PAKA(SARITA)AN:
ON ILOKANO LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, AND HERITAGE EDUCATION

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI‘I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN EDUCATION

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DEDICATION

To the heritage learners of Ilokano all over the world,
my late grandparents Candido, Tomasa, Emilio, and Macaria,
my late uncle Lt. Col. Fernando H. Bajet,
my parents Antonio Carpio Soria and Patricia Bajet Soria,
and my siblings Carmen and Trixia.
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ABSTRACT

This study documented Ilokano as a heritage/community language in Hawai‘i, focusing on Ilokano heritage learners at a public high school in urban Honolulu. The indigenous Ilokano word *pakasaritaan* (paka + sarita + an) contextualizes and frames this study to produce the body of knowledge on Ilokano heritage learners in Hawai‘i. In putting together the *sarita* (stories) of the five Ilokano informants in this study, I engaged in *saritaan* (talk story) with the students to uncover their *sarita* in the context of their experiences at home, school, community, and with their peers to arrive at their *pakasaritaan* or their history. The intersection between *sarita* and *pakasaritaan* invokes/summons the other, hence, the story in history and history in the story. The findings revealed that the students’ experiences were rich and multi-layered. The immigrant home was the core of the students’ stories that planted the values of hard work and education. The results also showed (dis)connects between home and the school culture in the lives and education of these students. Offering Ilokano language to the heritage learner affirmed the cultural capital of the home, but more importantly, acknowledged the language and heritage rights of a marginalized group in spite of mainstream and hegemonic practices. This study extends the scholarship of heritage language learning from a uniquely Ilokano and youth perspective. It contributes to research methodologies by developing culturally appropriate protocols that respect and celebrate the stories of marginalized groups to work toward linguistic pluralism and social justice. The *sarsarita* (stories) combined lead us to larger conversations, *pakasaritaan* about diversity, language education, and minority rights. Finally, implications from this study and recommendations for pedagogy are discussed.
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CHAPTER 1

Pakauna: Introduction

“Ti panangawisyo toy numo toy biang a kas guest speaker iti panagturpos dagitoy nga ubbing ket manya a pakaidayawan ken maysa a panagsubli iti lugar a nakayanakan ken iti lugar a nakagun-odan kadagiti sursuro ken adal. Makitak nga adda pay laeng dagiti sigud a mamaestrak iti daytoy a pagadalan. Naggraduarak idi 1985 ditoy Basug Elementary School ket ti paliiwko apo ket adun dagiti simmayaatan daytoy nga eskuela. Dakayo a naggraduar ditoy, malagipyo kadi pay laeng ti panagbitbittayo iti gallon ti danum a pangsibugtayo kadagiti gardentayo ken ti panagsakdo ti danum idiy karayan; ti panangitugot ti bulong ti dangla a pagsagad iti kuartotayo kasta met iti bulong ti patani nga iradrad iti blackboard; ti umay panagluto dagiti nanangtayo iti oat meal a kanentayo iti recess. Malagipko pay dagiti panagsalak ti folk dance ditoy nga eskuela ken no tiempo ti fiesta iti ilitayo a Santa. Ibilangko man dagitoy a paspasamak a nangbukel kadagiti istoriak ken padpadasko iti daytoy nga eskuela. Maragsakanak a makakita dagiti adun a nagbalbaliwanen daytoy nga eskuela ken kayatko nga ipeksa ti panagymamanko kadagiti mamaestrak iti panagimfluensiada iti biagko nga akademiko.”

(Your invitation to me to serve as your guest speaker for these students’ commencement exercises is truly an honor and is also a return to the place where I was born and the place where I attained values and knowledge. I still see my former teachers in this institution. I graduated in 1985 here at Basug Elementary School and my observations tell me that there has been a lot of transformations in this school. For those of you who graduated from this school, do you remember carrying the gallon of water to water your garden plots and fetching water from the river; bringing the dangla leaves to sweep the classroom floors; the leaves of lima beans to make our board greener; and our mothers coming to school to cook oatmeal for us to eat during recess? I also remember doing folk dances during the town fiesta in Santa. All these events have shaped my stories and experiences in this school. I am happy to witness the transformations in this school and I would like to express my sincere thanks to my teachers for influencing my academic life.)

1.1. Centering the “I” in Ilokano

The above is an excerpt of a keynote address that I delivered to the graduating class of 2011 at Basug Elementary School in Santa, Ilocos Sur, Philippines, on April 7, 2011. I deliberately delivered my keynote address mostly in Ilokano for two reasons. First, I wanted
to relay a message to the sixth graders and to the Ilokano audience that speaking Ilokano is “cool” despite the widespread of Tagalog in the province, and that they should not be ashamed of it. Second, I wanted to see how the audience would react to a speech delivered mostly in Ilokano. At the end of the ceremony, to my surprise, some parents approached me and thanked me for speaking in Ilokano because they said they were able to understand and relate to me, unlike the other speakers in the past who delivered their speeches mostly in English. What I did at that commencement exercises was plainly practicing what I preach to my students: To know your roots and be proud of it.

I attended grades one to six at Basug and graduated there in 1985, and the feeling to be invited to speak to a group of young Ilokanos was truly a humbling experience. In the above excerpt of my speech, I recounted my experiences as an elementary school student which included bringing patani\(^1\) (lima beans) leaves to my school so I could rub them on the board to make it greener or carrying a gallon of water from home to water our garden plots.

As I shared these memories with the audience, I could not help feeling bittersweet as I thought of individuals who made an impact in my life like my uncle Fernando who passed away in 2001. Uncle Fernando was the eldest sibling of my mother who would come over for Christmas from Mindanao. During his visits, he would call all of us, his nieces and nephews, and give each of us one hundred pesos.

Standing on that stage, I also remembered another time when I was in that same spot back in 1985 giving the valedictorian address to my fellow classmates. I kept a copy of that first speech and I recited an excerpt from that speech when I addressed the students. To return 26 years later to provide the keynote address to another graduating class felt as though

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1 For stylistic purposes, Ilokano terms are italicized in the beginning and then written in standard text thereafter. All non-English (including Ilokano) words and expressions are given parenthetical translations in English.
my life had come full circle. It felt as though all my experiences and the path that I had followed eventually led me back to where it all started. This was an epiphany for me. I realized that the passion and commitment I have for the Ilokano language and the stories of Ilokanos are what make me who I am as an individual and professional. My memories and experiences of my life make up just one story – just one thread that contribute to the rich textures and colors of the Ilokano inabel (the Ilokano hand-woven fabric). There are many stories to be told and as an Ilokano language teacher for the past 14 years, it has always been my desire to be the vehicle for this to happen.

So many scholars on indigenous narratives tell us stories are what we are. I opened this dissertation with my own story because this dissertation is about stories. The story embedded in my speech is part of my history as an Ilokano. I am using Ilokano here to signify the language and the people, and the culture that these people socially produce and practice. Opening this dissertation with a story centers the tao, the person, as the source of knowledge and wisdom. Like the stories of lima nga agtutubo nga Ilokano - the five Ilokano youth - included in this work, they too, like myself, shared their school stories and other experiences in their own voices. The Ilokano youth in this project are heritage language (HL thereafter) learners of Ilokano at a local public high school in urban Honolulu herein coded as Nakem High School (NHS, thereafter), situated in a community called Lugar in this dissertation. HL learners in this study are defined as students who are learning the language of their roots and that this language has a personal connection to and a “particular family relevance” (Fishman, 2001) to them. This definition underscores the link between cultural heritage and linguistic heritage.
This research follows a qualitative approach that makes use of a variety of procedures in gathering and analyzing data in an effort to produce the body of knowledge on Ilokano HL learners in Hawai‘i. I am using the indigenous Ilokano word *pakasaritaan* (paka+sarita+an) to contextualize and capture a framework that offers a public space in conducting and presenting a research rooted in the knowledge and experience of the Ilokanos and their descendants. The Ilokano word *sarita* means story, saritaan as talking story, and pakasaritaan as history. It is the sarita that comes out in the saritaan. The sarita embedded in my speech above is just one of my stories that make up my pakasaritaan. The intersection between sarita and pakasaritaan is that one invokes/summons the other, hence, the story in history and history in the story (Agcaoili, 2006; 2010). In this study, I am using it as a theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical tool to work toward linguistic pluralism and social justice. Utilizing the discourse of *saritaan* (talk story), my research questions were crafted to draw and account students’ stories about their family, schooling, peers, and community to arrive at their pakasaritaan or their history.

Inspired by indigenous research methodology (i.e., Smith; Vaioleti, 2006) and critical ethnography, pakasaritaan extends beyond presenting “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) of events. Presenting a thick description means that the narrative “presents detail, context, emotion, and the web of social relationships…[and] evokes emotionality and self-feelings…The voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard (Denzin, 1989, p. 83). Pakasaritaan allows for gaining access to indigenous knowledge and wisdom that resides with the tao, and that is the reason why I started with my own story in this dissertation. This is where saritaan intersects with *sukisok* (research) – the act of searching and re-searching in order for knowledge to come about and come anew into the
nakem (consciousness) (Agcaoili, 2006). It is through saritaan that offers a space to give or help give voice to young Ilokanos who are the inheritors of the language and culture of Ilokano and Amianan (North) peoples. Amianan is an Ilokano term to refer to the ‘north’ and it this Amianan ground where Ilokanos trace their heritage. In saritaan, it is through language that allows us to tell and draw up our sarita and building from these sarita, we create pakasaritaan embodying our understanding of the world, of experiences, and ultimately ourselves. Our knowledge and experiences are intrinsically linked to our language. Since a language carries the conception of the world that speaks it, our native language – the language of our students, is not only the carrier of knowledge but also, as stated by Freire and Macedo (1987), “knowledge itself” (p. 53).

In this dissertation, the students are the focus, and their voices carry forward indigenous meanings and experiences that are in opposition to dominant discourses and practices (Fine, 1994). Bringing voice to the informants and giving them authority in characterizing their experiences are important foundations in which this study is based and a qualitative research methodology allows for that, articulated by the Ilokano pakasaritaan.

In putting together the sarita of the five Ilokano informants in this study, I engaged in saritaan with the students to uncover their sarita in the context of their experiences at home, school, community, and with their peers. The saritaan uncovered new forms of knowledge and wisdom; that is, the particularities and specificities of the Ilokano sarita and experiences. In the process, I no longer acted as the disinterested researcher, but as a researcher engaged and involved with the subject matter of my work and the stories of my informants. Likewise, I was able analyze their stories in a manner that suits the purpose of this study and contribute
to the body of knowledge about and for the Ilokano themselves and for their own needs as people. In sum, this dissertation is about, by, of, and for the Ilokano.

The sarita – the data collected from the saritaan – were corroborated by observations in the community where these Ilokano informants are situated. Observations were conducted in the Ilokano language and content area classrooms as well as in the school events and functions. It was important to immerse myself in the community of the informants to corroborate their stories collected from the saritaan.

In the data analysis, the students’ sarsarita (the stories) were coded according to their description of their experiences in the domains of home, school, peer relationships, and community, following a tropical approach (White, 1978; 1987) to the themes of their stories to allow a broader view of how one theme connects to the other to account the depth of their lived experiences, and were consequently analyzed in terms of how the identified tropes inspire, conflict, support, and influence each other in shaping the pakasaritaan of the students. Tropes, according to White (1978), is ‘a turn of phrase’ linking an abstract concept to the physical world, thus establishing a correspondence between the physical world and human ideation, and they are "inexpungeable from discourse in the human sciences" (pp. 1-2). The concept of kaibatogan (parallelism)/bugas (core) is closest to “a turn of phrase,” is an Ilokano way accounting meaning in the dynamic of sarita/pakasaritaan. The tropical approach facilitates the mapping out of the bigger story or stories behind the stories of students that takes the “literal/textual” to “figurative” or the second level of meaning beyond the literal/textual.
1.2. Context of the study

In the last decade, I have dedicated myself to Ilokano language teaching in secondary and college contexts. For me, teaching is a commitment and passion, and for Ilokano language teaching, a journey and struggle. My passion and commitment is very much captured in a quote that I included in my 2004 doctoral application. This quote from Hector Garza at a national conference that I attended in Washington D.C. in 2003, echoes my interest in linguistic and cultural democracy as it applies to the education of minority students².

Consider the millions of students in elementary and secondary schools throughout the United States today as the orchard that will sustain our society in years to come. Though every tree – every student – will not produce the same type of fruit, it is the responsibility of educators; of those who make education policy; and of those who vote to support good policy to tend the orchard carefully in order to maximize the harvest of well-prepared students. In order to reap the largest and best harvest we must not only nurture every tree but protect the entire orchard from any threat that will limit the harvest.

In this quote, Hector Garza underscores the role of educators in nurturing students. As a language teacher, part of this nurturing exercise is cultivating the linguistic and cultural heritage that these students already possess. Thus, my focus on HL learners in this study was not only inspired by this quote and my professional work, but also by the heritage language movement in North America, Europe, and Australia that focus on immigrants and their children wishing to learn, relearn, and/or preserve their native language and culture (Brinton, Kagan, & Bauckus, 2008; Cummins, 1983; He, 2008; Krashen, Tse, & McQuillan, 1998; Kondo-Brown & Brown, 2008; Menard-Warwick, 2009; Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001; Roca & Colombi, 2003; Valdes, Fishman, Chavez, & Perez, 2006; Webb & Miller, 2000).

According to Byrnes (2005) and Peyton et al. (2001), heritage and community language

² In countries where English is a first language, it refers to students whose first language is a language other than English, for who special instruction in English may be needed (Richards, Platt, & Platt, 1992).
education in the United States (U.S.) is emerging as a powerful, if contested, vehicle for rethinking language education in this country in terms of the process of language acquisition and innovation on pedagogical practices. In Hawai‘i, for example, Ilokano is the heritage language of the majority of Filipinos.

In my interactions with my college students throughout the years, many wished they had studied or were taught Ilokano early on. These kinds of comments inspired me to focus on the younger Ilokanos – the Ilokano youth – to uncover what the college students were talking about or the factors that create the gaps or loss of one’s heritage language. There is no better way to do this by listening to the stories of high school students who are learning Ilokano as their heritage language.

1.3. Problems to be addressed

In 2007, UNESCO proclaimed 2008 as the “International Year of Languages.” In a message delivered by the past Director-General of UNESCO, Koichiro Matsuura,

Languages are indeed essential to the identity of groups and individuals and to their peaceful coexistence. They constitute a strategic factor of progress towards sustainable development and a harmonious relationship between the global and the local context...However, within the space of a few generations, more than 50% of the 7,000 languages spoken in the world may disappear. Less than a quarter of those languages are currently used in schools and in cyberspace, and most are used only sporadically. Thousands of languages – though mastered by those populations for whom it is the daily means of expression – are absent from education systems, the media, publishing and the public domain in general...We must act now as a matter of urgency...by encouraging and developing language policies that enable each linguistic community to use its first language, or mother tongue, as widely and as often as possible, including in education, while also mastering a national or regional language and an international language. (UNESCO.org)

Matsuura’s message underscores UNESCO’s recognition and the promotion of linguistic diversity and multilingualism and the power of language in defining one’s identity.
Matsuura’s message also warns us of *language loss/death* of languages. Dorian (1993) argues that language shift and loss are about power and politics rather than some sort of natural process. Wong-Filmore (1990) explicated the social issues created by heritage language loss. Her research demonstrates the relationship between language loss and intergenerational communication loss within Latino families, as well as it shows the effects of the break down of familial ties within the family structure. In a speech for the Gumil Filipinas Annual Seminar-Workshop in 2006, a former colleague and founder of the Ilokano Program at UHM, Professor Prescila Espiritu, noted,

> My commitment to the establishment and development of the Ilokano Program at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa, since I started teaching the first course in 1972, has been primarily motivated by the notion of Ilokano becoming an obscure language. I believe that we must not allow to be relegated to the category of “dying language.” A truly living language with approximately twenty million speakers worldwide, and the native or heritage tongue of the majority of Filipinos in the diaspora, must not be set aside as a dispensable commodity, undeserving of respect and preservation. With all our collective efforts and advocacy – educators, writers, Ilokano organizations, and millions of Ilokano speakers - our Ilokano language and culture will not only survive, it will thrive!

Sociopolitical analyses have provided valuable information on the ways in which linguistic minorities are negatively impacted by language and educational policies (Haas, 1992; Nieto, 1992; Pennycook, 1995; Tollefson, 1995; Wiley, 1996; 1999). Language policies in the United States, including those of Hawai‘i, are created for the mainstream speaker of English. I am using the Hawaiian language as an example because I drew my energy and inspiration from concerted efforts to revitalize the language and culture. In this letter to the editor of the *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, a local newspaper, Burgess (2008) wrote,

> Hawaiian is an official language of the state of Hawai‘i. And while the Hawaiian language was once on the verge of extinction, it has grown in speakers and popularity for many years now. Yet the Hawaiian language is not taught in many of Hawai‘i’s high schools today. As a requirement for graduation, students need to take a "foreign
language." Most schools offer classes in languages such as French and Spanish. But before any school offers a French class, it should offer a Hawaiian class. Before any school offers a Spanish class, it should offer a Hawaiian class. Many students in the public schools would like to learn the Hawaiian language, but do not have the opportunity to do so. Yet this is Hawai‘i. Why would we not have Hawaiian language classes available in every high school? This would be much more valuable to the children and the people of Hawai‘i than French and Spanish. Not only would this help to preserve and perpetuate the Hawaiian culture and instill pride in the children taking the language, but it would also be great for those visiting Hawai‘i to be able to hear the Hawaiian language once again. The Hawaiian language should be taught in every high school. It is the right thing to do.

(http://archives.starbulletin.com/2008/06/14/editorial/letters.html)

A response by Kienitz (2008) to Burgess’ (2008) letter was printed three days later.

Kienitz (2008) wrote,

While it is certainly laudable that the Hawaiian language has seen resurgence, let us not forget that this is largely due to a small group of mainly local haole women that preserved it until the more recent Hawaiian pride movement caught on…Nonetheless, the facts are real and incontrovertible. Even in the tourist industry any one of these speakers would be better served by fluency in a currently utilized language…The fact of the matter is that Hawaiian is a dead language, similar to Latin. As such, its instruction should be entirely optional and secondary to the instruction of other foreign languages that might be of true benefit to students in their future. Burgess's assertion that our schools should stress instruction of the Hawaiian language first and foremost before other living languages such as French, Spanish, Japanese and Mandarin promotes a vast disserve to our children. Though it should be available as an elective diversion, mastery of the Hawaiian language will have no more (arguably less) eventual value than learning Latin.

(http://archives.starbulletin.com/2008/06/17/editorial/letters.html)

Likewise, the use of Hawai‘i Creole English (HCE), also known as Pidgin, has been subjected to discrimination and blame, labeled by some as “the worst bastardization of English” (Kua, 1999). Moreover, a comment made by then Board of Education Chairman Mitsugi Nakashima in 1999, in response to the low students’ test scores that year, said that “speaking pidgin lead to thinking and then writing in pidgin” (Kua, 1999). The case of Pidgin is an example of the many debates about minority languages and the negative attitudes some people have expressed towards them - rooted in language policies that are meant to
favor the majority and the standard varieties of languages. Here is an example of an orientation wherein language is viewed as a problem that becomes a liability to those who speak them, rather than promote a language as resource orientation (Ruiz, 1984) that capitalizes on the home languages and cultures of minority groups. Furthermore, languages are seen as commodities that carry different values in this era of globalization, which affect the decision-making of those in positions of power and determines macro language policies and planning (Tan & Rubdy, 2008).

In 2005, a cover story in the Hawai‘i Filipino Chronicle newspaper entitled “Tagalog and Ilokano: Should They Be Taught in Public Schools?” (Weygan-Hildebrand, 2005) exposed the anemic situation of Philippine languages in the public schools and argued for the offering and availability of such language courses, mirroring Burgess’ (2008) letter to the editor. The discourse of language instruction is multilayered and is made even more so with ironies and contradictions when that discourse is tested against the realities of heritage communities and the schools within the communities. Within the diasporic community like Hawai‘i, for example, there is controversy between Ilokano and Tagalog. It was in the 1930s that the Quezon government chose Tagalog as the basis for the national language of the Philippines, making it in effect the national language. Tagalog, Pilipino, and Filipino are labels by which the national language has come to be known at different periods of the Philippine history.

The manipulation of labeling and/or equating “Tagalog” as “Filipino” has contributed to the marginalization of other languages such as Ilokano and Cebuano. For example, the Schedule of Courses (SOC) catalog at UHM lists “Tagalog” as “Filipino,” “confusing” students wishing to register in Ilokano and/or Tagalog. The manipulation of
labeling and/or equating “Tagalog” as “Filipino” has also been absorbed by the Hawai‘i DOE leading them to change the listing of “Tagalog” in its World Language catalog to “Filipino.” The imposition of Filipino, with its roots in the Philippines, has been internalized by Ilokanos in the diaspora who themselves are now ashamed to speak Ilokano, believing that English and Tagalog “rule.” Likewise, funding for Ilokano is scarce because it is not a national language, although it is the majority language spoken by Filipinos in the state of Hawai‘i which now has strong connections to the economy, politics, and culture of Hawai‘i.

1.4. Research Questions

The research questions for this dissertation study were formulated to draw up and account for the sarita of the heritage language learners and allow their sarita to shape their pakasaritaan.

General: What stories do heritage language learners tell about language, identity, and education?

To answer this general question, the following specific questions will be asked:

1. What are the tropes of sarita/stories that can be drawn up from the voices of Ilokano heritage language learners?

2. What do the tropes of stories tell us about their pakasaritaan/history in the context of their home, schooling, community, and society?

   a. What stories reveal a connection or contrast between student home and school culture?

   b. What stories reflect the sense of loss and negotiations Ilokano students must encounter when adjusting to the monolingual school and English-speaking academic community?

   c. What are the pedagogical impacts and transformations in the offering of the heritage language on the Ilokano learner?
d. How has the home and the community reinforced (or not reinforced) the heritage learner’s sense of identity, place, and community?

3. What pedagogical approaches foster heritage learners as storytellers, and thus, history-makers of their own Ilokano community in the diaspora?

1.5. Significance of the Study

This dissertation is a contribution to the field of heritage language and indigenous languages. Unlike Spanish that has predominated the scholarships on heritage language (Brinton, Kagan, & Bauckus, 2008; Roca & Colombi, 2003), the work on Ilokano has been non-existent. The growing trend of heritage language education in North America and the lack of Ilokano scholarship in this field have inspired my dissertation work and are reflected in my research questions in terms of the impact of heritage language in their identity as learners. Thus, following the work of heritage language scholars like Guadalupe Valdes, Olga Kagan, Maria Polinsky, Kimi Kondo-Brown, Agnes He, and many others, I have taken the difficult but urgent task of joining them in the production of heritage language research by documenting my own work with Ilokano heritage language students in the state of Hawai‘i.

In terms of setting, the offering, availability, and study of Ilokano in the high school – the only one of its kind in the state of Hawai‘i, the United States, and in the world – will create a template in the production of heritage language scholarship within a local context, thus promising to create a model to other linguistically and culturally diverse communities. Hawai‘i’s heritage language communities represent an important and unique resource for the state and the nation.

In terms of population, this study offers important insights into heritage language students, in middle school to college level, who wish to learn, relearn, or preserve their
language and culture. A lot of the studies on heritage language education have focused on college classrooms and experiences, but this study focus on Ilokano HL learners in the high school. The presence of students with some proficiency in and a personal connection to the target language in the “foreign” language classrooms compels language educators like myself to reconsider the process of language acquisition and innovation on pedagogical practices.

Most important to this study is the documentation of adolescent voices and experiences. It is from the adolescent experience that language loss takes its greatest toll. Children who are born in the U.S. or come here when very young are unlikely to be literate in their HL unless the parents systematically home-school their children or the children have access to an effective program of study at school. Cummins (1989) has demonstrated the importance of heritage language retention as a form of empowerment for minority language students. Thus, the primary aim in conducting this study is to give voice to HL learners at a public high school in urban Honolulu that rarely are given the opportunity to tell their own stories because their voices are not heard within schooling or in the mainstream discourse. The students’ native language bridges their past and their future, and, when not silenced, it is through their native language that they tell their stories (Rivera, 1999). Through the telling of their stories students can make sense of what Maxine Greene (1988) calls their lived lives. Their individual stories, the sarita, provide the context to understand their collective experiences. By sharing their individual stories, students place themselves in history, the pakasaritaan, which allows them to “check and criticize the history [they] are told against the one [they] have lived” (Iglis, as cited in Giroux, 1987, p. 15).

Similarly, this study echoes the voices of my mentors and ancestors in terms of giving respect and recognition to the Ilokano language as a legitimate part of academia. It is my
belief that this study will serve as a template in the production of Ilokano knowledge and will inform curriculum and instruction thrusts in heritage language teaching. As a language teacher who is Ilokano, it is now my pagrebengan (responsibility) to continue the works of my mentors. In the English translation of his Pedagogy of the Opppressed, Freire writes:

> Human existence cannot be silent. . . To exist, humanly, is to name the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears, to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming. Human beings are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action-reflection. But while to say the true word – which is work, which is praxis – is to transform the world, saying that word is not the privilege of some few persons, but the right of everyone. (Freire, 1993, p. 69).

Those of us in heritage language instruction who look to Freire as an inspiration focus on how he talks about a way to create a linguistic reality - an important part of that process is vocal, oral, and saying things like in the discourse of saritaan where the sarita is uncovered. The discourse starts with the Ilokano. The discourse is this dissertation.

1.4. The “I” in Ilokano: An Insider Researcher

The conceptualization of my dissertation project represents the weaving of my stories and experiences as an Ilokano, stories that are replete with introspection and reflection. These stories and experiences parallel my journey from my hometown of Santa in the Philippines to Hawai‘i and back, as well as my journey to this point of my doctoral program. Such a journey echoes the panagkalkalautang (wandering) (Agcaoili, 2009) of the Ilokanos either throughout the Philippines or in the diaspora, in search for a better life. Like the early Ilokanos, it is through their journeys that facilitated the discovery of their stories, myths, legends, poetry, and songs which illuminate their character and disposition.

More specifically, my stories and experiences of growing up in Santa, of being an immigrant in the United States particularly in Hawai‘i, being a second language learner in a
public high school, undergraduate and graduate college years, struggles and joys as an Ilokano language teacher, community work, and combined with stories of peripherylization and marginalization of the Ilokano language in the Philippines and in the diaspora - all create a bigger story shaping my pakasaritaan. This pakasaritaan represents my interconnectedness or rootedness to the Ilocos, my family and ancestors, and my language, and provides the context in which this dissertation has been conceptualized and imagined.

Following the lead of the early Ilokanos like Diego Silang who led the Ilocos revolt against the Spaniards and the sakadas (contract workers) who toiled in the sugar plantations of Hawai‘i over 105 years ago, it is now my pagrebbengan as an Ilokano researcher and scholar to give respect and extend recognition to the Ilokano language as part of academia, as a legitimate part of scholarship, and as a way of giving back to the people. This sense of responsibility can only be achieved in the hands of those who understand and appreciate the Ilokano language and people, and I hope that my dissertation work will serve as a vehicle in “blazing trail” for the Ilokano language and people in the midst of globalization, accountability, and the systemic marginalization of Ilokano and various Philippine languages.

In embarking on a research project involving my own people and community, the use of culturally-appropriate methodology becomes imperative. Smith (1999) wrote that research involving native people, as individuals or communities, should set out to make a positive difference for the one researched. This is congruent with the notion that if research is to play “a useful and progressive role in the process of decolonization, it will ultimately require a political commitment in support of indigenous peoples and an unambiguous recognition of the colonial role played by mainstream paradigms” (Menzies, 2001, p. 33).
My voice as the researcher is very much part of this dissertation. Ilokano is my first language. I am an FBI – *napêpekîlan nga Ilokano* - a full-blooded Ilokano - born, raised, and educated at an early age in the Ilocos. But behind the simple FBI label are stories replete with introspection and reflection. Shannon (1995) asserts the importance of stories,

...stories are important to people, politics, and education. Stories are how people make sense of themselves and their worlds. In young children’s spontaneous stories that they act out as they play, we can see how they believe people relate to one another, who they hope to become, and how they will behave. We can see adolescents play roles in their own and other people’s stories in order to figure out where thin into their ever-expanding dreams. As adults, the true and imaginary stories we wish to tell and believe suggest what we value most in this world. In a real sense, stories make people. For this reason stories are political. Whose stories get told? What can these stories mean? Who benefits from their telling? These are political questions because they address the way in which people’s identities – their beliefs, attitudes, and values – are created and maintained. These identities determine how we live together in and out of schools as much as school rules or governmental laws. (p. xi)

Indeed, it is through language that we tell our stories. Thus, by telling my story, it contextualizes my identity as an Ilokano researcher. As an insider with the knowledge of Ilokano ways of communicating, sharing and retaining and passing on knowledge, I believe that I will be able to penetrate the boundaries that often separate the researcher from the culture and people being researched. When I am in the local Hawai‘i community promoting our UHM Ilokano Program, people always wonder why Ilokano materials (i.e., dictionary, textbooks) are so scarce. The lack of concerted efforts among Ilokano cultural workers, researchers, teachers, and academicians to produce and publish is partly to blame. Because Ilokano does not have the status of a national language, funding opportunities are scarce and almost non-existent. Given this dire reality, and in my capacity as an Ilokano researcher, I envision this dissertation providing the inspiration and invigoration to create a public space in knowledge production; that is, legitimizing and affirming the fabric of stories and
experiences of the Ilokanos as people, and it is in the hands of those who care and advocate for the perpetuation of the language – the Ilokano themselves - that will make this transformation. The Ilokano agtutubo – the inheritors of the language and culture of the Ilokanos and the Amianan – is where this discourse can start. And, as a researcher in my own community, I am also epistemologically privileged. Rambaud (2008) eloquently writes,

> Every serious writer dreams of writing not only for his people but also for the whole world. He dreams of transcending the language barrier and holding the attention of the world if only for a moment. To do so, however, he must first write for his own people and consider them his whole world. (p. 1)

