

ON MIGRATION AND HERITAGE EDUCATION: THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE SECOND-GENERATION FILIPINO AMERICANS IN HAWAII

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Abstract

Migration of the Filipinos to America comes in different stages and in various entry points. Positive effects of migration include the economic upliftment and well-being of the next generations. Aiming at the exploration of perspectives and the determination of career choices and homeland connections, this paper deals with the second-generation Filipino Americans in Hawaii. As used in this study, the second-generation Filipino Americans refer to the United States (US)-born children of the first-generation parents, who were Philippine-born immigrants. Based on qualitative approaches, findings show that the second-generation Filipino Americans speak English as a first language and possess zero or limited proficiency and fluency in heritage languages. Yet, they maintain connection to the homeland, identify themselves as Filipinos, learn their heritage languages and culture, and participate in Filipino activities in the community. The findings also show that they value education and have started shifting to the study of non-allied health degrees. In short, the second-generation Filipino Americans are still Filipinos at heart and mind but whose future considerations are towards America, their home.

Keywords: heritage education, migration, second-generation, Filipino Americans, homeland connections

Introduction

The history of the United States shows the cultural and linguistic richness of the country owing to colonisation, territorial expansion, and migration. Of the 50 states in the United States of America (USA), Hawaii is one of the multilingual and multicultural states. Before becoming the 50th state of the USA, these islands were called Territory of Hawai'i (1898 -1959) when the last sovereign, Queen

Liliuokalani, was overthrown by American businessmen on January 17, 1893 (Trask, 2001). Before the presence of the USA, it was known as the Kingdom of Hawai'i which then was ruled by its own royalty. The most famous of its kings was King Kamehameha the Great, the founder of Kamehameha Dynasty, who united all the Hawaiian Islands under his rule (Potter, Kasdon, & Rayson, 2003). The indigenous Hawaiians are Austronesians of the Polynesian branch (Pawley, 2002). The native Hawaiians comprised only 82,146 or 5.9% of the population of 1,392,313 2012 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). White Americans form the non-dominant majority numbering at 343,901 or 24.7% of the population. The majority of the Hawaiian population are Asians making up 537,433 or 38.6% of the population. The Filipinos or mixed blood Filipinos comprise 24.5% of the population, making them the largest Asian group in the state. As of 2018, the Filipinos were the "fourth-largest origin group after the foreign born from Mexico, India, and China" (Gallardo & Batalova, 2020, p. 1).

In the 20th century, the migration of the Filipinos to America started with the arrival of migrant workers to Hawaii. Constituting the first Filipino labor migrants in America in the 20th century, these *Sakadas* were mostly from the Ilocos Region and the Visayas, located in the north and in the central Philippines, respectively. They were recruited to work in the sugar and the pineapple plantations from 1906 until 1946. This migration was caused by the demand for cheap labor to address the issue of the problematic and crippled workforce of sugar plantations in Hawaii (Reinecke, 1996; Baldoz, 2011; Okamura, 2013, 2016; De Leon, 2019; Jubilado, 2020). Migration was possible since the Filipinos were US nationals when Spain ceded the Philippines to the US by virtue of the Treaty of Paris in 1898. Historically, many Filipinos were already exposed to and familiar with the sugar plantation industry in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial period (Pitt, 1912; Aguilar Jr., 1994; Skowronek, 1998; Giusti-Cordero, 2007; McCoy, 2019). Such migration was not a holiday-in-paradise as advertised and promised by the recruiters who brought in the early migrants from the then US colony, the Philippine Islands. This early migration, propelled by the corporate policy of bringing in only the rural and illiterate folks, had its impact on the future generations born to these early migrants.

With more Filipinos coming to Hawaii after the declaration of independence of the Philippines from the US in 1946, the increase of the Filipino population became phenomenal after the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Zong & Batalova, 2021). This Act lifted the racial quota and allowed more arrivals of skilled workers, the military, and professionals, many of whom were relatives of the early migrants to Hawaii from the Philippines. The succeeding decades saw the entry of the female nurses, midwives,

caregivers, teachers, domestic workers, and other professionals (Lan, 2003; Parreñas, 2008, 2015; Hayne, Gerhardt, & Davis, 2009; Belleau, 2003; Tyner, 2009; Cagaitan, 2013.) As such, Hawaii became the entry point of many Filipinos due to their family ties and affinities to the existing Filipino communities.

