed that language is a barrier to unity, splitting the respondents in half on this issue. Those who agreed were asked in a follow-up question about why they believed language is an obstacle to unity. Of these 23% indicated they were comfortable with their own language and 15% stated that others used language or their dialects to socially position themselves.[32]

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[32] For more information on language: Check Appendix B B13, B14, and B15 of the *2004 Filipino American Community Study*. For more information language and unity: Check Appendix B B16 and B17 of the 2004 Filipino American Community Study.

6.3 ORGANIZING ALONG LINGUISTIC LINES

As of this writing, the local San Diego group Filipino American Educators Association of San Diego (FILAMEDA) has been actively lobbying legislators to push AB 420 to "establish a credentialing system for Tagalog teachers on both high school and college levels" (Novarro 2). This assumes that indeed Filipino, or Tagalog, is the national language and that its enshrinement into legislation as the *lingua franca* of all Filipinos and Filipino American is real. Having outlined above the various perceptions relating to facets of communication, we must ask how does language, in this case Filipino/Pilipino/Tagalog, impact social cohesion? What about the curiously pervasive use of English or Tagalog? How does language acquisition impact the life of the immigrant? A closer look at the research shows that using Tagalog as the *de facto* standard is problematic. As Oades observes:

> One or two things occurs, according to E. Admirol of UC Davis: "the conversation immediately changes to the indicated regional dialect of if the conversation came from different language areas, they would usually settle for Tagalog. The other alternative is for one or both of the conversants to claim that they have forgotten their Philippine language, including Tagalog and thus English is used for "convenience" (Oades, *Since You're A Tagalog* 5).

In his article "*Kuro-Kuro sa Wika* or Reflections on Language," Victor P. Gendrano observes that he and his friend Melo compromised on the use of Tagalog rather than Melo's native Bikolano. Reinforcing Oades/Admirol's thesis above that Tagalog and English are used as languages of convenience Gendrano writes,

> In spite of his being a native Bikolano, he has a deep understanding and grasp of the importance of language understood by the people. He believes in the power of a national language that will serve as a strong bond resulting in the unity of the Filipino people. Hence his goal is Filipino unity through our language (Gendrano 40).

For Gendrano, as well as his friend Melo, the issue is very much settled. Tagalog serves as the common language. In step with the notion of a national language, Melo laments how many of the younger generation in America have lost the ability "to speak our national language" (Gendrano 41). What happens when a second or third generation Filipino American is acculturated such that Tagalog has become an artifact of a distant past? Is he or she any less "Filipino?"

Professional writer Nadine Mendoza's discusses her ability and need to learn the Visayan dialect, which to her was an equally valid marker for reifying her roots as a Filipina. We have previously encountered the use of Tagalog and English as "languages of convenience" as in the Philippines. Mendoza is a voice of dissent or resistance against the Tagalog hegemony, feeling marginalized because she sees her Filipino identity pegged to speaking "a" Filipino language/dialect other than "the" language, Tagalog. Mendoza writes:

> […] as a native-born American, I feel compelled, when a Filipino speaks to me in Tagalog – as they most often do – to respond not with a mere, "I'm sorry, I don't speak Tagalog" which should suffice, but always add, "I can speak Visayan, though." I do not want them to think I have, in any way, abandoned my heritage. There's some kind of smug pride within me that I learned the native

> tongue of my Cebuano family, especially when it's not a common dialect, even among the Pilipinos who reside here. And I can probably count on my fingers the number of times I've heard people I'm not related to speak it. I'm surprised by people who give me that same pulled down, pursed-lip, raised eye-browed look, who in turn, are equally surprised I speak any Filipino dialect at all (Mendoza 38-39).

The prevalent use of English can be pegged to our colonial ties to the United States.

> In the Filipino case, […] different cohorts of Filipino immigrants – the pre-World War II agricultural laborers, the pre-1970 Filipino sailors in the U.S. Navy, and the post-1965 medical professionals – have their roots in early-twentieth-century U.S. imperialism and colonization of the Philippines and in the U.S. changing labor needs (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 8).

The young are beginning to seek their roots in language, and to a lesser degree in culinary customs as an integral part of this search for identity.

> On the issue of language, Filipino children of immigrants are unequivocally moving toward being monolingual, that is, speaking English only. According to the CILS data, only about one in ten indicated that they spoke a Filipino language "very well" and even fewer could read it "very well." In contrast, nearly nine out of ten Filipinos reported speaking and reading English "very well." Indeed, Filipinos were the most linguistically assimilated of all the CILS groups surveyed, with 96 percent of the respondents in 1995 preferring English. But these data do not necessarily indicate a rejection of Filipino languages. Many of the young Filipinos I interviewed deeply regretted their inability to speak a Filipino language (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 194).

Survey questionnaires passed out to respondents inquired under what ethnic category they would define themselves - 95 out of the 154 defined themselves as "Filipino American." This response was revealing when juxtaposed against the linguistic categories of the predominance of English use. It is interesting to note that this suggests that some other markers are also used in the self-definition process taking into account Espiritu's information above.[33] Could that marker be race?

6.4 Race and Racism: The Filipino Experience

It is acknowledged that although racism is not unique to Filipinos, it is another issue that plagues the Filipino American psyche in San Diego as well as Imperial Valley, although perhaps more blatantly in the past and in more subtly today. First generation migrants encountered discrimination at all levels. Feelings of discrimination hindered the self-development and identification of being "Filipino." The effects of anti-Filipino imagery and stereotyping framed during previous eras have survived intact in to the 21st century, also discouraging the development of a salient community (San Juan, *Articulations* 1-30). Anti-discrimination acts of the 1960s and 1970s have somewhat alleviated this problem. However, it is unlikely that discrimination can be fully abolished. Usually it is transformed.

[33] For more information on self-perceived ethnic definition: Check Appendix B B18 of the 2004 Filipino American Community Study

For many of those in the third stream, the discrimination is subtler, hence more insidious – the space of contention and discrimination is now the work place. The term "glass ceiling" is commonly used to describe the lack of professional advancement in a racialized milieu (Ancheta 158-159; Takaki, *Strangers* 476).

Another anti-Filipino issue framed previously involved accent (Burdeos 36). Accent is a major consideration and everyone has one. Does one become more "American" by forsaking all that was before in an effort to get rid of an accent? Despite the exotic nature of accents, which is a form of discrimination in itself, language and language considerations have an impact on unity. Based on the quote below, I contend that this is a real space of contention, one played out every single day:

> Language has played a vital role in my immigrant family. As a first-generation American (here's a bit of confusion – quickly, my grandfather returned to the Philippines in 1929, married my grandmother, and they had my mother; two years later, he returned to the U.S. and then sent for them in 1947) – it was very important to my mother that I first learn English, and unaccented English at that (Mendoza 39).

Indeed, how are Filipino immigrants or Filipino Americans to bond together if there are so many different dialects or if they do not all speak Tagalog? Compelled by their parents to speak English and get rid of Tagalog accented English, that vital link to the past is removed. Espiritu writes about one such informant whose parents did not allow her to speak anything but English, in an effort to stave off the very discrimination referred to above.

> The majority of the immigrant parents I interviewed regretted their decision not to pass on the language to their children. Some parents simply were unable to cram language lessons into their hectic work schedules. But the following comments indicate, most parents decided against language instruction because they wanted to spare their children from race- and language-based discrimination (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 195).

In a survey of 154 respondents under the rubric of the *2004 Filipino American Community Study*, respondents were asked if their immigration experience was positive. Out of 154 respondents, 138 or 90% said it was positive. They were asked if they would encourage their relations to migrate to the United States. Given the choices: "Strongly encourage," "Encourage," "Discourage," "Strongly Discourage," 70 out of the 154 answered "Encourage" while 66 responded "Strongly Encourage." Although these statistics are not in any way conclusive, they do point to a more positive experience at the present time. Perhaps racism, at least the overt kind in terms of language identification, is slowly dissolving.[34]

[34] For more information on the Migration Experience: See Appendix B B11 and B12 of the *2004 Filipino American Community Study*.

CHAPTER 7

FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS: SAN DIEGO AND IMPERIAL COUNTY

7.1 COPAO: DIVERGENCE VIA DISPARATE AGENDAS

How can we reduce this information to an expression grounded in material reality? A significant portion of the Filipino community of San Diego, revolves around an umbrella organization called the Council of Philippine American Organizations or COPAO,

> According to [… Ben Vargas[35]] estimate, in 1992, there were more than 150 organizations in San Diego County alone, […] Referring to COPAO, he further mused: "we just can't get enough. But also, we want to be organized. You know, [we want to] organize the organizations!" […] These groupings reflect the heterogeneity of the Filipino American population: ethnic identity is determined not only in relation to other ethnic and racial groups in the United States, but by population subgroups in the Philippines (Bonus 104).

We need to bear in mind that COPAO is an umbrella organization that supposedly coordinates over 150 different groups (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 122-126) that identify themselves primarily along regional, linguistic, religious or agenda based lines. Carlos Bulosan intuited that a sense of tribalism pervaded the socio-political horizon; nowhere is it more evident than in COPAO (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 123)[36].

Unity, or an attempt at it, comes from the most unlikely sources. One point of resistance to the almost overwhelming evidence of fatalistic disunity comes from the Arts. PASACAT is organized around the energetic and compassionate Anamaria Cabato. In an interview with Yen Le Espiritu for *Filipino American Lives*, Cabato had this to say:

> Before, we didn't have the same kind of regionalism like we do now, because there were fewer Filipinos. Then when more started to come over, they began to say, "Oh, you're my townmate; you're from my same province, let's stick together." It's unfortunate. I wish somehow we could move away from that, because I think it prevents the positive growth of the Filipino community. It hurts our ability to move forward as whole community. We don't have a voice. […] There's about 150 Filipino organizations in San Diego. Isn't that ridiculous? […] They compete with each other too (Espiritu, *Filipino* 114).

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[35] Rick Bonus is quoting Ben Vargas, a local San Diego Filipino newspaper editor.

[36] See comments quoted by Espiritu from Ruth Abad: "We cannot unite the Filipinos. This has always been a problem, because everybody wants to be president. No one wants to give in. They love power. It's in their blood" (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 123)

Much more work still has to be done in terms of understanding how socio-historical dynamics have helped to shape these social and cultural cleavages within the San Diego social fabric. We must begin, as this thesis does, by trying to understand to what extent linguistic and regional diversity plays itself out in the Filipino American community in San Diego County.