*Memories of the homeland: Santa is the river / The river is Santa*

Being born and reared in Santa, I have always been fascinated as a young boy listening to the adventures of my grandparents, parents, and relatives. One of the things that I remember vividly is my grandpa “Idong” telling me about his life in Hawai‘i, and my personal favorite, the story of the monkey and the turtle. I remember this fable very well because it teaches young people not to be greedy or underestimate the ability of small creatures. In terms of the landscape of Santa, the karayan (river) brings back my childhood memories. These memories are captured in Jose Bragado’s poem entitled *Karayan*. In this poem, Bragado, a prominent Ilokano writer from Santa, paints a very personal connection to the river as a youth growing up in Tabucolan³.

```plaintext
Is-isemak ti lagip ti kinaagtutubok idiay Santa;
I smile at the memory of my youth in Santa;
ti nalañís ken adalem a lansadmo ti punganay dagiti nabukel nga arapaap tapno sapulek sabali a masakbayan
in your cold and deep depth is the beginning of a dream drawn up in there I search a future that is yet to come
(Bragado, Bulong, & De Guzman, 1978, p. 12).
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³ Birthplace of writer Jose Bragado in Santa. Was eroded by the ocean waves displacing residents several years ago.
Most people in Santa rely on the karayan for fishing, a source of income for most Ilokanos. I also remember washing clothes in the river and diving with my childhood friends during summertime. Like the river, life in Ilocos is simple but the people make it very rich.

This simplicity of life in Ilocos is echoed by my mother’s stories as a young woman. She would say, “Inkakaubinganmi ti rigat,” meaning, “We grew up in hardship.” Her stories working in the field and weaving blanket at a very young age are testimonial to the strength and endurance of the Ilokanos. It is no surprise to me why she and my dad work so hard until today. It is no surprise to me why she would save all those plastics bags and recycle used Ziploc bags. It is no surprise that the people who work two to three service-oriented jobs to support themselves and their families are Ilokanos. Values such as strong work ethic, humility, respect, and sense of sacrifice have been exemplified by Ilokanos. These values have also guided me personally in everything that I do including the tumultuous task of finishing this dissertation.

The use of respectful term such as kaka⁴ (older sibling) was expected in my household while growing up. When I came to Hawai‘i, these words had different connotations tied to the negative stereotypes of Ilokano as “uneducated.” Even Philippine movies, the manong/manang (older brother/sister) term is associated with the subordinate roles of “drivers” and “maids” by the more powerful and wealthy characters, making the Ilokano a second-class citizen. In countering these negative and stereotypical images of the Ilokano manong/manang, my Ilokano classroom has become the site of (re)claiming the true essence of the word.

⁴ Manong (older brother) and manang (older sister) are colonial terms that were indiginized in the Ilokano language.
The “remembering” of my childhood experiences in Santa provides an important context in appreciating Ilocos as a place where I acquired my values and developed my character. Like Bragado’s poem, I can tell my own story of the karayan because I’ve been there and I always go back there. This sort of attachment to the place is captured in the Ilokano word *pagilian* (country; nation). The root word *ili* (town) is attached/embedded to the affixes –*pag* - *an*, denoting the place. So in the Ilokano language and Ilokano world, the Ilokano feels that part of him/her – his/her *kararua* (soul) – never left the homeland whether he or she in the diaspora. Foronda and Foronda (1972) write,

As an adventurous farmer, he has braved the harsh California and Hawaiian sun or has shivered through the biting terror of many American winters, emerging, as always, fortunate, repatriating back home his precious savings with which to build an imposing home; to buy lands in his native Ilocos, hoping to till them at this retirement. For the back of the mind of the Ilocano who leaves his native land is that obdurate desire, as symbolic as it is real, to always return to the land of his birth: to send a child to college to become a doctor, lawyer, engineer or teacher, many whom eventually have also immigrated like him to America. (Foronda & Foronda, 1972, p. 133).

Unfortunately, for the many children of Ilokano immigrants, their only connection to Ilocos are the stories of their parents and/or grandparents. In his story and own voice, Cashman (2009) highlights this dilemma and writes that “kids have to go there…so they can tell whole of their own story” (p. 34).

*Home- the places we came from.*
*We have to go there.*
*That’s just how it is.*
*Words alone no count.*
*You tell em the story,*
*They hear only half the story,*
*They remember half of what they heard,*
*They will re-tell half of that*
*That’s all they’ll do.*
*Only re-tell.*
*But take em there, too, and they can tell the whole*
*Of their own story*
Immigrant Experiences as Stories

In his essay *Kas Ilocos ti Hawai‘i*, Calixto (1995) underscores the predominance of Ilokanos over other ethnolinguistic groups from the Philippines. Based on data from the Philippine Consulate in Honolulu, about 85% of Filipinos in Hawai‘i today are of Ilokano heritage. At my research site, 60% of the school’s student population is of Ilokano heritage. During my occasional visits to Santa, people would always praise me on how lucky I am to be in Hawai‘i for it represented *gloria* – the paradise and the greener pasture that most Ilokanos would like to be a part of. Because of its rugged terrain, rocky shores, predominant hills and mountains, and arid temperature, the world of the Ilokanos has always been called a “God-forsaken land” (Calixto, 1986). As a result, the Ilokano has become an adventurer in search of greener pastures and more abundant life. This search for better life is a metaphor dubbed by Agcaoili (2009) as *lung-aw*. Lung-aw, in the old Ilokano mind and consciousness, is the god of prosperity and progress. In all parts of the Philippines, you find the Ilokano. In all parts of the world, you find the Ilokano – especially in America, particularly Hawai‘i. The search for a better life is confirmed by Constantino (1980) where he examined the functions of Ilokano verb tenses in relation to the Ilokano worldview. His analysis shows the “future is important” among Ilokanos (Constantino, 1980, p. 26) because their past and present life has been difficult as illustrated by their *panagkalkallautang* (wandering), but it is through their courage, commitment, and sacrifice across history, as illustrated in their revolts and uprisings, that made Ilokanos thrive and survive.

Clearly, the Ilocos is the Ilokanos. Ilocos will always be my first home. Hawai‘i is now my second home. I am often told that I am a “success story” but what does that mean exactly? Coming to Hawai‘i was a blessing and a great opportunity for my family and
myself. The small and significant things that I have accomplished in the last 22 years in Hawai‘i are the results of the hardwork and sacrifices that was ingrained in me as an Ilokano, but these did not come without challenges. In high school, my classmates mocked my “Filipino” accent as if I were an alien from another planet. They laughed at me and looked at me in a funny way when I stood up to introduce myself on the first day of class. I was a “FOB” in their eyes. I did not know what it meant then, but I knew it was something negative. Afraid to be mocked, I “silenced” myself and only talked when spoken to. Being in an English-dominated environment, the expectation was to conform or to master the English language. In an effort to speak like my classmates, I practiced speaking the English language in front of the mirror, trying to polish my pronunciation to make it more aesthetically pleasing to the ears. Being in the Students with Limited English Proficiency [SLEP, now called English Language Learners (ELL)] program gave me the strength and support to become successful and facilitated my transition to my new environment. Besides the challenge of mastering the English language, the Pidgin language was equally problematic for me, for it sounded like “broken English.” Today, I have come to love this language as it serves an identity marker for local students in Hawai‘i. Although faulted as a contributing factor to the low academic performance of students in Hawai‘i, Pidgin defines the diversity of our place and people, and it is Pidgin that is used when people “talk story” whether they are tailgating at football games or in the aisles of local grocery stores.

Two decades after graduating from high school, images of “otherness” and “marginalization” are still present in our schools. There is still bullying. There is still teasing because you “talk funny” and you “act weird.” There are still teachers who call their

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5 Means “fresh off the boat.” F.O.B. is pronounced as either an initialism (i.e., each letter pronounced individually) or an acronym (i.e., pronounced as a word). It is a common slang term used to brand and/or stereotype unassimilated Asian immigrants.
students “stupid” and “retarded” and counselors who discourage students from applying to college because of not being “college material.” Unfortunately, these representations are internalized by students and are detrimental to their self-esteem.

When I present to high school students, I always tell them my stories and struggles as a student. My parents gave up their education to help their parents in the farm and send their older siblings to school. My mom finished the sixth grade and my dad was short of one year from getting his high school diploma. When we first arrived in Hawai‘i, my mom commented, “Anakko (my child), take advantage of the opportunities; igaedyo ti agbasa ta dakayonto ti pannakamatami ta saankami a nakabasa (Study hard so you become our guide in the future.)” Those words of my mother really touched me and have become my inspiration in fulfilling my personal and academic goals, extending to my college education.

Undegraduate Years

I left high school relatively accomplished and with so much pride. I entered Leeward Community College (LCC) with the goal to be the first in my family to receive a bachelor’s degree. I attended school during the day and worked the graveyard shift at Zippy’s 6 Restaurant as a cook. This was my third job since coming to Hawai‘i. I had previously worked as a yardman and dishwasher. All these jobs were very labor-intensive but I sacrificed because to me, they were opportunities that would help me realize my goals. I found college to be very stimulating and challenging. In 1994, I received my Associate’s degree from LCC and transferred to UHM to get my bachelor’s degree. My commencement exercise was a special day because it was also Mother’s Day and I was the very first in my family to earn a bachelor’s degree. I dedicated my accomplishments to my mother and I know it was a priceless gift for her on that day.

6 A famous locally-owned and operated fast food on the island of Oahu and Maui.
Graduate School

Graduate school has provided me with research and professional development opportunities that include attending workshops, conferences, and working with federally funded grants that work with the minority students in Hawai‘i. In particular, my participation with the SHALL\textsuperscript{7} and GEAR UP\textsuperscript{8} projects gave me the opportunity to channel my previous experiences to empower minority students. In 2002, I single-handedly taught the first ever Ilokano course offered at a public school in the state of Hawai‘i, the research site of this project. Additionally, my community involvement with Sariling Gawa Youth Council, a non-profit organization, has been equally rewarding (see Luluquisen, Trinidad, & Ghosh, 2006 on their case study). Also, my work on translation and interpretation has given me the opportunity to assist my fellow Ilokanos in the legal, educational, and service-oriented environments. This is a personal mission, an extension of my role as translator/interpreter for my parents whether it is a medical appointment or a consultation with a professional. It is in this context that I rise to meet, boundless energy and hardwork in order to be able to provide their children with the greatest legacy: education. I feel like that I have been going to school forever, but the stimulation and knowledge that I have gained all these years are invaluable. I have been able to share the knowledge and skills that I have gained with my family, my students, and my community. Today, as my doctoral journey progresses, I would like to continue researching about my language, culture, and people. I would like their stories to be documented and published and this dissertation work is dedicated to accomplishing this goal.

\textsuperscript{7} Studies of Heritage and Academic Language and Literacies. Program funded by the Office of Office of Bilingual and Minority Affairs (OBEMLA) administered by Center for Second Language Research, Department of Second Language Studies at the the University of Hawai‘i. See Davis, Bazzi, Cho, Ishida, et al. (2005) for a background of the program.

\textsuperscript{8} Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness for Undergraduate Programs, is designed to increase the number of low-income students who are prepared to enter and succeed in college.
As a Language Teacher

In the last decade, I have dedicated myself to Ilokano language teaching in secondary and college contexts, and my previous personal and educational experiences are a reflection of my teaching practice. Teaching is my commitment and passion, and for Ilokano language teaching, a journey and a struggle. As an educator, one of the rewarding aspects of teaching is the rare opportunity for us to enter into our students’ lives through our formal and informal interactions with them. Students share the stories of their lives: divorce in the family, drug use, domestic violence, gang membership, and pregnancy are some of the examples. It is through these stories that we get to know them beyond their “student” identities.

My philosophy in teaching is primarily shaped by my ESL and foreign language teaching background and experiences as an immigrant student. I respect what my students bring in to my class and I don’t believe in power differentials in the classroom. I believe that students learn from teachers and vice versa. I like to empower students and give them the ownership of their work. An important component of my pedagogical practice is designing activities which centers the learner and allow for complex identity formation. For example, students investigate the immigration experiences of their ancestors through oral history. Likewise, whenever I give a talk to ESL high school students or youth in general, I always stress to them the importance of believing in themselves and unlocking their potentials to reach their goals. Furthermore, I stress the importance of knowing their culture and heritage.

Having been involved in GEAR UP, I have seen some administrators put down Ilokano as less academic compared to Japanese, French, or Spanish. This stereotypical attitude of administrators and counselors contribute to students’ overall rejection of their own language and culture.
My involvement with Sariling Gawa (Our Own Work) has allowed me to work with the Filipino youth in a community setting. The goal of Sariling Gawa is to empower students and providing them with leadership and mentorship. My work with SG was in different capacities: as a student leader, program member, and board member.

Today, teaching Ilokano is more than a job. It is a responsibility and a duty. It is my duty to myself and to my own people to teach them their language and culture. It is my duty to preserve, perpetuate, and advocate for Ilokano language and people. It is an everyday fight. Jose Rizal, the national hero of the Philippines said, “Ti tao a saan a makaammo a mangtaliaw ti naggapuanna, saan a makadanon iti papananna.” Indeed, a person must know his/her past in order to know where s/he is going, and as a language teacher, it is paramount that I do my share in propagating the Ilokano language.

All in all, this dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter 1, the introduction, lays out the background, context, and significance of this project; more importantly, it presents the positionality of the researcher as an “insider” researcher – an important intial step in the process of articulating the stories of the researcher and his informants. Chapter 2 presents an overview of Ilokano in Hawai‘i, a review of literature that examines the field of heritage language education with emphasis on Ilokano language learners, and a brief historical overview of language policies in the United States and in the Philippines. Chapter 3 explains the methodology employed in this study, using pakasaritaan or storytelling in the collection,
interpretation, and analysis of the data. Chapter 4 is the presentation and analysis of the findings - the students’ narratives that provides the characterization of each narrative and an initial analysis of their social biography and location as well as the tropes of their narrative experiences. Chapter 5 is the summary of findings which include the conclusion and recommendations.
CHAPTER 2

REPASO TI LITERATURA: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

“Because ammotayo nga ti nagkakauna ti Pilipino nga nga immay ditoy Hawai‘i ket dagiti Sakada so no ammonto dagiti sumaruno nga henerasion nga ti immuna a Pilipino ket Ilokano isu a datap a lagipenda ken..no awan dagiti sakada awanda koma met ditoy isu a datap nga ammoda ti agsao ti Ilokano.” (Because we know that the first Filipinos who came to Hawai‘i were the Sakadas so if the next generation knows about that they’re Ilokanos they need to remember and..if not for the Sakada they would not be here so they need to know how to speak Ilokano.) (Gundaway, 2011)

This chapter provides an overview of the language policies in the United States and in the Philippines. More specifically, this chapter examines the field of heritage language education in the United States and Hawai‘i. I begin with the review of the Ilokano language to signal its central role in this dissertation.

2.1. Ilokano: The Language of Diaspora

Ilokano is a Western Austronesian language spoken by about 9 million people in Northern Luzon, Philippines (Rubino, 2000). It is the third largest language in the Philippines, after Tagalog and Cebuano. It is also a member of the Cordillera family of Northern Philippine languages (McFarland, 1980). The National Statistics Office 2000 census put Ilokano native speakers to 7.7 million. In 1989, linguist Carl Rubino estimated Ilokano speakers at 9 million⁹.

During early Spanish contact, the Ilokano-speaking areas were confined to the provinces of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Abra, and La Union. Because of the adventurous spirit of the Ilokanos, they have immigrated in great numbers to Pangasinan, Zambales, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Cagayan, Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya, the so-called “Ilokannized” provinces aside

⁹ Data does not significantly account Ilokanos in other places including the diaspora.
from Mindoro and certain areas in Mindanao (Foronda, 1976; Rubino, 2000). They also moved to the island of Mindanao in the southern Philippines and to the state of Hawai‘i, bringing with them their language and culture. Bearing a stronger culture, they “Ilocanized” most of the places they chose to settle in” (Rambaud, 2008, p. 1). Ilokano is productively used in the written form especially in some magazines like Bannawag, Rimat, and Sirmata. In and outside of the Philippines, Internet websites and blogs have been created to promote the Ilokano language, culture, and literature, the first one of which is burnay.com, where the reading material of my master’s paper (Soria, 2000) was derived from. Such websites have become a venue for scholars and common folks to share and discuss issues pertaining to the language, culture, and literature.

The Filipino community has grown since their arrival to Hawai‘i 105 years ago making them the largest ethnic group in Hawai‘i (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Approximately one out of every four Hawai‘i residents is of Filipino ancestry, consisting of over a quarter million people. In the State of Hawai‘i, Ilokanos and those descended from this ethnolinguistic group comprise the majority of Filipino immigrants. This ethnolinguistic group, originating mostly from the Ilocos region in Northern Luzon in the Philippines, started to come in great numbers between 1916 and 1946, when the last group of seven thousand sakadas (contract laborers) arrived (Aquino, 2005). Recruited by the Hawai‘i Sugar Planters’ Association (HSPA) to work on the plantations in the early decades of the 20th century when sugar was “king” in Hawai‘i, the Ilokanos joined other Filipinos like the Visayans. Between 1916 and 1928, the four original Ilokano provinces (Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Abra, and La Union), collectively known as as “Ilokandia,” and Pangasinan, contributed 62% of the total number of 74,009 Filipinos who arrived in Hawai‘i (Aquino,
2000; Lasker, 1931). Today, the vast majority of Filipinos in Hawai‘i are of Ilokano ancestry, at least 85 percent.

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, Filipinos are now the number one ethnic minority group in Hawai‘i surpassing the Japanese. Filipinos make up 23% of the state’s population. On Oahu, the highest concentration is found in Lugar, Waipahu, Ewa Beach, and Wahiawa. About 36,595 Filipino students (21%) are enrolled in Hawai‘i’s public school system, in grades kindergarten through twelve. High schools with high percentages of Filipino students who are native speakers of a Philippine language enrolled in the second language program are Nakem (60%), Waipahu (63%), Lanai High and Elementary (57%), Campbell (44%), and Maui High (48%). Furthermore, a 2008 data from the Hawai‘i State Judiciary ranked Ilokano as the second highest-demand language in the state courts (Office of Language Access, 2009). The University's Ilokano Language and Literature Program, for the past 39 years, is the only one in the State of Hawai‘i and in the whole of the United States. As a full program that offers a Bachelor of Arts with a concentration in Ilokano, as well as a minor and a certificate, it is so unique that there is no other program in the world. Teaching the language has fully propelled documentation and conservation and other activities such as collaborative efforts in linguistic research, seminars and workshops on literary and cultural production, publications of textbooks and anthologies of Ilokano literature and international conferences on Ilokano literature and its intersections with national and global cultures. Prominent Ilokano writers such as Amado Yoro, Pacita Saludes, and the late Jeremias Calixto have written extensively, both in English and Ilokano, about the experiences of Ilokanos in Hawai‘i and in the diaspora. In his essay, *Kas Ilocos ti Hawai‘i*, Calixto (1986)
echoes the predominance of Ilokanos in Hawai‘i by saying, “Saanka a Filipino no saanka nga Ilokano” (You are not Filipino if you are not Ilokano).

In terms of scholarly work and other publications outside of the Philippines, linguist Carl Rubino has written extensive work on Ilokano grammar. Rubino’s (1997) dissertation on *Reference Grammar of Ilocano* from the University of California in Santa Barbara (UCSB) resulted in the publication of an Ilokano dictionary and phrasebook (Rubino, 1998; 2000). The recently published Ilokano contemporary dictionary of Agcaoili (2010) can now be added as a great resource. Similarly, the dissertation works of Clausen (1995) and Calinawagan (2008) have focused on Ilokano linguistics. A scholarly paper of Soria (2000) investigated the lexical inferencing procedures of Ilokano university students, through think-aloud. Soria’s (2000) study aimed at describing and understanding the different types of processing involved when foreign language learners infer the meaning of unknown words in a written text. Espiritu’s (1984; 2004) *Let’s Speak Ilokano and Intermediate Ilokano: An Integrated Language and Culture Text* have been used at UHM as the required textbooks in the teaching of beginning and intermediate levels, respectively. In the 70’s and 80’s, materials like the *Ilokano Language Resource Book for Teachers* were developed through the Hawai‘i Bilingual/Bicultural Education Project through funds provided under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965. The objectives of Bilingual/Bicultural Education are designed “to meet the educational needs of limited-English speaking children…by helping them fluent in English, by helping them appreciate their native heritage, and by increasing their progress in school through instruction in children’s native language” (Hawai‘i Department of Education, 1980, p. ii).
Books published by the *Gunglo Dagiti Mannurat nga Ilokano iti Hawai‘i* (GUMIL-Hawai‘i) and the *Timpuyog Dagiti Mannurat nga Ilokano-Global* (TMI-Global), both of which are association of Ilokano writers in Hawai‘i, are replete. These publications include anthologies, essays, poems, short stories, and dramas, which document the diasporic experiences and stories of Ilokanos are available at the UH system and public libraries in the state of Hawai‘i. Such dramas have been staged in the Lugar community as a fundraiser for the organization. These literary works are noteworthy to mention because they provide the Hawai‘i Ilokano experiences and stories that are useful in the analysis of this present work.

Local community newspapers like the Hawai‘i Filipino Chronicle, Fil-Am Courier, and the Filipino Observer feature Ilokano writings. *Bannawag*, dubbed as the Bible of the North, are available for purchase at local stores specializing in Philippine products and merchandise.

The Ilokano language can be heard on radio stations such as KNDI 1270 AM and KPHI 690 AM/101.5 FM on Oahu. In her master’s thesis, Perlas (1998) documented the role of Filipino radio programs in the Filipino community in Hawai‘i in terms of their significance in the representation of Filipinos as well as their community formation. Her study confirmed that these radio programs reflect an affirmation of an Ilokano immigrant identity. Mass services are also conducted in Ilokano where there is a high concentration of Ilokano parishioners such as in Lugar, Waipahu, and Wahiawa. The Ilokano language is also taught in adult education programs at selected schools throughout the State. Most notably, through a federally-funded grant, Ilokano is offered at two public high schools on Oahu, one in Honolulu district and the other in the Leeward district.

As a heritage/community language in Hawai‘i, very few research has been done to date. In 1999, for example, the Foreign Language Partnership Project (FLPP), funded by
the National Foreign Language Resource Center at UHM and carried out by the Center for Second Language Research Center (CSLR), involved a foreign language partnership in which high school heritage language speakers of Ilokano (and Samoan) tutored university students studying these languages (Burnett & Syed, 1999; Shonle & Thompson Rolland, 1999; Davis & Jasso-Aguilar, 1997). The result of this partnership project concluded that the student tutors’ language skills increased, in both their own language and English. In case of their native language, tutors developed metalinguistic awareness\(^\text{10}\), grammar rules, and the semantics of the language. In the case of English, they became more confident, acquired new vocabulary, and generally developed their fluency. Additionally, the birth of the NAKEM\(^\text{11}\) conference in 2006 gave way for the production and dissemination of researches focusing on the Ilokano language and Amianan (north) cultures. The 2006 conference, coinciding with the Centennial celebration of Filipino immigration to Hawai‘i, drew cultural workers, researchers, administrators, community members, and students came to dialogue and advocate for linguistic pluralism. Since then, four other conferences were held in the Philippines in 2007, 2008, 2010, and 2011. The 2009 conference was held at UHM. The NAKEM conferences have published three proceedings on selected conference papers (Agcaoili & Liongson, 2007; Agcaoili, Clausen, Espiritu, & Liongson, 2006; Agcaoili, 2008, 2009). These proceedings are ground-breaking on the scholarly and research work on Ilokano and Amianan studies.

\(^{10}\)“As students become more aware of the totality of language and its varying human characteristics and meaning-making uses, they will attain *metalinguistic awareness*, and they will, consequently, be more sensitive to and competent in using language confidently, deliberately, and intentionally” (Andrews, 1998, p. 8).

\(^{11}\)This Ilokano term means “consciousness.”
2.1. Language Policies in the Philippines Affecting Immigration

The Philippines is a multilingual nation with more than 170 languages (Nolasco, 2008). Table 2.1 below represents the major languages and number of native speakers based on the 2000 Philippines census.

**Table 2.1: Major languages of the Philippines and number of native speakers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number of Native Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>21.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cebuano</td>
<td>18.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ilokano</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.7 million</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiligaynon</td>
<td>6.9 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicol</td>
<td>4.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waray</td>
<td>3.1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapampangan</td>
<td>2.3 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangasinan</td>
<td>1.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinaray-a</td>
<td>1.3 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tausug</td>
<td>1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meranao</td>
<td>1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maguindanao</td>
<td>1 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As stated in Article XIV of the 1987 Philippine Constitution,

> The national language of the Philippines is Filipino. As it evolves, it shall be further developed and enriched on the basis of existing Philippine and other languages. Subject to provisions of law and as the Congress may deem appropriate, the Government shall take steps to initiate and sustain the use of Filipino as a medium of official communication and as language of instruction in the educational system. For purposes of communication and instruction, the official languages of the Philippines are **Filipino**, and, until otherwise provided by law, **English**.

The history of Tagalog/Pilipino/Filipino is best captured by Rambaud (2008) in a paper he presented on the marginalization of the Ilokano language.

Mainly based on Tagalog, the primary language of Manila, the nation’s capital, the proposed common language called Pilipino (in 1959) then later Filipino (in 1973) was instituted by the government not only as a separate subject to be taught in schools but also a medium of instruction which slowly flourished to the different parts of the country. The popularization of the common language, however, created controversies since Tagalog is not the majority language in the country and English, a foreign language, remained as the major means of communication in business, higher education, and technology. The promotion of the common language and of English language resulted in the marginalization and, to some extent, helped hasten the extinction of other languages especially those of the small ethnic groups. There are a few ethno-linguistic groups, however, among them the Ilokanos, who pursued...
vigorous efforts to promote and preserve their language not only in their original place but also in other areas where they migrated. The Visayans vehemently fought against the implementation of Tagalog as “the basis of a national language,” the reason being their language was the more dominant language as far as the number of native speakers is concerned.

Tagalog was renamed Filipino to make it appear as the “national language” or the “language of the whole Filipino nation.” The fact, however, remained that the Filipino language is the same as the Tagalog language. As a result, students in the Ilokano and Visayan-speaking provinces, on the other hand, were encouraged, coerced, and forced to speak and write fluent Tagalog and English (DILA, 2007; Nolasco, Datar, & Azurin, 2010).

In some schools, students were fined if they were caught speaking in their mother tongue. Clearly, the current set up relegates the many other native languages as second-class languages.

Locally, the UHM Filipino and Literature Program has made a bold move in changing its course offerings from Tagalog to Filipino, while their UC-system counterparts in the mainland stayed with Tagalog. Consequently, Filipino students wishing to register for a Tagalog or Ilokano class are led to believe that Filipino is the course to take, lumping these two courses together.

Recently, the new policy on mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) is an important step in the restoration of one’s right to learn in one’s language, as stated in the Philippine Department of Education Order No. 74 issued in 2009. This policy superseded the Bilingual Education Policy set by Department of Education and Culture (DEC) Order No. 25 issued in 1973, which mandated English and Filipino as the only languages of instruction nationwide. This policy will also pave the way for eradication of the fear of school among young learners, which is triggered by the sudden exposure to a language alien to them. Using the language the child/student understands not only affirms
the value of the child and his/her cultural heritage but also enables the child to immediately master the lessons while facilitating the acquisition of Filipino and English (Cummins, 1981; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; Thomas & Collier, 1997). At present, 104 schools are implementing MTB-MLE in the country’s 16 regions. Eight major languages as mother tongue are used for instruction which include Tagalog, Ilokano, Pangasinense, Kapampangan, Bikolano, Waray, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon (Tubeza, 2010).

2.2. Overview of Language Policies in the U.S.

Language diversity has always been part of the demographic landscape of the United States (Wiley & Wright, 2004). Since the very beginning, people from around the world have immigrated to the United States in hopes of creating a better life for themselves and their families. The prevailing language ideology in the United States not only positions English as the dominant language, but also presumes universal English monolingualism to be natural and ideal condition (Wiley, 1999). This ideology sees language diversity as a problem that is largely a consequence of immigration. As early as 1906, Congress passed a measure requiring anyone seeking American citizenship to be able to speak English (Crawford, 1992, p. 55). During the 1920s, “English only” advocates linked the continued use of a foreign language with substandard intelligence and an answer to the cause of mental retardation in immigrant children (Portes & Hao, 1998; Schmid, 2000). With the passing of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, the U.S. government first endorsed bilingual education as a means of assisting minority language children attain equality of educational opportunity. Federal funds became available to any school district that applied to implement instructional programs using the students’ mother tongue. Although only for transitional purposes, that is,
until the student became proficient in English, bilingual education for immigrants has spread throughout the United States. This growth has also been supported by the Supreme Court’s decision in the *Lau vs. Nichols* case in 1974 wherein a child of a Chinese family was denied access to equal educational opportunity because he was not proficient in English. The 1980 reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act included funding for not only transitional programs, but also structured immersion and dual-language programs (Garcia, 1997).

The English-Only movement continued to receive huge amount of national attention from the mid-1980s onward, tried to have English declared the official language of the country and eliminate bilingual programs and services. The campaign resulted in the adoption of English-Only measures by a number of states, and continues today in the form of state initiatives aimed at ending bilingual education. In June 1998, Proposition 227 was approved, requiring that “all children in California public schools shall be taught English by being taught in English” (Schmid, 2000, p. 73).

The legislation of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in 2001 has exacerbated already inadequate education conditions for many minority students in the United States, including Hawai‘i (Crawford, 2004). The NCLB is a federal law requiring elementary and secondary schools to demonstrate proficiency and progress according to accountability standards set by the state and approved by the U.S. Department of Education. The law requires states to implement an accountability system and report on performance measures related to Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) in math and reading, participation and proficiency, graduation/retention rates, as well as other educational indicators, such as teacher qualification. While NCLB was lauded for helping to narrow the so-called "achievement gap" between average- and low-performing students, it was faulted for labeling entire schools
as failing even when only a small subset of students struggled. In the 2009 Hawai‘i State Assessment test, only 97 of Hawai‘i's 284 schools made "adequate yearly progress.” Sixty five percent of students across all grade levels were ranked proficient in reading (up from 62 percent in 2008), while math scores continued to trail reading, with just 44 percent proficient in math (up from 42 percent in 2008).

2.3. Heritage Language Education Discourse in the U.S.

In the United States, the term heritage language has recently come to be used broadly by those concerned about the study, maintenance, and revitalization of non-English languages in the United States. The term heritage language encompasses a huge, heterogeneous population with varying historical and cultural backgrounds.

Heritage language instruction historically has been handled in three ways. One long-standing tradition has been for members of the heritage language community to teach the language on weekends or after school. The other is for the language to be taught in school districts by teachers either during school or as a part of the regular curriculum, or after school. This is done through community-based programs, also known as Saturday Schools, focus on maintaining the HL and culture among the youth of the community. The other method is through dual immersion where monolingual and HL students are placed together in the class and instruction is offered in both languages. This type of program allows monolingual students to learn a second language while the HL students are able to further develop skills in their language (Valdes, 1997).

Until early 1990s, most discussion about heritage language learning in the United States focused on Spanish (Roca & Colombi, 2003; Valdes, Fishman, Chavez, & Perez,
Valdes et al. (2006) study documented the ongoing language shift to English by Latino professionals in California. This study underscored the importance of the maintenance and retention of Spanish among high school and college heritage learners. But over the last decade and a half, that focus has shifted and activities to promote heritage learning in other languages (i.e., Japanese, Korean, Russian, Chinese) have proliferated. It has now become a legitimate subdiscipline within the field of foreign language education (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). It is important to point out that within the foreign language teaching profession, the use of the term “heritage speaker” is relatively new. Its use was generalized for the first time in the Standards for Foreign Language Learning (ACTFL, 1996). Up until that time, Spanish instructors were the only members of foreign language teaching profession who had worked with large numbers of students who already understood and spoke the language that they taught. In an attempt to differentiate between this new group of foreign language students and traditional students, the Spanish teaching profession referred to these students as native speakers of Spanish, as quasi-native speakers of Spanish, or as bilingual students. A dissatisfaction with these terms led to increased use of other terms such as home background speakers (as used in Australia) and heritage language speakers (as used in Canada). Members of the profession in the United States are currently engaged in examining the use of the term heritage language as they research the various types of students who have family background in which a non-English language is/was spoken. Similarly, many researchers and practitioners are also engaged in exploring ways to expand approaches, methods, and alter course sequences to meet the diverse needs of the different students (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007; Kagan & Dillon, 2008).
In 1999 and 2002, the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) and the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) hosted “Heritage Languages in America” conferences, which drew a large number of language teaching professionals outside of Spanish, resulted in the formation of the Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages, and fostered the publication of a number of works directed at the issue of heritage language learning. Additionally, The Heritage Language Journal, an online journal hosted by the UCLA Language Resource Center, began publication in Spring 2003. The journal is dedicated to the teaching and learning of heritage languages.

2.3.1. Definitions of HL

Despite the fact that the terms heritage language, heritage language speaker, and heritage language learner are gaining currency, the “heritage language” concept remains ill defined and is sensitive to a variety of interpretations within social, political, regional, and national contexts. Furthermore, the connotations vary depending on disciplinary perspectives. Because of this broad-brush use of heritage languages in the United States, Baker and Jones (1998) have cautioned that

The danger of the term “heritage language” is that, relative to powerful majority languages, it points more to the past and less to the future, to traditions rather than to the contemporary. The danger is that the heritage language becomes associated with ancient cultures, past traditions and more “primitive times.” This is also true of the terms “ethnic” and “ancestral.” These terms may fail to give the impression of a modern, international language that is of value in a technological society. (p. 509)

Finally, defining HLL is also a prerequisite to developing a theory of heritage language learning. The development of such a theory hinges on our ability to make explicit the traits that differentiate heritage language learners from second and first language learners (Lynch, 2003). In terms of definition, two have predominated. Fishman’s (2000; 2001)
definition presents a sociolinguistic definition, while Valdes (2001) promotes a more pedagogical view.

Broadly speaking, HL refers to any ancestral language such as indigenous, colonial, and immigrant languages, and therefore, it may or may not be a language regularly used in the home and the community (Fishman, 2001). However, each of the categories in Fishman’s (2001) definition is characterized by different historical, social, linguistic, and demographic realities. For example, indigenous languages differ dramatically from immigrant languages such as Spanish and Korean with respect to absolute numbers of native speakers of the HL, the proficiency levels of such speakers, and variety of social networks in which the languages are used. For example, although Korean and Spanish are both immigrant languages in the United States, the community profiles of these two languages differ significantly with regard to literacy, educational attainment, and other sociolinguistic variables (Fishman, 2001).

Fishman’s (2000; 2001) definition comes from the perspective of language revitalization efforts, in which identity and affiliation are as important as proficiency. For individuals interested in the strengthening of endangered indigenous languages or the maintenance of immigrant languages that are not normally taught in school, the term heritage language refers to a language with which individuals have a personal historical connection (Fishman, 2000). It is the historical and personal connection to the language that is salient and not the actual proficiency of individual students. Armenian, for example, would be considered a heritage language for American students of Armenian ancestry even if such students were themselves English-speaking monolinguals (Valdes, Fishman, Chavez, & Perez, 2006). In terms of strengthening and preserving Armenian in this country, such
heritage students would be seen as having an important personal connection with the language and an investment (Norton, 2000) in maintaining the language for future generations. Wiley (2001) explains the importance of defining the heritage language learners to language revitalization efforts:

The labels and definitions that we apply to heritage language learners are important, because they help to shape the status of the learners and the languages they are learning. Deciding on what types of learners should be included under the heritage language label raises a number of issues related to identity and inclusion and exclusion….In revitalization efforts, ethnolinguistic affiliation is important: Some learners, with a desire to establish a connection with a past language, might not be speakers of that language yet. (p. 35)

From the standpoint of language assessment and education placement, language proficiency is also being used to define heritage language learners. From a pedagogical perspective, Valdes (2001) has offered an operational/program-level definition of a heritage speaker as being “student who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken by one who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language” (p. 1). This definition is more restrictive in that it assumes significant exposure to the language and some level of proficiency in it. Similarly, from the perspective of HL researchers in the U.S., a critical determiner in differentiating HL learners from foreign language learners seems to be that the former have acquired a language at home, and the latter have not. The student may speak or merely understand the heritage language and be to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language. Moreover, the term also refers to “a group of young people who are different in important ways from English-speaking monolingual students who have traditionally undertaken the study of foreign languages in American schools and colleges” (Valdes, 2001). This difference has to do with actually developed functional proficiencies in the heritage languages. This
pedagogical definition of HL shows that there is a wide range of language proficiency among HL students. They may be monolingual English speakers with rudimentary knowledge and ability in the home/heritage language and culture; they may also be monolingual HL speakers with little or no skills in English; most of them within our school systems probably fall somewhere along the continuum of language abilities. In the realm of education, the labels and definitions that teachers and administrators apply to heritage language learner (HLL) undergird decisions about course and program design, materials selection, placement and assessment of students, and teacher training.

Hornberger and Wang (2008) “believe that there is no one profile of HL learners because they differ from context to context, individual to individual, language to language, and group to group” (p. 5). Their definition of HL learners in the United States context is “heritage language learners are individuals who have familial or ancestral ties to a particular language that is not English and who exert their agency in determining whether or not they are HL learners of that heritage language and heritage culture” (p. 6). They also make a distinction between a heritage language speaker and a heritage language learner. Heritage language learner may not be heritage language speakers. On the other hand, heritage language speakers may become heritage language learners.

2.3.2. The “Language-As-Resource” Discourse of HL Education

The value of promoting heritage languages is often argued from a “language-as-resource” perspective (Ruiz, 1984). The language as resource ideology is considered to “have a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages, [as] it can help to ease tensions between majority and minority communities, [and] it can serve as a more consistent way of viewing the importance of cooperative language planning” (Ruiz,
This philosophy supports current education research which suggests that language programs that acknowledge and honor students’ home languages and cultures influence increased academic success (Delpit, 1988; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; Osborne, 1996).

Today, heritage language programs focusing on a number of different languages can be found, both in formal education and community initiatives, across the United States (e.g., Ingold, Rivers, Tesser, & Ashby, 2002; Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001), which have great potential for improving the education of language minority students. Increased government interest in so-called “critical” languages – those spoken by nation-states that have socio-political instability including having terrorists in their population - has the potential to focus even more attention on heritage languages – particularly some less commonly taught languages. Heritage language courses are “foreign language” classes designated for students for whom the language is not foreign – those who are at least partially orally proficient in their family’s heritage language (Matthews, 2004). Such classes generally use different materials and have different foci than traditional foreign language courses. For instance, rather than targeting oral proficiency, they may provide focused instruction in reading, writing, and standard grammar and vocabulary, and they often involve in-depth study of culture, literature, and history of the language group. By fostering connections between school, home, and community through culturally relevant curricula, heritage language courses can provide an excellent venue for developing the intracultural social networks that have been shown to promote achievement among language minority students (Cummins, 1989; Valenzuela, 1999). Additionally, HL courses may directly impact student achievement through their bilingual context. Research makes clear that language
minority students whose education is carried out at least partly in their first language (L1) outperform similar students whose education is conducted entirely in English (Krashen, 1982; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002; Castellano, 2002). Thomas and Collier (1997) studied the language acquisition of 700,000 English language learners in a longitudinal study from 1982 to 1996. They wanted to find out how long it took students with no background in English to reach native speaker performance (50th percentile) on norm-referenced tests. In addition, they looked at variables such as socioeconomic status, first language, programs used to learn English, and number of years of primary language schooling. Their study found that the most significant variable in how long it takes to learn English is the amount of formal schooling students have received in their first language.

2.3.3. Studies on Heritage Language Education in the U.S.

As noted before, heritage language programs focusing on a number of different languages can be found, both in formal education and community initiatives, across the United States (e.g., Kagan & Dillon, 2008; Ingold, Rivers, Tesser, & Ashby, 2002; Peyton et al., 2001), which have great potential for improving the education of language minority students. The Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages (www.cal.org/heritage/) has taken the lead in collecting information on heritage language programs in community-based and K-12 settings in the United States. Likewise, several doctoral dissertations have focused on community and classroom-based research studies (Bain, 2004; Chinen, 2004; Dominguez-Deleon, 2004). Until early 1990s, most discussion about heritage language learning in the United States focused on Spanish (Roca & Colombi, 2003; Valdes, Fishman, Chavez, & Perez, 2006), but over the last decade and a half, this focus has shifted and activities to promote heritage learning in other languages (i.e., Japanese, Korean, Russian,
Chinese) have proliferated. For example, Valdes et al. (2006) surveyed the language use of Latino professionals in California and their recommendations for the teaching of Spanish as a heritage language. The suggestions made by these professionals concentrated almost exclusively on Spanish language maintenance (i.e., teaching medical and business terms in Spanish). This particular study underscored the potential contribution of educational institutions to the maintenance and retention of heritage languages. For example, in her study of American-born Asian-American adults, Tse (1997) attempts to explain the relationships among ethnic identity, attitudes and motivation, and HL development. Tse concluded that language acquisition is facilitated when an individual has positive attitudes toward the language and feels positively about his/her ethnic group.

The more recent studies have focused on the developmental language of HLs to include pronunciation, grammar, lexicon, listening, reading, writing, narrative skills, comprehension, and register. Almost in all cases, research is carried out in comparison with either monolingual speakers or foreign language learners. For example, Roca and Colombi (2003) have addressed the areas of register and genre in Spanish heritage language use. Their work indicate that Spanish HL learners need to make adjustments in their speech as they move from the informal settings to formal settings or to written communication such as oral presentations in academic settings and writing assignments. Friedman and Kagan (2008) compared the use of relative clauses and temporal cohesion in the written discourse of Russian heritage speakers, educated Russian speakers, and advanced foreign language learners. Their analysis showed that heritage learners are situated between educated native speakers and advanced foreign language learners on the literacy continuum.
Kondo-Brown and Brown’s (2008) publication provided a collection of theoretical and practical papers about HL curriculum design, learner needs, materials development, and assessment procedures targeting heritage speakers of East Asian languages. It is important to note that the studies collected in this publication were largely based on data collected from college level HL classes or weekend HL programs that are not part of the K-12 public school setting. In Hawai‘i, Kondo-Brown (2003; 2005; 2009) has conducted empirical studies on the language proficiency of East Asian heritage learners in the university (post secondary) level, with a primary focus on Japanese HLs. Using both proficiency tests and self-assessment measures, Kondo-Brown (2005) investigated (a) whether Japanese heritage learners (JHL) would demonstrate language behaviors distinctively different from those of traditional Japanese as a foreign language learners (JFL), and (b) which domains of language use and skills would specifically identify such differentiation. Kondo-Brown’s findings suggest that there were striking similarities between the JFL learner group and JHL students with at least one Japanese-speaking grandparent but without a Japanese-speaking parent and JHL students of Japanese descent without either a Japanese-speaking parent or grandparent. In contrast, JHL students with at least one Japanese-speaking parent proved to be substantially different from other groups in (a) grammatical knowledge, (b) listening and reading skills, (c) self-assessed use/choice of Japanese, and (d) self-ratings of a number of can-do tasks that represented a wide range of abilities. Likewise, Davis, Bazzi, Cho, Ishida, and Soria (2005) report on the Studies of Heritage and Academic Languages and Literacies (SHALL), critical participatory project in which teachers, students, parents, community members, and university researchers collectively assume responsibility for transforming educational practices and attitudes within a predominately Filipino, Samoan, and Hawaiian
community and high school. Through drawing on community language and culture capital, students began to value bilingualism as a resource rather than consider it as a problem. All in all, this project discovered that “it is possible to promote the classroom as a site of relevance and interest; challenge dehumanizing school actions; and provide opportunities for students to explore identity and explore power” (p. 208).

2.4. An overview of language/educational policies in Hawai‘i

Despite the multiethnic population in the state of Hawai‘i, education is characterized as monolingual and monocultural (Haas, 1992), and follows the tradition of education in the U.S. which tends to be Euro-centric and caters to the mainstream, White middle-class population (Nieto, 1992). The DOE’s repression or neglect of multilingualism in Hawai‘i has been exacerbated by increased use of standardized tests as a result of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation. Hawai‘i joins the nation in attempting to set high expectations for all students by transforming schools to a standards-based education culture. The Board of Education’s vision for the public school system is captured in a quote from the Hawai‘i DOE website:

The vision guiding public schools holds high expectations of what students should know, be able to do and care about doing; focuses attention, effort and resources on promoting student learning; and holds each school accountable for meeting high levels of performance…We view the new No Child Left Behind federal law as an opportunity to further support our vision and goals. We have revisited all initiatives aimed at improving student achievement to ensure compliance with the No Child Left Behind requirements. (http://doe.k12.hi.us/about/intro_vision.htm)

It is assumed that raising the bar on students’ achievement in Hawai‘i will pressure schools into providing rigorous and challenging curriculum and instruction to all students, with special emphasis on the diverse learner. However, these standardized tests fail to consider
specific curricular needs in particular educational contexts serving diverse student populations. This climate of high-stakes testing, decontextualized literacy instruction, and reduced academic expectations for many public schools in Hawai‘i calls for alternative curricula geared to the unique and diverse needs of multi-ethnic student population.

2.4.1. *Ilokano and World Languages in Hawai‘i-DOE*

World Languages focuses on the teaching and learning of other languages and cultures (Office of Curriculum, Instruction, and Student Support, 2011). World Languages is identified as one of the nine content areas of the Hawai‘i Content and Performance Standards (HCPS). Many of the languages taught within Hawai‘i schools are not “foreign” to many of the students, and these languages are not limited to Asian, European, and Pacific Languages. The World Languages Program provides learning experiences for all students to enable them to meet the five World Languages standards of the HCPS. All high schools must offer at least a two-year sequence of one or more languages in order to be sure that students have sufficient opportunities to meet graduation requirement, should they choose the option of completing two credits of World Languages to meet the Board of Education (BOE) diploma graduation requirements.

The World Languages high school program consists of up to five levels of instruction in 12 languages. All high schools and some middle and intermediate schools select their course offerings from the following descriptions: Chinese, Filipino (Tagalog), French, German, Hawaiian, Ilokano, Japanese, Korean, Latin, Russian, Samoan, and Spanish.

In reviewing the *Authorized Courses and Code Numbers Catalog 2006-2010*, published by the Office of Curriculum, Instruction and Student Support, Ilokano is categorized as “specialized elective” course. Specialized electives are specialty courses within the various
content areas which are not specifically required and which students elect to take. These courses may fulfill the elective credit graduation requirement. They may also fulfill the two-credit Career and Technical Education (CTE), World Languages, or Fine Arts graduation requirement.

2.5. Overview of the Ilokano HL Curriculum\textsuperscript{12}

The goals of GEAR UP HL courses are identified in the following three components: the language acquisition component, the cultural component, and the literacy component (see Table 2.2). The curricula for the courses are developed to nurture bilingual skills, develop positive sense of identity, and literacy and academic skills, so that they can serve the needs of the students and can be used in professional life. The table below will explicate the goals under each component.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.2. Ilokano Heritage Language Curriculum Goals: Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goals (including Standards for World Languages</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language Acquisition Component</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To maintain and develop their heritage/home language and use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it as resource, with the goal that students will use the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cognitive and academic skills they acquire to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>complement their learning in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approach/Rationale/Theory for the Component</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Compartmentalization of two languages and celebration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of hybridity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Language socialization (LS) in the “community of practice”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— the classroom is the locus of LS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Student as ethnographer approach (linguistic level,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metalinguistic awareness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Whole language acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Content-based teaching that considers socio-cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>realities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Help students develop real world language skills, by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teaching language that has practical value to students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Language that ties to cultural aspect of course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Motivate students by serving immediate language needs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{12} The HL curriculum was co-developed by the researcher together with Jacinta Galeia, Sarah Toohey, Thuy Da Lam, and Midori Ishida, and has been refined by the researcher throughout the years.
Unlike many traditional approaches to language teaching that rely heavily on grammatical forms and a cycle of activities that involves presentation of new language items, the Ilokano (and Samoan) heritage language curriculum creates opportunities for language learning through content- and processed-based instruction. A focus on content provides valuable real-world knowledge and provides the basis for a meaning-based pedagogy that goes beyond a focus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Component</th>
<th>Literacy Component</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To develop a positive identity and pride in one's cultural background by drawing on community “funds of knowledge” (Moll, 1994)</td>
<td>To critically analyze the encoded meanings of dominant discursive practices and acknowledge the value of multiple home and school language/literacy abilities by creating a third space for this form of exploration.— enable students to become agents of change in their community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| • Exploring for “third places”  
• Contexts and identities are multiple and varied  
• Developing own “community of practice” at home and in the community  
• Student as ethnographer approach (intercultural competence—Developing meta-cognitive awareness)  
• Funds of knowledge—family/community as resource (use of guest speakers)— foster community involvement in and out of the classroom to promote academic success/provide program that mirrors community goals  
• Provide a content and context-based syllabus (culture as content)  
• Deeper level than “traditional” course— avoid superficial knowledge and create more contextualized view of and culture  
• Students can question/engage in dialogue with teacher about concepts  
• Teacher as cultural expert | • Multiple discourses  
• Zone language of Proximal Development (ZPD)  
• Language and literacy development as social endeavors/situated learning  
• Process approach to learning  
• Focus on academic literacy skills in heritage language, that will also be used in literacy in English |
on studying language divorced from the context of its use (Richards & Renandya, 2002).

Brinton, Snow, and Wesche (1989) offer the following rationale for implementing content-based instruction in the foreign language context. The content-based curriculum:

- removes the arbitrary distinction between language and content;
- reflects the interests and needs of the learners;
- takes into account the eventual uses the learners will make of the second or foreign language;
- exposes the learner to authentic materials and tasks;
- offers optimal conditions for second language acquisition by exposing learners to meaningful, cognitively demanding language; and
- provides pedagogical accommodation to learner proficiency levels and skills

Likewise, the process-oriented approach utilized in the HL classes focuses on strategies, learning processes, study skills and other mechanisms that enhance learners’ ability to teach themselves outside the context of the classroom (Churchill, unpublished manuscript, as cited in Soria, 2000).

The Ilokano heritage language Year One curriculum is made up of eight content topics. The first four units are covered in the first two terms of the semester (nine weeks) and the last four units are presented during the last nine weeks. Table 2.3 below summarizes the topics, goals, and student end products in the Ilokano heritage language course.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>End Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Language and Me</td>
<td>Introductory unit; Language and Identity; Bilingualism</td>
<td>Language tree; language coat-of-arms; peer interview report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. History of Country and Language</td>
<td>Brief introduction of the home country and the target language, serving as base for future units (e.g., Family History and Connections)</td>
<td>Diorama; historical timeline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Family History</td>
<td>Discovering ethnic origin and immigration history; notion of diaspora</td>
<td>Family tree; family album; family interview report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Community Values</td>
<td>Exploring individual and community (society/institution) values</td>
<td>Community values collage; community member interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Cultural Practices</td>
<td>Cultural forms (traditional, local, and hybrid) maintained by the community. Serves as base for more complicated cultural notions.</td>
<td>Mini-research projects on topics such as traditional use of herbs for medicinal purposes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Connections</td>
<td>Links present hybrid community culture to past and present</td>
<td>Mapping the past, present, and future; autobiography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Newsletter</td>
<td>Venue to literary writing; introduction to literary genres; production of class newsletter</td>
<td>Class newsletter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Classroom Drama</td>
<td>Drama is used as a vehicle for achieving competence in foreign language</td>
<td>Drama production (drama, song, and dance combined into one production)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have situated Ilokano within the discourse of language policy in the Philippines and the United States. I highlighted the positioning of Ilokano as a heritage and community language in the diaspora, focusing on Hawai‘i and provided an overview of the Ilokano HL curriculum at NHS. Establishing the “situatedness” of Ilokano is an important step in understanding why the methodology of pakasaritaan is utilized in this study. The discussion of pakasaritaan as a methodology and how this was actually realized at Nakem High Schol is the topic of Chapter 3.
Today I subbed for Ms. Linglingay for Periods 2, 3, and 4. I like it because it allows me to really do a participant observation. For my study, I interviewed three students: 1 from Period 3 and 2 from Period 4. During Period 3, Nicole is really engrossed listening to her Ipod while doing her work. I helped her translate her cooking procedures for her cooking presentation due tomorrow, 5/11. Two students that I interviewed are in Period 4: Wesley and Nikki. Wesley and Nikki are really close to each other. They almost act like boyfriend and girlfriend. Wesley is a freshman and Nikki is a junior. Similar to Period 3, the students were working on their cooking projects. I helped Nikki translate part of her presentation text. Wesley was cutting the photos of their ingredients. I was talking to him while he was cutting those photos. He inadvertently cut one of the photos across so he had to tape it. He was telling me that he had a fight with his girlfriend earlier today. Apparently, he saw her get in a car with her ex-boyfriend by KFC. Her ex is a senior at NHS. He admitted that he is jealous. He confronted her today during Period 1. She had texted him that she wanted to talk to him after school today, but he’s not sure if he would like to. After that, I asked him to practice his part so I can correct him. I was giving him hints how to pronounce his words better. He made a comment today that a noise I made: “hmmmmmpp” is also something that he hears from his grandparents/parents at home and told him what it means. Wesley has that playful side of him but he seemed to be well liked by everyone in his class. One can tell that he is a freshman just because that way he acts sometimes. (Field notes, May 10, 2011, Ilokano classroom, NHS)

This chapter provides a methodological overview of pakasaritaan as a framework used for the present study. Situated within the tradition of ethnography, pakasaritaan moves beyond description to engagement and validation of stories and experiences that opens up the possibility of intervention and the sense of “healing” in the discourse of saritaan. First, I provided a brief theoretical and methodological overview of critical ethnography (CE) to establish its link to pakasaritaan, followed by a discussion of indigenous methodology of storymaking as contextualized in the native Hawaiian, Samoan, and Philippine perspectives, zeroing in on the Ilokano pakasaritaan. The seed of the “critical” and the “indigenous” create the theoretical and methodological enterprise of pakasaritaan. After establishing the
framework of pakasaritaan, I provide a detailed discussion of how this was actually realized at Nakem High School in terms of data collection and analysis. Finally, this chapter provides an overview of the pilot study that I conducted in 2007, that served in part, as an inspiration to this bigger study, as well as the description of the community where this study was conducted.

3.1. Pakasaritaan as an outgrowth of critical ethnography

Critical ethnography, like other forms of critical qualitative research, is interested in power and social justice, and how race, class, gender, ideologies, discourses, and social institutions such as education plays a role in the construction of a social system (Madison, 2005; Thomas, 1993). Locating ethnography within a critical theoretical framework allows human experience to be situated such that social structures mediating and constraining human experience can be implicated in analysis (Anderson, 1989; Carspecken & Walford, 2001). According to Kinchloe and McLaren (2000), critical ethnography is critical theory in action. Thomas (1993) underscores their point and describes the approach of critical theory and the aim of critical ethnography:

The roots of critical thought spread from a long tradition of intellectual rebellion in which rigorous examination of ideas and discourse constituted political challenge. Social critique, by definition, is radical. It implies an evaluative judgment of meaning and method in research, policy, and human activity. Critical thinking implies freedom by recognizing that social existence, including our knowledge of it, is not simply composed of givens imposed on us by powerful and mysterious forces. This recognition leads to the possibility of transcending existing forces. The act of critique implies that by thinking about and acting upon the world, we are able to change both our subjective interpretations and objective conditions. (p. 18)

Critical hermeneutics both grounds and provides a theoretical rationale for a CE methodology (Talmy, 2005). Critical hermeneutics “holds that in qualitative research there is
only interpretation, no matter how vociferously many researchers may argue that the fact speak for themselves” (Kinchloe & McLaren, 2000, p. 285). This foregrounds Simon and Dippo’s (1986) contention that “ethnographic data is ‘produced’ and not ‘found’” (p. 200) and signals why for them one of the three defining criteria¹³ for a CE is reflexivity: the historical and cultural situatedness of the researcher, the interpreter, is central to critical ethnography, and it must be recognized and included in analysis. In this study, my historical and cultural situatedness as the researcher became transparent in Chapter 1 to signal my accountability to this project.

