Filipino Meal Patterns in the United States of America

by

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ABSTRACT

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Meal patterns of Filipino immigrants in the United States were investigated to determine the prevailing meal structure and traditional meal content of Filipino Americans. Filipino food availability and the esteem held for the Filipino cultural food were also examined as factors influencing the prevailing meal patterns. For the purpose of the study, a 50-item questionnaire was distributed to 300 first-generation Filipinos in Greater Chicago Area/Illinois who were recruited utilizing the snowball technique. The results of the study were based on the responses of 267 subjects who were predominantly female (67%), middle aged (median age = 47) and highly educated. Their median number of years of residency in the US is 17 years. The findings revealed traditional Filipino meal structures and suggests Filipino American meal content in the current consumption patterns of the respondents. It was revealed that Filipino food availability was a factor for the eating of Filipino type of meals. The esteem for cultural food, on the other hand, was found to have no association with Filipino food consumption.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Filipinos are currently the fourth largest immigrant group and second largest Asian population in the United States (US). Documented studies indicate that they blend well into mainstream U.S. culture. Because of their prior experience as a U.S. colony, Filipinos are no strangers to life in this foreign land. This American orientation has equipped Filipinos with acculturation processes contrary to their other Asian counterparts (Espiritu, 2002). This western background does not exempt them from dietary conflicts to which they apparently also had to adopt, leaving them with a novel food sub-culture.

This manuscript documents the acculturated meal patterns of the Filipinos in the US. It focuses on Filipino American meal content and meal structure, and discusses the relationship of these two meal pattern components with Filipino food availability and Filipino Americans' esteem for their cultural food. It demonstrates the possible retention and reduction of traditional staples, non-staple dishes and flavoring ingredients in the meals of the said immigrant population.

Statement of the Problem

Filipinos have been generally characterized as highly adaptable to new cultural contexts being integrating and assimilating types of individuals (Bonus, 2000; Reynolds, 1971). That is, they tend to fuse cultures to create acceptable socio-cultural environments. It is intriguing to realize just how many of Filipino original traditions and customs are retained in their process of integrating cultures. Much more interesting is how the Filipino traditional meal patterns remained or changed to give way to prevailing consumption patterns in the U.S.; and, what forces pushed or pulled them into the said patterns.

Meal patterns, the aggregate of meal content, structure and cycle, offer a substantial amount of information as a contributor of nutriture and as a segment of culture (Katz, 2003). Meal patterns are functions of several elements combined, not excluding factors of migratory dietary changes. Food availability is one factor always linked with food choice. It describes the pool of food resources individuals choose from, contend with or adapt to. The esteem held for one's own cultural food is another factor responsible for consumption. This esteem for cultural food has been singled out from among other forces influencing food utilization (i.e., nutrition or health education, food taboos, religious dietary prohibitions, body image, food preparation skills and more) because of its potential superseding effects over other food utilization factors.

Together, food availability and the esteem for cultural food are hypothesized to be the premier deciding factors for the pursuance of traditional or prevailing meal patterns among immigrant populations. It is in this regard that a study on the Filipino meal patterns with the emphasis on these influences is deemed necessary.

The Filipino immigrant population in the U.S. is one of the least studied groups in the country (Espiritu and Wolf, 2001). Their food and food culture in particular remain familiar but not closely examined. Literature is scarce regarding this subject matter. An attempt such as this study is just the initial thread that needs to be continued to build knowledge on immigrant Filipino food culture.

Purpose of the Study

This study was conducted to discover Filipino meal patterns in the U.S. setting. It identified Filipino food availability influences on the prevailing meal patterns. Additionally, the study described the significance of Filipino cultural food among immigrants in the US in the attempt to gauge esteem held for Filipino cultural food and this esteem's influence on the meal patterns.

In summary, the specific objectives of the research were:

1. To characterize the U.S. based Filipinos' meal structure
2. To identify the traditional Filipino food items eaten in the US and the frequency of their consumption
3. To describe the perception of Filipino respondents regarding the Filipino and/or American nature of their typical food fare
4. To identify the relationships of the respondents' demographic information with their Filipino food consumption and cuisine sharing
5. To enumerate sources and strategies for the procurement of Filipino foods in Illinois
6. To identify the relationship between perceptions on Filipino food availability and cuisine sharing with Filipino food consumption
7. To describe the significance of Filipino and American foods upheld by respondents

This undertaking was pursued for the enrichment of understanding both Filipino immigration and Filipino food and nutrition studies. The results may be used as bases for a) health and nutrition assessment and intervention studies, b) Filipino food marketing plans or strategies in the US, and c) Filipino food culture preservation and enrichment.

Nutrition and health insights from the study may benefit both American and Filipino nutrition governing bodies. Filipino meal patterns not only reflect dietary intake but also cultural food practices that have significant bearing on nutrition. Knowledge of Filipino meal patterns among U.S. based nutrition and health professionals may help in improving the health of one of the fastest growing immigrant populations, especially since certain groups of Filipino Americans have been reported to have increased risks for non-insulin dependent diabetes mellitus, heart diseases, stroke, renal diseases, endometrial cancer, breast cancer (Cuasay et al., 2001; Goodman

et al. as cited by Ishihara et al., 1999; Bernstein et al., 1991; Araneta as cited by Clark, 1999; Doyle, 1996). Filipino meal patterns in the Philippine setting are also in the process of getting more westernized and global. Cultural comparisons provide valuable lessons for more appropriate nutrition education, nutrition policies and cultural-clinical interventions.

Studies on meal patterns after migration offer a wealth of information for consumer researchers (i.e., marketers) who seek marketing opportunities (Hui et al., 1992). The study may demonstrate Filipino consumer satisfaction with current Filipino food sellers and in the process may be a resource for Filipino food marketers who wish to identify needs and corresponding profitable products. Lastly, this study's scrutiny of meal patterns will document and will hopefully divulge both food and non-food cultural patterns that may enrich current knowledge on Filipino culture and assist in promoting Filipino culture.

Assumptions of the Study

This study is one of the few research studies of migratory Filipino meal patterns. As it was not feasible for the investigator to cover all 80 ethnic-linguistic groups of the immigrant culture, the Tagalog group was selected (Fernandez, 1994). The Tagalogs are the largest ethnic group in the Philippines, coming from Central Luzon, Southern Tagalog and National Capital regions of the country. They are documented as portraying the typical Filipino more than any other ethnic group (Pobre, 1978). This Tagalog requirement among the study participants was expanded to include non-Tagalog born individuals who have acquired the Tagalog culture through activities such as migration, marriage and work relocation.

Definition of Terms

Acculturation. The "phenomena which results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups." (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits as cited by Trimble, 2003a, p. 6). The way members of a culture change as a result of exposure to another culture (Berry, 2003). Many anthropologists now prefer to use terms such as *adaptation* and *integration* to describe the interactions of immigrants with their host cultures (B. Bigony, personal communication, May 2, 2005).

Ancestry. The ethnic origin/heritage of a person which may reflect the place of birth, place of birth of parents or ancestors and ethnic identities (US Census Bureau as cited by Infoplease, n.d.).

Assimilation. The process whereby "one ethnic group absorbs another, so that the cultural traits of the assimilated group become indistinguishable." (Oregon State University, n.d., p. 16)

Core foods. The collective term for foods central to and distinguishing of a culture. They are a subset of a certain group's cultural food.

Dietary pattern. The collective term for "ordinary daily rounds of meals and snacks, as well as annual cycles of feasts and fast days" (United Nations University [UNU], n.d., ¶ 2). It is less broad compared to the term food habits.

Filipinization. The process of transferring Filipino characteristics to a foreign entity/practice

subsequently transforming the entity/practice into a Filipino one.

Filipino. A citizen of the South East Asian country, the Philippines. The word refers to both male and female.

Filipino American. A Filipino who is in the US as a permanent resident (Claudio-Perez, 1998). The individual may or may not be an American citizen.

Food culture. The term referring "to specific foods, cuisines, food habits and meals." (Jacobsen, n.d., ¶ 8)

Food fare. A collective term for food and drink.

Food habits. The collective term for "the ways in which humans use food, including how food is obtained and stored, how it is prepared, how it is served and to whom, and how it is consumed." (Kittler and Sucher, 2000, p.3)

Foodways. The collective term for "the customs, beliefs and practices surrounding the production, presentation and consumption of food" (Davey, 1993 as cited by Moravec, 2000, ¶ 1).

Ilocano. A Filipino originating from the Ilocos region of the Philippines.

Immigrant. A term used to refer to people from a given country coming into another country with the intention of becoming permanent residents (Bigony, B, personal communication, May 2, 2005). This term was used throughout this document to refer to the Filipinos in the US, including those with migrant residency status. This usage was adopted because Filipinos migrants in the US, in general, have intentions to stay in the US in the long term.

Income elasticity. "[T]he measure of the responsiveness of the quantity demanded of a good or service to a small change in income." (Bucknall, 2004, Income Elasticity Demand, ¶ 2)

Manilan. A Filipino originating from metropolitan Manila area of the Philippines.

Marginalization. The condition whereby "cultural identity is not maintained and contact with the receiving society is not sought" among migrants (Empirical Courses on Migration, n.d., Marginalization Definition, ¶ 1).

Meal patterns. The collective term for meal content (what is in a meal), meal structure, "the order in which meal elements are served, how many meals are eaten per day, and when" (Katz, 2003; McIntosh, 1995, p. 153).

Meal structure. A characteristic of a meal referring to its components (i.e., breakfast, lunch, supper) "taken against a background of rituals and assumptions" such as the necessary eating implements, other activities done during eating that are prescribed by the society and food contrasts (Katz, 2003, p. 462). This term was particularly used in this document to refer to the food components of each of the meals.

Migrant. "A person who moves regularly in order to find work" (Merriam-Webster Online, 2005, Migrant, ¶ 1).

Respondent. A first generation Filipino who has participated in the survey. He or she is Tagalog oriented, 20 years or older and a resident of Illinois, US for the last three years.

Separation. The condition where "[c]ultural identity is maintained and contact with the receiving society is not sought" among migrants (Empirical Courses on Migration, n.d., Separation Definition, ¶ 1).

Stateside. The term commonly used among Filipinos to refer to anything relating to or coming from the US.

Tagalog. A local of the Tagalog regions of the Philippines. The Tagalog regions include Central Luzon, National Capital and Southern Tagalog regions of the Philippines.

Urbanization. "The process by which cities grow or by which societies become more urban." (The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy as cited by Answers Website, n.d.).

Viand. The main meat, fish or vegetable dish accompanying boiled rice in Filipino meals.

Visayan. A Filipino originating from the Visayan regions of the Philippines.

Limitations of the Study

The researcher limited the investigation of meal patterns to the traditional Filipino food items eaten in the U.S. and the frequency of their consumption. This excluded a number of insightful and interesting trends such as the following: (a) foods omitted in their diet; (b) other foreign cuisines eaten; (c) meal service and etiquette; (d) seasonal, ceremonial and celebratory meal patterns; (e) ethnic subculture differences; and (f) the changes in their meal patterns in the U.S. through the years.

Furthermore, the researcher's study of the influences on the meal patterns was restricted to food availability and the esteem held on the Filipino food culture among the immigrants. The investigator omitted the other important food utilization influences such as menu planning and food purchasing responsibilities, food preparation skills, cooking implements essential to making Filipino meals, eating environments, and health and nutrition perceptions.

The primary methodological limitation was that the population studied was restricted to Filipinos residing in Illinois and was obtained through the snowball sampling technique. Illinois may have the third largest population of Filipinos in the US; however, it is still not sufficient to represent the entire Filipino population across the U.S. More so, the Filipino group studied was narrowed down to include only those with *Tagalog* orientation. This left out the several other ethno-linguistic groups of the country.

Further studies including the least to the densest Filipino populated states, in clusters or as a whole are deemed helpful. Also, the investigation of the other major Filipino ethnic group immigrants from the Philippines would supplement and enhance knowledge on Filipino meal patterns as whole.

Methodology

A cross-sectional descriptive method utilizing a survey was carried out by the researcher to obtain necessary qualitative and quantitative information. The survey involved first generation Filipinos, particularly those of Tagalog orientation, who have been residents of the U.S. for at least three years. The data collection was done in the state of Illinois, particularly in Lake, Cook and Du Page Counties. Filipino individuals or organizations in the said areas assisted the researcher in data collection. Data was collected during December 2004 and January 2005. The results of the survey were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Filipinos in the United States of America

The 2000 U.S. Census reported 1.8 million Filipinos inhabiting the United States (National Federation of Filipino American Associations [NAFFAA], 1998-2002). Such large numbers position them as the second largest Asian population and also the fourth largest immigrant group in the country (see Table 1).

The number of Filipinos in the country is expected to remain large as the US has been and still is the top destination of Filipino migrants seeking for greener pastures, opportunities and reunions with family members residing in the country (see Appendix A). Despite the population's significant size, little is known about Filipino Americans. According to Espiritu and Wolf (2001), they are understudied because of their homogeneity with mainstream culture (Espiritu and Wolf, 2001). Published materials regarding the Filipino immigrants of the West Coast and Hawaii are the predominant information sources available, nevertheless resources are still limited (Bergano and Kinney-Bergano, 1997).

Although studies of Asian Americans, singly or collectively, give indications of the unexplored aspects of Filipino American life, they are not sufficient to describe the intricacies of the former. Filipinos are geographically proximate to the other East Asian countries but culturally distinct. They have an odd Western orientation stemming from their colonization by the Spanish and the Americans (Espiritu, 1992). A few unequivocal manifestations of the Spanish influence include the Roman Catholic religion, traditions and architecture. The American contributions include their English lingua franca, U.S. style educational system,

Americanized values and aspirations (Espiritu, 2003). More on how Filipinos came to be what they are in the US are discussed in the following subsections.

