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“Pineapples,” “Hawayanos,” and “Loyal Americans”: Local Boys in the First Filipino Infantry Regiment, US Army

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This article is an exploratory study of the ethnicity and ethnic identity of the second generation Filipinos, young men who joined the army or were drafted during World War Two and served in the “First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments, US Army” in the Pacific. These soldiers had the unique experience of being in a unit comprised of older Filipino immigrants in their thirties and themselves, second generation teenagers, born and raised in Hawai'i.

I discuss the manifestation and affirmation of ethnicity by the second generation; how, why, and when they thought of themselves as “Americans,” or “Pineapples,” or “Hawayanos.” I examine how ethnic identities are negotiated and constructed through the experiences of everyday life in Hawai'i and through the military experience. As Isajiw describes, “in this approach ... ethnicity is something that is being negotiated and constructed in everyday living ... a process which continues to unfold. It has relatively little to do with Europe, Africa, Asia, etc., but much to do with the exigencies of everyday survival” (1993-94:12). The ethnic identity of the young men from Hawai'i was what would now be described as “local” identities, identities tied to their life experiences as Filipinos born and raised in plantation-era Hawai'i. This “local” affiliation was to color the interactions that the men had during their stay in basic training on the U.S. mainland and during deployment in the Philippines. This approach is useful in examining the ethnicity of the Filipino community in Hawai'i, which differs in many ways from Filipino communities in other parts of the United States, in the Philippines, and elsewhere around the world.

Asian American Second Generation Ethnicity and Identity

The different expressions of ethnicity and ethnic identity by Hawai'i Asians and mainland Asians have been noted in previous research (Alcantara 1975; Matsumoto, Meredith & Masuda 1973). However, few studies have looked at second generation Asians before the 1960s; fewer studies have looked at second generation Filipinos. Many older American models of ethnicity and ethnic identity posit most immigrant second generations as “the assimilation generation,” striving to forget the immigrant culture to embrace “Americanization,” or being confused about being in two worlds (Smith 1927).

Smith's research on the "Second Generation Problem" looked at second generation Chinese and Japanese youth in Hawai'i during the 1920s (Smith 1927). Smith (1927:3) quoted a project participant as summing up the "problem" with these observations,

This problem ... is a maladjustment of a group produced by the meeting of the Orient and the Occident ... if it remains unsolved, it would be conclusive proof that 'East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet' without producing a discordant, jarring social situation ... if a proper adjustment can be worked out, it would be proof that ... a synthesis of the cultures of the Orient and the Occident can take place.

One section of Smith's paper, "Oriental in appearance but not in reality," addressed the apparent unhappiness of many of the second generation Asians at having to learn and speak the Asian language of their parents, and to learn the Asian culture, too. Smith also discussed the gap between parent and child created because "the worlds in which they live are so vastly different" (1927:9). The section, "Disadvantages of being an Oriental in America," described the ambitions of the second generation, ambitions that were often not realized because of discrimination. Finally, the strategies employed by the second generation were listed, among them, participating in Asian organization activities that fostered understanding between the generations and between Americans and Asians.

Similarly, Adams (1938:63) discussed the "responsibility" of second generation youth in Hawai'i,

As young people growing up in the homes of immigrant parents, they must acquire enough of the old country culture of their parents to live comfortably with them and to make possible a reasonable measure of family solidarity. This duty cannot be evaded without moral peril. It is also the duty of such native-born youths to acquire enough of American culture to live comfortably with the rest of the people in the community ... It is not easy to carry this double role. The surprising thing is not that some fail, but that so many carry it so successfully. This generation is pre-eminently the one of the double role.

