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## Filipinos in Rural Hawaii

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that goes beyond the Jolo findings themselves. For example, by comparing the Jolo findings with other research, such as that of Landé and Hollnsteiner in northern Philippines, Arce's analysis tends to underscore the similarities, rather than the differences, between Muslim and Christian political behavior, and as such, the Jolo research provides a benchmark for additional studies on Muslim and Christian relations in the Philippines. Second, Arce's detailed research lays the groundwork for future scholarly work on Jolo society and politics, and indirectly suggests the importance of personality, which he only touched upon lightly, as an understudied aspect of leadership formation and political success in both Jolo and the Philippines more generally.

To be sure, scholars interested in Muslim-Christian relations, community power formation and local politics, and the role of patron-client relations in politics will find Arce's pioneering study useful. But others, like myself, who have long been captivated by the charms and glories of Jolo and the Sulu Sultanate, will also find *Before the Secessionist Storm* a pleasant antidote to all of the myths and misinformation about the Muslims of Jolo.

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FILIPINOS IN RURAL HAWAII. By Robert N. Anderson with Richard Collier and Rebecca F. Pestaño. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984. x, 188 pages.

Hawaii's Filipino community dates back to 1907 when the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) first began to recruit laborers for the sugar plantations from America's only Asian colonial state. During the 1920s and 1930s at least 100,000 Filipinos, mostly Visayans and Ilocanos, signed three-year work contracts with the HSPA and left their homes to work in Hawaii. Some eventually returned home, and some went on to the U.S. mainland, but many thousands became permanent *Hawaiianos*, and were subsequently largely forgotten by their less adventurous compatriots. At this point in history the Filipino communities of Hawaii are largely a mystery to us in the Philippines, for they have been away so long, and we often assume that they have been Americanized in many respects.

On the other hand, in Hawaii they are still considered a minority or ethnic group, contrasting with the U.S. mainstream in social behavior as well as in economic class. In recent times they have been labelled "marginal" because the closing down of many of the larger sugar and pineapple plantations has taken away their economic base, leaving closely-knit plantation

communities minus the plantation economy. Government agencies thus attempt to plan for and deal with these communities according to the standard ideas of what marginality, currently in such vogue among sociologists, involves. The concept, however, implies several characteristics which are *not* found in the Filipino communities in question: instability of families, deviance of social behavior, strong feelings of alienation, etc. Hence the three authors of this book have set out to provide a different sort of analysis, one more sympathetic to the uniqueness of the Filipino as Filipino in the United States and more in consonance with the observable characteristics of these particular communities as they deal with the major social and economic transitions they are now facing.

The situation, however, is a rather confusing one. Naturally enough, Filipino differences from mainstream America are explained in terms of native Filipino culture. But such explanations carry the temptation to explain as well the Hawaiians' deviations from or adaptations of their native culture, thus introducing a second contrast. There are, furthermore, important differences between pre- and postwar immigrants between immigrants and American-born Filipinos, and between professional and working class immigrants. Unfortunately, these variables are not explicitly set forth in the preface, which serves to provide the framework of the study, and thus the reader may find difficulty in following the main line of reasoning.

Nevertheless, the book rewards the patient reader with many valuable and interesting insights into the workings of the Filipino communities in rural Hawaii, from their beginnings to the present. In recounting the historical development of the Filipino communities, the authors focus, and properly so, on the union, the ILWU, as the structure through which the lot of the Filipino worker gradually improved, and through which his cultural identity both revealed itself and molded itself toward the American norm. The Filipinos in Hawaii have been excellent union workers, active strikers, and the union in turn has been largely responsible for the betterment of plantation working conditions, spearheading the change from the extremely autocratic, paternalistic plantations of the thirties, where fringe benefits of various sorts were given in lieu of standard wages, to the modern situation in which workers can effectively demand wage increases, retirement benefits, etc., but are largely responsible themselves for community welfare. In a sense the union has taken over some of the paternalistic functions of the old plantation managers: union officials frequently cut ribbons, sponsor children at their baptism, etc.