One could almost use COPAO as a microcosm not just for the Filipino American community writ-large. It could also serve as a microcosm for a home bound artificially constructed unity. How can Filipinos be united away from the Philippines when they are not even united in their own country? The ethnic diversity, I argue, that is represented here is a reflection, much like the moon is to the sun, of the ethnic diversity in the Philippines. I argue that this "unity of disunity" is a reflection of little nation states trying to unify underneath one artificial banner, the Philippines. It could be argued that the Philippines itself may not even exist in reality as a country, much less a nation. For this, we will need to reflect on the musing of Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*:

> In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (Anderson, *Imagined* 5-6). […] It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion (Anderson, *Imagined* 6). […] The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind (Anderson, *Imagined* 7). […] It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm (Anderson, *Imagined* 7). […] Finally, it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings (Anderson, *Imagined* 7).

The references to regional ties and origins that form the basis for much identity creation today are inescapable in all regions. In his effort to describe what he sees as "Cacique Democracy in the Philippines," once again, Anderson provides proof of a lack of salient home grown unity:

> Their economic base lay in the hacienda agriculture, not in the capital city. And their provincial fiefdoms were also protected by the countries immense linguistic diversity. They might all speak the elite, "national" language (Spanish, later American), but they also spoke variously Tagalog, Ilocano, Pampango, Cebuano, Ilongo, and a dozen other tongues. In this way competition in any given electoral district was effectively limited, in a pre-television age, to a handful of rival caciques (Anderson, *Cacique* 11).

Above Anderson was making reference to the local cacique[37] upper class trying their hand at local politics. With regards to the "birth of a nation" Anderson wrote:

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[37] In Go and Foster we find confirmation that fragmentation was indeed a result of the *cacique* system. The *cacique* system is akin to but not totally parallel to a fief or what Patricio Abinales (quoting Ruby Paredes) refers to as "corrupt local autocrats" (Go and Foster 115). In Go and Foster's *The American Colonial State in the Philippines*, Abinales writes: "Although a more cohesive state eventually evolved in the United States, the

> It was however a fragile Republic, with more than a few similarities to Bolivar's abortive Gran Columbia. It had no purchase on the Muslim southwest; parts of the Visayas seemed likely to go their own independent way; and even in Luzon, mestizo leadership was contested by a variety of religious visionaries and peasant populists carrying on the tradition of Bonifacio's radicalism. Moreover, the mestizo generals themselves (who included the grandfathers of both Ferdinand Marcos and Benigno Aquino Jr.) began to follow the pattern of their American forebears, by setting themselves up as independent caudillos. Had it not been for William McKinley, one might almost say, the Philippines in early twentieth century could have fractured into three weak, caudillo-ridden states with the internal politics of nineteenth-century Venezuela or Ecuador (Anderson, *Cacique* 10).

The issue however, is more fundamental, it is not simply a matter of linguistic diversity and regional loyalties. The fundamental issue spoken of here is one that Anderson mentions earlier in "Cacique Democracy in the Philippines." In the early Christianization of the island population, a more divisive element was put in place to undergrid a home grown fractured community, exemplified by linguistic diversity as well as regional loyalties just mentioned.

In *Imagined Communities,* Anderson speaks to the issue of Rizal as part of the nation-building duality of novel and print-capitalism (Anderson, *Imagined* 36). In his examination of Rizal, Anderson points to the introduction of *Noli Me Tangere* as that zero-point where people "in a particular month of a particular decade, immediately conjures up the imagined community"[38]

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colonial state in the Philippines did not follow suit. It maintained a patchwork character, because this became the convenient way to keep together the "series of societies" that made up the formal body politic called the Philippines. By maintaining the same decentralized, party-based patronage system, colonial officials – both Filipino and American – were able to establish a system that would become the enduring foundation of a resilient Filipino "cacique democracy" (Go and Foster 172-173).

[38] To quote Benedict Anderson on Nationalism in general and the Philippines in particular: "One of the reasons that Imagined Communities was startling when it came out was that it argued that nationalism had its birth in the New World, not the Old, and from popular movement from below not (directly) as a result of state policy. The boundaries of the American states are quite 'artificial' and most contain extremely different populations, often languages. Quite normal in fact. Beyond perhaps Iceland, there is no homogenous nation-state in the world, at least in the ethnic and linguistic sense. In its origins nationalism was aimed at the existing state forms, which were monarchies and empires, and it was imbued with the philosophies of republicanism, horizontal solidarity (against monarchical verticality), 'progress,' and to a point liberalism. But it was created by the marriage of capitalism and print, by changing means of transport and communication, and by the character of imperial bureaucracies. The Philippines is a very interesting case because one can see it in two lights. If you think of it as part of the dying Spanish empire, which it was, then along with Cuba and Puerto Rico it was the last serious colony of the New World to liberate itself; if you think of it as part of Asia, then 1896 is a pioneer of revolutionary nationalism in the East. In fact, it was both.

In this early stage of nationalism's life it isn't 'imposed' by anyone, in fact the imperial and monarchical regimes try to crush it usually. But once it has been successful, i.e. it has taken over the state, then the story is different. Nationalist governments till recently have had a pretty monolithic idea about the nation, and they use the educational system, language policy, tax policy, mass communications to get the population, including minorities, to accept this version of nationalism. But the problem is universal. American nationalism (state version) is extremely coercive and sometimes paranoid (see reaction to bilingual education).

A number of scholars have failed to understand the care with which I selected imagined for the title, not imaginary. Imaginary is the opposite of true (imaginary illness, unicorns and so on). Imagined is something much stranger. The easiest examples to give come from literature. If you are an American you could think of

(Anderson, *Imagined* 27). Anderson quickly follows the previous statement with, "[the] reader's everyday life gives a hypnotic confirmation of the solidity of a single community" (Anderson, *Imagined* 27). Written in the original Spanish, that would mean that the audience for the novel would have been the cacique elite referred to previously.

Anderson sets up an apparent contradiction relating to the reading of Rizal vis-à-vis the linguistic diversity. The masses would not have had access to the book unless either translated or interpreted to them by local leaders, since only local leaders and the church had access to Spanish. Even if a Tagalog translation existed as early as 1897, *Noli me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* would not have been accessible. The problem of the inaccessibility of the tract, in Spanish, and the geographical dispersion, it seems inconceivable to be able to form what Anderson defines as an "imagined community." Anderson writes:

> The most noteworthy feature of this campaign was that it was conducted, most arduously, not through the medium of Spanish, but through the dozens of local languages. Till the very end of the Spanish regime no more than five percent of the local population had any facility with the colonial language. Spanish never became a pervasive lingua franca, as it did in the Americas, with the result that, certainly in the 1900s, and to a lesser extent even today, the peasants and fishermen in different parts of the archipelago could not communicate with one another: only their rulers had a common archipelago-wide speech (Anderson, *Cacique* 6).

It is taken into account that the revolution from above was indeed run by *illustrados*. However, if we are speaking of a cohesive "imagined community" one could surmise that it never existed.

> The Katipunan's title already implied its reach and limitations. The use of Tagalog, rather than a Spanish understood only by a tiny elite, showed Bonifacio's intention of appealing to, and mobilizing, the *indio* masses. On the other hand, in those days Tagalog was spoken only by the masses of Central and Southern Luzon, and was incomprehensible in Mindanao, the Visayas, and even Ilocano-speaking northwestern Luzon (Anderson, *Cacique* 9).

In less than twenty-five years, coupled with the introduction of English, the Filipinos never really had time to develop a new "national language" or for that matter "national symbols." Forced by push/pull dynamics this "fractured community," as opposed to "imagined community," fraught with huge cultural, linguistic, and geographical cleavages, was all too ready to send its workers to the far flung reaches of the New World armed with a disunity that would have to be painfully overcome due to life threatening conditions in America.

Captain Ahab in Moby Dick; or for an Englishman Heathcliff or Hamlet, for a Frenchman Madame Bovary or Albertine; a Filipino Dona Consolacion and Elias. They have a powerful LIFE and hold over the imagination even though they never existed as 'real people.' They were imagined by their creators, and we imagine them in our memories. But if you mix up imagined and imaginary, or think they are the same, you will easily think that 'the Philippines' is nothing real. In one sense this is partly correct, you cannot 'see' Pinas with your eyes except on a map, you cant hear it or touch it, but it is there in your mind and heart and memory. That is how it becomes real. Like God, in a way. If one doesn't "get" this, one won't understand nationalism's powerful emotional hold" (Anderson, personal communication Sep. 2005).

One could argue that the Filipinos lacked a sense of a homegrown, that "deep sense of horizontal comradeship" that Benedict Anderson deems essential to the formation of an imagined community. This is evidenced by needing to group by ethnic, linguistic, and regional bodies. When they came to the United States, the Filipinos were forced to make concessions, to bond even more artificially, the Filipinos abroad formed all sorts of ethnic or regional delimited fraternal societies and civic groups. This was seen in the *manongs* and *sakadas* in Imperial Valley – a scenario that repeated itself all over California. There were also regional as well as agenda based groups, as is evidenced by the need for a blanket organization such as COPAO in San Diego. If there was, or is, no unity in the Philippine Islands, how can it be expected to be transferred here?

When asked in the survey if language forms an obstacle to unity within the Filipino American community, of the 154 respondents[39] 79 agreed and 71 disagreed. A margin of 3% divided the two groups. This indicates that at least 51% of the respondents agree that it does. This is underscored by the fact that so much is invested in trying to determine if indeed language and regionalism have an impact. If a new unity is to be created, then it is obvious that the new order will have to be negotiated rather than imposed. This exercise was performed not to bring the margins into the center, but, in part, to examine if there is a center to be formed at all. It should be done by keeping in mind the many voices and the regional identities that form the collage that is San Diego.

The network of Filipino organizations in San Diego directly involves a significant majority of Filipinos as members and connects other Filipinos by drawing them into festivals and other activities. These groups may split and form new groups, every now and then, leading to the gradual termination of the original group. Due to the further occasional sub-dividing of groups, there is widespread agreement that not all Filipinos in San Diego are ready to unite behind common causes.

The process has culminated in the current organization of COPAO, which forms a loose confederation, serving as an umbrella group for other ethnic, regional, and common interest groups. The groups form a network of multiple intersecting memberships at both the group level and the individual level. The public events sponsored by the groups provide a semblance of a Filipino community and identity, as well as providing opportunities for socialization through enjoyment of traditional foods, music, dance, and language. Programs sponsored by the Filipino organizations such as voter registration drives, computers instruction, and the organization of nurses, has the potential to exert an important productive sway in the San Diego community.

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[39] There were 160 responses to the question due to multiple responses – more than one answer per question.