Some mainland second generation Filipinos of the 1930s and 1940s era call themselves, "the Bridge Generation," having bridged the traditional Filipino culture of their immigrant parents with the "American" culture they learned in school and practiced with their friends (Filipino American National Historical Society 1994). However, Cariaga (1974:10) describes the second generation Hawai'i Filipinos as,

[T]hose fortunate enough to be American citizens by virtue of birth in Hawai'i, brought up in an American setting, educated in American schools, and thor-

oughly American in their ways of thinking and acting ... They would be as alien and maladjusted in the Philippines as were their parents upon arrival in Hawai'i ... These second generation Filipinos count Hawai'i and America as their homeland.

Whether or not others perceived the second generation men as "Americans" depended upon the situations that the men found themselves in. This article focuses on the situational ethnicities of the second generation men, as manifested in their war-time experience. Paden (1970 as cited in Okamura 1981b) defines situational ethnicity as "premised on the observation that particular contexts may determine which of a person's communal identities or loyalties are appropriate at a point in time." Okamura's (1981b) review summarizes situational ethnicity as comprised of structural and cognitive aspects. Structural aspects refer to the situation that the individual finds herself in; cognitive aspects refer to the individual's perceptions of the situation. Ideally, then, in any situation, individuals may make a choice to "advance their claims to membership in any one of a generally limited number of ethnic categories that they belong to" (Okamura 1981b:454), taking into consideration the constraints of the immediate and larger social situation. I will discuss the manifestation and affirmation of ethnicity by the second generation; how, why, and when they thought of themselves as "Americans," or "Pineapples," or "Hawayanos."

Methodology

Veterans of the First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments are being located and interviewed as part of a larger project documenting their experiences during World War Two. So far, ten of the men in Hawai'i have been interviewed. Three of the men were interviewed with their wives, who were "war brides." Follow-up interviews and interviews with other men and other war bride couples will take place. These first ten interviews provide the data for this article.

Situational Ethnicities

Interviews with the veterans revealed three categories of situational ethnicities with which they found themselves identifying. The situational ethnicities are as follows: (1) identification as loyal "Americans," (2) identification as "Pineapples," local boys from the plantations of Hawai'i, and (3) being identified by native Filipinos as "Hawayanos," a distinct group of Filipino Americans. Understanding these different dimensions of Filipino American ethnicity necessitates a brief overview of the Filipino experience in Hawai'i.

Background: Plantation Life in Hawai'i

Filipinos, like the other Asians in Hawai'i, immigrated under the auspices of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association as contract labor for the sugar cane plantations. Between the years 1906-1935, when Filipino immigration to Hawai'i was stopped for a decade, about 125,000 Filipinos were recruited or otherwise immigrated to the islands. After their contracts expired, an estimated one-third moved on to the mainland, one-third returned to the Philippines, and the rest stayed in the territory (Cariaga 1937). By 1940, the Filipino population in Hawai'i numbered 52,569 (Nordyke 1989:188). The community was overwhelmingly made up of single men. The conditions of the contract, restrictive immigration laws, lack of financial and other resources, and cultural reasons compelled many Filipino women to remain in the Philippines. During the peak years of Filipino immigration (1909-1932), the ratio of male to female arrivals was at best 3 to 1 in 1923 and 1924, and at worst 95 to 1 in 1927 when almost 9,000 men and fewer than 100 women arrived (Nordyke 1989:224). Thus, the Filipino American second generation was relatively small, especially when compared to other ethnic groups in Hawai'i. The world of these second generation Filipinos was often one on a plantation. Alcantara (1975:3-4) describes this lifestyle,

The plantations fostered ethnic competition and divisiveness through such devices as residential segregation, structural stratification by ethnicity, ethnic preferential treatment in wages, perquisites and mobility, and breaking up racial strikes by introducing other ethnic groups. In this situation, ethnic group life had a strategic importance in plantation work and was made viable through the retention of the group's traditional culture; ethnic identification was important inasmuch as the individual's fate as a worker depended on the status of his group.