Table 1

Top Ten Immigrant and Asian Population in the US

Top Immigrant Population, 2002[a]		Top Asian Population, 2000[b]	
Nationality	Number	Nationality	Number
1. Mexico	219,380	1. China, except Taiwan	2,734,841
2. India	71,105	2. Philippines	2,364,815
3. China, People's Republic	61,282	3. India	1,899,599
4. Philippines	51,308	4. Korea	1,228,427
5. Vietnam	33,627	5. Vietnam	1,223,736
6. El Salvador	31,168	6. Japan	1,148,932
7. Cuba	28,272	7. Other Asian countries	369,430
8. Bosnia-Herzegovina	25,373	8. Cambodia	206,052
9. Dominican Republic	22,604	9. Pakistan	204,309
10. Ukraine	21,217	10. Laos	198,203

Note. [a] From "Immigrants Admitted by Region and Top 20 Countries of Birth, 2002," by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services as cited by Infoplease Website, Retrieved 17 December 2004, from http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0908706.html. [b]From "U.S. Asian Population, 2000," by U.S. Census Bureau as cited by Infoplease Website, Retrieved 17 December 2004, from http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0778584.html.

The Filipino Immigration Story. The history of Filipino Americans may be summarized in four waves of immigration, each of which "has distinctive characteristics that reflect economic, social and political conditions not only in the nations of origin but also in the US." (Santos-Nacu, 1998, p.35-41) These four distinct waves are reflective of both opportunities and struggles that

the Filipino migrants enjoyed or labored through for more than a hundred years. These waves explain how the Filipino nationality ranked as the 23rd top ancestry of the U.S. population (Infoplease, n.d.).

The *Manilamen* initiated the first wave of Filipino migration. They were sailors who came to the country via the Spanish ships in 1763 during the Galleon Trade era. They escaped to Louisiana to free themselves from their Spanish colonizers' atrocities (Claudio-Perez, 1998). Other exiles and temporary workers who came to Alaska and Hawaii within the period 1763 to 1906 also comprised the first wave of Filipino immigrants (Kitano and Daniels, 1995). It is during this period, specifically in 1898, that the Philippines was ceded from the Spanish colonizers to the US government (Kim and Mejia, 1974). This marked the commencement of a lingering bittersweet Filipino-American relationship. The U.S. way of life was introduced and reinforced, be it in the government, schools, communities and even in the kitchens. U.S. history and culture were given emphasis in the educational system (Bonus, 2000).Though the new colonizers were not totally benevolent to the Filipinos, the latter learned to regard anything American as very superior. This colonial mentality continued on after the US' occupation of the Philippines in the 1940s and even after the withdrawal of U.S. bases from the country in the 1990s.

The second wave of immigrants included the *pensionados*, self-supporting students and laborers who came to the country from 1906 to 1934 (Kitano and Daniels, 1995). This group is actually referred to be part of the first wave by Vallangca (1977). The pensionados were Filipino students groomed to be future Philippine leaders. These were the children of elite families who were sent to US schools under government funding for further education. In contrast, the self-supporting students were from the non-wealthy classes. They came to the US, inspired by stories

of those who have gone before them and encouraged by their U.S. teachers. They sustained themselves by working as dishwashers, busboys, pantrymen, kitchen helpers, janitors, maintenance men, housemen, bedmakers, bellboys, elevator attendants, barbers and more. The prevailing discrimination during that era prevented them from seeking better jobs (Vallangca).

The laborers, the remaining group of the second wave, were primarily *Ilocanos*, *Visayans* and *Manilans* who were recruited to work in sugar plantations in Hawaii (Claudio-Perez, 1998; Bonus, 2000). Others were sent to San Francisco and Seattle as agricultural workers (Claudio-Perez). They were part of a big recruitment that was an offshoot of the Exclusion Act of 1924 which reduced the number of Japanese workers who were actually the cheap labor force for U.S. farms (Kim and Mejia, 1974).

The third wave of immigrants came to the US in the years 1945 to 1965. During this period, the Philippines was declared a commonwealth nation by way of the Tydings-McDuffie Act (1946). As a result of this Act, Filipino immigrants were no longer considered U.S. nationals but aliens and only 50 immigrants were allowed from the Philippines per year. Repatriation back to the Philippines was facilitated by the U.S. government (Kim and Mejia, 1974). Between the two waves, the Philippines became a combat site during World War II (WWII) (specifically in 1941-1942). American soldiers who fought in the Philippines ended up marrying and bringing their Filipina brides to the US. The War Brides Act enacted by the U.S. Congress in 1945, allowed the migration of Filipinos who have served the US and their dependents (Claudio-Perez, 1998). Thus, the third wave of immigrants turned out to be a large group of military personnel and their dependents. The said group of military personnel was a composite of Filipino war servicemen and U.S. Navy recruits (Claudio-Perez). Along with this group, students and workers (i.e.,

doctors, nurses, accountants, engineers and other professionals) immigrated to the US (Kitano and Daniels, 1995).

The fourth wave of immigration was from 1965 to the present (Kitano and Daniels, 1995). This was a result of the repeal of earlier established immigration quotas by way of the 1965 Immigration Act. According to Espiritu (2003), this Act paved the way for the Filipinos' being the second largest immigrant population in 1990. The Act encouraged several Filipinos, especially those who had a high regard for the US, to immigrate in the hope of improving their jobs, finances or standard of living. The Act allowed others to fly to the US for refuge during the Philippine's Martial Law period (Espiritu). A number of immigrants included in this wave were World War II Filipino veterans who missed the opportunity to immigrate during the 1940s (Claudio-Perez, 1998). Table 2 shows the consequential increase in Filipino born population in the US in the years succeeding 1970.

Table 2

Countries of Birth of the Foreign-Born Population in the US, 1970-2000

Rank	Leading Countries During Different Years			
	1970	1980	1990	2000
1	Italy 1,009,000	Mexico 2,199,000	Mexico 4,298,000	Mexico 7,841,000
2	Germany 833,000	Germany 849,000	China 921,000	China 1,391,000
3	Canada 812,000	Canada 843,000	Philippines 913,000	Philippines 1,222,000
4	Mexico 760,000	Italy 832,000	Canada 745,000	India 1,007,000
5	United Kingdom 686,000	United Kingdom 669,000	Cuba 737,000	Cuba 952,000
6	Poland 548,000	Cuba 608,000	Germany 712,000	Vietnam 863,000
7	Soviet Union 463,000	Philippines 501,000	United Kingdom 640,000	El Salvador 765,000
8	Cuba 439,000	Poland 418,000	Italy 581,000	Korea 701,000
9	Ireland 251,000	Soviet Union 406,000	Korea 568,000	Dominican Republic 692,000
10	Austria 214,000	Korea 290,000	Vietnam 543,000	Canada 678,000

Note. In general, countries as reported at each census. Data are not totally comparable over time due to changes in boundaries for some countries. Great Britain excludes Ireland. United Kingdom includes Northern Ireland. China in 1990 includes Hong Kong and Taiwan. From "Profile of the Foreign-Born Population in the United States," by the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau as cited by the Infoplease Website, Retrieved 17 December 2004, from http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0900547.html.

Filipino Communities in the Different States. California has been the number one destination of the Filipino migrants and immigrants alike, followed by Hawaii. Illinois is the third though its Filipino population does not come close to the first two states' (NAFFAA, 1998-2002). Table 3 lists the other seven top U.S. states of Filipino Americans (see Appendix B for complete listing).

Table 3

The Ten Largest Filipino Communities in the US

Filipino Americans in Each State	Number in 2000 Census
California	918,678
Hawaii	170,635
Illinois	86,298
New Jersey	85,245
New York	81,681
Washington	65,373
Texas	58,340
Florida	54,310
Virginia	47,609
Nevada	40,529

Note. From "Filipino Americans in Each State, "by the National Federation of Filipino American Associations, Retrieved 17 December 2004, from http://www.naffaa.org/census2000.

Chicago had been and still is the hub of Filipino Americans in Illinois or even in the Midwest just as it is home to a sizeable number of other immigrant populations. According to the Asian Pacific American Affairs (2001), Chicago is the "number one choice and destination of Asians and immigrants outside California and East Coast" (¶ 5). Evidently, pioneering waves of foreign immigrants who were able to establish themselves in Chicago served as magnets for succeeding migrants and immigrants, legal or not.

Filipinos in the city of Chicago currently number 28,423, which is one-third of the entire Filipino American population in Illinois, that is 86,298. The Chicago area plus the rest of the suburbs of Cook County make up for 63% of the Filipino Americans in Illinois. Locations with the greatest concentrations of Filipinos include the North and Northwest sides of Chicago, Skokie, Glendale Heights, North Chicago, Morton Grove, and Bolingbrook (Posadas, n.d.). Evidently, Chicago attracted migrants and immigrants not only to stay within it but also around it.

The 2000 U.S. Census reported that foreign born Filipino Americans comprise the majority of the Filipino American population in Illinois. Their estimated number is 62,050 (71.9%) as compared to the natives' estimated number of 24, 195 (see Table 4). Among the natives, 3,435 (14%) came from states other than Illinois; while among the foreign born, 61,752 (99.5%) were identified from Asia, presumably from the Philippines (American Factfinder, n.d.).

The large Filipino presence in Illinois had been in place for almost a hundred years. The existing community was initiated by the arrival of the *pensionados* or Filipinos who were sent to the US for schooling during the earlier years of US' occupation of the Philippines. The institutions that have been recipients of these scholars included State Normal School in DeKalb, Illinois, the University of Chicago, Lewis Institute, and Armour Institute in Chicago, the University of Illinois, the State Normal Schools at Normal and Macomb, and Dixon Business College. These pensionados have been immediately followed by other students who supported their own schooling and later on by the general population. It is for this group of immigrants why Filipinos in Illinois were associated to students rather than laborers, in contrast to the case of Filipinos in Hawaii and Alaska (Posadas, n.d). The present day Filipino American population in Illinois is still remarkably an educated group. Fifty percent of the Filipinos 25 years old or older are holders of bachelor's degrees followed by those who attended college without completing

degrees (15.8%), then by those who attained graduate or professional degrees (11.8%). Consequently, a large cluster of the population went into managerial and professional jobs predominantly in the educational, health and social service industries. These job placements may explain the $50,000 to 74,999 income bracket that a large portion of the Filipino households (24.8%) earns in a year (American Factfinder, n.d.). Table 5 lists the socio-economic characteristics of Illinois' Filipino population

Table 4

Nativity and Place of Birth of Filipino Americans in Illinois

Nativity	Number	Percent
Native[a]	24,195	28.1
Born in United States	23,270	27.0
State of residence	19,835	23.0
Different state	3,435	4.0
Born outside United States	925	1.1
Foreign born[a]	62,050	71.9
Entered 1990 to March 2000	22,989	26.7
Naturalized citizen	37,691	43.7
Not a citizen	24,359	28.2
Region of Birth of Foreign Born[b]		
Europe	44	0.1
Asia	61,752	99.5
Africa	21	0.0
Oceania	35	0.1
Latin America	150	0.2
Northern America	48	0.1

Note. Data based on a sample.

[a]Based on a total population of 86,245. [b] Based on a population of 62,050 which excludes those born at sea. From "Profile of Selected Social Characteristics in Each State," by the American Factfinder, Retrieved 26 January 2005, from http://www.factfinder.census.gov (see complete http address in reference section).

Table 5

Socio-economic Profile of Filipino Americans in Illinois

Characteristic	Number	Percent
Employment Status[a]		
In labor force	50,778	71.7
Civilian labor force	50,367	71.1
Employed	48,591	68.6
Unemployed	1,776	2.5
Armed Forces	411	0.6
Not in labor force	20,088	28.3
Occupation[b]		
Management, professional, and related occupations	24,314	50.0
Service occupations	5,874	12.1
Sales and office occupations	12,201	25.1
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	9	0.0
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations	1,300	2.7
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations	4,893	10.1
Income in 1999[c]		
Less than $10,000	953	3.7
$10,000 to $14,999	538	2.1
$15,000 to $24,999	1,211	4.7
$25,000 to $34,999	1,883	7.3
$35,000 to $49,999	3,717	14.4
$50,000 to $74,999	6,426	24.8
$75,000 to $99,999	4,706	18.2
$100,000 to $149,999	4,588	17.7
$150,000 to $199,999	1,024	4.0
$200,000 or more	846	3.3
Per capita income (dollars)	25,616	(X)

Note. Data based on a sample.

[a]Based on a 70,866 population of individuals 16 years old and older. [b]Based on a 48,591 employed civilian population, 16 years and over. [c]Based on a 25,892 total households. From "Profile of Selected Social Characteristics in Each State," by the American Factfinder, Retrieved 26 January 2005, from http://www.factfinder.census.gov.

The different waves of Filipino immigrants, despite their distinct features, gave rise to a diverse collection of Filipino American individuals. Intermarriages of old and recent immigrants created descendants with varied mixes of nationality, provincial origin, religion, education, occupation and economic status. Commonalities in affiliation, activities and interests among

Filipinos created several organizations including those already existing in the Philippines. To date, there are various alumni, civic/cultural, professional, religious and provincial/regional organizations. For example, currently operating in Illinois are the University of the Philippines' Nursing Alumni Association of the Midwest, the *Samahang Kapatid*, the Ateneo USA Alumni, the Pintig Cultural Group and the Laguna Association of the Midwest Incorporated. Though these organizations have many members, they are not enumerative of the entire Filipino population in Illinois.

Adaptations to Their New-found Home. Filipinos in the US, whether in Chicago or elsewhere, gear towards "making it" in the foreign country they came to know as their own. Making it does not only mean paying the bills and raising the kids, but also making it through conflicts of discrimination and cultural adaptation. Problems of discrimination have mellowed since the cooperation of Filipinos with Americans during the Second World War. Posadas (n.d.) stated that prior to the cooperation, discrimination "shaped their lives on a daily basis, determining the jobs that were open to them, the buildings and the neighborhoods in which they could live"(¶ 9). Filipinos were said to have maintained their cultural practices as a way of securing support (Parrenas, 2000). Filipino Americans of the mid-1920s to 1930s chose to uphold their culture to show "national pride and solidarity, not…of racial superiority" (Vallangca, 1977, p 5). This mechanism was especially true among first generation immigrants, which according to Bonus (2000) worked to "establish a distinguishing ethos or to mitigate the anxieties they feel in a strange land among unfamiliar and different people." (¶ 23-24) They have expanded their circle of relatives to include more people that can help in watching each other (Parrenas). Filipino American groups were organized; Filipino restaurants or grocery stores became their refuge (Espiritu, 2003).