Alternatives to COPAO as the *sine qua non* of Filipino organizations are beginning to appear and manifest some strength. One such group is the Mabuhay Alliance with Faith Bautista as its Executive Director. Another movement that is challenging COPAO's hegemony is called "One Voice, One Vision," a group designed to bring unity headed by Dr. Maria Lourdes Reyes. Dr. Reyes is also a board member of Mabuhay Alliance (Lindsey 9). The One Voice group as well as the Mabuhay Alliance began in 2005. Both are showing promise.

7.2 IMPERIAL COUNTY

Once a year, the Filipino American Community of Niland meets in San Diego. Conversely, every so often the Sons of Batac meet in El Centro to talk about culture and food (Interviewee 1, personal communication Sep. 2005). What started out as a vibrant and energetic Filipino community has melted into thin air (Leone 113-114).

In the 1910s and the 1920s most, if not all, Filipinos lived on the farms. Itinerant farmers followed the harvest seasons. By 1930 Filipinos were starting to settle down, intermarrying with Mexicans and Anglo-European (Interviewees 2 and 3, personal communication Sep. 2005). In the 1940s things began to look up for the Filipino acquiring tenancies in land and forming coops. Some went of to serve in World War II and some had children. Enter the true first wave of the second generation.

Most folks came back from the war and settled in Niland and Holtville (Interviewees 1, 2, and 3, personal communication Sep. 2005). Land owners now, Filipinos began to see the first signs of real prosperity. Those who did not own land replaced the Japanese workers, who after the war, did not return. Most of the children born of the second generation parents in the 1960s are coming of age today. Most have gone on to college and most, predictably, have not returned.

Disaster struck in the late 1950s. Legislation put in place caused the prices of tomatoes and other produce to drop to such levels that most Filipino growers declared bankruptcy and left. Those who stayed all but faded. The fraternal societies and civic organizations that pervaded on the scene were eroded away (Chan 75). Today, survived by the third and fourth generations, the legacy of older Filipinos is dangerously threatened. Few newer entrants do not feel the same sort of dynamism offered in San Diego – hence they quietly go about their business – a *modus operandi* that exemplifies the Filipinos in the Imperial Valley.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

This thesis has shown that in both "spaces" under consideration, San Diego County and Imperial County, there is no cohesive "Filipino Community" *per se.* What needs to be done, therefore, is a re-examination of goals, position and infrastructure to see if there is a will, and grounded on material reality, a concrete need to develop and maintain cohesiveness. Language and ethnic loyalties as evidenced from the literature and field work are becoming less and less important with the advent of each new generation. The Filipino as we knew him/her as an invention of the recent past and his/her circumstances is now in a liminal state of redefinition. This last statement holds as much promise as it does risk.

We can define "community" in many ways: as a group of people who live in and around a specified geographic location, as a collection of persons who understand themselves as distinct and meaningful and define themselves as such, or as a body politic able to mobilize economically, socially, and politically. Whatever the premises or parameters, the only conclusion that can be drawn is, once again, that there is no organized Pan-Filipino community in the San Diego or the Imperial Valley area. However, I do not take into account, in this thesis, the more informal setup that eludes the political radar. Even under that narrow premise, particularly in Imperial County, the notion of a unified Filipino community, despite the best efforts of some very good people, is characterized by marked sense of dissolution. In San Diego, the scenario may be more sophisticated. Nonetheless, the existence of more narrowly based sub-groupings has proved to be a bane rather than a boon. Although this sounds bleak, it is merely a statement of the existing condition. Lack of unity is seen as a factor of flux rather than some form of hoped for stasis.

According to a *2004 Community Profile* produced by the Imperial Valley Economic Development Corporation, there are a total of 741 Filipinos in the whole of Imperial Valley, accounting for close .5 of 1% of the regions 142,361 residents. Conversely, due to rapid population growth in the 1980s and 1990s, Filipinos ethnics now constitute the second largest Asian population in San Diego County. In San Diego, many live in ethnically diverse neighborhoods as far south as National City and Chula Vista to as far north as Del Mar and Mira Mesa. Filipinos in the Imperial Valley are spread out over Calexico, Niland, Brawley, Calexico, Calipatria, ElCentro, Holtville, Imperial, and Westmoreland. However, the highest concentration of Filipinos can be found in El Centro, Niland, and Holtville.

Marked by a rapid increase in the 1920s and 1930s, the current complement stands at or around 741 in a county that rivals San Diego County in area. Over time, the bulk of Filipinos in Imperial County moved on based on economic needs, to what they considered bigger and better things. For those who stayed, the aging population is on the decline. In San Diego the reverse is true. Marked by a rapid increase in both the second and third waves, the Filipino population is steadily growing.

In San Diego Filipinos run businesses, including many markets and restaurants. Moreover, while several Filipino Americans have found management positions, members of the educated and professional classes settle in the city with ever-increasing regularity, either to retire or to work in their professional capacities. Conversely, in Imperial Valley, the core members of the Filipino community are older than in San Diego. Some of the more established former farm workers, and now growers, sent, and continue to send, their children to the major metropolitan centers to further their education and to seek new opportunities. These children who have chosen to make their lives in larger metropolitan centers like the San Francisco Bay Area or the Southern California urban centers of Los Angeles and San Diego for the most part do not return to settle. Instead they evolve new lives in new spaces.

The Filipino American community in San Diego is predominantly Catholic, growing rapidly, but organizing sporadically, both socially and politically. Filipinos in the Imperial Valley are less bound to their home grown faith. They have rather evolved in different trajectories, in the past embracing fraternal societies and embracing Protestant faiths such as the Methodists, the Aglipayans, and the Iglesia ni Cristo.

Filipino Americans in San Diego and Imperial Valley continue to strive for economic, educational and social advancement by bringing a distinctly island flavor to their enthusiastic participation in the community. The second and third generations are so integrated into the general community, with a command of the English language that older first generation migrants could never dream of, that they are, for all intents and purposes American.

As mentioned previously, this thesis explored the development over time of the Filipino American Community in general and in San Diego County and Imperial Valley in particular. Hence, this project was an analysis of the changes of attitude over time and space in specific places: San Diego and Imperial Valley were examined. Time refers to specific reference to generational change. Place specifically referring to different areas of Filipino settlement in San Diego and Imperial Valley. Other variables such as socio-economics and educational status were taken into account. In terms of methodology, a survey questionnaire of 157 informants in San Diego as well as a set of interviews conducted in Imperial Valley were used to augment a literature review of materials concerned with

immigration to and settlement of Filipinos over historic time into the United States in general as well as San Diego and Imperial Valley areas in particular.

In terms of population, Filipinos and Filipino Americans comprise the second largest Asian descent group in the state of California. Communities exist in relation to and in comparison with other communities (a topic for another study) to mobilize common resources. Intuitively language, values, and unity were intertwined. What does it mean to be "Asian?" Do Filipinos see themselves as part of a larger Pan-Asian community? Are the Filipinos distinct? If so, how? A study and analysis of Filipinos *vis-à-vis* other Asian American communities, and vice versa, as well as inter/intra Filipino communities in California are topics that should be seriously considered for the future. It would bring to presence heretofore hidden interpersonal dynamics that should prove informative. Despite finding themselves fractured and in the case of Imperial Valley a community marked by dissolution, strides have been made by the Filipinos who live and work therein are still significant and noteworthy. An inexplicable momentum continues to push Filipinos, more precisely Filipino Americans, if not as a group then as individuals to continue to make significant contributions to San Diego and the Imperial Valley.

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APPENDIX A

FILIPINO DEMOGRAPHICS

The numbers outlined directly below reflect: a.) A large influx of Filipinos in the 1920s and 1930s with a subsequent decline in the 1940s. b.) A remarkable increase in the Filipino population in the 1960s onward.

A1 Immigrants by Country - Philippines[40]

Year	Number
1970	30507
1969	20263
1968	16086
1967	10336
1966	5894
1965	2963
1964	2862
1963	3483
1962	3354
1961	2628
1960	2791
1959	2503
1958	2034
1957	1874
1956	1792
1955	1598
1954	1234
1953	1074

Year	Number
1952	1179
1951	3228
1950	729
1949	1157
1948	1168
1947	910
1946	475
1945	19
1944	4
1943	8
1942	51
1941	170
1940	137
1939	119
1938	116
1937	84
1936	72

A2 Filipinos in the United States, California, and San Diego[41]

Year	United States	California	San Diego
1910	2,767	5	-
1920	26,634	2,674	48
1930	108,424	30,470	394
1940	98,535	31,408	799
1950	122,707	40,424	NA
1960	176,310	67,134	5,123
1970	343,060	135,248	15,069
1980	774,652	358,378	48,658
1990	1,406,770	733,941	95,945
2000	1,800,000	918,678	121,147

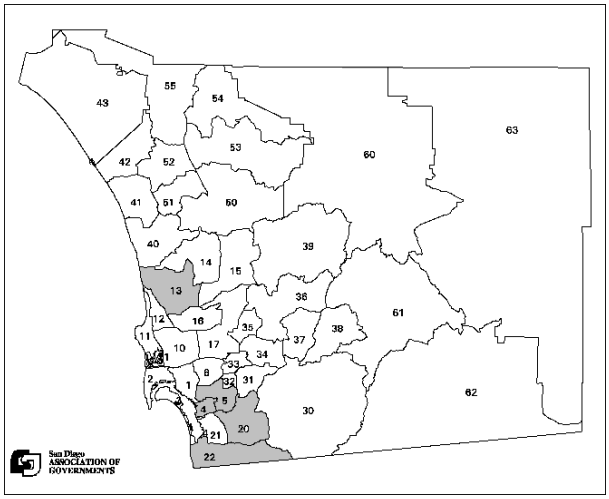
[40] Source: Ben Wattenberg's *The Statistical History of the United States – From Colonial Times to the Present* which is prepared by the United States Bureau of the Census (as of 1970). Philippines included in "All other countries" prior to 1936.

[41] Source: (Espiritu, *Home Bound* 101).