Forman (1980:164) describes the first life goal of these immigrant Filipinos as "neighborliness," "feeling and behaving with responsibility and good will towards one another." One second generation Filipina recalls the lifestyle of the times,

Often single males who were related to one or another of the family members, or were just friends, would share living quarters, expenses and household chores. Many single males would be asked to become godfathers to the family's children, thus becoming honorary fathers to those children ... The low wages paid sugar workers, lower for Filipinos than for other groups in the early years, required ingenuity in order to survive. It was common for workers to grow vegetables in their gardens and to share their harvest with neighbors and friends ... The workers helped each other to buy household appliances, equipment, tools, or large purchases requiring loans. Lending money to each other without written contracts was common (Nagtalón-Miller 1993:31).

Neighborliness was enhanced with the development of ethnic community organizations and family and kinship networks. Ethnic community organizations of the era included mutual aid associations, labor unions, Masonic societies, and women's groups (Okamura 1981a). Despite the presence of relatively few women, Filipino family and kinship networks developed that played an important role in the social calendar of the plantations (Alegado 1991). HSPA officials wanted second generation plantation youngsters to forego education, and instead follow in the footsteps of their laboring parents (Daws 1968). Nevertheless, some young adults went through the public school system and then on to college. Alegado (1991) notes that the dearth of young Filipinos meant that whenever a Filipino youth graduated from college, or even high school, large celebrations commemorated the event. These and other large celebrations were important for reinforcing neighborliness, which is said to have taken the place of the Filipino alliance system of a network of family and friends that is bound by mutual rights and obligations (Forman 1980).

Thus, structural constraints from the plantation environment and cultural practices operated to reinforce the ethnicity of the young Filipino Americans. Moreover, this plantation background influenced the development of a particular type of identity, with its corresponding worldview. This identity, which I argue is now described as a "local" identity, was the significant way in which the Filipino American soldiers identified themselves during the war and, in turn, were identified by others.

Loyal Americans: The First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments, US Army

A turning point for Hawaii's population was the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the entry of the United States into World War II. The significance of this series of events has been widely analyzed for Japanese Americans. For Filipino Americans, WWII was just as significant. At the start of the war, immigrant Filipinos were denied entry into the American Armed Forces, because they were not citizens, nor were they eligible for citizenship. The quest to be able to join the American military united the Filipino communities in the United States. They continually petitioned the President, the Secretary of War, and Philippine government representatives to change the laws to enable Filipinos to fight. Their petitions and prayers were answered, and within a few weeks Washington authorized the creation of the "First Filipino Infantry Battalion," which was to be led by white American officers and by Philippine Army officers stranded in the United States. The troops would be comprised of Filipinos in the United

States. The "First Battalion" saw so many volunteers that it was upgraded to the "First Filipino Infantry Regiment" on July 13, 1942. The influx of volunteers continued, and the "Second Filipino Infantry Regiment" was formed a few months later. The First Regiment was commanded by Lt. Col. Robert Offley, a West Point graduate who had spent time in the Philippines and spoke Tagalog. Offley was well-liked by his men, who referred to him as *Tatay* (Father). The motto of the regiment was *Laging Una* (Always First), and the official marching song was, "On to Bataan," a composition of one of the men. The Second Regiment was also headed by a West Point graduate, Lt. Col. Charles Clifford. Their motto was *Sulong* (Forward). At top strength, the regiments contained more than 7,000 men (Fabros, 1993). This number is quite significant, given that the total Filipino American population has been estimated to be about 100,000 in 1940.