3.2. Indigenous Storytelling

Storytelling and oral histories are an integral part of indigenous research (Smith, 1999). These stories are not told only for the purpose of telling a tale, but rather as a means of contributing to a collective story in which every indigenous person has a place. Smith (1999) notes,

> For many indigenous writers stories are always ways of passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that the new generations will treasure them and pass the story down further. The story and the storyteller both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people with the story…Intrinsic in story telling is a focus on dialogue and conversations amongst ourselves and indigenous peoples, to ourselves and for ourselves. (pp. 144-145)

Generally speaking, the work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith has been the most influential and most cited work in terms of adopting decolonized indigenous epistemologies. In her work, Smith challenges the dominant western “frameworks of knowledge.” She argues that from the

¹³ In Simon and Dippo’s (1986) article, they discussed three fundamental conditions for ethnographic work. The other two include (a) a particular “problematic” that defines data and analytic procedures in a way consistent with one’s pedagogical/political project; and (2) the engagement of such work within a public sphere that allows it to become a starting point for social critique and transformation (p. 195).
vantage point of the colonized, the term “research” is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism.

Research in itself is a powerful intervention, even if carried out at a distance, which has traditionally benefited the researcher, and the knowledge base of the dominant group in society…Research is implicated in the production of Western knowledge, in the nature of academic work, in the production of theories which have dehumanized Maori [and other Indigenous people] and in practices which have continued to privileged Western ways of knowing while denying the validity for Maori of Maori knowledge, language and culture. (Smith, 1999, p. 183).

By looking at the case of the Maori and their contact with the British, she forcefully argues that all accounts are seen through imperial eyes and that the “master narrative” is therefore established from their [British] perspective. The alternative, according to her, is to address social issues of indigenous peoples within the wider framework of self-determination, decolonization, and social justice. It is about centering indigenous concerns and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from indigenous perspectives and for indigenous purposes. Also, in her work, Smith (1999) has cited the oral history work of Stuart Rintoul with the Aboriginals in Australia. Referencing his book entitled, *The Wailing: A National Black Oral History*, Rintoul (1993), as cited in Smith (1999), writes that these aboriginal stories are “memories of injustice” (p. 144), for they represented the pain, oppression, and struggle of these people. The silencing and marginalization of the Ilokano language and people, brought about by the masquerading of Filipino as the national language of the Philippines – subsuming all perspectives - does not account for the diversity of languages and dialects of the Philippines. Pakasaritaan accounts for the Ilokano local knowledge and experience, facilitates dialogue, and involves the community.

Inspired by Smith’s research and other indigenous researchers, the pakasaritaan framework in my study affirms the validity of Ilokano knowledge, language, and culture.
There are strong parallels that can be drawn from the experiences of the Ilokano people with the experiences of other groups from indigenous communities. For example, we can learn from the Native Hawaiians in their efforts to revitalize the Hawaiian language and culture (Warner, 1999). Similarly, we can also draw from the Samoan experience in Hawaiʻi in their efforts in maintaining their language and cultural identity (Galeai, 2005; Lesa, 2009).

A 2004 special issue of the *Educational Perspective* on indigenous education published by the UH College of Education, included articles written by indigenous people and scholars who are collectively paddling their canoe in addressing multiple forms of oppression and exploitation. Similarly, the 2009 special issue of the *AlterNative* journal represented “trail breaking endeavors” of Hawaiian scholars and researchers (i.e, Kimo Cashman, Julie Kaomea, Kekeha Solis). In this issue, two articles were written in Hawaiian - to show that breaking trail entails asserting the use of indigenous languages in domains from which they previously have been excluded (Maaka & Wong, 2009; Smith, 1999). In their foreword, Wong and Maaka (2009) note,

“…the dissemination and perpetuation of knowledge through stories is a natural process..it does constitute legitimate research…It is in fact, scholarly…The moment we are told otherwise, that is our cue to break trail.” (p. 9)

One of the articles included in this issue is the work of Kimo Cashman who uses a storytelling methodology. In his article, *Looking in the hole with my three prong cocked*, Cashman started each section with the question “Who am I?” In doing this, Cashman “connects himself to the past, the present, and future, becoming the conduit for the transfer of knowledge from one generation to another (Maaka, 2004, p. 6). Cashman, in his work, highlights the importance of having young people tell their stories – not just the stories they heard from their parents and grandparents – but the stories that they have experienced
themselves. Highlighting the importance of place, Cashman (2009) writes that “Kids have to go there…so they can tell whole of their own story” (p. 34). For the native Hawaiians speaking of knowledge, land is a central theme that drew forth all other (Meyer, 2008). He explains,

You grew in a place and you had a relationship with that place. This is an epistemological idea. One does not simply learn from land. This knowing makes you intelligent to my people…Land is more than a physical. It is an idea that engages knowledge and contextualizes knowing. Land is more than just a physical locale; it is a mental one that becomes water on the rock of our being. Consideration of our place, our mother, is the point here. And what you bring to your knowing influences all that you do, write, and offer to the world. (p. 219)

In the case of Ilokano heritage language learners, their only connection to Ilocos are the stories of their parents and/or grandparents. Thus, inspired by the indigenous scholarship forwarded by Linda Tuhiwai Smith and other scholars, highlighting the stories of the heritage learners of the Ilokano language is the first step to empowering the Ilokano people and making the Ilokano language thrive and survive.

Among Samoan scholars and writers, two forms of Samoan storytelling are predominant. Utilizing *talanoaga* (informal conversation) in creating knowledge, Lesa’s (2009) dissertation examined the role of Samoan Christian churches in Hawai‘i in the development of Samoan language competency as well as the cultural identities for Samoan youth. His study revealed that the common practices of Samoan Christian churches such as the memorization of songs in Samoan, Bible study, Sunday school services, and annual musical dance festivals play a vital role in exposing Samoan youth to language usage and finding a connection to their roots.

Galeai’s (2005) dissertation work used a traditional Samoan storytelling form called *su'ifefilo'oi*. In *su'ifefilo'oi*, Samoan composers thread together different types of songs to make one very long song for a special occasion. The result is a tapestry made up of a wide array of
styles and voices that explore and express Samoan themes, culture, history, perspectives and voices in an American Samoan context. Galeai cited her fellow Samoan writer, Sia Figiel, in her literary work where she threaded Samoan and English prose, poetry, and songs to capture the voices of adolescent girls growing up in traditional Samoan villages (see Figiel, 1996). Building off from Figiel’s literary work, Galeai’s dissertation work entitled Semoana is a novel that uses prose talk story, verse stanzas, and columned-stanzaic dialogues, rooted in Samoan culture capturing authentic Samoan voices. In the introduction of her dissertation, she writes in an improvisational cross-stitching of Samoan and English. In this linguistic borderland, Galeia enters a space where both languages interact in playful struggle.

For I see a wrinkle in my mat—my step-tongue—English, o la’u gaganafai—is becoming distractive in weaving this Samoan mat. Ioe. It’s difficult to tell my story using my step-tongue, Ifilisi. So I will shift to su’ifefiloi, a voice that will unravel my step-tongue’s rules but better express my Samoan story. Se’i liugalua lo’u leol ile leo su’ifefiloi, ona e fefiloi ai mea uma. Su’ifefiloi threads my mother tongue into my step-tongue and my step-tongue into my mother tongue an will better describe Semoana’s world, her people, culture and identity. (Galeai, 2005, p. xi).

3.2.1. Indigenous Research Methods: The Philippine Experience

The seeds for developing indigenous research methods in the Philippines were planted during the early 1970s when Virgilio Enriquez spearheaded a movement known as Sikolohiyang Pilipino (Filipino psychology; SP hereafter) that calls for understanding thought and experiences from a Filipino perspective or orientation (Enriquez, 1989; 1992). Initial work on developing SP concentrated on a type of indigenization that is based largely on simple translation of concepts, methods, theories, and measures into Filipino. The pagtanong-tanong (indigenous interview) is a behavior that Filipinos ordinarily exhibit; they spend hours chatting and exchanging ideas (Pe-Pua, 1985; 1989, as cited in Pe-Pua, 2006). A variant form of the pagtanong-tanong is pakikipagkuwentuhan (storytelling), which is
commonly used when dealing with topics that are not commonly discussed such as issues of sexuality or abuse. Using *ub-ufok* (storytelling) as a methodology, Arboleda (2003) documented the orature\(^\text{14}\) of the Ifiallig in Barlig Central in the Mountain Province. For the Ifiallig, the ub-ufok embodies their belief in supernatural and enchanted worlds, yet it also represents their history and genealogy.

Similarly, the use of indigenous methods like pakikipagkuwentuhan has been applied outside the Philippines. Protacio-Marcelino (1996), as cited in Pe-Pua (2006), used *pagtanong-tanong* and *pakikipagkuwentuhan* with second generation Filipino-American youth to examine the influence of Filipino and American cultures on their process of search, discovery, creation and development of their cultural/ethnic identity. Using a qualitative study approach for her *Project Heart to Heart* storytelling, Nacu (1998) carried out a series of in-depth interviews to explore and bridge the past, present, and future experiences of grandparents, parents, and their children. All the adult participants were post-1965 immigrants. The results of her study suggested that grandparents and parents share similar familial values and that they were also resilient in adapting to a new and very different cultures. Parents could still relate to the grandparents’ life stories, but the children had already found it difficult to appreciate such stories.

The SP framework forwarded by Enriquez is drawn from a Filipino perspective and orientation, which automatically subsumes other ethnolinguistic groups as “Filipino.” SP is based on metalinguistic analysis and not supported by fieldwork in the Ilokano community. As far as indigenous storytelling in the Ilokano context, Dulatre’s (2005) oral history project focused on the life experiences of the Ilokanos during World War II. She interviewed over

---

\(^{14}\) Arboleda (2003) defined it in her dissertation to refer to “oral literature” to posit the cultural totality expressed through an oral culture.
70 Ilokanos in the provinces of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Isabela, La Union, and Pangasinan. In the overview of her book, she writes,

> In the next 10 to 20 years, these people interviewed will have passed on. Their life experiences preserved when their stories are read and remembered (p. 12).

Finally, the sole Ilokano scholar who has employed the pakasaritaan methodology through field work is Agcaoili (1996) in his dissertation from the University of the Philippines. In his ethnographic study of the Agtarap family from Cagayan, Philippines, Agcaoili (1996) constructed their pakasaritaan in the form of a nobela (novel) that revolves around their emigration experiences within the Philippines, particularly during the Martial Law of the Marcos regime. Agcaoili (1996) effectively wove their stories, while infusing Ilokano indigenous concepts and metaphors that describe and account the narrative experiences of his informants.

A book published by Nakem Youth in 2010 was conceptualized using the lense of storytelling. This bilingual non-fiction narrative entitled *Kabambannuagan: Our Voices, Our Lives* chronicles the lives of fourteen people, all of them of Ilokano ancestry, some born in Hawai‘i, and others coming to Hawai‘i at a young age. The book reflects the individual and collective experiences of young adults of Ilokano descent whose immigrant parents settled in Hawai‘i. The co-editor of the book, Jeffrey Acido, explains that the Ilokano word “kabambannuagan” refers to the “essence of youth,” a point in time which can never be captured again. The bottom line is that the Ilokano youth are writing their own stories. This dissertation hopes to complement the work forwarded by Agcaoli (1996) and Nakem Youth.

### 3.2.2. The Ilokano Pakasaritaan: From saritaan-sarita-pakasaritaan

In embarking on a research project involving my own people and community, the use of culturally-appropriate methodology becomes imperative. Smith (1999) wrote that
research involving native people, as individuals or communities, should set out to make a positive difference for the one researched. This is congruent with the notion that if research is to play “a useful and progressive role in the process of decolonization, it will ultimately require a political commitment in support of indigenous peoples and an unambiguous recognition of the colonial role played by mainstream paradigms” (Menzies, 2001, p. 33).

I am using the indigenous Ilokano word pakasaritaan to contextualize and capture a framework that offers a public space in conducting and presenting a research rooted in the knowledge and experience of the Ilokanos and their descendants. This framework can be used as a theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical tools toward linguistic pluralism and social justice as forwarded by my research questions. Utilizing the model of pakasaritaan, my research questions were crafted to draw and account students’ stories about their home/family, peers, schooling, and community to arrive at their pakasaritaan or their history.

The Ilokano pakasaritaan framework centers the Ilokano worldview, drawing from the Ilokano language that encapsulates the knowledge and experiences of the Ilokano. It addresses how other methodologies expose deficit-informed research that silences and distorts epistemologies of native people or people of color. It provides an indigenous storytelling context for deep understanding for the lived experience where informants are encouraged to use their own voices and language of understanding. The framework centers and nurtures ownership of language – the native voice – that is often too absent or has too often been silenced in the past. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarulet (1986) explain,

Language is a tool for representing experience, and tools contribute to creative endeavors only when used…The oral and written forms of language must pass back and forth between persons who both speak and listen or read and write – sharing, expanding, and reflecting on each other’s experiences. Such interchanges lead to ways of knowing that enable individuals to enter into the social and intellectual life of their community. Without them, individuals remain isolated from others; and without
tools for representing, their experiences, people also remain isolated from the self. (pp. 25-26)

Our knowledge and experiences are intrinsically linked to our language. Since a language carries the conception of the world that speaks it, our native language – the language of our students, is not only the carrier of knowledge but also, as stated by Freire and Macedo (1987), “knowledge itself” (p. 53). The students are the focus, and their voices carry forward indigenous meanings and experiences that are in opposition to dominant discourses and practices (Fine, 1994). Bringing voice to the informants and giving them authority in characterizing their experiences are important foundations in which this study is based and a qualitative research methodology allows for that, articulated by the Ilokano (paka+sarita+an). Language allows us to tell and draw up our sarita, and building from these sarita, we create pakasaritaan embodying our understanding of the world, of experiences, and ultimately ourselves. Therefore, the pakasaritaan framework is one that allows for knowledge production and consumption. By knowledge production, we validate the voices and experiences of Ilokanos as legitimate knowledge that can be used by Ilokano themselves. It is a way to challenge the viewpoints of those outside of our communities who see us as less a “norm” or second class citizen that is based within their worldview rather than with us. It is a space for them to reclaim previously lost “turf” and assume ownership of larger tracts (Fox & Vogel, 1994). As Anzaldúa (1998) eloquently explains,

Some of these knowledges have been kept from us – entry into some professions and academia denied us. Because we are not allowed to enter discourse because we are often disqualified and excluded from it, because what passes for theory these days is forbidden territory for us, it is vital that we occupy theorizing space, that we not allow white men and women to occupy it. By bringing approaches and methodologies, we transform that theorizing space. (p. xxv)

As previously noted, the worldview of the Ilokano is reflected in their language and I would like to illustrate this by using the word [paka(sarita)an]. The morphological formation
of Ilokano words is complex. For example, Ilokano nouns, like pakasaritaan, can either refer to concrete or abstract things but sometimes they are used to nominalize an action or designate the way an action is performed (Rubino, 2000). In pakasaritaan, sarita (the story) is the root word and related to it is the saritaan (the talking story) as a way to get to the sarita. Morphologically, we see the relational and connectedness of items (the sarita and saritaan) to the whole. The Ilokano sense of self as expressed by bagi (body) or siak (I) does not show separation or individuality like in the Western culture, but indicate tropes of connection, community, and rootedness which capture the Ilokano character and experiences articulated in the pakasaritaan framework.

The intersection between sarita and pakasaritaan is that one invokes/summons the other, hence, the story in history and history in the story (Agcaoili, 2006; 2010). Each of us is a story within stories. There is a dynamic relationship between every story, the larger stories it is part of, and the smaller stories that are part of it. The memory invoked from the past through storytelling relates to the present and this present has implications for the future. Like the young Ilokanos – the heritage learners who are the main collaborators of this project are part of bigger stories. Like their parents or grandparents who descended from Ilocos or the Amianan, they have their own stories to tell. Their stories are connected to other stories – the stories of their family, school, and community. The diversity and richness of their narratives are woven in a pakasaritaan in the form of this dissertation.

All in all, language and discourse practices (such as pakasaritaan) are essential to identity, cultural survival, and people’s learning and thinking because they encode a group’s cultural knowledge and indigenous epistemology (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1999). Canagarajah (2002; 2005) warns us that local language practices, discourses, and values will
be engulfed by the sweeping economic and political forces brought about by globalization.

In a critical introduction to the initial proceedings of the 1st Nakem Conference, Agcaoili (2006) eloquently summarized the metaphor of saritaan.

The return to saritaan is both a rite of resistance and reclaiming…a discourse premised on trust for what the word can do to open new world…The core of saritaan is word itself…The rule of the game in the saritaan is that sarita has to come about and those involved in its enchanting possibilities have to be part in its speaking the word, even if at some point, the word is unsayable, unspeakable, and unforbidden. This is where saritaan intersects with sukisok (research), that act of searching and re-searching in order for knowledge to come about and come anew into the consciousness. (p. 3)

3.3. Context of the Research Site: Nakem High School

This study was conducted at NHS, a local public high school in Honolulu, Hawai‘i. NHS has served the community for 75 years and continues to have one of the largest student body and staff populations of any high school in Hawai‘i. The community is predominantly made up of lower socio-economic families with diverse ethnic backgrounds and a smaller number of middle-class families. The general area is clearly urban and reflects the socio-economic challenges of an urban area with diverse populations. The neighborhood, which is both industrial and residential, includes five federal housing projects and numerous community agencies. In the 1920s, newspaper accounts painted the community as “quaint, rural neighborhood dotted with pig farms, taro patches and the occasional cow” (Gee, 2003). However, until now, this area has been perceived as “very dangerous place to live” due to criminal and gang-related activities. Additionally, many students are immigrants who require intensive instruction in English as a second language (ESL).

The school has a student population of over 2400 (Hawai‘i Department of Education, 2010). The ethnic make up of the student population and the community is best captured in
the Roman Galvan’s entitled Lychee\textsuperscript{15} used as opening lines of the T-Shirt Theatre\textsuperscript{16} performances.

You know there's a fruit that grows on a tree,  
Deep in the heart of a place called Lugar\textsuperscript{17}!  
It's got a hard shell, a spikey covered hide,  
And at first you might not think  
That there's anything inside.  
But take a closer look my friend  
And see what lies within  
The inside's really wonderful,  
The outside's just a skin!  
It's called lychee, lychee!  
Homeboy vegetation, lychee!  
Lugar is a melting pot of all varieties!  
We got Samoans, Filipinos, Okinawans and Chinese  
Koreans, hapa-haoles, Hawaiians, Portagees\textsuperscript{18}!  
And we're all lychees!  
So if you're intimidated by my face or by my name  
Don't forget to look inside me,  
Cuz inside we're just the same, lychees!  
There's no need for segregation,  
Cuz we're all lychees!

According to the School Status and Improvement Report, in the school year 2010-2011, Filipinos accounted for 59.7% of the student population, followed by Samoans (10.6%) and Native Hawaiian (8.5%) (Hawai‘i State Department of Education, 2010). Recently, the school experienced a large increase in students from the Pacific Islands of Micronesia. Table 3.1 shows the breakdown of its student population by ethnic group.

\textsuperscript{15} Litchi chinesis, originated in China. A large, long-lived subtropical, evergreen tree that bears fruit from May to August in Hawai‘i. (University of Hawai‘i College of Tropical Agriculture, June 1999).

\textsuperscript{16} T-Shirt Theatre is a project of the Alliance for Drama Education with funding from taxpayer dollars, voted by the Hawai‘i State Legislature and administered by the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts. My sincerest thanks to the directors for allowing me to use the text in this dissertation. In 2006, the Ilokano language students collaborated with T-Shirt Theatre in a play commemorating their centennial in Hawai‘i.

\textsuperscript{17} Pseudonym was used to replace the original name of the place to protect its identity. This is the pseudonym used for the “community” where Nakem High School is located.

\textsuperscript{18} Portuguese
Table 3.1. Student Ethnicities at NHS, SY 2010-2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>1483</td>
<td>59.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoan</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indo-Chinese</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micronesian</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2452</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Source: 2010-2011 Status and Improvement Report, Hawai‘i Department of Education
b. This school population represents the overall predominance in the state of Ilokano-speaking Filipinos as opposed to Tagalog.

Additionally, the percentage of students in the English as a Second Language program is growing (see Table 3.2). Immigrants from the Philippines (Ilokano speaking) remain the largest ethnic group and most are limited to their English proficiency (see Table 3.3). There has also been a noticeable increase in students from the Federates States of Micronesia at NHS and statewide. The number of Chuukese and Marshallese students are increasing, a majority of which are non-English speaking or limited-English proficient.

Table 3.2. English Language Learner Population at NHS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Year</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>% of population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006-07</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-08</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-09</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-10</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3. Languages Spoken and Proficiency Levels of NHS ESL Students SY 2009-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>NEP</th>
<th>LEP</th>
<th>FEP</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ilokano</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuukese</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoan</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshallese</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cebuano</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongan</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lao</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamorro</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chui Chao</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosaraen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pohnpeian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. NEP (non English proficient); LEP (limited English proficient); FEP (fluent English proficient)

Furthermore, the school has moved toward smaller learning communities with all ninth and tenth graders in teams and all 11th and 12th graders in one of ten interdisciplinary academies (Hawai‘i Department of Education, 2010). There are several integrated vocational programs, including Health Academy, Business, Teacher Education, Culinary Arts, Hawaiian, Engineering, International Studies, and Law and Justice. The 4X4 block schedule supports an extensive elective program and allows for additional support to students who are academically behind. In addition, NHS students excel in both visual and performing arts, and there are many opportunities for students to participate in these areas. The school’s athletics teams have also been a force in prep athletics, competing year-in and year out for championships in football, basketball, wrestling, and other sports. In the spring of 2005, the
Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) granted NHS a six-year term of accreditation\textsuperscript{19}, with a midterm review, expiring on June 30, 2011. In terms of its NCLB status, the school is on its second year of mandated restructuring (Hawai‘i State Department of Education, 2008).

\textit{3.3.1. Entry to Research Site}

My entry to the research site dates back to 2002. During that time, I was an employed member of the Studies of Heritage and Academic Languages and Literacies (SHALL)\textsuperscript{20} program with the UHM Center for Second Language Research (see Davis, Bazzi, Cho, Ishida, et al., 2005). Set up as a partnership with the school, this federally-funded program, in tandem with another UH federally-funded program, GEAR UP, made it possible for the offering of Ilokano and Samoan language classes at NHS. The area where the school is situated is very familiar to me because I have relatives and friends who reside and work here.

I was hired to teach Ilokano language in the SHALL program, but during my first year at NHS, I taught Guidance under the Consortium of Teaching Asia and Pacific Asian Studies (CTAPS) Academy for one year, since the SHALL program was housed in this academy. In 2003, Ilokano (and Samoan) language courses were offered for the very first time at NHS. Ilokano I started with 15 students. Since then, additional sections of Ilokano I and Ilokano II were added to accommodate increasing enrollment. When the SHALL program ended four years later, I became an employed member of the GEAR UP program which graduated its first cohort of students in 2006 and its second cohort in 2011 and soon in 2012.

\textsuperscript{19} At the time of data collection, NHS went through accreditation. A preliminary report was given to faculty and staff on May 2011.

\textsuperscript{20} This was a grant from the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Affairs (OBEMLA).
In addition to teaching Ilokano language courses at NHS, I also served as co-advisor of the Filipino-American Club consisting of over 100 members since 2008. In my capacity as a club co-advisor, I was able to work with a number of Fil-Am students, mostly of Ilokano heritage, in crafting and showcasing cultural presentations as well as performing service projects in the school and community. Although I am not officially employed by the DOE, I have limited access to students’ demographic and academic records as well as the use of school facilities and equipment. I attended departmental and faculty meetings, served as member in focus groups, and mentored students’ in their senior projects. In my nine years of working at NHS, I have established strong collegial relationship with the school’s administration, faculty, and staff; but more importantly, I value the relationships that I have built with my Ilokano students and the inspiration and energy that they have provided in the conceptualization of my dissertation study. My teaching of Ilokano at NHS ended in May of 2011 when the funding of the UH Manoa GEAR UP ended. Currently, a part time teacher hired by the DOE is teaching the Ilokano classes.

Once I received approval from the UH Committee on Human Subjects to conduct this study, I made an appointment with the principal to explain my project and get his consent. Interestingly, the principal is an alumnus of NHS, born with Ilokano parents from the province of La Union in the Philippines, and has formerly taken an Ilokano language course from UHM. At that meeting, he recounted some of his experiences when he took Ilokano at UHM, including his participation in the Drama and Song Festival. In the following week, he wrote a memo to me, via email, approving my study. The principal’s support memo was then attached to my application to the System Accountability Office of the Hawai‘i DOE to conduct the study at the school, which was approved within a week. In addition to the
principal, I also informed the department head of Asian, European, and Pacific Languages (AEPL) who fully gave her support to my study. AEPL is the department where all the languages are house at NHS.

3.4. The Pilot Study

From Fall 2007-Fall 2008, I conducted a pilot study at NHS. The purpose of the pilot study was to investigate the profiles and backgrounds as well as to highlight the voices of heritage language learners at a high school in urban Honolulu, and their bearings on their investments (Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2000) in learning their heritage language. The notion of investment conceives of the language learner as having a complex social history and multiple desires. It presupposes that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world (Norton, 2000, pp. 10-11).

Based on the findings of the pilot study, Ilokano heritage language learners are diverse and different depending on a variety of sociolinguistic circumstances. They possess different degrees of linguistic strengths and abilities due to their early exposure to Ilokano, at home and/or in the community. Furthermore, in countering the hegemonic practices and narrow views of diversity, the Ilokano language classroom has served as a place to empower students and their language. Utilizing Canagarajah’s (2004) metaphor of “safe houses,” the Ilokano classroom is transformed as such becoming a “site of identity construction that allow students to negotiate the often contradictory tensions they encounter as members of diverse communities” (p. 5). Canagarajah (2004) refers to “safe houses” as hidden spaces in the
classroom that provide a safe site for students to negotiate identities more critically. Safe houses in the academy are “sites that are relatively free from surveillance, especially by authority figures, perhaps because these are considered unofficial, off-task, or extrapoladagogical (p. 121). The Ilokano students may have initially marginalized their own language and culture, but the Ilokano classroom became the “safe house” in the negotiation and renegotiation of their multiple layers of their identities whether they see themselves as locals or Ilokano Americans. Contrary to the messages that they have received from counselors and science/math teachers who may have acted as gatekeepers of accessing their heritage, it is in the “safe house” – the Ilokano classroom - where they performed their identities and became legitimate and active participants of their own heritage community.

3.5. Data Sources

Data for this dissertation study were collected through saritaan with the students and teachers, classroom observations, and field notes categorized as data from classroom observations and researcher’s notes. Approval was obtained in February 2011 from the University of Hawai‘i Human Research Review Committee as well as with the Hawai‘i Department of Education for adherence to all standards of human participants protection. Pseudonyms were used for people and places in this study. Table 3.4 below provides the summary of data sources employed in this dissertation study.
Table 3.4. Summary of data sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Tools</th>
<th>Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ilokano HL students (total 5)</td>
<td>Saritaan</td>
<td>Transcribed and analyzed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers (total 5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ilokano language teachers (n=3)</td>
<td>Saritaan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Content/core area teachers (n=2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classrooms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ilokano language classrooms</td>
<td>Observation</td>
<td>Transcribed and analyzed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Content/core area classrooms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School functions and social events</td>
<td>Observation</td>
<td>Transcribed and analyzed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Classroom observation notes</td>
<td>Observation</td>
<td>Saritaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Researcher’s notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Voice recordings on IPod</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are 2 sets of informants in this study: Ilokano students and teachers (Ilokano teachers and content/core teachers). The students served as the key informants since the focus of this dissertation are their narratives. The description of the student and teacher informants are separately discussed below.

*The Students as Informants*

This study utilized exploratory sampling of Ilokano heritage language learners. The established criteria for exploratory sampling were: 1) that the student volunteers or is a willing participant for the study; 2) that the student is a heritage language learner of Ilokano and 3) has studied at least one semester of Ilokano at NHS. Heritage language learner in this study is defined as someone who has acquired the heritage language in the home and that (re)learning the language has a particular family relevance to this learner. Forwarded by Fishman (2000), this sociolinguistic definition acknowledges the ancestral heritage background of the student informants.

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21 In doing ethnography, a participant is related to as an informant. Informants are “engaged by the ethnographer to speak in their own language or dialect”, providing “a model for the ethnographer to imitate” so that “the ethnographer can learn to use the native language in the way informants do” (Spradley, 1979, p. 25).
A sample of 17 students were engaged in saritaan; 6 males and 11 females. Their ages range from 14 to 18 and grade levels ranging from 9th to 12th. Out of the 17 students, 3 students were enrolled in Ilokano I during the SY 2010-2011, while the rest of the students had taken Ilokano I and/or Ilokano II previously and/or were current members of the Fil-Am Club or GEAR UP Club. From the sample of 17 students, five students, based on their willingness to participate and accessibility, were selected to represent diverse stories reported in the present study. The number of participants is congruent with the assumptions of qualitative research in emphasizing context rather than number (Seidman, 2006). Each student participant received a $5 Starbucks or Jamba Juice gift card. All students filled out consent forms. Additionally, their parents and/or guardians also filled out consent forms. All consent forms were approved by the UHM Committee on Human Studies and the Hawai‘i DOE. A summary of the profiles of the five student informants whose stories are reported in this dissertation is outlined in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5. Profile of student informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age (at time of the saritaan)</th>
<th>Grade Level</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Ilokano class(es) taken</th>
<th>Year of arrival to US</th>
<th>Age of arrival to US</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rimat</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Honolulu, HI</td>
<td>Ilo I Ilo II</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayaway</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Honolulu, HI</td>
<td>Ilo I Ilo II</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gundaway</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Laoag, Phils</td>
<td>Ilo I Ilo II</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saguday</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pangasinan, Phils</td>
<td>Ilo I</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namnama</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bacarra, Ilocos Norte, Phils</td>
<td>Ilo I Ilo II</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22 The pseudonyms of the student informants were selected to highlight the positive traits of the Ilokanos. See Appendix M for the translations.
The Teachers as Informants

In addition to the five students, five teachers participated in this study. From this total, three were Ilokano language teachers and two were content/core area teachers from the Health Academy and Teacher Academy, respectively. These teachers were selected because they have worked or are currently working with the student informants in this study, and that their names were mentioned by the student informants in the saritaan session. Teachers filled out consent forms and were given $10 Wal-Mart giftcard. A summary of the profile of the teachers involved in this study is presented in Table 3.6 below.

Table 3.6. Profile of teacher informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher’s name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Content/Core Area Taught/Academy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Lilikoi</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>English/Teacher Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Mahi</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Social Studies/Health Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Parbangon</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Foreign Language (Ilokano)/AEPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Linglingay</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Foreign Language (Ilokano)/AEPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Talugading</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Foreign Language (Ilokano)/AEPL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. AEPL is the foreign language department which represents the Asian, European, and Pacific languages.

Classroom observations

Data was also collected from observations in the Ilokano language classroom as well as in the content/core area classrooms (i.e., English, Social Studies) of the student informants to corroborate the data collected from the saritaan sessions.

School functions and events and social situations

In addition to classroom observations, data was also collected from school functions and events as well as other social situations wherein the informants are members and/or participants. These include time between periods, recess, lunch, Senior Prom, May Day Program, senior graduation song rehearsals, graduation day, and senior project presentations.
Field Notes

The data from classroom observations, researcher’s notes, and voice recordings on iPod made up the field notes. As is common, the field notes were descriptive, focusing on the words and actions of the informants, and non-verbal cues that provide some context to their words and actions.

3.6. Data Collection Procedures

I conducted the research for this dissertation during my study leave in Spring 2011 (January to May). Data was collected from February to May 2011. Table 3.7 shows the timeline of the data collection for this dissertation study.

Table 3.7. Timeline of data collection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>What was done</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| February 2011    | • Recruited student informants
                  | • Passed out consent forms for signatures                                    |
| March 2011       | • Engaged in saritaan sessions with students
                  | • Transcribed and partially analyzed data from saritaan sessions
                  | • Conducted observations in school functions and events                     |
| April 2011       | • Conducted observations in the Ilokano language classroom                  |
| May 2011         | • Conducted observations in content/core area classrooms
                  | • Conducted observations during May Day, senior song practice, senior project presentations, academy and school graduation
                  | • Transcribed saritaan sessions with teachers                                |
| July-August 2011 | • Transcribed remaining data from saritaan sessions                          |
                  | • Analyzed data from saritaan sessions and observations                      |
| September 2011-March 2012 | • Wrote dissertation                                           |

Recruitment

Recruitment of participants started in February 2011, as soon as the project was approved by the University of Hawai‘i’s Committee on Human Studies and the Hawai‘i Department of Education. Specifically, participants were recruited from the current Ilokano I
language classes and through the Filipino-American Club and GEAR UP Club at NHS during the SY 2010-2011. To avoid coercion, no student was recruited from the researcher’s classroom.

Recruitment in the Ilokano language was conducted during Periods 2, 3, and 4, taught by a female teacher. Students enrolled in the Ilokano courses at NHS are at the ages of 14-18 (9th-12th graders). Both Ilokano I and II courses are conducted in the same classroom at NHS, for 1.5 hours each day. Classes are held five days a week over one semester, which is divided into two quarters. All Ilokano I (Periods 2, 3, 4) sections are taught by a female teacher while Ilokano II (Period 1) is taught by the researcher. All the Ilokano sections are taught in one classroom. The student informants in this study were not members of the Ilokano language classes observed. Observations were conducted to explore curricular aspects of heritage language teaching and to triangulate information from the notes made during the saritaan sessions. Similarly, informants were also recruited at the general meetings of the Filipino-American and GEAR UP Clubs which were usually held in the Ilokano language classroom.

_Saritaan_

Interviewing is a dynamic process fundamental to ethnography…it is part technique, part ethics, part theory, part method, part intuition, part collaboration, and part openness to deep vulnerability” (Madison, 2005, p. 35). In ethnographic interviews, the “interviewer and interviewee are in partnership and dialogue as they construct memory, meaning, and experience together” (p. 25).

In the Ilokano pakasaritaan, the discourse of saritaan offers a space to give or help give voice to young people who are the inheritors of the language and culture of Ilokano and
Amianan (North) peoples. The students’ native language bridges their past and their future, and, when not silenced, it is through their native language that they tell their stories (Rivera, 1999). Through the telling of their stories students can make sense of what Maxine Greene (1988) calls their lived lives. Their individual stories, the sarita, provide the context to understand their collective experiences. By sharing their individual stories, students place themselves in history, the pakasaritaan, which allows them to “check and criticize the history [they] are told against the one [they] have lived” (Iglis, as cited in Giroux, 1987, p. 15).

Through language, their voices document the world of experience about Ilokanos, about being Ilokano, about the Ilocos as a place, a memory, an emotion, a commitment, a vision, and a dream. For example, by talking about their parents or their immigration to Hawai‘i, they are invoking the memory of the Ilocos and beyond, which has been previously told by their parents or grandparents. The Ilocos is not merely the terrain of difficult life but also represents the values and fullness of life lived by their parents and grandparents. So like Manong Jose Bragado and other prominent Ilokano writers, every one of them dreams of writing not only for their people but also for the whole world, but they must first write for their own people and consider them their whole world (Rambaud, 2008). Indeed, no one can speak for and about his own people except himself (Rambaud, 2008), and it is in this stance that if Ilokano has to thrive and survive for our next generation, the responsibility rests with those who care and love the language and culture of the Ilokanos.

Saritaan, in the context of pakasaritaan, is the Ilokano way of interacting that encapsulates reciprocity between the speakers. Bishop (1996) has used the epistemology of whanaungatanga in order to create a Maori approach to research relationships, for which “[w]hanaungatanga consists literally of kin relationships between ourselves and other and is
constituted in ways determined by the Maori cultural context” (p. 215). Like the whanaungatanga, saritaan articulates a reciprocal relationship between the researcher and the researched who must become a “family” and become interconnected in a reciprocal way (i.e., manong-ading relationship) in the frames of the particular research project with which they are involved. In their study of an Ilokano community in Maunaloa, Molokai, Forman & Forman (1991) discovered a network of reciprocal relationships amongst the Ilokanos termed as panagkakadua in the Ilokano language, which translates as feeling and behaving with responsibility towards one another.

In the Ilokano pakasaritaan, the researcher, assumes the manong (older male sibling) role while the students take the ading (younger sibling) role. In the context of the Ilokano family, the manong is perceived as the nanaknakman/nanaknakem (more conscious) and the ading is the one who shares and/or confides to the manong because there is trust that exists between the two. The manong is the one who provides encouragement, support, and advice to the ading. In other words, the “opening up” that occurs during saritaan allows for an intervention to happen, which makes the saritaan method powerful. There is dynamics in the reciprocity between the speakers – the manong and the ading. There is trust involved in the exchange of information. The kinship relationship of the manong-ading relationship is captured in saritaan. In its other forms, saritaan can be equated with panagsasarita (manner of talking story), pannakisarita (manner of participating in the story), and agsasarita which connotes communal talking of stories whether be in their yard, street, market, or the dap-ayan, or purok. The dap-ayan or the purok is a modest structure in the barangay (village) where people gather meetings and small talks. During this gathering, for example, young and old enjoy sliced green mangoes, tamarind, or other fruits in season dashed with salt or
dipped in vinegar or bugguong (fish paste), while they exchange the most current news. In the saritaan, issues are talked about and are also resolved during the discourse. Synonymous to saritaan is tungtungan which is an indigenous way of settling conflicts among the people in a community (Kiong, 2003). The word tungtungan, which takes its roots from the Kalanguya dialect, means dialogue. For example, the people of Daklan, Benguet has adopted this indigenous conflict resolution system in their community. The tungtungan is composed of elders whose responsibility is to resolve problems that arise in their community. Tungtungan is similary used in Nueva Vizcaya whenever conflicts and crimes are committed.

During the saritaan, the students allowed me to enter their world in re(telling) their stories. In welcoming me to their world, my responsibility was to listen to what they had to say and to find meaning in them. As far as the teachers were concerned, I saw them as my colleagues or kamaestro/a[an] from the same community of practice and it is this situatedness and communal arrangement that facilitated the reciprocal relationship in talking story with them. It is in this character of saritaan that makes the conversation sincere, relaxed, and trustworthy. It was assumed “saanak a sabsabali” (not an outsider) and they were not sabsabali (outsider/other) to me.

Table 3.8 below provides the summary of the student and teacher informants, which include the number of saritaan sessions conducted as well as the type of data collected from those saritaan.

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23 The Kalanguya ethno-linguistic group, also known as Ikalahan or people from the forest, maintains a unique cultural identity through language, customs and traditions, although they have been separated into several provinces through political boundaries. The Kalanguyas occupy eastern Benguet as well as the western portions of the adjacent provinces of Ifugao and Nueva Viscaya. (http://www.joshuaproject.net/people-profile.php?peo3=19181&rog3=RP)
Table 3.8. Summary of informants in saritaan sessions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Data collected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ilokano heritage</td>
<td>One time saritaan (45 minutes to 120 minutes)</td>
<td>• Sarita about taeng (home), pamilia (family),</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language learners</td>
<td></td>
<td>• kakadua (peers), eskuela (school),</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Gundaway</td>
<td></td>
<td>• (komunidad) community, and the Ilokano</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rimat</td>
<td></td>
<td>language classroom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Namnama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Wayawaya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Saguday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>One time saritaan (30 to 60 minutes)</td>
<td>• Personal, academic, professional background</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilokano heritage</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Ilokano language teaching experiences at NHS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Interactions/perceptions of students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ms. Linglingay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Mr. Parbangon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ms. Talugading</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content/core</td>
<td>One time saritaan (30 to 60 minutes)</td>
<td>• Personal, academic, professional background</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Interactions/perceptions of students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ms. Lilikoi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ms. Mahi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Saritaan with the students

The saritaan with students were conducted in March 2011, most of which were conducted during Spring Break. Students were reminded of their saritaan appointment through email, text, and by phone. The saritaan were conducted at NHS, in the Ilokano language classroom, in the library, and in the classroom of my Fil-Am co-advisor. The saritaan were conducted during non-instructional periods (recess and lunch) as well as before- and after-school. Other saritaan sessions were conducted at a coffee shop located in a shopping center near NHS. The saritaan were conducted primarily in English and/or Ilokano and/or Hawai‘i Creole English (HCE)/Pidgin or any combination of the three. During the saritaan, I addressed the students as ading and the students addressed me as manong.

As their manong who is the nanaknakman, I reviewed with the ading about the study including its purpose, reason for the saritaan, and how the information from the saritaan will be used. Next, I reviewed the consent forms signed by the student and his/her parents or
guardians. Finally, I informed students that our saritaan would be recorded. The saritaan sessions were recorded using an IPod Nano with an attached ITalk device. The saritaan lasted from one hour to about two hours. The questions were created to elicit the students’ stories and experiences in the contexts of their home, family, peers, school, and community. During the saritaan, students opened up with their feelings and stories that included drug use, domestic abuse, and divorce in the family. I did not expect these stories to surface; however, all I could do during the saritaan was to simply “listen” to their stories. Part of this “opening up” is the whole notion of trust and reciprocity to their manong who is there to listen and not judge. After conducting the first saritaan session, it was necessary to combine and/or reformulate my initial questions because they presented themselves as “too specific” and did not bring out the story of the informant. For example, I made the questions more open-ended, which allowed for richer and more flowy responses. An example would be, “Tell how it was like growing up in an Ilokano home?” Asking this particular question, for example, revealed their relationships with their parents and siblings, as well as their Ilokano language uses at home. Since the saritaan were conducted during Spring break, I started each saritaan session saying, “Kumusta ti Spring breakmo, ading? (How is your Spring Break, ading?). They would then respond with the word manong at the end of the sentence. This feeling of comfort, easiness, and reciprocity is well-established at the start and was maintained throughout the saritaan, which resulted in my saritaan sessions with the students lasting close to two hours. Figure 3.1 shows the protocols used in the saritaan.
Audio files of the saritaan sessions were uploaded to the computer using the ITunes program for transcription, properly labeled with the student’s name and date of the saritaan session. A CD version of the audio file was created for back up. I wrote down my reflections in my field journal after each saritaan session, noting the salient aspect that happened during the saritaan or student’ responses that were thought-provoking. I also recorded my thoughts and reflection on my Iphone via the voice memo program. I transcribed the saritaan sessions verbatim. I asked another Ilokano native speaker with a background on transcribing to double check the accuracy of the transcripts. Same procedures were followed with the transcripts from the saritaan sessions with the teachers.

**Saritaan with the teachers**

The saritaan with the teachers was conducted as a way of corroborating and/or extending the saritaan that I conducted with the students. The saritaan with the teachers yielded a story of each of the students in the context of and activities related to his/her schooling and his/her relationship with his/her peers. In addition to just talking story about their students, my colleagues also shared their own stories of growing up where these students grew up and how these stories have shaped them personally and professionally. Three of these teachers grew up in the communities as some of their students.
Saritaan with individual teachers were verbally initiated during teacher sign-in at the front office and/or mail pick-up in front of the Business Office and was formalized through email and/or by phone. Although they verbally expressed excitement to be a part of my study, I was very mindful of their schedule. It was the time of the school year when the school was preparing for its accreditation and all teachers and staff were expected to participate.

The saritaan sessions were conducted in the teachers’ classrooms during lunch or prep period, with the exception of the two former Ilokano teachers which were conducted outside the school. Due to the busy schedule of teachers preparing for accreditation, each session lasted 30 to 45 minutes. The saritaan sessions were recorded using an IPod Nano with an attached ITalk device. Each teacher received a $10 Walmart gift card, a thank you card placed in his/her individual mail box, and a thank you note sent via e-mail.

A total of five teachers were involved in the saritaan. These teachers were current or previous teachers of the student informants in their content/core classes (English, Social Studies) and elective courses (i.e, Ilokano) who were mentioned by the students during my saritaan session with them.

Three Ilokano teachers were involved in this study: two females and one male. Specifically, the Ilokano language teachers were involved in a saritaan session to get some insights into their personal and professional background, Ilokano heritage language teaching, and share specific stories about the students when they were taking Ilokano. The saritaan sessions were conducted in English and Ilokano.

Moreover, two female content/core teachers were involved in the study. One teacher teaches English in the Teacher Academy and the other teaches Social Studies in the Health
Academy. Similarly, these teachers were asked about their personal and professional backgrounds as well as specific stories about the student informants. The saritaan was conducted in English. Below are the brief profiles of the teachers who engaged in the saritaan session.

**Teacher Participant 1: Ms. Linglingay**

Ms. Linglingay is a local born Ilokana and holds a bachelor’s degree in Philippine Language and Literature (PHLL) with a concentration in Ilokano. She is an employed member of the University of Hawai‘i GEAR UP grant; thus, does not get paid through the DOE. She has taught Ilokano I at NHS for three years. She has since transferred, in the same capacity, to Karayan High School, where another UH GEAR UP grant is operating.

**Teacher Participant 2: Mr. Parbangon**

An alumnus of NHS and born in the community where the informants are from, Mr. Parbangon is a local born Ilokano who holds a bachelor’s degree in Philippine Language and Literature (PHLL) with a concentration in Ilokano. He was a Math student tutor during the 2001-2006 UH Manoa GEAR UP grant. He has taught Ilokano I at NHS in the SY 2009-2010 and was employed by NHS as a part time teacher. He is currently pursuing his post baccalaureate degree in Education, specializing in Math and currently conducting his observation practicum (OP) at NHS.

**Teacher Participant 3: Ms. Talugading**

Ms. Talugading is an Ilokano who was born in the Philippines and immigrated to Hawai‘i at age 8. She taught Ilokano I for four years at NHS. She holds a bachelor’s and a master’s degree. She is a licensed school counselor in the state of Hawai‘i. She is currently
working at a second UH Manoa GEAR UP site at Karayan High School on the Leeward
district of Oahu and responsible for teaching Ilokano I and Ilokano II.

Teacher Participant 4: Ms. Lilikoi

Of Filipino, Hawaiian, and Caucasian background, Ms. Lilikoi is now in her 10th year
of teaching English at NHS. She was born and raised in the same community as the
informants. She attended a private school in Hawai‘i from K-12 and a private university in
Honolulu.

Teacher Participant 5: Ms. Mahi

Born of local parents, Ms. Mahi was born in Los Angeles, California and moved to
Hawai‘i when she was 6 years old. She grew up in Hawai‘i and attended schools in
Honolulu from elementary to high school. She is an alumnus of NHS. She has been
teaching at NHS since 1990, and mostly taught freshmen Social Studies. She started
teaching with the Health Academy in 1997. During the study, she was teaching Social
Studies for the senior class.

Participant observation and observant participation

In addition to engaging in saritaan with the students and teachers, I conducted
participant observation in order to corroborate the data collected from the saritaan sessions
with the students as well as to observe the students in their naturally occurring environment.
Spradley (1980) has classified five different types of participation/observation along a
continuum of researcher involvement “both with people and in the activities they observe”
(p. 58). On one end of the continuum is “non-participant” observation, in which data is
collected by direct observation alone, with no involvement with the actors or activities being
observed. On the other end of the continuum is “complete participation” where a researcher
studies a situation in which he or she is already an ordinary participant. As a researcher, my involvement varied, ranging from “moderate” to being a “plain observer.” A one-page observation protocol was used (See Appendix L). It contains a header describing information about the observational session followed by “descriptive notes” where I recorded a description of the activities and drawing/illustration of the physical setting. Moreover, it has a “reflective notes” column where I jotted down “notes about the process, reflections on activities, and summary conclusions about activities for later them development” (Creswell, 1998, p. 128).

I observed the Ilokano I language courses during Periods 2, 3, and 4 taught by Ms. Linglingay. There are four periods for each school day at NHS. Although none of the five student informants is currently enrolled in an Ilokano class during SY 2010-2011, the observation was necessary to corroborate the stories that the students have shared when they took Ilokano class. I spent 2-3 times per week (within a month) observing Periods 2, 3, and 4. I picked the days when students were working in groups and during role plays and project presentations.

When observing the Ilokano classes, I either sat at my desk situated in the front corner of the classroom or in the back of the classroom with a notebook and pen to record field notes. This was not very obtrusive because of the large size of the classroom. I took notes particularly on how students responded to the lesson and teacher, as well as the interactions of the students in the classroom. I also used the recording feature of my IPhone to record my thoughts and reflections based on my observations.
On other days, my participation involved helping students individually and/or in small groups with in-class assignments and computer use\textsuperscript{24}. Students would often asked me why I am staying late given the fact that I only teach Period 1. I would simply respond to them, “I am trying to catch up with my work.” In addition to the Ilokano classroom, I also observed the students in their core classes. For example, I observed two of the informants in their English class in Teacher Academy. Furthermore, I observed the Social Studies class of the other two informants in their Health Academy. During these classroom observations, students would ask me what I was doing there or whether I would be teaching the course next year. I would simply tell them that, “I was just visiting their teacher’s class and trying to also learn.” During these classroom observations, I paid attention to the students’ behavior in class and their interactions with peers.

I was also a participant observer in other social situations that included “passing” in between periods, recess, lunch, and after school. Students usually gather to eat, hang out, and do homework or projects in the Ilokano language classroom. Additionally, I would usually “chat” with the informants in the morning when I see them in the hallway or going to their classes during passing. Because they are all seniors, they would occasionally stop by in my classroom in the morning or during recess to use my printer, ask me for a letter of recommendation, get consultation about their senior project, or receive help completing their college application and/or financial aid.

Moreover, I observed students during Fil-Am Club and GEAR UP Club general meetings usually held in the Ilokano language classroom. These situations provided the contexts of high school students’ interaction and socialization during non-instructional

\textsuperscript{24} There are 3 laptops in the classroom available for students to word process their work and/or to search the Internet.
periods and also their involvement in extra curricular activities. I would usually “talk story” with the students just to check how they’re doing academically. They would usually tell me their “dramas,” which include disputes with their friends and/or with their boyfriends or girlfriends. I also sat in on one of the required graduation song practices in the school auditorium. Later, I participated in the graduation ceremonies of the Teacher Academy and Health Academy students where I had the opportunity to talk with family members and relatives who attended the events. I participated in the May Day celebration where two of the students were part of the May Day court. I also served as faculty chaperone for the Senior Prom held at a Waikiki hotel. Furthermore, I attended the commencement exercises where I witnessed the students in their cap and gown as they entered the amphitheater, while their friends and family members were getting ready to get snapshots of the graduation ceremony. I took pictures of my five informants to capture their special day and I felt so proud of their accomplishments after having them participate in this study and listening to their stories. After the ceremony, I made sure to give a lei to each student and congratulated their parents. Hearing the students say, “Thank you, Manong,” was so emotional for me because I know that I was a part of each student’s academic journey. After the graduation ceremony, I was asked by one of the female student informants to emcee her graduation party held at a hall in Honolulu. There I witnessed her family members, relatives, friends, and classmates who came to share the celebration. I also witnessed her deliver her valedictory address for the second time. I felt honored as I serenaded her and her guests with a couple of Ilokano folk songs where she and her dad danced.
Field Notes

The data from the observations made up the field notes, which were used as data to corroborate results from the saritaan sessions. The field notes were processed on the same day. Denzin (1989) talks about the importance of using “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) in that the narrative “present detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships…the voices, feelings, actions, and meaning of interacting individuals are heard (p. 83). As is common, the field notes were written longhand, in a spiral notebook that I kept with me at all times. The field notes were descriptive, focusing on the words and actions of the students and the teachers. Specifically, I noted the structure and sequence of a particular lesson, as in the case of the Ilokano class. I also included the salient features and/or content of interactions between the teacher and students, students and students, and the teacher or students, and myself. I also noted the physical layout of the classroom, student behaviors, classroom interruptions, and other events that occurred in the high school classroom. I also noted my personal thoughts about my role as a participant-observer and my shifting sense of how my role evolved in the classroom. The handouts and documents (i.e., copies of lesson; graduation program) that I collected during my observations were neatly attached to my journal and I referred back to them when I did my write up. In addition to the written field notes, I also voice recorded myself using my IPhone to capture my thoughts instantly that may have not been captured in my writing. The transcribed field notes were inputted into computer files sorted by dates and class period. Raw field notes were kept in a locked filing cabinet in the researcher’s office.
3.7. Data Analysis

Drawing from ethnographic research methods, data from saritaan sessions and field notes served as the primary sources of data for this study. Ethnographic analysis is defined as a search for the parts of a culture (the domain), the relationship among the parts, and their relationships to the whole (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Spradley, 1980). The stories told by the students created their pakasaritaan.

The transcripts of the saritaan sessions served as the basis for generating the sarita of each student. I proceeded by first, rereading each transcript and highlighting key words, quote, and ideas that seemed to represent the individual’s character and story. Second, the highlighted elements were copied into a new Word document, which formed the initial skeleton of the student’s story. Third, I linked together the experiences and ideas contained in the narrative skeleton by writing around them so that a full and flowing representation of the individual’s story was produced, organized in the domains of their taeng, eskuela, pannakikadua, and komunidad. I did not make any changes to the content, terminology, or language used by the students. In terms of translating the Ilokano texts, I have been guided by the notion that as a translator, my first duty is to communicate to the reader the meaning I have found in my own encounter with these texts. In this dissertation, all non-English words and expressions (including Ilokano) were given parenthetical translations in English. I consulted with another Ilokano native speaker to double check the accuracy of the translations. A glossary of selected Ilokano words and concepts is provided in Appendix M.

Each story is told in the first person to capture the authenticity of each voice and each story, as well as to retain ownership of the stories by the informants. I have also chosen first person to narrate the stories primarily to preserve the epistemological stance of this research,
to exhibit students’ voices, and to illustrate the varied contexts of the students’ narratives. Additionally, this style provides the texture that brings the fullness and richness of the experience to the reader. Taken solely and almost verbatim from the transcripts of the saritaan sessions, the role of the researcher is that he put the pieces together – like a puzzle – to make each story coherent and thread them to capture how the smaller stories in the students’ lives shape the students’ history in the past, in the present, and in the future.

Conceptual headings were included under each of the informant’s stories based on the four domains of taeng, pannakikadua, school, and community that contribute significantly to the bigger story of the lives of the students that create the Ilokano pakasaritaan. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of the informants, the research site, and the community. The pseudonyms used for the informants represent the positive characteristics of Ilokanos that capture the essence of their stories.

Figure 3.2 is an illustration on how the students’ narratives were analyzed. The five stories of the students are reported in Appendix G to K of this dissertation. These five stories were selected based on their richness, breadth, depth, and to the extent of their relevance to the research questions of this project. Each story is a stand alone story echoing its own voice, complexity, and contradiction. Most of the stories are written in English with the exception of Gundaway’s story that is heavily Ilokano. The English translations of the Ilokano texts were given in brackets by the researcher.
In the data analysis, the students’ *sarsarita* (the stories) were coded according to their description of their experiences in the domains of home, school, peer relationships, and community, following a tropical approach (White, 1978; 1987) to the themes of their stories to allow a broader view of how one theme connects to the other to account the depth of their lived experiences, and were consequently analyzed in terms of how the identified tropes inspire, conflict, support, and influence each other in shaping the *pakasaritaan* of the students. Tropes, according to White (1978), is ‘a turn of phrase’ linking an abstract concept to the physical world, thus establishing a correspondence between the physical world and human ideation, and they are "inexpungeable from discourse in the human sciences" (pp. 1-2). The concept of *kaibatogan* (parallelism)/*bugas* (core) is closest to “a turn of phrase,” is an Ilokano way accounting meaning in the dynamic of sarita/pakasaritaan. The tropical approach facilitates the mapping out of the bigger story or stories behind the stories of students that takes the “literal/textual” to “figurative” or the second level of meaning beyond the literal/textual.