The arrival of highly skilled and professional Filipino migrants augmented the population and the demographics of Filipinos in Hawaii, but it did not automatically change the prevailing mindset held by the Hawaiian Filipinos in general who call themselves “local”. This situation created a stark categorisation between these two groups: succeeding generations of early migrants are still agricultural workers or blue-collar workers majority, while the majority of the later arrivals were white-collar workers. Children of the white-collar workers are open to the idea of possessing university degrees which eventually enable their subsequent migration to the US Mainland. This succeeding generations join their fellow Filipino Americans working in the professional and skilled job sector in the US Mainland and eventually, settle there.

The steady arrival of Filipinos in Hawaii is made possible by (1) their family and relatives in Hawaii and (2) the prospect of achieving the American dream via migration among the professionals and the skilled laborers. Their children form the bulk of the second-generation Filipino Americans in Hawaii. The term second generation Filipino Americans refers to the US-born children of the first-generation parents, who were Philippine-born immigrants. As a limitation, this generation of young Filipino Americans were born to those who came to Hawaii from the Philippines in the 1990s. With the second-generation Filipino Americans occupying the core of this research, this paper also contains their views on the importance of education, career choices, reasons for registering for Filipino heritage courses, and connecting with the homeland.

In relation, heritage education, which is a relatively new field of pedagogy, came to existence because of the children of immigrants who were studying the language and culture of their migrant parents (Hornberger, 2005; Fishman, 2014; Leeman, 2015; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Martinez, 2016; Carreira & Kagan, 2018). When parents are speakers of the dominant language and knowledgeable of the host culture, this situation ensures the learning of the dominant language and the host culture among the immigrant children. In this paper, heritage education is defined as a pedagogical approach that focuses on the language and culture of the children of the immigrants. As an integral part of the heritage education, heritage language is a minority language spoken at home among the first-generation immigrants, but not by their children who may be able to understand it to some degree. Scholars have made use of the heritage language learners as a source of data to understand the pedagogical aspects of this emerging field. For largely monolingual countries

in Latin America and Europe, the teaching of European languages like French, Spanish, German, Italian, Polish, and Russian in the heritage classrooms came naturally (García, 2005; Valdés, 2005; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007; Peyton, Carreira, Wang, & Wiley, 2008; King, 2000; Brinton, Kagan, & Bauckus, 2017). The same cannot be said in multilingual and multicultural countries like India, China, and the Philippines (Ilieva, 2012; Kulkarni, 2013; Axel, 2014; Xiao & Wong, 2014; McGinnis, 2017; Parba, 2021). Highlighting the Filipino Americans, heritage education makes use of their parents' language and culture in the classroom setting alongside the input from the greater Filipino community. Thus, it entails the inclusion of community engagement, service learning, and external involvement in making the heritage education of the young Filipino Americans more holistic.

Methodology

This paper was a product of qualitative research that made use of a questionnaire, interviews, and written essays as instruments in the attempt to meet these two objectives: (1) to explore the perspectives of the second-generation Filipino Americans in relation to their heritage education, and (2) to determine their career choices and homeland connection. To address these two objectives, an ethnographical approach was also used due to the author's period of almost a decade of residence in the County of Hawaii and of being an educator at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo, where the 200 respondents were studying. Using purposive sampling, the selected 200 respondents were Filipinos, whose parents were migrants from the Philippines, and who were registered in the language and culture courses, FIL 101 Elementary Filipino I, FIL 102 Elementary Filipino II, FIL 333 Filipinos in Hawaii, and FIL 354 Filipino Culture from the year 2012 until 2021. A questionnaire, composed of the date and place of birth of the respondents, the place of origins in the Philippines of the parents of the respondents, the length of stay in Hawaii of the respondents, the Filipino courses taken by the respondents, was administered, and an interview was conducted to complete the data gathering. To complement the questionnaire and the interviews, this study also made use of the essays written in the classroom, particularly the 500-word essay titled *My Filipino Heritage* in FIL 333 and FIL 354 since the courses are classified as Writing Intensive (WI). At University of Hawai'i, WI courses integrate intensive writing that carries no less than 40% of the grade. For the language courses, FIL 101 and FIL 102, the students were asked to answer the question in English: *Why am I studying the Filipino language?* From the follow up interviews of the 200 heritage learners, answers to the preceding two questions were also derived to complement their essays. Applying lexical analysis to the 500-word essays, these