A3 Filipino Population by SRA[42], San Diego County, 2000 Census[43]

	SRA	Filipino Population		SRA	Filipino Population
1	Central	2,409	34	El Cajon	1,329
2	Peninsula	741	35	Santee	560
3	Coronado	487	36	Lakeside	366
4	National City	9,235	37	Harbison-Crest	85
5	Southeast SD	27,991	38	Alpine	116
6	Mid City	2,108	39	Ramona	125
10	Kearny Mesa	4,029	40	San Dieguito	360
11	Coastal	477	41	Carlsbad	755
12	University	776	42	Oceanside	4,685
13	Del Mar-Mira Mesa	18,435	43	Pendleton	738
14	North San Diego	6,034	50	Escondido	2,412
15	Poway	2,703	51	San Marcos	1,379
16	Miramar	248	52	Vista	1,006
17	Elliot-Navajo	1,810	53	Valley Center	106
20	Sweetwater	9,436	54	Pauma	79
21	Chula Vista	3,673	55	Fallbrook	250
22	South Bay	11,494	60	Palomar-Julian	5
30	Jamul	166	61	Laguna-Pine Valley	23
31	Spring Valley	2,907	62	Mountain Empire	27
32	Lemon Grove	979	63	Anza Borego Springs	3
33	La Mesa	600		San Diego County	121,147

A4 Subregional Areas – San Diego (Colored areas reached a mass of 9,000 and above)[44]



[42] Subregional Area

[43] Source: SANDAG, Compiled by the County of San Diego, Emergency Medical Services, 9/2005.

[44] Source: SANDAG, Provided by the County of San Diego, Emergency Medical Services, 9/2005.

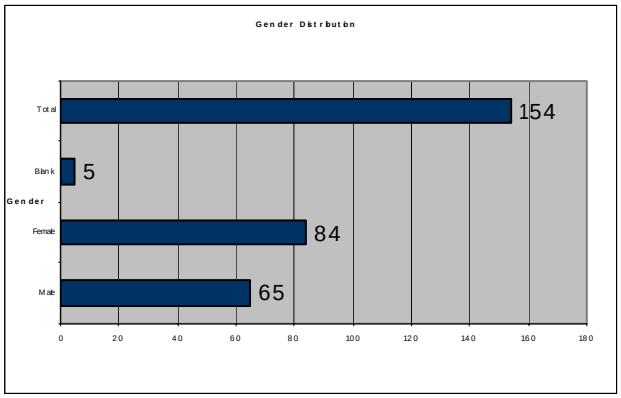
APPENDIX B

2004 FILIPINO AMERICAN COMMUNITY STUDY

B1 Gender Distribution

Gender Distribution

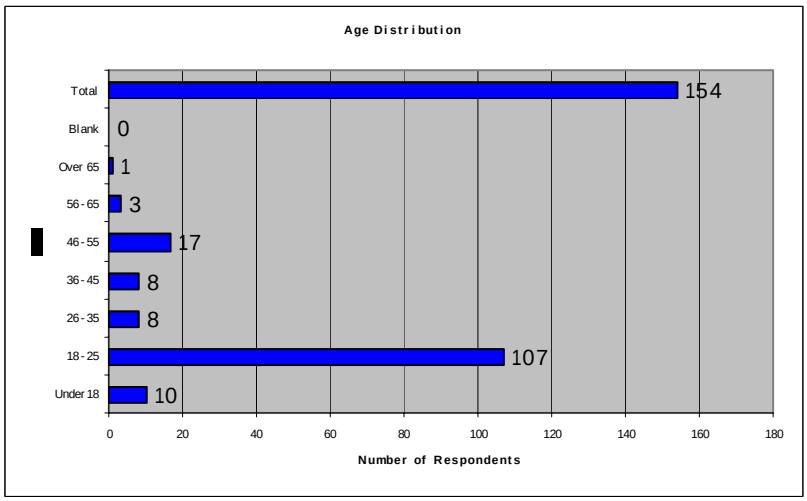
Male	65
Female	84
Blank	5
Total	154



B2 Age Distribution

Age Distribution

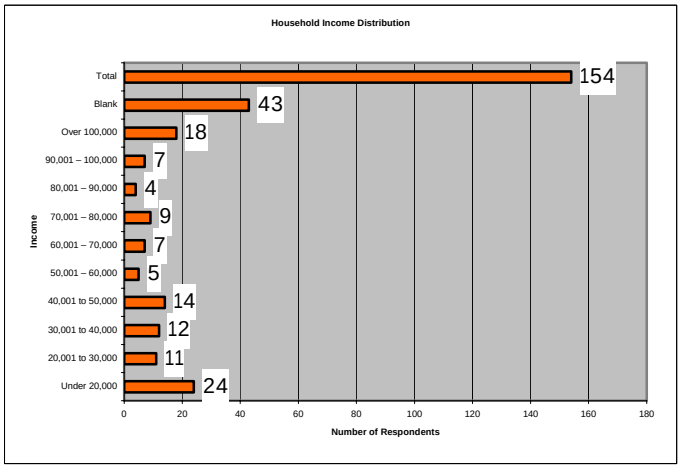
Under 18	10
18–25	107
26–35	8
36–45	8
46–55	17
56–65	3
Over 65	1
Blank	0
Total	154



B3 Household Income Distribution

Household Income Distribution

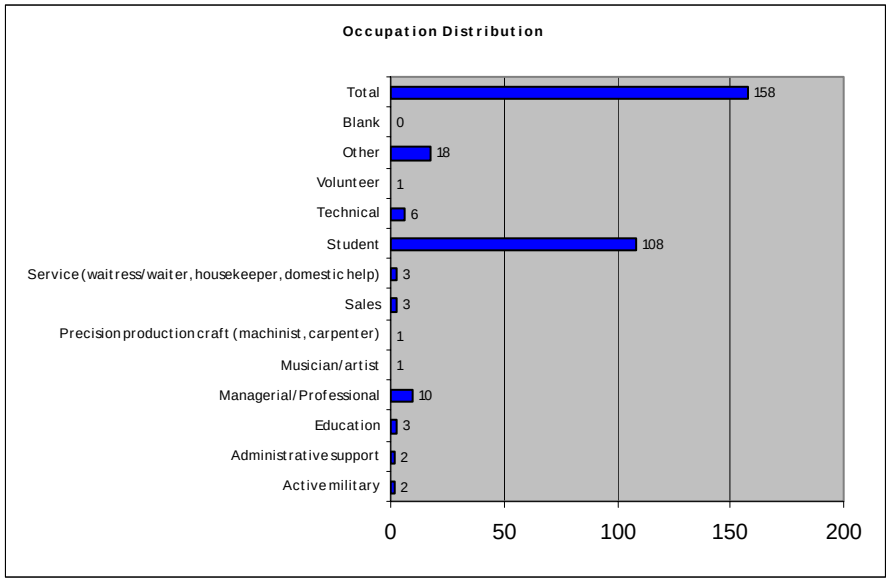
Under 20,000	24
20,001 to 30,000	11
30,001 to 40,000	12
40,001 to 50,000	14
50,001 – 60,000	5
60,001 – 70,000	7
70,001 – 80,000	9
80,001 – 90,000	4
90,001 – 100,000	7
Over 100,000	18
Blank	43
Total	154



B4 Occupation Distribution

Occupation Distribution

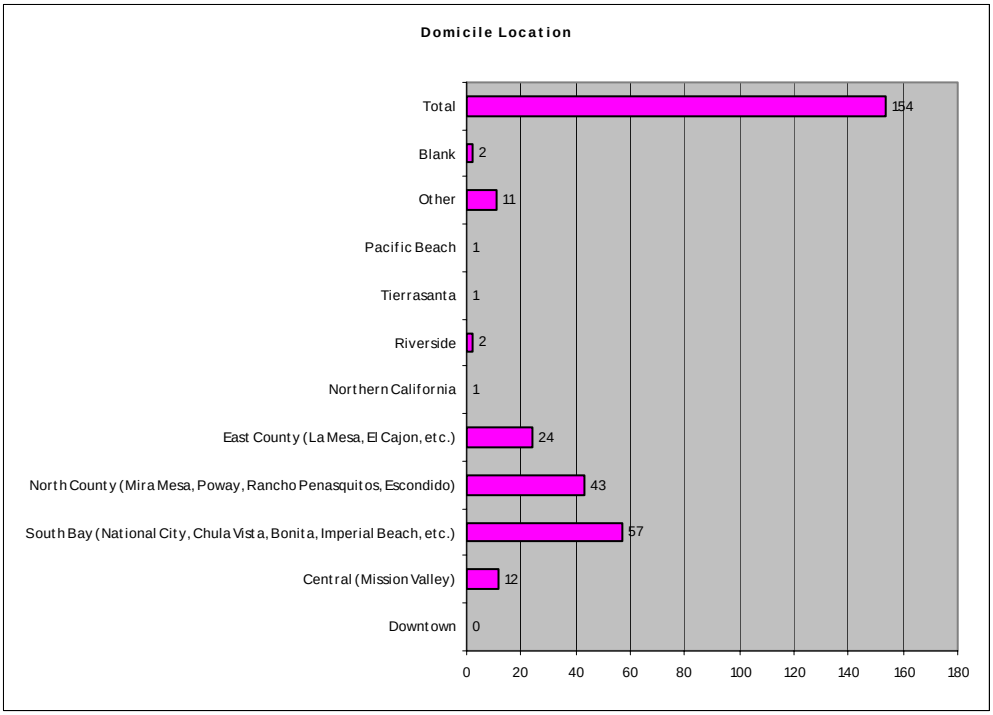
Active military	2
Administrative support	2
Education	3
Managerial/ Professional	10
Musician/artist	1
Precision production craft	1
Sales	3
Service	3
Student	108
Technical	6
Volunteer	1
Other	18
Blank	0
Total	158



B5 Domicile Location

Domicile Location

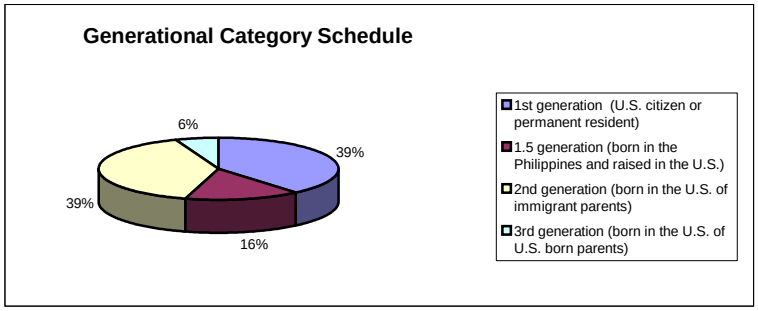
Downtown	0
Central	12
South Bay	57
North County	43
East County	24
Northern California	1
Riverside	2
Tierrasanta	1
Pacific Beach	1
Other	11
Blank	2
Total	154