These adaptations could have been the most practical course of action for Filipinos as they were mobile individuals who went where the opportunities were. Unlike the Chinese or other immigrants, they did not settle in one area to have the support of a big Filipino community (Vallangca, 1977). As mentioned earlier, Filipinos are different from their Asian counterparts by way of their preparedness for U.S. culture (Bonus, 2000). Their culture's similarity to that of US and their individual intercultural experiences largely affected their acculturation (Berry, 2003).

Reynolds (1971) identified acculturation as a function of several factors such as (a) reasons and extent of the cultural contact, (b) social values and (c) cultural selectivity. Acculturation has its behavioral and attitudinal components. It takes the forms: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization (Berry, 2003). Filipinos in the US have been examined to take the forms: integration and assimilation (Bonus, 2000; Reynolds, 1971). Integration "means equal participation and at the same time preservation of one's own identity, religion and culture" (European Reintegration Network, n.d., ¶ 19). In the integration process, cultural groups "select portions of a dominant or contributing culture that fit their original worldview and, at the same time, strive to retain vestiges of their traditional culture" (Trimble, 2003, ¶ 7).

Integration is the unconscious coping mechanism of Filipinos who want to maintain their cultural identity and heritage, despite their intentions of being considered Americans (Berry, 2003; Bonus, 2000). Meanwhile, the high regard for anything American among the Filipinos attracts them to becoming Americans themselves. They try to get rid of characteristics that set them distinct from the mainstream culture (i.e., being stereotyped as maids, exotic, etc.). They follow American accents, intonations and slang; they tune in to U.S. pop culture and, they utilize common American household appliances and more (Bonus). By these ways Filipinos start the process of assimilation, which is the process where "one ethnic group absorbs another, so that the

cultural traits of the assimilated group become indistinguishable." (Oregon State University, n.d., p. 16) Berry described assimilation as a tendency of individuals or cultures that have a "weak sense of collective efficacy for one's own group and a weak in-group network." (p.35) This true assimilation will only be attained several generations after the first generation immigrants (Trimble, 2003).

Reynolds (1971) further describes Filipinos as having undergone "acceptant" and "relatively unbalanced" acculturation, and "partial assimilation" (p. 29) which led to the creation of a new Filipino subculture. He defined "acceptant acculturation" as the "general receptivity on the part of one people to change in the direction of the other" (p. 26). By saying "relatively unbalanced", he was referring to acculturation whereby one culture was exerting dominance over the other.

The previous section gave a backgrounder on the Filipinos in the US, their profile, their history of immigration and their non-dietary adaptations. The next section provides a discussion on meal patterns, which is a prerequisite in the investigation of Filipino Americans' meal patterns.

Dynamics of Meal Patterns

This section describes what meal patterns are and provides a brief theoretical background on how food availability and cultural factors largely affect the former. It also demonstrates the resistance and vulnerability of meal patterns when subjected to foreign culture exposure. Factors of dietary change responsible for the dietary alterations, which induce simultaneous changes on meal patterns, have been identified but were focused on certain cultural constituents. Towards the end of this section, the manifestations of the changes experienced by other immigrant populations were described.

Meal Pattern Scope and Definition. The examination of meal patterns is a complex activity as the coverage of meal patterns is very large (Meiselman and Bell, 2003). Other than dealing with what makes up the meal, meal patterns include the "accepted elements of a meal, the order in which these elements are served, how many meals are eaten per day, and when (McIntosh, 1995, p. 153)." Also associated with meal patterns are the specific foods that comprise certain meals, the person in charge of the meals, the manner in which the meals are prepared and served, the end-users of the meal and the dining environment (i.e., co-diners)(McIntosh, 1995). Given its relative definition and comprehensive scope, the word *meal patterns* is at times used interchangeably with the terms dietary patterns, food habits, foodways and food culture. These terms overlap in their scope.

Food Availability, Cultural Factors and Meal Patterns. Meal patterns, as a fraction of the whole food system, are a function of two related and complicated components: (a) the material and (b) the cultural components (Pelto and Vargas, 1992). Pelto and Vargas describe the material component as comprising of food availability and accessibility factors such as production, procurement, transportation, storage, preparation and consumption. The cultural component consists of food related beliefs and attitudes of certain groups. Elements of both components work together creating indefinite effects on food choices (Southgate,1996). The availability of food is thought to predict what an individual or group may choose to consume. Nevertheless, the cultural component is claimed to be the ultimate determinant of the choice of food (Southgate; Axelson, 1986). The claim is backed with the reasoning that changes observed in foods consumed may not all be explained by the availability of food or by the socio-economic characteristics of individuals. Income and food expenditures prove to have no strong association,

especially in the US where food is abundant and relatively inexpensive. Furthermore, whatever changes occur in the type of food used may not alter existing eating patterns (Axelson, 1986).

Cultural factors guide individuals into following "socially standardized activities", which includes socially standardized food practices (Axelson, 1986, p. 345). Food beliefs, attitudes, superstitions, taboos and other cultural elements may narrow down further what foods are available for consumption and what should be appropriately included in the meal. The different roles and meanings attached to food may also largely affect eating patterns.

Immigration and Meal Pattern Changes. Dietary change is a constant experience of all societies (Southgate, 1996). It is one phenomenon evident or anticipated in immigrant populations. It is actually one of the strings of acculturative events occurring as a result of exposure to foreign cultures (Goetz, 2003). Diet, which makes up the bulk of a group's meal patterns, has been studied and found to have significant associations with different levels of acculturation. Thus the term *dietary acculturation* has been referred to as the process whereby a group takes up some of the eating patterns of their host country. This process has been described as "multidimensional, dynamic and complex" and believed to be a non-linear process of change (Satia-Abouta et al., 2002, p. 1107). Dietary changes, and subsequently meal pattern changes, occur at an individual level affecting one's attitudes, beliefs, behaviors and values. Moreover, meal pattern changes occur in a population manifesting in their physical, biological, political, economic and cultural environments (Satia-Abouta et al.).

Studies indicate that immigrant groups tend to follow one of these patterns: (a) they keep their traditional dietary patterns, (b) adopt the mainstream culture's food practices or (c) they adopt a bicultural set of food behavior and patterns (Satia-Abouta et al., 2002). Additions, substitutions and modifications have made the latter possible among Asian groups who have migrated to the

US (Pan et al., 1999). These alterations created sub-food cultures characteristic of neither their own culture nor of their host culture (Axelson. 1986).

Core foods are the very important staples of a group (i.e., rice among Asians, milk among Americans). As opposed to their secondary and peripheral food counterparts, these core foods are retained because of these foods' resistance to change (Passin and Bennet as cited by Kalcik, 1984). Basic foods or foods common to both the immigrant and host culture are frequently increased simultaneously with increases in new foods, or foods that are common in the host culture (Dewey et al. as cited by Axelson, 1986). Meanwhile, the traditional foods or foods eaten in the culture of origin are often decreased. These foods may be finally abandoned after a few generations of a given immigrant population (Axelson). An illustration of this set of changes is evident among Asian students who have moved to the US. Their rice consumption is kept while their other traditional food sources are replaced with bread, milk, sandwiches and soda (Pan et al., 1999). Frequently, foods considered as prestige items in their original culture (e.g., meats, fresh fruits and other goods that are of high income elasticity) are added into their new sets of meals (Southgate, 1996; Axelson). Supper becomes the group's most traditional meal while breakfast, lunch and snacks are the meals enriched with American food items (Pan et al.). Special occasions provide the venues for their ethnic dishes (Kalcik, 1984).

Similar to core foods, cooking methods are also preserved by the migrants. As early as 1936, Masuoka documented the maintenance of cooking methods of Japanese migrants in Hawaii despite the changes in food items they used (Kalcik, 1984).

Several studies have focused efforts in identifying factors affecting dietary acculturation and their corresponding relationship with dietary acculturation. A number of these factors are summarized in Satia-Abouta et al.'s (2002) proposed model for dietary acculturation (see Figure 1).

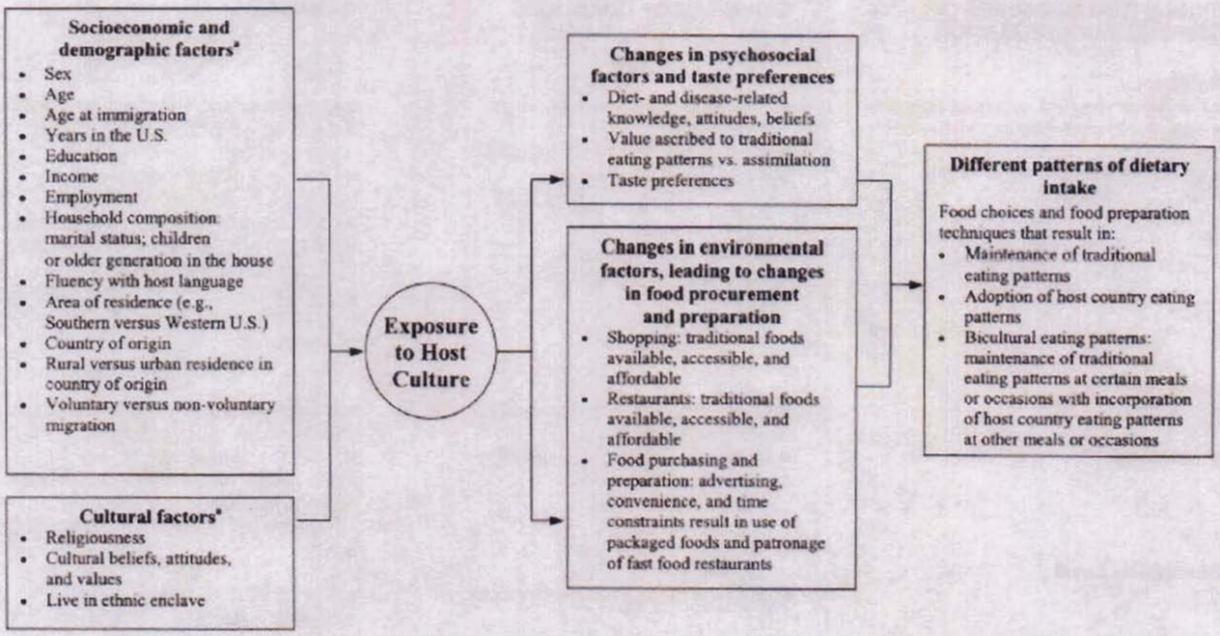

Figure 1. Proposed model of dietary acculturation: The process by which racial/ethnic immigrant groups adopt the eating patterns of their host country. *Note*. Some of these factors may also be influenced by exposure to host country. From 'Dietary Acculturation: Applications to Nutrition Research and Dietetics,' by Satia-Abouta et al., August 2002, Journal of the American Dietetic Association, 102:8, p. 1105.

Not so explicitly presented in Figure 1, but implied as a factor in "Changes in psychosocial factors and taste preferences" under the factor "Value ascribed to traditional eating patterns vs. assimilation" is the significance of cultural foods among immigrating populations. Cultural food has been described as a immigrant population's link to the past that cushions the impact of new

cultural experiences. It becomes a tool for making adaptation to a different culture easier (Story and Harris, 1989; Kalcik, 1984). Southgate (1996) further describes the continued use of cultural foods as a "refuge against a foreign, and sometimes threatening culture" p. 376. Cultural food and surrounding food practices serve as symbols and anchors for immigrant identity (Story and Harris; Kalcik). This ethnic food becomes the "objectification of relationships between groups and individuals"(Kalcik, p.45).

Cassel (1957, p. 732) described cultural food practices as "among the oldest and most deeply entrenched aspects of many cultures, and cannot therefore be easily changed, or if changed, can produce a further series of unexpected and often unwelcome reactions." For this early formed nature of food culture and for the previously mentioned roles of cultural food, Southgate (1996, p. 39) and Warde (1997, p. 34) described foodways as "resistant to change" and "not as 'volatile' as other pursuits".

Despite the importance of cultural food and foodways, changes are still bound to happen to satisfy other needs (Story and Harris, 1989; Kalcik, 1984). For instance, the immigrant group may be driven to adopt Western food preferences and food dislikes to project improved lifestyles (Simoons as cited by Kalcik). Or, they may adopt different foodways acceptable to an intolerant mainstream culture (Kalcik). Immigrant groups are able to identify which places are tolerant or safe for display of their food practices. These "safe" places or opportunities may include the home, the neighborhood, the church hall, organizations, holidays, restaurants and festivals (Kalcik).

The partial or complete adoption of mainstream food culture may also just be a case of taking advantage of available technology (Schuchat as cited by Kalcik, 1984). The cultural food shift

could also be a result of altered preferences as an outcome of varied eating contexts and settings in a new country (Lyman, 1989).

Perhaps the most important aspect of the cultural factors involved in dietary acculturation is the decision itself to give up the traditional or adopt the new food culture. The decision will most likely depend on an individual's or group's value system which is in turn anchored in cultural aspects as "sociocultural systems, rituals, taboos, religious convictions, and similar forms of social control" (Trimble, 2003, p. 4). These cultural factors provide "constraint on dietary changes and form the background against which many attitudes and beliefs about food arise" (Southgate, 1996, p. 375).

Regarding people's adoption of food in general, Naoufel, Petrof and Pons (1999) have introduced the role of personal values. It can be construed from the following quote that the likeliness of immigrants not to hold very conservative values tend to compromise cultural food practices:

> ...It appears that the role of personal values in influencing adoption [of new foods] becomes more important when the cultural "distance" between the consumer's birth, or native, culture and dominant culture is greatest....[M]aking the decision to move away from your home culture to a foreign place is, in itself, a radical choice. Someone holding "conservative" values ....would be resistant to making such a decision. (p. 326-327)

The decision among parent immigrants to keep their food traditions is not necessarily transmitted to their offspring. Such could be unintentional or intentional. The former may be due to intergeneration communication barriers which prevent the transmission of the food meanings or rituals. The decision may possibly be non-communication related but rather due to the parent migrants' view of the old food traditions as unfit for their new lifestyles (Tuan, 1998).