essays also aided in determining the retention of kinship and cuisine terms, as well as the themes dealing with the homeland connection and career choice. As used in this study, the Filipino American students are considered as heritage learners at the University of Hawai'i Hilo. As members of the second generation, they were born to migrant Filipino parents and have zero or limited proficiency in the heritage languages.

Heritage Education of the Filipino Americans in Hawaii

A heritage learner is a member of a linguistic minority group whose language spoken at home is not the same as the dominant language in the society (Valdes, 2005; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007; Leeman, 2015). In the case of the Filipino Americans in Hawaii, it is not like the monolingual Spanish or other Asian heritage learners since there are many linguistic groups among the Filipinos in Hawaii. The languages spoken by the Filipinos in Hawaii include Ilocano, Cebuano, Kapampangan, Bicolano, Tagalog, Waray, Chabacano, Hiligaynon, to name a few. On top of this, Filipino parents who speak English as a Second Language (ESL) are most likely to have children who are speakers of English, who can understand, but not speak fluently or proficiently, their heritage language. These children of the immigrant Filipinos in the USA are known for shifting to English due to the proficiency of the parents (Rumbaut & Massey, 2013; Zong & Batalova, 2021). Following the numerical configuration of the Filipino Americans in Hawaii, the Filipino American heritage learners also reflect the same number. The Ilocanos form the majority, followed by the Visayans. The Visayans are further subdivided into other groups of which the majority are the Cebuano speakers who do not actually come from Cebu but from the other parts of the Visayas and Mindanao. Having the diverse background and with the institutional promotion of diversity, the University of Hawai'i at Hilo answered the call from the local Filipino community and established the Filipino Studies Program.

Filipino Studies Program at University of Hawai'i at Hilo

The Filipino Studies Program (FSP) at University of Hawai'i Hilo is one of the products of the unified and conscious effort of the Filipinos in Hawaii particularly that of the *Pamantasan* Council, the organisation composed of Filipino administrators, faculty, staff, and students at University of Hawai'i System. From the FSP website, the program aims to "provides a better understanding of the Filipino American community while allowing Filipino American students the opportunity to explore their heritage and non-Filipino American students an opportunity to learn about the Philippines".

As a starting point, the month of May 1987 served as a milestone in the history of Filipino Studies at University of Hawai'i at Hilo. It was on this month that the University of Hawai'i Task Force on Filipinos was formally organized by the then UH Vice President for Academic Affairs Anthony J. Marsella. The responsibility given to the task force was to "review the status of Filipinos at the University of Hawai'i and to make recommendations to increase their numbers and improve academic success and careers of Filipinos and the quality of education for all students at the University." Among the recommendations were: (1) to hire more faculty and staff of Filipino ancestry at UH system, and (2) to offer more courses relevant to Filipinos and the Philippines. The former UH President Albert Simon added that "the educational attainment of minority students is vital to the economic and social well-being of Hawai'i and the nation. Moral concern can legitimately be joined with self-interest to dictate the high priority this issue deserves." The well-researched, highly comprehensive, and factually informative report submitted by the Task Force was then named *Pamantasan*, the Filipino word for university or higher education.

To ensure the learning of the heritage education of the second-generation Filipino Americans in the Big Island of Hawaii, the University of Hawai'i at Hilo offers the Filipino Studies Certificate. The curriculum of the certificate program has grown and developed to include courses that deal with the Filipino culture, identity, migration, history, regional focus, and Philippine institutions. Table 1 below has the FIL-alpha courses.