But union ideology generally stresses class identity and class interests, and in their unwillingness to see their struggles along class lines, the Filipinos tend to deviate from the union position. The authors explain this deviance by pointing out that Filipino society has been traditionally structured along vertical instead of horizontal lines, with patron-client relations taking prece-

dence over class allegiance. Furthermore, historically developed behavioral norms almost forbid confrontation, and instead stress compromise, circumvention of problems, etc. One might also point out that in these particular circumstances it would seem quite natural for Filipinos to define themselves in ethnic terms — i.e., to see themselves as Filipinos instead of as members of the working class.

But the plantation Filipinos are very mainstream American, almost Protestant, in their work ethic, perceiving riches as being won neither by luck nor by dishonesty, but by hard work alone. (Filipinos at home traditionally give more weight to the factors of luck and chance. On the other hand, the modern sophisticated cynics of both countries doubtless attribute most wealth to dishonesty.)

The postwar Filipino immigrants (that is, those who arrived after 1946) have largely availed of the family reunification provisions in U.S. immigration law, with these provisions dovetailing nicely with Filipino cultural attitudes towards the family. The book examines these immigration patterns in some detail, demonstrating how Filipino immigrants reconstruct their extended families around them by helping children, siblings, cousins gain their precious greencards. The authors also point out that Hawaii's Filipinos somewhat artificially extend their families by multiplying *ritual* kin, choosing as many as twenty *ninongs* for a single child. The network of ritual kin may then function in the extension of the natural family, as in the increasingly frequent cases in which the *compare* is set up in a pen-pal relationship with an eligible *dalaga*, a cousin from back home, and later marries her and helps her to immigrate.

Such marriages, however, may be uneasy unions indeed, for the simple fact that they often cut across too many of the variables and contrasts singled out earlier. Such wives are often considerably younger than their old-timer husbands, and may be better educated. Frequently, the men, away from the Philippines for thirty years or so, are the more traditional in their views on family life, sex roles, and even colonial mentality. (The authors point out that later immigrants are less colonial in orientation, perhaps because they have lived through the Filipino First era, a more nationalist education, and even student activism before immigrating.) In the particular case of these "marginalized" (at least in the economic sense) Filipino plantation workers, the women, younger, more dynamic, and more educated, may step into the economic void caused by the closing of the plantation, get jobs, and support their families, much to the consternation of the husbands who then naturally feel inadequate and useless.

There are, however, other cross-currents between groups. Newer immigrants may be very different from older ones, and often differ in social class as well, but the two groups quite naturally share certain doubts about the American-born second generation, as they seem not to be Filipino enough.

The final chapter of the book deals with cockfighting, an activity which functions in Hawaii as a Filipino assertion of ethnic identity, despite the hint of apology with which it is often discussed. It is an ideal last chapter, as the cockfights do indeed serve to showcase various sociological aspects of the community, from the ritual and natural kinship and alliance systems which come into play in the betting, to the generational and national gaps that divide interests. As social events, the cockfights provide chances for reciprocating relationships and awarding prestige, and, to a lesser extent provide ways of relating to the wider (white) Hawaiian environment – i.e., through the participation of union leaders in the activity, and the arrangements apparently amiably worked out with police squads out to enforce anti-gambling regulations.

All in all, then, despite the initial confusion the reader may experience because of the complexity of the contrasts and variables, and the choppi-ness with which the book moves from one subject and viewpoint to another, the book rewards the patient reader with a new understanding of the Filipino communities in Hawaii in a time of painful economic dislocation and social transition. Hopefully it also served to enlighten the government agencies charged with dealing with this transition period.

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**THE WOMEN OF RURAL ASIA.** By Robert Orr Whyte and Pauline Whyte. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982. 262 pages.

In the effort to review available information on the social and economic status of rural Asian women, Whyte and Whyte have compiled an incredibly readable mass of statistics. The authors' aim in this book is to provide important information for governments and other agencies in their plans for social and technical development that will benefit people in rural areas. They accomplish this objective by focusing on women's roles "in the processes involved in the production, harvesting, and processing of food and other commodities from the land" (p. 1).

This sociological view of women's lives in Asia describes their "standing and ascribed respect" (p. 17) or status, their living situations, their rights and responsibilities, and their daily activities. The book is divided into such categories as: status in different communities, quality in marital relations, number of children in the family, division of labour and decision making, and help for working women, among others. The "Asia" referred to is monsoonal and equatorial Asia, ranging from Korea to Pakistan and including Southeast