Most of the soldiers in the regiments were immigrant Filipinos, the men who had traveled to America in the 1920s and 1930s and had been relegated to manual field labor or canneries or, in the cities, to service occupations. Some, however, were college graduates, highly skilled professionals, or graduates of American military academies. Many of the men were usually in their thirties, much older than the usual Army recruit (Fabros 1993). Many joined for altruistic reasons; to fight for their adopted country and to help free the homeland, which was invaded and occupied by the Japanese. Still, for others, joining up was a combination of altruism and realism; few good jobs were available for Filipinos in the 1940s, although the situation improved with the wartime economy. Sergeant Urbano Francisco (1945) describes how many of the men felt,

Life is so small a property to risk as compared to the fight incurred for the emancipation of a country from the foul, ignominious, barbaric, inhuman treatments of the Eastern Asia Co-prosperity Sphere ... These unjust treatments prompted and stirred the boiling blood of the Filipino soldier in the United States Army to vengeance and fury, to drive back the aggressors ... to revenge the rapes, the atrocities ... to let them look back to the March of Death of our living heroes of Bataan and Corregidor, to restore the one and sweet freedom of our country so that the countless and yet unborn souls of tomorrow shall forever cherish the sweetness of it.

The regiments underwent basic training in California. During basic training hundreds of men volunteered for specialized units and missions, so that the strength of the units were always in flux. Over 500 of these volunteers became members of the specially formed First Reconnaissance Battalion, which gathered the intelligence that paved the way for General Douglas MacArthur's return to the Philippines. Because of the unique abilities of the men, including

familiarity with the terrain and the ability to speak Philippine languages, throughout the duration of the war the regiments supplied personnel for other units, such as the Alamo Scouts and the Philippine Civil Affairs Units. The Second Filipino Regiment lost so many men to other units that it was changed into a battalion.

The First and Second "Fil" went overseas in April, 1944. Their first stop was New Guinea where they continued advanced combat training. Some of the men became members of the initial wave of American re-invasion forces and landed at Leyte Gulf with General MacArthur. The bulk of the troops finally landed in the Philippines in February, 1945. Their main mission was to eliminate the remaining Japanese troops in the islands, otherwise known as "mopping up the enemy." After the war, most of the men stayed in the Philippines for more than half a year before returning to the United States. The First and Second Fil were disbanded a few months after the war's end (Fabros 1993).

This article concerns Filipino men from Hawai'i who joined the First and Second Filipino Regiments. According to the 1940 Census, Filipino males in Hawai'i aged from 15 to 24 numbered fewer than 2,500. Thus, they were a relatively small segment of the territory's population but a significant segment of the Filipino population, which numbered 52,569 at the time. Those who worked on the plantations and in other civic positions were classified as "essential workers" and were initially unable to join the Armed Forces. Many of the men from Hawai'i who were able to join the Army or were drafted during the years 1943-45 were trained to be replacement troops for the First and Second Filipino Infantry.

As is usually the case, the men found themselves in the service for various reasons; some were drafted, some enlisted, some joined up because their friends or relatives did. One could join the regiments in two ways, either volunteer or be chosen for duty. Although the official documents concerning the First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments never use the term "segregated," the fact is that many of the men from Hawai'i were "chosen" for duty with the regiments. The five Los Banos brothers from Hawai'i all ended up joining the service, two of them became part of the First Filipino Infantry. "I wanted to volunteer" and "I wanted to contribute to the war" and other explanations of "honor, duty, and country" are common reasons given for joining the service. One veteran recalls, "Our hatred was so great on them (Japanese) because they attack our country, Pearl Harbor ... kill so many boys. I was angry about Pearl Harbor."

Another veteran who started in the First Filipino Infantry and later made a career of the military summarizes his attitude, "I never regretted my time in the

service ... From the time that I joined the service, I am proud to be an American." These "loyal American" attitudes found in the Filipino Americans are similar to those of the Nisei (Kotani 1985), which has been described as "being 200% American" (Miyazaki 1994) and predicted by assimilation models of ethnicity. However, the willingness of the Filipinos to fight for the United States has also been explained by the Japanese attack and occupation of the Philippines, the "mother country" of the parents of the young men. The immigrant Filipino community in Hawai'i was understandably shaken by the Japanese attack on the Philippines. The Philippines and United States were allies in the war, giving the Filipino Americans other reasons perhaps than the Nisei to "fight for Uncle Sam" (Andaya 1994).