Table 1: FIL-alpha Courses of the Filipino Studies Program

Course Alpha	Course Title
FIL 101	Elementary Filipino I
FIL 102	Elementary Filipino II
FIL 200	Intermediate Conversational Filipino
FIL 330	Filipino Films
FIL 331	Language, Culture, & Society in the Philippines
FIL 333	Filipinos in Hawaii
FIL 354	Filipino Culture
FIL 430	Contemporary Filipino Society & Culture in Film
FIL 431	Philippines and the Malay World
FIL 432	Spanish Heritage in the Philippines
FIL X94	Special Topics in Filipino Studies
FIL X99	Directed Studies

To complete the certificate, the learner must earn 17 credits. Required courses are FIL 101, FIL 102, and FIL 354. Other courses can be chosen as electives.

With the Filipino courses starting to have non-Filipinos in the student lists, the certificate program has attracted students irrespective of their cultural identity and ethnicity. With just 34 students who initially registered for the certificate program in the academic year 2012-2013, the number of students has increased continually to reach the average of 105 students as of the 2020-2021 academic year.



Figure 1: Student Officers of the Filipino Studies Certificate Program
(Source: Jubilado, 2021.)

Filipino Heritage Language and Culture

Language is a social phenomenon wherein members of the society make use of language for communication purposes. Removing language from its social context empties the communicative aspect of humanity, wherein humans are the only social mammals to whom language provides the communal adhesive. At the University of Hawai'i, only two Philippine languages are taught, namely, Filipino (Tagalog) and Ilocano. Plans have been made to introduce the teaching of Cebuano in the future particularly at the University of Hawai'i Manoa and the University of Hawai'i Hilo. This is the response to the growing interest among Visayan speakers in Hawaii. From the community, the question on the offering of Filipino (Tagalog) still lingers with the rationale that Filipino or Tagalog is the national language in the Philippines, and that it is not the mother tongue of the majority of the Filipinos in Hawaii. Being aware of the disconnect between the language

heritage education and the mother tongues of the students, Ilocano and Visayan should be offered at university according to the community leaders.

Cultural awareness, its expressions, cultural competencies, and civic mindedness are inculcated in the curriculum. Heritage culture aids in facilitating language learning among heritage learners. Since language learning is tied with cultural identity, the heritage students are also exposed to the Filipino culture. With the inclusion of applied and service learning in the curriculum, the students have been engaging with the community in terms of showcasing cultural performances in various places in the Big Island of Hawaii. Within the heritage education framework, teaching FIL courses is not all about theory. For nine years now, students are always taught Philippine cultural performing arts and given the chance to perform in many events either at university or in the community. This practical approach is always popular with students since it makes them learn more concretely their cultural heritage. Table 2 shows the various activities and events that involved the students of the Filipino Studies Program from 2012 to 2021.

Table 2: Filipino Studies Activities and Events 2012-2021

Date	Event
October 1, 2012	Filipino-American Heritage Month (FAHM) 2012
April 12, 2013	Pamantasan Conference
April 26, 2013	FIL Studies Spring 2013 Forum & Culmination Program
September 15, 2013	Balik Pamantasan at Fall 2013
October 1, 2013	Filipino–American Heritage Month (FAHM) 2013
December 2, 2013	Kokua for the Philippines
January 25, 2014	Student Leadership & Mentoring Seminar-Workshop
February 22, 2014	Balik Pamantasan Spring 2014
March 21, 2014	Pamantasan Conference at Leeward Community College, Oahu
May 3, 2014	Filipino Studies Spring 2014 Forum & Culmination Program
September 20, 2014	Balik Pamantasan Fall 2014
October 2014	Filipino–American Heritage Month (FAHM) 2014
December 4, 2014	Pasko sa Pamantasan 2014
January 27, 2015	Asian Fest 2015 @Queen’s Market Place, Waikoloa
April 9, 2015	Kayamanan ng Lahi at UH Hilo
April 11, 2015	Merrie Monarch Parade
October 1, 2015	Filipino-American Heritage Month (FAHM) 2015
February 5, 2016	Asian Fest 2016 @Queen’s Market Place, Waikoloa
March 31, 2016	Interactive Film Viewing of <i>Ilo Ilo</i> .
April 1, 2016	Pamantasan Conference 2016 at UH Maui
October 1, 2016	Filipino-American Heritage Month (FAHM) 2015