The examples of specific immigrant populations provide excellent illustrations of these meal pattern changes. The next section will feature these illustrations.

The Case of Non-Filipino Asian Immigrant Populations. This section enumerates some of the changes demonstrating dietary acculturation among Asian immigrants to the US. The cases cited (Chinese, Korean, Japanese and Vietnamese immigrants) reflect the more recent studies done on dietary acculturation and are not exhaustive of the research.

The Chinese case represents the dietary integration of both Chinese and U.S. food cultures. Nan and Cason in their study of the said immigrants to the US (2004), observed an increase in the variety and consumption of all food groups. This increase was coupled with the reduction in traditional food intake. Some of the Chinese core foods like grains, fruits, vegetables, meat and meat alternatives were specifically maintained; and added to this set of foods were American grain products, animal products, dairy products, fats/sweets and beverages.

For these Chinese immigrants, the increases in vegetables, fat/sweets and beverage intake were associated with higher education and income. Main explanations for less preparation of traditional foods included the lack of time and the lack of traditional food sources. Another possible factor for such practice is the adoption of the Western diet by the immigrant parents because their children had adopted U.S. foods (Nan and Cason, 2004).

Nan and Cason (2004) documented that a significant number of the Chinese immigrant participants reduced the number of meals they consumed, a large percentage skipping breakfast. Half of the study participants indicated their awareness of the changes in their diet (Nan and Cason, 2004). Those participants who have lived in the US for more than five years were observed to have initially changed their diets but had their diets reversed into their traditional food pattern later on (Kim and Chan, 2004).

Similar features of dietary acculturation have been noted among Korean immigrants, particularly that of increased intake of meat, fruits, milk and fat. Dietary changes occurred

despite the Koreans' known tendency to assimilate slower and to preserve traditions, not excluding the preservation of dietary habits (Kim and Chan, 2004). In their study, Kim and Chan described the Korean immigrants in two groups: (a) the low acculturated and (b) the high acculturated. Immigrants in the low acculturated group were inclined to consume rice, soya bean paste *chigae*, *saengsun chigae*, *kimchi chigae*, other fish (grilled or baked), eggs, *kimchi*, spinach, persimmons and white or brown sugar in coffee and tea. In contrast, the immigrants in the high acculturated group tended to eat more bread, cereal, spaghetti (or other pasta with tomato sauce), pizza, green salad, sweet corn, chocolate candies and diet soft drinks.

One recent study of dietary acculturation among the Japanese compared consumption of three generations of immigrants. Kudo et al. (2000) identified rice and vegetables as the most frequently consumed food item among all three generations of Japanese-American females. Furthermore, they described the Japanese participants' food patterns as resembling the pattern demonstrated by the proposed Kocturk-Runefors model. The similarity lied on the observation that younger generations consumed more American accessory foods (i.e., salty snacks, soft drinks, alcoholic beverages) and ate less of the traditional Japanese accessory foods (i.e., as cooked sweet beans and spices). Consumption patterns of the older generations were the opposite.

In studies made on Vietnamese immigrants in the US, the general picture painted of their food habits was that of decreased consumption of fruits and vegetables and an increased consumption of meats. Very interesting though were the trends on the consumption of certain food items by different sub-groups. Hung et al. (1995) identified the following: (a) Vietnamese males tended to consume more alcohol and fried foods, (b) recent immigrants were inclined to eat eggs and salty foods, (c) the younger age groups tended to eat fried foods and beef, and (d) high school graduates or those 37 years old or older were inclined to eat more fruits and vegetables. In the

researchers' analysis, the number of years the immigrants had been in the US did not prove to be a predictor of deep fat fried food, meat or beef consumption.

Meal Patterns in the "Pearl of the Orient Sea"(Philippines)

Filipino meal patterns are products of the Philippines' geography, multi-cultural history and culture. They have some resemblance to those of their Asian neighbors because of their relatively common ancestry and similar floral and faunal food resources. However the Filipino meal patterns are very different from other Asian populations because of the Filipinos' exposure to western traditions.

The Produce of Philippine Terrain, Flora and Fauna. Just as with other food cultures the Filipino food culture has been a result of its geography, climate and biological inhabitants. Meals and meal patterns have been shaped predominantly by the bodies of water lining the coasts of the country's 7,107 islands and encircling its vast high and lowlands (see Figure 2). The food supply and habits have been nurtured by the tropical climate, diverse animal species and fertile land and challenged by the archipelago's perennial typhoons, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and tsunamis (CIA, n.d.). The major products of rice, fish, fresh vegetables, coconut, bananas, mangoes and beans became the Filipinos' food staples (Gomez, 1983). See Table 6 for a more detailed listing of other foods consumed in the country. The potential uses of food sources, both plant and animal, have been maximized as a result of their availability and the low incomes as well as the ingenuity of majority Filipinos (Claudio, 1994).

Figure 2. Map of the Philippine Islands showing the Asian seas and countries surrounding the country. *Note*. From "The World Factbook," by CIA, n.d., Retrieved 7 February 2005, from http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/rp.html#Intro.

Filipinos adapted the rice-fish-vegetable meal combination. The 1993 Philippine National Nutrition Survey reported that rice (and rice products) made up the largest portion of the daily Filipino diet (803 g/capita) followed by vegetables (106 g/capita) and fish (and products) (99 g/capita) (FNRI, 2002).

Being the basis of Philippine life and sustenance, rice earned its own Filipino name, *kanin* ; and fish or vegetable (or whatever is eaten with kanin) got the name, *ulam* (also called viand) (Gonzales, 1966; Fernando, 1976c). A meal without kanin is not considered a meal regardless of the variety and volume of food consumed by a Filipino.

Table 6

Cultural Food and Food Groups of Filipinos

Group	Common Foods
Milk/milk products	Evaporate and fresh milk (goat or carabao), white cheese
Meat/poultry/fish/eggs/legumes	Meat beef, goat, pork, variety meats (liver, kidney, stomach, tripe), rabbits Poultry and small birds chicken, duck, pigeon, sparrow Fish and shellfish anchovies, bonita, carp, catfish, crab, crawfish, cuttlefish, mackerel, milkfish, mussels, prawns, rock oyster, salt, cod, salmon, sardines, sea bass, sea urchins, shrimp, sole, squid, swordfish, tilapia, tuna Eggs chicken, fish Legumes black beans, black-eyed peas, chickpeas, lentils, lima beans, mungbeans, red beans, soybeans, white kidney beans, winged beans
Cereals/Grains	Corn, oatmeal, rice (long and short grain, flour noodles), wheat flour (bread and noodles)

Note. From "Cultural Food Groups: Filipinos, " by Kittler, P.G. and Sucher, K.P, 2000, USA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, p. 307.

Table 6 (continued)

Cultural Food and Food Groups of Filipinos

Group	Common Foods
Fruits/Vegetables	Fruits apples, avocados, banana blossoms, bananas (100 varieties), breadfruit, *calamansi* (Philippine lemon), citrus fruit, coconut, durian, grapes, guava, jackfruit, Java plum, lychee, mangoes, melons, papaya, pears, persimmons, chicos, pineapples, plums, pomegranates, pomelo, *rambutan*, rhubarb, star fruit, strawberries, sugar cane, tamarind, watermelon Vegetables Amaranth, bamboo shoots, bean sprouts, beets, bitter melon, burdock root, cabbage, carrots, cashew nut leaves, cassava, cauliflower, celery, Chinese celery, eggplant, endive, garlic, green beans, green papaya, green peppers, hearts of palm, hyacinth bean, *kamias* (bilimbi), leaf fern, leeks, lettuce, long green beans, mushrooms, nettles, okra, onions, parsley, pigeon peas, potatoes, pumpkins, purslane, radish, safflower, snow peas, spinach, sponge gourd, squash blossoms, winter and summer squashes, sugar palm shoot, swamp cabbage, sweet potatoes, taro leaves and roots, tomatoes, turnips, water chestnuts, watercress, yams, malunggay
Additional Food	Seasonings *Atchuete* (annatto, bagoong, bagoong-alamang, chili pepper, garlic, lemon grass, *patis*, seaweed, soysauce, turmeric, vinegar Nuts/seeds Betel nuts, cashews, *kaong* (palm seeds), peanuts, *pili* nuts Fats/oils Coconut oil, lard, vegetable oil Beverages Soy milk, cocoa, coconut juice, coffee with milk, tea Sweeteners Brown and white sugar, coconut, honey

Vote. From "Cultural Food Groups: Filipinos, " by Kittler, P.G. and Sucher, K.P, 2000, USA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, p. 307.

The Mergence of Local Flavors and Tastes. Dishes prepared in the Philippines mirror the Filipino preference for the salty, the sour, the sweet and the bitter. Their taste for saltiness utilizes a very abundant commodity, salt. Also, salt creates perfect meal combinations for their bland staple, rice. Several dishes are preserved with salt (i.e., *daing*, *buro*), flavored with *patis* (Vietnamese *nuoc mam*, Thai *nam pla*, Indonesian *petis*) and *bagoong* (paste made from fermented fish or shrimp)(Fernandez, 1994). The Filipino taste for sourness was an offshoot of their preservation of food through the addition of vinegar. Thus a myriad of dishes cooked in vinegar (i.e., *adobo*, *kinilaw*, *paksiw*) or cooked with other souring ingredients (i.e., *sinigang*) are constantly in a Filipino household's meal plan. The Filipino liking for bitterness comes particularly from people of the northern part of the country, whose bitter concoctions are well received in Philippine society. Included in this repertoire of bitter dishes are *ampalaya* (bittermelon) and goat based viands. Lastly, the predilection for sweetness is apparent in the addition of sugar in a number of native dishes (i.e., *paksiw na pata*) and in the array of sweets in the nation's foodscene (i.e. *kakanin*/sweetmeats). The Filipino sweet tooth dates back to the period before the colonizers' occupation of the country and, thus, it might have been due to the abundance of sugarcane in certain provinces of the country (Fernandez, 1994).

These flavors may be eaten singly or collectively in the raw form, or melded together through old and new Filipino cooking methods. Use of accessory ingredients as ginger, chili, star anise, annatto, celery, bay leaf, oregano and other spices may be used to bring out the best of the four preferred tastes (Fernandez, 1994; Winternitz, 1976). Table 7 shows the indigenous Filipino food preparations responsible for the desired tastes and flavors. The table includes a description of the preparation methods and examples of the food items prepared by the given methods.

Table 7

Indigenous Food Preparation Styles in the Philippines

Method	Description	Examples
No heat preparations		
Buro	Food items fermented or preserved through the addition of salt	*Itlog na maalat* (salted egg); *Burong mangga* (mangoes); *Burong hipon* (shrimp); *Burong dalag* (mudfish)
Daing	Fish that has been split, salted and dried	*Daing na Bangus* (milkfish)
Kinilaw/ Kilawin	Dishes of fish and vegetables cooked with vinegar/or other sour ingredients and other spices without heat application; considered as one of the most ancient food preparation methods in the country (Alegre and Fernandez, 1991)	*Kinilaw na hipon* (shrimp); *Kinilaw na puso ng saging* (banana blossom)
Tuyo	Fish or other seafood that has been salted and dried	*Tuyong tawilis* (Freshwater sardinella)
With heat preparations		
Adobo	Dishes of "meat, seafood or vegetable cooked in vinegar and spices" (Fernandez, 1994, p.233); considered as national dish of the Philippines; also called "Philippine stew" (Fernandez as cited by Sokolov, 1990, p.87)	*Adobong manok/baboy* (chicken/pork); *Adobong atay at balun-balunan* (liver and gizzard), *Adobong kangkong* (swamp cabbage), *Adobong pusit* (squid)
Ginataan	Dishes of meat, seafood or vegetables cooked in coconut milk	*Ginataang Tilapia , Ginataang Halo-halo (sweet snack type of ginataan)*
Halabos	Dishes cooked by steaming	*Halabos na hipon* (shrimp)
Inihaw	Dishes roasted over coals	*Inihaw na bangus* (broiled milkfish); *Inihaw na liempo* (pork side belly)
Nilaga	Dishes cooked through boiling; the common nilaga contains the ingredients: meat, potatoes, cabbage, bokchoy, peppercorns, etc.	*Nilagang manok/baboy* or *baka* (chicken/pork/beef); *Tinola* (chicken or fish cooked with vegetables); *Pesa*
Paksiw	Dishes of "fish or meat cooked in vinegar with salt, ginger and garlic" (Fernandez as cited by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2003, p. 70)	*Paksiw na* bangus *(milkfish)*
Sinigang	Stews of meat, chicken or seafood with vegetables and flavored with souring ingredients as tamarind, bilimbi, green pineapple, *alibangbang* leaves, guavas, mango leaf shoots, green mangoes, santol, tomatoes, *kalamansi*; considered as national dish of the Philippines (Fernandez, 1994)	*Sinigang sa bayabas* (guava based sinigang); *Sinampalocang manok* (chicken flavored with unripe tamarind fruit)

The aforementioned food preparation styles are common throughout the country. The above examples are not exhaustive of the variety of foods prepared in such fashion. There are other native dishes that could hardly be categorized under the methods listed. These include *dinuguan* (pork innards cooked with pork blood) and the numerous variants of *kakanin* (most often rice and coconut based sweetmeats, i.e., *bibingka*, *biko*, *suman*, *puto*).

The expression of the four basic flavors of Filipino food does not stop during food preparation, but rather is continued by the diner during the meal with his or her use of *sawsawan*. Sawsawan refers to dipping sauces or sauces sprinkled on food. The addition of the sawsawan fine-tunes the dish to the person's individual taste. For instance, patis is the common sauce for boiled beef or boiled vegetables. Fish bagoong is usually used on steamed or broiled fish. Meanwhile, shrimp bagoong is served along with *kare-kare* (oxtail stew with a rice and peanut based sauce). It is commonplace to see these condiments on Filipino tabletops bottles along with vinegar and *toyo* (Fernando, 1976a).