"Pineapples": Local Boys and Local Identity

Most of the first groups of Filipino men from Hawai'i to join the First Fil underwent basic training in California. For many, this was their first trip outside the Hawaiian islands. Later groups of men would train in Hawai'i and then be transported to the Philippines.

The Hawai'i boys called themselves, and were called by others, "Pineapples." "Pineapples" has commonly been used to refer to Asian servicemen from Hawai'i during WWII, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War (Matsuoka et al. 1990). Today, the term "local" is used in Hawai'i to describe people from Hawai'i who exhibit a certain "local" personality and sensibility, which the "Pineapples" of WWII and subsequent wars manifested. The term "local" was first used in Hawai'i at a 1931 rape trial to describe Hawai'i-born men accused of rape as distinguished from the mainland-born military plaintiffs in the case. The term became more salient during WWII to distinguish between Hawai'i and mainland soldiers, but only in the 1960s did the term take on a new meaning (Yamamoto 1979). Yamamoto's early review of the research on "local" identity noted three approaches to the discussion of the topic, (1) as a polycultural culture, a "product of the blending of different cultures in Hawai'i," (2) as a value-orientation, evolving "from the conception of a people's commitment to community and their acceptance of the related structure of interpersonal and business interactions, and (3) as a form of culture creation, incorporating "aspects of the other two approaches and a theory about the influence of a combination of social forces in cultural patterns, in a model of culture creation in Hawai'i" (1979:102-105). Yamamoto describes "localism in Hawai'i" as "a composite of ethnic cultures, emerging in reaction to domination by Western institutions and culture, composed of people of Hawai'i with community-value orientations" (1979:106).

Although Yamamoto's work on "localism" was completed in the 1970s, the dimensions of "localism" he described then were also relevant in the 1940s. Andaya recalls those days, "It was a source of pride to be continually reminded of how unique we were in Hawai'i as a society where races live harmoniously together" (1996:6). Okamura argues that the creation of local culture and society in Hawai'i was a complex process,

Viewed historically, the emergence of local culture and society represent an accommodation of ethnic groups to one another in the context of a social system primarily distinguished by the wide cleavage between the Haole planter and merchant oligarchy on the one hand, and the subordinate Hawaiians and immigrant plantation groups on the other (1980:122) ... In spite of their long presence in Hawai'i and their considerable and varied contributions to local culture and society, the historical experiences of Haoles, their style of life, values, and activities, are seen as being significantly different from the experiences of local people (1980:126).

Okamura's (1980) discussion of "local" identity acknowledges that the term is usually used to refer to people born and raised in Hawai'i, and who share a lifestyle and its associated behaviors, values and norms, which includes being "easygoing, friendly, open, trusting, humble, generous, loyal to family and friends and indifferent to achieved status distinctions." Okamura notes that these values are in contrast to "American" values, which include directness, competition, individualism, and achievement of status.

It is a combination of the indifference to "achieved status distinctions," coupled with a history of conflict with the white oligarchy of Hawai'i, that made the Filipinos unwilling to take perceived unreasonable orders from white officers. The men describe their comrades as being "undisciplined," "aggressive," "young," "rough," and "cocky."

We had the reputation of being tough.

Plantation life had made us brash. We wouldn't take a back seat to anything.

Filipinos boys fresh from Hawai'i didn't take any rough stuff from officers.

Conversely, the local affiliation made the men have a special relationship to a fellow Hawai'i-born and raised Chinese-Hawaiian officer in the unit.

I don't remember too many other non-white officers. The sergeant would say, 'Lieutenant, don't worry about anything. These boys are well trained' ... Somehow, I got the feeling that they wanted to take care of me.

This relationship that the Filipino men had with a fellow "local," who just happened to be an officer, illustrates the strength of the kinship the local boys felt with one another, which transcended rank. The "local" affiliation was to characterize the interactions that the men had during their stay in basic training on the mainland and during deployment in the Philippines.