B6 Generational Category Schedule

Generational Category Schedule

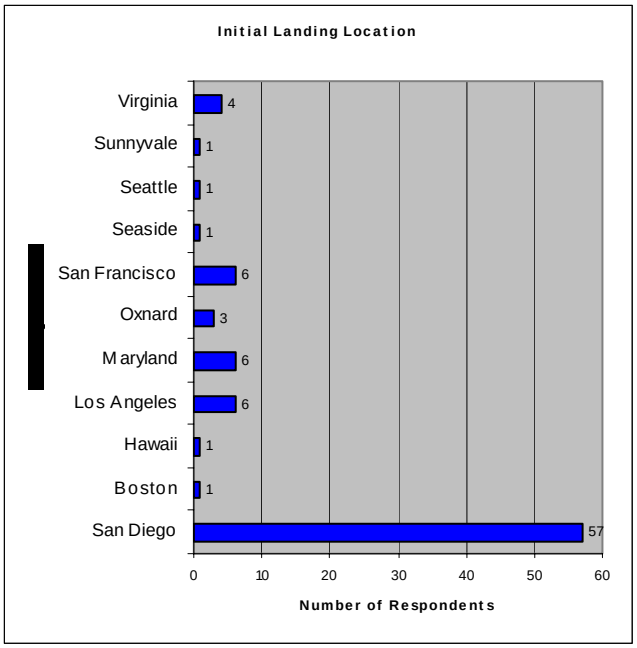
1st generation	60
1.5 generation	24
2nd generation	61
3rd generation	9
Blank	0
Total	154



B7 Initial Landing Location Schedule

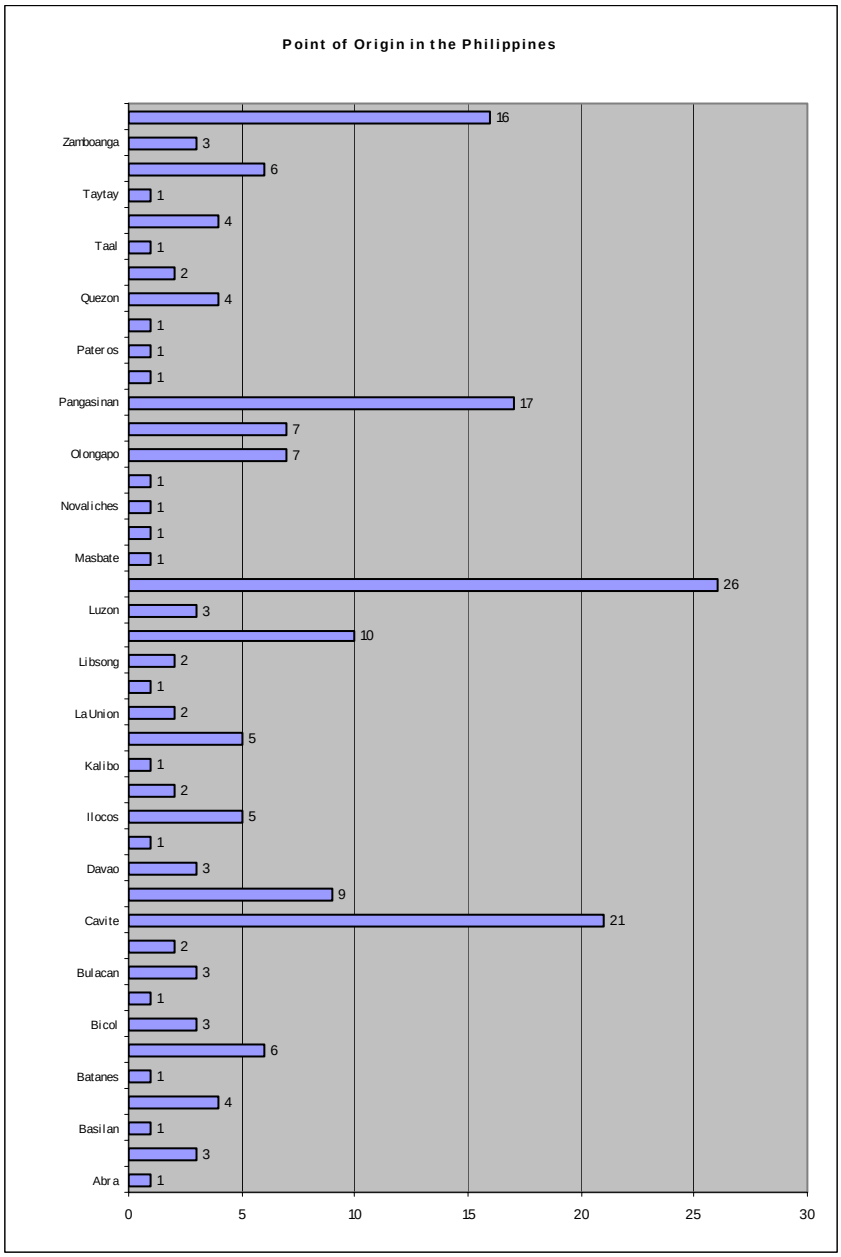
Initial Landing Location Schedule

Yes	57
No	33
Boston	1
Hawaii	1
Los Angeles	6
Maryland	6
Oxnard	3
San Francisco	6
Seaside	1
Seattle	1
Sunnyvale	1
Virginia	4
Blank	58
Total	145



B8 Point of Origin in the Philippines

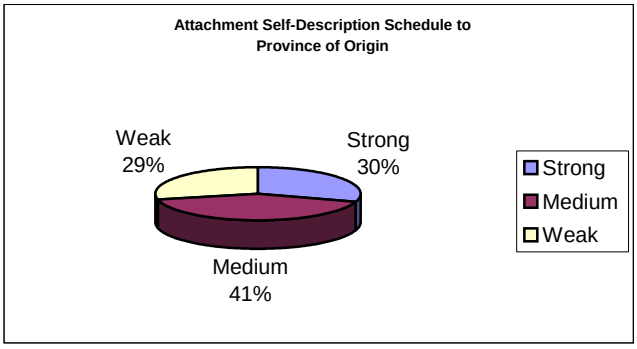
Point of Origin in the Philippines	
Abra	1
Baguio	3
Basilan	1
Bataan	4
Batanes	1
Batangas	6
Bicol	3
Benguet	1
Bulacan	3
Camiguin	2
Cavite	21
Cebu	9
Davao	3
Hinundayan	1
Ilocos	5
Ilo Ilo	2
Kalibo	1
Laguna	5
La Union	2
Legaspi	1
Libsong	2
Lingayen	10
Luzon	3
Manila	26
Masbate	1
Navotas	1
Novaliches	1
Nueva Ecija	1
Olongapo	7
Pampanga	7
Pangasinan	17
Pasay	1
Pateros	1
Puerto Princessa	1
Quezon	4
Rizal	2
Taal	1
Tarlac	4
Taytay	1
Zambales	6
Zamboanga	3
Blank	16
Total	191



B9 Self-Description Schedule to Province of Origin

Self-Description Schedule to Province of Origin

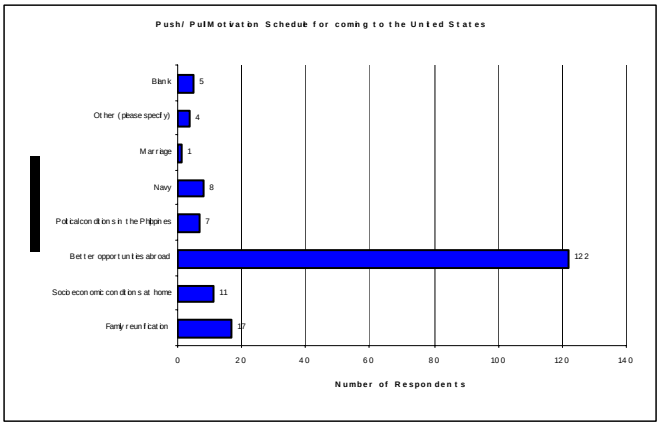
Strong	46
Medium	64
Weak	44
Blank	0
Total	154



B10 Push/Pull Motivation Schedule for coming to the United States

Push/Pull Motivation Schedule for coming to the United States

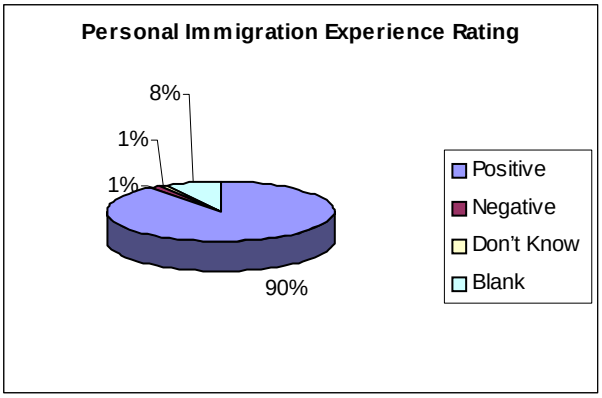
Family reunification	17
Socio economic conditions at home	11
Better opportunities abroad	122
Political conditions in the Philippines	7
Navy	8
Marriage	1
Other	4
Blank	5
Total	175



B11 Personal Immigration Experience Rating

Personal Immigration Experience Rating

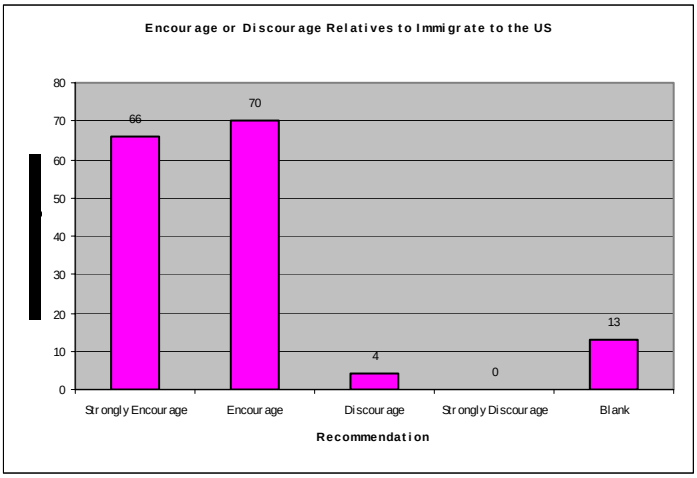
Positive	138
Negative	2
Don't Know	2
Blank	12
Total	154



B12 Based on B11, Encourage or Discourage Relatives to Immigrate to the United States