Meanwhile, for a number of dishes, there are established *sawsawan* partners that are served along the main course. For instance, *kalamansi* (Philippine lemon) with bagoong is eaten with broiled fish; kalamansi and patis for boiled chicken; soy sauce, vinegar and garlic for roast pork, soy sauce-based sweet sauce for fresh *lumpia* (spring roll), and the liver-pepper-sugar based sauce for *lechon* (whole pig roasted on spit) (Fernando, 1976a). Also, there are a couple of relishes that are foil or supplementary to the food served. Examples are chopped salted red eggs with tomatoes that go with fried/salted/smoked fish; finely chopped mangoes with tomatoes or *bagoong alamang* and *wansoy* (coriander leaves) that also go well with broiled or fried fish; soy sauce and vinegar for *pancit luglog* and more (Fernando, 1976a).

There are several spices and herbs (i.e., lemongrass, coriander leaves) in the Philippines that have remained unutilized or underutilized because of the Filipino society's distaste for extremely flavored and seasoned food (Winternitz, 1976; Sokolov, 1990). On the other hand, Filipinos have expanded their circle of flavorings by adapting foreign herbs and spices that of course fit their schema of flavor.

The Foreign Influences. Close contact with foreign cultures was a constant in Philippine history. Indonesians and Malays who came as the earliest immigrants to the country started the cuisine and initiated the Filipinos' chain of multicultural contact. These immigrants were followed mainly by Chinese and Arab traders who subsequently made the country their home, then by the Spanish and Americans who occupied the country as their colonists (Wikipedia, n.d.).

The exposure to foreign lifestyles not to mention foreign food ingredients made way to the transformation of Filipino food and food culture. The Filipinos borrowed cultural cooking methods and converted them into their own by indigenizing them according to their resources and taste (Fernandez, 1988). From the Chinese, they adopted pansit (noodles), lumpia (spring roll), *siopao/siomai* (dumplings), *arroz caldo* (rice gruel) and other preparations (Fernandez, 1999). A very important legacy inspired by the Chinese is the method of sautéing vegetables which is called *gisado/guisado* (Doyle, 1996). The *Filipinized* standard operating procedure of *paggigisa* (or the sautéing of vegetables) starts of with garlic browned in hot oil. To this are added sliced onions, then tomatoes, then pork or shrimp broth. The mixture is seasoned with salt, patis and pepper. The vegetables are added last (Fernandez, 1994).

From the Spanish colonizers of 300 years, Filipinos adopted *paella* (and other rice based dishes), *relleno* (stuffed dishes), *morcon* (beef rolls), *leche flan* (caramel custard), *ensaimada* (sweet rolls), tomato based dishes (i.e., *pochero*, *menudo*) and other dishes (Fernandez, 1988).

By way of the Spanish, the food culture has also been influenced by French (i.e., *gateaux le sans rival, petit choux, meringue*) and Mexican cookery (i.e., *tamales*) (Fernandez, 1994).

From the Americans who officially governed the Philippines for almost 50 years and who continued cohabiting with Filipinos after their occupation of the former; sandwiches, hamburgers, fried chicken, steaks, salads and pies have been adopted (Fernandez as cited by Alejandro, 1999; Mercado, 1976). The U.S. influence on Filipino meal patterns emanated from the public school system set up by the Americans and American institutions/food service establishments. The teachers and staff of the American public school system taught the school kids the value of proper sanitation and nutrition through their elementary home economic classes. Kitchen equipment, quicker food preparation methods (i.e. use of pressure cookers) and recipes were handed down to the school attendees (Sta. Maria, 1976). U.S. themed restaurants, perhaps initially catering to U.S. citizens posted or residing in the Philippines, introduced additional American comestibles. The steakhouses served charcoal broiled prime cuts, mashed potato, salad, dessert and coffee. The coffee shops offered hamburger, beef stew, meat roll and chicken salad (Fernando, 1976b). Filipino homes absorbed these food influences. Soon, even their festive tables featured special American items as baked ham, roast turkey and fruit cakes (Fernandez, 1994).

American food, just as any element of American pop culture, ultimately became highly regarded by the Filipinos. American food brands (e.g., Pringles, Hershey's, Del Monte, Spam) and restaurant chains (e.g., McDonalds, Starbucks, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Cinnabon, Bubba Gump) have mushroomed in the country. Ads produced for promotion and the convenience portrayed to consumers further elevated status of American food brands and restaurants (Fernandez, 1994). Despite this, consumption of U.S. derived food items is limited to the high

income or urban population. The study conducted by Fernandez and Alegre revealed that the majority of Filipinos (90%) were consumers of the indigenous Filipino food as manifested by the food items sold in the markets and dishes served in eateries across the nation (Fernandez). As Fernandez states, "[n]ative food feeds more people in more areas of the Philippines than does colonial cuisine…It does not require prestige or media exposure to win its patrons. They are hooked on its flavors, which are ingrained in their consciousness and attuned to their budgets" p. 229.

Among the foreign influences, the Chinese food culture has assimilated well into the Filipino food culture. Chinese and Chinese derived foods have been included in the Filipino diet as daily fare. In contrast, Spanish and Spanish derived foods have achieved the elite/*fiesta* food fare status (Fernandez, 1994). Fernando (1976b) documented Chinese food to have been a favorite among Filipino restaurant goers. Fernando reported (a) fried rice with ham, pork and egg bits; (b) *hototay soup*, (c) sweet-sour pork, (d) *chop seuy*, (e) *lumpiang Shanghai*, (f) *camaron rebosado* and (g) *pancit canton* as the frequently ordered items.

From its multicultural past, the contemporary Filipino food scene has further evolved incorporating lifestyle changes of the nation, particularly that of the urban populations. Pressure-cooking, microwave, and instant/convenience cooking compete with, if not outpace, slow cooking. Several more international cuisines introduced in the country as Middle Eastern, Japanese, Thai, Vietnamese, Italian, Indonesian, Indian add variety to the existing food mélange. These foods are more often available from specialty restaurants catering to limited clientele (Fernando, 1976b). Fernandez (in Alejandro, 1999) described these cuisines to be of growing popularity, however they remain foreign and non-indigenized.

Thus Fernandez (1994) summarizes Philippine cuisine as "[t]he old and the new. The provincial and the popular. The slow and the fast. The past, the present, the future" p. 121. The prevailing preference though is for home-cooked indigenized food eaten with boiled rice (Fernandez).

The Culture and Structure of the Filipino Meal

Filipino food and meal patterns are the embodiment of what Filipinos believe and value. Food/meal patterns are outcomes of their yin and yang/hot and cold food theories (Doyle, 1996). They are venues for warmth and family togetherness, as the family is central to Filipino society. Also, meal patterns are expressions of Filipino devoutness to the Roman Catholic religion, which explains minimum food prohibitions and a lot of feasting. Filipino meal patterns are outlets for their very important social virtues as kindness, generosity, hospitality, thoughtfulness and gratefulness (Pacquiao, 2003; Albarracin, 1995). According to Gonzales (1966), "[t]he Filipino considers the fruits of man's labors as gifts from God. The famous Filipino hospitality seems to originate from the people's concept that all good is from God and that this good is limited and must be shared" p. 197. Cooking for others is no exception.

Nuances of Filipino meal patterns provide for the young and the old, for both urban and rural dwellers, for those with low and high income lifestyles. The prevailing meal patterns have been serving these different needs and have actually long been changing in response to evolving Filipino needs. The following section presents these meal patterns.

Meals in a Filipino's Day. While it is true that rice, fish and vegetables are the basic elements of the Filipino meal, variations are introduced depending on the time of day the meal is served, who eats the meal and who prepares the meal. There are usually three Filipino meals in a day (Doyle, 1996). *Agahan/Almusal* (breakfast) refers to the meal that is usually served at 7:00 in

the morning, *tanghalian* (lunch) is served around noon and *hapunan* (supper) is served at 7:00 or 8:00 in the evening (Gomez, 1983). Table 8 lists food items usually served at these particular meals. The items in each meal are all served at the table at the same time, not in courses (Fernando, 1976c). Rice defines each eating event as a meal, with the exception of breakfast where rules are slightly slack. Thus, a simple meal of boiled rice and bagoong (fish paste) or boiled rice and salt would be classified as a meal just as a well to do household's elaborate meal of several courses (Claudio, 1994).

Table 8

Typical Components of Filipino Meals

Meals	
Agahan	*Tanghalian or Hapunan*
Fish, meat or egg	Fish or meat
Bread or rice	Vegetables
Fruit	Rice
Coffee with milk and sugar	Fruit or Dessert

Note. From "Filipino-American Diet and Foods," by O. Dirige, 1995, The Asian American Business Journal, February Issue, p. 11-12, 16.

Traditional breakfast includes quick to cook items (as compared to traditional Filipino dishes requiring tedious preparation). If rice is served, it is usually *sinangag*, the left-over rice from supper the day before. Fish choices include daing, *tuyo* or tinapa (smoked fish). Meanwhile, *tapa*, *tocino*, *longanisa* are the meat choices. Eggs (chicken eggs) are prepared either fried, scrambled or sautéed with tomatoes and onions (Fernandez, 1994).

An alternative breakfast set would have sinangag and paksiw or adobo (Fernandez, 1994). Otherwise breakfast could be singangag with chocolate or coffee poured over it, and some fruit to eat throughout the meal. The latter is actually a set meal more common in the provinces.

More contemporary breakfasts may have bacon and sausages in addition to the sinangag. Among households with working individuals, breakfast could just be toast and coffee (Fernandez, 1994).

Bread based breakfasts may be bread dunked in coffee, bread served with cheese or other spreads (i.e., *coco jam*, peanut butter, margarine) or bread with egg and cold cuts. Common bread selections include *pan de sal* (the most traditional and most common), *pan de monay* and *pan Amerikano*. Other bread choices can stand by themselves because of their savory or sweet flavor; and may actually double as snack foods. Examples of these are *Spanish bread* (bread with mungbean, margarine and sugar filling), *pan de coco* (bread with coconut filling), *pianono* (roll with custard filling), *adobo/asado roll* (bread with adobo or *asado* filling).

The typical lunch or supper of Filipinos may not differ much from the traditional breakfast (Fernandez, 1994). Rice in these meals may be simple boiled rice or rice boiled with *pandan* (screwpine leaves) or banana leaf (Fernandez, 1994). These foods may be joined with salt, fish and raw tomato to make a simple lunch/supper fare (Mercado, 1976). The meals could get far more elaborate with all the possible combinations of the various ingredients and cooking methods that are available.

To those who manage to bring some food to their school or workplaces, lunch means their homemade sandwich or packed lunch of adobo (or some other left-over from previous meals). For those who can not prepare supper at home, instant suppers as frozen spring rolls, barbecue from the barbecue stands, noodle dishes from *panciteria* (restaurants offering Chinese food] are

quick and easy solutions. To those who need to get there lunch/supper elsewhere, restaurants (especially *tapsilog* places) and the *rasyon* type of caterers are options. Tapsilog places are joints that offer the traditional breakfast of tapa/tocino/longanisa, sinangag and fried egg all day long. The rasyon caterer refers to vendors who sell individually packed servings of food in the offices (Fernandez, 1994). For some households, supper is a repeat of the previous meal. It may be a meal with the addition of leftovers, or a meal entirely of leftovers.

Punctuations to Filipino lunch and supper include fruits or different nuances of desserts. Fruits may be both local (i.e. bananas, cantaloupe) and imported (apples, oranges), and they are more visible at lunch. Desserts may be *pastillas* (milk candy), *yema* (candied eggyolks), *turrones de casuy* (cashew nougat), *empanaditas* (pastry with a egg yolk and nut filling), *leche flan* (crème caramel), other pastries, jams and jellies, candied fruits/in syrup, cookies, biscuits and more (Bonifacio Ira, 1976; Fernandez, 1994). Fernando (1992) noted that some individuals may even take a teaspoonful of sugar followed by a glass of water in the absence of dessert.

Fernando (1976d) described eating several times a day as a Filipino characteristic. Filipinos generally have two to three extra meals that bridge breakfast, lunch and supper (Gomez, 1983). As boiled rice is not necessarily eaten during these smaller meals they are considered snacks; also referred to as *merienda* in the contemporary local language. The variety of snack food available to Filipinos is limitless. One can avail a long list of kakanin which are rice cakes and other sweet meats (Fernandez, 1994). Rice based kakanin choices would include *butchi,* biko, bibingka, *palitaw, espasol,* suman, *kutsinta* and puto. Non-rice based kakanin would include boiled corn, peanuts, *bocayo*, banana cue and *maja blanca*. Other options would be breads, cookies and pastries as ensaimadas, tarts, *broas*, *rosquillos*, *kamachile, biscocho, puto seco* and *galyetas* (Bonifacio Ira, 1976). Street food snacks are also common. These include *balut, adidas,*

helmet, barbecue, *chicharon* and siopao (Fernandez, 1994). One may also opt for sit down snacks as pancit luglog, dinuguan with puto, arroz caldo and more (Fernando, 1976d). See Table 9 for the description of common Filipino snack items.

Table 9

Glossary of Common Filipino Snack Items

Kakanin	Other Snack Items
Banana cue. Skewered caramelized bananas.	*Adidas*. Barbecued chicken feet.
Bibingka. A cake of rice flour, baked, often with native cottage cheese and a bit of salted egg on top.	*Arroz caldo*. A rice gruel with chicken, ginger, kasubha, sliced scallions and toasted garlic.
Biko. A rice cake, usually molded on a plate; Also called sinukmani.	*Balut*. A fertilized duck egg with an embryo within.
Bocayo/Bukayo. Coconut candy.	*Biscocho*. Twice baked cakes/breads.
Butchi. Round rice cake with a mungbean base filling.	*Broas*. Lady fingers
Espasol. A sweetmeat made from the flour of glutinous rice	*Chicharron*. Pork crackling of skin, or skin-and-flesh
Kutsinta/Cuchinta. A brown soft rice cake made with lye.	*Dinuguan*. A stew of blood and meats/variety meats.
Goto. A rice tripe gruel.	*Ensaimada*. Special sweet roll, usually buttered, dusted with sugar and sometimes with cheese.
Maja blanca. A kind of rice or corn pudding.	*Galyetas/Galleta*. A thin biscuit.
Palitaw. Small cakes made from the starch of glutinous rice and eaten with sugar.	*Halo-halo*. A snack of mixed sweetened fruits and beans topped by shaved or crushed ice, and ice cream or milk.
Puto. A steamed rice cake.	*Helmet*. Barbecued chicken head.
Sapin-sapin. A rice cake in layers of different colors.	*Kamachile*. Cookie shaped like the kamachile fruit.
Suman. A cake of glutinous rice (malagkit), coconut milk and sugar, made with different shapes and wrappings.	*Pancit luglog*. A noodle dish characterized by a sauce and sprinkled condiments; also called *pancit palabok*.
Tamales. A rice cake usually topped with eggs, meat slices, peanuts and other condiments, and wrapped in banana leaf.	*Rosquillos*. Round cookies with holes in the center.
Turon. A fried banana with langka, wrapped in lumpia wrapper.	*Siopao*. A steamed stuffed Chinese bun.