We (Hawai'i boys) knew each other's jokes, weaknesses, we would tease each other.

You know how pineapples are, local boys. If you get three together, all talking at once ... sounds like fighting ... Other people on the outside think something's going on, so we chase them out.

The men mentioned some conflicts with the white soldiers, especially "the guys from Alabama." Two of the veterans at different times told the same story of an altercation that the Hawai'i boys had with a white soldier. The white soldier had laughed at a Filipino soldier from the Big Island of Hawai'i. The Filipino told his Native Hawaiian buddy, and the buddy grabbed the white soldier and flushed his head in the toilet. This story was used to illustrate the feeling of camaraderie and loyalty that the local boys felt with one another, "You knew that the local boys would be there to help." Additionally, one of the local characteristics, willingness to help out, was manifested early on in basic training but quickly extinguished as the men learned the unspoken military rule of "never volunteer for anything," something their white counterparts already knew,

The first thing I seen (sic) in [Camp] Roberts was the heat ... It was all local boys mixed with haoles from the mainland ... We got along pretty good until the cadre asked for volunteers. They asked for drivers. Hawai'i boys like to help out so they said, 'Yeah, I'll drive' ... [They ended up driving] the wheelbarrow.

The small California towns that the men trained near had been accustomed to the presence of Filipino migrant workers picking the crops from the surrounding fields. These towns had a long history of discrimination against Filipinos and other ethnic minorities. The immigrant Filipino men from the mainland United States who joined the Regiments at the beginning of the war got involved in a few serious conflicts with the local white townspeople (Fabros 1993). However, the young men from Hawai'i do not recall experiencing discrimination. They attribute this difference in treatment to the idea that they were unused to blatant discrimination, "We didn't look for it (discrimination)." Instead, the men remember the good times shared with the population from the surrounding towns,

We were dance crazy ... They called us "boogie-woogie boys" ... The haole girls loved it. I used to get mobbed (laughs). We had something jingling in our

pocket, too you know. We bought beer by the quart, not the bottles. We had [a] good time.

Thus, the plantation background and common experience of the men had influenced the development of a "local" identification, complete with shared attitudes and behaviors, that were manifested during basic training. They recall basic training as a time of camaraderie and loyalty, "us," "Hawai'i guys" against "them," "(white) mainland guys," at least until the "mainland guys" were set straight. Furthermore, this shared background of living in multicultural Hawai'i made the local boys not expect and perhaps not experience discrimination by townspeople that Filipinos on the West Coast had been accustomed to receiving. Ironically, although they do not recall experiencing discrimination on the American mainland, they were to experience it in the Philippines.

"Hawayanos": Deployment in the Philippines

One veteran recalls going through basic training and realizing that something different was about to happen to him and his Filipino companions from Hawai'i because they remained in camp while the rest of the men they had completed basic training with were shipped off to fight in Europe. The Filipinos instead received additional jungle training at Fort Ord, California. This was the first indication that they might be sent to the Philippines.

For many of the men from Hawai'i, their assignment to the First Filipino Infantry, once they were sent to the Philippines, came as a complete surprise.

When I was shipped to the jungle, I saw the other members of the regiment. I thought, what the hell is this? I didn't want to be part of the Philippine Army. Some of us were real peeved ...

Again, loyalty to the United States shows in the unwillingness of this man to fight for the Philippine Army, although the enemy may be the same. However, once they were assured that they were part of the American Army, and not the Philippine Army, the men report being pleased to be part of this unique regiment.

When we first arrived in the Philippines, we didn't have any idea we'd be First Fil. When the time came for our assignment, it was a big surprise for us ... I was kind of glad, when I wrote home to my dad, address at the First Fil ... He was surprised, then glad, there was such a thing as the First Fil.