From a hermeneutic sense, I followed a historical understanding of the pakasaritaan/saritaan, in keeping with the idea that human knowledge is always-already implicated in history and can never be out of it (White, 1978; 1987). My direction is towards meaning and knowledge production as engaged and located in history, as opposed to an older version of what story as history is, following the historicistic approach. In the main, my obligation is to retell these stories in a new form.

I asked the help of a scholar in another university in Hawai‘i to provide a critique of the tropes that surfaced from the stories of the informants. This technique was called for to demonstrate the parallelism between what I have surfaced and what an outsider has seen. The identified tropes were then used to map out the bigger story or stories behind the stories of the students. The direction of the analysis is towards meaning and knowledge production as engaged and located in history and that the core is the reciprocal anchoring of sarita and pakasaritaan, which means that there is a dialectical link that connects the storymaking and the manner of writing history (Agcaoili, 2011; White, 1987).

**Conclusion**

In this chapter I delineated the framework of pakasaritaan and related its character with ethnography and how this framework was applied at NHS. I briefly discussed the results of my pilot study in 2007 from the same site, which partly informs this dissertation. I dedicated a fairly extensive section on indigenous storytelling because it is important to note the tenets of this tradition. I included the native Hawaiian, Samoan, and Philippine perspective on storytelling to show how this framework captures and provides relevance on the story of marginalized and indigenous peoples.
The narrative experiences of the informants in the domains of the taeng, eskuela, pannakikadua, and the komunidad are presented in Chapter 4, followed by the analysis of the tropes that were drawn out from the narrative experiences of the students.
Like no matter where we came from everybody has their own story and you can’t compare me to you and you can’t compare you to someone else… that everyone has their own story and just because high school is over doesn’t mean that... that that story is over. That story is going to keep on going. (Rimat, 2011)

This chapter provides the presentation of the narrative experiences of the students in the domains of the home, school, peers, and the community, followed by an analysis of the tropes drawn out from those experiences, in order to demonstrate how these narrative tropes inspire, conflict, support, and influence each other in informing the pakasaritaan of the students. In the above interview excerpt, 17-year old Rimat acknowledges the uniqueness of everyone’s story and how’s one life is a collection of stories. Like the weave of the Ilokano inabel, the students’ stories vary in pattern, design, and color that make each story unique and authentic, but collectively, their narrative experiences share a common thread that defines and shapes their pakasaritaan.

4.1. Dagiti Sarsarita ti Taeng, Eskuela, Pannakikadua, ken Komunidad/The Stories of Home, School, Peers, and Community

4.1.1 Saringit: The Ilokano Home Grown Narratives

The first section of the student narratives, “Saringit: Ilokano Home Grown,” takes us on a journey into the students’ Ilokano homes. The Ilokano word saringit means ‘shoot’ and represents the offspring (the students) and is also the title of Santa-born Bragado’s Ilokano novel. In this section, the students share their home-grown stories in an Ilokano household which includes, but not limited to, their relationships with their parents and other family members, as well as the language use at home. Figure 4.1 illustrates the interactions of the
discourses operating inside and outside the home. The figure represents the home as the core of the students’ narratives. Surrounded by their family members and relatives, it is in the context of home wherein their stories are shaped. The home does not only represent physical structure where the students live, but it also represents a vessel that represents the Ilokano language, culture, and values.

Figure 4.1. Home as the core of the students’ narratives

Of the five students included in this dissertation, three were born in the Philippines and two in Hawai‘i. Table 4.1 below provides the background data of all the informants’ families, which include members who have lived or living with them as well as the languages spoken in the home.
Table 4.1. Background data of all the family members of the informants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Home</th>
<th>Languages spoken at home (* denotes dominant language)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gundaway</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Ilokano*, Tagalog, English</td>
<td>Family rents with other relatives in Hawai‘i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>Ilokano*, Tagalog, English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namnama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Ilokano*, Tagalog, English</td>
<td>Namnana lived in Bacarra for four years and one year in Manila. Rents with relative’s house in Hawai‘i. Grandfather returned to the Philippines and later passed on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Ilokano*, Tagalog, English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>Ilokano*, Tagalog, English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt</td>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cousins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saguday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Ilokano*, Tagalog, English</td>
<td>Family rented a house in Lugar for several years. Now renting a home in Waipahu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Ilokano*, Tagalog, English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td>Ilokano*, Tagalog, English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimat</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Ilokano*, English</td>
<td>Grandmother lived with family before but has returned to the Philippines. Family-run floral shop business on the basement of the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Sibling</td>
<td>Ilokano*, English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibling</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>Ilokano*, English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayaway</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Ilokano*, Tagalog, English</td>
<td>Born and raised in Hawai‘i. Lived with grandparents for two years. Renting a home with parents and sibling in Lugar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Sibling</td>
<td>Ilokano*, Tagalog, English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibling</td>
<td>Cousin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cousin</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>Ilokano*, Tagalog, English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whether the birth home is in the Ilocos or in Hawai‘i, the students’ home is the starting point of their stories. At home, the relationship of these students to their parents, grandparents, other family members, and relatives is uncovered. Rimat states,

Growing up, it was just me, my mom, my dad, and my brother and my grandma Anselma. So my mom’s mom she would watch me, she would cook me food and clean. She would scold me. I remember when I was like four or five. I was still
small. I’d still really didn’t understand Ilokano but as a child you would always open things, so I would always open the refrigerator and she would always scold me but I never knew what she was saying. She raised her voice; that’s how I knew she was scolding me. (Rimat, 2011)

In Rimat’s narrative, we see the physical presence of a parent, a mother fulfilling her responsibilities to her child as evidenced in the cooking and cleaning inside the home. These tasks are necessary so that the child is raised healthy. We also see the presence of grandmother who is there to support the child in the home. This presence is seen as a resource that the child can easily tap into when needed. Thus, in order to become a resource, the parent has to be present.

The language use of the students at home is also uncovered and is indexed according to the degree by which their heritage language, English, or other languages are used and/or maintained. Rimat explains,

I speak Ilokano and English. Ilokano is mostly spoken at home. My mom scolds me in Ilokano. She talks to me in Ilokano when she tells me to do something. When she’s telling me a story like when her workers are not listening to her and she gets high blood and she need to tell somebody. Or she tells me a story; I don’t know…anykine stories. It starts off as English and then she gets tired of speaking English so she speaks in Ilokano. (Rimat, 2011)

Again in this narrative, we see the presence of Ilokano and its early transmission to the child. We see the language use of the mother going from English and then resorting back to Ilokano because it is her language and we tell our stories in the language we know best. We also see here an interaction between Rimat and her grandmother assumes the caretaker role and must “scold” Rimat in Ilokano. This “scolding” from her grandmother was an Ilokano act for the scolding was done in Ilokano. She heard and learned Ilokano from this interaction. Like Rimat, Wayaway, also born in Hawai‘i, rates his relationship with his parents as being “good.”
My relationship with my parents is good. I think the only time we fight is when I come home late. My dad is more strict. Recently we talked about graduation and this whole girlfriend situation. They would say, “You know, don’t bring her over, this and that cause you’re too young, and you gotta focus on school.”

I’ve been coming home late a lot lately, since it’s Spring Break and it’s not a daily routine for me. It feels good to be out once in a while. My mom doesn’t understand that. But I can see where their coming from, being their first kid, and their only child for like eight years, until my brother came. Yeah, I totally understand like that I’m like their prized possession and they don’t want nothing to happen to me. It’s kinda irritating for a while, but later I realized that they’re just looking out for me. (Wayawaya, 2011)

The presence of Wayawaya’s parents allowed them to sit down with him and counsel him about his choices in life, including dating. In the process of pammagbaga (counseling) of the parent to the child, we see the emphasis of “focusing on education.” This focus on education is also reflected on the “worrisome” attitude of a parent toward a child. The mother worries of the whereabouts of his son, but the child understands where his mother is coming from. We see here a tension between the child and the parent of what it means to come home early, to come home late, and going out. This “looking out” attitude from his parents assures him that his parents care and it is something that he appreciates. In terms of parental language use in the home, Wayawaya states that it is predominately in Ilokano. He observes rarity of his parents speaking in English.

I rarely hear my parents speak English. Like the only time they speak English is when my brother is around…so he can understand. They talk to me in English…it just comes out of nowhere, but for Ilokano..like when they ask for something…(Wayawaya, 2011)

Additionally, Wayawaya acknowledges appreciation to his grandparents for teaching him Ilokano when he was young.

I originally lived with my maternal grandparents for two years and moved down to another street. I love my grandparents. It’s fun talking to them. I think they’re the only ones that will speak to me in Ilokano. I remember my grandma would tell me
“Let’s go shower” or “Let’s go eat now.” Or she would scold me and be like, “What was that?” And I’m the only one who talks back. (Wayawaya, 2011)

Growing up, he learned simple words like digos (shower/bath) and mangan (eat). He admits that among his cousins, he is the only one who responds in Ilokano to his grandparents. This “ability to respond” rather than merely “understanding” the grandparents is an indication of his strong affiliation with his Ilokano heritage, but more importantly, his close relationship with his grandparents. This close relationship remains until today. On weekends, Wayawaya visits his grandparents’ to hang out with them. Another individual who he considers as someone instrumental in his learning of Ilokano is his immigrant cousin. Wayawaya and his cousin became resources for each other as Wayawaya learned Ilokano and his cousin tried to learn English from Wayawaya. It is through this interaction that Wayawaya realizes the struggle of learning another language as demonstrated by his cousin.

My cousin was born in the Philippines. Well not really my cousin, but you know if you live with someone for like nine years, you consider them as a cousin. He came from the Philippines when he was eight, I think seven. I knew him for fourteen years and he’s 21 now! Sometimes he’d ask me questions and I don’t even know what he’s talking about. So I’d try and elaborate on it, I would try to think what he’s trying to say to me. I remember one time he told me to go throw away the trash, and then he was like what? And then he was pointing, he started pointing. Oh, throw away the trash!? And he was like, “Wen Wen Wen” (Yes, Yes, Yes). (Wayawaya, 2011)

In the case of Rimat and Wayawaya, who were both born in Hawai‘i, the use of the heritage language was strong in their respective homes, especially with the presence of their grandparents. Rimat’s aural comprehension was greatly developed at the age of three because of the presence of the “Ilokano ladies” who worked in their family-owned floral shop. This floral shop was established before she was born.

My mom has a flower business and it’s at our house and it’s downstairs so when I was small I would go downstairs…I would just sit and watch or like I would give them flower ’cuz they make leis right and if they needed more flowers I would give them flowers or if they asked me if I wanted food. So they would give me some
snacks or they would tell me to go sleep ‘cuz I was still a kid. They’d tell me to go to
sleep like in the middle of the day or if I went with my mom somewhere they’d ask
me where am I going or where did I come from. Or if I’m like upstairs watching TV
and all of a sudden I go down stairs and I talk to them.

All of her workers are Filipino and they speak Ilokano so they’re older people so of
course they’re going to speak Ilokano. I would always ask them what does it mean,
what does it mean ‘cuz I didn’t understand. If I were sitting next to an old lady I
would ask her what are you saying and they would try to explain it. Sometimes they
don’t know, they can’t find the English word for it so I just ask my mom. If my mom
doesn’t know then they try to find a simple word or they say “kasla (just like)
something, something” and then I try to figure it out. And like little by little, I
learned. (Rimat, 2011)

It is through Rimat’s curiosity and strong interest as a young girl that facilitated the rich input
and transfer of Ilokano language. In the interaction with the workers, we see here an
example of the flower ladies acting as surrogate or second family members for her. As she
got older, she was able to give instructions to the employees in Ilokano. She now helps her
mom manage the business.

Gundaway, Namnama, and Saguday, have identical stories growing up in the Ilocos.
Born in Laoag City in Ilocos Norte, Gundaway grew up with his father, ading, and aunties.
His mother immigrated to Hawai‘i when he was one year old. With the absence of her
mother, the relatives became surrogates for Gundaway to assist the father in raising two boys.

(Only me and my brother are the only ones home at times. During the day we would
go to my auntie’s house because my dad works. They put those building materials for
houses, the hollow blocks and everything. He goes to work everyday…So mostly we
grew up with our aunties. They are good just like our parents because they are the
ones who come to attend school programs and meetings. My auntie is good because she raised us. She is the eldest sibling of my mother. Her name is Ester. There are nine of them. We would go eat at her house. I am not really close to my father’s side because his place is far. They are in Cabugao, Ilocos Sur. (Gundaway, 2011)

The phenomenon of the relative as a surrogate is pronounced here. Here we see the presence of one parent while the other is abroad. His auntie Ester assumed some of the responsibilities of her sister who had already moved to Hawai‘i. She cooked for Gundaway and his brother and attended meetings and functions at their school. Nagasaka (1999) examined the child fostering by close relatives of overseas migrant households in the contemporary Ilokano village. In his study of Ilocano migrants in Italy, these migrants chose to leave their children in their natal village in care of their close kin, such as their parents, siblings, siblings of parents and so on. In Ilokano society, child fostering by a close relative is commonly practiced.

Child fostering in Ilocos occurs in the context of Ilocano notions of “parenthood.” To bring up children is considered as the obligation of parents, but their close relatives, e.g., bilateral kin, parents, siblings, and sometimes more distant kin are expected to share this obligation. When the real parents cannot fulfill their obligation to their children, this responsibility will be extended to their siblings (children’s uncles or aunts), their parents (children’s grandparent) and so on. In this sense, “parenthood” is not confined to the real parents, but shared with close kin. People generally foster their grandchildren, nieces or nephews. (Nagasaka, 1999, p. 32)

Almost all the cases of child fostering are arranged in informal conversation among close relatives. In the local culture of Hawai‘i, this child fostering phenomena is more of the norm than the exception. Many families consist of parents, grandparents and children all residing under one roof. It’s not unusual to see a child being raised by a grandparent or aunt while the parents live and work elsewhere. The Hawaiian family or ohana can also consist of others not related by birth. A valued friend can be a member of one’s ohana. An entire group of close friends or associates can be their own ohana.
Gundaway immigrated to Hawai‘i when he was 11 years old and settled in Lugar. Ilokano-speaking family members and relatives have always surrounded him. When he first arrived to Hawai‘i, his family and relatives rented a six-bedroom house in Lugar. This extended family arrangement has provided the rich input and maintenance of the Ilokano language at home.

Idiay nagtarusanmi a balay balay ti gayyem ni grandma. Thirteen a bedroom. Kukuami diay baba; innem a bedroom. Da parentsko, ni antik, ni uncle sa siak ni motherko mga uppat a familia. Tallo ti bathroom diay baba; maysa diay ruar dua diay uneg. Ngem pinmanawkami idiay two years ago. Ti ayanmi tatta ket bale innem a bedroom met laeng.

(The house that we first settled in was owned by my grandmother’s friend. It’s a 13-bedroom house. We rented downstairs; six bedroom total. There were four families: my parents, my auntie, my uncle, so about four families. There were three bedrooms downstairs; one outside and two inside. But we left two years ago. Where we are now is also a six-bedroom house.) (Gundaway, 2011)

At home, his parents and maternal grandparents speak to him mostly in Ilokano. English is spoken sometimes because some of his cousins are local born. “Maawatanda met ti Ilokano ngem saanda unay a makasao…” (They understand Ilokano, but they cannot speak it…”).

Here we see the use of two languages, Ilokano and English, to communicate two sets of speakers, those who speak Ilokano and those who can only understand Ilokano, also known as the local born children of the Ilokano immigrants.

Similar to Gundaway’s story, Namnama grew up with her father and maternal grandparents in Bacarra, Ilocos Norte. She was only two years old when her mother immigrated to Hawai‘i.

Growing up with my dad I was surrounded with drugs. He kept drinking shabu when I was three years old. He went fishing and he sell ‘um. My grandparents didn’t know about the drug use because he wouldn’t do it in the house. He would go somewhere to do it…I didn’t know I had a mother. (Namnama, 2011)

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25 Slang term for the drug metamphetamine as used in the Philippines and other Asian countries.
Namnama’s story growing up has negative undertones. She grew up in the absence of her mother and the presence of drugs and infidelity. The woman whom she thought was her mother was actually her father’s mistress. When Namnama’s mother found out of her husband’s infidelity, she returned to the Philippines and had her husband arrested. Namnama’s father and his mistress tried to elude the arrest and dragged Namnama with them. Namnama remembered running towards the fields of Cadaratan. Because of her young age, she could not make sense of what was happening to her at that time.

I didn’t know I had a mother. I didn’t know my real mom cuz my dad was surrounded with different girls. The girl he was with I thought that was my mom so I called her mom. And then that’s why I came here before my dad. (Namnama, 2011)

After that incident, her mother moved her to Manila to stay with her uncle in Caloocan when she was six years old. In Manila, she learned Tagalog and forgot her Ilokano.

…It was really hard cuz I didn’t really know much of Tagalog. I just knew of the basics, and I got there, a week later, I caught on into the language. My uncle is Ilokano, but he had a hard time speaking to me in Ilokano cuz he didn’t even know much. I went to school in Manila. They taught Tagalog and English. (Namnama, 2011)

Namnama’s narrative speaks of the trauma of being “yanked out” from one parent and having to move to another place only to lose a language and learn a new one. Namnama later immigrated to Hawai‘i when she was six years old. Leaving her father and moving twice to unfamiliar surroundings contributed to the emotional trauma as reflected in her narrative. It didn’t help that she was forced to leave for Hawai‘i with a mother she barely knew.

I came here when I was seven. I came here with my mom. I was crying cuz I didn’t wanna leave without my dad. Cuz I was so attached with my dad and it was just emotional for me to leave without him because I’ve never been separated from him before. My mom forbid me to see my dad. And then I was crying at the airport cuz I didn’t say bye to any of my family members except the ones in Manila. (Namnama, 2011)
In Hawai‘i, she stayed at her auntie’s 14-bedroom house in Lugar. Two of her auntie’s siblings live upstairs while others are renting downstairs. Her cousins live next door. Again, this narrative tells us of a relative already settled in Lugar and ready to house the newly-arrived immigrant. The large home is able to accommodate several relatives and renters who are close friends of the owners. When Namnama arrived in Hawai‘i, she was more fluent in Tagalog than Ilokano, which justified her taking an Ilokano language to reclaim what she has lost. She took Ilokano I during her junior year and Ilokano II during her senior year.

When I came here, my relatives spoke to me in Tagalog. The place that I left was Manila so I carried it on with me. Even my mom spoke to me in Tagalog. She’s Ilokano but she speaks to me in Tagalog. It’s like natural to her. I signed up for Ilokano because I wanted to learn my language back, cuz honestly I forgot it…Ilokano taught me how to not be ashamed like your culture cuz it will always stay with you, no matter what, and like, really taught me a valuable lesson like, cuz before I got into this class, I was shame to actually say I’m taking Ilokano to my friends, cuz they would tease you like: “Oh, you’re FOB.” (Namnama, 2011)

Although her relatives are Ilokano, they spoke to Namnama in Tagalog because she was more versed in this language. Like in the case of Gundaway, the presence of immigrant relatives living in an extended arrangement facilitated for the transmission of the Ilokano (and Tagalog) languages at home.

Leaving her dad, witnessing drug use and adultery, and moving to different homes were traumatic for Namnama, creating a strain in her relationship with her mother.

My relationship with my mother was not good at all. I had no communication, no bond, nothing. At home it’s just normal, like I see you. We don’t eat together. We go out together only when we go to church and stuff. (Namnama, 2011)

The initial absence of her mother, the lack of a female role model, and now having a mom who had to work multiple jobs all caught up with her as Namnama received suspension for drug use in school. The lack of a stable environment in her childhood and the strained relationship with her mother are risk factors that contributed to her disengagement in school.
Although she grew up just with her dad in Ilocos Norte, she misses the ritual of “eating together” as a family, regardless the lack of and abundance of food served on the table. This disengagement in school is confirmed by a focus group study conducted by Cunanan et al. (2006) and Kim et al. (2009) that low ethnic pride and lack of adult supervision are risk factors for violence among Filipino youth in Hawai‘i. The lack of role model is regarded as a risk factor among Filipino youth in Hawai‘i (see also Luluquisen et al., 2006).

Saguday’s story is set in Mangosmana, Binalonan, Pangasinan, a farming community and the birthplace of Carlos Bulosan, author of America is in the Heart. Saguday has five siblings and came to Hawai‘i in 2004 when he was 10 years old. A Visayan and Ilokano ethnic make up, he spent his growing up years with his mother and siblings while his father worked as a security guard at a hospital in Manila. As a young child, he talks about how his aunties’ disapproved of his mother partly because she is not Ilokano and they did not want her to marry their brother. His mother, being from Misamis Occidental in northern Mindanao region in the Philippines, met Saguday’s dad in Manila after running away from home. Saguday vividly remembers that his father’s siblings treated his mother like utosan, a maid. They would accost her as someone who “naka-score iti balikbayan” or someone who scored a balikbayan, which means that her sole purpose of marrying his father was to be able to come to Hawai‘i one day. Petitioned by a sister in Hawai‘i, his dad came to Hawai‘i when Saguday was five years old. This is the reason why he was closer to his mother than with his father. As a young boy, Saguday developed a very close relationship with his mother because she was always providing for the family while his father was away working in Manila. “Me and my mom, we never fight, she always let us go out; one thing she doesn’t
want us to do is go swimming in the river, and then, isu ti pinag-apaanmi (is what we argued about).

Saguday grew up in a simple two-bedroom house full of religious artifacts and helped out with household chores. Typical in an Ilokano household, children are expected to help out with household chores and work around the house.

We used to wash dishes, clean the bathroom, cuz we didn’t have the flush, so I have to get a bucket, and clean the house, but I only used to clean the living room only cuz no one goes inside the rooms, so I only clean the living room and the kitchen…It was fun. Without them knowing that I’m gay. We used to hang out, we used to, we get nothing to do around the house, we used to play with each other, we used to play games with each other. (Saguday, 2011)

In Saguday’s narrative, there is the presence of siblings who seemed happy and worked well together. His mother attended to the needs of her children including, washing and cooking for them. His relationship with his father changed when he admitted that he was bakla – gay.

By the end of five, I was feeling not close to boys. I was feeling fantasies about boys already. And that’s the time when I used to hang out with girls. ‘Diay maikatlo a brotherko, he used to tease me, “Baklakansa met, baklakan sa met.” That time, I no like tell my feelings, but then it need to come out…Actually, when I was like in 7th grade, I was like showing them proofs that I am. I just don’t want to tell them my feelings. Sometimes I overhear them saying, “Oh, you’re bakla met lang ti kasta, bugbogekto pay.” So I no like tell them. In my mind, “So, it really needs to come out” So idi agbuybuyakami ti Wowwowee, ay ket adda ti bakla idiay, ken adda ti kuna ni daddy nga, “Mmm, apay haanmo pay lang ibaga nga baklaka met a kasla kasta ne?” So that time I told them, “Yeah, I am."

(By the end of five, I was feeling not close to boys. I was feeling fantasies about boys already. And that’s the time when I used to hang out with girls. My third brother he used to tease me, “Are you gay, are you gay?” That time, I no like tell my feelings, but then it need to come out…Actually, when I was like in 7th grade, I was like showing them proofs that I am. I just don’t want to tell them my feelings. Sometimes I overhear them saying, “Oh, if you are gay I will beat you up.” So I no like tell them. In my mind, “So, it really needs to come out” So when we were watching Wowwowee, there was a gay in the show, and my dad said something, “Mmm, why not admit that you’re gay just like that?” So that time I told them, “Yeah, I am.”)

Ever since then that I told them that I was gay, my father never did treat me the way he treated me before - like I never felt like I’m his favorite child anymore. Ginggana
tatta (until now), he makes me jealous cuz everytime he wanna go shopping, he always ask for my youngest brother. But given his new identity, his siblings supported him.

Kuna dagiti kakabsatko, “Oh, mabalinka nga aginbakla,” pero haannak lang kano agmakemake-up. Agmakemakeup-ak starting sophomore year. (My siblings said, “Oh you can be gay,” as long as I don’t put make up. I was putting make up starting sophomore year.) I hid it from them when I go school; I put make up cuz they’re not awake yet, but when I come back home, I remove it. (Saguday, 2011)

His admission of him being gay was almost a “liberating” experience for Saguday, but at the same time risked his existing relationship with his dad and male siblings. Coming from a predominately male household, the dad has a hard time accepting his son’s identity. Wearing make up was something Saguday had to hide since sophomore year. But during his senior year, he was very open about it – wearing make up and using a woman’s purse in school and in other public areas.

Whether the students were born in the Ilocos or in Hawai‘i, the home was the starting point for the students’ stories. Four of the narratives above evidence the presence of a caring and nurturing home. Saguday and Gundaway developed close relationships with one parent because the other parent immigrated to Hawai‘i before the rest of the family. Namnama, on the other hand, grew up with her dad but was in an unhealthy environment surrounded by drug use and infidelity. This experience would later create a great disconnect in her relationship with her mother and her early schooling later on. Here we see a traumatized child who witnessed all the negativities growing up with no positive role model and a woman figure to look up to. When finally reunited with her mother in Hawai‘i, their relationship was strained. Her mother was busy working two jobs and did not know what was going on with Namnama at school (i.e., suspension). Wayawaya and Rimat’s parents were always there checking up on their children’s schooling and always reminding them to do their very best.
Similarly at home, the “lived” and “narrated” versions of stories of hardwork were present. These stories, either experienced, witnessed, and/or heard by the students themselves, add to the layer of their stories of home. The stories of their parents, particularly the stories of working hard and the transmission of Ilokano values, bring in a new dimension and layer to the students’ stories. These narratives of hardwork comprise stories of hardwork as narrated by the parents or what the students heard from their parents and stories of hardwork as lived experience of the students.

4.1.1. Narratives of Hardwork as Narrated and Lived Experience

Besides growing up with the Ilokano language at home, the transmission of Ilokano values such as respect and hard work become salient in the students’ narratives. During her interview, Rimat states,

Like I wouldn’t be the same person I am today if it wasn’t for the experiences that I had and if it wasn’t for what my parents taught and my parents wouldn’t know what they know if their parents didn’t teach them that. They taught me like always respect your elders no matter what culture. Because in the Filipino culture you always respect your elders, always. Like it’s so rude if you don’t. You always address them by grandma, auntie, uncle, manang, manong. If you don’t like..like they’ll just look at you. They won’t scold you but they will give you that look like why you talking like that. (Rimat, 2011)

When asked what trait he learned from his parents, Wayawaya mentioned hardwork. While he realizes that his parents work hard, he does not want to end up like them by working more than one job. In his narrative, he is a witness of his father’s multiple jobs. He sees himself as the “motivation” or “feed off” of his parents’ hardwork, and this in turn motivates him to work hard like his father but not with multiple jobs.

Uh, working hard, you gotta work hard. That’s why my dad has three jobs that’s why he didn’t graduate college, I mean high school. You know what I mean, they use me as a motivation, they use me as like, feed off. I don’t want to end up like my dad, working three jobs. You know, I want to work one solid job making a lot of money. (Wayawaya, 2011)
For Wayawayya and Rimat who grow up in Hawai‘i, they heard a lot of stories of working hard from other people. Rimat recounts what she heard from the Ilokano flower ladies.

One time they talked about when they were young. ‘Cus I asked my mom for an eraser and they told me, “Oh you know when I was young I used to use my slipper as an eraser.” Or if they found out that there was toothpaste on sale at Long’s and they’re like, “Oh, let’s go to Long’s to buy toothpaste” or would say, “You know when I was small we never have toothpaste, we used the sugarcane.” (Rimat, 2011)

In listening to the flower ladies, Rimat heard the humble life they came from: the use of a rubber slipper in place of an eraser and the use of sugarcane as toothpaste. For someone who grew up in the Philippines, this is a reality of life: One must make do on the availability of limited resources. For example, even if a rubber slipper breaks, it can still be fixed by securing it with a wire to extend its life. This resourcefulness of the Ilokano is the result of a hard and poor life. While a local born may find this odd, listening to stories such as these provide a base for what they have already heard from their parents about their lives in the birth land.

While Rimat and Wayawayya listened to the stories of hard work from their parents and other people, Gundaway, Saguday, and Namnama who were born and raised in the Philippines, have witnessed and/or experienced hardship of their parents and continued to do so after immigrating to Hawai‘i.

As someone who grew up in Laoag with his younger brother, his father, and aunties who took care of them while their mom was in Hawai‘i, Gundaway witnessed how hard his father worked in construction and now that he is in Hawai‘i, he sees her mother working two hotel jobs. He recalls having to stay with his aunts while his dad was working.

Duduakami ken ni adingko no kua idiay balay. No aldaw inkami diay balay ni antimi ngamin ni fatherko agub-ubra met isuna. Agikabilda diay pagaramid ti balbalay, dagidiay hollow blocks and everything. Inaldaw a mapan agubra. (My brother and I
were the only ones in the house. During the day, we would go to my auntie’s house because my father works. They put building materials, the hollow blocks and everything. He goes to work everyday.) (Gundaway, 2011)

Namnama, who grew up in Bacarra, Ilocos Norte described her neighborhood as “old” and remembers her dad going fishing and selling his catch in the market. Only when she came to Hawai‘i did Namnama witness her mother’s working hardwork holding two to three jobs. According to Namnama, her mother works so hard because she wants to give her a brighter future through education.

…She wants me to have a better future, go to college, but I guess, like last year, she had to use the money for my college, cuz my grandpa died. Cuz u know how all the family members, all the siblings had to chip in? So, they had to, and the one, my uncle, her brother, the one that’s living here, never give share, so my mother and my aunty had to put a lot of money. (Namnama, 2011)

In Namnama’s narrative, we see the presence of a mother who is working many jobs to earn money for her daughter’s college education. It is this college education that transforms a better future. Present also in this narrative is the practice of saranay or act of helping together as in the case of Namnama’s grandfather whom she admired.

He was just loyal very passionate to his family, like over here, he would walk all the way, since we lived by Leiolani, he would walk all the way from Leiolani, to McGarrett, go Lugar Valley, come back, and then go to McGarrett, just for grab cans, and then go back to our house, gather all his cans, and go back to Robinson to sell it. (Namnama, 2011)

The coming together of family members as illustrated in saranay demonstrates the significant role family plays in the culture.

Saguday, who was 11 years old when he immigrated to Hawai‘i, felt poor when he arrived in Hawai‘i. He describes his family’s two-bedroom apartment in Lugar:

My mom, my dad, and my sister was in one room. My brother and the girlfriend was in the other room, and then my oldest brother was in the living room, so me and my brother who just came - we were in the living room too. I felt poor. I felt not simple
anymore. I felt crowded. I got used to being in a big space, running around and stuff. I just have to suck it up and deal with it. (Saguday, 2011)

Because his parents and siblings work all the time, Saguday feels that this has somehow redefined his notion of what family is all about.

I have a lot of friends but my family, they’re always busy or work, they always work because of the rent, the bills….but when we went back to the Philippines, we never did get separated, we never did go anywhere without each other. We always go out, like that’s how family is supposed to be, that’s how life should be. (Saguday, 2011)

In this narrative, Saguday tells us the reason why his family works a lot and reminisces about the time they were playing and eating together as a family. He then gave the example of a recent trip to the Philippines when they “were always together..did not get separated” and these are almost his benchmark of what a family should be, but working made it difficult for them to see each other. This reality of not being together (i.e., to eat) as often, although residing in one roof, is one of the many realities of life of the imigrante (immigrant) in Hawai‘i.

As witnesses of their parents’ hardwork in Hawai‘i, they begin to emulate this trait and experience it first hand like Gundaway. Gundaway started working when he was 14 years old at McDonalds. He describes working at this fast food joint as ‘narigat’ which translates to ‘hard’ in English. He describes his work as a bagger at a local grocery store.

(I was working during my freshman year, I was working since eight grade. I worked at McDonald’s on Saturday and Sunday. Working at McDonald’s is hard. You stand all day and if you take orders you wait and them give it to them there is long that’s
why. I worked there for 6 months and I transferred and applied here at World Mart as a bagger. So I stayed for a year and a half at World Mart and went to Hoku Market as a bagger.) (Gundaway, 2011)

The hard work in Gundaway’s narrative is evident in his description of the “physicality” of his job which includes “standing all day.” Even as a high school student, Gundaway works a graveyard shift at a Waikiki hotel, trying to balance his academics and work. Gundaway would go straight to school right after his shift, and he would usually come to my classroom in the morning to print his homework. This strong work ethic is inspired by her grandparents who immigrated to Guam and later to the United States. Gundaway’s parents both work two jobs, with his mother working as a housekeeper in two Waikiki hotels. But the combination of work and school proved too much for Gundaway as he had to repeat his sophomore year at NHS.


(I don’t ask help for my homework from my mom and dad because they are busy. My mother has two jobs. She works as a housekeeper. Sometimes she’s off for one day. My father has also two jobs.) (Gundaway, 2011)

Coinciding with Gundaway’s strong work ethic is the value that he now places on education. Seeing his parents working two jobs each, Gundaway sees education as a way of advancing oneself. His parents have always tried to be supportive of his education, but he also attributes his teachers and his lived experience of working hard for finally realizing the value of an education. He sees how hard his parents work in their two jobs. It is now this immigrant boy who realizes the importance of education which is supported by his parents. His realization on the importance of education is attributed to what his teachers told him and his lived experiences of working hard.
I was told by my teachers in America that if you don’t have education, your life is going nowhere. Being educated is important. But here in America you will have a hard life if you don’t finish your education. Because here in America, you can always not go to school, just work if your like your job, but if you want to go up and want to have a better job, get an education because no one will be able to take that away from you.) (Gundaway, 2011)

Gundaway indicates that his parents never had a good education in the Philippines. The emphasis of “saankami a nakaadal” – their not having completed their education – is prevalent in the narrative and the fact that Gundaway is “young” and he has all the time and opportunity in the world to educate himself. Like other immigrant parents, they may have brought bachelor’s degree or some form of formal education, but they got “stuck” and “contented” in their current jobs because they need to provide for their families. Although they possess the drive to improve, going back to school will interfere with work and their inability to earn sufficient income for the family. Another reality is that their degrees from the home country are often times not recognized by some employers due to some disparities in standards or requirements. It is not surprising to see former teachers in the Philippines working in hotels and fast food establishments.

“You study hard, they say because we did not finish our education, college and that is why you need to study because you are still young, they say.” (Gundaway, 2011)

Having had the lived experience of how it’s like to work in Hawai‘i, Wayaway and Rimat’s parents expect their children to work hard in school.
Yeah, my mom. They always push me to work hard. That was a main thing, get good grades, “I want you to get A’s” I think so my dad played a role in it. He wouldn’t, he would always go for the bad grade you know. He would see the B’s not the A’s. So it’s like, I like shut um up already, so I try get the A. Cause he cannot say nothing about it you know. He cannot say nothing bad like, “Oh why you get one B for? Why you get one C for?” (Wayawaya, 2011)

Similarly, Rimat’s mother is also very concerned with her grades.

I had a C for Calculus for my midterm grade check and my mom was mad at me because I had that C and she was like, “Why do you have a C?” And it was hard for me to explain to her that calculus is hard. She goes, “Yeah but you’re always studying how come you have a C?” You can’t explain to them like Calculus is hard, like nobody else can help you. You can’t help me, Manong David can’t help me. Like who’s going to help me? It’s hard. They always tell me to study hard; keep doing what I’m doing. But they don’t help me. But sometimes they scold me for not going to sleep. Sometimes they scold me for being on the computer. (Rimat, 2011)

Here we see an expectation from the mother that if her daughter works hard then it should pay off. The daughter feels this pressure but can’t really explain it to her parents. For example, her Calculus class is difficult, but her parents are unable to help her or understand that higher level subjects will be more challenging. Their children, on the other hand, realize that studying hard does not necessarily translate to better grade. This high expectation parents have of their children to do well, they feel, equates to a better job and better life. If their children fail, they also fail as parents. Rimat’s take on this,

They always say that because they want us they want us to do better knowing that they suffered and that they have to work so hard just to have the things that I have now. Like they have to work twice as hard. That’s what I think. Or I guess that’s what they tell us, “Oh you know, if you go to school and study hard and study you don’t have to work hard like us.” Like when I would be lazy to wash my clothes she’d tell me, “Oh you know when I was small we never had washing machines; we had to do everything by hand.” So it kinda makes you appreciate things more. (Rimat, 2011)

This pressure or push to study hard either motivates and/or pressures the child to attain the expectations of their parents. The child will either ignore the pressures, rebel and do the
opposite, or be inspired and motivated to excel because they see the hard work of their parents. Rimat took it upon herself to excel.

No one, nobody, like my mom didn’t tell me you should join National Honor Society; you should be in student government. I kind of fell into the place on my own. My parents know that I’m involved. They stopped calling me when I come home late ‘cus they know I’m not out smoking, drinking or not partying. They used to call me before like when I was a freshman, and then I explained to her like, “Oh mom, student council in high school is different from middle school.” (Rimat, 2011)

In her narrative, we see the considerable amount of time placed by Rimat in her extra curricular activities, but we see the “worrisome” attitude of her parents for coming home late. Here we see the lack of knowledge on the parents of what is entailed in their participation of such activities, and it becomes the duty of the child to explain it to the parent. Rimat’s hardwork was rewarded through her becoming one of the ten valedictorians at her high school – a testimonial to her strong academics and participation in student government, clubs, and athletics. According to her, she works hard because she is expected to by her parents. She studies hard to get good grades and that became an expectation from her parents. When asked about her thoughts of becoming the valedictorian, she said,

Growing up it wasn’t expected of me. But I had that dream myself to be a valedictorian. ‘Cus everybody says, “Oh yeah, don’t screw up your freshman year,” and that’s how I had to make sure during my freshman year that I was going to do good. And every year after that you know you tried so hard from the very beginning so why do you give up now?

So after awhile it was an expectation like, “Oh yeah, you’re going to be a valedictorian.” Like when I got that C in Calculus in my grade check, my dreams started to crumble. I was like, “It’s ok if I’m not valedictorian,” but deep down you were like “you worked so hard for it; why just give up this last term where it actually counts?” It’s kind of like proving everyone wrong because everyone says that you can’t be in Health Academy or like people doubt the fact that you cannot do well. Like they say Health Academy is hard. (Rimat, 2011)

The value of hardwork was instilled in her at a very young age. The stories that she heard from the women who worked at her mother’s floral shop provided her tidbits of the life
of these women before they came to Hawai‘i and witnessing her mother work hard were enough immersion for her to also work equally hard as her parents. For example, she heard a story of a woman in the Philippines who used her rubber slipper as an eraser because she couldn’t afford to buy one. Still citing her mother, she also observes that Filipinos are “pack rats” who like to save and reuse plastic bags and containers. This act of frugality is a result of a hard life. They value a lot of things, including recycling plastics bags and buying in bulk if something is “on sale” at the store, just like what she heard from the flower ladies. This constant reminder of working hard from her parents signifies that they don’t want to see their child go through the same challenges and hardships that they faced. This constant reminder is an indication that her parents are very supportive and caring about her academics as well as her personal well-being. If she stays up late doing her homework, they worry that she might get sick, but then yet they are implicitly giving her the message to work hard so that she will get a good grade. Then as now, Ilokanos are known or “stereotyped” for their hard-work ethic.

Wayawayas’s parents’ high academic expectations created his attitude of self-reliance or what he calls “testing himself,” clearly the fusion of American individualism and Ilokano hardwork.

It’s more like I test myself you know, it’s like if I can handle it, I can handle anything. You know? It’s just, that’s what I say to myself. If you cannot handle your own stuff, you cannot handle nothing in life, you cannot handle the real world. Cause you’re gonna be on your own in the real world. (Wayawaya, 2011)

Testing himself mean Wayawaya likes to do things independently. This was modeled by his parents at a young age – that no one will help you if you can’t even do it yourself. Part of his independent mindset is also due to the fact that he was the only child during the first eight years of his life. Moreover, he continues to witness how hard his mother and father work.
He particularly cited his father not finishing his high school education in the Philippines and had to finish his GED in Hawai‘i. His two short visits to the Philippines has provided him the visual of the stories he heard from his parents and grandparents.

It wasn’t really what I expected. I expected like how we live here. Like, I didn’t expect a front yard full of dirt. Or a road that’s half paved; two way road. Uh, like, at the outside, the inside is nicer than the outside. The inside looked more you know, it looked more like home. Living room, couch, TV, rooms. I think the only thing that stuck out was the bathroom. Cause in the house, my dad’s house, the bathroom is in the kitchen. So there’s a shower and that’s good. But the toilet is on the outside, it was no flush toilet, it was take the water you gotta pour it. (Wayawaya, 2011)

Now that he has gone to the birth land of his parents, he saw for himself the image of living a hard life and was able to connect this experience with the stories and values of his parents. The image of “no flush toilet” and “flushing it with water” is not something that he grew up with but a reality and lived experience of his parents who grew up in the Ilocos. What Wayawaya experienced and witnessed during his visits in the Ilocos proved Cashman’s (2009) point that kids need to go back to really experience the stories that they hear.

4.1.2. Conclusion

This section talked about the narratives of the students in the context of home. The stories of their parents added another important layer to their stories. Hardwork and sacrifice became salient and these values were embedded in their upbringing and helped to define their identities. Rimat, nicely summarizes this.

So your history makes up who you are because you are who you are because of what happened to you or what. Like, I wouldn’t be the same person I am today if it wasn’t for the experiences that I had and if it wasn’t for what my parents taught and my parents wouldn’t know what they know if their parents didn’t teach them that. (Rimat, 2011)

Whether the students were born in the Ilocos or in Hawai‘i, the home is the starting point and foundation for the students’ stories. They all grew up in a caring and supportive
home. The caring and supportive home is characterized by the presence of one or both parents and other family members that allowed them to fulfill their responsibilities to their children and extend tender loving care so they grow up healthy. This presence, combined with a nurturing and caring attitude, is powerful in transmitting Ilokano values such as respect, humility, and hard work. The presence of the mother, the father, the auntie, or a relative are all resources for the students, providing financial, emotional, or psychological support. Guerrero et al. (2006) found that, among Filipino adolescents in Hawai‘i, family support and higher socioeconomic status (SES) were important protective factors against academic, behavioral, and emotional difficulties.

Similarly, the presence of the students’ grandparents played an instrumental role in the informants’ acquisition of Ilokano at a young age. The fact that immigrant parents work two or three jobs means that their children spend a considerable time with their grandparents after school and during the weekends. Like their parents, their grandparents are also instrumental in infusing the values of hardwork, sacrifice, and respect to their grandchildren. In a predominantly English-speaking environment, the grandparents were there to transmit the language and culture through everyday interactions (even in the form of scolding) to the teaching of simple Ilokano words here and there. Therefore, the presence of grandparents means the presence of Ilokano language in the home.

In the absence of one parent, a relative became a surrogate for the child, performing the responsibilities left behind by the parent. For example, in the absence of Gundaway and Namnama’s mothers, their relatives stepped up to fulfill their responsibilities, but this absence also promoted longing and trauma on the part of the student like in the case of Namnama. Namnama’s lack of adult supervision was a risk factor for youth violence, while
family connection is a protective factor (Cunanan et al., 2006). While the mother is present in Hawai‘i, she was not always there to attend to her child’s needs.

With the absence of grandparents, the transmission of the Ilokano language also diminishes as the parents try to talk to their children in the dominant language. In cases where parents talk to their children in Ilokano, they choose to reply in the more dominant language. The absence of grandparents diminishes the input of Ilokano language.

The home stories also provide the heritage language profiles of these students who grew up listening to and speaking the heritage language of their parents and other family members. The informants in this study grew up in homes where the Ilokano language was spoken and heard. This is what characterized them as heritage learners - they hear the Ilokano language at home. Although the parents talk to their Hawai‘i-born children in their heritage language, Ilokano, their children respond back in English.

At the backdrop of the students’ stories are the stories of their parents. The stories of hardwork and sacrifice become a trope in the students’ own stories because their parents’ stories become an extension of their own stories. In their narratives, these students have heard, witnessed, and/or experienced hardwork. These stories include, but are not limited to, their childhood experiences in the Philippines and the ‘hardships’ that they encountered. For Gundaway, Saguday, and Namnama, who grew up and witnessed hardship in the Philippines, were able to relate. For Rimat and Wayawaya, they did not really experience these ‘hardships’ and can only meditate about these experiences and use them as inspirations or motivational factors in their lives.

In analyzing the trope of hardwork in their parents’ stories, I was reminded of the Sakada-Ramut Filipino (Sakada: Filipino Roots) song composed by Ilokano songwriter and
singer, Andrea Baptista, during the 85th anniversary of Filipino immigration to Hawai‘i. The song talks about the Sakada as pioneers who planted the seed of hardwork and sacrifice. The legacy of hardwork left by the Sakadas has become an inspiration for Filipinos in Hawai‘i. The students in this study made a reference to the Sakadas by saying how they have learned their history and contributions to this State in their Ilokano language class. Clearly, no one can deny that the seed of hardwork was planted by the Sakadas whose roots can be traced back in the Ilocos, and served as an inspiration to the younger generation. This is succinctly stated by Gundaway when he said that the learning of Ilokano language should be maintained.

Because ammotayo nga ti nagkakauna ti Pilipino nga nga immay ditoy Hawai‘i ket dagiti Sakada so no ammonto dagiti sumaruno nga henerasion nga ti immuna a Pilipino ket Ilokano isu a dapat a lagipenda ken..no awan dagiti sakada awanda koma met ditoy isu a dapat nga ammoda ti agsao ti Ilokano.

(Because we know that the first Filipinos who came to Hawai‘i were the Sakadas so if the next generation knows about that they’re Ilokanos they need to remember and..if not for the Sakada they would not be here so they need to know how to speak Ilokano.) (Gundaway, 2011)

As descriptively stated by students in their narratives, they heard and/or witnessed stories of their parents’ hardships and sacrifice. For those like Gundaway and Saguday who experienced it themselves, the value of hardship was ingrained in them at an early age through their humble and simple life in the Philippines – things like living in a simple house and going to the river during the summer. Fortunately, their families had the opportunity to immigrate to Hawai‘i. The feeling of isolation and separation between family members becomes a reality as family members seek to provide their families a better life and future.

For immigrant parents, like my own parents, their main reason for leaving the Philippines for Hawai‘i was to give their children a better life and opportunities. Thus, their
immigrant parents moved to the *narabraber a pagaraban* (greener pasture) and became part of the diverse fabric of Hawai‘i. The idea of “greener pasture” became the selling point for the HSPA when they recruited labor workers from the Philippines. They recruited single and hardworking men and inspected their calloused palms for signs of their hardworking capabilities. The Ilocos was an ideal recruitment area because majority of the people there are farmers just like my Uncle Canor who immigrated with the last wave of the Sakadas in 1946. He is the reason why my family and I are here in the United States.
4.2. “What School You Go To?”: The School Narratives

In the previous section, the home lays out the foundation for the students’ stories. In the home, the relationship of these students to their parents, grandparents, other family members, and relatives is uncovered. In addition, examining their language use at home can index the degree to which their heritage language, English, or other languages are used and/or maintained at home. More importantly, the stories of their parents add another important layer to the students’ own stories.

This section discusses the narratives of the students with relation to their schooling, including their day-to-day activities in the classroom and in their extra curricular activities as well as their relationship with their teachers, classmates, and peers. Specifically, we see the stories of Gundaway, Namnama, and Saguday in their ELL classes and stories of how the notion of hardwork is applied in their schooling. Figure 4.2 is a representation of the students’ interaction with the school and vice versa.

**Figure 4.2.** Representation of the school narratives

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26 In the illustration, the bigger circle represents the interaction of the student to the domain (i.e., school) and vice versa. The smaller circles around the big circle are the representations of the “small” and “big” stories within that domain.
Table 4.2 below provides a summary of the schooling background of the student informants.

### Table 4.2. Schooling background of the student informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informants</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>School Attended</th>
<th>Age of arrival to HI</th>
<th>Extra curricular activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Hawai‘i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public Private</td>
<td>Public Private</td>
<td>ELL class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gundaway</td>
<td>Laoag, Ilocos Norte</td>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namnama</td>
<td>Bacarra, Ilocos Norte</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-12</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saguday</td>
<td>Binalonan, Pangasinan</td>
<td>1-</td>
<td>6-12</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimat</td>
<td>Honolulu, Hawai‘i</td>
<td>K-12</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayawaya</td>
<td>Honolulu, Hawai‘i</td>
<td>9-12</td>
<td>K-8</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.2.1. Learning a New Language

The narratives of Gundaway, Namnama, and Saguday cited their struggles and triumphs in their schooling experiences in Hawai‘i. Gundaway and Namnama, who started in their middle school years, were faced with challenges in their English classes and in having to adjust to their new environment. But despite these challenges and little bumps in the road, they found ways to counter them. In terms of speaking English, Saguday thought the he was “all good,” but not so.
I thought I could speak English, but no. Idi dattoyakon, balabaluktot met gayam. (When I was here already, my English was all crooked.) Like every time I talk to my classmate he always laughs, “Why do you talk like that?” (Saguday, 2011)

Saguday’s self perception of his English ability was good, until he was criticized by his peer in middle school. This was complicated by other things that he was doing in his English class during middle school.

When we had to read this poem, and then “Oh snap, what am I gonna do?” Yeah, isuratmi pero, ipa-check-ko, addat’ ti wrongna (we write it, then we had it checked, there were errors). I had a lot of mistakes. I have spelling, grammar. I go, “Oh, am I this bad? Like am I this bad? Like, oh my God.”

And then we had to write this autobiography about myself. And then, one of my classmates read mines and then it says on the bottom, “You need to rewrite your paragraphs.”

When I was 7th grade, I had a lot of C’s. My grade is so messed up. In 8th grade, I was a straight B student. But 7th grade was the most difficult cuz I got suspended…my best friends, they accused me of harassing them…they tell the counselor, I harassed them like touching their boobs and stuff, I got suspended for 3 days cuz I wasn’t good at English yet so I couldn’t talk back to the counselor. When I was in the Vice Principal’s office, they called the police on me, and they’re telling me, “You know you could get arrested for this, blah blah blah.” I just didn’t want to talk. I was suspended for 3 days. (Saguday, 2011)

Because he felt his English was inadequate, he is unable to defend himself when he was accused of sexual harassment. This resulted in a three-day suspension. His inability to express himself was due to the fact that he could not access the language of power, which was highly needed at that particular time to deal with the school counselor. He was out of his community of practice because he did not have the full control of English.

As he moved on to high school, he also noticed the increased rigor and expectations in his classes. The introduction of different writing genres and literary terms such as personification in his English class overwhelmed him, and this feeling of being overwhelmed could be an indication that he was learning.
Freshman year is like, “Ok, this is normal English.” Sophomore year, “Ok, getting hard.” Junior year, “Oh my god, what is PTP? What is personification? Summary of this?” I was frustrated junior year. Senior year, I got more frustrated because there’s like a lot of vocabularies that we have to learn and memorize. Like some of them, we would have to look up in the Internet cuz it’s not in the dictionary. (Saguday, 2011)

Besides wrestling with course content, his skills of presenting in front of the class was also of concern.

I feel embarrassed when I’m presenting in class. Like I’m gonna FOB out - like when you mumble and then say a word that is in Filipino accent, like when old people talk. I still have a little of the Filipino accent. Before I don’t feel comfortable, but now I don’t give a damn about it. (Saguday, 2011)

Once again, he feels inadequate about his speaking ability, which creates this feeling of embarrassment when he presents in front of his classmates. Talking in front of the class with an accent is something he fears because he does not want to be judged by the way he talks.

Gundaway, who started his middle school at McGarrett Middle School, echoes Saguday’s sentiments, although he attended a private school in Laoag prior to immigrating to Hawai‘i.

Ti panagbasak idiay McGarrett Middle School medyo narigat ta medyo narigat ti English ta ngamin idiay Pilipinas uray English ti klasem agsaoda met latta ti Ilokano. Ditoy ket straight English amin.

(My schooling at McGarrett Middle School was slightly hard because English is hard; in the Philippines they would still speak Ilokano even in an English class. Here it is all English.) (Gundaway, 2011)

The rigor in his classwork was also felt by Gundaway as he started his high school education at NHS.

Ti English classko ket my teacher is Mrs. Lilikoi. Ms. Lilikoi teach how to do a research paper and everything like that. Medyo narigat kasi adu ti ub-ubraenmi kaniana like mostly every week inkami diay library inkami agresearch about immigration, about mix mix mix presentations, poem. Dapat agra-rhyme dagidiay poemsmo sa adut’ visual projects and ubraenyo presentations ken research. Kabkabahannak nga agpresent idiay klasena. Coz dagidiay I think some of my classmates I don’t know them like new faces from different school and I think they’re local saanda nga Ilokano saanda kas koma kaniak naggapu idiay Pilipinas adda siguro ngem bassit laeng isu a medio like saan napintas unay ti gradeko.
(My English teacher was Mrs. Lilikoi. Ms. Lilikoi teach how to do a research paper and everything like that. It was slightly hard because we did a lot of work like mostly every week we would go to the library to do research about immigration, about mix mix presentations, poem. The poems must rhyme and there’s a lot of visual projects and presentations and research. I was nervous when I present at her class. Because I don’t know some of my classmate and they’re local, not Ilokano speaking just like me who just came from the Philippines, but I think there were few people and that is why I received a low grade.) (Gundaway, 2011)

Here we see a student who tries to compare his abilities with his classmates who were born in Hawai‘i and underestimates his abilities wherein he attributes this to the low grade that he received in his English class. I think at this point Gundaway was trying to acquire the secondary discourse of the school including the genres of research and poetry.

The narratives of Gundaway, Namnama, and Saguday also tell us about their experiences in the ELL classroom. They all experienced being in an ELL classroom in order to receive assistance in their transition and developing their academic English. The goal of the ELL program as stated in the website of Hawai‘i Department of Education reads,

The statewide English Language Learner (ELL) Program ensures students with limited English proficiency have access to educational opportunities by providing services that assist these students with the attainment of English language proficiency, develop high levels of academic attainment in English, and meet the same challenging State academic content and student achievement standards all students are expected to meet. Services to ELL Program students include instructional services consisting of English as a Second Language (ESL) type instruction and acculturation activities. The ELL Program supports Hawai‘i Department of Education’s mission to provide standards-based education through supplementary instructional and acculturation activities. Services to ELL Program students implement the requirements of many laws. Title III of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (Title III) is one of the laws being implemented. Title III requires ELL Program students attain English proficiency, and meet the same challenging academic standards all students are expected to meet. Services provided through the ELL Program also implement the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and its regulations, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in programs and activities that receive federal funds. With regard to students with limited English proficiency, Title VI and its regulations require that these students are able to participate in, or benefit from, regular or special education instructional programs. (http://doe.k12.hi.us/englishlanguagelearners/)
Part of the ELL goal is to “supplement instructional and acculturation activities” of students. In their ELL class, they socialized with their fellow students as well as their ELL teachers who were always supportive. Gundaway recalled being only to three different ELL classes at McGarrett.

Nakakat katawa ta tallo lang ti room a pappapananmi sinsin nu blat sinsinnublat. Tay ESLL addakami ti separate building. My ESL classes were fun. We had a lot of field trips – Sea Life Park, Water Park, Honolulu Zoo. Mayat met napintas nasayaat dagidiay teachersmi so talaga nga like iconcentrateda nga tulungandaka no dimo maawatan ti English kasdiay. Adu dagiti visuals nga ipakitada nga pappapel dagiti drodrowi.

(It's funny we only go to three different classrooms every time. The ESLL we were on a separate building. My ESL classes were fun. We had a lot of field trip – Sea Life Part, Water Park, Honolulu Zoo. It’s nice, the teachers were good because they really concentrated on helping you if you don’t understand English like that. They show a lot of visuals of drawings on paper.) (Gundaway, 2011)

Gundaway’s observations about his ELL classroom touches on the stigma that is attached to being an ELL student – that they are housed in a different classroom and therefore are on the periphery of the mainstream students. He remembers the use of visual aids to assist them in their learning, which also reminded me of my ESL days at Leilehua High School. I remember my ESL teachers showing me pictures of different objects I was asked to identify. Gundaway is appreciative of the support from his ELL teachers, which is also echoed by Namnama who started her third grade schooling at Fern Elementary School.

Dr. Beltran was my ESL teacher. She was really welcoming to me. She knew my mom like a friend. It was like she was the one that told me and encouraged me to come to school and just don’t listen to others cuz it doesn’t really matter. So she was my inspiration. She spoke to me in Tagalog. As I kept going there, she keeps talking to me in English and I just caught on. (Namnama, 2011)

Here, we see the presence of a teacher, an ELL teacher, who speaks the home language of the student and uses this language to transition the student into learning English and help adjust
her to the new school environment. While Gundaway and Namnama cited influential teachers, Saguday reminisces about his relationship with other ELL students.

I got into ESL class first. I was the clown of the class. I make fun of people. I mock them in a good way. Like when somebody says something, like I do the same thing but in a funny way. (Saguday, 2011)

Saguday’s act of mocking his classmates is his way of protecting himself from being teased first. It is his shield so that he will not be teased for being FOB or being gay.

Because Saguday, Namnama, and Gundaway had some years of schooling in the Philippines, they were cognizant of the differences in the school system such as school protocol and academic expectations. Both Saguday and Namnama attended public schools while Gundaway attended a private school.

Nagbasaak diay San Felipe Elementary School. (I attended San Felipe Elementary School). The school is whack, I should say ugly. I never learned anything. I think they only taking money from us. They didn’t teach. Adda unipormemi (we had a uniform) – white shirt and blue shorts and shoes. It was painful. Every time we cannot do our homework, they hit us with the stick - with a ruler stick in our butt or in our hand. In my mind, is it necessary to hit children, like hit a student if they don’t do their homework? Like kasla (just like), we never did learn anything. I never did learn anything. (Saguday, 2011)

The corporal punishment experienced by Saguday was echoed by Namnama while attending an elementary school in Bacarra.

I went to Cadaratan Elementary School. Like, you know that coconut thing? If you don’t do your work or you don’t do your homework, had this mean teacher, she--you know the coconut thing? And the ruler thing? I experienced the slapping because I didn’t do my work. (Namnama, 2011)

Despite the “lack of learning” from his elementary school in the Philippines, Saguday says that his brain became a sponge when he attended school in Hawai‘i. He started the second half of his sixth grade year at Kalakaua Middle School.

Over here, my brain became a sponge that I absorbed every knowledge that they taught me. Like they really force you; they really teach you good stuff. They don’t
hit people. They don’t abuse children. They give you chances. They give you
second chances and Philippines doesn’t. And tuition, you’re only paying for your
obligation, but over there you have to pay a lot of things. Like your tuition fee, your
shirt, your uniforms, and stuff. High school no more uniforms. (Saguday, 2011)

These stories from the students were reflected by Chattergy and Ongteco (1991) who
outlined areas of adjustment problems that Filipino student immigrants face in the Hawai‘i
DOE classroom (see Table 4.3). According to them, this list provides educators a knowledge
base from which to consider ways to assist Filipino immigrant students adjust to their new
academic environment.

Table 4.3. Differences in socialization practices (Chattergy & Ongteco, 1991, p. 150).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Home Rule</th>
<th>School Perspective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interaction</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak only when spoken to.</td>
<td>Volunteer responses.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not ask too many questions.</td>
<td>Learn by discussing, asking, verbalizing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen and do as I say.</td>
<td>Contribute to discussions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Learning Attitudes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn by observing.</td>
<td>Ask for questions and ask for help.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read the book and learn from it.</td>