Note. Definitions were from Fernandez (1988 and 1994).

Present day snacks introduce several more options to the Filipino consumer. There is an array of chips in foil packs (i.e., potato chips, extruded snack foods), patisseries, fast foods, pizza houses, *shawarma* (Middle eastern roast beef sandwiches) booths and more proliferating in the country. The heavy importation of American snack foods in the country indicates the abundance of the said snacks in the country (Canono, 2001).

The Less Usual Meals. The meals in the country are regularly spiced up by events that call for the specific or special and for variety or abundance on the dining table. The weekends are good examples of these occasions. As non-working days that families spend together, Saturday and Sunday meals, call for the specific. The dishes served may either be those that require more work than others or they may be plainly the old family comfort food. Fernando (1976) reported *pochero*, a stew of meat, vegetables and sausages a usual Sunday dish. She also mentioned *kare-kare* and *nilagang manok* as the other possibilities. If the family does not eat at home during the weekends, the restaurants, specifically the Chinese eateries are the favorites.

The events that grace the year less often such as Christmas and other Roman Catholic's feasts, birthdays and weddings signify more food in the meals (Doyle, 1996). For some, an event of such nature is the perfect time to slaughter and cook their fattened pigs or it could be the time to savor their harvests. For others, a festive meal is the time to enjoy company and use up a year's savings. Pancit, a noodle dish symbolizing long life, is the mainstay of Filipino special/festive meals; while the lechon, roast whole pig on a spit, is the usual highlight. In the provincial setting, the menu may be a long line-up of meat dishes cooked in various fashions; as a consequence of the slaughtering of the households' farm animals and as the serving of meat itself is a sign of prosperity. Other festivities would have their own food traditions to brag. Christmas for instance would entail everybody's adornment of their dining tables with ham, *keso de bola*, an assortment

of bread and kakanin. The Lenten season would on the other hand have a more austere effect on the meals; fish and other seafood dishes predominate the food scene. Contemporary Filipinos might have Native Filipino, Spanish, American, Italian or Chinese themes for their parties as it is easier nowadays to have an event prepared by a caterer or at least for food to be bought from elsewhere.

Food Habits Distinctively Filipino. The food section of the primer, 'You Know if You're Filipino if', compiled by Sta. Romana-Cruz (1997) identifies explicit and subtle food habits of Filipinos. The following statements have been extracted from the 'The Way We Eat' portion of the primer. They may be funny, but they may be good indicators of how *Filipino* an individual is, whether in the Philippines or in the US. They actually summarize what have been earlier discussed in this paper.

You know if you're Filipino if…

1. You feed all your visitors.
2. You always cook too much.
3. You bring *baon* [packed snacks/meals] to work everyday.
4. Your pantry is never without Spam, Vienna sausage, corned beef and sardines.
5. You love to eat what others mistakenly refer to as "rotting fish".
6. You throw a party, and everyone is fighting to chop the leathery skin off a dead pig.
7. You're excited by the prospect of sucking the fat off the pig's knuckles.
8. You can't enjoy a meal without *patis, toyo*, vinegar, banana catsup or *bagoong.*
9. Your tablecloths are stained with *toyo* [soy sauce] circles.
10. You love sticky desserts and salty snacks.
11. You eat fried chicken with catsup and unripe fruits with giant salt crystals.
12. You can eat fried Spam and hotdogs with rice.
13. You eat mangoes with rice with great gusto.
14. You enjoy chocolate rice pudding and dried salted fish for breakfast.
15. You prefer *bistek* [a dish of sliced beef cooked with onions (Fernandez, 1994)] to beef steak.
16. You like sweet spaghetti.
17. You love dirty ice cream.
18. You eat purple yam ice cream.

The Regional Variations. Meals and meal patterns differ depending on which ethnic group is examined. The previous discussion on Filipino meal patterns represents the general meal patterns of Filipinos mainly those of the *Tagalog* and surrounding regions. Regional and individual nuances may differ in terms of food variety and preparation (Gonzales, 1966; Dirige, 1995).

Tagalog meals and meal patterns themselves may vary due to provincial origin and orientation. Common traits include the fondness for the large usage of rice in the cuisine and the Spanish inspired rich sauces. In some provinces, the coconut may be of great use, while it may not be the case in another. In some areas, meals are more provincial while in others they are not (Fernando, 1992). Where meals and meal patterns are more urban, the more westernized food habits are found.

It is interesting to point out that the National Capital Region of the Philippines, the center of the *Tagalog* culture and also the center of the entire country, apparently shows these more urban and westernized meals. The region has been documented by the Philippine National Nutrition survey as the population which consumes the least amount of rice (252 grams/capita/day) and the most amount of all other expensive food stuffs as bread and cereal products, meat, poultry and Vitamin C rich foods (FNRI, 2002).

Filipino Immigrant Meal Patterns

A limited number of studies have explored the food habits of the Filipinos in the US. Their meal patterns particularly have not been probed extensively and intensively. One of the earliest studies made on the said population was that of Lewis and Glaspy (1975) which investigated Filipino American women's food habits and nutrient intake. This study was followed by work on Filipino American women's food habits and eating attitudes (Lazaro, 1996); research on Filipino American elderly's general eating patterns (Hickman and Pemberton as cited by Gomez, 1983); a

study on food restrictions, food beliefs/taboos and food intake vis-à-vis the Recommended Daily Allowances (RDA)(Gomez , 1983); and changes in dietary practices among first and second generation Filipinos (Albarracin, 1995). A related study which investigated the dietary habits (i.e., poor food choices and cultural practices contributory to nutrition related disorders) of 10 to14 year-old Filipino American children was also carried out by Kalusugan Community Service as a part of their NUTRI-FIT project (Dirige, 1995; Oades, Dirige and Guerra, 1998). Other studies have assessed the medical/health problems afflicting the Filipino population (i.e., diabetes study by Cuasay et al, 2001; diabetes and hypertension study by Araneta [Clark, 1999]); cancer incidence study by Bernstein et al., 1995). All of the abovementioned studies with the exception of research work from Albarracin and Cuasay et al. have been conducted among Filipinos in California.

The succeeding subsections detail findings of few of the abovementioned meal pattern related studies on Filipino immigrants in the US. Some personal experiences may also be found scattered through the text. The section is ended with a short description of Filipino food resources present in the said country.

The Pioneer Migrants' Food Experiences. Little has been documented on the food consumption of the early Filipino settlers in the US. Dirige (1995) reported dissimilar experiences between the first and second wave of Filipino immigrants. She characterized the first wave immigrants (particularly those who resided in Hawaii) to have had diets very high in carbohydrates, predominantly in the form of rice. They have raised vegetables as okra, sweet potato, bittermelon and jute leaves to support the meager incomes they get working as laborers. On the other hand, she has described those migrants belonging to the second wave to have initially maintained their Filipino food habits; but later on adapted a more Western diet after

staying in the US for longer periods. This more educated group has relied on ethnic grocery stores for their supply of oriental food, rather than on backyard gardens.

Meanwhile, B.Posadas (personal communication, January 23, 2005) recounted the early Filipinos in Chicago (prior to mid-1930s) to have subsisted on rice eaten with one pot stews as adobo, *pansit* and mungbean. Because they settled in the area during the U.S. Depression, the meat cuts used for these dishes were the cheap ones (i.e., chicken necks). Another food option during that time was Cantonese food from the Chinese restaurants.

Apparently, the preparations mentioned were commonplace as they were easily managed by the predominantly male Filipino population. These dishes were passed on to foreign women they married. During that time, stores in Chinatown and those along Clark Street were their important source of ingredients. Later in the 1950s, the Filipino immigrants' food choices expanded when a number of the migrants went home to the Philippines and returned to the US bringing with them their Filipina wives (B.Posadas, personal communication, January, 23, 2005).

Filipino Meal Patterns in the US. Doyle (1996) characterized the Filipino diet, both in the Philippine and in the US, as the basic diet of rice, fish and vegetables modified with westernization. The diets of the immigrants are functions of the Filipinos' country of birth, region of origin, level of Westernization, period of arrival or duration of stay in the US and their extent of American food adoption (Dirige, 1995; Claudio, 1994). Lewis and Glaspy (1975) identified the following factors that affected Filipino Americans' food choices in their new country (in decreasing order): (a) availability, (b) ease of preparation, (c) nutritional value, (d) likes or dislikes, (d) cost, (e) husbands' likes or dislikes, (f) prestige value of food, (g) children's likes or dislikes, (h) culture, and (i) religion. It should be noted though that these factors were

responsesof college educated participants who have stayed in the US from two months to 10 years.

The same research by Lewis and Glaspy has documented the rate of Filipino food consumption in the US at 40% (n = 47), with the rest of their participants consuming a mix of Filipino, Chinese and American food. Big changes seen in the Filipino American dietary practices included an increased intake and variety of meat, eggs and milk consumed; the decreased intake of fish; and the less frequent rice consumption (Doyle, 1996). These results are different from the findings of Lewis and Glaspy, which singled out milk as the most significant addition to the Filipino diet; and identified increases in fruit, juice, meat and milk intakes and decreases in intakes of snacks and starchy foods.

The more recent study by Albarracin (1995) which surveyed 135 Filipino homemakers in Ohio and their offsprings revealed the high consumption of burgers, sandwiches and fries among the immigrants but implied the prevailing presence of Filipino core foods in their diets. The latter may be reflected in the common Filipino food items bought from the Filipino grocery stores as jasmine rice, mungbean, sesame oil, soy sauce, coconut milk, sardines, bottled sauces and sweet meats; and in the vegetables they grow in their backyards as tomatoes, onions, squash, eggplant, green beans, green peppers, sweet peppers, bitter melon, herbs and spices. The adherence to the traditional Filipino items is shown in the dishes prepared and consumed and their frequency of consumption. In the same study, the participants were found to consume on a regular basis traditional dishes as adobo, fried or boiled fish, and fried or boiled shrimp, arroz caldo, *sotanghon* soup (a noodle dish), pancit, fried rice, *dinengdeng*, *guisado*, salads, leche flan and siopao. These dishes are combinations of items whose preparation range from easy to hard, and thus they are not probably retained in the diet for mere convenience. A number of them are

considered Filipino American favorites (Gomez, 19983). Table 10 shows a more detailed listing of these favorite dishes.

Table 10

Favorite Filipino Foods of Subjects

Foods	Ranking	Frequency
Lumpia, pancit sotanghon, Tapa, sinigang, ensaimada	1	30
Bagoong, bangus	2	29
Adobo	3	28
Dinuguan, biko, ibos	4	25
Pinakbet, lechon, monggo	5	20
Balut, kadios	6	15

Note. Based on a sample of 30. From "The Nutritional Significance of the Food Habits of Filipino-Americans in San Francisco," by Gomez, T.A., 1983, California: San Francisco State University.

Foods consumed less include *dilis* (anchovy), tapa, dried fish, *jamon* (ham), salted eggs with tomatoes, pan de sal, papaya, *saba* (cooking bananas), coconut (fresh/milk), *halo-halo*, puto, banana fritters and bagoong. These items are most likely available in the Filipino grocery stores. Their infrequent preparation may be due to their more expensive costs or their deemed inferior quality. Interestingly, the consumption rates for these and other traditional Filipino food items have shown no significant differences across Filipinos' duration of stay in the US, with the exception of dried fish (Albarracin, 1995).

Gomez (1983) documented the use of sawsawan among the Filipino American elderly. Noted were the frequent use of soy sauce, salt, pepper, onions, vinegar, garlic, bagoong, oyster sauce

and lemon juice in both food preparation and consumption. Also, the dipping sauce combinations as onion and salt, garlic and soy sauce, vinegar and salt were reported.

The substitution of ingredients to enable the preparation of Filipino recipes has also been discussed by Albarracin's study. Substitutions made by immigrants include the use of green beans, celery, cabbage or broccoli for *kangkong* (swamp cabbage); sauerkraut for *atchara* (pickled papaya); and potatoes for *garbanzos* (chickpeas) or jicama.

Doyle (1996) reported boiling, roasting, frying (*prito*) and steaming as the cooking methods frequently used by Filipinos and Filipino Americans. Apparently, the use of these cooking methods despite ingredient substitutions, still render the resulting dishes Filipino. Table 11 gives a more specific listing of cooking styles employed by thirty respondents who were surveyed by Gomez (1983).

Table 11

Filipino Methods of Cooking Used by Subjects

Method	Rank	Frequency
Sinigang	1	30
Prito	2	25
Guisado	3	20
Adobo	4	15

Note. Based on a sample of 30. From "The Nutritional Significance of the Food Habits of Filipino-Americans in San Francisco," by Gomez, T.A., 1983, California: San Francisco State University.

Albarracin's research indicated a large number of Filipino Americans still eat three meals a day; about the same percentage of the study participants ate two or three snacks a day. Table 12 gives a general idea of the components of these Filipino meals in the US.

Table 12

Components of a Typical Filipino American Meal

Breakfast	Lunch	Supper
Egg or meat dish	Sandwich	Meat or fish dish
Bread or cereal	Fruit juice or soda	Rice or potato
Juice or coffee	Beverage	Beverage
	Dessert	Dessert

Note. Tabulated From "Filipino-American Diet and Foods," by O. Dirige, 1995, The Asian American Business Journal, February Issue, p. 11-12, 16.