The Hawai'i contingent saw themselves as different from the mainland Filipinos. One veteran describes the Filipinos from the mainland: "They were a little more haoleified. Hawai'i boys' English was broken. Filipinos from the

mainland speak 'high tone.'" Despite the differences in age and background, the local boys and their mainland counterparts got along. This is in contrast to the initial friction reported in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team between the "buddaheads" from Hawai'i and the "kotonks" from the mainland. Kotani describes the reactions the buddaheads had to the kotonk's language, "Since only 'Haolefied' Japanese spoke standard English in Hawai'i, the pidgin-speaking Island AJAs mistook the refined speech of the Mainland Nisei as a sign of pretentious arrogance and an intentional affront. In several cases, the 'buddaheads' answered with his fists when the Mainlander spoke to him in standard English (1985:114). However, this type of conflict did not occur between the Hawai'i and mainland Filipinos.

We called the older men 'Pops,' 'Grandpa,' 'Tata' (a term for "father" or an older man). We didn't call them '*manong*', the term for respect. We never used that term. They were nice to us, treated us like kids. [It was a] nice relationship of the older people and [we] teenagers."

Hawai'i Filipinos were younger, when we met the original members of the First Fil, they were much older, in their twenties and thirties. We got along fine... Filipinos from the mainland were more mature, showed a lot of respect.

They were wiser than us anyway. You learn a lot from them ... [They] could get along better, because most of them were immigrants ... The young boys was always drinking ... but we hung out with the older men ... The young ones was too wild. The younger ones was looking for gun battles ... [they were] too rugged.

The Hawai'i men could relate to their older counterparts as respected elders who had shared goals as United States soldiers, and who had shared experiences as "Americans." Additionally, initial reactions to the native Filipino people and the Philippine Army, whom the First and Second Fil fought alongside, were positive. The men of the First and Second Fil found an empathy with the native Filipinos,

I noticed that the natives were scarcely dressed ... I could tell that they had suffered ... I was glad to be there, happy to do something for them.

It was an experience to know the people from the Philippines. We knew they went through hardship ... I know they were appreciative of American soldiers going back to the Philippines.

This empathy may be deeper than commonly felt by soldiers for the war-torn communities in which they are fighting. For some First Fil men, fighting in the Philippines was like fighting for the family in a land to which there were family connections and a sense of "homecoming."

My father left the Philippines at 19. When I came back I was 19 ... My first reaction was, 'By golly, they all look like Filipinos!' I was very pleased to be in the Philippines.

Before the war started, even though we were Filipinos, we didn't know anything about the Philippines, except what people told us about it ... It's hard for us kids to believe stories like that. When we landed in Samar, I was reminded of those stories ... I was very impressed. Sad, to know we had to fight a war there, but I was happy to be there.

The men of the First and Second Fil recall early socializing with the Philippine Army, eating Filipino food with them instead of the American Army food. The men made contacts with each other, figuring out family connections. However, after the war was over, and there was no longer the Japanese Imperial Army to fight, the Filipino American soldiers began to have clashes with the Philippine Army. Many of the fights stemmed from the fact that the First Fil soldiers had more money than the Philippine Army soldiers and were also able to attract the attention of the young native women. The First Fil men from Hawai'i had been preceded in the decades prior to the war by "Hawayanos," Filipinos who had labored in the cane fields of Hawai'i and returned to the Philippines. "Hawayanos" had the reputation of being wealthy, and the First Fil men, because they were from Hawai'i, were so labeled by the native Filipinos.

The Philippine Army, that's our rival. In town, especially ... Because, I know the Philippine Army, the pay wage, like it is, a lieutenant is equal to private in the U.S. Army. So, we can take out their girlfriends, when they couldn't afford it. Jealousy ... gun battles started. Some of them got shot in town.

But, the nationals were envious of us. More money, more pay, we were cocky ... That's when we knew the war was over, when we were fighting the Philippine Army.