February 3, 2017	Asian Fest 2017 @Queen’s Market Place, Waikoloa
October 27, 2017	International Conference on Multidisciplinary Filipino Studies; Barrio Fiesta
February 2, 2018	Asian Fest 2018 @Queen’s Market Place, Waikoloa
May 1, 2018	Filipino Studies Spring 2018 Forum & Culmination Program
October 5, 2018	Pamantasan Conference
October 20, 2018	Kohala Filipino Festival
December 2, 2018	Filipino Diaspora & Heritage Celebration Gala
December 6, 2018	FIL Studies Fall 2018 Forum & Culmination Program
February 1, 2019	Asian Fest 2019 @Queen’s Market Place, Waikoloa
April 26, 2019	UH Hilo Humanities International Conference
May 4, 2019	FIL Studies Spring 2019 Forum & Culmination Program
October 9, 2019	Kohala Filipino Festival
October 12, 2019	11 th Annual DKICP Health Fair
October 18, 2019	Pamantasan Conference
December 12, 2019	FIL Studies Forum and Graduation Program Fall 2019
January 31, 2020	Asian Fest 2020 @Queen’s Market Place, Waikoloa
February 22, 2020	International Nights
AY 2020-2021	Donation Campaign for Needy Schoolchildren in the Philippines

As can be seen in Table 2, the program was designed to include events like the Filipino American Heritage Month (FAHM) and other Filipino-oriented activities as part of the practical lessons to learn including the necessary interaction with the community. Serving as one of the sociocultural laboratories of the Filipino Studies Certificate program, this legislated statewide and university-wide celebration, FAHM, is the avenue for all students of the FIL course alpha to participate in the planning, management, logistics, and implementation of the FAHM.

Other community engagements are the Asian Fest at Queen’s Market in Waikoloa every January or February and the Kohala Filipino Festival every October. They have also participated in the semestral campaigns for donation of goods to be sent to the unfortunate school children in the Philippines. To ensure the continuity of the student-centered program, a group of student leaders is elected annually to lead the Filipino Studies Group, the certificate program’s student organisation. These officers plan, design, manage, and implement the Filipino-oriented activities for the entire academic year. Going back to Pamantasan, the Filipino students could meet their fellow students and share their ideas and experiences at the annual conference held at various campuses of the University of Hawai’i.



Figure 2: FSP Students at Kohala Filipino Festival
(Source: Jubilado, 2021.)

Looking further at the activities and events, cultural competencies and multicultural fluencies are given focus through the integrative requirement enshrined in the General Education. As such, the Filipino Studies Program at University of Hawai'i at Hilo is designed to incorporate concrete cultural learning through the performances that are also presented in the greater community. Among the cultural dance suites that the students learn to perform are those that are found in the Cordilleras, those of the indigenous people of Mindanao, the Hispanic-influenced dances, and the royal Muslim suite, particularly the *Singkil* dance of the Maranao people. These cultural performances are usually the highlights of the annual Filipino Barrio Fiesta at the university and at the major cultural events in the Big Island of Hawaii where the Filipino students perform as part of the curricular requirements. These service learning and community engagement have contributed to the strengthening of the cultural identity among the heritage learners. It also makes the "learning environment more conducive and enjoyable" according to the graduates of the Filipino Studies certificate. Relevance and community engagement are necessary to make the learning concrete and more meaningful. All the activities in Table 2 have become regular except in the AY 2020-2021 when the pandemic hit. At this time, all classes were conducted online, and no major student activities were held following the policies imposed by the State of Hawaii and the University of Hawai'i. However, this opened the

opportunity to make online performances and the collection of goods to be sent to the needy schoolchildren in the Philippines.



**Figure 3: Filipino Students at Asian Fest
(Source: Jubilado, 2021.)**

Place of Origin, Kinship, and Cuisine

The majority of the second generations are Ilocanos, followed by the Visayans and the Tagalogs. Among the Ilocanos, the locations they refer to as their place of origin include the provinces of Cagayan Valley, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Abra, La Union, Pangasinan, and Baguio. For the Visayans, their points of origin include the provinces of Bohol, Cebu, and the island of Mindanao. For the Tagalogs, their places of origin include the provinces of Batangas, Cavite, Nueva Vizcaya, and the National Capital Region. These Filipino ethnicities correspond to the heritage languages that parents speak and use at home. However, the second-generation Filipino Americans are fast becoming monolingual English. The strongest contributing factor to the language shift is the facility of English in the Filipino families. The Philippines has English as one of its official languages, as a second language (ESL), and it is the medium of instruction especially in the secondary and the tertiary levels (Jubilado, 2004; Vicerra & Javier, 2015; Madrunio, Martin, & Plata, 2016; Separa, Generales, & Medina, 2020;). This facility of English has attained a level of comfort in the family speech settings that accommodates the younger generation, whose lexicon includes kinship terms and cuisine in the heritage languages.