Breakfast has been one of the meals skipped or modified most by Filipino Americans similar to other immigrant populations. Breakfast patterns documented by a number of researchers slightly varied from each other. Lewis and Glaspy (1975) reported bread, milk, eggs, coffee or tea as the most frequently consumed breakfast items among Filipino American women immigrants. Gomez (1983) reported the same breakfast trends as those of Dirige (1995), citing the frequent consumption of Filipino American elderly of eggs, bacon, breakfast cereals and bread. In contrast, Hickman and Pemberton found coffee or milk (often flavored with chocolate) and fried rice with dried fish were also frequently consumed also among the elderly (Gomez, 1983). See Table 13 for sample Filipino American breakfast menus.

Table 13

Sample Menus for the Daily Family Breakfast of Filipino Americans

Weekdays	Sundays
Papaya Wedge	Melon Balls
Champorado[a]	Longganisa[c] and Fried Eggs
Beef Tapa[b]	Fried Rice
Milk	Chocolate or Cocoa
Kalamansi[d] Juice	Papaya-milk Drink
Scrambled Eggs	Scrambled Eggs
Pan de Sal[e]	Banana-nut Muffins
Butter	Coffee
Milk-coffee	

Note. [a]Rice-chocolate porridge. [b]Sliced dried beef. [c]Sweet or spicy pork sausage. [d]Philippine lemon. [e]Yeast roll. From "Sample Menus for the Daily Family Breakfast," by Claudio, V., 1994, Filipino American Food, Practices and Customs. Ethnic and Regional Food Practices Series. USA: American Dietetic Association and American Diabetes Association.

Meanwhile, both the findings of Gomez (1983) and Hickman and Pemberton (as cited by Gomez, 1983) identified rice, meat and vegetables as common lunch items. Lewis and Glaspy (1975) identified the same items as most frequently consumed lunch items, with the inclusion of fruits. These preceding patterns are quite different from the more recent sandwich meals that Dirige (1995) mentioned. See Table 14 for sample Filipino American lunch/supper menus.

Table 14

Sample Menus for Daily Family Lunch or Dinner of Filipino Americans

Weekdays	Sundays
Bachoy[a]	*Pochero*[d]
Fresh Lumpia[b]	*Inihaw na Isda*[e]
Steamed Rice	Steamed Rice
Maja Blanca[c]	Fresh Fruit in Season
Fish Sinigang[f]	*Chicken Tinola*[i]
Menudo[g]	*Crispy Pata*[j]
Steamed Rice	Steamed Rice
Saba Banana in syrup[h]	Sherbet or Ice Cream
Mongo Gisado[k]	*Pansit Molo Soup*[m]
Mixed Meat Adobo[l]	*Bistik Filipino*[n]
Steamed Rice	Steamed Rice
Banana or Watermelon	*Leche Flan*[o]
Clam Soup with Leafy Greens	*Chop Suey Special*[q]
Chicken Sarciado[p]	Fried Egg Rolls
Steamed Rice	Steamed Rice
Mango Sherbet or Avocado Ice Cream	Candied Native Fruits

Note. [a]Internal organ and noodle dish. [b]Vegetable spring roll. [c]Corn pudding. [d]Chicken and sausage stew. [e]Charbroiled fish. [f]Fish cooked in sour broth. [g]Pork and liver stew. [h]Cooking bananas. [i]Ginger cooked Chicken. [j]Deep fat fried pork trotters. [k]Sauteed mungbean. [l]Pork cooked in vinegar and spices. [m]Dumpling soup. [n]Dish with sliced beef and onions. [o]Creme caramel. [p]Chicken cooked with tomatoes. [q]Stir-fried vegetables. From "Sample Menus for the Daily Family Breakfast," by Claudio, V., 1994, Filipino American Food, Practices and Customs. Ethnic and Regional Food Practices Series. USA: American Dietetic Association and American Diabetes Association.

The food items identified to have the highest occurrence during supper were rice, meat/fish and vegetables (Gomez, 1983; Dirige, 1995; Hickman and Pemberton as cited by Gomez, 1983). Lewis and Glaspy (1975) enumerated the same items, and again included fruit in the list. Hickman and Pemberton further reported that rice was sometimes substituted with noodles; and that Filipino vegetables as *malunggay* (a green leafy vegetable) and chayote were favored by the elderly (Gomez). Gomez also reported fruit juice was more frequently consumed than whole fruits.

Foods highly occurring during *meriendas* or the Filipino in-between meals include pies, cakes, cookies, peanuts and assorted sweets and fruits. This pattern is in contrast to native rice cakes and other rice, meat or noodle based native snacks frequently eaten in the Philippines (Lewis and Glaspy, 1975). Common morning and afternoon snacks had either or all of the following: (a) bread, (b) coffee or tea, or (c) fruit or fruit juice. The typical components of evening snacks were quite different having either or all of the following (a) fruit or fruit juice, (b) bread, or (c) milk (Lewis and Glaspy). Among the elderly immigrants, common *merienda* items included pastry and a hot beverage of either coffee or chocolate (Gomez, 1983).

Filipino Food in the U.S. Community. The extent of adoption of American food or the maintenance of Filipino food consumption is unequivocally dependent on a support system that the specific U.S. environment offers. Components of this system are the Filipino grocery stores/restaurants and the more subtle, socio-cultural environment.

The Filipino grocery stores are very important in providing ingredients unlikely seen in the large U.S. supermarkets such as WalMart, Target and Costco. Here, Filipinos can purchase Filipino made or even Asian produced pastries, canned goods, ice cream and chips; vegetables and frozen items such as fruits, meat preparations and fish/seafood from Philippine soil and

waters; and ready made sauces and mixes. Doyle (1996) reported that despite the availability of Filipino food ingredients, adolescents and second generation Filipino Americans have the tendency to purchase convenience and fast foods. In this case, Filipino food availability does not seem to be the greatest indicator for Filipino food consumption.

Filipino restaurants and stores offering cooked foods are options for those who opt for convenience, for those who do not know how to cook or for those who have reasons of their own. To date, there are no records of how often Filipinos frequent these establishments and what attracted the patrons there. Clues available for scrutiny are the eateries themselves, what foods they serve, volume of diners and store lifespan.

Filipino gatherings are other sure sources of Filipino food. Food is one of the important elements of majority of the customs and traditions that Filipinos retain (Doyle, 1996). In effect, Filipinos in the US both have traditional and new cultural events that they celebrate with food. Christmas, *simbang gabi* (nine midnight masses before Christmas), birthdays, *pamamanhikan* (the meeting of an engaged couple's parents for planning the wedding), and weddings are examples of these customs still observed. New traditions include the annual Filipino Barrio Festival (Stockton, California) and Philippine American Cultural Week and Fiesta (San Francisco, California) which are actually strings of activities ranging from parades to pageants to food fairs (Haseltine, 1989).

At the least, the Filipino family stands as the main pillar of Filipino food consumption. It largely has a bearing on a family member's food choices. A possible hindrance though to the transmission of the Filipino eating habits is what is described by Espiritu and Wolf (2001) as the "lack of active cultural socialization-the deliberate teaching and practicing of the languages, traditions and history of the Philippines in Filipino American homes"p.176; which was observed

among immigrants' children in San Diego, California. Espiritu and Wolf explained that immigrant parents, as much as they wanted to share with their kids Filipino culture, are prevented by their long work hours. One aspect of Filipino food though that could offset this problem is its nature of being experienced rather than just being talked about. Filipino food may be encountered and familiarized when children socialize with individuals of the same nationality.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

A cross-sectional survey was administered to describe the current meal patterns common among the migrant Filipinos in the US. The questionnaire examined factors influencing meal structure, content and frequency. This methodology was selected to yield a broad spectrum of descriptive information regarding the eating behaviors of the target immigrant population within the constraints of time and access to subjects.

The following sections describe the procedures performed to meet the study objectives. These include subject selection and description, instrumentation, data collection, data analysis and limitations. All the methods described were approved by the UW-Stout Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research (IRB).

Subject Selection and Description

Filipinos in Illinois were identified as the target population for the study. This subpopulation of Filipino immigrants was selected based on its size and convenience. The most recent U.S. Census showed them as the third largest population of Filipinos in the US, next to California and Hawaii. Their current number is at 86,298 individuals; with 81,211 coming from Cook County. Thus this group accounts for one of the major geographic clusters within the nationwide Filipino immigrant pool. Moreover, it was more accessible to the researcher than groups from other states with large Filipino populations.

The following selection criteria were used to define the sampling frame for the study: a) subjects had to be first generation Filipinos; b) subjects had to reside in the U.S. for at least three years and had to be current residents of Illinois and; c) they had to be 20 years of age or older and; d) they had to have *Tagalog* orientation. It was necessary to limit the respondents to first

generation Filipinos to limit the possibility of confounding variables associated with non-first generation immigrants. The latter are anticipated to slant the results toward Americanization or uptake of prevailing meal patterns in the U.S. The three-year residency requirement excluded those individuals who came to the U.S. on a temporary basis (Note: The legal duration of initial stay of majority of temporary workers in the US is three years[US Citizenship and Immigration Services, n.d.]). On the other hand, the 20 year old minimum age requirement, was set to include a more mature set of respondents who may be most responsible for their meal patterns. This was the common age when Filipinos earn their college degrees.

Lastly, *Tagalog* orientation was required of the respondents to limit the confounding effects brought about by the multicultural backgrounds of Filipinos. Studying all backgrounds may have been possible by increasing the number of subjects; however this was not a possibility because of certain logistical constraints. Currently there are 80 ethno-linguistic groups in the country and bulk of those who migrated to the US came from different provinces and metropolitan areas of Northern, Central and Southern Luzon, Bicol Region and Visayas Regions (Fernandez, 1994; Dirige, 1995). The different groups would have differing food culture and consequently, meal patterns. Thus, this study focused on the dietary acculturation of a single, major ethnic subgroup versus attempting to obtain data aggregated across the numerous subgroups that comprise the Filipino community.

The *Tagalog* group has been chosen to represent the Filipino population because of two reasons. First, they are the largest ethnic group in the Philippines. Members of this group came from the provinces and regions appearing in Table 15. Second, the Tagalogs were previously identified as portraying the typical Filipino more than any other ethnic group (Pobre, 1978).

Table 15

The Philippine Tagalog Regions and their Respective Provinces

Central Luzon Region	National Capital Region	Southern Tagalog Region
Bataan	City of Manila	Batangas
Bulacan	Kalookan City	Cavite
Nueva Ecija	Las Pinas City	Laguna
Tarlac	Makati City	Marinduque
Zambales	Mandaluyong City	Occidental Mindoro
	Marikina City	Oriental Mindoro
	Muntinlupa City	Quezon
	Paranaque City	Rizal
	Pasay City	Romblon
	Pasig City	
	Quezon City	
	Malabon	
	Navotas	
	Pateros	
	San Juan	
	Taguig	
	Valenzuela	

Note. From "Lowland Cultural Group of the Tagalogs," by Odal, G.P., 2002, retrieved December 20, 2004, from http://www.ncca.gov.ph/culture&arts/cularts/ccta/kapatagan/kapatag-tagalog.htm.

The *Tagalog* membership among the study participants employed an expanded definition that included non-*Tagalog* born individuals who have acquired the *Tagalog* culture through migration, marriage, work relocation, etc.

Those eligible for inclusion in the study were recruited using the snowball technique. This method of recruiting was employed since the number and location of those individuals who fit the sampling frame requirements was largely unknowable from traditional sources of demographic information. Various Filipino individuals and organizations based in Chicago and the surrounding suburbs of Illinois were thus contacted to facilitate recruiting subjects and arranging survey administrations.

Instrumentation

A 50-item questionnaire was devised for this paper-based survey (see Appendix C). The questionnaire was written in English as Filipinos are assumed to be proficient in English. This assumption was based on the Philippine government report that 93.5% of Filipinos can speak and understand English (Philippine Department of Tourism, n.d.). Also, as the majority of the Filipinos in the US completed college and graduate school, they are expected to be well versed in the language. However, to ensure the instrument's comprehensibility, it was written using elementary level English and was evaluated by a professional who had extensive experience in conducting research among children. A pilot test among three Filipinos living in the U.S. was employed to assess the instrument's clarity of the items and ease of answering the items.

The questions on the survey were formulated in a culturally competent manner to answer the seven objectives previously enumerated. The succeeding paragraphs describe the questionnaire items by objective. Moreover, matrices summarizing the said items vis-à-vis the study objectives may be found in the Appendix D.

The first objective was represented by six items (item numbers 5 to 10) that dealt with meal structure. Some of the questions asked included (a) "How many meals and snacks do you have in a day?"; (b) "What do you eat for breakfast?"; and "Are the foods you eat during the weekdays similar to those you eat during the weekends?". The second objective was represented by 27 items (item numbers 15 to 41) that asked about the frequency of consumption of different traditional Filipino food items in various intervals (i.e., *never*, *rarely*, *about once a week*, *about two or more times a day*). The list of food was limited to the culture's staples, flavoring ingredients and viands.

The description of each respondent's perception of the nature of their meals, which was the content of the third objective, was represented by five items (item numbers 42 to 46). The questions asked whether the meals, be it breakfast, lunch, supper or snacks, were thought to be more of Filipino or American.

The fourth objective which intended to relate Filipino food consumption and cuisine sharing with demographic information was represented by item numbers 11, 45, 49 and 50. Item number 11 asked "Do you eat Filipino food?". This question was a measure of the extent of Filipino food consumption in the US. Item number 45 served the same purpose, though it asked respondents to classify their diets in the US (i.e., *purely Filipino*, *very Filipino*, *Filipino and American*, *very American*, *purely American*). Item numbers 49 and 50 asked "Do you offer your non-Filipino friends Filipino food?" and "Do you offer your children Filipino food?". These questions were meant to determine the rate at which Filipinos in the US share their meal patterns. Sharing of the meal patterns, in turn, was deemed an indicator of how the migrant population esteemed their food culture.