Other cultural clashes were based on the lack of knowledge the Hawai'i Filipinos had about the Philippines and Filipino traditions. For some, the stay in the Philippines was a crash course in "being Filipino." This crash course included learning through practice about Filipino cultural traditions and searching for "roots,"

Many of us never understood our own roots.

They called us 'Hawayano *desgracia*,' because we couldn't speak the language ... but we knew the latest songs ... We went through the various (Filipino) customs in Hawai'i that we didn't understand. We were right in it. We saw how some of these customs were derived.

Being labeled "desgracia," meaning "disgraceful," because they did not know the language and some of the local customs, did not seem to bother the men because they were so sure of themselves as Americans. However, as stated above, many of the men took this opportunity to learn about traditions that were not practiced in Hawai'i or to learn about the meaning of the traditions with which they were familiar.

Some of the men actively sought out relatives, staying in the Philippines for a vacation when the war was over.

From the time I first set foot in Philippine soil, I heard about my family. I made up my mind then, to take my vacation in the Philippines.

I went to Ilocos Norte, met up with my relatives there. Fortunately, my grandmother was still alive. When I saw her in bed, it kind of cracked me up, like looking at my own mother. She asked me for funeral money ... this I did.

This search for "roots" is thought to be common in third generation individuals (Hansen 1952), although it is rarely mentioned in the literature on second generation individuals. The current movement by pre-war second generation Filipinos on the mainland, mentioned earlier, to research their history and "roots" has no equal in Hawai'i. There is no evidence that once the men returned to Hawai'i they continued their search for "roots." The exceptions would be found in the families of the men who brought back "war brides" or "liberation brides" from the Philippines. Many of the men from Hawai'i married Filipinas and returned with them to Hawai'i. These marriages may be interpreted as a reinforcement of ethnicity on the part of the men, if not intentionally, then unintentionally. These women formed an important wave of new Filipino immigrants to Hawai'i after the war. Their children provided a significant increase in the population. Filipino women, like most immigrant women, are assumed to be the "keepers of culture" (Cordova 1983). Their presence served to strengthen and revitalize the Filipino culture among the second generation.

Conclusion

After the war, some of the Hawai'i veterans took advantage of the GI Bill and went to college. They attended the University of Hawai'i together. Veterans Peter Aduja and Benjamin Menor became Hawai'i's first Filipino politicians, and Menor retired as a justice on the Hawai'i State Supreme Court (Boylan 1991; Melendy 1977). Later, Emilio Alcon also became a politician. Veteran Domingo Los Banos became Hawai'i's first Filipino Department of Education district superintendent. Alfred Los Banos and Miguel Taoy were two of the many who

made the military their career. Veterans Antonio Rania became a leader in the ILWU, Moses Tejada became a police captain, and Roland Pagdilao became a high ranking civil servant. Other First and Second Fil veterans made their marks in business. Few returned to work on the plantations their parents had worked.

The interviews with the men provide descriptions of second generation Filipino ethnicity and identity, expressed in opposition to other groups. They illustrate different dimensions of this experience, the loyalty to "America" that all of them felt during the war, their identification as "Pineapples" while in basic training on the mainland, and their identification as "Hawayanos" while in the Philippines. The men describe the respect they had for the older immigrant men in their regiments and the kinship they felt with the native Filipinos. The interviews also describe the differences the men felt with those around them, differences stemming from their unique plantation heritage, which was distinct from the experience of the mainland Filipinos and the Filipinos in the Philippines.

In this article, I discuss the manifestation and affirmation of ethnicity by the second generation; how, why, and when they thought of themselves as "Americans," or "Pineapples," or "Hawayanos." These ethnic identities advanced by the men depended upon the situations they found themselves in and, as such, may be interpreted as "situational ethnicities." This study is one of the first that has looked at situational ethnicities of Filipino Americans in the United States and in the Philippines. Exploratory in nature, it provides information on one dimension of the Filipino American experience.

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