In the kinship terms, these include words such as *apo* 'grandchild', *apo lakay* 'grandfather', *lolo* 'grandfather', *lola* 'grandmother', *nanay* 'mother', *nanang* 'mother',

tatay 'father', *tatang* 'father', *ate* 'elder sister', *kuya* 'elder brother', *kapatid* 'sibling', *adding* 'younger sibling', *ubbing* 'much younger sibling', *pinsan* 'cousin' *kasinsin* 'cousin', *kabsat* 'third cousin', *tito* 'uncle', *tita* 'aunt', *manong* 'elder brother', *manang* 'elder sister', to name a few. The preceding kinship terms are a mixture of Ilocano, Tagalog and Visayan words that appeared in the essays written by students. In communication, these terms are used in vocatives, endearment, respect, and references. The formal first name is very rarely uttered without prefixing it with the kinship terms. Absence thereof is frowned at and considered rude. This shows that these terms are still used in the Filipino community and passed on to the second generation.

Added to this list are the expressions of exasperation such as *Aysus*, which is the clipped version of the Filipinised Spanish expression "Ay, Jesus, Maria y Jose!" For cuisine, words such as *adobo*, *lechon*, *pansit*, *guisantes*, *pinakbet*, *suman*, *bibingka*, *dinardaraan*, *halo-halo*, *ginataan*, *humba*, *dinakdakan*, *arroz caldo*, *arroz valenciana*, *embutido*, *afritada*, to name a few. These food items reflect the culinary arts and histories of the Filipinos that they carried with them to America (Jubilado, 2020). Many of these food items are served either daily or during special occasions such as birthday parties, Christmas celebrations, graduation days, death anniversaries, funerals, Valentine's Day, and even casual gathering, to name a few. Mentioning those holidays and festivals means that many of these generations belong to the Christian faith such as the Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, and the homegrown *Iglesia ni Cristo* 'Church of Christ' and *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* 'Philippine Independent Church'.

In those social events and gatherings, a closer look into the families of this generation always presents a huge chance that these Filipino Americans can also be the progeny of mixed marriages. It is not surprising that there can be layers of ethnicities among the Filipino Americans. In Hawaii, answers to the question on the ethnic identity will likely elicit the answer like Portuguese-Japanese-Chinese-Hawaiian-Filipino and other combinations thereof. The residential location and the family names often identify the Filipino side among these mixed blood Filipinos Americans.

Homeland Connection

Like their parents, the second generation is still maintaining connection to the Philippines through travel and the social media. Connection to the homeland comes also in the form of communication and contribution to the family-pooled help. As a collective society, many of the second-generation Filipino Americans are still contributing to help their relatives in the Philippines through sending boxes of goods and financial aid. Such help is extended when there are some important social events and untoward incidents such as natural calamities back in

the provinces. The avenues used in sending financial help include hand-carrying by the returning relatives or family members, electronic fund transfers, telegraphic remittances, Western Union, Xoom, PayPal, to name a few. Gleaned from the interviews, more financial help has been sent due to the pandemic caused by the Covid19 virus. For the sending of non-monetary help, the peculiar boxes of goods, called *balikbayan* box, are sent mostly through the Philippine-based cargo forwarders such as the prevalently seen LBC. The Filipino word *balikbayan* comes from the Tagalog words *balik* 'to return' and *bayan* 'town'. This word has expanded its meaning to encapsulate the sustained hometown connection of every Filipino American to the provinces in the Philippines. It embodies the sharing of material goods that are deemed useful like those that are bought daily in a retail store in the provinces. When sent during holidays like Christmas, it fulfills the yearlong waiting of the expected bulk of goodies from the relatives and family members based in the USA. The huge quantity of goods in the balikbayan boxes ensures that every member of the extended family receives a pre-named, specially wrapped gift. These gifts included the predictable cans of Spam, noodles, shoes, clothes, bags, purses, slippers, Q-tips, macadamia nuts, coffee, bar soaps, toothpastes, toothbrushes, notebooks, pens, pencils, bedsheets, and even the winter duvets, which are not useful in the warm and humid provinces.