<td>Review the book. Comment and critique. Question.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Working Preference</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work with others. Help one another like you at home with chores.</td>
<td>Do your own work. Do what you think is best for yourself. You alone are responsible for your actions. The sooner you’re on your own, the better.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Role Perception of Teachers and School</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do as your teacher tells you. He/She is your parent in school. Teacher “knows” everything.</td>
<td>Self-initiative is good. Teacher is facilitator of learning, not parental surrogate. Teachers are not the only source of knowledge or information.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The school is the major source of knowledge and information.</td>
<td>We need parental support and help.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The school will help you to make a living.</td>
<td>We can only do so much.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stories of students who are second language learners are also described by Lilikoi and
Mahi based on their teaching experiences at NHS. Lilikoi is an English teacher in the
Teacher Academy while Mahi is a Social Studies teacher with the Health Academy.

Like the class of, I think it was 2003, I would say about 15-20 students were still
enrolled in ESL programs while they were with us. And then we had the cycle where there weren’t very many. This year, I noticed the sophomore class may have a big chunk of ESL students….It just really depends on how their attitude is here. (Mahi, 2011).

At NHS, the Health Academy is said to be one of the most prestigious academies in the school. The presence of ESL students in this academy is a testimonial that second language learners have the ability to work hard and take rigorous classes. Lilikoi concurs with Mahi,

But my observations as far as academics, tend, most of them try a lot harder than those who do speak English. And uh, their deficiency, I don’t want to say their deficiency but because they’re learning as a second language, English, sometimes they try to over compensate by working harder. Despite the language barrier, they seem to have more, or not even more but the ability to prepare more than the students who are not ESL. Just noticing that they want to sound good, or be clear about their presentation and because of that, their presentations tend to be a lot better. (Lilikoi, 2011)

Lilikoi is very cautious in saying that being an ELL student is a “deficiency.” However, she is a very dedicated teacher who describes herself as a hardworking and exemplary educator because she teaches by “showing.” When asked about the role of second/foreign language learning role in the Teacher academy, she responded,

Well it’s kind of a catch 22 because as teachers we’re expected to speak proper English. And let me actually share what somebody told me. So I went to go work out one day and I was speaking to this gentleman who was obviously in the army and he’s talking and he’s like, “oh what do you do?” and I said like “I’m a teacher” and he was like, “okay, what do you teach?” and I said English and he looked at me like, “Oh, why don’t you speak like the rest of them, you know, how everyone speaks pidgin?” But that’s not the first time I’ve heard that comment you know. I’ve heard it like when we’ve been to a restaurant in Waikiki, and the waitress is actually speaking proper English, she’s not speaking pidgin, and the couple goes, “Wow, you don’t speak like the rest of them.” I’m like, “What does that mean?!” So as far as bringing in, I would pull on their strings because they understand what it’s like to learn another language they can actually use that to pull in to their kids who are Second Language learners as well. But also say for an example, a student is stronger in English but not in math and our student that is stronger in math, they can use their personal connection to bring out the best in that student. Because it’s all, a lot of it has to do with relationships. (Lilikoi, 2011)
Lilikoi’s response highlights some of the expectations that teachers in the public education need to adhere to such as speaking in standard English in the classroom, especially for English teachers. The subtext in Lilikoi’s narrative is that there are still people who assume that teachers cannot speak standard English and all they speak is “pidgin,” which leads to the demise of students in their academic undertakings. She underscores the importance of pulling in the primary discourse of the students as well as the secondary discourse so that the students can be successful. Gee (1992; 1996; 1999) points out that students do much better in school when their primary discourse is the same as their secondary discourse. This means that the primary discourse is used as the base to get to the secondary not as a cause for not getting there. Gee (1992; 1996; 1999) further notes that acquisition is the best and natural way to learn a language and is simply the immersion in it, and constant interaction with, that language.

4.2.2. Being in the Middle

Middle school years were significant for the students because this is the period when they are exploring and discovering who they are. Their relationships with their peers and classmates seem to be of high importance and there is a need to fit in and be like everyone else.

Middle School, I think that’s when all the cool things started to come around. You know when everything mattered you know, like the way you dressed. At school it didn’t really matter because you know all of us had the same uniform - white buttoned up shirt with like navy jeans or something. But like, I remember after school you know, we would always go, after school we would always go to Fun Factory to play and I remember that’s when everyone used to be shame about what they were wearing outside of school. Being seen around, you know everybody. That’s when everything started to hit us, like aw so shame we don’t wanna be seen like this in public. It’s like everybody might tease us, and that when everybody was like, “I’m sick and tired of using uniforms already. I wanna change.” That’s when everything mattered like, you know, the shoes mattered, like what kind of shoes you need to wear. We always got to wear those nice white ones. You gotta have the nice
You know, we gotta have an ipod, we gotta have a cell phone. (Wayawaya, 2011)

For Wayawaya, who attended a private Catholic school from K-8, appearance, dress, and accessories are important. When asked about the differences between a private and public school, he states,

I think the freedom, more freedom, meaning, they don’t care what you do, it’s up to you. Like, you know from private school, you need to tuck in your shirt, you need to wear this you cannot wear that, you cannot put gel in your hair. Going to high school, it’s up to you how you make yourself presentable. (Wayawaya, 2011)

Rimat underwent the same process as Wayawaya’s.

Sixth grade is when everybody’s trying to figure out who they are. I mean you kinda want to figure what you wanna do. Because you’re in a new school and you wanna make new friends. I think I was really mean. I remember in sixth grade I didn’t care about grades as I do now. And it wouldn’t bother me. I guess I just wanted to fit with everybody else. Like you don’t go home right after school. You would go to our friend’s house. We would usually go to the store first and then like get snacks and go to your friends’ house and eat and talk and watch TV…I didn’t know who I was in sixth grade. I mean I was still Rimat but I didn’t know what I wanted to do because like in seventh grade you had to either join band, chorus, art, or computer. I played the clarinet in the seventh grade and the bass clarinet in the eight grade. (Rimat, 2011)

Gundaway and Saguday both arrived during their middle school years in Hawai‘i and they also had to find themselves so they could fit in to their new environment. Gundaway’s experience with his ELL classes seemed positive for him because he met friends who spoke Ilokano and shared similar experiences. He admitted being called FOB by other local Filipino students because he spoke in Ilokano. Gundaway indicated that he “did not care” because it was his language. The friends he met from his ELL class became his support system. Saguday had to hang out with the “Englishero” or students who speak English, at least in his criterion, to master his English and avoid “FOBbing out.” According to him, “fobbing out” means speaking with the Filipino accent. He also hung out with his Filipino
friends so he could continue using his Ilokano and Tagalog. Like Gundaway and Saguday, it is this fear of being labeled FOB that forces immigrants to reject their language or denying their Ilokanoness. Gundaway, for example, joined clubs to widen his networks and also to improve his English.

4.2.3. Teachers as Surrogates

The presence of a “caring teacher” was salient in the narratives of the students. Like the parents of these students, their teachers also shared their own stories to their students. All of them cited a particular individual that reached out to them or inspired them to do better.

Gundaway cited his caring ELL teachers while Namnama mentioned a teacher in her academy who shared his own story to her and in turn, inspired her to become a teacher.

Lilikoi, who was a former teacher of Gundaway and Namnama, shared her inspiration of becoming a teacher.

I had an awesome elementary teacher and he taught Social Studies and Science and just from the moment I stepped into his classroom, I knew I wanted to be just like him; to inspire the kids, to be energetic about what he taught and just the information. He was a wealth of information, and from there, like I said I knew from elementary school and going into high school and college I knew what I wanted to do. (Lilikoi, 2011)

Namnama, who showed disengagement in school early on, did not like school and considered her teacher an “asshole.” Her initial negative attitude towards school stemmed from the rough childhood experiences.

When I first came, I was really bad. To be honest, I was really bad. I didn’t want to go to school. Like I just wanted to be surrounded with drugs and then now that teacher academy kind of changed my life. To be honest, it had cuz like the teachers just motivated me to come to school and especially my students and yeah, really made me become a better person today.

I started in 3rd grade at Akamai Elementary School. My teacher was one asshole. Everytime we not listen, she always grabbed the rope and she’d tell us: “You guys see that tree outside? I’ll hang you guys.” She was just mean. She scared the heck out
of me cuz I didn’t want to go to school cuz the way she treated me. I didn’t like. In 6th grade, I got suspended. Before graduation, I got suspended because my friend brought a BB gun, and then, I just I wanted to see. And then I just saw it, and then the principal saw me with the BB gun. So I got in trouble for it. I always got detention in middle school because I cut class. I didn’t enjoy my teachers cuz they were A-holes. Like it’s the way they treat students is not fair. My mom couldn’t help me with my homework. “Can you go tutoring?” she would say. In 7th grade, I was suspended for smoking weed. I was peer pressured. It was during period C. They pressured me. “Oh let’s smoke weed. Let’s go.” I was afraid cuz I never tried smoking weed before or any type of drugs besides in the Philippines and my dad. So they kept pressuring me andpressuring me to cut class and plus, I didn’t like my class so I cut class. So, they pressured me to smoke weed and marijuana, and I just did. I was suspended for 5 days. My mom didn’t know about it. I was failing in 8th grade. I was failing my Math cuz you know how some math teachers they don’t really explain well. They expect you to know it already. But you ask for help, but they tell you, “Oh, just look at your notes.” Freshman year, I was scared to come to school cuz like hearing all of those fights and stuff. I was like really scared and those big Samoans. Freshman year, I never even like go school. You know Mr. Smith? I cut his class for the whole 3rd term. Ms. Matsumoto would always call my mom cuz now she has a cell phone. (Namnama, 2011)

Namnama made a reference to the descriptions of teachers who do not care and an atmosphere that was not inviting. Namnama had two major suspensions from school, one of which was for marijuana use. Her disengagement and attitude toward learning shifted when she became a member of the Teacher Academy at NHS. Now, she sees herself becoming a teacher.

I see myself as a teacher, but back then, before I got myself into Teacher’s Academy in junior year, I had no intention whatsoever in becoming a teacher. I hated my teacher so I didn’t want to become a teacher. But I entered teaching academy. Like the reason why I chose teaching academy was just to get out campus. But, like after that, seeing my students look up to me, it was just like good feeling cuz, yeah, I hated my teachers, so I didn’t want to become a teacher.

He [Mr. Nelson] talks to me as if I’m one of the teachers. Like, he treats his students fair. Not like other teachers, like “Oh, I choose you because you’re getting one A.” But I was getting one F from him and he motivated me to go to class cuz like I just didn’t like school before. He told me his experiences like he didn’t want to become a teacher, too, but he wanted to be a lawyer. But before he had that incident of becoming a lawyer . . . because you know when you back up someone? He was just bitching at Mr. Nelson, like “Fuck this.” So he majored in teaching. He actually
loves it. Like his first year, he likes or loves seeing his students, and he just wants to make a difference in people’s lives.

When other schools say Nakem is bad and like their teaching skill is not good, to be honest, the students work harder than other students. Like I see that cuz even though they give us a lot of classes that we can fail, at least a lot of students graduate on time. So not like other schools. Like they get short classes and they can’t make it up. (Namnama, 2011)

Her English teacher concurs on the stride that Namnama has demonstrated while in the Teacher Academy.

Okay so this is the second year I had Namnama. I met her as a Junior. She’s very timid, shy, very quiet and academically last year, she was not a good student. To the point to where we had to have many sit downs and discussions with her trying to get her to get her work done; and her attendance was kind of iffy, too. This year however, pretty much from the beginning of the year it’s almost like somebody lit a fire under her and she realized that she could do it and her attendance problems almost disappeared. The only time she was absent was when she was really sick. And even when she was sick this year, she had somebody bring in her work. She was a lot more responsible, a lot more academically inclined. There was a point when she wasn’t sure if she was gonna be here and that tore her to pieces and I’m glad she wanted to stay because she realized how much of an effect it would have and that she was so concerned to come and talk to us about it…..That improvement skyrocketed. It shows her understanding, it shows her thoughtfulness. Like she actually took the time to think about it before she turned it in and she’s asked on several occasions can I re-do it if it’s not good. (Lilikoi, 2011)

In Namnama’s narrative, we see a teacher sharing his own story to the student that adds another layer to Namnama’s story. She was able to connect with the experience of her academy teacher and this inspired her to pursue teaching. In a way, this teacher became a second parent for her and the role model that was missing for the most part of her life. An interview of retired principal from NHS, underscored the importance of “taking care” of the students while they’re still in school.

When you’re in that school, that’s not what you feel the most. It’s supporting these people, the teachers and the students, and helping them to see a vision that is higher than maybe what they had imagined for themselves. It just fit again with my real conviction that we have to take care of these students while they’re still in school, and help them to find a different path. Because if we don’t do that, the cost to society, and
to them as individuals, is gonna be really, really great. The teachers that were at Ohana inspired me so much, because they were teachers that would see a little bit of goodness in every child, and try to make that little bit grow, and grow. Kids need to have some adult in their life that they know cares about them. So it really requires a special person to be a counselor or a teacher, or an aide in a school like Ohana, or Nichols, or Kukui, or Nakem. Because you’re working with kids who may not have that in their personal life, in their family life. So we have to be willing to go that extra step. What works is giving them hope. And I think for many children, even at the age of twelve and thirteen, they’ve started to lose hope. They see their parents in trouble, they see their siblings and their cousins. So it’s finding that little crack that you can get into, and give them hope. (PBS Hawai‘i, 2011)

This is echoed by Rimat, an outstanding student at her high school.

There are teachers on campus that do care for their students but there are teachers on campus that I never personally had but I heard stories about them and they don’t care about their students. Like they’ll give you work and they expect you to do it without explaining it. There are teachers who are personable so that you can talk to them, you can go to them during recess or like when you have someone to talk to or you need guidance. (Rimat, 2011)

4.2.4. Exceeding The Standard

Because of the high expectations from their parents, both Wayawaya and Rimat seemed to be very engaged and focused in their schooling. Wayawaya was a student in the Engineering Academy while Rimat belonged to the Health Academy.

Right now, I am in the Engineering Academy. I chose to be in this academy because ever since I was a little kid, I would constantly hear my family telling me that being an engineer is the best job you can ever have.

At Nakem, I go to class, do work, and then recess stay with friends, then go to class. There wasn’t really much cutting, you know, I’m not into that. You..I need to, even though..you know..even though..you don’t do shit in class you just watch a movie or you know you’re gonna watch a movie or you have a substitute you know, it’s um, it’s more like what are you gonna do when you cut? What is there to do on a week day? You know I, being sick it’s like even though you stay home it’s like you want to experience not being at school. You know, what are you gonna do at home, just sit down and watch tv?

When I was a freshman, uh, I had Auto Tech and now we don’t have it. They should’ve kept it. Auto tech was fun. It was a fun class. I really got to learn a lot about cars. Then I fixed, I helped my dad fix cars. We didn’t really go into the
engine. It was more like the tires and the brakes so, I know a little something about that. (Wayawaya, 2011)

Rimat has the most rigorous schedule in school because of her involvement in extra curricular activities like sports and student government.

I usually drive to school at I usually get to school at like 7:20/7:30 a.m. and I used to walk to my teachers’ class and just sit there. But ever since, I have not been getting enough sleep because of projects and stuff being a senior. We have senior project and stuff and midterms. I sit in my car and I study because it’s more quiet. Like I get to school and I sit in the parking lot at school in my car and then when like the bell’s almost going to ring then I walk to class. Period 1, recess. Since my Period 1 and Period 2 is on the third floor, I don’t walk down. I just stay on the third floor and then during lunch I usually have meeting...If I don’t have meetings I’m usually talking or doing homework. It depends, sometimes; it’s for Student Government, sometimes it’s for the National Honor Society (NHSoc). Sometimes I tutor for NHSoc. For student government I facilitate the meetings. For the NHSoc, I’m the secretary so I take down minutes. (Rimat, 2011)

Rimat’s academic drive is also seconded by her Social Studies teacher. She comments,

Rimat is outstanding. This is the first year I’ve had her. So this is the first year I’ve had the Senior class as their teacher. So my only contact with them had been with HOSA so Rimat year, they were the first group of sophomores that we let compete in HOSA, so my contact with her has been more as her Advisor. So, always impress me; I mean very outspoken kind of person very responsible very committed someone who’s just really on top of things it’s like, “Rimat I need you to do this.” Boom you know she’s gonna do it. Not like, “Rimat hello, I told you to do this.” She’s always been really good at that kind of stuff. Good with teams, good individually, just very good balance all around student so...She’s always the one who’s gonna take charge if nobody else does. But sometimes I have to remind her, because she’s that time of person it’s kinda like you know pull it back a little bit, see if anybody takes the lead first, and then if they don’t then see if you could lead them in a more particular direction or something. But yeah, most of the kids I think they accept her as a leader so they’re almost waiting for her to say stuff. Kind of like, I don’t know if that’s a compliment to her but at the same time it’s like share, share! (Mahi, 2011)

Here we see an outstanding student who receives high praises from a teacher. Her leadership quality is seen in her leadership role in student government. When asked about herself as a leader, she comments,

I know I’m not the best leader but I’ve grown to be a good leader like I think I was talking, delegating. And so like growing up I was taught to do things on my own if I
could and so that’s how I am. Like if I know I can do it, I’m going to do it myself. I think over the years it’s gotten better. I’ve learned that things will never go your way because things always change and you have to learn. Being a student leader you have to learn to be flexible.

So there was an incident where time is usually never by your side because you work with other variables and other people may take more time. So there was a time and we had a pep rally and the timing was really off and we had to problem solve on our toes on the spot like what do we have to do. So we just figured it out. Everything didn’t turn out the way it’s supposed to be. We had to cancel some things but nobody noticed. Nobody knew except us.

Sometimes, people don’t directly appreciate the things that you do. Like people will tell you you’re stupid but they won’t like tell you why you’re stupid. Some people just say it to try to break you down or to see how you react. So I learned how to reward myself or like just be happy about myself. I was never really like proud unless like administration said that it was a very good event or when you hear your peers say that was really fun. (Rimat, 2011)

Part of this difficulty accepting criticism is that she has always been praised for doing good work and if she fails to deliver it, she takes it personally. As shared by her Ilokano I teacher, she “walked out” at a rehearsal of their cultural presentation when told to “project” better. When confronted about it, she mentioned that she “takes it in” when someone criticizes her and this is another reason why she has a hard time accepting criticism. Like everyone else, she is appreciative of the rigor and challenge of the Health Academy.

I like the teachers in Health Academy because they kind of push you to your limit like I actually have to try to do my homework. Whereas, freshman year when I wasn’t in Health Academy it was pretty easy for me. I could do whatever and still get an A. But now like sometimes I’m borderline A which helps my brain cus I mean cus I have to work for it. Like you kinda feel like you got that A because you deserved that A. It’s more rewarding. You feel like you have to live up to that A. Like I feel like being a straight A student when you do something wrong like it’s like they look down on you so bad. (Rimat, 2011)

Rimat’s hardwork was rewarded when she became one of the ten valedictorians at her high school – a testimonial to her strong academics and participation in student government, clubs, and athletics. According to her, she works hard because this is expected of her from
her parents. She studies hard to get good grades and that became an expectation from her parents.

On May 21, 2011, these five students graduated at the amphitheater of Nakem High School. This graduation marks a milestone in their lives. Presently, everyone is pursuing some kind of post high school education. Rimat delivered her valedictory speech and I captured it here for several reasons. First, the act of delivering a speech contextualizes her experiences as a student at NHS. It also touches on her experiences at home and school which give respect and recognition to the support and sacrifices of her family, friends, and teachers.

No matter who you are or where you came from you will always be an Agila and a member of the class of 2011. We all have our own stories and memories of the past. That’s what makes us each unique and different. We may be labeled and classified depending on what we have accomplished throughout high school, but that doesn’t determine who we are and who we will be come.

I never knew what I wanted to be when I was growing up. When you were a kid someone probably told you what they thought you should do with your life. You either denied it or considered it. I was told that I could be a lawyer or a doctor because I liked to talk. I denied the fact that I was going to be a lawyer and considered the fact that I was going to be a doctor. From that moment it was embedded into my brain that I was going to strive to be a doctor and fulfill my parents’ expectations.

While growing up I learned to stand up for myself and realized that maybe, just maybe I could be something besides a doctor. You probably had a situation similar to mine, so don’t worry. It really doesn’t matter what anyone tells you, it’s your decision what you want to become in the future. More importantly it’s okay to change your mind, just as long as you keep on moving forward. Many people make thing that failing is like taking two steps backward after taking three steps forward, but a failure is a detour not a dead end.

It’s up to you to decide what the future holds for you. Remember what Ralph Waldo Emerson once said, “What lies behind us and what lies before us are tiny matters compared to what lies within us.” Believe in yourself; you can do anything! (Rimat, 2011)
In addition to the caring attitude that the teachers extend to their students, they involved their parents in their education either by a phone call or encouragement to participate.

We… let’s see, we do a lot of things we try to like bring the parents in for induction graduation ceremony, um, for HOSA the health occupation students, we try and get the parents involved with community service if they’re available. We don’t get much; the parents are busy, they work and stuff. I would try and meet with them before competitions, before national conferences, one-on-one kind of stuff, I tend to only call the parents if I’m concerned about a student. If there’s attendance problems or if there’s grade problems. So most of my contact with parents has been pretty positive. Just your student is a wonderful kid, you know that’s an induction generate, or uh we really enjoy having them and then when you do the call for the kid is failing. I do try to put the positive in there you know, “Your kid is very respectful, very polite, he’s struggling with this, or he’s having problems with that.” (Mahi, 2011)

Namnma’s English teacher in the Teacher’s Academy concurs,

I try to tell/say something positive cause most of the time and unfortunately when I’m calling it’s not for a good reason. So when the parent… and then I gauge in on parents depending on how they approach me too. The ones who are more open and apologetic, you know I mean, and the more aggressive ones it’s harder to be positive around because flat out I guess you’re feeling attacked. You’re trying to do what’s right and they don’t give you the time of day. So that’s the hard part. (Lilikoi, 2011)

But Lilikoi admits that she sometimes feels inadequate when contacting parents because of linguistic barriers.

I feel like especially when I talk to like older, I mean parents who are Filipino parents, I feel a little inadequate because even though my father’s Filipino he never chose to speak to us that way and my grandmother actually passed away before she could teach me anything. And the funny thing is that my husband is and his family they continue to speak Tagalog. So I pick certain things just when I hear the kids talking or I hear my name, I cannot finish the sentence you know and I’m a little bit insecure because I don’t know what they’re saying. (Lilikoi, 2011)

The Lugar roots of Mahi and Lilikoi have allowed them to transfer their lived experience in the community to better understand and connect with their students. When asked how this affects their philosophy of teaching, they say,

You know, I’m not sure how much it affects me personally; I think it affects the kids though because I let them know from day one that I came to Nakem and I still live in Lugar; I live right off of Leiolani Road so I think the fact that they know that I came
from the area, that I still live in the area, I think they feel connected to that. They like
the fact that I understand when they say, “Oh Nakem had a bad reputation with other
schools or whatever, that I know what it feels like because I’ve experienced it too. So
for them I think it’s more important but I think for me, when you know where the
students come from and what kind of background they have, what some of them have
to deal with in terms of their family situations, I think, it makes you a little more
sympathetic to where they are and you kind of adjust your teaching accordingly. You
know if you have somebody who needs more time because they babysit at home and
they just can’t get things done some times or they don’t have internet access because
their families don’t have those kinds of things. I try to accommodate that in some
ways but at the same time hold them accountable. I don’t want to have them feel that
oh, I should be pitied because I grew up in Lugar or my family if poor or any other
cases. There’s got to be a kind of balance there. (Mahi, 2011)

Although Lilikoi was born and raised in Lugar, she attended a private school from
kindergarten to college, so she couldn’t really relate to what people were saying about

Nakem High until she became a teacher at the school.

A lot different from what they see; I guess it’s because my mom chose to send us to a
private school. So I didn’t necessarily see all the things now that I see at Nakem. Um,
when the kids tell me, “I can’t do this because I’m from Lugar” or Lugar… I get to
use this word, “ghetto” and I give them the look like no it’s not, I grew up in the same
area as you. I mean the opportunities are there. You just have to go look for it. So
like I said… My childhood, I have fond memories of growing up. (Lilikoi, 2011)

Lilikoi also touched on the home stories of the kids who receive support from home.

Well, getting into my philosophy of learning is, I guess, you know you can’t force a
horse to drink water. You can lead them to the well but if they don’t wanna drink
then they don’t wanna drink. So, that’s actually my whole philosophy. I will give you
everything you need, I will show you what to do, but I’m not gonna hold your hand
and force you to do it. But that seems to be kinda what Lugar is. I mean you have all
these opportunities; you just gotta go and look for them. But if you’re told that
you’re never gonna do it, never gonna get it, it’s harder. I mean the background I
have because my family was so supportive it’s a different story because a lot of the
kids don’t get that positive reinforcement at home. So they come and they defeat
themselves before they even get anywhere. Or on the flip side, they have parents who
care about them a lot but they’re not, never home because they’re trying to support
them financially…And I see that works because most of the kids appreciate their
parents for that and other kids act like spoiled brats. Because they know, “Oh mom’s
gonna buy me this because she feels bad.” (Lilikoi, 2011)
Lilikoi attributes her own success to the support of her family, but also shows the reality of parents “not providing the positive reinforcement at home” because they need to financially support their families and they compensate that lack of time with their kids by providing them with the “material” things like cell phone or cars.

The “feeling bad” is actually the parents’ guilt which results in him or her rewarding the child with material things which translates to an attitude of “being spoiled.” In the narratives of the students, this did not surface.

4.2.5. The Future of Education

As the class of 2011 closes a chapter of their high school life, the education of students at NHS will continue. Like Mahi and Lilikoi, the teachers became the surrogate for these students. They opened up their stories to their students. Mahi and Lilikoi share their views and fears on the future of education.

(Mahi, 2011)

Mahi touches on the rigidity of accountability measures that rely on test scores to measure school success. Teachers are caught in the middle of this discourse, especially in
implementation. Lilikoi warns us of her fear that technology may take over the role of teachers in educating students.

I wish I had a positive thing to say but um, a lot of people assume that it’s easy to be a teacher and that anybody can do it. And with the age of technology coming along, I’m afraid that our jobs, our positions are going to be replaced by computers. The sad thing is that students, or even kids coming up now, that’s all they know. So socially they’re going to have a hard time trying to communicate with other people. Now there are people who are better off without the social distractions, but that’s the whole part of coming to school; to get the interaction. So hopefully, what I’m hoping is that maybe someone, somewhere high above will recognize importance of teachers, their role and then we won’t be replaced. That’s the scary part. (Lilikoi, 2011)

4.2.6. Conclusion

The students’ schooling experiences add another layer and dimension to their stories. The school provides another support system outside the home. Similar to the caring and nurturing home environment that they grew up in, the students seem to be appreciative of the caring attitude of some of their teachers who inspired and made a difference in their lives. Thus, the “caring home” is mirrored by the “caring school environment” that allows for student success.

The presence of teachers as surrogates is a trope that surfaces from the narratives of the students. The students view these surrogates as role models and mentors that help them to navigate their passion, strengths, and identities. These teachers are also effective role models because they are rooted in the Lugar community and are very familiar with the population they serve. These teachers create a classroom environment that is both nurturing and engaging. Students like Namnama and Gundaway were able to make career goals because of their teachers. Indeed, relationship is an important component of their socialization in the school. When their relationship with people at home is positive, they
tend to transfer that to the school setting. When the relationship with their teachers is one of mutual respect, the student fell confident and supported.

Stories vary in terms of handling the rigors of their academics. There are stories of struggles and challenges for those who are second language learners, but found themselves successful through the support of their peers and teachers. Some of these struggles come from the mismatch of the student’s primary school culture and the secondary mainstream school culture. Saguday and Gundaway arrived in the United States as teenagers before completing their secondary education in the Philippines. Both students faced somewhat significant challenges in learning English, but they had their own support system and strategies to help them cope and overcome these challenges. Their experiences in the ELL classes helped them transition to their new academic environment. Gundaway cited that his ELL teachers were supportive and the support of his ELL classmates allowed him to transition much more smoothly. For Saguday, he tried to hang out with the “Inglishero” or English-speaking students so he could learn English, while still keeping his friend who spoke his heritage language. Slowly, all these students were able to handle the rigors of their classes until they graduated from high school. We see success stories like that of Rimat, who was accorded with many honors and accolades during her high school career. But even without the honors, each student was successful in their own way considering the many challenges they faced.

The narratives of the Ilokano classroom were not included in this section, for it deserves its own. While the Ilokano language experience is part of their schooling experience, I believe that their experiences in the class have many layers that deserves its
own place. The next section will discuss the world of the Ilokano language classroom in the words of the Ilokano students.
4.3. Celebrating Heritage in the Safe Zone: The Ilokano Classroom Narratives

In the previous section, I talked about the schooling experiences of the students. In this section, the stories of the students in the Ilokano language classroom are presented. This was not included in the previous section because I believe that the uniqueness of the Ilokano language classroom, one of the very few in the United States and outside the Philippines, deserves its own section as the classroom provided a “space” for the students to celebrate and value their Ilokano heritage.

In 2007, I conducted an exploratory study on Ilokano heritage language learners to investigate the backgrounds and profiles of student participants and how their profiles both shape and/or influence their investment in taking Ilokano and reflect their identity formation as learners. In this exploratory study, I interviewed six students: four females and two males. Two were born in the Philippines and immigrated to Hawai‘i at a young age. The heritage language profiles of the student informants in this study echo the results I have found in my exploratory study. Ilokano heritage language learners are diverse and different depending on a variety of sociolinguistic circumstances. They possess different degrees of linguistic strengths and abilities due to their early exposure to Ilokano, at home and/or in the community. For those born and raised in Hawai‘i, like Wayawaya and Rimat, they possess limited or some proficiency in the language. For example, even when their parents address them in the home language, they answer in English. They retain the ability to comprehend spoken Ilokano but their own speech is confined to routine greetings and polite interactions. On the other hand, students like Saguday and Gundaway who moved to Hawai‘i in their early teens possess notable speaking and aural skills, but faced somewhat significant challenges in learning English. The sociolinguistics definition of HL learners offered by Fishman (2000)
seems to resonate with the students in this study. These students took the challenge of (re)learning and (re)claiming their heritage through the language, because somewhere in their personal history there is a link to that language that is important. As presented in their home narratives, the students recounted the times when their grandparents talked to them or scolded them in Ilokano, which confirms that grandparents have an important role in family language preservation. Similarly, the students themselves observed the variations in their linguistic strengths. Gundaway notes,

Dagidiay dadduma a kaeskuelaak idi kasla lang haanda unay makasao ti Ilokano first impressionko kaniada kasi localda ken I think mano kam’ lang kadi ida a naiyanak idiay Pilipinas idiay klasemi mga tallo or uppat ken dagiti dadduma ket immunada nga immay… nais-straight ti Ilokanok ngem isuda…Kasla lang naun-uneg kasla lang ad-adu ti ammok a words.

(Some of my classmates they can’t really speak Ilokano. That was my first impression because they are local and I think there’s only few of us in class who were born in the Philippines, like there were three or four of us and the other they came here before us…my Ilokano is more straight than them…It’s like it’s deeper, like I know more words.) (Gundaway, 2011)

Gundaway recognizes that he is more advanced than his Hawai‘i-born peers in his Ilokano class, and this is attributed to his recent arrival to Hawai‘i. Rimat, a local born student, whose Ilokano accent is quite comparable to Gundaway’s, shares the same observation.

There were a few, like two, I think, or three students that could speak very well because they came from the Philippines…That was cheat ‘cuz they already knew how to speak. No! But I was just like, “That’s an easy A,” because they already know how to speak the language and they grew up they probably know the history, too. (Rimat, 2011)

Tere’s Ann’s observation is also confirmed by the exploratory that I conducted in 2007. Many of the students who enroll in Ilokano class at NHS are heritage language speakers (HLS). They are perceived by their less proficient peers as intimidating because they sound
very native. Drawing from the results of my exploratory study, Maria described the composition of students in her class this way:

Combining Ilokano I and II, I’d say about 75% were fluent already…they understood Ilokano and also understood Tagalog. And the other 25% were local…it was helpful because when us local students couldn’t understand or couldn’t read, they would help us translate the sentence or wordings. (Maria, 2007)

Maria, a local born Ilokana and whose roots are from Ilocos Norte, recognizes the “fluency” that her classmates bring to Ilokano class. Born and raised in Hawai‘i, she refers to herself as “local,” while referring to her “fluent” classmates as non-locals or “foreign born” – which is true in all of the Ilokano classes at NHS. At the beginning of the semester, it is very common to hear, “Why are you taking this class? You speak it already?” Here, the HLS are perceived by their peers as having the “expert roles” while considering themselves as “novices.” Nevertheless, the native speakers capitalize on their advanced abilities by offering help to their “local” classmates.

Bobby, who is appreciative of this gesture states,

That was a good thing. If I needed help in trying to understand things and I knew that someone could understand and speak the language better than I do, I could always go to them and they were always willing to help. And if I could help anyone, we created a good bond for each other that if anyone was in need or having a hard time, we could feel free to help each other out and it was fine. (Bobby, 2007)

Here, we see a manong/manang, who is the HLS, helping his/her ading, the HLL. The manong/manang is assumed to be the expert here while the ading is the novice. By adopting the Ilokano kinship relationship term “older brother/sister-younger brother/sister,” the class utilizes the more proficient student (the manong/manang) as a resource for the less proficient student (the ading). This kind of student interchange of partners with varying language abilities helps the more proficient student obtain the stimulation needed to continue his or her
own learning, making him/her more invested in the process. This reciprocal relationship among the students in the Ilokano classroom is a reflection of the saritaan discourse that has been applied to this particular study. Four years later, the results of that exploratory became the seed of this dissertation to further highlight the stories of heritage language learners of Ilokano.

Still drawing from the results of the exploratory study, I utilized Canagarajah’s (2004) metaphor of “safe houses” to describe the Ilokano language classroom. Canagarajah (2004) refers to “safe houses” as hidden spaces in the classroom that provide a safe site for students to negotiate identities more critically. Safe houses in the academy are “sites that are relatively free from surveillance, especially by authority figures, perhaps because these are considered unofficial, off-task, or extrapedagogical (p. 121). Utilizing the “safe zone” metaphor, we can say that the Ilokano classroom is transformed as such becoming a “site of identity construction that allow students to negotiate the often contradictory tensions they encounter as members of diverse communities” (p. 5).

At NHS, the Ilokano language courses are situated in the Green Room, adjacent to the auditorium. Some students have trouble locating this classroom because of its isolated location. It is said that the “green room” is haunted. During World War II, the NHS Auditorium was supposedly used as a morgue. “Green Room” has several definitions: a room in a theater, studio, or other public venue for the accommodation of performers or speakers when not required on the stage; a place where the director's critique session is held after a rehearsal or performance; or another location where patrons or fans may meet and greet the famous musician(s)/performer(s) after a concert. Coincidentally, these definitions seem to be very symbolic of the “drama” of Ilokano language learning and teaching. It is in
this room where students huddled before the *Pansit and Palusami*\(^{27}\) performance showcase. It is in this room where they perfected their nasal velar *nga*, rolled their Rs, learned the Ilokano folk song *Manang Biday*, and presented an Ilokano dish called *pinakbet*. It is in this room where they realized that the person seated next to him/her is from Bacarra, Ilocos Norte, and later discovered that they are related to each other. Together, in the next 18 weeks, these students created a community of language learners that considered learning Ilokano is “cool” and not something to be ashamed of.

For this present study, the students’ narratives tell us their reasons for taking Ilokano at Nakem High. Table 4.4 below summarizes the students’ reasons for taking Ilokano, the level(s) of language taken, and the perceived outcome as a result of taking the course.

**Table 4.4.** Summary of informants’ reasons for taking an Ilokano class, level(s) of class taken, and perceived outcomes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Reason(s) for taking</th>
<th>Level(s) of Ilokano taken</th>
<th>Perceived outcomes of taking course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gundaway</td>
<td>Fulfill elective requirements; to maintain Ilokano</td>
<td>Ilokano I and Ilokano II</td>
<td>Was able to maintain Ilokano speaking abilities; learned history and culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namnama</td>
<td>Fulfill elective requirements; to relearn Ilokano</td>
<td>Ilokano I and Ilokano II</td>
<td>Was able to use with relatives in the Philippines and with elementary students via Teacher Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saguday</td>
<td>Elective course</td>
<td>Ilokano I</td>
<td>Learned history and culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimat</td>
<td>Fulfill elective course</td>
<td>Ilokano I and Ilokano II</td>
<td>Learned history and culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayawaya</td>
<td>Try something new</td>
<td>Ilokano I and Ilokano II</td>
<td>Learned history and culture; was able to speak to grandparents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{27}\) This is a cultural showcase celebrating the Ilokano and Samoan language and culture. Palusami is a Samoan dish consisting of baked parcels of taro leaves enclosing a coconut cream, onion and meat filling. Pansit is a common noodle dish in the Philippines of Chinese origin.
In the narrative of Rimat, taking the class was “unplanned.” For Wayawaya, it was a personal choice, almost an exploratory move for him. For Namnama, it was reclaiming a language that she lost. For Gundaway, who immigrated to Hawai‘i when he was 11 years old, the choice was not to forget and always keep in touch with his Ilokano heritage. Here we see a variation of reasons for taking the class. It is interesting to note that the students took it upon themselves to take Ilokano either as an elective or a course to satisfy their language requirement to graduate. In the Hawai‘i DOE, a student needs two years of language study.

At first it was more of interest. I wanted to know more of the roots, knowing that you speak Ilokano all your life, well not all your life, but the time you could remember until your freshmen year. So it’s interesting, you know, something new. I wanted to get to know our roots a little bit. (Wayawaya, 2011)

This “sparked interest” is an important step in getting to know one’s roots, at least in Wayawaya’s words. For him, this interest was sparked by his grandparents, who mainly spoke to him in Ilokano. They were the ones who inspired and fueled that interest. Once the parents become aware that their children are taking Ilokano, you see this element of surprise because in their wildest dream, it did not occur to them that their children would take an Ilokano language class. For Gundaway’s parents, they questioned his decision to take the course, for he is already “versed” in the language. As a result of taking the Ilokano language class, each student indicated that they learned something from the course and this “something” must be rejoiced because the students took the initial step in rediscovering and reclaiming their heritage. As heritage learners, as forwarded by Fishman (2000), the strong personal connection to and the familial affinity were key in their investment in taking the course. There were times, however, when they were not open to other people, like their
peers, taking an Ilokano language class because they feared being labeled an FOB. FOB implies being on the margin and being called as such was not considered cool.

Claiming it as a safe zone in my exploratory study, the Ilokano classroom became almost like a second home for the students. The familiar became even more familiar as stories they heard from their mothers, fathers, grandparents, relatives, and flower ladies, like in the case of Rimat, made sense and were validated. For example, the stories that Rimat heard about the Japanese occupation in the Philippines were validated in the history unit of the Ilokano language class. Through dialogue, the experiences and stories of their parents were highlighted in the classroom and became a topic of saritaan in the classroom. It is during this saritaan where they would say, “I heard this from my mom,” and elaborate their stories and make connections to it. Ilokano class is where they were assigned projects that allowed them to write about the lived experiences of their parents, including their parents’ immigration to Hawai‘i. This validation of stories and experiences is an empowering exercise in the classroom. This validation also affirms that their family members possess a wealth of knowledge that can contribute to the academic knowledge of their children. The funds of knowledge forwarded by Moll (1994) is an important concept that is touched upon in the class. Funds of knowledge proposes that stories and experiences of families can contribute to students’ academic success. It also promotes parental involvement and participation in their children’s education. Although their parents may not be able to assist with certain school work, as in the case of Rimat needing help for her Calculus class, they can help them improve their Ilokano or supply information for projects such as those involving family history and information. In Wayawaya’s narrative, he cited the family tree as his favorite project in Ilokano I because according to him, his family is very important.
His comment echoes the importance of family in providing him the loving support and guidance while growing up.

The most memorable project I did was the family tree. I loved that project. I think it’s because you get to know more about your family. More questions come up with your family when you do the family tree and to me, that’s the one I put more effort in it than any other project I did in school. I don’t know why. I think it’s because, well, I put in effort in all my projects, but the family tree was the number one. I remember like I wouldn’t even go out just to finish it. I wanted to make the family tree nice. I think so, because the word “family” comes in and you know, you’re carrying your family name. And you don’t want to make a shame of it, you know. (Wayawayya, 2011)

In the narratives of the students, there is an indication of strong support and nurturing from the parents that inspire students and make them excited to learn more about their roots or their family members. In the Ilokano class, students sometimes meet relatives for the first time because their surnames are similar. The cultural and historical knowledge that they learn in class helps them process and analyze where their parents are coming from. They start to make connections between their parents and experiences and current behavior why they are “pack rats,” strict, or over protective. An understanding occurs and their relationship with their parents and relatives are strengthened.

Being in Ilokano class, you kind of appreciate your culture more and you understand where you parents come from and what life was like back then. I guess it’s just appreciation and respect because not many people like they always complain like, “Oh yeah my parents they always tell me when I was a kid I didn’t have TV, I didn’t have computers like this like that.” (Rimat, 2011)

It is in the Ilokano classroom that they also have the opportunity to “perform” their Ilokano cultural heritage. Namnama cited her participation in the Pansit and Palusami production that highlights the songs, dances, and literature of the Ilokanos. In this performance, her class dramatized the rebirth of Lam-ang, the main character of the Ilokano epic. For Gundaway, who is more proficient in his speaking skills, he was able to showcase his
Ilokano skills although admitted that he was a bit nervous during the performance. Overall, the Ilokano classroom validated the stories heard from home and promoted appreciation and respect; provided the venue to reclaim what was lost; and more importantly, allowed them a place to celebrate and value their Ilokano heritage.

In her return to Bacarra after nine years in Hawai‘i and splitting from her dad, Namnama experienced a very emotional homecoming and described how her taking Ilokano helped to reestablish the connection.

So we all went home. That was my first vacation of my nine years. It was very emotional cuz I didn’t recognize the place where I was born. Like, had get rocks now, it’s not dirt. Like there’s cements and there’s stoplights. Seeing my grandma was a relief because I haven’t seen her for nine years and I wish I saw my grandpa though, but it was just, since I was taken away from my dad, I was taken away from all of my family members. Like I had no contact whatsoever with the Philippines until junior year.

I stayed there for a month. I used Ilokano but not fluent. Like I still hesitate of what to say and those were the times that I didn’t use my grammar correctly. I was just reintroducing myself to my cousins, and like what happened, and how did my grandpa passed away and stuff. It was hard for me not to speak in English because for nine years I’ve been speaking English my whole life, like it was really hard for me to not speak English again, so I tried my best to [speak in Ilokano]. Like my cousin would always tell me, don’t use this grammar cuz it doesn’t make sense, so he was the one that corrected me. (Namnama, 2011)

Moreover, Namnama was able to use Ilokano at her teaching site for her Teacher’s Academy. She described an encounter with one of her students.

When I first met them and like I look forward to seeing them everyday and helping them, making them have a good future in life. But there was this one boy that stuck a middle finger at me because I didn’t want to help him in that test and I couldn’t and I just kept rereading it to him, but he couldn’t really understand cuz he just came from the Philippines. So, I had to talk to him in Ilokano, and that’s why I’m thankful I took Ilokano because I use it like, for my students. Like they have a hard time talking in English, understanding English, so I use that language to help them out and they actually learn something. (Namnama, 2011)
Whatever they learned in the Ilokano classroom was not exclusively applied back at home, but also useful in other areas in school, as in the case of Rimat in her work as a student leader.

It [Ilokano] was helpful when there was a new student and I had to or like they were lost or they were scared and so I tried to talk to them. And when they found out I could speak Ilokano they were more open to talking to me. (Rimat, 2011)

The “trying” or the attempt by the student to use what was learned in class is one way for the student to see the value of her language; in this case, she uses the language to help a fellow Ilokano. Rimat’s stories when she was a young girl in her home were once again reawakened when she formally learned the language of her parents. Many Ilokanos in Hawai‘i devalue their own language because they feel that Tagalog or English are better choices. This cultural denigration amongst Ilokano is partly the effect of flawed language policies that do not value languages like Ilokano and were fined if they speak the language. This attitude, as evident in Gundaway’s parents, is carried over to the home where the implications can be overwhelming. Language maintenance becomes very low at home because parents do not find the value in teaching their children their language. Parents feel that speaking in English will help them to better adapt in school.

The students’ narrative also mentioned their relationships with their Ilokano teachers.

In describing his Ilokano I teacher, Wayawaya states,

My Ilokano teacher, she was the best. At first she was strict. I was scared of this teacher; I don’t like her. But over the weeks, she got closer to us. And I really like that, you know. The relationship between student and teacher is the best thing you could ever have. So I think she was the closest one out of all the teachers to me, well to me. (Wayawaya, 2011)

Gundaway appreciated the sense of humor of his Ilokano teacher. He says,
Nalaing nga agpakatawa kasdiay ti maestromi and naasideg isuna ti ubbing met. Nalaing met nga agisuro ti Ilokano. Naiyanak idiay Pilipinas but immay isuna idi ubing kano.

(Our teacher has a sense of humor and he is also close to the students. He’s a good Ilokano teacher. He was born in the Philippines but came here when he was young.) (Gundaway, 2011)

Here we see that students value good relationships with their teachers. This overshadows Namnama’s narrative wherein she cited that some of her teachers before are “a bunch of assholes.” Again, the presence of caring teachers creates an inviting atmosphere for students and this is true in the Ilokano class. In my observations in the Ilokano language classroom, there is evidence of a “family” atmosphere in the classroom. The collaborative projects assigned in Ilokano I, for example, allows for group participation. One can see the very close personal relationships of students like sharing their personal items like Ipods and a Victoria Secret spray cologne or lotion, or just helping each other with class work.

Another salient aspect of the students’ narrative is the influence of their peers in taking the language which underscores the fact that these students value relationships. Saguday felt that he was already in the community of practice with his classmates so it was easier for him to engage and participate. He did not feel that he was in the periphery, which explains his enthusiasm towards the class.

I signed up for Ilokano class cus I wanted to learn more about Ilokano. My first day was great cus Manang Talugading was of the GEAR UP coordinators already. Like I was close and attached to it already. I was engaged to that class already. My classmates were already my friends, easy to group with them. (Saguday, 2011)

For Gundaway, it was his friends who encouraged him, through word of mouth, to take Ilokano.

Kuna dagiti am-ammok, napintas kano ti Ilokano, naragsak. Kunada ket agsasaokayo no kua ti Ilokano diay classroomyo ken dagidiay classmateyo. Isu a kasla mainstresadoak a nagsignup kadaydiay a klase ta kasla lang iti panunotko kasla
For Gundaway, taking Ilokano triggered memories of living in the Philippines. When he got into the Ilokano class, he soon discovered a disparity amongst the students, but also recognizes his strength, which makes him the “expert” among his peers. This, however, was observed by Rimat and sees it as “cheating.”

In class, there were few students who could speak very well because they came from the Philippines. That was cheat ‘cuz they already knew how to speak. But seriously, I was just like that’s an easy A because they already knew how to speak the language and they probably knew the history too. (Rimat, 2011)

While Rimat recognizes the strong speaking background of some students, the oral and aural skills are what really define the heritage learner. They tend to be less proficient in their writing and reading skills. This was reflected by Gundaway when asked about his writing skills in Ilokano. He said he has slight difficulty in writing Ilokano because it take longer to write than English.

There is a general concensus of appreciation for the availability of the Ilokano class(es) at NHS. While Gundaway describes Ilokano as ‘napintas,’ Saguday describes it as being ‘special.’ The use of these adjectives special is an indication that the students value Ilokano. The students’ use of the language gives them a sense of empowerment and pride.

I’m proud to be Ilokano. Because Ilokano ngamin is special (Because Ilokano is special that’s why). I can talk to a lot of people in this place cuz a lot of people in here are Ilokano. I wasn’t shame to be Ilokano or be a Filipino at all. My local friends think Filipinos are good. A lot of people are talking my language. Don’t you feel proud? Learning Ilokano is the best. Cus this is how I am. This is what I am. Like if people I don’t know ask me, “Are you Filipino,” I go, “I’m half. I’m half Visayan, half Ilokano.” I wanted them to know the different language of Filipinos. Visayan talk more faster than Ilokano. I learned good manner. Be respectful to people, respect older people. (Saguday, 2011)
Here, Saguday indicates that Ilokano is alive and well due to the fact that people are speaking it and he is proud of that. He then expounds of what it means to be Filipino – in his case being a Visayan (from maternal side) and Ilokano (from paternal side). He contrasts how a Visayan and an Ilokano speaker talks, while at the same time states the values that he learned coming from these two ethnic make ups. This invigorated emotion from Saguday is also echoed in Wayawaya’s narrative. He says,

I’m more into Filipino stuff now. Before, I wasn’t interested, you know the Filipino Festival, the recent. I think the years before that I didn’t really care about it. Taking Ilokano II gave me more pride in what I am, what I speak. I don’t know why, though. I think it’s just like being able to speak Ilokano in class without being shame. It makes you feel more better inside knowing that nobody cares about what you speak in class. I don’t speak outside of class. It’s because like, they don’t understand. You know, well they do but then, it’s like I know if I speak to them they going be like “What?” (Wayawaya, 2011)

Indeed, the “ability to speak Ilokano in class without being shame” is what makes the Ilokano classroom a safe zone. However, he is quick to mention that he does not speak outside of class because he thinks people may not understand him. Wayawaya’s statement confirms that students choose when and where they speak Ilokano, as their identity is shaped by the context and the people that they talk to. Wayawaya also talks about the rewards and joy of being able to speak the language to his family in Hawai‘i and his relatives in the Philippines. Cashman’s (2009) view of visiting the place of one’s heritage completes the journey because this experience reaffirms the stories that the students hear in the home and what they learn in Ilokano class. Wayawaya made a reference in his narrative:

I can speak better and more clearly with my family…I know more how to speak when I get to the Philippines. You know, nothing is a question mark to me when I get there. And you know the whole Filipino thing. You can speak English and Ilokano and everybody’s like, “Oh wow.” Being a local born, they don’t expect you to speak Ilokano. Mostly my mom’s friends say, “Oh you local, and all you know is Pidgin,” you know, like that. And when you speak Ilokano, they’re like, “Oh wow!” (Wayawaya, 2011)
Wayawaya’s parents did not tell him to take Ilokano. Wayawaya took it upon himself to take the course because of pure interest. In the end, he received praises from his mom’s friends. To assume that local born students of Ilokano heritage do not want to study their language is not completely true as demonstrated by the stories of Rimat and Wayawaya. Yet, the presence of stereotype, as indicated by Namnama and Wayawaya, are factors that contribute to cultural denigration and rejecting one’s heritage. For Namnama, she did not initially want to take Ilokano fearing that her friends would call her FOB. Labrador’s (2009) and Talmy’s (2005) research on stereotypes have shown that it impacts the way student carry/view themselves. Jeon (2001), as cited in Reyes (2007) and Talmy (2004) have found that Asian and Pacific Islander Americans who are at risk of being labeled FOB often deflect the label onto others as a strategy to avoid being labeled FOB themselves.

4.3.1. Conclusion

In summary, the Ilokano language classroom has the following impact. First, the Ilokano class creates the world that respects and values the students’ heritage and history of their parents and ancestors. It mirrors the Amianan ground and the Ilokano home that reflect the Ilokano language and culture. Second, the Ilokano language class validates the stories they heard from their parents. Through Ilokano class, they (re)learn the history of the Ilocos and the Ilokano people and discuss issues related to Ilokanos in Hawai‘i such as the origin and significance of stereotypes like ‘bukbok.’

The offering of an Ilokano class at NHS is significant in making students realize that their roots, language, and culture are important and is recognized at least in their own world within their community. It gives them hope that their language will continue to thrive and survive. When asked about the survival of Ilokano in Hawai‘i, most students were positive
about it, but there is also a sense of its possibility not thriving. Using the case of the Hawaiian people in their efforts of revitalizing their language, Wayawaya assures us that the younger generation needs to speak it and he underscores that value of offering a language class such as the one at NHS.

I think there’s a possibility it might but it might not. As of now, I don’t think so, to be honest. I don’t think so because for my generation, you know seeing everybody speaking English and hardly Ilokano. Well, I know they speak Ilokano, but I mean, not like me, though. Not like me.

And it’s like, how do you expect the language to survive if you cannot pass it down to your kids? You know, if you cannot do this and that. So, this and that meaning you cannot speak to them. You cannot teach them about their roots. So, having an Ilokano class in high school, you know, it’s a good opportunity to know about your past. I mean not your past but, you know, your roots you know. It’s just something to carry on in your life. Not to be mean or anything, for example, like, the Hawaiians. You know how like before Hawaiians knew full Hawaiian and now there’s only mixed Hawaiians? I think the language is hardly spoken. I don’t want the Filipino nation to be like that. So it’s like, I think we should learn as much as you can about your roots. (Wayawaya, 2011)

Similarly, the students in this study made a reference to the Sakadas and their contributions, which they have learned about in their Ilokano language class. Clearly, no one can deny that the seed of hardwork was planted by the Sakadas whose roots can be traced back in the Ilocos. They served as an inspiration to the younger generation. This is succinctly stated by Gundaway when he said that the learning of Ilokano language should be maintained.

Because ammotayo nga ti nagkakauna ti Pilipino nga immay ditoy Hawai‘i ket dagiti Sakada so no ammonto dagiti sumaruno nga henerasion nga ti immuna a Pilipino ket Ilokano isu a dapat a lagipenda ken..no awan dagiti Sakada awanda koma met ditoy isu a dapat nga ammoda ti agsao ti Ilokano. (Gundaway, 2011)
(Because we know that the first Filipinos who came to Hawai‘i were the Sakadas so if the next generation knows about that their Ilocanos they need to remember and..if not for the Sakada they would not be here so they need to know how to speak Ilokano.)

(Gundaway, 2011)

In the next section, the narratives of pannakikadua or the students’ interrelationships with others, is presented.
4.4. “Who Stay With?”: The Narratives of Pannakikadua

The home narratives of the students indicated their relationship with their parents and other family members. Similarly, the narratives of the school illustrated the relationships with their teachers, classmates, and peers (see Figure 4.3). In this section, the narrative of pannakikadua or their relationship primarily with their peers is discussed. These narratives are important because they give us an indication of the students’ socialization outside of their home and how these relationships shape and/or influence their identity.

Figure 4.3. Representation of the peer narratives

4.4.1. Being FOBoalous

The narratives of the students indicated the presence of supportive friends, especially in school. This supportive environment is necessary for them to be able to fully participate in their newlyfound community of practice. For Gundaway, his adjustment to middle school was facilitated by Ilokano friends he met through his ELL class.

(My schooling at McGarrett Middle School was slightly hard because English is hard because in the Philippines, they would still speak Ilokano in your English class. Here is all straight English. But then I met some Filipino friends, but not local. They are also immigrants from the Philippines but they’ve been here for a while. They know Ilokano. They talked to me, “Your new here?” they asked me. They asked me where I’m from in the Philippines, when I came here. So since then I was hanging out with them. We would go to Regent’s house in Lugar Valley; we would cross bridge and we play basketball at his house. So when I was a freshman, it was really good because I already met a lot of people from McGarrett and we went all together during the first day of school.) (Gundaway, 2011)

Gundaway’s description of his newfound friends is very specific: Filipino but not local; they speak Ilokano; and they also immigrated to Hawai‘i just like him. “In the eight grade, we’re all Ilokano and were conversing in Ilokano all the time.” Gundaway found his Ilokano-ness in his friends. He found his Ilokano language in them. Although they were taunted and called FOB by the local Filipinos, Gundaway and his friends drew strength as a group.

…Basta no ngamin no agkukuyogkami ket agsasaokami ti Ilokano..kunada no kua theres the FOB people kunkunada kaniami ti liklikudanmi…awan bibiangmi who cares kunkunami latta kadagidiay tattao basta no group group saandaka a kagrupo I no like stay with them diay middle school idi.

(…Because when we hangout we would always speak in Ilokano..they say to us behind our back, “There’s the FOB people”…We don’t care..Who cares..we would just say to those people. If I am not in the group, then I no like stay with them.) (Gundaway, 2011)

Here we see an immigrant kid who is proud to speak his language while his local Filipino counterparts alienate themselves from being Filipino, including the language. Local born children distinguish themselves from new immigrants. Separating themselves or not identifying themselves as Filipino becomes their mechanism to cope with stereotype labeling from fellow Filipinos or other local kids (Teodoro, 1991; Revilla, 1996). This attitude was evident for Namnana, for example, who did not tell her friends that she is taking an Ilokano class because she fears her friends will call her FOB. This separation was evident in a Fil-
Am club meeting at NHS where the “recently arrived” are sat together on one side while the “locals” socialized in their own world. Citing his work with Korean college students, Jeon (2001), as cited in Reyes (2007), posits that the FOB label creates a division of Asian American identity that allows users to position themselves outside of the demeaning category partly by positioning their “other” peers inside of it. In Jeon’s (2001) study with Korean college students, “F.O.B.s always hang out with other F.O.B.s speaking only in Korean to each other and acting like Koreans with Korean attitudes instead of acculturating into American society” (Reyes, 2007, p. 36). Saguday, who is very outspoken, admits that he fears to FOBout when he’s presenting in front of the class with a Filipino accent. It is the “accent” that is targeted in the evaluation and the surfacing of the stereotype. Saguday hangs out with the “Ingglishero,” those who speak English well, to practice his English. Immigrant children who face pressures of being different may cope by denying or abandoning their heritage language. Gundaway gives this example where he theorizes that part of the denial is due to the influence of peers not to speak the language.

Adda met latta dagiti napapangas uray no saanda local born iconsideरda diay selfđa a local born no dadduma, “Oh I don’t know how to speak Filipino language already,” kunkunad uray no ammoda. Adda pay tay maysa a babai nga classmateko ti English idí imbagana dina ammo ti agsao ti Ilokano. “Are you Filipino,” kunak, but “Yeah, I’m Amerian already,” kunana kaniak. “I don’t speak Filipino, I don’t speak Ilokano or any Filipino language,” kunana. But idi napankamid iдиay dentismi nakitak isuna kasarsaritana met diay mommyna ti Ilokano. Kabainansa ti agsao ti Ilokano. Adda latta dagidiay tatão a kasdiay. Maybe naimpluesia kadagiti friendsda something like that ti influence ngamin dayta ta no naimpluesiam ti padam a tao ay dika agsasaoka ti kasta ta kabain like that…kasta sabaliamon..So uray a bus stop ta public places agsaoka latta ti ilokano apay? Uneg ti bus or dagita restawran dagita fancy restawran agsaoda ti English uray Americano dagita dagita kaab-abaymo this is a free country you can talk any language you like.

(There are still those who are braggarts even though they are not local born, they consider themselves local born sometimes. “Oh I don’t know how to speak Filipino language already,” they say that although they know it. There is this one girl in my English class who told me that she does know how to speak Ilokano. “Are you