Encourage or Discourage Relatives to Immigrate to the Unites States

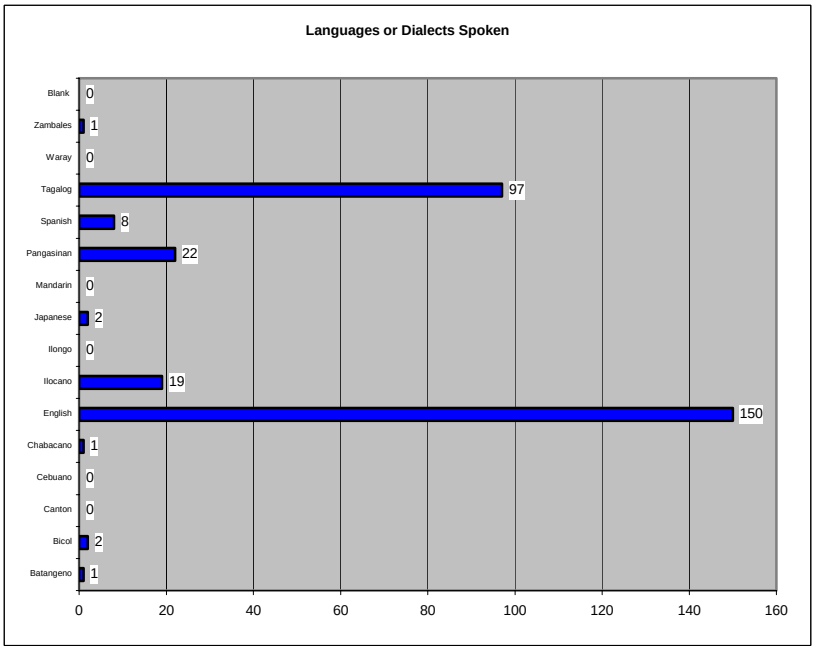
Strongly Encourage	66
Encourage	70
Discourage	4
Strongly Discourage	0
Blank	13
Total	153



B13 Languages or Dialects Spoken Schedule

Languages or Dialects Spoken Schedule

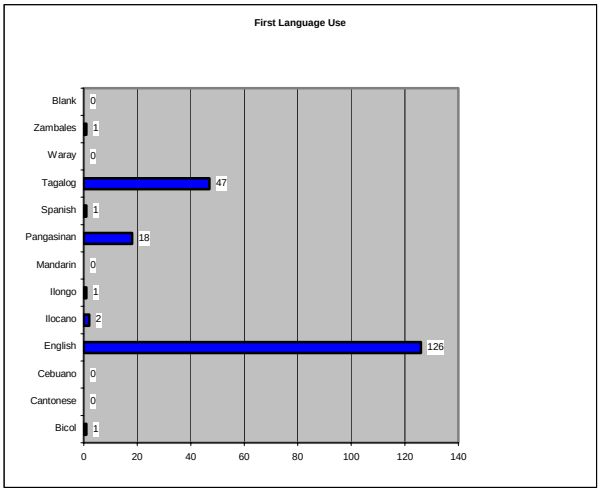
Batangeno	1
Bicol	2
Canton	0
Cebuano	0
Chabacano	1
English	150
Ilocano	19
Ilongo	0
Japanese	2
Mandarin	0
Pangasinan	22
Spanish	8
Tagalog	97
Waray	0
Zambales	1
Blank	0
Total	303



B14 First Language Use Schedule

First Language Use Schedule

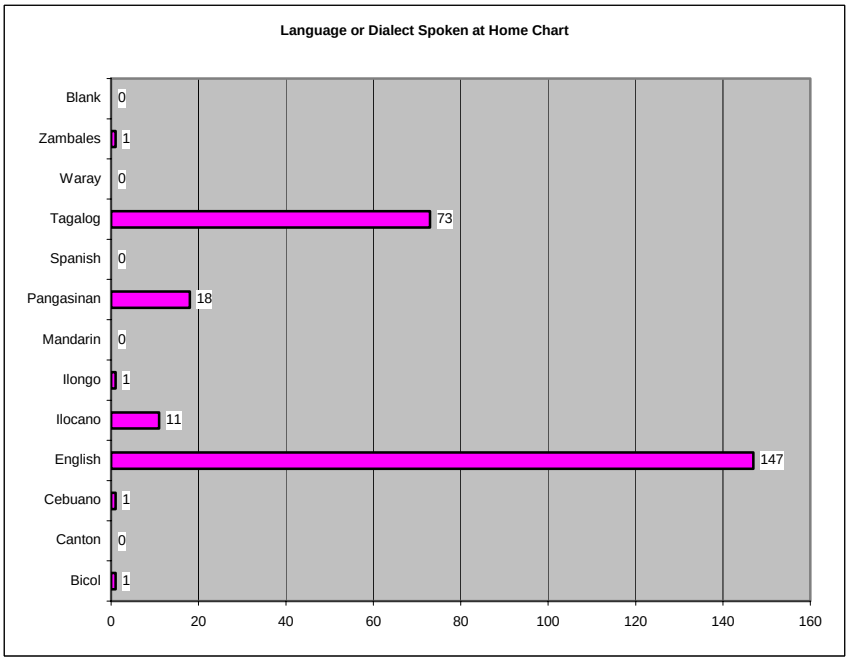
Bicol	1
Cantonese	0
Cebuano	0
English	126
Ilocano	2
Ilongo	1
Mandarin	0
Pangasinan	18
Spanish	1
Tagalog	47
Waray	0
Zambales	1
Blank	0
Total	197



B15 Language and/or Dialect Spoken at Home

Language and/or Dialect Spoken at Home

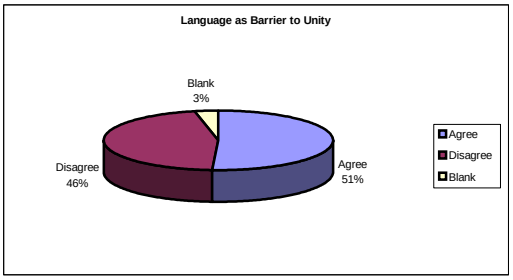
Bicol	1
Canton	0
Cebuano	1
English	147
Ilocano	11
Ilongo	1
Mandarin	0
Pangasinan	18
Spanish	0
Tagalog	73
Waray	0
Zambales	1
Blank	0
Total	253



B16 Language as Barrier to Unity

Language as Barrier to Unity

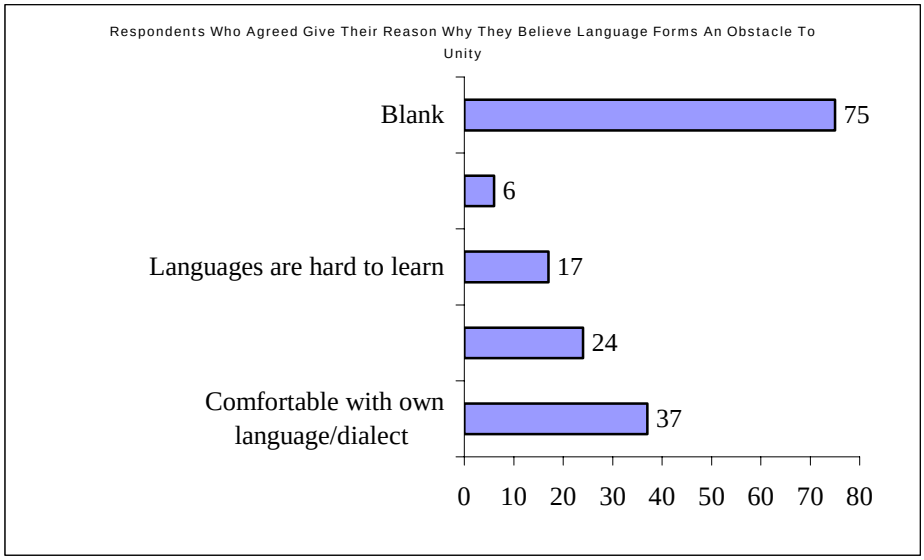
Agree	79
Disagree	71
Blank	5
Total	155



B17 Respondents Who Agreed Give Their Reason Why They Believe Language Forms an Obstacle To Unity

Respondents Who Agreed Give Their Reason Why They Believe Language Forms An Obstacle To Unity

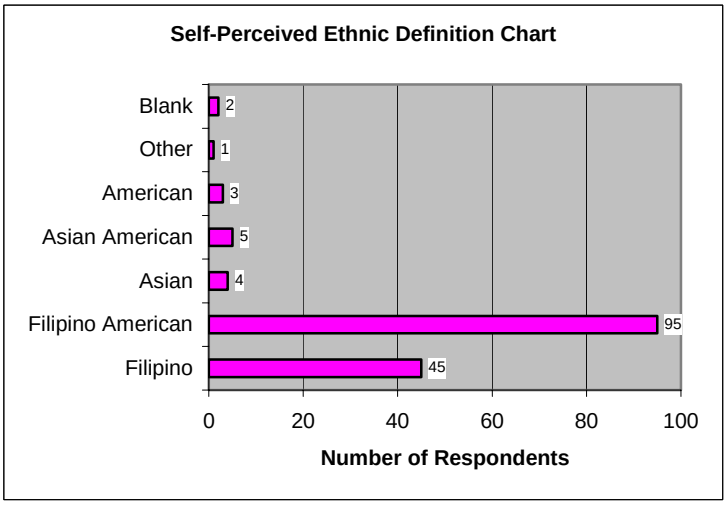
Comfortable with own l language/dialect	37
Others use language/dialect to socially position themselves	24
Languages are hard to learn	17
Other	6
Blank	75
Total	159



B18 Self-Perceived Ethnic Definition

Self-Perceived Ethnic Definition

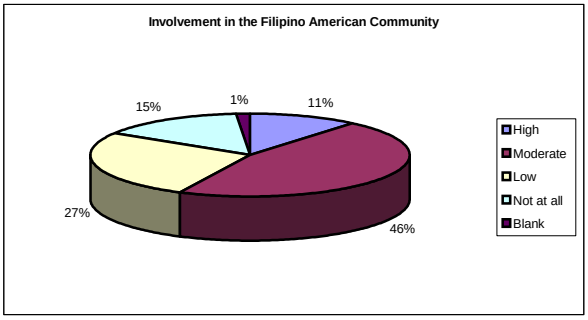
Filipino	45
Filipino American	95
Asian	4
Asian American	5
American	3
Other	1
Blank	2
Total	155