When communicating with their relatives back in the Philippines, the second generation makes contact regularly at least once a week or once a month via email or social media platforms such as Facebook, Snapchat, Twitter, and Instagram. Entertainment is also another way of maintaining connection to the Philippines. This generation is very much knowledgeable of the acronym TFC, the Filipino Channel, the California-based TV subscription that feature shows and programs from the Philippines. Another way of maintaining connection to the Philippines is through enrollment in the heritage language and culture courses at the academic institutions. These courses give way to the educational attainment of the second generation. Many young students in this generation are eager to learn their own heritage language and culture and get engaged with their own communities.

Career Choices and Importance of Education

In the USA, Filipinos are among the Asian Americans who have higher level of education (Gallardo & Batalova, 2020; Zong & Batalova, 2021). This reflects the fact that even back in the Philippines, the Filipinos always put importance on education as a vehicle towards social mobility and financial security. It is part of the personal sacrifice that every Filipino is reminded by the elders to achieve for the well-being of the family and the clan by extension. For the second-generation Filipinos, the majority of their parents, who are members of the first generation,

have attained a university degree or attended some college. It is a common knowledge in the Filipino society that the parents are the primary factors in the career choice of their children. The domain of the family ensures social control by enforcing values and practices including the adherence to social ascendancy and mobility through education. Social standing and the concept of shame are also the other strong factors that drive the desire to get educated, either following the professions of the parents or venturing to the other fields of studies. With some levels of pressure, careers in the health or natural sciences are the primary and most favored choices of the parents for their children to pursue. While the degrees in the social sciences and the humanities are often frowned at and considered risky. This career preference and bias ensure the employability and the highest rate of return since education is also considered as an investment for many Filipino families.

Looking closely at the second generation, there is almost the same interest both in pursuing health or natural sciences and other disciplines within the social sciences and the humanities. Members of this generation are either holders of the degree or pursuing studies in the sciences such mathematics, chemistry, biology, computer science, psychology, pharmacy, kinesiology, and nursing. Sociology, education, and liberal arts are also preferred. Those who pursue the health and natural sciences have intrinsic reasons including interest, the desire and passion to help the community, personal experiences with someone sick in the family, and the possibility of earning a higher income. For those who choose the social sciences and the humanities, their reasons range from personal interest, the possibility of doing further and interdisciplinary studies, and the feeling of enjoyment and satisfaction for personal upliftment.

Conclusion

This paper focuses on the perspectives of the second-generation Filipino Americans in Hawaii in relation to the migration and heritage education of the Filipinos. Members of the second-generation are speakers of English, observants of some cultural values and customs of the Filipinos, and believers in the importance of education. Since the majority of the Filipinos in Hawaii speak English both at home and in the public, the state of the heritage languages of the Filipino Americans provides a more different picture compared to the mostly documented heritage languages among the monolingual heritage linguistic communities in the US. The second generation still shares the common values and customs of the Filipinos including family interdependence. They maintain communal consciousness of their identity and culture, but with a different level of attachment to the homeland. The emerging distance between this generation and

the homeland signifies a unique setup common to other younger Asian Americans who define their own identity and culture based on their experiences and interactions with the other Americans. The gradual loss of their Philippine language is compensated with the profound interest in learning their heritage culture and maintaining family ties that extends to collective respect and attachment. Having an academic degree without the influence of the parents can be deduced as part of the adherence to some aspects of the ethnic social capital including the assigning of importance to education as a leverage. Moving towards some degree of assimilation into the mainstream American culture and society in the future, the Filipino family, its values, and customs will still have some factors to play in the identity of the next generations of the Filipino Americans. Although they consider the Philippines as part of their heritage, it is the United States of America they emphasise as their home.

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