Filipino?” I asked. “Yeah, I’m American already,” she told me. “I don’t speak Filipino. I don’t speak Ilokano or any Filipino language,” she said. But when I went to my dentist, I saw her there talking to her mom in Ilokano. I think she is ashamed to speak Ilokano. There are people who are like that. Maybe she was influenced by here friends something like that because once you are influenced by other people, like, don't speak like that because it shameful like that…change it…So even at the bus stop, at public places, just speak in Ilokano, why? Inside the bus or the restaurant, fancy restaurants, although the Americans speak English, this is free country. You can talk any language you like.) (Gundaway, 2011)

But in this study, the local born took a protective stance toward people who are labeled as FOBs. When asked what he knows about FOB, Wayawaya stated,

FOB, I think it’s a Filipino who doesn’t know how to speak English. I mean, that’s what I think. Cause you know when people first come off the island, they’re “fresh,” you know they speak in Ilokano… Some people use local Filipino to refer to themselves sometimes because they don’t want to be called FOB. I don’t know, that’s what I think. I’ll ask, “Oh what are you?” Local Filipino. Like, you know I think it just sounds more better. You know how stereotype is in the air. I don’t know, when you say Filipino it’s like how we talk, la la la la la. I think it just adds a little more non-stereotype if you say “local.” (Wayawaya, 2011)

Wayawaya comments that the label FOB is related to how someone speaks and this is attached to being a Philippine-born who recently arrived in Hawai‘i. This is the reason why, he added, some people attach the word “local” to be less immigrant and shy away from the attached stereotypes on being Filipino. Wayawaya is aware of these stereotypes and understands the struggle of the second language learner in acculturating as he uses his cousin as an example.

And you know local Filipino, they know how to speak English, they know how to communicate to the majority of everybody so I guess like, over the years, you know, I think it just takes time for you to know, get used to everything because you cannot be like, you cannot know things on the spot. It takes time. Slowly but surely. My cousin, you know, he didn’t really know how to speak English. I think so he kinda brought Ilokano into me. (Wayawaya, 2011)

This stance is what makes him claim being Filipino. This claim emerges primarily in descriptive statements about their parents who were born in the Philippines.
Filipino, not local Filipino, Filipino period. It’s just who I am. There’s no such thing as a local Hawaiian. You know, I don’t carry the title “local.” I carry more Filipino. (Wayawayaya, 2011).

Saguday’s identity goes beyond language as he describes the way locals and immigrants dress.

The locals dress more fancy. Fancy is like fashionable, like “on style,” like in new style: Vans, tight jeans. Immigrants, they’re more still Philippine style, like baggy pants, slippers, and more into plain looking. They just leave their hair down. My fashion is both: half simple which is the immigrant and half fashionable which is the local. I get the simple stuff and simple attitude from the immigrants, and the style from the locals. Simple means I don’t get disgusted by something that is so small, like when somebody spits, they go, “Ewww, so gross!” No, I’m not like that. When somebody does that I go, “Okay…” (Saguday, 2011)

Saguday’s narrative tells us that he is able to make himself fit in with the locals while still keeping his identity as an Ilokano immigrant. Saguday is getting the best of the two worlds: the local and the immigrant; the fashionable and simple. For Gundaway, being in America is about trying to fit in. Like Saguday, he uses fashion to illustrate his point.

(I like America but the only thing is that you need to fit in here and everything. Because they dress here differently and their style is different and the Filipino style is different. I think so of the Americans if they see you like..if they see that your clothes or like it’s different, they look at you differently. Some don’t want to talk to you…”Do not talk to that FOB,” they say.) (Gundaway, 2011)

4.4.2. You Do This If You’re My Friend

Being with their peers, Namnama and Gundaway were pressured to do things just to fit in and be accepted. During his early high school years, Gundaway’s choice of friends were described as “bad” influence for him.
Before, during my early high school years, my old friends used to be lazy and every time, they wanna skip school and drink at their house, but I don’t drink. They were a bad influence for me…one of my friends in the ninth grade, he used to stay in a gang. But he didn’t peer pressure me to join the gang or anything, even smoke. I had to pierce my ear and color my hair because it was their style. They also pressured me to skip school and go to one of their house. We would do nothing, just sit down and watch the tv. My parents would find out because the school would call them about my absences. They would talk (you know Filipino parents, they would talk talk talk a lot) to me about why I don’t go to school. When I was younger, I wouldn’t care and don’t listen before. (Gundaway, 2011)

The goal to belong or “fit in” and be accepted in a group by either participating in cutting class or trying to change one’s look and/or appearance is what happened to Gundaway. When the school called his parents about his absences, Gundaway had to tell them the truth. This act meant that he was aware of his wrongdoing and showed that he still valued what he learned from home even when surrounded by friends who influenced him to do otherwise.

Peer pressure was also the reason why Namnama was suspended in the sixth and seventh grade.

In 7th grade I was suspended for smoking weed. I was peer pressured. It was during period C. They pressured me, “Oh lets smoke weed. Let’s go.” I was afraid cuz I never tried smoking weed before or any type of drugs besides in the Philippines and my dad. So they kept pressuring me and pressuring me to cut class and plus, I didn’t like my class so I cut class. So, they pressured me to smoke weed and marijuana and I just did. I was suspended for five days. My mom didn’t know about it. (Namnama, 2011)

For Namnama, she gave in to the pressure because at that time because she found support from her peers. Home was a place where her mother was not present the majority of the time because of work. She still considered home the Philippines, where she witnessed drug use and adultery and her place of displacement from Ilocos to Manila then to Hawai‘i. The pressure is an outlet for her to show disengagement and an anger that were compounded by her childhood experiences. Given the influential “pull” of the peers to Gundaway and Namnama, the values and support from home and/or school pulled them back to reconsider.
Gundaway’s participation in clubs and extra curricular work allowed him to meet and learn from other people. It also allowed him to hone his leadership skills.

(I participated in Hiking Club and Leo Club. We went hiking, we picked up trash at the beach. And that’s when I see them in my class and I learned leadership skills and how to make friends so they can help you in your work, that is why when I met them and I saw them in my classes they can help you if you ask them or something like that…) (Gundaway, 2011)

Like any other teenager, Gundaway felt the pressure to belong, which made him pierce his ears and color his hair. Bad influence and working instead of focusing on his academics also resulted in him having to repeat his sophomore year. As he got older, we see him mature and make new friends who are encouraging. These new group of friends gave him that second chance to redeem himself.

…My friends right now are good influences. Right now, me and my friends give each other advice, encourage each other to go to school so I have a great job some day. Some of my friends right now also are helping me with a project and homework. His name is Ray. He’s really good in math and he helps in math. His GPA right now is 3.8. There was a big change in my GPA. The first two years my GPA was one point something. Right now it’s 3.0. (Gundaway, 2011)

For Namnama, a teacher from her Teacher Academy was powerful enough to change her old ways. She now aspires to become a teacher. The supportive relationship that she received from her teacher was phenomenal in her turn around.
4.4.3. That’s What Friends Are For

Because of the many levels of her school involvement, Rimat’s story on relationships with people ranged from her friends, classmates, and advisor. She attributes her success in school to the positive impact of her peers.

The people I hang out with, we encourage each other to do well in school. That’s why I do well in school, I guess, because people look up to me – the underclassmen. Being in student council you have to interact with the younger ones like the sophomores and juniors because they know me, they seen me. They talk to me. They know. Like I never tell anyone I had good grades but I don’t know how people know. (Rimat, 2011)

Others look up to her because she is seen as a well-rounded student who can manage academics and extra curricular work. They also see her as an overachiever, role model, and leader. She explains what’s it’s like to be a leader:

I know I’m not the best leader but I’ve grown to be a good leader like I think I was talking, delegating. And so like growing up, I was taught to do things on my own if I could and so that’s how I am. Like if I know I can do it, I’m going to do it myself. I think over the years it’s gotten better. I’ve learned that things will never go your way because things always change and you have to learn. Being a student leader you have to learn to be flexible. So there was an incident where time is usually never by your side because you work with other variables and other people may take more time. So there was a time and we had a pep rally and the timing was really off and we had to problem solve on our toes on the spot like what do we have to do. So we just figured it out. Everything didn’t turn out the way it’s supposed to be. We had to cancel some things but nobody noticed. Nobody knew except us. Sometimes, people don’t directly appreciate the things that you do. Like people will tell you you’re stupid but they won’t like tell you why you’re stupid. Some people just say it to try to break you down or to see how you react. So I learned how to reward myself or like just be happy about myself. I was never really like proud unless like administration said that it was a very good event or when you hear your peers say that was really fun. Working with my class advisor was also an interesting experience. I had to learn about her because she was not here originally. She was from Boston, Massachusetts. And so the way she talked was different. Her insight, her perception on things we’re also different. So sometimes we’d banged heads because we did not see eye to eye. I don’t know. We reconciled our perspectives but I think one person just gave in and listened to the other. I don’t think it was ever a compromise. (Rimat, 2011)
Sometimes, she has a hard time receiving criticisms because all she has always been showered with praises for doing a good job. Failing was not in her vocabulary; she was expected to succeed and excel.

If there’s an award for Best in Congeniality, Saguday would take it easily. Saguday has a very energetic, outgoing, and very straightforward attitude.

In 7th grade, I was friends with everybody. I was the clown of the (ESL) class. I make fun of people. I mock them in a good way. Like when somebody says something, like I do the same thing but in a funny way...In class, I hang out with my English people. Dagiti Inglishero nga classmate-ko (My classmates who were English-speaking). Tapos no (And then) outside class, I hang out with my friends which is Ilokano and Tagalog, so I speak Ilokano and Tagalog. (Saguday, 2011)

Like in the Philippines, Saguday’s hangs around with mostly girls. In one incident, his closeness with the girls was misconstrued as harassment and this was a wake up call for him. After it was resolved, he was able to forgive the friend that turned him in. This act of forgiveness and giving the person a second chance was a reflection of the value that Saguday learned from his mother. This was a test of his character and the experience made him tougher as a person. The person who accused him of harassment eventually became a part of his support system, and is someone who helps with his schoolwork.

My friends tell me: “Saguday, you should do this, you should do that. Don’t give up on this.” Right now, I mostly hang out with Filipinos, but in classroom, I hang out with Samoan people, Hawaiian people, and sometimes Micronesian people. Like at first, I was scared to hang out with them. Like with Samoan people, cuz like, I thought they were gonna beat me up. (Saguday, 2011)

Saguday admits that he has somewhat became a role model for his friends and peers. His former Ilokano teacher comments on his “queen bee-like” attitude:

He’s a sassy kid; he comes off as sassy but he’s actually nice. That sassiness comes out because he’s gay...he’s very feminine and he uses that sassiness or being mean to avoid being teased. He is like a queen been. Queen bee because has a lot of friends, the girls follow him. If Saguday does not want to do it, his group does not want to do it either..he can bring people, he bring his friends….he has the effect, however he
does not have the queen bee personality; he is not mean, he is not fake he is really caring that’s why he has a lot of friends a very nice kid he really cares about others especially those who are little weaker in class…for example, there was an autistic girl in class before and he always like to help the autistic kid in class. He made the student speak in front of the class and he tends to like to help who are having a hard time..but if you see him in a big group he comes out as mean he wants to pick on others before they can pick on him….he has always the girls and the only boy in the group…he has the effect with girls…he doesn’t care and he would talk back and can defend himself….he’s vocal, he’s not afraid to speak….you can be gay but don’t dress as a girl…he has deaf sister….before he goes out he helps out because he is the pannakababai ti balay (female house figure)….He is very caring; inside he’s really a good friend…. (Talugading, 2011)

According to Ms. Talugading, Saguday’s sassiness serves as his defense mechanism before other people attack him as in calling him “faggot” in school. He does not want to experience being embarrassed because of his harassment experience in the middle school. His caring attitude was also exhibited in class when he was able to help out an autistic student speak up in front of his Ilokano class. This caring attitude is a reflection of his home values and his training assisting his deaf sister. And it is reflected in his narrative on how he has changed throughout the years.

When I came here, I think I changed a lot - in a good way. I became more helpful. I became a role model to other people. Like I tell them like you’re gonna waste your time coming to school, like you’re just gonna be lazy. Like I tell them what to do – I don’t tell them what to do but I tell them do their homework and stuff. I’m not your parents but you have to do this thing…(Saguday, 2011)

4.3.4. Conclusion

The narratives above inform us of the strong influence of friends in the students’ lives outside the home. These peers can either be positive and encouraging or negative and destructive. For the students, the experiences (good or bad) help them grow and learn about who they are as students, individuals, and Ilokanos. The next section presents the students’ narratives in the context of their community.
4.4. Dis (place) called “Lugar”: The Community Narratives

In this last section of the students’ narratives, they spoke of their impressions, observations, and experiences growing up in the neighborhood of Lugar. Wayaway and Rimat were both born and raised in Lugar. Namnama, Saguday, and Gundaway settled in Lugar upon arriving from the Philippines. Figure 4.4 below is the representation of the of the students’ narratives in the context of their community.

**Figure 4.4.** Representation of the community narratives

![Diagram of community narratives]

Generally speaking, the students viewed Lugar on a spectrum of being “a friendly neighborhood” to acknowledging the “presence of gang activities.” Rimat, who was born and lived in the same house since birth, described her neighborhood as “friendly.”

There’s really friendly people in Lugar. Like everybody pretty much knows where everybody lives. “Oh you know she lives over here.” Like you might not know the exact house, but you know they live on that street. I never really played outside when I was a kid because we live on a private street. We live in the same house since I was like three years old. We have Filipino neighbors. We have this one Japanese man. And there’s these Haole people down the road, but they’re nice. We don’t really talk to them except the old man when we were kids and we would play outside. We would always get busted. Whenever we would see him, we would run away. We live next to the main road. You hear the bus and growing up you’d be like, “Oh yeah, that’s the bus.” (Rimat, 2011)
Rimat’s description of her neighborhood as a child underscores the ethnic diversity of the people living in Lugar. She also describes her socialization in her neighborhood. Because her house is near the main road, she couldn’t freely play because of the presence of cars passing by. As she grew up, she noticed the overcrowding of people because more and more newly-arrived immigrants started to settle in Lugar. The description of Lugar as “friendly” and “safe” is also reflected by a former resident and governor of this community during the 1950s and 1960s.

Lugar was a good place to grow up. Its residents were friendly and helpful. Most did not lock their doors at night. Most were hard working. There was respect among them. (Cayetano, 2009, p. 10)

Unlike Cayetano who grew up in this same neighborhood in the 1950s, people now need to lock up and install security lights to protect their homes and properties as stated by Rimat in her narrative. Additionally, the problem of drug started to surface, turning the neighborhood “more scary” and “unsafe.” And this is an important consideration for her when she said that she does not see herself settling in Lugar.

But as I got older, it was more scary. It’s too crowded. There’s like houses on every little square foot. There seems to be druggies or like you hear things at night. There was an incident when someone stole something from our house because we left it on the porch. There was this one time when I saw this man run, run. So since we have security lights, they will turn on. And we live on a private road. You know everybody that walks there or you hear the same cars. (Rimat, 2011)

Rimat’s Social Studies teacher also talks about growing up in Lugar. Born in Los Angeles with local parents, Ms. Mahi has been teaching at NHS for two decades. She describes the image of Lugar this way.

Back then? I think there was always… we always kind of had a reputation for being poor, for being more violent. Because I remember at a fairly young age when people talked about Nakem or Lugar it was always kind of with this negative undertone, that attitude that they were, I don’t know, just the violence I think was a big issue. Even
though I don’t think it was as bad then as it is now, I think there was always still that kind of undercurrent of we’re not as nice as some of the other areas. (Mahi, 2011)

Wayawaya, who was born and raised in Lugar all his life like Rimat, rents a two-bedroom house with his parents and younger brother. It is situated near one of the four public housing areas in Lugar. He describes the yelling and the presence of gang-related activities at night.

I live with my mom, dad, and brother. We are renting a two-bedroom house in Hoku Street. I lived in the middle of the intersection of Hoku Street and Leiolani Road. So there’s always like the whole Leiolani Road, Ranggas thing going on, gangster. Before it was like alive. Nowadays the neighborhood is quiet. There’s hardly any yelling at night and that’s what I wanted. You know, before it was irritating, you hear all this yelling and fighting. But now it’s like, I don’t know. All of a sudden it just stopped. That’s good. (Wayawaya, 2011)

The presence of gang activities in this community was really rampant in the early 1990s.

There were the Samoan and Filipino gangs and the violence was pervasive. It is no surprise why writers often romanticize Lugar, describing it as “rough,” “tough,” “impoverished,” and “poor.” Headlines like, “School fights allegedly ties to gangs…” (Fujimori, 2005) can be found in local newspapers. When I first told my friends that I was working at NHS, they asked me if I was afraid. I also remember being asked by the print shop teacher whether certain phrases being printed in his class could be considered “gang-related.” Although gang activities have curtailed in this community, two of the students shared their own experiences that were gang-related. In Namnama’s story growing up in Lugar, she admits that the place “hasn’t changed much” and that she sees the influx of Micronesians in the community.

She recalled an experience being chased by a group of Micronesian youth.
I was like at my friend’s house at The Fort. I was walking home at 10 pm and then I saw these three Micronesians. They chased me. Two boys, one girl. So they chased me, so I went all around…I went all the way around back to The Fort, so I went back to The Fort. I hid in the back of The Fort, and then so I was just relieved that they didn’t find me. And then after that, I didn’t want to be in The Fort so I ran to Mokihana, you know over there, just right across. So I went hide over there for like until 12 pm. Yeah, I was hiding for an hour, and so I ran there. And then I just called the cab to pick me up over there, and I went sleep at my friend’s house. (Namnama, 2011)

This incident is not the first time that she was chased by Micronesians. When asked why this happens, she replied, “I guess, they want, like if you dress nice, like oh, you going get money, so like this person get money, we go jack um.” Although you can sense a fear in her voice, you can also sense strength. She said that “They never jack anything from me, cuz I fight back. I know how to defend myself.” Being chased and running from people are not new to Namnama. She had the same experience when her dad and his mistress were chased by the police in the fields of Cadaratan. At a young age, she learned to be alert, tough, and to always look out for herself. These characteristics and survival instincts were only sharpened as she once again experienced the “rough side” of living in Lugar. Another student, Saguday, also shared his gang-related experience.

…When I was in 8th grade, I almost got stabbed by one Micronesian. He was drunk. I was just in the corner, everybody was playing basketball and then he came to the gym. He was all drunk and then he had a knife. And then all of a sudden, I was just sitting there, he went grab me. He was like doing this and then one of my friends side blind him, like went punch him in the side. Three days after that, we got chased by “Blood,” a Micronesian gang. We got chased cuz that time I had new shoes, and it was night time and we were at Kawayan Field. We was sitting over there, and then all of a sudden they just started coming and they just started chasing us. We went around the field. (Saguday, 2011)

Although this experience was life-threatening for Saguday, he does not have ill feelings towards them because he hangs out with friends who are Micronesian. There is this
perception in the community that Micronesians are “trouble makers,” but Saguday sees things differently because of his positive relationship with this ethnic group.

My Micronesian friends, they’re good they’re not like that. Some of ‘em are girls some of ‘em are guys. But I usually hang out with Micronesian girls. (Saguday, 2011)

For Gundaway and Saguday, who both settled in Lugar upon their arrival in Hawai‘i, they each have their own opinion on the physical landscape of Lugar. Gundaway’s life in America did not match the images he had seen on television.

Hanko ekspektaren a kastoy ti Hawai‘i. Ti ammok ti Hawai‘i ket green amin ti makitak nga grass ken nagdakkel dagiti balbalay a sangpetam kasla diay mabuybuyami diay TV no kua nga ‘diay America kunkunana. America ket kasla lang koma diay nagadu nga bilbilding ken nagdadakkel nga awan pulos tay makitam nga lubak lubak nga dalan…Nakitak idi simmangpetkam ditoy ket adda met waig dita kaarrubamin. Adda pay pakak kada marunggay kasla met la Pilipinas kunami.

(I did not expect Hawai‘i to be like this. I thought of Hawai‘i as the grass being green and big houses just like what I saw on TV sometimes; America they call it. America has many tall buildings and there are no bumpy roads. What I saw when I arrived here was a brook next to our house. There were breadfruit and marunggay like in the Philippines we said.) (Gundaway, 2011)

For Saguday, space became an issue. Having lived in a big home where there is plenty to run around and maneuver, Saguday did not know how to react to lack of space in the two-bedroom home rented by his family members who were already in Hawai‘i. Space had a new meaning for him – being poor.

Idi simmangpetak…adda sarilida nga apartment. (When I arrived, they have their own apartment.) Dua a bedroom. (Two bedrooms). My mom, my dad, and my sister was in one room. My brother and the girlfriend was in the other room, and then my oldest brother was in the living room, so me and my brother who just came - we were in the living room too. I felt poor. I felt not simple anymore. I felt crowded. I got used to being in a big space, running around and stuff. I just have to suck it up and deal with it. (Saguday, 2011)
Gundaway and Saguday’s initial impressions of Hawai‘i were “clean” and “no more traffic.” The “shock,” however, came when Gundaway discovered that his grandmother’s apartment was next to a brook and that marunggay and pakak trees grew in the backyard, similar to his home in the Ilocos.

Lugar has served historically as an area of settlement for various immigrant minorities including Japanese, Portuguese, Filipinos, and Samoans. Indeed, Lugar has been termed a “Place of Transition” in a four-volume collection of interviews with longtime Lugar residents (Center for Oral History, 1984). According to Okamura (1991), Lugar is not necessarily a locale for the adaptation of post-1965 Filipino immigrants. “The primary reason that they initially settle in Lugar is not because of the availability of inexpensive housing or its proximity to work place but because of the presence of their close relatives and other Filipinos who can provide them with immediate accommodations and assistance in obtaining a first job” (p. 63). Lugar is close to the main bus routes – the lifeline for many Filipinos who rely on public transportation to get to and from two, sometimes three jobs. This factor also accounts for the settlement and residence of Ilokano immigrants in other communities such as Waialua or Waipahu. Alegado (1991) notes,

Many immigrants arrived with little or no money, no job and little or no knowledge of English in an island society culturally and economically different from the ones they had left. In the Filipino ethnic community and neighborhoods like Lugar, the immediate needs of the immigrant were met. Here they found information in their own language, familiar food, and lodging they could afford among people with whom they felt at ease. Here they got help in finding work, usually from relatives and ex-townmates who spoke their language and could help them find a new job. Here they found the sympathy and friendship of others who shared their values and life experiences. These factors helped ease the cultural shock of immigration and made new beginnings possible. (p. 31)

When Gundaway arrived in Lugar, his grandmother and relatives were already renting a house owned by a friend of his grandmother. It is this type of network of “the friend of a
friend” that prevails in this community as observed by Alegado (1991) and Okamura (1991). With the presence of sari-sari (variety) stores that sell Philippine products and vegetables like saluyot (jute) and marunggay (horse-radish tree) and restaurants that specialize in Ilokano dishes, these Ilokanos felt at home in Lugar. This reminds me of my own experience when I boarded Continental Airlines on May 22, 1988 with a carry-on luggage containing a jar of bugguong (fermented fish sauce) placed in a sealed Skyflakes can. To my surprise, I later discovered that bugguong was sold in Hawai‘i.

Despite the “tough” and “impoverished” image of Lugar, the character of the students in my study have remained respectful. In my eight years of teaching at NHS, I found the students to be respectful, contrary to what people have said about them. A former principal of NHS notes in a television interview,

Well, when I first got there, we were actually coming out of a really tough period with gangs. There had been an incident where a student was quite severely beaten the previous year. The late 80’s and the early 90’s were really, really rough times. Adult Friends for Youth helped us. The YMCA on campus helped us. We have so many partners in the community that, while we did have incidents where gangs kind of would burst forth at different times, it never felt out of control. We have social workers on campus that actually have a peace council made up of different gang members that would talk about their problems before it escalated into conflict. So just different ways of working with the students, not to eliminate that social phenomena that is pretty much ingrained in the community. (PBS Hawai‘i, 2011)

In this same interview, she also noted that what works is giving students “hope.”

And I think for many children, even at the age of twelve and thirteen, they’ve started to lose hope. They see their parents in trouble. They see their siblings and their cousins. So it’s finding that little crack that you can get into, and give them hope. (PBS Hawai‘i, 2011)

The former principal then cited a particular story of a student at NHS. I included it here because it succinctly describes the challenges faced by students at NHS. There are many
layers to the students’ lives. Schools and teachers do more than just provide education; they take care of many other aspects of the students’ lives.

It changed my life, watching teachers that so inspire me. What really would inspire me was when you would see something that was a problem or a tragedy, or some kind of situation with our students, and then to see how the staff would just coalesce to make that situation better. We had some suicides at Nakem. We had some other deaths of students or deaths of students’ family members. And how does the school come together to support those that are left? We had a student once who was the oldest in his family, he was a junior at the time. And he had siblings at the middle school and the elementary school, and his mother had just given birth and had cancer, and died within days after giving birth. His father had to keep his job, and there wasn’t anyone in the family who could take care of this infant. And so, our eleventh grade student was going to have to drop out of school to take care of the infant. And his counselor found out about it, and the first thing that happened - cause it was at Christmas too, is they did a huge drive to support the family, and gathering supplies for the baby, and Christmas gifts for the younger siblings. And then, over the Christmas holidays, trying to figure out how we could have this child still come to school, and take care of the baby at the same time. And at that time, we had a childcare program for infants for our pregnant girls, and for the girls that had given birth. It was a contracted program, but we were able to get them to agree that even though it wasn’t his baby, he could bring his younger brother at six weeks, and come to school with his baby brother. And he was able to go ahead and graduate, because of that. It’s one of the things that makes Nakem so special, is that we don’t want anybody to fall through the cracks. (PBS Hawai‘i, 2011)

Smith’s statement is a testament to the caring attitude of teachers that the students reported in their school narrative. At least from students’ perspective, Smith is praised as the best principal NHS has ever had. At NHS, a student theatrical group has adapted the lychee fruit that represents the students at NHS. The lychee fruit is said to be abundant in this neighborhood. Public perception of NHS is of gangs, violence and low achievement. Using the symbol of lychee in their opening performances, the group’s objective is to reverse the negative perception to more accurately reflect the wide array of positive talents, accomplishments and possibilities of the urban youth of this school. NHS may not have the best school facilities and highest graduation rate, but the students there are genuine - they speak their mind and they are respectful. Like the lychee fruit, they may be rough on the
outside, but they are sweet on the inside. The students may not come from the most
prestigious families, but they bring with them their family values.

Lugar has a rich history involving immigrants. Known as the place of transition,
many immigrants have settled and planted their seed of hardwork in this community,
including the Filipinos. They had built their own homes, established their own businesses
and raised their children who are now following and/or surpassing the footsteps of their
parents. The five students that I interviewed made their mark in their humble community.
Their high school graduation was not only a celebration of their accomplishments, but a
testament to all that they had to endure and overcome to get to this point in their lives.
Being the valedictorian was a big honor for Rimat. At her graduation party, where I served
as the emcee, she recognized her ninong and ninang, her godparents, for being a part of her
life. Her mother brought out a copy of her baptismal party photos and began to recount how
time flies from when Rimat was born until her high school graduation. Her graduation party
was not just a celebration of her accomplishments, but also an event to extend gratitude and
thanks to the people who supported her along the way.

There is no denying that Filipinos work in service industries. Data from the
Philippine Consulate in Honolulu and the 2007-2009 American Community Survey indicate
that 19 percent of Filipino workers are professionals holding management positions, 39
percent are in the service industry which is largely comprised of the hotel industry, 18
percent are in sales and office occupations, eight percent are in construction, 11 percent are
in transport production, while 4.5 percent are self-employed. You see them in hotels
servicing rooms. You see them as custodians in government buildings and food
establishments. You see them at parks doing maintenance work. In all these establishments,
Filipinos are hardworking employees. The mothers of Gundaway and Saguday are no exception and work in the hotel industry. Gundaway himself worked at a fast food restaurant and now at a hotel. Namnama’s mom had a part-time job at a fast food restaurant. My own mother used to work at a Waikiki hotel as a maid for several years until she dislocated her shoulder on the job. She eventually left and currently works as a custodian in a state government building in downtown Honolulu. My father, on the other hand, retired as a landscaper from Helemano Plantation earning a minimum wage. With this minimum wage, he was able to support his family in the Philippines and bring them to the United States four years later.

Most Filipinos who migrate here look at America as the land of opportunity. A buzzword that is often passed on to the newcomer is the fact that one can “make it here as long as one is not too choosy about the job.” Immigrant Filipinos have a work ethic that impresses many, whether they are an entrepreneur or the blue-collar worker who, more often than not, has “additional part time job(s).” The strong family relationship among Filipinos is also a key quality. Many of the small businesses are started and nurtured by family members or relatives who feel the sense of obligation to help (Barayuga, 2005). Often, these struggles can be found in the lyrics of Ilokano songs produced in Hawai‘i and then played at the events where Ilokanos congregate. The song Sakada composed by an Ilokana, Andrea Baptista, was dedicated to the 85th anniversary of Filipino immigration to Hawai‘i. The song underscores the pioneering act of the Sakadas – those who planted the seed for the Filipinos in Hawai‘i.

Ukradek ti pakasaritaan
Dagiti Pilipino ti Hawai‘i
Tapno maammuantay’ ti gapuanan
Dagiti ammatay’ a namuangayan.
Manipud iti puerto ti Kailukuan
Naglayagda iti nalawa a taaw
Simmangladda ‘ti kunada a paraiso
Naipanda ‘ti paggiananda a kampo.

Naliday ti biagda a Sakada
Kas man dida mailiwliwag ti iliwda
Iti daga nga inda pinanawan
Ken napateg a kapirgis ti biagda.

Maysa laeng a doliar ti horna
Agmalmalem a tuok iti kaunasan
Ngem dagiti amma a nanakman
Pamiliada dida la binaybay-an.

Nagbaliw ti linteg ti Amerika
Naorderan ti pamilia ni Sakada
Isu nga addatay’ met iti Hawai‘i ita
Nalanglangto a pasto a kunada

Agmataka pada a Pilipino
Mabibigmo kad’ met laeng ti ramutmo
No narangrang-ayen ti biagmo itan
Bigbigem nga utangmo kennis Sakada

(Let me tell you a true life’s story
All about us, Filipinos of Hawai‘i
So that we may appreciate and understand
What our brave pioneering fathers have done

Starting from the port in the Ilokandia
For weeks they sailed over the wide Pacific Ocean
They arrived in this land called Paradise
And were assigned to live in the plantation camps

What a sad, lonesome life had Sakada
Couldn’t get over their feelings for their loved ones
And missing the family they left behind
Homesick of the Philippines, their native land

A meager dollar a day for their pay
Enduring aches and fatigue through a long workday
Their sweat and blood at the cane fields did flow
For the precious buck they promised for their family
Then came the change in foreign laws in America
Which brought for the family of Sakada
That’s why we’re here in Hawai‘i today
A greener pasture for us, so they say

Open your eyes, my fellow Filipino
Your noble roots are from Sakada, did you know?
If better life you now enjoy in Hawai‘i
You’re indebted to Sakada you ought to know)

Moreover, Ping Lopez and Ernie Bautista’s *Biag Ditoy America*, touches on the reality of the life in America as in “Ay dua ti pagtrabahuam / Tapno mabayadam nakaad-adu nga utang” (You work two jobs to pay for bills) and Norbie Quiambao’s *Biag ti Hawayano* talks about the daily routine of a Hawayano from preparing his/her balon to catching the 5 AM bus to work the next morning: “Dida la ammo / Adu met a sakripisio / Iti inaldaw gayyemko a panagtrabaho / Iti binigat sapaennan tay bumangon / Agrubuatkan isagananam tay balonmo/
No dika makamaneho ken no awananka tay karro / Gam-udemon tay bus para-alas singko.” (They don’t know/Your sacrifices/Your daily work schedule/Every morning he/she gets up early/Get ready and prepare your home lunch/If you can’t drive and you don’t own a car/Take the 5AM bus). These songs capture the complex experiences of the imigrante (immigrant) and it is through songs that we celebrate these sacrifices and accomplishments. From a pedagogical standpoint, these songs serve as materials in analyzing the Ilokano diasporic experience in Hawai‘i.

In addition to songs, literary works written by Ilokano themselves have poeticized the Ilokano diasporic experience in Hawai‘i. In an anthology put out by Gumil Hawai‘i in 2005, fittingly entitled *Tampipi*, this publication acknowledged the 100 years of hardwork and sacrifices of the Filipinos in Hawai‘i. Noted in the introduction section of the book, the Sakadas came to Hawai‘i with their tampipi, their suitcases, to carry their personal
belongings. During these early years, the tampipi symbolized frugality and economic stability. Today, those arriving from the Philippines no longer need their tampipi. In this same anthology, Agcaoili (2005) describes tampipi, not just an artifact made of way (rattan), but it represents laing (wisdom), arte (art), and ayat (love). In his essay, he writes,

Bitbit dagitoy a Sakada dagiti tampipida iti yaaddakda ditoy nalabbaga a daga, bitbitda met dagiti kararu a sindadaan a mangsaranget kadagiti karit ti biag…Gapu ta ti tampipi ti pagikargaan dagiti tagtagaineepda nga iti maysa nga aldaw ket lak-amendanto met laeng ti bunga dagiti sakripisioda, ti bunga dagiti sasainekda gapu iti yaadayo, ti nagbanagan dagiti a-arawda a dumteng koma met ti panaglak-am kadagiti napipintas a gasat, panaglak-am iti napintas ken nasayaat a biag a saan ketdi a puro panagwarsi iti asin iti kilabban a dinanuman. (p. 45)

(The Sakada hand carried their tampipi as they stepped on the red dirt, they carried with them their souls ready to face the challenges of life…Because tampipi is vessel of their dreams that one day they will harvest the fruits of their sacrifices, the fruit of their sobbing because of their leaving, the outcomes of their pleas that someday they will harvest better fortune, better life, not just sprinkling salt on a left over rice with water.)

Indeed, it is the better life that attracted many Filipinos to come to Hawai‘i. Indeed, they brought their dreams with them in their tampipi, the dream of a better life that someday they will be able to earn enough money and go back to their hometown. Andrea Baptista’s Sakada song, written for the 80th anniversary of the Filipino immigration to America, vividly depicts the hardship of the Sakada in the plantation. In 2006, I personally sat down with Mrs. Baptista to ask her whether I can include her song in an anthology that I was putting together, entitled Ani, and she agreed with much enthusiasm. That same year, the NHS Ilokano classes were requested to do an opening number for the T-Shirt Theater performance Mabuhay, commemorating the Filipino Centennial and what a better fitting song to sing than Sakada: Ramut Filipino. This song captures the hardship of the Sakadas as well as a tribute to the Filipinos in Hawai‘i who are now enjoying their better lives as a result of the humble dreams planted by the Sakada. The seed planted by the Sakada are now being reaped by their
saringit, their children, and it is this saringit that are being represented by the five students in this dissertation.

The reality and complexity of the immigrant life are represented in the writings of Ilokano Americans who themselves have experienced living and leaving the homeland for a better life, like Gumil Hawai‘i’s anthology, Tampipi. By force of circumstances, Ilokanos have migrated to other places – Central Luzon and even Mindanao to seek greener pastures. The limited land area and long dry season of the Ilocos motivated them to go out to augment their rice harvest. At first, “this migration was temporary and seasonal, however with the passage of time, the land area of the Ilocos region could no longer accommodate the ever-increasing populations of the inhabitants” (Reyes & Agatep-Reyes, 1995). Many of them settled in Nueva Ecija, Pangasinan, Tarlac, and Mindanao. Ilocanos are anywhere in the Philippines and they are anywhere in the world including Hawai‘i.

In spite of their double duties and sidelines, the Ilokanos have time to form associations and organizations for fellowship, camaraderie and mutual assistance among themselves. They provide scholarships/donations to deserving beneficiaries in their home provinces and carry out medical missions. Organizations like Gumil Hawai‘i, Timpuyog Dagiti Mannurat nga Ilokano (TMI) Global, and the United Filipino Council of Hawai‘i have partnered up with the UHM Ilokano Program in providing scholarships to students who are pursuing bachelor’s degree in Philippine Language and Literature with a concentration on Ilokano.

The Ilokanos in Hawai‘i have gone a long way since the days of the Sakadas. No wonder the media depicts them as a model minority of hardworking and struggling immigrants determined to make it in Hawai‘i (Cunanan et al., 2006; Okamura, 2008).
Okamura (2008) used the example of an article from a Honolulu daily newspaper showcasing the hardships of a “straight A student” who graduated at the top of her 1998 class at NHS only a year and a half after immigrating from the Philippines. While attending community college as a full time student, she works 60 hours a week at a Waikiki convenience store and a restaurant to save money “toward her dream” of studying at a local private university to become a registered nurse. What was lacking in this story, according to Okamura (2008) is the explanation why that student had to make that kind of extraordinary effort. This depiction is synonymous to the story of Gundaway, who started working when he was 14 years old. He currently works at a Waikiki Hotel on a graveyard shift and goes to school right after he is done with work. Working is attractive for Gundaway because it allows him to pay for one of his hobbies – traveling – without asking his parents to pay for his expenses. He has traveled to New York and London and made a collage of these trips during his senior year in his photography class. Both of his parents are already working two jobs each. He does not pay rent because his parents want him to save his money. He sees how hard his parents are working and feels an obligation to help support them as well. This inherited trait of hardwork is something that he grew up with witnessing his father and his grandparents, who immigrated to Guam and later to the United States.

Agcaoli (2002) refers to this event as kallautang for it captures the reality of wandering of Filipinos all over the globe. The Ilokanos have moved within and outside the Philippines. We also see the same phenomena, although not in a global scale, in the families of Wayawaya and Gundaway. For Wayawaya, he lived with his family in his maternal grandparents’ house until he was two years old, when his family moved into their own home. For Gundaway, he moved at least once but during this move, all the family members moved
together. In other literary works, in the daniw of Sadorra (2009) in Kallautang, informs the story of parents leaving their children under the care of other people because they need to work. This reality was also discovered by a local born college student studying Ilokano in her interview with her mother for her immigration project in the advanced Ilokano language class.

Inistoriana pay a nasakit ti nakemna no ibatina dagiti annakna idiay babysitter ta mailiw kadagitig annakda, ngem ammona a masapul nga agtrabaho tapno adda sueldoda tapno mabayadanna dagiti ut-utangda ken iti eskuela dagiti ubbingda. Ti nakarigrigat a napadasanna ket idi naiyanak ti maikadua nga anakna ta masapul nga agsubli isuna nga agtrabahon ken maysa a bulan pay laeng ti anakna. Kunana a narigat idi nga ibati dagiti ubbingna ta maysa a bulan laeng ti maikadua nga anakna. Ammona nga uray no narigat para kaniana nga ibati dagiti ubbingna tapno makatrabaho isuna, isu ti kasapulan nga aramidenna tapno makasapul para iti pamiliana.

(She narrated that it’s against her will to leave her children with the babysitter because she will miss them, but she knows she needs to work so she can earn to pay her bills and the schooling of her children. The very difficult experience that she had was when her second child was born and she needed to go back to work already although her second daughter is only one month old. It is hard for her to leave her children with other people but it is necessary so she can provide for her family.) (Casino, 2011)

This excerpt shows the emotional side of the immigrant experience. Oftentimes, these are the adjustments parents must make in new place when there are no family members to depend on for support. In the Philippines, it is typical for working parents to entrust their children with other relatives such as grandparents. And it is through this caring by their grandparents that they grow up learning Ilokano.

Nagasaka (1999) examined the child fostering by close relatives of overseas migrant households in the contemporary Ilokano village. Given the difficulty to raise children in Italy, almost all migrants chose to leave their children in their natal village in care of their close kin, such as their parents, siblings, siblings of parents and so on. In Ilokano society,
child fostering by a close relative is commonly practiced. “Child fostering in Ilocos occurs in
the context of Ilocano notions of “parenthood.” To bring up children is considered as the
obligation of parents, but their close relatives, e.g., bilateral kin, parents, siblings, and
sometimes more distant kin are expected to share this obligation. When the real parents
cannot fulfill their obligation to their children, this responsibility will be extended to their
siblings (children’s uncles or aunts), their parents (children’s grandparent) and so on. In this
sense, “parenthood” is not confined to the real parents, but shared with close kin. People
generally foster their grandchildren, nieces or nephews.” (Nagasaka, 1999, p. 32). Almost
all the cases of child fostering are arranged in informal conversation among close relatives.

A recent publication of the UH Ilokano Program, in partnership with an agency
serving the community of Lugar, deals with the retelling of stories of parents who have raised
their children in Hawai‘i. In this book, parents shared their experiences as children in the
Ilokano homeland and as parents of children born in Hawai‘i. They shared their dreams,
aspirations, hopes, sacrifices, commitments, and difficulties. I would like to share an excerpt
that validates Nagasaka’s (1999) study.

In the Ilocos where I grew up, there was my grandmother, the mother of my mother. Even if my mother was not around everyday because she was always in other
people’s homes washing clothes of teachers, her washing clothes being the source of
our livelihood, there was my grandmother who took good care of us. It means that
we did not lack the tender loving care that we needed, my siblings, myself.
(Domingo, 2011, pp. 173-174).

Although the desire to improve one’s lot is innate in every individual, the Ilokano’s ambition
to have a better life is strong. Thus, he is found in practically all parts of the world,
especially in the United States. This desire is exemplified in Bragado’s (1968) Saringit novel
as studied by Mamuad (1983).
“Ngem nagpilit. Sanna kano a maanusan ti agtalon. Dina kayat ti maipada kaniak ken daguiti dadduma a naglaklakay iti likudan ti arado.” (p. 30). (But he insisted. He could not have the patience of a farmer. He would not like to be like me and those who had grown old behind the plow.)

“Kas kinuna ni Tata Frank idi imbagana ti panggepna a sumurot ket agsublinto met laeng idiy Hawai‘i, a saan nga appaut iti Filipinas. Ta narigat ti biag iti Filipinas. Saan a kas iti Hawai‘i” (p. 3). (As what Tata Frank said when he had told him of his plan to go with him and to return to Hawai‘i, that he could not stay long in the Philippines. Because life in the Philippines is difficult. Not like in Hawai‘i.)

My parents told me that if you grow up in hardship, then nothing should be hard. Hard in this context is the physical aspect of work, the *panagtalon* (farming) from sun up to sun down or going fishing. And when they come to Hawai‘i, it is still hard, but their lived experience of working hard in the birth land becomes their weapon to labor. In her song *Anak ti Sakada*, Baptista (2004) vividly described it as “Inlumlumdat’ bagbagida iti panggedan,” like in the days when their feet got stuck in mud during panagraep or the transplanting of *pagay* (rice) seedlings. Others say, “Basta laeng kabaelan ti bagi, agtrabahoka latta (As long as the body is able, you can go ahead and work). Able that is – they sometimes refuse to call in sick or agree to work overtime for the extra money. Bernie Munoz’s Ilokano song “Naragsak ti Hawai‘i” captures this. In the lyrics, “Gasat, gundaway, ken panagray-ay / Daytat’ kayat a sawen ti Hawai‘i” (Luck, opportunity, and progress / That is what Hawai‘i means). They came to Hawai‘i in hope to find their fortune and once the opportunities presented themselves, they took advantage of it and progressed after.

Fueled by their humble dreams and hardwork, the Ilokano built their new lives in Lugar. In this vibrant and thriving community, they nurtured their families, sent their children to school, established their homes, and even created thriving businesses. Others may paint negative pictures of Lugar and only see “what is wrong” with this community, but for many families, Lugar is where they established a better life for themselves and pursue
their dreams. For newly arrived immigrants from the Philippines, living in Lugar provided a nice transition from their homeland to America. They experienced less of a culture shock because they could still be surrounded by other Filipinos, speak and hear their native language, and eat Ilokano food.

The homeland is always where the heart is, but immigrant families with children are committed to make Hawai‘i their permanent home. Working more than one job and trying to make ends meet in Hawai‘i are sacrifices many parents are willing to make for their children. Children born and raised in Hawai‘i are considered the saringit of the seed that their parents have planted when they came to Hawai‘i. In Baptista’s (2004) Anak ni Sakada, the lyrics of the song emphasize the need for the grandchildren of Sakada to educate themselves.

Ken dakayo nga appoko ni Sakada
Ti agadal ipangpangrunayo koma
Ti abagayo ti yan ti namnama
Masakbayan ti kamaan ni Sakada
(And you the grandchildren of the Sakada
Prioritize your education
Hope rests on your shoulders
The future of the Sakada family)

The rendering of the immigrant experiences of the Ilokano in Hawai‘i is one frame where we can see and explain, from our own language and perspective, the complexity of Ilokano experience (Agcaoili, 2002; 2009). In Tampipi and Saringit, the text presented a description of the person’s arrival to Hawai‘i and his encounter and interactions with others. In the new environment, one must adjust to the discourse in order to be successful in their new home. The offering of an Ilokano language class became a catalyst in the remembering of their childhood experiences in the Ilocos as in the case of Gundaway, Saguday, and Namnama. For the local born students like Wayawayaya and Rimat, they become a member of
the community of practice of Ilokano discourse that they witnessed and experienced at home from their parents, grandparents, and relatives.

The spirit of adventure and the desire for a better life brought the peoples of the Philippines to Hawai‘i 105 years ago. The values of hard work and persistence that the first Sakada exhibited in the face of difficult circumstances sustain the Filipinos of today as they continue to evolve with and contribute to Hawai‘i. The offering of a heritage language course at NHS is something to celebrate that in the 105 years of existence of Ilokano in this state, the education of the children of the Sakadas, in their own language, is something to celebrate. Maintaining such programs does not necessarily erase the possibility of language extinction, but a concerted effort amongst Ilokano themselves and community members to own a program that is created by them that is for them and the future generation of Ilokanos.

4.4.1. Conclusion

Students and parents brought their rich history to this new country. Their new community that they settled in, fittingly referred to as the place of transition, built their stories and pakasaritaan. With them, they brought along their children and built their own families. Their immigrant children had to adjust to the new expectations of the new environment. In their homes, their stories evolved. Alongside, they heard stories of their parents of struggle, hardwork, and sacrifice embodied by the pioneering Sakada that planted the seed of hardwork. They witnessed their parents work hard and this witnessing aide them in understanding, appreciating, and/or rejecting those stories. The trope of hardwork served as a motivation and/or inspiration to dream a dream of their own and the dreams of their parents for them and this is communicated through their emphasis on education. The home stories and experiences are forwarded to their schooling experiences. Their experiences are
layered by the entrance of other actors in their lives – their teachers and friends that are seemingly influenced in reshaping their identities. Regardless, the value of hardwork is ingrained in their Ilokano hearts because their experiences had built their character. Their Ilokano language class became the “safe zone” for them while they (re)negotiate themselves in school and that it affirmed their history in the past and present and validating their stories and experiences of their parents. It is this validation that they begin to appreciate and make the linkage of their past to their present and to their future. As they try to navigate their multiple identities in the context of their home, school, friends, and community, so the story continue contributing to their pakasaritaan. Living in a community that is rich in history and also rich in negative attributions, the supportive and caring home kept them in place.

In this chapter, I presented and analyzed the grand narratives of the students in the context of their home, school, peer relationship, the Ilokano language classroom, and the community. The narratives from the different domains of the students accounted experiences that are multi-layered and complicated. It is the home that is the core of these experiences compounded by the other domains. Collectively, the narratives of the students presented specificities of Ilokano experiences in the Philippines and in the diaspora. The complexities and layering of these experiences becomes integral in their (re)negotiation of who they are which include how they view and value of their Ilokano heritage.

In Chapter 5, I will provide the “making sense” of the bugas or the tropes of the narrative experiences on how they work toward addressing the bigger issues of language and social justice as forwarded in Chapter 1. The conclusion, implications, and recommendations derived from the findings of this study will also be presented.
CHAPTER 5

PAKADAGUPAN:
CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

…Uh, working hard, you gotta work hard. That’s why my dad has three jobs. That’s why he didn’t graduate college, I mean high school…They use me as a motivation. They use me as, like, feed off. I don’t want to end up like my dad, working three jobs. You know, I want to work one solid job making a lot of money….And it’s like, how do you expect the language to survive if you cannot pass it down to your kids? You know, if you cannot do this and that. So, this and that meaning you cannot speak to them. You cannot teach them about their roots. So, having an Ilokano class in high school, you know, it’s a good opportunity to know about your past. I mean not your past but, you know, your roots you know. It’s just something to carry on in your life. (Wayawaya, 2011)

To be honest, I was really bad. I didn’t want to go to school. Like I just wanted to be surrounded with drugs and then now that teacher academy kind of changed my life. (Namnama, 2011)

My fashion is both: half simple which is the immigrant and half fashionable which is the local. I get the simple stuff and simple attitude from the immigrants, and the style from the locals. (Saguday, 2011)

“Adda met latta dagiti napapangas uray no saanda local born. I considerda diay selfda a local born no dadduma. “Oh, I don’t know how to speak Filipino language already,” kununada uray no ammoda. Adda pay tay maysa a babai nga classmate ko ti English idi. Imbagana dina ammo ti agsao ti Ilokano. “Are you Filipino,” kunak, but “Yeah, I’m American already,” kunana kaniak. “I don’t speak Filipino. I don’t speak Ilokano or any Filipino language,” kunana. But idi napankami idiay dentistmi, nakitak isuna kasarsaritana met diay moomyna ti Ilokano.” (There are those who are braggarts even though they are not local born. They consider themselves local born sometimes. “Oh, I don’t know how to speak Filipino language already,” they would say although they know how. There was this one girl from my English class before. She said she does not know how to speak Ilokano. “Are you Filipino,” I said, but “Yeah, I’m American already,” she told me. “I don’t speak Filipino. I don’t speak Ilokano or any Filipino language,” she said. But when went to our dentist’s office, I saw her there and she was talking to her mom in Ilokano. (Gundaway, 2011)

No matter who you are or where you came from you will always be an Agila and a member of the class of 2011. We all have our own stories and memories of the past. That’s what makes us each unique and different. We may be labeled and classified depending on what we have accomplished.
throughout high school, but that doesn’t determine who we are and who we will be come. (Excerpt of Rimat’s Valedictory Address, 2011)

The quotations above represent the voices of Wayaway, Namnama, Saguday, Gundaway, and Rimat included in this dissertation. The quotations speak of the hardwork of their parents, teachers who inspired them, peers who influenced them, descriptions of their identities, and their thoughts on the survival of the Ilokano language. They are salient representations that define their pakasaritaan.

Chapter 5 is the “making sense” chapter that summarizes and reflects on the results of this study. It is organized into four sections. In the first section, I provide a reflection of my journey as the Ilokano researcher. This reflection is important because it personalizes the research process and it is my way of sharing the knowledge that was produced from this collaborative work. Second, the tropes and conclusions that were drawn up from the narratives of the students are discussed. In the third section, I explore the educational significance and pedagogical implications of the results of this study, focusing on the contribution of the pakasaritaan methodology. Additionally, I suggest pedagogical approaches that can be infused in the heritage language classroom to foster heritage learners as storytellers are discussed. Finally, the implications of this study for future research are discussed.

5.1. My Reflections As The Ilokano Researcher: Stories are What We Are

This dissertation started as an exploratory study that examined the profiles and investments of Ilokano heritage learners. I started this dissertation with my story by presenting an excerpt of a keynote address that I delivered to a group of young graduates in
the Philippines in 2011 and will complete this work by providing a reflection of my research journey.

During my proposal defense in September 2010, two major comments stood out from my committee. First, they appreciated the inclusion of my personal stories in the proposal. Second, one of my committee members posed a very intriguing question to me: “Are you going to do a dude dissertation or are you going to trail blaze.” I cautiously answered that I will trail blaze. It was this “trailblazing” challenge that inspired me to focus on the voices and the stories of Ilokano heritage language learners within the domains of their homes, schools, peers, and community to create their pakasaritaan. Using the methodology that originates from the dynamism of sarita/pakasaritaan, this dissertation is about stories by Ilokano youth in their own language. They are the stories of heritage learners learning and relearning the Ilokano language and culture within the discursive practice that is Ilokano. As a pedagogical tool, the discourse of saritaan facilitates the expression of Ilokano voice. The personal and reciprocal nature of the pakasaritaan methodology allowed me to enter the worlds of students. Although I had to constantly remind them about their interview appointment either through text or email, it was all worth it. I appreciated the trust and their opening up of their world to me. My job was to listen, make sense of their narrative experiences, and create the pakasaritaan based on those experiences. I heard stories of schooling, hardwork, departures and arrivals, drug use, and many other things.

The stories are complicated and multi-layered. I learned that sharing and listening to these stories can be a very humbling experience. As I transcribed the interviews, analyzed the data, and wrote the results, I found parallelisms of my own stories in their stories. The stories I heard reminded me of my experiences in the Philippines and in Hawai‘i as an
Ilokano and immigrant. To avoid muffling the voices of my informants and to include my story as part of the larger story, it was necessary for me to “fall in an act of conversing” (Agcaoili, 1996) with the texts. This allowed the text to account for all of our stories, big or small, and represent the sarita/pakasaritaan dialectic. Collectively, in the end, their stories and my stories became our stories - from, of, and about the Ilokano. Similar to the students, the teachers that I interviewed were great colleagues who were very honest and I am very appreciative of their participation in this study. They are the “caring” teachers that the students mentioned in their narratives.

Listening to the voices of Saguday and Gundaway reminded me of my experiences as a high school student, especially with my challenges as an ESL learner in Hawai‘i. Being called FOB because of my accent was demoralizing, but despite being labeled as such, I was able to navigate my world through the help of caring teachers and supportive family members. Gundaway also reminded me of my first job as a dishwasher at a catering place in Wahiawa earning $3.85 per hour. Washing greasy pots and pans was something I did not expect to be doing during my first three months in Hawai‘i, but I looked at it as an opportunity to make money. Likewise, Saguday’s story about his living arrangement when he first moved to Hawai‘i brought back memories when my family and I used to live at my auntie’s house in Wahiawa. The couch in the living room served as my bed, while my parents and my sisters slept on the floor. Similarly, it reminded me of the times that I would shoulder a 20-pound bag of Hinode rice from Bigway Supermarket on a 10-minute walk to my auntie’s house when we would do our grocery shopping. The challenges faced by immigrants like myself, Saguday, and Gundaway provides the context and represents the
realities of what newly-arrived immigrants go through as they try to establish themselves in their new home.

The stories of Rimat and Wayawaya are testimonial to the desire of immigrant parents to give their children good education. Unlike their parents, I did not feel any pressure from my parents but their constant reminders of embracing the many opportunities that Hawai‘i provides were enough to inspire me to do well in school. Like Rimat and Wayawaya, my experiences as a high school student is described as bittersweet. Finally, the story of Namnama represents the challenges and the realities that students face, even at an early age. In my 10 years of teaching Ilokano at NHS, I have come to learn and appreciate the many types of students that we deal with on a day to day basis. Not only do they bring with them their frustrations about school, but also their problems at home and with their peers. Therefore, knowing and understanding where these students come from, like those reflected in my saritaan with Ms. Lilikoi and Ms. Mahi is important because it provides that grassroots connection in working more successfully and effectively with our diverse students.

Before I left NHS, I was working closely with the counselor of one of my students because she wanted to commit suicide. While working with her counselor, I learned about her parents – her dad is incarcerated for drug charges and her mom works making a minimum wage. Her mother expects her to do all the household chores and look after her other siblings, and on top of this, she recently found out that she is pregnant. The layers and layers of this student’s life is a reality and is something that teachers deal with in addition to the already overwhelming tasks of meeting accountability measures and expectations.

The semblance and parallelism of my stories and the students’ stories capture the very essence of pakasaritaan, because in the process, I no longer acted as the disinterested
researcher, but as a researcher *engaged* and *involved* with the subject matter of my work and the stories of my informants. Sarita is the seed of pakasaritaan. We learned from and valued each other’s stories. The stories of these Ilokano youth will engage us in a conversation about how we grapple with diversity, linguistic and heritage rights, and social justice.

### 5.2. Summary of Research Study and Findings

This dissertation is about stories – stories told by Ilokano youth whose voices are rarely heard. Their voices are situated in their own contexts, namely the home, school, peers, and community. Like the weave of the Ilokano cloth, inabel, the students’ stories vary in pattern, design, and color that make each story unique and authentic, but collectively, their narrative experiences reflect a common thread of identity and experience, which shapes their pakasaritaan as illustrated in Figure 5.1 below.

**Figure 5.1.** Representation of the paka(sarita)an

I bring these narratives forward as a means of informing us about how these Ilokano youth address the important question of “Who am I?”, make meaning of the role of Ilokano language in their life, and ultimately reflect the larger issues in heritage language learning. The tropes of the students’ narratives highlighted the role of the immigrant home as a resource; unraveled the connections as well disconnects of the home and the school culture.
that mediated and/or contributed to a sense of loss and/or negotiations on the student in an English-dominated community; and valued and affirmed the offering of a heritage language to the Ilokano learner despite the dominance of mainstream values and hegemonic practices.

5.2.1. The Immigrant Home as a Resource

The opening up of the globalized to the very forces of migration has made it commonplace for the global movement of Ilokanos (Nagasaka, 1999; Pertierra, 1992; 1994; Pingol, 2001). In the Philippines, one of the channels whereby the ethnic groups come into contact with each other is migration. This phenomenon means not only entering into contact with another family or another set of life histories but also involves adopting, or at least, adapting to elements of a different culture or community like the immigration stories of the students and their parents presented in this dissertation. Immigration is a crucial component of the Ilokano identity; each of the informants in this study descended from an immigrant and everyone has a family member who is a migrant. Ilokanos are known to be wanderers in search for lands and opportunities. With their cultural values and practices in them, they venture in strange lands. Determination and positive outlook towards life compel them to endure the hardships and struggles that new opportunities offer them. The parents of the student informants are testimonial to this fact: they were able to provide for their families in Hawai‘i and in the Philippines. Most parents hold dual jobs and some were able to create a family business like the case of Rimat’s parents.

When the members of the Ilokano nuclear family or extended family migrate to the United States, they often live together because they need to support each other. The family is a major source of emotional, moral, and economic support (see Medina, 2001) as illuminated in the narratives of the students. In the home, many elders become surrogate parents and
homemakers for their grandchildren when both parents are employed (Philippine Nurses Association of America, 2000, as cited in Kataoka-Yahiro et al., 2004). In their preliminary study on the caregiving role of Filipino-American grandparents in Hawai‘i, Kataoka-Yahiro et al. (2004) indicated that it was a “natural role expectation” for them to take care of their grandchildren and that it brings family unity and closeness. The findings of this research indicates that the presence of grandparents and immigrant relatives increases the grandchildren’s exposure and maintenance of Ilokano. As native speakers, most grandparents do not have the English competence and the way they relate to their grandchildren is through their Ilokano, as in the case of Wayawayya and Rimat’s stories. This supports previous research findings about the positive role that grandparents play in heritage language maintenance (Park, 2006; Zhang, 2009) among other ethnic and immigrant communities. For example, Zhang (2009) validated the role of Chinese grandparents in the Chinese development and maintenance of pre-school-aged children in Montreal, Canada. In this study, grandparents helped their grandchildren acquire oral and initial literacy skills.

In another light, migration engenders changes in a family. The function of the family changes when a husband and wife are separated for long periods of time. When the spouse decides to work overseas and leaves her/his family behind, it changes the structure at home. As a consequence, parents have to make alternative arrangements for the care of their children while they worked overseas. In many cases, children are left in the care of the other parent and/or close relatives. Such a reality has been reflected in the narratives of Gundaway, Saguday, and Namnama. Their mothers left them in the care of their fathers and/or relatives when they came to Hawai‘i. Alicia Pingol (2001) in her sociological work on gender dynamics of Ilokano families with migrant wives and stay-at-home husbands,
points to the shifting definitions of masculinity; that such new conceptualizations now provide a threat to Filipino manhood when husbands are conscripted to assume the role of a caregiver for the sake of the family’s finances.

As pointed out in the narratives of Saguday and Namnama, the dynamics of “togetherness” in the family has somewhat shifted when they and their families moved to Hawai‘i. In Saguday’s story, he reminisces the times when they would eat together as a family in the Philippines and this seems no longer the case in Hawai‘i, because his parents and siblings work. Mealtimes provide the opportunity for family members to share their stories and equip their children Ilokano skills and values. In the narrative of Namnama, her mother who works two to three jobs to support Namnama and her relatives in the Philippines, was not able to fully assume her active role especially monitoring her daughter’s academics.

In all of the students’ narratives, hard work is a value that they learned from home. The students heard, witnessed, and performed stories of hardwork. They heard the stories of hardwork as narrated by their parents, but at the same time, the students themselves had witnessed and performed hardwork like in the case of Saguday and Gundaway. It is the hard life that motivated Ilokanos, like the students’ parents, to search for a better life for themselves and for their children. As Filipino scholar, Aquilar-San Juan (1994, p. 208) notes:

In the United States, hard work is rewarded. In the Philippines, it is part of the struggle to survive. Images of American abundance, carried home by the Balikbayans, or immigrants returning to their home-land for visits, have pulled frustrated Filipinos to this country. When [one man] went back for a visit in 1981 after working in the United States for 10 years, he told his friends: “If you work, you’ll get milk and honey in America.” Other Balikbayans described the United States as a paradise.
Because families work so hard to provide for their children and relatives in Hawai‘i and in the Philippines, the structure of the family is affected. It creates a dysfunction in relationships as in the case of Namnama and her mother. It also contributes to Filipino youth involvement with gang-related activities because their parents are not there physically to provide emotional support. As indicated by Ms. Lilikoi in her interview, some of these kids “become spoiled and the parents compensate them for material things like cars and cell phones to make up for their absence in the home.” It is also because of hardwork that parents insist that their children speak and learn English so that they will not experience the same hardship that they have gone through.

Students recognized and appreciated that their parents struggled and worked tirelessly in order to achieve economic and educational advancement, which they identified as the main reasons why their parents immigrated to Hawai‘i. The students understood that their parents’ lives in the Ilocos were challenging, and this continues in Hawai‘i particularly with regards to work as most parents work in the service and labor arenas. It is this quest for a better life and their response to their marginal positioning in society that explain why parents put a lot of emphasis on higher education. According to Okamura and Agbayani (1997), “there is no question concerning the Filipino value placed on education, particularly higher education, which parents view as the best legacy they can bestow on their children for latter’s future socioeconomic security” (p. 184). The parents’ concept of achieving a college degree is important to them because it symbolizes success, opportunity, and status mobility. In my case, I always remember my parents telling me that education is the greatest inheritance that they can give me, because I have that opportunity to do that in the United States, which they were not able to accomplish for themselves.
The students in this study are now in college, but the emphasis of working hard and achieving the most in life will remain. So in essence, they can’t escape the expectation of hard work, but they can better themselves by becoming knowledgeable. Because their parents have instilled in them the value of education, the students regarded its value as a means of good future, and excelling in school and furthering their education are very important goals. The students in this study noted that their parents emphasized education, constantly telling them to excel in and finish school. In their study of the children of Filipino immigrants in Hawai‘i, Kim et al. (2008) found out positive relationships of the children with their parents at home, while also experiencing discrimination in school. In spite of this, the girls in their study reported high educational aspirations, partly because of the caring and nurturing environment they receive from home. These findings are consistent with previous results that family support and connection are protective factors against psychopathology among lower socioeconomic status (SES) Filipino youth (Guerrero et al., 2006; 2010).

The pakasaritaan of the trope of hardwork plays out against the historical and present economic role that Ilokanos (and other Asian) immigrants play in Hawai‘i as “cheap labor” for the sugar plantations and as “cheap labor” as service workers in today’s tourist economy. Ten to 12-hour days of backbreaking work in the canefields under a searing sun, a miserable dollar-a-day wage, isolation, loneliness, and other human hardships was the essence of their existence (Aquino, 2005). In the service industry, Ilokanos are overly represented in the low-end jobs, such as maintenance workers, hotel maids, working as restroom attendants in nightclubs and public offices (Okamura, 2008). And because Ilokanos are represented in these dead end jobs, they are stereotyped as being “stupid” and “not ambitious.” Although they are constantly working hard to obtain a better future for their families, they are also
imprisoned in the same position that they had for many years and this is true to the present day.

The tragedy and injustice of the various peoples of the Philippines in the diaspora, including that of Hawai‘i, is that so many Americanized Filipinos have not gone past the “service industry” mentality, but the more tragic stories of execution (see Flores, 2008) and other forms of oppression and discrimination in the fields and outside the fields were factors that have defined their history and place in the social hierarchy of Hawai‘i (see Alegado, 1991; Kerkvliet, 2002; Okamura, 2008). The current census places the Filipino community as the number one minority group in the state of Hawai‘i, surpassing the Japanese. While there is strength in numbers, but in a capitalist economic structure, those ethnic groups who have the money to invest continue to have the power (i.e., the Japanese, Caucasians). Those who have access to information have the power. In a study conducted in 1982 on Ilokano migration in Hawai‘i, Agbayani (1991) cited the problems that Filipino immigrants continue to face include discrimination, language, and use of services (see also Alegado, 1991; Okamura, 2008). The demographic findings and experiences of the families in this study are still true today. But, accounts of resistance and persistence to counter such oppressive acts have surfaced in the narratives of the students, which will serve as inspiration to the next generation of people of the Philippines, immigrants, and local-born alike.

The emphasis on working hard was represented in each of the students’ stories in the context of the home. The students’ parents encourage their children to work hard. This parental encouragement and expectations were internalized by the students as a form of motivation and/or pressure in achieving their goals. Their children realized where their parents are coming from but this realization is strengthened in the Ilokano language
classroom when they are engaged in the saritaan about their parents’ immigration experiences and stereotypes. Their parents provided the model and planted the seed of hardwork. This modeling of the value of hardwork has gained them respect and appreciation from their children.

5.2.2. School as site of (dis)connections

This research also highlights the significance of the local school culture in the lives of students and its impact on their level of school achievements. Schooling is a social activity, and the school experiences of most of the participants suggest the centrality of family. The caring and nurturing home environment plus the teachers acting as surrogates to these students made them belong in their community of practice. In this study, the teachers shared their students’ cultural and neighborhood affiliations and experiences and initiated caring relations with their students. The relationship that the teachers in this study created with their students was almost of a surrogate parent. The presence of a caring teacher was salient in their narratives about school.

In the context of their schooling, students were also caught in the middle of mainstream educational values and expectations that were incongruent with their home experiences. The immigrant students had to navigate their ways on how to do school, like in the case of Saguday and Gundaway in their English classes. They had to learn how to write essays and research projects. Many educators and schools continue to devalue the household knowledge of non-mainstream children (see Davis, Bazzi, Cho, Ishida, et al., 2005; Moll, 1994). For example, many immigrant students have told me that their teachers had explicitly told their

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28 Lave and Wenger (1991) emphasize the central importance of learners’ access to participatory roles in expert performances of all knowledge skills, including language. Their theoretical framework helps us understand the complex sociocultural/cognitive process of second language learning in classroom and community contexts, and how learners are brought into or excluded from various activities that shape language acquisition.
parents to talk to their children in English so that they will not be referred to the services of an ESL class. This valorization of the English language at home and explicitly prescribed school expectations lead to low maintenance of the heritage language in the home.

Another factor that contributed to the devaluing of Ilokano was the presence of rigid and standardized curricula imposed in the schools and to the students in the classroom as a result of the NCLB legislation. NCLB supported programs such as decontextualized reading programs like Accelerated Reader (AR). Some of the goals for adopting a formal reading program such as this are to increase reading scores, provide opportunities for the practice of reading skills, and meet state standards. In the AR program, students are required to read 25 books during the school year based on their reading levels (see Soria, 2001). Once a student has finished reading one of the listed books, the student takes a computerized test to see how well he or she understood and retained the material from his or her readings. Evaluation of students is on the factual level, or the lowest level of Bloom’s taxonomy. It is expected that the higher levels of cognition will be reached through the process of reading itself, an assumption which has been brought into question by a number of literacy experts (e.g., Mckay, 1995). In addition, AR readings do not necessarily reflect the multicultural identities of learners. For example, although there is a growing number of publications in Hawai‘i Creole English produced by local authors, none of this work is included in the AR reading list. Some of these literary works are specifically for adolescents and reflect both cultural diversity and “local” culture that are usual identity markers for these young people.

The overwhelming emphasis on standardized tests do not accurately measure what children know, and in most cases, they are set to fail students belonging in minority groups.
These standardized tests fail to consider specific curricular needs in particular educational contexts serving diverse student populations (Cummins, 1984; Davis, Bazzi, et al., 2005). Although some of the State mandated standards reflect diversity, others such as World (or Foreign) Language standards support a “monolingual native speaker of English learning another language” perspective on language learning, thus, ignoring the rich linguistic resources of a large immigrant population and heritage language learners. Successful programs are those that honor home languages (Delpit, 1988; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; Osborne, 1996). Such models (developed in Great Britain) that build on the strengths of linguistically and culturally diverse students have not been implemented in Hawai‘i, despite its multi-ethnic population. Federally-funded programs like GEAR UP and the SHALL that I was part of tried to address these inequities in the school. Immersion programs such as the Hawaiian immersion program Kula Kaiapuni (see Warner, 1999) support the perpetuation and revitalization of the Hawaiian language.

In addition to federally and state mandated expectations, ethnic jokes, ridicule of accent, and stereotypes contribute to the marginalization of immigrant students. They discourage children from using the heritage language and denial and/or rejection of their ethnic backgrounds (Labrador, 2009; Okada, 2007; Soria, 2007). In the narratives of Saguday and Namnama, they experienced being called FOB and bukbok because of the way they talk and the way they dress. This labeling is a discourse of exclusion and marginalization, which impacts students’ self-esteem and self-worth. Consequently, they expressed fears of “FOBing out” as in the case of Saguday, who had to hang out with the “Ingglisero” or the students who talk English well to master his English. In middle school when he was accused of sexual harassment, he was suspended because of his inability to
defend himself in the language of power. In my case, because I hardly talked in my class, my classmates thought that I could not speak English and was later voted on as the shyest senior in my class. Like Saguday, I feared that my classmates would laugh at me or not understand me. For Gundaway, he saw his community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) with his Ilokano-speaking friends and ELL classmates in his middle school. I also remember hanging out with my ELL classmates, talking in Ilokano, because we were also “housed” in one classroom. Within the school context, there were safe zones for myself and others to tell our stories in our own languages and make sense about school.

Stereotypes have also contributed to the divide between the “local” and “immigrant” Filipino students. At NHS, the majority members of the Fil-Am Club are immigrant students which is “turn off” for most local students. Local born students explicity distance themselves from immigrant students to avoid being located in the demeaning FOB or “bukbok” category. Namnama, for example, did not reveal to her friends that she was taking an Ilokano class because of her fear of being called FOB.

In a focus group study conducted by Cunanan et al. (2006) with Filipino youth, young professionals, parents, and community members in Hawai‘i, their study refuted the model minority image label (defined as those who experience success in spite, and maybe even because of, being part of an ethnic minority group living in the United States) that it does not uniformly describe the educational experiences of Filipino Americans in Hawai‘i. The result of their study also concluded that negative stereotypes serve as risk factors on youth behavior, while citing family support as a protective factor against academic, behavioral, and emotional difficulties for youth in lower socioeconomic groups. Then and now, students internalize these stereotypes, which affect how they view their cultural capital (Bourdieu,
Cultural capital constitutes knowledge, skills, symbols, belief systems, and aptitude that provide some comparative advantage to individuals who possess it because it is highly valued and appreciated. Such stereotypes diminish the cultural capital of their heritage language and culture which contribute to the rejection and marginalization of their own culture. Below is a testimony of a second generation Ilokana, born in Ilocos Norte, in support of Senate Committee Resolution (SCR) 120 introduced by then Senate Education Chair Norman Sakamoto in 2008, requesting the UH and the DOE to develop, offer, and expand Philippine language courses to increase the representation of Filipino students and professionals trained in the Philippine languages who can work in area of education, health, legal services, and commerce. This testimony captures the trauma that one goes through when one’s language is suppressed and marginalized.

When I arrived in Hawai‘i at the age of seven, I knew only a few words of English. In order to facilitate my transition into school and my new home, my teacher instructed for my parents to refrain from speaking Ilokano, my first language, and speak to me only in English. My parents had the foresight to recognize the value of being bilingual and continued to communicate with me in both languages. Despite their lack of hesitancy in keeping the language alive in our home, I found it more desirable to distance myself from it in order to fully be accepted by my peers and teachers. I made a decision to think, speak, and even dream only in English in order to gain more proficiency in my second language. Eventually I became ashamed to speak Ilokano in public and began to call my parents "Mom" and "Dad" instead of the Ilokano forms of "Nanang" (Mother) and "Tatang" (Father). With it came an ethnic identity crises that began to be quelled in the ninth grade when I took an Ethnic Studies class and learned about the experiences of Filipinos and other ethnic groups in Hawai‘i. Having a forum dedicated to understanding the peoples and cultures of Hawai‘i was liberating and informed me on the significant figures and contributions made by the various ethnic groups.

Today, I observe the children of relatives and friends go through the same experiences that I did as they start formal schooling and begin to measure the worthiness of the culture in which they were raised. I believe it persists because there is no ongoing institutional recognition and support for including material in curriculum that validates the importance of groups that have been historically considered on the periphery.
The students in this study claimed themselves as Filipino, citing that their parents were all born in the Philippines. It is the birth land of their parents that they used as their basis for claiming Filipino. That birthland is the Ilocos where the stories of their parents were shaped and now their parents’ stories now serves as a backdrop of their stories. To be Filipino, in this sense, is to be Ilokano because the stories are grounded in the Ilokano experience, and the pakasaritaan methodology is geared to do that (see Chapter 2 for the background of the Filipino language). In Wayawaya’s narrative, he made a point that local Filipino children attach the word “local” next to “Filipino” to distinguish themselves as “Filipinos born and raised” in Hawai‘i.

If we understand learning to take place through active participation within social groupings, it is essential that students feel a sense of belonging, community, and safety within school settings. Unfortunately, the structures and practices of schooling all too frequently work against the actual inclusion of students who come from working class and minority backgrounds. Lave and Wenger (1991) emphasize the central importance of learners’ access to participatory roles in expert performances of all knowledge skills, including language. The term “legitimate peripheral participation” describes the incorporation of learner into the activities of communities of practice, beginning as a legitimated (recognized) participant on the edges (periphery) of the activity, and moving through a series of increasingly expert roles as skills develop. To make these students full citizens in the schools that are intended to serve them, a number of things are necessary: educators who understand and respect their cultures and the difficulties they face in their homes as they straddle the gulf between their culture and the larger American society; a
curriculum that reflects their history; and a sense of inclusion in the school community at large. The success of the students does not hinge on one thing, but rather on a marriage of both external and internal forces.

5.2.3. Heritage language class affirming the heritage learner

While the DOE has officially supported the instruction of Ilokano in Hawai‘i’s public schools by adding them to its list of approved languages, it is not doing enough to promote its availability. Although the Ilokano student population at NHS is close to 60%, it took a federal grant to push for its offering in a predominately Ilokano community. Although listed as one of the official World Languages in the Hawai‘i Department of Education, it has not yet attained the prestige of Japanese, Spanish, and French. This is not surprising since language policies in Hawai‘i have privileged the economic value attached to them. The predominately tourist-based economy of Hawai‘i justifies for the attractiveness of Japanese, for example. Many advertised jobs in Hawai‘i look for applicants who can speak Japanese. Flight attendant positions for Hawaiian Airlines require applicants’ knowledge of the Filipino language that is serving a predominately Ilokano clientele. Although the majority of the Ilokanos are in the tourist and service industries, the state and those people in power have yet to straighten their priorities.

When Ilokano was first introduced at NHS in 2002, there was only 1 section of 15 students. Later on, it has 4 sections of 15-20 students per section. There is a great interest in registering for Ilokano, primarily because it is a “recognizable” language for the majority of the students. At the beginning of each semester, the Ilokano teachers conduct a survey of students enrolled in Ilokano to gather biographical data and their reasons for taking the course. A number of responses indicated “a need to fulfill an elective requirement,” “to learn
the native language of my parents and relatives,” “to improve my ability to speak and understand the language,” and “to learn the history and culture,” resemble the ones given by heritage language learners studying Ilokano at the university. For many of these high school students, the desire to learn their heritage language is firmly situated in the perceived need to get back to their roots. Other reasons include because their friends or boyfriend/girlfriend is taking the class. It becomes like a social network for these students. It is very common to see “a friend of a friend” taking an Ilokano class. While higher proficient students sometimes underestimate the rigor of the class, the fact that these young people are taking the course gives recognition to their language. Although they may have internalized societal negative attitudes toward their language, they made the effort to sign up for the class.

Yet after a decade of its offering at NHS, the academic rigor and relevance of the class has been constantly questioned over and over again. It has been questioned whether it meets college requirement and whether what steps are being implemented to “weed out” students who may be signing up for the course to get an easy “A.” These continuous assaults places Ilokano in a marginal/peripheral position in the school and in the community. The narratives of students regarding their participation in the Ilokano language class has aided them in their academics and in (re)negotiating their identities. The students took it upon themselves to register for the course and came away with “something.” That “something” is appreciation and awareness of their heritage. This appreciation and awareness can provide the direction to the possibility of questioning their positioning in the school and the community. The Ilokano class provided the space for the students to bring their identities and their own understandings of Ilokanoness that they have negotiated through ongoing interactions within their diasporic community. The youth in this study expressed pride,
respect, and appreciation for their language, culture, and heritage. Part of this is the result of the caring and nurturing home that they grew up with and reinforced by their Ilokano heritage language class, which valued their heritage language and culture.

The results of this study agree with the orientation of language as a resource forwarded by (Ruiz, 1984), in this case, Ilokano as a heritage language. In this study, the Ilokano language classroom served as the meeting ground of the students’ home and mainstream experiences. It is through the language class wherein their home stories were recognized, valued, and validated. The class became the site of saritaan about their sarsarita and the others that they have heard or experienced. The classroom is not the Ilocos but it where the students made the “personal connection” to the Ilocos and the “relevance” of pakasaritaan. Saguday, Gundaway, and Namnama were reminded of the Ilocos when they took the class. Wayawaya and Rimat, on the other hand, were able to relate their stories when they the class. Collectively, the five students, who came from homes that value hardwork navigated the world of school and peer relationship in the community that they belong to. Although funded by a federal grant and is considered as an elective course in the DOE, the offering of the Ilokano language course is a step to cultural pluralism and social justice. Thus, according to Darling-Hammond et al. (2002), “teaching is a moral and political act, and teachers can play a key role in facilitating social change” (p. 2). Moreover, Osborn (2006) asserts that “teaching world languages for social justice is a journey, not a destination” (p. 15). Thus, the offering an Ilokano language class at NHS is an initial step to saritaan about social justice.

With regards to pedagogical tasks that can be infused in the heritage language classroom, a curriculum must align itself with the language as resource orientation that
recognizes and values the linguistic and cultural resources that students bring to the classroom. The Ilokano heritage language curriculum roots its pedagogical activities in students’ home experiences that facilitate students’ engagement in learning and development of language and literacy. While acknowledging student rich repertoires of cultural and linguistic abilities, the Ilokano heritage curriculum (see Chapter 2) provides the infrastructure for linguistic and ethnographic analyses of expectations for school practices. More specifically, our activities begin with student experiences of communities of practice within their own neighborhoods. The neighborhood where the students live consists of a strong Ilokano community that insures a rich tapestry of language and culture which encourages students to explore in view their own emerging cultural identities. Students begin by learning the value of oral history from their home. Through interviewing family and community members, students learn to value their home discourses and take advantage of these “funds of knowledge” (Moll, 1994). By taking a students-as-ethnographer approach in order to study specific cultural concepts at a deeper level, students utilize primary and secondary sources. They learn “formal” researching and documenting skills that they round out with interviews, observations, field notes, and document collection. Thus, students are able to explore a topic important to them and their community in a more balanced and holistic manner. The skills gained from these and other activities are utilized in numerous ways within the course in order to meet multiple objectives. First, they are being used to self-identify academic strengths and needs by examining learning experiences and ways of knowledge. Through this process, we help students to better identify and prepare for academic and career goals. It is our hope that students involved in our curriculum may begin to see themselves as individuals-in-context, and begin to develop meta-awareness of the various ideological and
value-laden practices within the varied communities within which they participate (Andrews, 1998; Skarin, 2005). In addition, we hope that students may begin to see the agency they have in changing the ways they are positioned within academic communities and society as a whole.

5.3. Educational Significance and Pedagogical Implications

The results of this study highlight the unique stories of ethnic and immigrant groups who have become a fabric of this diverse society. Although given this diversity, there is still marginalization and with the offering of youth voices, it is the hope of this dissertation that it can contribute for the empowerment of their own group that will impact their community. It is the Ilokano voice, perspective, and experience that were highlighted here outside the shadows of what is generalized as Filipino. The current set up of Filipino as the national language oppresses other native languages like Ilokano and Cebuano as second-class languages. Focusing on the voices and experiences of the Ilokanos in this dissertation is reclaiming and intellectualizing Ilokano which has been subsumed for a very long time under the masquerading label of Filipino.

The results of this study contribute to the documentation of the Filipino American experience in Hawai‘i, particularly focusing on the children of Ilokano immigrants who traced their history with the Sakadas. Unlike the previous studies conducted on Filipinos in Hawai‘i, which have focused primarily on acculturation and assimilation, this particular study augments on the aspect of acculturation that places emphasis on the role of heritage language especially in the lives of the children of immigrants. The focal participants of this study are high school students, local and immigrant Ilokanos, are much younger in terms of
populations and bring in a different and fresher perspectives that also draw from the previous studies. Through this manner of documentation, we discover the voices of students, and through their voices, we come to hear the events of their past, their current experiences, and their dreams for the future. Their stories come in variety of shapes, colors, and designs that mimics the Ilokano inabel.

The results of this study can also assist practitioners and social providers who work closely with youth and families such as in the area of social work and public health. The students’ stories portray risk factors, but when intervened early, can be prevented. By engaging in the stories of the students and their families, they become aware and better appreciate the diversity of families in our local community and thereby accentuate their linguistic and cultural competencies in serving their clients. Additionally, we can determine programs that can best serve with the population in our community that promotes cultural awareness and preservation and academic preparation. The results of this study supports the research that have been conducted on Filipino families in Hawai‘i that family serves as a protective factor in the academic and social well being of children (Cunanan et al., 2006; Kim et al., 2009).

Additionally, the results of this study can assist school classroom teachers, counselors, and administrators in dealing with students and their families cope with school problems. The school can be a supportive extension of one’s home, so the narratives can assist them in communicating possible solutions and understanding the primary discourses (i.e., home practices) of these students and their families. This is especially important in the area of second language learners and special education so that students do not fall through the cracks. The narratives have documented stories of sense of loss and negotiation of
immigrant students to the monolingual school and English-speaking academic community. Inviting the so-called “cultural experts” to talk to teachers as a form of professional development for them is limited. What is more effective is taking the time to get to know the backgrounds of our students, in spite of the demands and pressures of standards-based teaching. High school students, as young as they are, are already bombarded with so many “dramas” stemming from home, school, and their community. As educators, we can suggest appropriate interventions so that they do not fall through the cracks and that they retain hope, as reflected by the teachers interviewed in this study.

This study also adds scholarship to the field of heritage language education and least commonly taught languages (LCTL) in the United States focusing on the voices of heritage learners in the high school. This body of research stresses the need to incorporate student voices. Though much of the previous research on heritage language education has focused on other languages, this study is an initial start of many other researches on the Ilokano population. An underlying assumption of many educational institutions has been that linguistically and culturally diverse working-class students do not emerge from households rich in social and intellectual resources. This inaccurate perception, that diverse minority students have language disadvantages and deficiencies in school-sanctioned knowledge that they bring from the home to the classroom, has too often led to lowered academic expectations for these students. For example, Kadooka (2001), in her study of a Hawai‘i school program for low-income immigrants, found that these students spend much of their time doing busy work in the form of worksheets. There have been many research findings that non-English immigrant languages are not well-maintained but lost among many immigrant families and communities (Cho, 2000).
Despite this daunting phenomenon, little or no effort has been made to maintain and develop linguistic diversity at the government level. The absence of any consciously planned, unified, and national policy has hindered the development and maintenance of heritage languages. The general attitude of the U.S. toward maintenance of heritage languages is negative and supports rapid assimilation into English (Van Duesen-Scholl, 2003). From a public policy perspective, the effort to maintain and develop heritage languages has been attributed to the resources and desires of heritage language communities (See Valdes et al., 2006). Hawai‘i’s K-12 system has made minimal efforts in developing heritage language resources; much of Hawai‘i’s heritage language education endeavors have been left up to individual heritage language homes and communities. Although familial efforts are crucial, families alone cannot achieve favorable outcomes of heritage language maintenance. A role for local communities is to address the needs of immigrant families, because heritage language maintenance is a difficult task for immigrant families to accomplish alone. In this regard, the Ilokano community can provide more opportunities for children to be exposed to the Ilokano language and culture, provide resources for heritage language learning, such as children’s books and other forms of media, but this is constricted by the lack of funding because Ilokano is not a national language. However, for a favorable outcome to be maintained over time, collaborative efforts of immigrant families, local communities, and mainstream educational settings are needed.

With Filipino American comprising the second largest ethnic group and a fourth (21.2%) of the Hawai‘i public high school population, it’s almost unthinkable that heritage courses related to this population are practically unavailable. The lack of demand argument and the lack of highly qualified teachers to teach these courses are questionable. The
problem is that when high school students are given the option to select a foreign language elective, Ilokano is not offered in the first place. To wait for Filipino American students to rally together and demand for their heritage language to be offered is highly unlikely. Most high school students simply have not developed enough confidence to assert or know of their rights. If heritage languages are offered in the first place, interest for these languages will undoubtedly build, which is now the case at Nakem and now Karayan high schools. Census and state data overwhelmingly support the need of Ilokano heritage language courses in this state. There must be an urgency on the part of the State to respect and build on the strengths of heritage languages of the children of immigrants, whose parents and relatives serve as the backbone of the state’s workforce. Like the five students in this dissertation, they possess this rich knowledge from home which needs cultivation and fostering.

This dissertation strongly supports the offering of heritage language courses and schools. Heritage language learning needs to start while the students are young. Thus, the offering and availability of a heritage language classes, such as the one at Nakem High School proves beneficial to immigrant and local born students in learning and relearning their heritage. They no longer have to wait until they go to college to take a language course and become aware who they are from a cultural standpoint. Ilokano should not just be confined in the books of the Hawai‘i DOE, but to cultivate it, offer it, and institutionalize it to promote linguistic pluralism and to equip students the academic, linguistics, and cultural skills that can contribute to their school success, as well as their sensibilities and competencies in working with diverse populations in the state and in the world.

The preservation and strengthening of a language cannot be left to language planners, government leaders, and linguists. As language users, we all contribute to the patterns of
language use in our society, due, in large part, to the values and attitudes we hold. A positive regard for our own culture and language supports their vitality. We also hold values and attitudes towards other people’s cultures and languages, which contribute to their group identity and survival. As teachers, these values and attitudes impact daily on how we interact with our students and how we teach. As parents, they contribute to the expansion of a language by using it with our children and we contribute to its extinction by not using it. As members of a community, we can succumb to the powerful forces of modernization and globalization or we can awaken to the infinite array of possibilities from ancestral and contemporary cultures, and from them, forge a personal and community identity that is healthy, just, and ideally situated to face the challenges of the 21st century. We can help build the kind of community we want for ourselves and our children and students. And one of the ways to do this is by strengthening our language.

This study is framed from the Ilokano epistemological worldview that captures the particular experiences of the Ilokanos by an Ilokano researcher. This methodology of pakasaritaan uses culturally appropriate protocols and assumes accountability and ethical obligation by the researcher to share the findings to the collaborators of this project. The results of the study is not solely confined in a dissertation, but to extend its practical application for the benefit of the community, creating partnership and mentorship. This is what makes pakasaritaan a culturally-responsive and powerful methodology.

This dissertation affirms that self-knowledge is first and foremost built on the awareness of the world as mediated by one’s language. It is through language that we tell our stories. This work creates a public space in knowledge production; that is, legitimizing and affirming the fabric of stories and experiences of the Ilokanos as people, and it is in the
hands of those who care and advocate for the perpetuation of the language – the Ilokano themselves - that will make this transformation. The Ilokano agtutubo – the inheritors of the language and culture of the Ilokanos and the Amianan – have started this discourse and have begun developing culturally appropriate methodologies to conduct research on the experiences of our own people.

5.4. Implications for Future Research

In future research, the home/school connections need to be addressed more directly in future research by engaging the parents in the saritaan. Throughout this study, the parents’ experiences were told through the lenses of their children. In this study, the parents of the informants as well as community members were not engaged in the saritaan. Their involvement would add a different layer in the interpretation of the data. Additionally, community members were not interviewed to shed light on the community stories of the students. This would provide further triangulation on the results of the students’ narratives as demonstrated by focus group studies conducted by Guerrero et al. (2006) and Kim et al. (2008) on Filipino youth in Hawai‘i. The problem with such studies sometimes is that they are not disseminated back to the community and there is a tendency of framing and overgeneralizing of results within the narrow frame of what is Filipino, as in the case of identity, for example. The methodology of pakasaritaan has framed this study to produce a body of knowledge on Ilokano heritage learners in Hawai‘i.

For future studies, it would be interesting to follow up with the saritaan of these same participants in five years or when they are done with college to contrast or track attitudinal changes as well as academic and social movements. Additionally, future studies can
investigate the oral language development or acquisition of heritage language learners in Ilokano. These types of linguistics-based or acquisition-type of studies have not been conducted in the area of Ilokano as a heritage language.

Finally, the predominately Ilokano heritage population in the state is yet to be maximized. There is definitely room to publish, utilizing the funds of knowledge that come from families and communities, proving to the world that our experiences and voices count, that our knowledge is legitimate and academic, and that we can make a difference. Through continuing advocacy efforts, the hope is to create Ilokano heritage language schools in Hawai‘i and beyond and produce materials that make use of the Ilokano language, knowledge, and experiences. In this way, we can prevent language loss, because if we lose our language, we lose our culture. Concerted efforts among parents, educators, and community members are needed so that we give the Ilokano children the right of access to their heritage language. The Ilokano youth have spoken and we will use the strength of their voices to fuel to claim what is right and what is fair in the name of diversity and linguistic pluralism.
APPENDIX A

*PAKA(SARITA):N* ON LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, AND ILOKANO HERITAGE EDUCATION

STUDENT ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Julius Soria  
Principal Investigator  
soria@hawaii.edu

This research project is being conducted as a component of a dissertation for a doctoral degree. You are being asked to participate because you are taking or have taken an Ilokano language course at Nakem High School and your input is highly desired and valuable to the study. The estimated sample size of students to be interviewed is 10.

**PURPOSE OF THE STUDY:** I am trying to learn about the Ilokano language class that you took/are taking at Nakem High School, as well as how you feel about the Ilokano language in general.

**PROCEDURES:** If you participate, I will ask you a series of questions related to your participation in the Ilokano language class. The interview should last approximately a half-hour to an hour and will be audiotaped for the purpose of transcription. I will conduct the interview during non-instructional hours. Additional procedures will also include me occasionally observing you during your Ilokano language class, other content courses, and in your participation in extra curricular activities.

**POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY:** You will not really receive direct benefit from participating in the study. However, I will use the information from this study to try to improve Ilokano language teaching in Hawai‘i and in the United States.

**CONFIDENTIALITY:** Any information that is obtained in connection with this project and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. All research records will be stored in a locked file in the primary investigator’s office for the duration of the research project. Audiotapes from interviews will be destroyed immediately after I transcribe them (that is, after I type the audiotaped interviews). Your actual name won’t be used or appear in my reports about this study.

**PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL:** You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without any penalty or problems.

**RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS:** If you have questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact me, Julius Soria, at (808) 722-9958 or soria@hawaii.edu and/or Dr. Patricia Halagao at (808) 956-9295. Dr. Halagao is my advisor at the University of Hawai‘i. If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments or complaints about your treatment in this project, you may contact the University of Hawai‘i Committee on Human Studies (808-956-5007, or email at uhirb@hawaii.edu).

**COMPENSATION:** You will receive a $5 Jamba Juice or Starbucks gift card for participating in this study. Extra credit points will not be awarded.

(COPY TO PARTICIPANT)
PAKASARITASAN: ON LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, AND ILOKANO HERITAGE EDUCATION

_____YES  _____NO  I give permission to be audiotaped during the interview.

SIGNATURE: I have read and understand the above information, and agree to participate in this research project.

Printed Name_______________________________________

Signature: _________________________________________  Date: ____________
APPENDIX B

PAKA(SARITA)AN: ON LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, AND ILOKANO HERITAGE EDUCATION

PARENTAL/GUARDIAN’S CONSENT FOR CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Julius Soria
Principal Investigator
soria@hawaii.edu

I am asking you to allow your child to participate in a research study conducted by me, Julius Soria, from the College of Education, University of Hawai‘i at Manoa. I am a doctoral student at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa and my doctoral advisor is Dr. Patricia Halagao. Your child is a possible participant in this study because he/she formerly took or is taking Ilokano I/Ilokano II at Nakem High School, and his/her input is highly desired and valuable to the study. Your child’s participation is voluntary. The estimated sample size of students to be interviewed is 10.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY: I am trying to learn your child’s classroom experiences in the Ilokano language class that he/she took/is taking at Nakem High School, as well as his/her perceptions and attitudes towards the Ilokano language.

PROCEDURES: If your child participates in this study, I will ask him/her a series of questions related to his/her home and family experiences, schooling experiences, community experiences, as well as his/her participation in the Ilokano language class and overall perception on the Ilokano language. This interview should last approximately one hour and will be audiotaped for the purpose of transcription. The interview will be conducted in the classroom of the investigator during lunch hour and/or before or after school. Additional procedures will also include occasional observations of your child during his/her classroom activity in the Ilokano language, his/her other classes, and during his participation in extra curricular activities. I will be taking descriptive notes during the observations.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY: Your child will not benefit directly from participating in this study. However, I will use the results of this study to try to help improve Ilokano heritage language teaching in the United States.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Any information that is obtained in connection with this project and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. All research records will be stored in a locked file in the primary investigator’s office for the duration of the research project. Audiotapes will be destroyed immediately after I transcribe them (that is, after I type the audiotaped interviews). I also will not use your child’s actual name when I type and report results of the interviews. All other research records will be destroyed upon completion of the project.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL: Your child can choose whether to be in this study or not. If your child volunteers to be in this study, he/she may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS: If you have questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact me, Julius Soria, at (808) 722-9958 or soria@hawaii.edu and/or Dr. Patricia Halagao at (808) 956-9295. If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments or complaints about your child’s treatment in this project, you may contact University of Hawai‘i Committee on Human Studies (808-956-5007, or email at uhirb@hawaii.edu).

COMPENSATION: Your child will receive a $5 Jamba Juice or Starbucks gift card for participating in this study. Extra credit points will not be awarded.

(COPY TO PARTICIPANT)
__YES__  __NO__  I give permission to my child to be audiotaped during the interview.

**SIGNATURE:** I certify that I have read and understood the above description, and agree that my child may participate in this study.

Name of Child (Print):_________________________________________

Name of Parent/Guardian (Print):_________________________________

Parent/Guardian’s Signature:_____________________________________

Date:___________________________
APPENDIX C

PAKA(SARITA)AN: ON LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, AND ILOKANO HERITAGE EDUCATION

CONSENT FORM FOR HIGH SCHOOL TEACHING FACULTY (Ilokano and non-Ilokano) and SCHOOL STAFF (counselor/coach) TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Julius Soria
Principal Investigator
soria@hawaii.edu

This research project is being conducted as a component of a dissertation for a doctoral degree. You are being asked to participate because 1) you either teach at Nakem High School; and/or 2) you are a teacher of the student participant in this study; and/or 3) you serve as a counselor or coach of the student participant in the study. The estimated sample size of faculty and staff to be interviewed is 10.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY: The purpose of the study is to gather information about the classroom/school experiences of students taking or have taken an Ilokano language class at Nakem High School.

PROCEDURES: If you choose to participate, you will be asked open-ended questions by the investigator. Your responses will be recorded on tape for the purpose of transcription and notes will be taken by the investigator. The interview will last 45-60 minutes. Additionally, I will observe your classroom at least 2 times during the duration of the study, focusing on the student participant.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY: The investigator believes that the results of this research project will benefit the major stakeholders of Ilokano language programs in Hawai‘i and possibly other similar foreign/heritage language programs by highlighting the classroom and schooling experiences of Ilokano heritage language learners. There is no direct benefit to teachers/counselors/coaches for participating.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Any information that is obtained in connection with this project and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. All research records will be stored in a locked file in the primary investigator’s office for the duration of the research project. Audiotapes will be destroyed immediately after transcription. All other research records will be destroyed upon completion of the project.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL: Participation is completely voluntary. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS: If you have questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Julius Soria, at (808) 722-9958 or soria@hawaii.edu and/or Dr. Patricia Halagao at (808) 956-9295. If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments or complaints about your treatment in this project, you may contact University of Hawai‘i Committee on Human Studies (808-956-5007, or email at uhirb@hawaii.edu).

COMPENSATION: You will receive a $10 Walmart gift card for participating in this study.

(COPY TO PARTICIPANT)
PAKA(SARITA)AN: ON LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, AND ILOKANO HERITAGE EDUCATION

_____ YES  _____ NO  I give permission to be audiotaped during the interview.

SIGNATURE: I have read and understand the above information, and agree to participate in this research project.

Printed Name_______________________________________

Signature: _________________________________________ Date: ____________
APPENDIX D
STUDENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

A. Before starting with the interview, review with student about the study including its purpose, reason for interview with student, and how information from interview will be used.

B. Review consent forms signed by parents and students. Remind student that he/she can decide to quit anytime she wants to during the interview.

C. Explain to student that the interview will be taped and transcribed. Interviews will be guided by semi-structured interview questions.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS29

I. DEMOGRAPHICS
I am going to now begin the interview by asking you some background questions.

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where do you live?
4. What is your grade level at NHS?
5. What Academy do you belong to at NHS?
6. Which Ilokano class have you taken or currently taking? If previously taken, when did you take it? Who was your teacher?
7. Where were you born?
   a. If you were born in the US, have you lived here since birth?
   b. For foreign born:
      i. Where did you live (city/region)?
      ii. When and how long did live there?
      iii. Did you go to school in your country of birth?
         1. If yes, where did you go to school? When and how long?
         2. What kind of school did you go to (church, public, private, etc.)?
         3. What language(s) did the school use?
      iv. How old were you when you arrived in the United States?
8. What language(s) do you speak?
9. What language(s) is/are spoken at home?
   a. What is you mother’s first language?
   b. What is your father’s first language?
10. Where do you work? What is your job

29 Some questions adapted from Soria (2007) and Robinson (1994).
II. ILOKANO LANGUAGE ABILITIES

For the following questions, I am going to read you a question that asks you to either rate your language use or the frequency in which you use Ilokano. After asking you the question, I will read a list of possible answers for you to choose from. Please choose the answer that best describes your language ability and usage.

1. What language do you speak most of the time?
   - English
   - Ilokano
   - Combination of E/I
   - Other

2. What language(s) do you speak at home with your parents/family?
   - English
   - Ilokano
   - Combination of E/I
   - Other

3. What language(s) do you speak with your friends?
   - English
   - Ilokano
   - Combination of E/I
   - Other

4. How well do you understand spoken Ilokano?
   - Not at all
   - Barely
   - So so
   - Well
   - Pretty well
   a. As a child, did you grow up listening to Ilokano? If so, whom did you hear it from?

5. How well do you speak Ilokano?
   - Not at all
   - Barely
   - So so
   - Well
   - Pretty well

6. As a child, did you speak Ilokano at home?
   - Never
   - Rarely
   - Sometimes
   - Often
   - Always
   a. To whom most typically?

7. How well do you read in Ilokano?
   - Not at all
   - Barely
   - So so
   - Well
   - Pretty well

8. How well do you write in Ilokano?
   - Not at all
   - Barely
   - So so
   - Well
   - Pretty well

9. How often does your father speak to you in Ilokano?
   - Never
   - Rarely
   - Sometimes
   - Often
   - Always

10. How often does your mother speak to you in Ilokano?
    - Never
    - Rarely
    - Sometimes
    - Often
    - Always

11. How often does your grandfather speak to you in Ilokano?
    - Never
    - Rarely
    - Sometimes
    - Often
    - Always

12. How often does your grandmother speak to you in Ilokano?
    - Never
    - Rarely
    - Sometimes
    - Often
    - Always

13. How often do you speak Ilokano outside of the classroom?
    - Never
    - Rarely
    - Sometimes
    - Often
    - Always

III. QUESTIONS RELATED TO SELF AND FAMILY

1. How do you ethnically label yourself (Ilokano/Filipino/local/American, etc)? Explain.
2. Describe your growing up years in the Philippines? In Hawai‘i?
3. Tell me about your experiences as an immigrant in the United States.
4. Tell me about your family.
   a. Describe your relationship with your parents.
   b. Describe your household growing up (i.e., number of siblings, grandparents, other relatives).
   c. How much extended family do you have around you? How has their presence affected your proficiency in Ilokano?
   d. What kinds of things do you enjoy doing at home?
   e. What family chores are your responsibilities?
5. Have you ever returned/traveled to the Philippines? How often?
   a. What language(s) did you speak when you were there? Under what circumstances did you speak English? Describe how it felt to be there.
6. What efforts were made in your home to use/maintain/continue learning Ilokano?
   a. What were your family’s attitudes or expectations about the use of Ilokano? English?
   b. Did your parents explicitly instruct you to use Ilokano?
   c. How did your family’s attitudes affect your desire/attitudes toward speaking Ilokano?
   d. Do you ask for help from your parents with your Ilokano homework?
7. How has the attitudes or representations of other people toward your culture/language affected your attitude towards Ilokano?
   a. Do you know any stereotypes on Filipinos? What is your reaction to them?

IV. QUESTIONS RELATED TO PEER AND COMMUNITY

1. Describe your neighborhood.
   a. Are there places in the community where you consider your hangouts? Describe what you do there, how often you go there and why go there.
2. Tell me about your friends/peers or the people that you hang out with.
   a. Do you talk to them in Ilokano? How many immigrant students from the Philippines would you consider your friends?
   b. How many non-Filipinos would you consider your friends? What activities do you do with them? How often do you visit their homes?
   c. Describe the perceptions of your friends towards Ilokano?
3. What kinds of cultural events or activities do you participate in your community?
4. In what instances/situations do you use Ilokano language in your community?

V. QUESTIONS RELATED TO SCHOOL AND (HERITAGE) LEARNING:

1. Tell me about your school.
   a. Describe your typical day as a student at NHS.
   b. What do you think of your teachers?
   c. What is the best part about school?
   d. Do you feel that you belong in your school?
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e. Do you feel safe in your school?
f. Who do you see if you have problems at school?
g. What could be improved in your school?

2. Why is learning important?
   a. How do you learn best?
   b. If you were the teacher, what are some things you would do differently than your teacher does?
   c. Describe your learning experiences as an ELL student at NHS?
   d. How do you feel about learning English?
   e. What are some of the things you learn in school that are useful in life?
   f. Tell me about your extra-curricular activities. How do you balance it with your academics?

3. Do you feel your family understand school policies and school expectations?

4. Tell me about learning Ilokano at NHS.
   a. What were your main reasons for taking Ilokano at NHS?
   b. How did you feel about speaking Ilokano at the beginning of the semester? How has it changed since?
   c. How did you feel about speaking and/or learning Ilokano before signing up for the class?
   d. What classroom projects did you like/enjoy best in Ilokano class? Why?
   e. What classroom activities did you like/enjoy best in Ilokano class? Why?
   f. Have you taken any other language class? If so, how does it differ from Ilokano class in terms of content (i.e., lessons, activities, projects)?
   g. What results did you get for yourself after having taken an Ilokano class?
   h. Is it important to learn the language of one’s parents? What is the value that you see in learning Ilokano?
   i. What are your parents’ reactions you taking Ilokano language?

5. How has your knowledge of your heritage language (Ilokano) affected your experience in school? Can you remember an incident when your heritage language was helpful or caused your problems in school?

6. How has your knowledge of your heritage language (Ilokano) affected your experience outside of school, for example in your church or neighborhood? Can you remember an incident when your heritage language was helpful or caused you problems in any of these settings?

7. What is your reaction when you hear people speaking/talking in Ilokano and/or different language other than English?

8. What do you think are the chances that the Ilokano language will survive in Hawai‘i?

9. What do you think are the chances that the Ilokano language will be offered permanently in public schools in Hawai‘i?
APPENDIX E

HERITAGE LANGUAGE TEACHER INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

This interview is being conducted to get your input/insights about your teaching of and working with heritage language learners at Nakem High School. I will be using this information in my doctoral dissertation with the College of Education at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa.

If it is okay with you, I will be tape recording our conversation. The purpose of this is so that I can get all the details but at the same time will be able to carry an attentive conversation with you. I assure you that all your comments/responses will be remain confidential. If you agree to this interview and the tape recording, please sign this consent form.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Tell me about your background. Where were you born? Where did you grow up?
2. How many years have you been teaching? How many years were you teaching at this school?
3. What do your friends think about you teaching Ilokano at NHS?
4. Describe your teacher education.
   a. What made you realize that teaching was for you?
   b. Why did you choose heritage teaching?
   c. Describe your competency in the Ilokano language.
   d. How important is heritage learning in Hawai‘i?
   e. Tell me your philosophy of education to heritage.
5. Describe the profile and backgrounds of your heritage students.
   a. Describe the proficiency levels of your students in Ilokano.
   b. How do you accommodate variations in the proficiency of your students?
   c. Tell me about student X, Y, and Z?
   d. What kinds of things do your students say about learning Ilokano?
   e. What are the success and challenges of teaching heritage learners?
6. Describe a typical day in your Ilokano language classroom.
   a. Think of a wonderful lesson that you did in your class. What was it and how did your students respond?
7. What kinds of materials and/or approaches do you use and apply in teaching heritage language students?
8. What kinds of things do you communicate to parents regarding their children?
9. What do parents say/think about their son/daughter learning Ilokano at NHS?

30 Created solely for the Ilokano heritage language teachers at NHS. The purpose is to help create a more complete story/picture of the student and heritage language in Hawai‘i in general.
10. Imagine for me an ideal teaching of Ilokano language, literature, and culture in the next ten years in Hawai‘i. What would have to change or take place to make it happen?
11. Tell me your thoughts of education in relationship to democracy and cultural justice. Do you think programs that support cultural diversity is seen as important in the United States?
12. How would you like to develop as a professional? Do you see possibilities for this?
APPENDIX F
HIGH SCHOOL STAFF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Tell me about your background. Where were you born? Where did you grow up?
2. How many years have you been teaching? How many years were you teaching at this school?
3. Describe your teacher education.
4. What made you decide to go into teaching?
5. What is the relationship between teaching and learning?
6. Describe yourself as a teacher.
   a. What do you see as your strengths in teaching? Please describe how these strengths have emerged.
   b. What motivates you to teach? Has this source of motivation been the same throughout your career?
   c. What would you say is the emphasis in your teaching? Why?
   d. What is your most important role in facilitating students’ learning?
   e. What do you think is important in interacting with children in the classroom?
   f. What do you think is the best/hardest part of teaching?
   g. Students always have a variety of personalities and backgrounds. How do you accommodate this in your classroom?
   h. What role does knowing your students play in your teaching? Describe how you learn about your students.
   i. What kind of feedback do you provide your students regarding their work?
7. How do you perceive yourself as a learner? How does this perception influence your teaching?
8. How do you motivate your students?
9. What kind of things do you communicate with your students’ parents?
10. What things do you value in your profession. What would you like to change? Why?
11. How do you view the future of education?

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31 Some questions adapted from Robinson (1994). Questions are specially geared for staff/teachers at NHS, other than the HL instructor.
APPENDIX G

THE STORY OF RIMAT

Being Valedictorian: The Speech

No matter who you are or where you came from you will always be an Agila and a member of the class of 2011. We all have our own stories and memories of the past. That’s what makes us each unique and different. We may be labeled and classified depending on what we have accomplished throughout high school, but that doesn’t determine who we are and who we will become.

I never knew what I wanted to be when I was growing up. When you were a kid someone probably told you what they thought you should do with your life. You either denied it or considered it. I was told that I could be a lawyer or a doctor because I liked to talk. I denied the fact that I was going to be a lawyer and considered the fact that I was going to be a doctor. From that moment it was embedded into my brain that I was going to strive to be a doctor and fulfill my parents’ expectations.

While growing up I learned to stand up for myself and realized that maybe, just maybe I could be something besides a doctor. You probably had a situation similar to mine, so don’t worry. It really doesn’t matter what anyone tells you, it’s your decision what you want to become in the future. More importantly it’s okay to change your mind, just as long as you keep on moving forward. Many people may think that failing is like taking two steps backward after taking three steps forward, but a failure is a detour not a dead end.

It’s up to you to decide what the future holds for you. Remember what Ralph Waldo Emerson once said, “What lies behind us and what lies before us are tiny matters compared to what lies within us.” Believe in yourself; you can do anything!

My Childhood: Growing Up With the Flower Ladies

My name is Rimat. I’m seventeen. I am a senior. I belong to the Health Academy. I live in Lugar my whole life.

I grew up listening to Ilokano. My mom has a flower business and it’s at our house and it’s downstairs so when I was small I would go downstairs. So when I was small I would just sit and watch or like I would give them flower ‘cuz they make leis right and if they needed more flowers I would give them flowers. Or if they asked me if I wanted food, so they would give me some snacks or they would tell me to go sleep ‘cuz I was still a kid. They’d tell me to go to sleep like in the middle of the day or if I went with my mom somewhere they’d ask me where am I going or where did I come from. Or if I’m like upstairs watching TV and all of a sudden I go down stairs and I talk to them. When I was kid it would be longer, maybe like three hours. I would just sit there and listen to them talk. And then as I got older it would be less ‘cuz I would get bored.
All of her workers are Filipino and they speak Ilokano so they’re older people so of course they’re going to speak Ilokano. I would always ask them what does it mean, what does it mean ‘cuz I didn’t understand. If I were sitting next to an old lady, I would ask her what are you saying and they would try to explain it. Sometimes they don’t know, they can’t find the English word for it so I just ask my mom. If my mom doesn’t know then they try to find a simple word or they say “kasla (just like) something, something” and then I try to figure it out.

And like little by little, I learned.

One time they talked about when they were young. ‘Cuz I asked my mom for an eraser and they told me, “Oh you know when I was young I used to use my slipper as an eraser.” Or if they found out that there was toothpaste on sale at Long’s and they’re like, “Oh, let’s go to Long’s to buy toothpaste” or would say, “You know when I was small we never have toothpaste. We used the sugarcane.”

So I learned about like history also. Some of them like also told me when the Japanese people went to the Philippines, they were young and one of the old ladies told me they witnessed somebody’s head getting shot off.

As I got older, I would tell them what to do. Like which orders to do first, “Aramidenyo ‘diay order ni May (do May’s order),” cuz May is the lady’s name. And they would ask for the pattern, “Ania ti patternna? (What is the pattern?),” “Three one, two one.” Or they ask what kind of flower, how many inches.

My Family

Growing up, it was just me, my mom, my dad, and my brother and my grandma Rosita. So my mom’s mom, she would watch me, she would cook me food and clean. She would scold me. I remember when I was like four or five. I was still small. I still really didn’t understand Ilokano but as a child you would always open things, so I would always open the refrigerator and she would always scold me but I never knew what she was saying. She raised her voice; that’s how I knew she was scolding me.

But then when she moved to the Philippines it was only four of us. On my dad’s side I would see them or we would go to church with them or we would go to one person’s house to get watched or when our parents would go to work or during the summer or something. So majority of my middle and elementary was with my dad’s side, but then when I got to high school, I started to spend time with my mom’s side.

I don’t really talk to my dad ‘cuz he’s not home a lot. I am closer to my mom. Albert is my sibling. He is nineteen and he goes to Mauka Community College. He is in the Army Reserve and he graduated in 2009 at NHS. I grew up with him but he no longer live with us. He lives with my auntie, my mom’s sister in Lugar Valley. Most of the time, we got along but there would be times when we would fight. I remember throwing the remote at my brother when I was like eight.
I speak Ilokano and English. Ilokano is mostly spoken at home. My mom scolds me in Ilokano. She talks to me in Ilokano when she tells me to do something. When she’s telling me a story like when her workers are not listening to her and she gets high blood and she need to tell somebody. Or she tells me a story; I don’t know…anykine stories. It starts off as English and then she gets tired of speaking English so she speaks in Ilokano.

My Community

There’s really friendly people in Lugar. Like everybody pretty much knows where everybody lives. “Oh you know she lives over here.” Like you might not know the exact house, but you know they live on that street.

I never really played outside when I was a kid because we live on a private street. We live in the same house since I was like three years old. We have Filipino neighbors; we have this one Japanese man. And there’s these Haole people down the road but they’re nice. We don’t really talk to them except the old man when we were kids and we would play outside. We would always get busted. Whenever we would see him, we would run away. We live next to the main road. You hear the bus and growing up you’d be like, “Oh yeah, that’s the bus.”

But as I got older, it was more scary. It’s too crowded. There’s like houses on every little square foot. There seems to be druggies or like you hear things at night. There was an incident when someone stole something from our house because we left it on the porch. There was this one time when I saw this man run, run. So since we have security lights, they will turn on. And we live on a private road. You know everybody that walks there or you hear the same cars.

My Academic Journey: The Early Years

I went to Kukui for elementary school. It was a small school. I just remember riding the bus home. When I was a kid, my mom or dad would drop me off and my mom would pick me up. The majority of students were Filipinos. The majority of teachers were Japanese or Haole.

In kindergarten, everybody was pretty much friends. Or like nobody was like “these were my friends and these are not your friends.”

I was naive, was not very outspoken as an elementary student. I was shy. They wanted to put me in special education because I wouldn’t talk. The teacher thought I had a disorder or something. My mom said, “No.”

I was Student of the Year in first grade. I was like a rebel in second grade. I wouldn’t do my homework. In third grade, I was in student council but I quit because the people were mean because I was only in third grade. The fifth graders were mean.
I didn’t like my teacher in fifth grade ‘cuz she was haole and I wasn’t used to having a Haole teacher. I always had Japanese teachers. She just came from New York. I think it was the way she talked was different.

Sixth grade is when everybody’s trying to figure out who they are. I mean you kinda want to figure what you wanna do. Because you’re in a new school and you wanna make new friends. I think I was really mean.

I remember in sixth grade I didn’t care about grades as I do now. And it wouldn’t bother me. I guess I just wanted to fit with everybody else. Like you don’t go home right after school. You would go to our friend’s house. We would usually go to the store first and then like get snacks and go to your friends’ house and eat and talk and watch TV.

I didn’t know who I was in sixth grade. I mean I was still Rimat but I didn’t know what I wanted to do because like in seventh grade you had to either join band, chorus, art, or computer. I played the clarinet in the seventh grade and the bass clarinet in the eight grade.

I joined band because I played piano. At home I played piano because I took piano lessons. I was forced to take piano. My mom said it’s useless if the piano just sits there. So I took piano lessons. I stopped piano lessons when I got to high school because it was getting expensive because it was private lessons and my piano instructor would come to our house.

So eighth grade PE is the most boringest. It’s not like regular PE ‘cuz our PE teacher made us play tennis. Not many people play tennis. When you think PE, you don’t play tennis. You think basketball or volleyball.

**Becoming the Valedictorian**

I usually drive to school and I usually get to school at like 7:20/7:30 a.m. and I used to walk to my teachers’ class and just sit there. But ever since, I have not been getting enough sleep because of projects and stuff being a senior.

We have senior project and stuff and midterms. I sit in my car and I study because it’s more quiet. Like I get to school and I sit in the parking lot at school in my car and then when like the bell’s almost going to ring then I walk to class. Period 1, recess. Since my Period 1 and Period 2 is on the third floor, I don’t walk down. I just stay on the third floor and then during lunch I usually have meeting.

If I don’t have meetings I’m usually talking or doing homework. It depends. Sometimes it’s for Student Government, sometimes it’s for the Agila Honor Society (NHSoc). Sometimes I tutor for NHSoc. For student government I facilitate the meetings. For the NHSoc, I’m the secretary so I take down minutes.