B19 Self-Rating regarding Involvement in the local Filipino Community

Involvement in the local Filipino Community

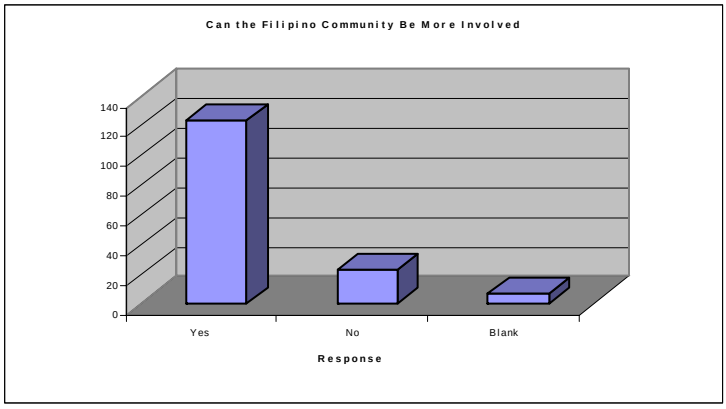
High	17
Moderate	71
Low	41
Not at all	23
Blank	2
Total	154



B20 Community Involvement of Filipinos Rating Schedule

Community Involvement of Filipinos Rating Schedule

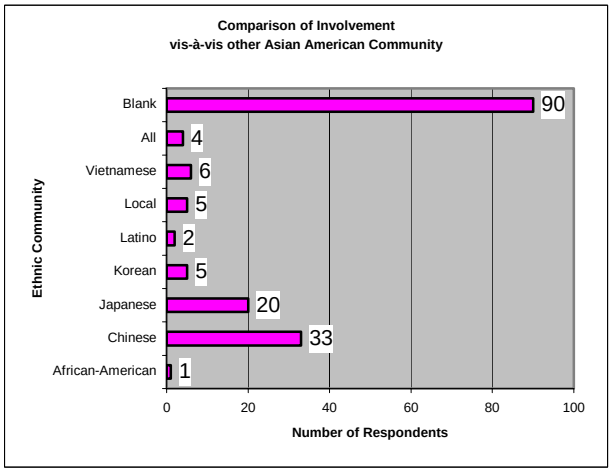
Yes	124
No	23
Blank	7
Total	154



B21 Comparison of Involvement vis-à-vis other Asian American Communities

Comparison of Involvement vis-à-vis other Asian American Communities

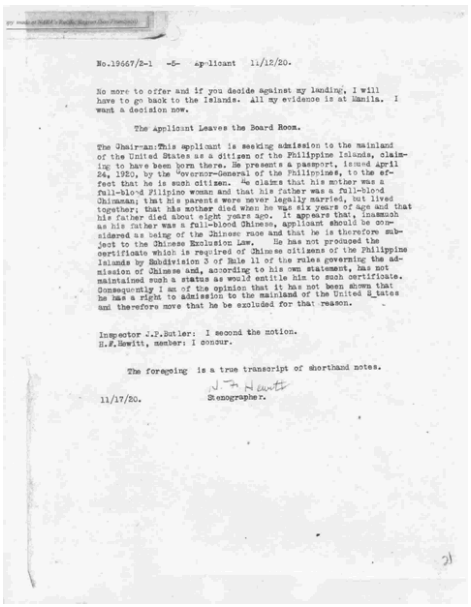
African-American	1
Chinese	33
Japanese	20
Korean	5
Latino	2
Local	5
Vietnamese	6
All	4
Blank	90
Total	166



APPENDIX C

FILIPINO EXCLUSION AND REPATRIATION

C1 Andres Calendad's Deportation Order[45]



No.19667/2-1 -S- Applicant 11/12/20.

No more to offer and if you decide against my landing, I will have to go back to the Islands. All my evidence is at Manila. I want a decision now.

The Applicant Leaves the Board Room.

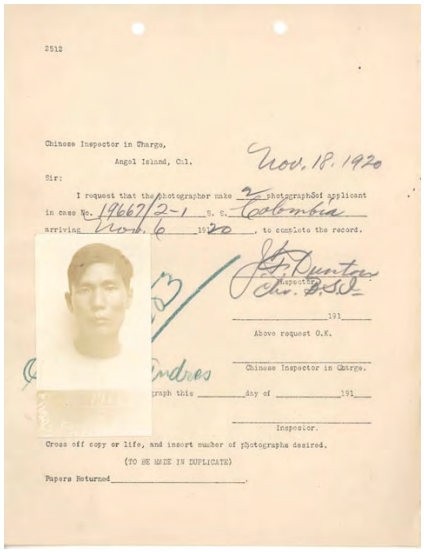
The Chairman:This applicant is seeking admission to the mainland of the United States as a citizen of the Philippine Islands, claiming to have been born there. He presents a passport, issued April 24, 1920, by the Governor-General of the Philippines, to the effect that he is such citizen. He claims that his mother was a full-blood Filipino woman and that his father was a full-blood Chinaman; that his parents were never legally married, but lived together; that his mother died when he was six years of age and that his father died about eight years ago. It appears that, inasmuch as his father was a full-blood Chinese, applicant should be considered as being of the Chinese race and that he is therefore subject to the Chinese Exclusion Law. He has not produced the certificate which is required of Chinese citizens of the Philippine Islands by Subdivision 3 of Rule 11 of the rules governing the admission of Chinese and, according to his own statement, has not maintained such a status as would entitle him to such certificate. Consequently I am of the opinion that it has not been shown that he has a right to admission to the mainland of the United States and therefore move that he be excluded for that reason.

Inspector J.P.Butler: I second the motion.
H.F.Hewitt, member: I concur.

The foregoing is a true transcript of shorthand notes.

11/17/20. Stenographer.

Reason given: "It appears that, inasmuch as his father was full-blooded Chinese, applicant should be considered as being of the Chinese race and that he is therefore subject to the Chinese Exclusion Law."



2512

Chinese Inspector in Charge,
Angel Island, Cal. Nov. 18. 1920

Sir:

I request that the photographer make 2 photographs of applicant in case No. 19667/2-1 S. S. Colombia arriving Nov. 6 1920, to complete the record.

Above request O.K.

Chinese Inspector in Charge.

graph this ____ day of ____ 193__

Inspector.

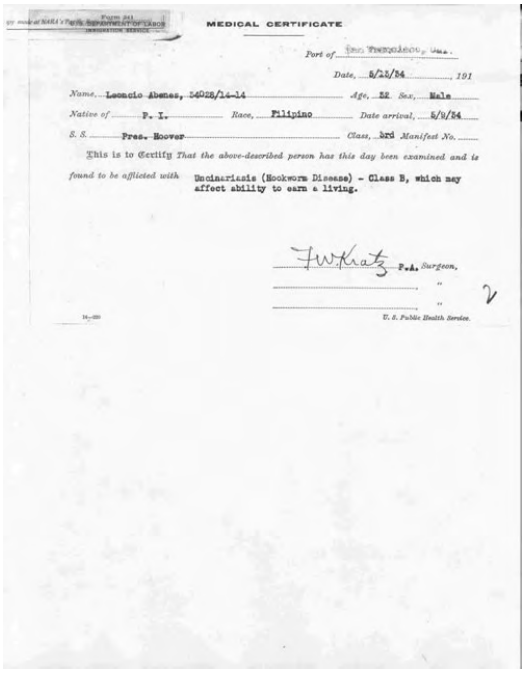
Cross off copy or life, and insert number of photographs desired.

(TO BE MADE IN DUPLICATE)

Papers Returned____.

[45] Source: The National Archives and Records Administration, San Bruno, California. Note: The box (#3271) that I researched during my visit contained files of men, including Leoncio Abenis, arriving in San Francisco aboard the SS President Hoover on May 9, 1934. Andres Calendad was not aboard that ship. He arrived much earlier aboard the SS Colombia on November 6, 1920 (file 19667/2-1 from box 1472 @shelf 3286H).

C2 Leoncio Abenis's "Certificate of Medical Examination and Identity"[46]



MEDICAL CERTIFICATE

Port of San Francisco, Calif.

Date, 5/25/34, 191

Name, Leoncio Abenes, 54028/14-14 Age, 22 Sex, Male

Native of P. I. Race, Filipino Date arrival, 5/9/34

S. S. Pres. Hoover Class, 3rd Manifest No.

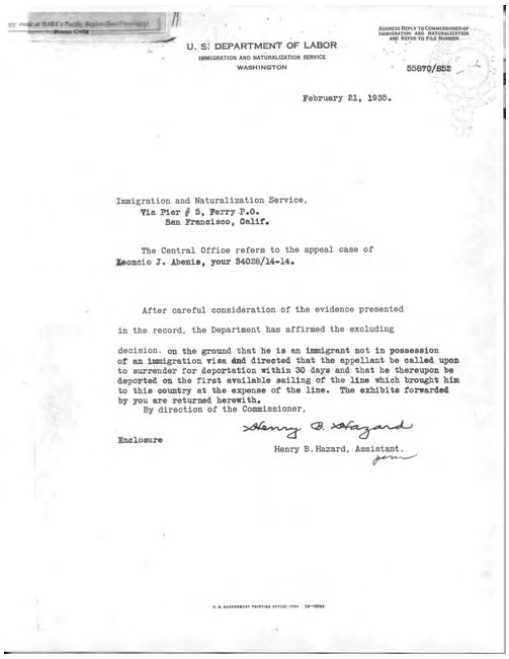
This is to Certify That the above-described person has this day been examined and is found to be afflicted with Uncinariasis (Hookworm Disease) - Class B, which may affect ability to earn a living.

F.W. Kratz P.A. Surgeon,

" "

" "

U. S. Public Health Service.



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
WASHINGTON

55970/852

February 21, 1935.

Immigration and Naturalization Service,
Via Pier # 5, Ferry P.O.
San Francisco, Calif.

The Central Office refers to the appeal case of Leoncio J. Abenis, your 54028/14-14.

After careful consideration of the evidence presented in the record, the Department has affirmed the excluding decision on the ground that he is an immigrant not in possession of an immigration visa and directed that the appellant be called upon to surrender for deportation within 30 days and that he thereupon be deported on the first available sailing of the line which brought him to this country at the expense of the line. The exhibits forwarded by you are returned herewith.

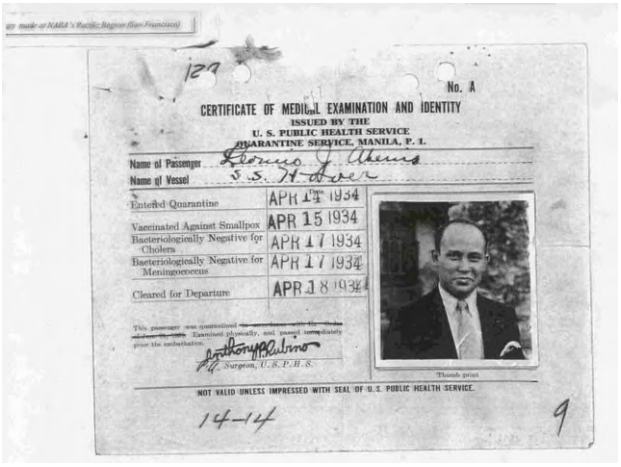
By direction of the Commissioner,

Henry B. Hazard

Enclosure

Henry B. Hazard, Assistant.