No one, nobody, like my mom didn’t tell me you should join NHSoc; you should be in student government. I kind of fell into the place on my own. My parents know that I’m involved. They stopped calling me when I come home late ‘cuz they know I’m not out
smoking, drinking or partying. They used to call me before like when I was a freshman, and then I explained to her like, “Oh mom, student council in high school is different from middle school.”

Growing up, it wasn’t expected of me. But I had that dream myself to be a valedictorian. ‘Cuz everybody says, “Oh yeah, don’t screw up your freshman year,” and that’s how I had to make sure during my freshman year that I was going to do good. And every year after that, you know, you tried so hard from the very beginning so why do you give up now?

So after awhile it was an expectation like, “Oh yeah, you’re going to be a valedictorian.” Like when I got that C in Calculus in my grade check, my dreams started to crumble. I was like, “It’s ok if I’m not valedictorian,” but deep down you were like “You worked so hard for it; why just give up this last term where it actually counts?” It’s kind of like proving everyone wrong because everyone says that you can’t be in Health Academy or like people doubt the fact that you cannot do well. Like they say Health Academy is hard.

I like the teachers in Health Academy because they kind of push you to your limit like I actually have to try to do my homework. Whereas, freshman year when I wasn’t in Health Academy it was pretty easy for me. I could do whatever and still get an A. But now, like sometimes, I’m borderline A which helps my brain cuz I mean cuz I have to work for it. Like you kinda feel like you got that A because you deserved that A. It’s more rewarding. You feel like you have to live up to that A. Like I feel like being a straight A student when you do something wrong like it’s like they look down on you so bad.

Your parents, your teachers

I had a C for Calculus for my midterm grade check and my mom was mad at me because I had that C and she was like, “Why do you have a C?” And it was hard for me to explain to her that calculus is hard. She goes, “Yeah but you’re always studying. How come you have a C?” You can’t explain to them like Calculus is hard, like nobody else can help you. You can’t help me, Manong Albert can’t help me. Like who’s going to help me? It’s hard.

They always tell me to study hard; keep doing what I’m doing. But they don’t help me. But sometimes they scold me for not going to sleep. Sometimes they scold me for being on the computer.

Well, they stopped. Well, they don’t tell me to do my homework because I just do it.

They always say that because they want us to do better knowing that they suffered and that they have to work so hard just to have the things that I have now. Like they have to work twice as hard. That’s what I think. Or I guess that’s what they tell us, “Oh you know, if you go to school and study hard and study you don’t have to work hard like us.” Like when I would be lazy to wash my clothes she’d tell me, “Oh you know when I was small, we never had washing machines; we had to do everything by hand.” So it kinda makes you appreciate things more.
I know I’m not the best leader but I’ve grown to be a good leader like I think I was talking, delegating. And so like growing up, I was taught to do things on my own if I could and so that’s how I am. Like if I know I can do it, I’m going to do it myself. I think over the years it’s gotten better. I’ve learned that things will never go your way because things always change and you have to learn. Being a student leader you have to learn to be flexible.

So there was an incident where time is usually never by your side because you work with other variables and other people may take more time. So there was a time and we had a pep rally and the timing was really off and we had to problem solve on our toes on the spot like what do we have to do. So we just figured it out. Everything didn’t turn out the way it’s supposed to be. We had to cancel some things but nobody noticed. Nobody knew except us.

Sometimes, people don’t directly appreciate the things that you do. Like people will tell you you’re stupid but they won’t like tell you why you’re stupid. Some people just say it to try to break you down or to see how you react. So I learned how to reward myself or like just be happy about myself. I was never really like proud unless like administration said that it was a very good event or when you hear your peers say that was really fun.

Working with my class advisor was also an interesting experience. I had to learn about her because she was not here originally. She was from Boston, Massachusetts. And so the way she talked was different. Her insight, her perception on things were also different. So sometimes we’d banged heads because we did not see eye to eye. I don’t know. We reconciled our perspectives but I think one person just gave in and listened to the other. I don’t think it was ever a compromise.

The people I hang out with, we encourage each other to do well in school. That’s why I do well in school, I guess, because people look up to me – the underclassmen. Being in student council you have to interact with the younger ones like the sophomores and juniors because they know me, they seen me. They talk to me. They know. Like I never tell anyone I had good grades but I don’t know how people know.

There are teachers on campus that do care for their students but there are teachers on campus I never personally had but I heard stories about them and they don’t care about their students. Like they’ll give you work and they expect you to do it without explaining it. There are teachers who are personable so that you can talk to them. You can go to them during recess or like when you have someone to talk to or you need guidance. Like, “Oh, Mister or Miss, I’m failing my class. Do you know what I can do?”

Ever since I was young it’s always been in the back of my head that I wanted to become a doctor. But as I got older, is doctor really my passion? Do I really want to become a doctor? Do I really want to go through twelve years of school and figure out I don’t want to be a doctor? And so I just drew back from being a doctor. I never wanted to be a nurse because I believe that being a nurse is a stereotype.

I wanted to do communications or marketing or something like that. I wanted to do like Communication Science in health like students or like children with disabilities or speaking
disorders ‘cuz I’ve come to value your or like the ability to talk. But like people take it for granted. Like your voice is something that no one can take away from you.

**Ilokano Class Was Not My First Choice**

I wasn’t supposed to take Ilokano at NHS. I was supposed to take Accounting but the class was full. So I went to the registrar and I was like, “Okay, I need to take language course anyway.” So there was no language one. It was all language two. It was like Japanese II, Japanese III, Spanish II, Spanish III. Ilokano was the only opening. I was like, “might as well take it” so I took it and knew the simple stuff.

My mom just laughed at me when I told her that I’m taking Ilokano. She said, “That’s good,” and that’s all. She knew my cousin Bradley also took Ilokano at NHS. My dad said, “That’s good; you should learn.” Later, I would ask them for help for my assignment.

In class, there were few students who could speak very well because they came from the Philippines. That was cheat ‘cuz they already knew how to speak. But seriously, I was just like that’s an easy A because they already knew how to speak the language and they probably knew the history, too.

When I was asked to speak, I would speak but I didn’t speak just for fun. But then when we did conversational Ilokano, that was fun. Our teacher would get so mad when we would pronounce it wrong. She would make us repeat and repeat and repeat. And some people in our class, they could not speak at all so they could not say ‘nga.’ And ‘nga’ is one of the hardest things.

I really enjoyed the family tree project because it kinda forced you to figure out what your family was about. In Ilokano II, you had to interview your parent or grandparent about what they think life was like in Hawai‘i or like when they did come to Hawai‘i, what was their reaction? How did they feel? And we had to write a paper. I don’t remember and then we had to record it. We had to transcribe it. Oh my gosh, that was crazy! It was interesting learning about the history because like you speak Filipino but you don’t know how it originated. Like I learned that like the Spanish, like the Spaniards, occupied the Philippines for a long time and that’s why some people’s last name may sound a bit Spanish because of that.

Being in Ilokano class, you kind of appreciate your culture more and you understand where you parents come from and what life was like back then. I guess it’s just appreciation and respect because like they always complain like. “Oh yeah my parents, they always tell me when I was a kid I didn’t have TV, I didn’t have computers, like this like that.”

It [Ilokano] was helpful when there was a new student and I had to or like they were lost or they were scared and so I tried to talk to them. And when they found out I could speak Ilokano they were more open to talking to me. I would teach my children in Ilokano so when you school them they would understand.
Your History Makes Up Who You Are

My mom told me I was Filipino. My dad told me I was Filipino. My parents were born in the Philippines and raised in the Philippines. I think in order to be Filipino, your parents just has to be from the Philippines.

So your history makes up who you are because you are who you are because of what happened to you.

Like I wouldn’t be the same person I am today if it wasn’t for the experiences that I had and if it wasn’t for what my parents taught. And my parents wouldn’t know what they know if their parents didn’t teach them that. They taught me like always respect your elders no matter what culture. Because in the Filipino culture you always respect your elders, always. Like it’s so rude if you don’t. You always address them by grandma, auntie, uncle, manang, manong. If you don’t, like they’ll just look at you. They won’t scold you but they will give you that look like why you talking like that.

Being Filipino means speaking the language, eating the food – pinakbet, sinigang, pansit.
APPENDIX H

THE STORY OF WAYAWAYA

Not to be mean or anything, for example, like, the Hawaiians. You know how like before Hawaiians like fluently knew full Hawaiian and now there’s only mixed Hawaiians? I think the language is hardly spoken. I don’t want the Filipino nation to be like that. So it’s like, I think we should learn as much as you can about your roots.

Discovering My Roots in Ilokano Class

At first it was more of interest. I wanted to know more of the roots, knowing that you speak Ilokano all your life, well not all your life, but the time you could remember until your freshmen year. So it’s interesting, you know, something new.

I wanted to get to know our roots a little bit.

My mom and dad looked surprised like they were interested. I think they wouldn’t expect me to take a class like that. You know, local kid, wouldn’t even bother to learn Ilokano or speak Ilokano. It wasn’t really negative, nothing negative.

It was hard at first. I knew majority of the words. But you know, there were some people who looked good. I remember Alvin Domingo, the way he could speak like 100%. And then you’re like shame because when you speak, you don’t know if you’re gonna speak it correctly, so you’re gonna be, “What, what?”

It was good. Oh, the first couple of days it was hard. You don’t know anybody; well I didn’t know anybody. I’m not used to being the new kid on the block. That’s when I was shy. I wasn’t about to say anything. But then it got to the point where I told myself I need to step my game up. I cannot be doing this all my life.

The most memorable project I did was the family tree. I loved that project.

I think it’s because you get to know more about your family. More questions come up with your family when you do the family tree and to me, that’s the one I put more effort in it than any other project I did in school. I don’t know why. I think it’s because, well, I put in effort in all my projects, but the family tree was the number one. I remember like I wouldn’t even go out just to finish it. I wanted to make the family tree nice. I think so, because the word “family” comes in and you know, you’re carrying your family name. And you don’t want to make a shame of it, you know. I think Manang Talugading gave me a low grade, I think. Like a B, I think.

My Ilokano teacher, she was the best. At first she was strict. I was scared of this teacher; I don’t like her. But over the weeks, she got closer to us. And I really like that, you know.
The relationship between student and teacher is the best thing you could ever have. So I think she was the closest one out of all the teachers to me, well to me.

I think one was when you had to write a paragraph. I think about yourself and I didn’t know how to do this and that. So I would ask my mom about it. And the years, I remember that, the unit, the year unit. Manang Talugading told us we gotta find the dates, the holiday, what’s the date, you know. And say it in Ilokano and I asked my mom for help.

Senior Year: Gaining Filipino Pride

Ilokano II, oh, it got harder. I think because you know, two years without Ilokano it’s like it would’ve been better. I regret not going sophomore year cause it was more fresh in my head. It felt weird because if you’re getting older, you know you already speak Ilokano, right? Like I can see myself now speaking more English than Ilokano. Freshman year I spoke but not fluently. I would only speak when they would speak back to me.

During my senior year, the interest is not there, but I still carry. You know, I still carry it as a special skill.

My understanding now is more clear. Like how before, I didn’t really know how to use locative markers. I didn’t know how to use locative markers, like I don’t know, period. Then Manang Talugading cleared that up for me.

I didn’t know how to greet someone before. And then for Ilokano II, it was more like, uh, how should I say it? I would say Ilokano II, I forgot. I don’t know how to say it.

I’m more into Filipino stuff now. Before, I wasn’t interested, you know the Filipino Festival, the recent. I think the years before that I didn’t really care about it. Taking Ilokano II gave me more pride in what I am, what I speak. I don’t know why, though. I think it’s just like being able to speak Ilokano in class without being shame. It makes you feel more better inside knowing that nobody cares about what you speak in class.

I don’t speak outside of class. It’s because like, they don’t understand. You know, well they do but then, it’s like I know if I speak to them they going be like “What?”

Growing Up In Lugar

I was born on November 2, 1993 at Pualani Hospital. I was the only child for eight years until my brother was born in 2001. It was kind of fun, I guess, like all eyes on me kind-of-thing. But then, I don’t know, it was fun like cause you know you’re the only kid, you get what you want; spoiled. If I wanted toys, I get what I want.

But then when my brother came, it all changed. Oh I was in school at that time and uh I was in A+, and then 4:30 came and usually my dad would pick me up at 4:30. So 4:30 came by, then 5:00 then 5:30 and I was wondering, “Yo, where’s my dad? Where’s my dad?” Then finally he came and he told me like, “You know, mom gave birth.” And I was like, “Oh!”
was really happy. And then, when he came home, all they did was give him baths, feed him, put him to sleep. When I wanted to do something with my mom them, like, they couldn’t because my brother. Cause usually back then, I remember like my dad would take me to Kakaako to ride bike or to Ala Moana Beach to ride bike. So we didn’t do that anymore cause my brother and you know, my mom would work. All the attention on him. And to be honest, I was jealous because I wasn’t used to that. But then now as you get older, it doesn’t matter anymore. You already have what you want.

I was basically raised in Lugar my whole life. I originally lived on Daya Avenue with my maternal grandparents for two years and moved down to Hoku Street. I love my grandparents. It’s fun talking to them. I think they’re the only ones that will speak to me in Ilokano. I remember my grandma would tell me “Let’s go shower” or “Let’s go eat now.” Or she would scold me and be like, “What was that?”

And I’m the only one who talks back.

I wasn’t really close to my cousins like how I am now, so, I just stayed home and played video games. And I guess that’s one of the reasons why my grades went down. It gave me a reason to play games. What else could I do in this neighborhood, you know? I walk up out of the gate, there’s a sidewalk. What do you want me to do? There’s a sidewalk.

I live with my mom, dad, and brother. We are renting a two-bedroom house in Hoku Street. I lived in the middle of the intersection of Hoku Street and Leioli. So there’s always like the whole Leioli, Ranggas thing going on, gangster. Before it was like alive. Nowadays the neighborhood is quiet. There’s hardly any yelling at night and that’s what I wanted. You know, before it was irritating. You hear all this yelling and fighting. But now it’s like, I don’t know. All of a sudden it just stopped. That’s good.

I rarely hear my parents speak English [the two of them]. Like the only time they speak English is when my brother is around so he can understand. They talk to me in English. It just comes out of nowhere but for Ilokano like when they ask for something.

My relationship with my parents is good. I think the only time we fight is when I come home late. My dad is more strict. Recently we talked about graduation and this whole girlfriend situation. They would say, “You know, don’t bring her over, this and that cause you’re too young, and you gotta focus on school.”

I’ve been coming home late a lot lately since it’s Spring Break and it’s not a daily routine for me. It feels good to be out once in a while. My mom doesn’t understand that. But I can see where they’re coming from, being their first kid and their only child for like eight years until my brother came. Yeah, I totally understand like that I’m like their prized possession and they don’t want nothing to happen to me. It’s kinda irritating for a while but later I realized that they’re just looking out for me.
From Private to Public

I was in a private school from elementary to middle school. There wasn’t really that much kids that would speak Ilokano. I didn’t know what Filipino was from kindergarten to second grade. All I knew was Asian. I remember my mom telling me that Philippines was in the continent Asia. I didn’t really know the specifications, so I didn’t really expand on that.

So, my Japanese homeroom teacher would ask, “Who’s Filipino?”

I wouldn’t raise my hand. I would ask, “Oh how ‘bout if we’re Asian?”

She said that everyone here was Asian. And she started to elaborate on it like. “Oh Filipino is all of you guys.” Majority of my class was Filipino. Maybe like two or three was Japanese. So, I look at them and it was like, you know you take photographic memory. So then, from then on I just started asking questions to my mom.

My dad would drop me off like 7:00 at school. From eight to nine, we took religion and then from 9:00 to like 9:10 you have recess, then I think it was Social Studies, English and Literature.

My dad would pick me up at 4. I’d go to A+. It was good. I got a lot of help and I met more friends. I got more opportunities to meet more people, and that was like a step for me, cause I’m like a shy person. I still am. I know myself. I’m shy, I just don’t show it. I don’t know why. I don’t like showing that I’m shy because like, they’re not gonna bother to, you know, get to know you. They’ll be like, “Oh he doesn’t wanna talk” or “He doesn’t wanna say anything.” So I try to be open. I try not to be shy.

Middle School, I think that’s when all the cool things started to come around. You know when everything mattered you know, like the way you dressed. At school it didn’t really matter because, you know, all of us had the same uniform - white buttoned up shirt with like navy jeans or something. But like, I remember after school you know, we would always go to Fun Factory to play and I remember that’s when everyone used to be shame about what they were wearing outside of school. Being seen around, you know everybody. That’s when everything started to hit us, like aw so shame we don’t wanna be seen like this in public. It’s like everybody might tease us, and that when everybody was like, “I’m sick and tired of using uniforms already, I wanna change.” That’s when everything mattered like, you know, the shoes mattered, like what kind of shoes you need to wear. We always got to wear those nice white ones. You gotta have the nice bag. You know, we gotta have an Ipod, we gotta have a cell phone.

Comparing myself to my brother, I would think I was way better. I think it was because the discipline got down over the years and the school went through changes. Like the principal, and new rules, so the way now, you know, I think they’re getting too relaxed at the school. There’s no discipline anymore. I would say that I was. Well, my year it was better. It was hard and I didn’t really like all the strict rules and stuff.
I would say like uh, it’s because of my brother. Not in a mean way though. It’s like giving him what we never had. It’s like I, thought about it and if I went to a private school it means more money out of my mom’s pocket. We was planning on going, sending him to St. Luke, but no I didn’t like that. I told my mom, “You know that’s too much money. You already have a son in private school even though you pay $6,000 a year. You know, I wanna help you guys out. It’s okay if I go public school. It’s not like I’m gonna do bad. I can carry myself, you know. I can carry the virtue of doing good.” And that’s just me, you know. I honestly did that. From freshmen year till say now, I didn’t get a GPA, lower than 2.2.

I think the freedom, more freedom, meaning, they don’t care what you do, it’s up to you. Like, you know from private school, you need to tuck in your shirt, you need to wear this, you cannot wear that, you cannot put gel in your hair. Going to high school, it’s up to you how you make yourself presentable.

Only one or two from St. Matthew came to Nakem and I kept in contact with them. One of them was my really good friend. We pretty much stuck together, um, freshmen to sophomore year. And then uh, he met new friends and I was with my cousin. He just made his own friends.

At Nakem, I go to class, do work, and then recess stay with friends, then go to class. There wasn’t really much cutting, you know. I’m not into that. Even though you know you don’t do shit in class - you just watch a movie or you know you’re gonna watch a movie or you have a substitute - you know, it’s um, it’s more like what are you gonna do when you cut? What is there to do on a weekday? You know, being sick it’s like even though you stay home it’s like you want to experience not being at school. You know, what are you gonna do at home, just sit down and watch TV?

Right now, I am in the Engineering Academy. I chose to be in this academy because ever since I was a little kid, I would constantly hear my family telling me that being an engineer is the best job you can ever have.

Our academy is not too hard and not too easy. It’s like right there in the middle. It’s good, you know. It’s not really hard. It’s like right in the middle. Lucky for us all the reading is done in class, all the studying is done in class, and all the reviews are done in class.

When I was a freshman, uh, I had auto tech and now we don’t have it. They should’ve kept it. Auto tech was fun. It was a fun class. I really got to learn a lot about cars. I helped my dad fix cars. We didn’t really go into the engine. It was more like the tires and the breaks so I know a little something about that.

“Testing” Myself

Well, I’m not a tough person. It’s just I test myself.

It’s more like I test myself, you know. It’s like if I can handle it, I can handle anything. You know? It’s just that’s what I say to myself. If you cannot handle your own stuff, you cannot
handle nothing in life. You cannot handle the real world cause you’re gonna be on your own in the real world. And if you cannot handle your own problems, then you cannot handle.

Yeah, my mom. They always push me to work hard. That was a main thing. “Get good grades. I want you to get A’s.” I think so my dad played a role in it. He would always go for the bad grade you know. He would see the B’s, not the A’s. So it’s like, I like shut ‘um up already, so I try get the A. Cause he cannot say nothing about it, you know. He cannot say nothing bad like, “Oh, why you get one B for? Why you get one C for?”

Oh, it feels good. It’s like, I can be known in the family. Like you know, your Uncle or your Manong, or your dad, to graduate from High School. It’s good.

I was thinking about moving to the Mainland. You know, cuz this is the whole thing: you’re stuck on an island, what else is there to do? I think my cousins feel this for me cause, like, nothing’s going to change in one year so maybe like, if we have the chance, live somewhere in the mainland for a year and see how you like it cause you always can come home. You know, a lot of things are gonna change and honestly, I think so. He’s right cause seeing how he left for Military I mean Navy, and you know getting deployed in Iraq, you know this and that, nothing really did change.

Filipino Values

Uh, working hard, you gotta work hard. That’s why my dad has three jobs. That’s why he didn’t graduate college, I mean high school. You know what I mean? They use me as a motivation. They use me as, like, feed off. I don’t want to end up like my dad, working three jobs. You know, I want to work one solid job making a lot of money.

That’s one. Another is looking good, being good to your elders, you gotta clean. Don’t be told to do so. You gotta do it. It should be an automatic. That’s why you know, nowadays, I don’t get told to do stuff. I just do it.

It’s just programmed for me already.

Um, they would discipline me every time. I would purposely wake up late. Like when my dad would tell me wake up. I would be like, “okay,” and then I would just sleep and then when my dad would get mad, he would yell at me early in the morning. I’d get a little wake up call so I would get ready. If I don’t do my homework, then they’d get mad. If I get a B, a B grade now, like what you gave me, they would get mad.

The Survival of Ilokano

I think there’s a possibility it might but it might not. As of now, I don’t think so, to be honest. I don’t think so because for my generation, you know seeing everybody speaking English and hardly Ilokano. Well, I know they speak Ilokano, but I mean, not like me, though. Not like me.
And it’s like, how do you expect the language to survive if you cannot pass it down to your kids? You know, if you cannot do this and that. So, this and that meaning you cannot speak to them. You cannot teach them about their roots. So, having an Ilokano class in high school, you know, it’s a good opportunity to know about your past. I mean not your past but, you know, your roots you know. It’s just something to carry on in your life.

Not to be mean or anything, for example, like, the Hawaiians. You know how like before Hawaiians knew full Hawaiian and now there’s only mixed Hawaiians? I think the language is hardly spoken. I don’t want the Filipino nation to be like that. So it’s like, I think we should learn as much as you can about your roots.

I can speak better and more clearly with my family. I know, it’s like speaking Ilokano. I know more how to speak when I get to the Philippines. You know, nothing is a question mark to me when I get there.

And you know the whole Filipino thing? You can speak English and Ilokano and everybody’s like, “Oh, wow.” Being a local born, they don’t expect you to speak Ilokano. Mostly my mom’s friends say, “Oh you local, and all you know is pidgin,” you know like that. And when you speak Ilokano they’re like, “Oh, wow!”

**Filipino, Not Local Filipino**

Filipino, not local Filipino. Filipino, period. It’s just who I am. There’s no such thing as a Local Hawaiian. You know, I don’t carry the title “Local.” I carry more Filipino.

Some people use local Filipino to refer to themselves sometimes because they don’t want to be called FOB. I don’t know. That’s what I think. I’ll ask, “Oh what are you?” “Local Filipino.” Like, you know I think it just sounds more better. You know how stereotype is in the air. Like Filipino is like, I don’t know when you say Filipino it’s like how we talk, la la la la la. I think it just adds a little more non-stereo-type if you say “local.”

The word “local” means born here. Cause I think if you say Filipino, they going say, “Oh, you born Philippines?” That’s what I think.

FOB, I think it’s a Filipino who doesn’t know how to speak English. I mean, that’s what I think. Cause you know when people first come off the island, they’re “fresh.” You know, they speak in Ilokano.

And you know local Filipino, they know how to speak English. They know how to communicate to the majority of everybody so I guess like, over the years, you know, I think it just takes time for you to know, get used to everything because you cannot know things on the spot. It takes time, slowly but surely.

My cousin, you know, he didn’t really know how to speak English. I think so he kinda brought Ilokano into me. Sometimes he’d ask me questions and I don’t even know what he’s talking about. So I’d try and elaborate on it. I would try to think what he’s trying to say to
me. I remember one time he told me to go throw away the trash, and then he was like, “What?” And then he was pointing, he started pointing. I said, “Oh, throw away the trash!?” And he was like “Wen, wen, wen (Yes, yes, yes).”
APPENDIX I

THE STORY OF SAGUDAY: THE QUEEN BEE

My “Coming Out”

By the end of five, I was feeling not close to boys.

I was feeling fantasies about boys already. And that’s the time when I used to hang out with girls.

‘Diay maikatlo a brotherko, he used to tease me, “Baklakansa met, bakhakan sa met.” (My third brother, he used to tease me, “I think you might be gay.”) That time, I no like tell my feelings, but then it need to come out.

Actually, when I was like in 7th grade, I was like showing them proofs that I am. I just don’t want to tell them my feelings. Sometimes I overhear them saying, “Oh, you’re bakla met lang ti kasta, bugbogekto pay.” (“Oh, if he’s gay, I will beat him up.”) So I no like tell them. In my mind, “So, it really needs to come out.” So ida agbuybuyakami ti Wowwowee, ay ket adda ti bakla idiy, ken adda ti kuna ni daddy nga, “Mmm, apay haanmo pay lang ibaga nga baklaka met a kasla kasta ne?” (So when we were watching Wowwowee, and there was a gay there, and my daddy said, “Mmm, why don’t you just admit that you’re also gay just like that?”)

So that time I told them, “Yeah, I am.”

Ever since then that I told them that I was gay, my father never did treat me the way he treated me before - like I never felt like I’m his favorite child anymore. Ginggana tatta (until now), he makes me jealous cuz everytime he wanna go shopping, he always ask for my youngest brother.

Kuna dagiti kakabsatko, “Oh, mabalinka nga aginbakla,” pero haannak lang kano agmakemake-up. Agmakemake-up-a starting sophomore year. (My siblings say, “Oh, you can be gay,” as long as I don’t put make up.) I hid it from them when I go school; I put make up cuz they’re not awake yet, but when I come back home, I remove it.

Living in Binalonan

I was born in Binalonan, Pangasinan - in Mangusmana. Mangusmana is lubak lubak (Mangusman is full of mudholes). At first when you get in, it’s quiet. But then when you go further, there’s a lot of people talking. Asideg ti karayan (It’s close to the river). Take a tricycle from the main highway. Tricycle will take 30 minutes actually cuz lubak-lubak (mudhole), and they have to take their time.

Ti balayko idi ubingak was a simple house. Iti unegna, the furnitures – simple nga tugaw - were not that expensive. (My house when I was a child was simple. Inside were furnitures –
simple chairs – were not that expensive.) Like there’s so many Jesus stuff on the wall, and then like when we lived there we didn’t have a room cuz that house, our own house, only had two rooms.

When I was growing up, I was closer to my mom cuz my dad left. He came here to Hawai‘i. Me and my mom never fight. She always let us go out. One thing she doesn’t want us to do is go swimming in the river and then, isu ti pinag-apaanmi (that’s what we fight about).

Idi (before), when my mom was busy with her work in the house, my brother always say, my older brother, the 24, like kanayonnak nga ibaon nga aglinis (would always order me to clean). We used to wash dishes; clean the bathroom cuz we didn’t have the flush. So I have to get a bucket and clean the house, but I only used to clean the living room only cuz no one goes inside the rooms, so I only clean the living room and the kitchen.

My sister was the only person I talk to around the house. I used to talk to her cuz my sister act like me, too, cuz she’s deaf. When she was born, they said she still could hear. But then, like idi ubin gako nakakulkulit kano. Adda kano inkabilna diay lapayagna; it affects her eardrums so now she cannot hear. (But then she was hard-headed as a child. She put something in her ear which affected her eardrums so now she cannot hear.)

**The Struggles of My Mother**

They said my mom was supposed to be married with this guy by force. Her mom told her to get married to this guy, and then she ran away and she met my dad at Manila. My dad took my mom to Pangasinan and then, yeah, that’s how it started. Like dagidiay aunty-k (my aunties), they didn’t like my mom cuz my mom is a Visayan. And that side, they didn’t like Visayan.

They treated her like a maid. My mom used to always wash my grandpa’s clothes. Agsakdo ti danum para kaniana tapno agdigos. No aglutokami no kua idiay balay, umayda dagiti auntyk santo kunada, “Lutuandakamiman met,” kunada. (She would fetch water for him so he can take a bath. When we cook at our ouse, they would come over and my aunties would say, “Can you cook for us too.”) And my mom’s smart. I think I can remember my mom saying, “Why, you guys just come here to push me around or something?”

I think my dad never liked my mom. I remember my mom told me a story that my dad used to hit her everyday. She really tried hard to fit in. She told all of her children she tried to fit in to be loved by my aunty them.

But when my dad came to Hawai‘i, like I heard my aunty them talking about my mom. They were so jealous that they were just talking about how lucky my mom is, that naka-score-kano iti balikbayan.

My neighbors really liked my mom. Kayatda ni mamang (They like my mother). Like my mom is down to earth, she don’t have problems. Like she wouldn’t talk if isuna ti pagus-usapanda awan ti maibagan, pero no sikami nga annakna ti masaktan, adda maibagana (Like
she wouldn’t talk if they talk about her, but if her children are the ones getting hurt, then she
would say something).

My School in Binalonan

Nagbasaak diay Ilokaniana Elementary School (I attended school at Ilokaniana Elementary
School). The school is whack; I should say ugly.

I never learned anything. I think they only taking money from us. They didn’t teach. Adda
unipormemi (we had a uniform) – white shirt and blue shorts and shoes.

It was painful. Everytime we cannot do our homework, they hit us with the stick - with a
ruler stick in our butt or in our hand. In my mind, is it necessary to hit children, like hit a
student if they don’t do their homework? Like kasla (like), we never did learn anything. I
never did learn anything.

Nagkandidatoak iti kua, Mr. Education, idi 5th grade. Mr. Education, kunada, ket awan met ti
na-absorb-ko nga knowledge. Pinilidak ta I was once called rich, cuz daydiay estudiantemi
didiy, sometimes awan iti makanda. Tapos sikami ngamin nga agkakasinsin idiy
eskuelaan, we always had like karne, pritong karne, kasdiay, hotdog ti sidsidaen. (I ran for
Mr. Education in 5th grade. Mr. Education, they say, but I did not absorb any knowledge.
They chose me because I was once called rich, because our students over there have nothing
to eat sometimes. But then my cousins and I at school would would always have meat, fried
meat, like hotdog.)

Binalonan to Hawai‘i

I was in 6th grade when I came here. Kaduak ni manongko, diay maikapat (I came with my
fourth brother). I felt sad cuz the only person (mother) that I can lean on, like nabati idiy
Pilipinas (she was left behind in the Philippines). When I left, I cried in front of her but then
when we got inside the airport, I was so happy that I’m gonna get into the plane. And then,
when I got into Hawai‘i, I started breaking down again.

When I was at the airport, I was doing this marching in front of my dad. And my dad was
like laughing. That was the first time I seen my dad laughing, like his genuine smile. And
then, after that, I don’t know, just everything changed.

It felt so weird not hearing out the jeep, tricycle, like those. I don’t know, those things that I
can’t explain. When I came here, it was raining. Like my dad them was so tired, they didn’t
even take us to go around the island.

Idi simmangpetak (in Lugar), adda sarilida nga apartment. Dua a bedroom. (When I arrived
in Lugar, they have their own apartment. It’s a two-bedroom.) My mom, my dad, and my
sister was in one room. My brother and the girlfriend was in the other room, and then my
oldest brother was in the living room. So me and my brother who just came, we were in the
living room, too.
I felt poor. I felt not simple anymore. I felt crowded. I got used to being in a big space, running around and stuff. I just have to suck it up and deal with it.

*The Ingglisero*

Like they go, “This faggot right here.” They’re local Filipino. I just leave them alone cuz I remember what my mom told me: no matter how hard life can get, you just have to keep on silent.

I ended my 8th grade in Kawayan with a bang. I meant, like emotions, I guess. When I was 8th grade, when I was graduating, I go: “This is it. Nobody can step on me anymore. Like I tired of dealing with those people who treat me bad.”

As a friend, Liwliwa was one of the person who got me suspended. She asked for forgiveness so I gave her a second chance. During freshman and sophomore year, she was there to teach me how to do my homework and do my summaries.

My friends, they tell me: “Saguday, you should do this, you should do that. Don’t give up on this.”

Right now, I mostly hang out with Filipinos. But in classroom, I hang out with Samoan people, Hawaiian people, and sometimes Micronesian people. Like at first, I was scared to hang out with them, like with Samoan people cuz like, I thought they were gonna beat me up. And then, Micronesian cuz my experience from 8th grade. When I was in 8th grade, I almost got stabbed by one Micronesian. He was drunk. I was just in the corner. Everybody was playing basketball and then he came to the gym. He was all drunk and then he had a knife. And then all of a sudden, I was just sitting there, he went grab me. He was like doing this and then one of my friends side blind him, like went punch him in the side.

Three days after that, we got chased by “Blood,” a Micronesian gang. We got chased cuz that time, I had new shoes, and it was night time and we were at Kawayan Field. We was sitting over there and then all of a sudden, they just started coming and they just started chasing us. We went around the field.

My Micronesians friends, they’re good, they’re not like that. Some of ‘em are girls some of ‘em are guys. But I usually hang out with Micronesian girls. Yeah, Samoans, they’re all girls. Some are boys. They only say hi to me, they’re boys. And then Hawaiian boys, they’re yummy.

For fun, I dance. I joined Hip hop dance at Nakem. In Motion, they’re my third family. They taught me how to be more a good dancer. They taught me how to respect people more. In Motion gave me more chance to be independent.
I do freestyle. I make up my own dance and put it in one song. Like I make a dance that I can teach people. At first, I’m nervous, but when I’m really into it already, like who gives a damn. I’m just gonna dance.

**Being a Proud Ilokano**

I’m proud to be Ilokano. Because Ilokano ngamin is special (Because being Ilokano is special). I can talk to a lot of people in this place cuz a lot of people in here are Ilokano. I wasn’t shame to be Ilokano or be a Filipino at all. My local friends think Filipinos are good.

A lot of people are talking my language. Don’t you feel proud?

I signed up for Ilokano class cuz I wanted to learn more about Ilokano. My first day was great cuz Manang Talugading was one of the GEAR UP coordinators already. Like I was close and attached to it already. I was engaged to that class already. My classmates were already my friends. Easy to group with them.

I learned the history of the Ilokanos. I learned that there’s a lot of things that is not from the Philippines that is exported from other countries to get into the Philippines. Like I did my cooking in balatong (mung beans) cuz that’s the only thing that’s easy to cook and the only thing I remember. Aglutlutoak at home (I cook at home). Sometimes adobo, balatong, pinakbet. I started cooking when my mom started work.

Learning Ilokano is the best. Cuz this is how I am. This is what I am.

Like if people I don’t know ask me, “Are you Filipino,” I go, “I’m half. I’m half Visayan, half Ilokano.” I wanted them to know the different language of Filipinos. Visayan talk more faster than Ilokano. I learned good manner: Be respectful to people, respect older people.

**Immigrant Becoming Local**

The locals dress more fancy. Fancy is like fashionable, like “on style” or like in new style: Vans, tight jeans. Immigrants, they’re more still Philippine style, like baggy pants, slippers, and more into plain looking. They just leave their hair down. My fashion is both: half simple, which is the immigrant, and half fashionable, which is the local. I get the simple stuff and simple attitude from the immigrants, and the style from the locals. Simple means I don’t get disgusted by something that is so small. Like when somebody spits, they go, “Ewww, so gross!” No, I’m not like that. When somebody does that, I go, “Okay…”

When I came here I think I changed a lot - in a good way. I became more helpful. I became a role model to other people. Like I tell them like you’re gonna waste your time coming to school, like you’re just gonna be lazy. Like I tell them what to do. I don’t tell them what to do but I tell them do their homework and stuff. I’m not your parents but you have to do this thing.
I think I became more in fashion. Like I tell people what to wear now. I don’t know, in a bad way, too, cuz I judge people now. Like if I seen one person that I don’t know, I think they’re mean. I go like, “I don’t know her cuz she’s mean.” Like I’m becoming a hater. Being a hater is coming from the local side. I got kind of influenced by them.

*Teachers don’t hit you here*

Teachers were good. They were different that they’re better than Philippine teachers. They have the same temper. At least they don’t hit you. Nakem teachers are the most – like a role model. If there was one teacher, I would say Ms. Kalunay because she was nice. She got mad, but she tell us to go on further, like push yourself, don’t give up. Like she became our second mom. She’s been telling us, “Oh what, so you’re gonna come school and just read? No, I don’t take that in my class. You need to go and push yourself up.” She doesn’t give up on you.

*Learning English*

I thought I was all good.

I thought I could speak English, but no. Idi dattoyakan, balabaluktot met gayam (When I was here already, my English was all jumbled up). Like every time I talk to my classmate he always laughs, “Why do you talk like that?”

I got into ESL class first. I was the clown of the class. I make fun of people. I mock them in a good way. Like when somebody says something, like I do the same thing but in a funny way.

English is hard. In my mind, like it says I wanna speak it. But at the same time, I don’t wanna forget about my like, my national, my Tagalog or Ilokano speaking.

In class, I hang out with my English people. Inggliser. Dagiti Inggliser nga classmateko.

Tapos no outside class (and then when outside the class), I hang out with my friends which is Ilokano and Tagalog, so I speak Ilokano and Tagalog.

In 7th grade, I was friends with everybody. For me, I was friends with everybody.

When we had to read this poem, and then, “Oh snap, what am I gonna do?” Yeah, isuratmi pero, ipa-check-ko, addat’ ti wrongna (Yeah, we would write it, and then we would get it checked, there were errors in it). I had a lot of mistakes. I have spelling, grammar. I go, “Oh, am I this bad? Like am I this bad? Like, oh my God.”

And then we had to write this autobiography about myself. And then, one of my classmates read mines and then it says on the bottom, “You need to rewrite your paragraphs.”

When I was 7th grade, I had a lot of C’s.
My grade is so messed up. In 8th grade, I was a straight B student. But 7th grade was the most difficult cuz I got suspended. My best friends, they accused me of harassing them. Like before all my friends, they tell the counselor I harassed them like touching their boobs and stuff. I got suspended for three days cuz I wasn’t good at English yet so I couldn’t talk back to the counselor. When I was in the Vice Principal’s office, they called the police on me, and they’re telling me, “You know you could get arrested for this, blah blah blah.”

I just didn’t want to talk.

It kinda made me realize that you cannot trust friends who will backstab you.

When I was 8th grade, yeah, my like, my English was a little better.

Freshman year is like, “Ok, this is normal English.” Sophomore year, “Ok, getting hard.” Junior year, “Oh my God, what is PTP? What is personification? Summary of this?” I was frustrated junior year. Senior year, I got more frustrated because there’s like a lot of vocabularies that we have to learn and memorize. Like some of them, we would have to look up in the Internet cuz it’s not in the dictionary.

I feel embarrassed when I’m presenting in class. Like I’m gonna FOB out - like when you mumble and then say a word that is in Filipino accent, like when old people talk. I still have a little of the Filipino accent. Before, I don’t feel comfortable. But now, I don’t give a damn about it.

Freshman year was very hard. Very hard because like I thought I wasn’t gonna be supported. I thought it was gonna be on your own. But no, I discovered that GEAR UP was there to guide you.

Being in GEAR UP was the best experience I ever had. I learned that like GEAR UP can be a second family. They really taught you a lot. They guide all the way. They give you tutoring. I learned that you can be smart; I’m just lazy.

Over here, my brain became a sponge that I absorbed every knowledge that they taught me. Like they really force you; they really teach you good stuff. They don’t hit people. They don’t abuse children. They give you chances. They give you second chances and Philippines doesn’t. And tuition, you’re only paying for your obligation, but over there you have to pay a lot of things. Like your tuition fee, your shirt, your uniforms, and stuff. High school no more uniforms.

The Class Clown

I’ve belong there because for the past few years I’ve been there, like for me, I’m well known. I became the class clown, like I just go with the flow. I feel awesome being a class clown because I make people laugh – and feel bad at the same time. People tell me, “You’re funny, like you can be a clown, like you should make your own comedy show.” But when I’m with teachers, I don’t make fun of people, but I’m just like being fun but not hurting people.
Return to Binalonan

I returned to Binalonan last summer.

When we came back there, my aunty them was happy we came back. They love my mom cuz she came back from Hawai‘i. And then when we came back here again, like after the vacation, we heard there’s a lot of rumors going on that they still talk shit.

I have a lot of friends but I feel alone in Hawai‘i. I have a lot of friends but my family, they’re always busy or work. They always work because of the rent, the bills. But when we went back to the Philippines, we never did get separated. We never did go anywhere without each other. We always go out. Like that’s how life should be.

I felt home.

I felt that I belong there.
APPENDIX J

THE STORY OF GUNDAYW

“I did not expect Hawai‘i to be like this. I thought of Hawai‘i as the green grass and big houses just like what I saw on TV sometimes; America they call it. America has many tall buildings and there are no bumpy roads. What I saw when I arrived here was a brook next to our house. There is also a breadfruit and horse-radish tree like in the Philippines we said.)

Living and Leaving Laoag


My Immigrant Stories

Naschockak. Hanko ekspektaren a kastoy ti Hawai’i. Ti ammok ti Hawai’i ket green amin ti makitak nga ti grass. Ken nagdakkel dagiti balbalay a sangpetam kasla diay mabuybuyami diay TV no kua nga diay America kunkunana…America ket kasla lang koma diay nagadu nga bilbildung ken nagdadakkel nga anaw pulos taay makitam nga lubak lubak nga dalan…Nakitak idi simmangpetkam ditoy ket adda met waig dita kaarrubamin. Adda pay pakak kada marunngay. Kasla met la Pilipinas kunami.


Nakakatatawa ta tallo lang ti room a pappapananimi sinsinnublat sinsinnublat. Tay ESLL addakami ti separate building. My ESL classes were fun. We had a lot of field trips – Sea Life Park, Water Park, Honolulu Zoo. Mayat met napintas nasayaat dagidiay teachersmi so talaga nga like ionicentrateda nga tulungandaka no dimo maswatan ti English kasdiay. Adu dagiti visuals nga ipakitada nga pappapel dagiti drodrowing.

Idi nagfreshmanak, medyo mayat ta adu met ti am-ammokon dagita taga McGarret Middle School nga friendsko. Immaya met amin ditoy Nakem. Nagkukuyogkami ti first day of school.

Ti English classko ket my teacher is Mrs. Lilikoi. Ms. Lilikoi teach how to do a research paper and everything like that. Medyo narigat kasi adu ti ub-ubraenmi kaniana. Like mostly every week inkami diay library. Inkami AGRESEARCH about immigration, about mix mix mix
presentations, poem. Dapat agra-rhyme dagidiay poemsmo sa adut’ visual projects and ubraenyo presentations ken research. Kabkabannahak nga agpresent idiay klasena. Cuz dagidiay, I think some of my classmates, I don’t know them like new faces from different school and I think they’re local. Saanda nga Ilokano. Saanda kas koma kaniak naggapu idaiy Pilipinas. Adda siguro ngem bassit laeng isu a medio like saan napintas unay ti gradeko.

Nak-partisiparar ti Hiking Club ken Leo Club. Inkami aghihiking. Inkami agpidut to basura idiay beach. Isu nga no makikitikad ida ta kakleson and nasursuruak dagidiay leadership no kasano ti makifriendly tapno they can help you in your work tapno idi naam-ammok dagidiayen basta innak iti sabali a klasekon nakiam-ammonak kadagidiay students tapno matulungandaka no adda damagem kaniada wenno something like that.


No kasanok nga naalak diay ubrak ti istoriana daydiaj. Nagaplaynak adda imbagada ni motherko nga opening idiaj nga hotel but haan nga nagaplay isuna idiaj ta iyap-aplayna ngamim diay kaubraanna met a. And then diay istoryaek diak nagaplayay nga ana kunana ni motherko saanak pay a pagaplayen ta haandaka nga alan ta hanka nga 18 kunada.


*His Ilokano World at Nakem HS*

Signam daytoy kunak latta kaniadan ta adda field tripmi idiaj Ilokano classmi kastoy kastoy. “Apay mangal-alaka pay lang ti Ilokano ket Ilokanoka la ngaruden?” “Napintas ti Ilokano,” kunak met.
Kuna dagiti am-ammok, napintas kano ti Ilokano, naragsak. Kunada ket agsasaokayo no kua ti Ilokano diay classroomyo ken dagidiay classmateyo. Isu a kasla mainstresadoak a nagsignup kadaydiay a klasa ta kasla lang iti panunotko kasla agsubliak idiay Pilipinas.

Nalaing nga appakatawa kasdiay ti maestromi and naasideg isuna ti ubbing met. Nalaing met nga agisuro ti Ilokano. Naiyanak idiay Pilipinas but immay isuna idi ubing kano.


Ti favorite nga inubrak idi Ilokano I ket diay cooking class. Cooking projectmi, we need to make our own Ilokano dish nga food and then ipresentmi dita sango ti klasa ken ishowmi how to cook the food saminto kanen dakam’ amin sharing sharing. Naadalko pay about history in the Philippines dagidiay luglugar ti Pilipinas, dagidiay banuar diay Pilipinas. Kankanta dagidiay Sakadas. First time pay la a nangnengeko maipanggep kadagit nagkakauna nga Ilokano ditoy Hawaii’. 

Ammotayo nga ti nagkakauna ti Pilipino nga immay ditoy Hawai’i ket dagiti Sakada. So no ammonto dagiti sumaruno nga henerasion nga ti immuna a Pilipino ket Ilokano. Isu a dapat a lagipenda ken no awan dagiti Sakada awanda koma met ditoy isu a dapat nga ammoda ti agsao ti Ilokano. Tapno i-pass passmo ta culturemo. Like next generation isuronto met dagiti annakmo tapno di mapukaw ti panagsaom nga ilokano. Tapno ammomto nga isuro dalyta saandanton a makasao iti Ilokano handanton nga ammo no naggapgapuan ti parentsda dagiti naggapuan ti roots ti familyda.

Proudnak nga Ilokano ta ammok nga ti Ilokano ket nagagaget hardworkerda ti Ilokano ken nasasayat ti Ilokano.

Matatagaineppko diay apongko no dadduma. Agbombombaak kano diay and then idiay balaymi kasarsaritanak ni apongko. And then ni apongko natayen kasarsaritanak kano a kasla lang tay inka agidutdot ti manoken sa adda linutona nga manok. Diak ammo basta adda linutona a manok inka agdaydiay apongko so natay diay apongkon matatagaineppko no dadduma.

The Value of Education


“No awan ti adalmo, awan ti papanan nga direksion ti biagmo,” imbaga dagiti memestro ken memestrak nga ditoy Amerika. Importante ti adda edukadona. Ngem ditoy ngamin narigat ti biagmo no foreverka a kas awan no ti educationmo saanka a makalpas ti school. Kasi ditoy ngamin America, ket like mabalin uray no dika agbasan, agubra ka lattan depende no kayatmo daydiay a job no kayatmo ti medyo ngumato no kayatmo met ti napinpintas nga ubra and talaga a napintas ti education ta dayta education awan ti makaala.

Maybe addaaktun ti medical fielden as a nursing or tatta ngami adu ti pampanunotek no ania ti alak. I can see myself nga by working hard, study focused – adda papanak.

Being Filipino American?


American side of me? Kayatko met ti America. Isuna lang ngamin ti America, you need to be makifit-inka ditoy. Makibagayka kaniada and everything. Ta kasi, sabali ti panagar-arwatda ken sabali ti style da ken sabali met ti style ti Filipino. I think some of the Americans, if they see you like..no makitadaka nga sabali ti badom or like no kasla lang sabali ti panagkitada kaniam eh dagiti dadduma haandaka kayat a kasarita. “Dimo kasarsarita dayta “FOB” like that kunada kaniam.


Kabainnansa ti agsao ti Ilokano.
Adda latta dagidiay tattao a kasdiay. Maybe naimpluensia kadagiti friendsda. Something like that ta influence ngamin dayta ta no naimpluesiam ti padam a tao, ay dika agsasaoka ti kasta ta kabadain like that…kasta sabaliamon.

So uray ta bus stop ta public places, agsoka latta ti Ilokano. Apay? Uneg ti bus or dagita restawran, dagita fancy restawran, agsaoda ti English, uray Amerikano dagita kaab-abaymo, this is a free country. You can talk any language you like.
APPENDIX K

THE STORY OF NAMNAMA

I see myself as a teacher. But back then, before I got myself into Teacher’s Academy, in junior year, I had no intention whatsoever in becoming a teacher. I hated my teacher, so I didn’t want to become a teacher. But I entered teaching academy. Like the reason why I chose teaching academy was just to get out campus. But like after that, seeing my students look up to me, it was just like good feeling cuz, yeah, I hated my teachers so I didn’t want to become a teacher.

When I first came, I was really bad, to be honest. I was really bad. I didn’t want to go to school. Like, I just wanted to be surrounded with drugs and then now that teacher academy kind of changed my life. To be honest, it had cuz like the teachers just motivated me to come to school and especially my students and yeah, really made me become a better person today.

A Rough Childhood

I was born in Cadaratan, Bacarra, Ilocos Norte. I lived there for seven years. When I was living there, the houses were junk. They are almost falling down. My house has five bedrooms. I was surrounded with family members. I grew up with my dad and my maternal grandparents. My mother came to Hawai‘i when I was two years. Pinetionan ni manangna (She was petitioned by her sister).

Growing up with my dad, I was surrounded with drugs. He kept drinking shabu when I was three years old. He went fishing and he sell ‘em. My grandparents didn’t know about the drug use because he wouldn’t do it in the house. He would go somewhere to do it.

Yeah, it was me and my nephew did ‘em, cuz I was daddy’s girl and he was daddy’s boy, so like we’re always together every time my dad and his dad go out. So they used to do shabu and stuff so we would always follow them and they would let us try it.

I didn’t know I had a mother. I didn’t know my real mom cuz my dad was surrounded with different girls. The girl he was with, I thought that was my mom so I called her mom. My [real] mom found out that my dad had an affair with someone in Bacarra. His family found out and then they told my mom, and my mom came down. And as soon as we found out that she’s here, he ran away in the taltalon. My dad, and the lady, and then me, and we ran in the taltalon. I was like…”Why are we running?” I don’t even know that person I was running away from. We eventually got caught from the police of the barangay officers. And then that’s why I came here before my dad cuz I was running away. I was like six years old.

Ilokano was my first language. I went to Bituen Elementary School. Like, you know that coconut thing? If you don’t do your work or you don’t do your homework, had this mean
teacher, she--you know the coconut thing? And the ruler thing? I experienced the slapping because I didn’t do my work.

Then I got transferred to Manila when I was six. Once my mom captured me from running away, she automatically transferred me to Manila in Caloocan with her brother’s wife.

I went to school in Manila. They taught Tagalog and English. I don’t know. It was really hard cuz I didn’t really know much of Tagalog. I just knew of the basics and I got there a week later. I caught on into the language. My uncle is Ilokano but he had a hard time speaking to me in Ilokano cuz he didn’t even know much.

_The Shadow of My Childhood Followed Me to Hawai‘i_

I came here when I was seven. I came here with my mom. I was crying cuz I didn’t wanna leave without my dad. Cuz I was so attached with my dad and it was just emotional for me to leave without him because I’ve never been separated from him before. My mom forbid me to see my dad. And then I was crying at the airport cuz I didn’t say bye to any of my family members except the ones in Manila. So it was just emotional, so yeah.

I got out of the airport. I was like, “How come so clean? How come there’s only white people?” And then, as I rode in the car, I was pretty surprised of how the city looks, like how clean it was and yeah…

We stayed at my mom’s sister house in Leiolani Road in Lugar. The house was big before, but now it’s bigger. It has 13 or 14 bedrooms. More than 15 are staying there. Agrenrentada (They were renting). Two of my auntie’s siblings were staying upstairs.

Next door to us is like my cousins. And then next door was where I found my best friend in elementary. So I still hang out and stuff and still talk but when we get to high school, like everything changed cuz different academies and stuff.

It was really welcoming to me cuz I guess I was really attached with my dad and they wanted me to be attached with my mom cuz she was the one that brought me here and just be thankful but I wasn’t cuz I wanted my dad to be with me.

When I came here, my relatives spoke to me in Tagalog. The place that I left was Manila so I carried it on with me. Even my mom spoke to me in Tagalog. She’s Ilokano but she speaks to me in Tagalog. It’s like natural to her.

_Having A Rough Time in School_

I started in 3rd grade at Akamai Elementary School. My teacher was one asshole. Everytime we not listen, she always grabbed the rope and she’d tell us: “You guys see that tree outside? I’ll hang you guys.” She was just mean. She scared the heck out of me cuz I didn’t want to go to school cuz the way she treated me. I didn’t like.
Dr. Beltran was my ESL teacher. She was really welcoming to me. She knew my mom like a friend. It was like she was the one that told me and encouraged me to come to school and just don’t listen to others cuz it doesn’t really matter. So, she was my inspiration. She spoke to me in Tagalog. As I kept going there, she keeps talking to me in English and I just caught on. My cousins and some-people that were born here were in my ESL class. I don’t know, cuz like the parents [of the local born] keep talking to them in Ilokano, or in foreign language. It’s hard for them to speak or understand English.

In 6th grade, I got suspended before graduation. I got suspended because my friend brought a BB gun, and then, I just I wanted to see. And then I just saw it, and then the principal saw me with the BB gun. So I got in trouble for it.

I always got detention in middle school because I cut class. I didn’t enjoy my teachers cuz they were A-holes. Like it’s the way they treat students is not fair. My mom couldn’t help me with my homework. “Can you go tutoring?,” she would say. From this day on, she doesn’t know how to talk. It’s just hard for her to talk in straight English. She didn’t know what was going on with me. She didn’t have a cell phone back then. I was home and I always disconnect the telephone cord.

In 7th grade, I was suspended for smoking weed. I was peer pressured. It was during period C. They pressured me. “Oh lets smoke weed. Let’s go.” I was afraid cuz I never tried smoking weed before or any type of drugs besides in the Philippines and my dad. So they kept pressuring me and pressuring me to cut class and plus, I didn’t like my class so I cut class. So, they pressured me to smoke weed and marijuana, and I just did. I was suspended for 5 days. My mom didn’t know about it.

I was failing in 8th grade. I was failing my Math cuz you know how some Math teachers they don’t really explain well. They expect you to know it already. But you ask for help, but they tell you, “Oh, just look at your notes.”

Freshman year, I was scared to come to school cuz like hearing all of those fights and stuff. I was like really scared and those big Samoans. Freshman year, I never even like go school. You know Mr. Smith? I cut his class for the whole 3rd term. Ms. Ota would always call my mom cuz now she has a cell phone.

My mom would ask me why am I cutting school, why am I not doing good in school? I was doing good in elementary and middle school. Why high school? I just told her I was hanging around with the wrong crowd. So that point she could understand.

My relationship with my mother was not good at all. I had no communication, no bond, nothing. At home, it’s just normal, like I see you. We don’t eat together. We go out together only when we go to church and stuff.

Sophomore year, I liked my class. Like, I had arts and communication classmates so it was pretty good. My teachers was chill. You know Mr. Matsumoto? He was the one who
inspired me to come school cuz his behavior. He was a cool teacher. He’d swear at you, you can swear back at him. So that’s why I liked his class.

Sophomore year was hard cuz my mom is not always home. She’s always at work having double jobs. She’s a nursing assistant, CAN. She just quit her other one. So before, she was doing double job. She was doing double job since my junior year. She had DAIE and Jack-in-the-Box.

She said she works so hard because she wants me to have a better future, go to colleges. But I guess, like last year, she had to use the money for my college cuz my grandpa died. Cuz you know how all the family members, all the siblings had to chip in? So my uncle, her brother, the one that’s living here, never give share, so my mother and my aunty had to put a lot of money.

Returning to Cadaratan

So we all went home. That was my first vacation of my nine years. It was very emotional cuz I didn’t recognize the place where I was born. Like, had get rocks now. It’s not dirt. Like there’s cements and there’s stoplights. Seeing my grandma was a relief because I haven’t seen her for nine years and I wish I saw my grandpa, though. Since I was taken away from my dad, I was taken away from all of my family members. Like I had no contact whatsoever with the Philippines until junior year.

I stayed there for a month. I used Ilokano, but not fluent. Like I still hesitate of what to say and those were the times that I didn’t use my grammar correctly. I was just reintroducing myself to my cousins, and like what happened, and how did my grandpa passed away and stuff. It was hard for me not to speak in English because for nine years I’ve been speaking English my whole life. Like it was really hard for me to not speak English again so I tried my best to [speak in Ilokano]. Like my cousin would always tell me, “Don’t use this grammar, cuz it doesn’t make sense.” So he was the one that corrected me. So, I caught on from my grandma and my grandma could speak English cuz she was here. My grandpa and grandma was here before. I don’t know how many years.

This was also the first time when my parents first talked in nine years. I was, like somewhat hard for me cuz I couldn’t imagine how my dad’s face would look like cuz I didn’t really see him and I had no contact whatsoever. Like right now, no more phone calls, so, like once I saw him, it was just relieved. Like “Ho, this is my first time seeing you.”

I talked to him how I wanted my family back together. He said, “Wen anakko, ngem agsaritakami kendi mamam pay lang no kayatna.” (Yes, my child, but your mom and I will talk if she still wants to.) So they talked. It was a breakdown for me cuz I didn’t like when my aunty, my dad’s sister, brought me to him. I was like, “Where’s my dad?” But he was there. He was like one old man, like cuz I didn’t see him. So I was like, “Where is he?” And my aunty was like, “He’s in front of you.” And then, yeah.
My family members in the Philippines, in my mom’s side, they didn’t want us to go to Batac cuz they hated my dad for leaving my mom for another girl. And then we had to libas (escape) from my family member saying we going to Robinson. But we went to Batac to see my dad. And then my aunty them found out that we went there. Once we got home, it was like trouble cuz it was my grandpa’s, you know that nine day prayer? And then my mom and my aunty was fighting, like, “Why do you want to go back to him? He cheated on you. It’s not you the one supposed to. He the one supposed to come apologize to you, not you going to him.”

My mom told me that they decided to get back with each other. It was overwhelming cuz, like, between those nine years, my mom kept telling me, “I don’t want to go back to your dad. Your dad stupid.” Like you know that hatred thing? Cuz he hurted her so she feels really bad.

When we came back to Hawai’i, my mom filed the petition paper, and then he came. Like their relationship was throughout the years was good, and then a year after, my uncle died. My mom’s brother, oldest brother, died. So all of us went home again. We had to spend money again.

*(Re)learning Ilokano*

I signed up for Ilokano because I wanted to learn my language back. Cuz honestly, I forgot it.

It like really taught me how to not be ashamed like your culture cuz it will always stay with you no matter what. And like, really taught me a valuable lesson. Cuz before I got into this class, I was shame to actually say, “I’m taking Ilokano” to my friends cuz they would tease you like, “Oh, you’re FOB.”

And then, once I got out of Ilokano I, I was really proud. So like when we did your dramafest thing, I wasn’t shame. To me, nothing was scary. It was just the fact of feeling like you’re being watched. But like, cuz I’m in teaching academy, I’m used to people watching cuz we do a lot of presentation. So it wasn’t really a big deal for me so it was good. And I communicate well with others. Yeah, they (friends’ parents) talk to me in Ilokano. Like I talk stories with them. Like, oh, they compliment me like I’m better than their child, like I speak better. It feels good cuz, like, I actually got something out of Ilokano. Like I didn’t expect learning my language back. I had no intention of learning my language back cuz I was shame back then. Cuz the people that I’m surrounded with, like the 2011 class, is just very disrespectful. Like hella disrespectful. Like, oh, if you do this, they going hate you forever kinda thing.

She (my mom) was really happy, cuz I didn’t know. Like everytime she talked to me in Ilokano, I didn’t know what she would say. She would always have to translate it and like say it again. Like she was really happy cuz I’m learning her language and my language.
Finding My Motivation in the Teacher Academy

I see myself as a teacher, but back then, before I got myself into Teacher’s Academy in junior year, I had no intention whatsoever in becoming a teacher. I hated my teacher so I didn’t want to become a teacher. But I entered teaching academy. Like the reason why I chose teaching academy was just to get out campus. But, like after that, seeing my students look up to me, it was just like good feeling cuz, yeah, I hated my teachers, so I didn’t want to become a teacher.

When I first came, I was really bad. To be honest, I was really bad. I didn’t want to go to school. Like I just wanted to be surrounded with drugs and then now that teacher academy kind of changed my life. To be honest, it had cuz like the teachers just motivated me to come to school and especially my students and yeah, really made me become a better person today.

He [Mr. Coloma] talks to me as if I’m one of the teachers. Like, he treats his students fair. Not like other teachers, like “Oh, I choose you because you’re getting one A.” But I was getting one F from him and he motivated me to go to class cuz like I just didn’t like school before. He told me his experiences like he didn’t want to become a teacher, too, but he wanted to be a lawyer. But before he had that incident of becoming a lawyer…because you know when you back up someone? He was just bitching at Mr. Coloma, like “Fuck this.” So he majored in teaching. He actually loves it. Like his first year, he likes or loves seeing students, and he just wants to make a difference in people’s lives.

When I first met my students, I looked forward to seeing them everyday and helping them have a good future in life. But there was this one boy that stuck a middle finger at me because I didn’t want to help him in that test and I couldn’t and I just kept rereading it to him. He couldn’t really understand cuz he just came from the Philippines. So I had to talk to him in Ilokano, and that’s why I’m thankful I took Ilokano because I use it, like, for my students. Like they have a hard time talking in English, understanding English, so I use that language to help them out and they actually learn something. But that one boy stuck that middle finger at me. I was really mad. Like, what did I do? What did I do wrong? Like, why’d you do that? But the teachers tell me that it’s normal and I guess they want that attention and like he wants to be helped and stuff.

When other schools say Nakem is bad and like their teaching skill is not good, to be honest, the students work harder than other students. Like I see that cuz even though they give us a lot of classes that we can fail, at least a lot of students graduate on time. So not like other schools. Like they get short classes and they can’t make it up.
## APPENDIX L

### Observation Protocol

(Adapted from Creswell, 1998, p. 129)

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<th>Descriptive Notes</th>
<th>Reflective Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX M

Glossary of Selected Ilokano Words and Concepts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ilokano</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agtutubo</td>
<td>youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amianan</td>
<td>north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arte</td>
<td>art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burnay</td>
<td>jar made of clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dap-ayan</td>
<td>assembly place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eskuela</td>
<td>school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasat</td>
<td>fortune; luck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gundaway</td>
<td>opportunity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imigrante</td>
<td>imigrante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inabel</td>
<td>hand-woven Ilokano fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabagian</td>
<td>relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaka</td>
<td>elder brother or sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kallautang</td>
<td>wandering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karayan</td>
<td>river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komunidad</td>
<td>community</td>
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<tr>
<td>laing</td>
<td>wisdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>linglingay</td>
<td>amusement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lung-aw/lung-aw</td>
<td>the Ilokano god-goddess of prosperity and progress/reference to breathing with ease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manang</td>
<td>term of respect for elder sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manong</td>
<td>term of respect for elder brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marunggay</td>
<td>horse-radish tree (<em>moringa oleifera</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nakem</td>
<td>consciousness; intellect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namnama</td>
<td>hope</td>
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<tr>
<td>nanakman</td>
<td>sensible; matured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakasaritaan</td>
<td>history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pannakikadua</td>
<td>peer relationship; interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parbangon</td>
<td>dawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parbangon</td>
<td>dawn</td>
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<tr>
<td>rimat</td>
<td>gleam; sparkle</td>
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<tr>
<td>saguway</td>
<td>grace; good quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saluyot</td>
<td>the jute or Jew’s mallow (<em>corchorus oliturius</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saringit</td>
<td>shoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarita</td>
<td>story</td>
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<tr>
<td>saritaan</td>
<td>talking story</td>
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<tr>
<td>sukisok</td>
<td>research</td>
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<tr>
<td>taeng</td>
<td>home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tampipi</td>
<td>a kind of large rectangular basket with flat sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tungtungan</td>
<td>conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayawayaya</td>
<td>independence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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