This form starts his spiral downward. Abenis is seen as unfit to work, which therefore would result in his alleged status as a "ward to the state." His application was tentatively approved (probation) and then revoked.



No. A

CERTIFICATE OF MEDICAL EXAMINATION AND IDENTITY
ISSUED BY THE
U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
QUARANTINE SERVICE, MANILA, P. I.

Name of Passenger Leoncio J. Abenis

Name of Vessel S.S. Hoover

Entered Quarantine	APR 14 1934
Vaccinated Against Smallpox	APR 15 1934
Bacteriologically Negative for Cholera	APR 17 1934
Bacteriologically Negative for Meningococcus	APR 17 1934
Cleared for Departure	APR 18 1934

Thumb print

Surgeon, U.S.P.H.S.

NOT VALID UNLESS IMPRESSED WITH SEAL OF U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

14-14

9

[46] Source: The National Archives and Records Administration, California, San Bruno.
Note: The box (#3271) that I researched during my visit contained files of men, including Leoncio Abenis, arriving in San Francisco aboard the SS President Hoover on May 9, 1934. Andres Calendad was not aboard that ship. He arrived much earlier aboard the SS Colombia on November 6, 1920 (file 19667/2-1 from box 1472 @shelf 3286H).

APPENDIX D

FILIPINO AMERICANS IN IMPERIAL VALLEY

D1 Interior of a ramada covered tomato shed showing workers packing tomatoes in crates. Workers are Filipino. (Courtesy of the Pioneer's Museum, Imperial, CA)

D2 Group of Filipino men standing in front of a Pickwick Stage bus which is parking in front of the stage office. Marcot's Variety Store is in the background. (Courtesy of the Pioneer's Museum, Imperial, CA)

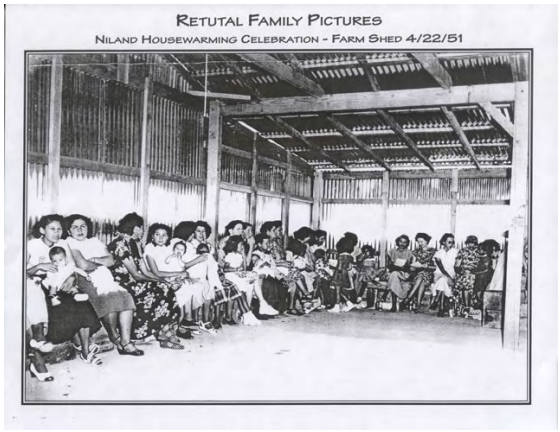
D3 Group portrait of Filipino Masons Mactan Lodge No. 32.
Circa 1/26/1937 (Courtesy of the Pioneer's Museum, Imperial, CA)

D4 Group portrait of Filipino Masons Mactan Lodge No. 32.
Circa 11/20/1938 (Courtesy of the Pioneer's Museum, Imperial, CA)

D5 Andy and Katherine Almueti in a picture took coming home from their wedding in New Mexico, April 29, 1940. (Courtesy of Katherine Almueti, Niland, CA)

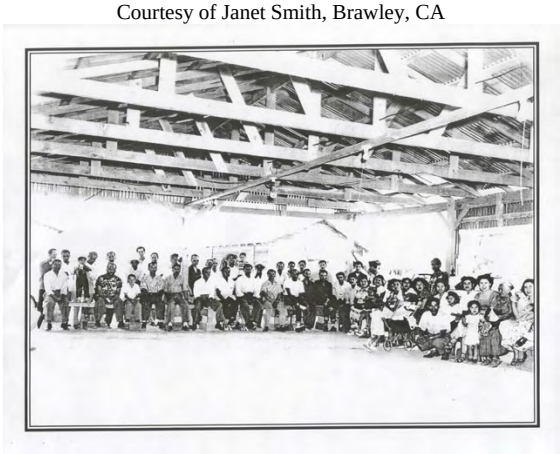
D6 Ray Gongora (on the right) with his wife Delia, children, and brother. (Courtesy of Delia Gongora, El Centro, CA)

D7 A 1939 meeting of the Filipino Growers Association of the Imperial Valley. To the extreme right, we can see the members of the small band that was formed to provide music for the occasion. Source: David Leone's *The Big Picture – Our Towns, Volume 1* p. 113-114.



Courtesy of Janet Smith, Brawley, CA

Courtesy of Janet Smith, Brawley, CA

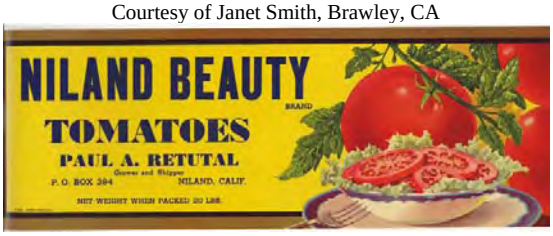


Courtesy of Janet Smith, Brawley, CA

Courtesy of Janet Smith, Brawley, CA

Courtesy of Janet Smith, Brawley, CA

Courtesy of Janet Smith, Brawley, CA



The attached pictures is of a housewarming and a celebration of the completion of his packing shed in 1951 (Janet Smith, personal communication 2005)

APPENDIX E

FILIPINO AMERICANS IN SAN DIEGO

E1 Filipino *Pensionados* among foreign students in San Diego
at what was then the original Normal School. Circa early 1900s.
Courtesy of SDSU Special Collections and Archive

E2 Delfin “Del” Labao and Purisima at the
Naval Training Center Chapel, San Diego, December 31, 1950.
Courtesy of Delfin “Del” Labao

APPENDIX F

GLOSSARY

Amor Propio: Self-esteem

Bahala Na: Come What May

Barangay: Hamlet

Barkada: Gang

Bastus: Rude

Bayani: Hero

Burgis: Snobby

Comadre: Female pseudo kinship bond. Status gained by standing in as a sponsor in either a baptism or wedding.

Compadrazco: This mutual kinship system, known as *compadrazco*, meaning godparenthood or sponsorship, dates back at least to the introduction of Christianity and perhaps earlier (Chu et al. 2).

Compadre: Male pseudo kinship bond. Status gained by standing in as a sponsor in either a baptism or wedding.

Delikadesa: From the root word delikado meaning fragile, delicate, or weak (Ramos 97). Fragile is more accurate.

Hiya: Shame

Indio: "The Malays of the Philippines were called Indios by the Spaniards." That was a pejorative name. "Filipino" referred to the Spaniards born in the Philippines, and "Peninsular" to the Spaniard born in Spain (Lacson-Locsin 429).

Juramentado: To lose control of one's reason. Reaching a breaking point or when patience is tried to excess.

Kababayan: Countryman. The prefix "Ka" refers to "with" while "Bayan" translates into "Country."

Kaibigan: Friend

Kalding: Kalderatang Kambing or Stewed Goat

Lagay: literally means to place. "Lagay mo diyan." is an order to "Place it there." Lagay however, has taken on a whole different meaning in a larger cultural milieu – it has come to mean a bribe. Lagay literally means to place in the hand.

Lakas Na Loob: Strength From Within

Lechon: Roasted Pig

Mabini: Demure

Mahinhin: Modest

Mahiyain: Shy

Malakas: Strong

Malusog: Healthy

Manong: An Ilocano term that denotes respect to an elder. A term used to describe first wave farm workers from Ilocos.

Matipuno: Brawny

Nagtatanim ng Galit: Plant/sow the seeds of rage

Pakikisama: Tagalog word derived from the root *sama* "accompany, go along with" (Yengoyan and Makil 31).Camaraderie

Patama: Tama means to "hit," the prefix "Pa" indicates "Indirectly"

Pensionado: Derives from the root word "Pensyon" meaning "an allowance of expense money" (Ramos 218). Early students to the United States where called *Pensionados* because it was assumed that they were on a scholarship or stipend.

Pino and Kilos: Refined. "Pino" denotes that something is refined. "Kilos" refers to movement.

Pinoys: Filipino in the United States

Querida: Querida is a Spanish word which means "beloved" (Yu and Liu 179-202). Extended it means mistress.

Sakada: Farm Worker

Utang na Loob: Debt from Within

Walang Hiya: Without Shame or "Shameless"

Yabang: Showy or Excess Pride

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Fractured Communities:
Filipino Americans in San Diego and the Imperial Valley
by
Miguel Llora
Master of Arts in Asian Studies
San Diego State University, 2005

This thesis involves the Filipino American communities of San Diego and Imperial Valley as case studies to examine issues of unity. These two locations were chosen as representations of urban and rural spaces respectively. Within these two spaces, I consider how "home bound" linguistic, ethnic, regional loyalties, and values acted and continue to act as a barriers to long term sustained unity. This thesis has shown that in both "spaces" under consideration, San Diego County and Imperial County, there is no cohesive "Filipino Community" *per se.* What needs to be done in both these places is to re-examine goals, positions, and infrastructure to see if there is a will, and grounded on material reality, a concrete need, to develop a sense of salient cohesiveness. Language and ethnic/home bound loyalties are, as evidenced from the literature and field work, becoming less and less important with the advent of each new generation. The Filipino as we know him/her was an invention of the recent past, but is now in a liminal state of redefinition.

Previously, studies concerning the Filipino American community have focused on either the atomized individual or issues of homogeneity among the Filipino Americans – both of which are problematic and not wholly informative. Moreover, most (if not all) studies that examine the Filipino American community limit themselves to either an urban space or a rural space, never both. In this paper, the notion of a community without unity addresses the Filipino Americans who, because of a lack of salient community cohesiveness, lack mainstream political agency and are left without a voice.

This essay begins with the development over historic space and time of the Filipino American migration and settlement experience writ large. Having considered the why and how, the paper takes a step back to consider what the immigrants brought, as well as bring, with them in terms of "Cultural Luggage." The cultural valise is opened by transitioning into an inter-disciplinary examination of "Philippine Values" that closes out the background and context sections.

Filipino American communities of San Diego County and the Imperial Valley region are juxtaposed in an effort to compare and contrast current urban and rural spaces. This approach is important as it treats each space as discrete and unique. However, both spaces are also seen *vis-à-vis* each other in the context of a larger "space." The paper concludes with the finding that despite both urban as well as rural communities as fractured, individuals, sub-groups, and in some cases the community at-large continue to move with inexplicable momentum to make significant contributions to the health, welfare, and education of both the San Diego County and the Imperial Valley areas.