The fourth objective necessitated the demographic information supplied by item numbers one to four. This included age, gender, highest level of education and number of years in the US. This set of information was necessary to relate possible confounds brought by these variables to food consumption and food culture sharing.

The fifth objective, which related to the procurement methods of Filipino food, was represented by two items: item number 12, which asked "Where do you get your Filipino food supplies from?"; and item number 14, which asked "What do you do when your sources don't have the Filipino food/ingredients you need?". Answer choices for the latter included several

potential coping mechanisms, with one that particularly reveals the importance of the cultural food.

Part of the above mentioned sequence was item number 13 which called for perceptions on the availability of Filipino food and ingredients. This question, along with item number 11 and 45, was meant to satisfy the sixth objective which sought to characterize the association between Filipino food availability and food consumption. Item numbers 11 and 45 were also used to characterize the association between Filipino cuisine sharing and food consumption. Item numbers 11, 49 and 50 intended to identify the relationship between Filipino food consumption and cuisine sharing; that is, if the trend of their ability or fondness to teach or share Filipino food with their children and foreign friends was similar to their consumption of Filipino food.

The seventh objective was represented by two items (item numbers 47 to 48) that solicited the reasons for Filipino or American food consumption among the respondents. The possible responses to these questions have embedded in them the significance and roles of Filipino food among the respondents and the esteem they hold for their cultural food.

The majority of the survey items were closed ended and have included most of the possible responses to the questions. Estimated time needed for the completion of the survey was 15 minutes. A two-page consent form was attached to the front of the four-page questionnaire. This was required of studies involving human subjects by the IRB (see informed consent in Appendix E).

Data Collection Procedures

A total of 24 individuals and organizations based in Greater ChicagoArea/Illinois were contacted to facilitate the snow ball technique of recruiting survey respondents. The organizations tapped were scouted via the internet and through referrals. These groups were a

combination of Filipino/Asian cultural, civic, professional and alumni organizations. They were contacted through conventional/electronic mail and phone calls. Of the 24 contacts, a total of 12 individuals and organizations agreed to facilitate data collection in their respective Filipino networks (see listing in Appendix G). These individuals/organizations were based in DuPage County, Lake County and Cook County.

Three hundred sets of questionnaires with self-addressed and self-stamped envelopes were sent to the contacts through conventional mail with an anticipated or desired response rate of 50%.

For the maximal recovery of the forms distributed, follow-ups were done via electronic mail and phone calls. The investigator personally picked up majority of the forms from the individual and organizational contacts in Illinois. The remaining completed forms were obtained through conventional mail. The completed forms were assigned respondent ID numbers starting at 001.

Data Analysis

The data collected was coded then entered, checked for errors and analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences 12.0 for Windows (SPSS). The fundamental analyses required by the descriptive design relied heavily on descriptive statistics and correlational analyses. Responses obtained for meal frequency and structure, and traditional Filipino food content in the meal (Item numbers five to 10 and 15-41) were assessed using their frequencies. Also evaluated for frequency were the responses on how the respondents perceived their meals (Item numbers 42 to 46), the responses related to their Filipino food sources (Item number 12 to 14) and what were the reasons for Filipino or American food consumption (Item numbers 47 and 48).

Spearman correlations were performed to examine the associations between (a) the perceived availability of Filipino food supply (Item number 13) with Filipino food consumption (Item number 45), (b) demographic information (Item numbers one to four) and Filipino food consumption (Item number 45), (c) demographics (Item numbers one to four) with cuisine sharing among children and foreign friends (Item numbers 49 and 50), and (d) Filipino food consumption (Item number 45) and cuisine sharing among children and friends (Item numbers 49 and 50).

CHAPTER FOUR

Results and Discussion

In this study of Filipino meal patterns in the US, 300 questionnaires were distributed in Greater Chicago/Illinois utilizing the snowball technique of recruiting respondents described in Chapter 3. There were 297 completed survey forms returned, 114 of which have been personally picked up, and 183 of which have been mailed to the investigator. Of the 297 completed questionnaires, 267 were utilized for the study. Thirty respondents failed to meet the study's requirements in terms of age, number of years in the US and region of origin or orientation.

The Survey Respondents

The study participants were predominantly female, middle aged and highly educated. Females made up 67% (n = 179) of the sample while males accounted for only 32.6% (n=87). Less than 1% of the respondents failed to indicate their gender. Mean and median ages were 46 (sd = 12.930) and 47 years, respectively. The age distribution among the respondents followed a near normal distribution ranging from 20 to 71 years (see Figure 3). A majority of the participants were college educated (51.5%), an observation similar to the 2000 US Census figure for the state of Illinois (see Figure 4). There is deviation though when it comes to the percentage of those who attended graduate school. The sample of this study is more highly educated than Illinois' Filipino American population. Participants who attended graduate school accounted for 40.8% of the sample as compared to 11.8% of the Illinois Filipino population. Lastly, it was observed that the number of those who finished high school was almost double of those who completed grade school.

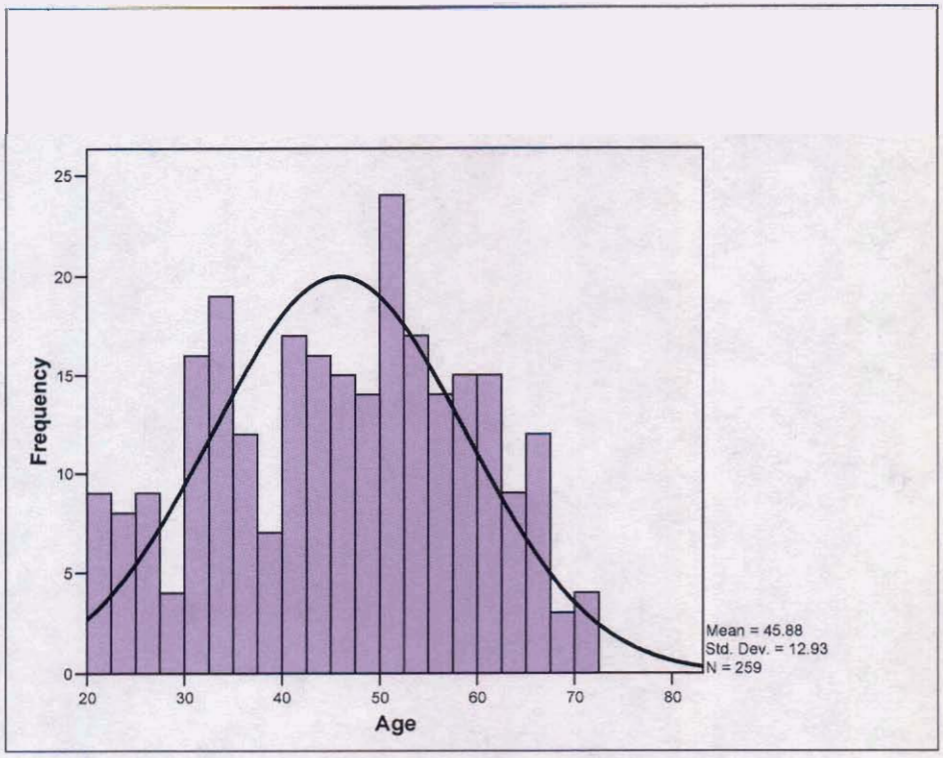

Figure 3. Age Distribution among Study Participants. *Note*. n = 259.

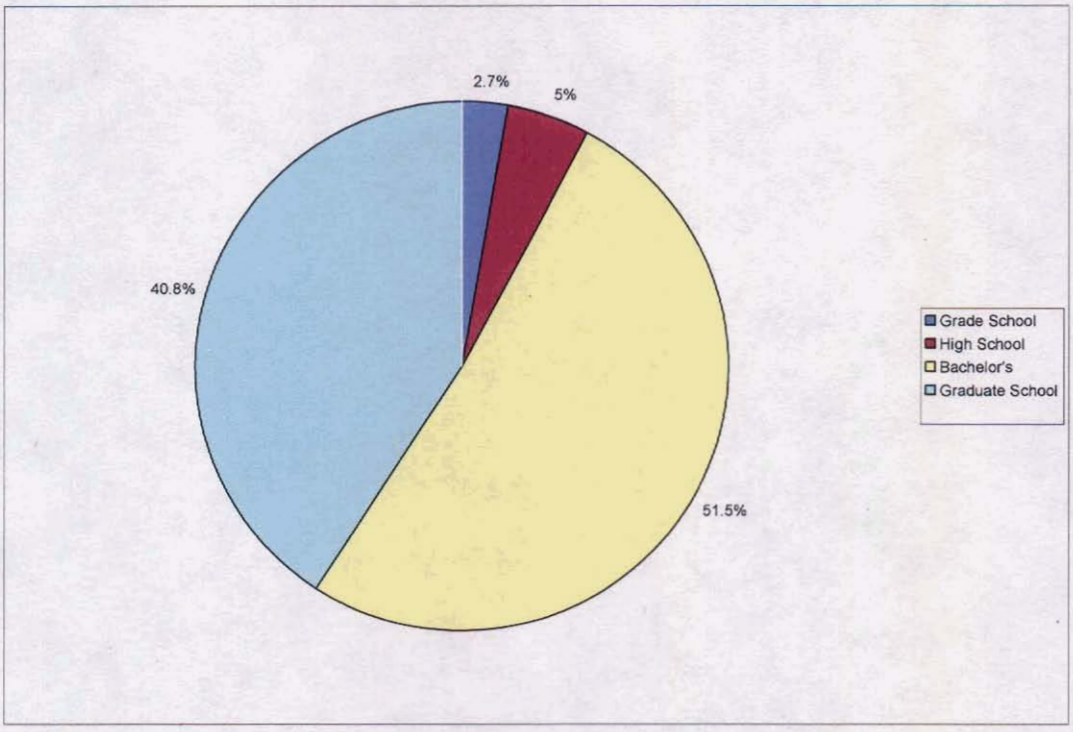

Figure 4. The Education Level of the Study Participants. *Note*. n = 260.

The participants of the study resided in the US from 3 to 46 years (Figure 5). Mean (sd = 11.22) and median number of years were 18.8 and 17 years, respectively.

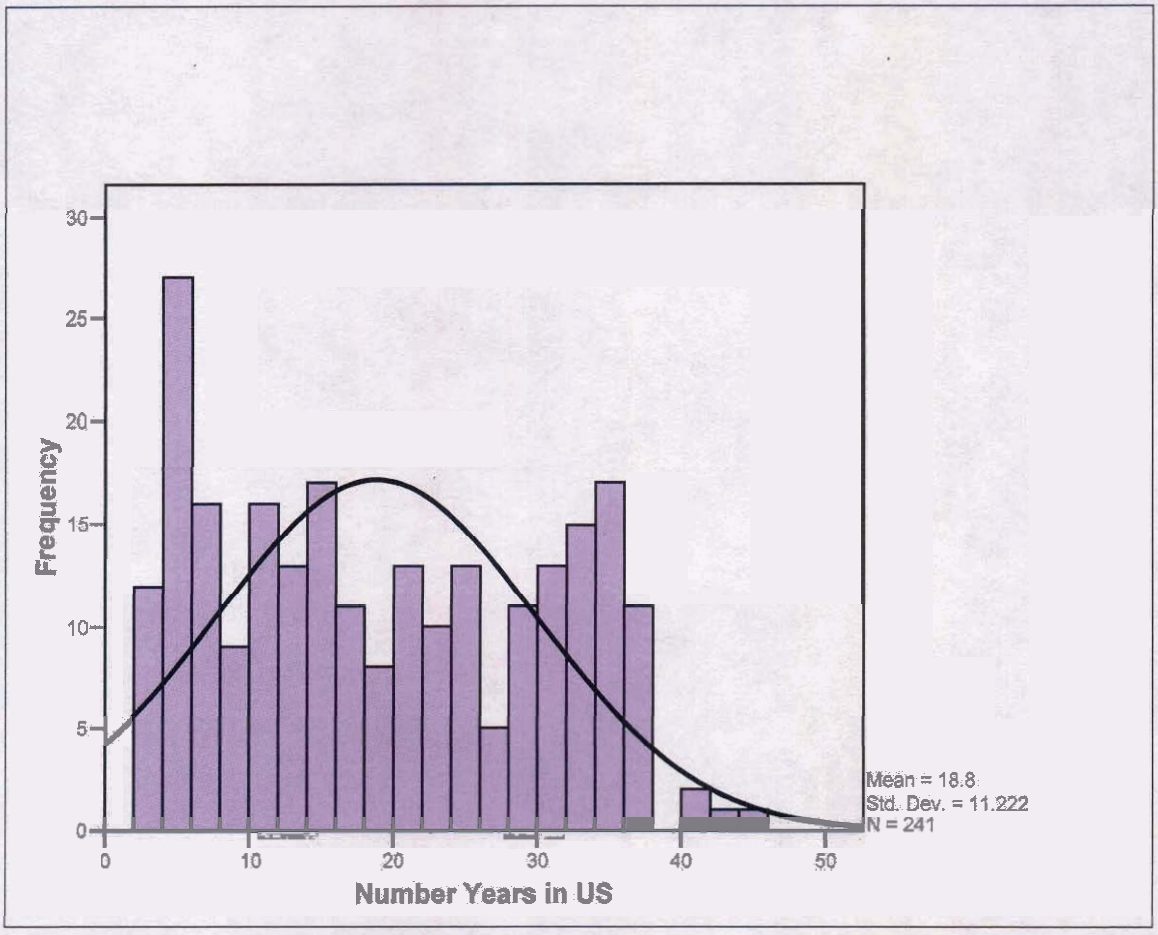

Figure 5. The Respondents' Length of Residence in the US. *Note.* n = 241.

Description of Filipino Meal Patterns in the US

Overview of the Meals. The survey responses revealed that the majority of the participants were either consuming a total of three meals and snacks in a day (40.9%) or four to five meals and snacks daily (39.4%) (see Figure 6). These findings overlap with those of Albarracin (1995) who studied the dietary practices of Filipinos in Ohio. In the Ohio study, the majority of participants indicated they ate three meals and two to three snacks per day. Both the current study and Albarracin observed very similar meal frequency patterns with general observations of meal frequency in the Philippines.

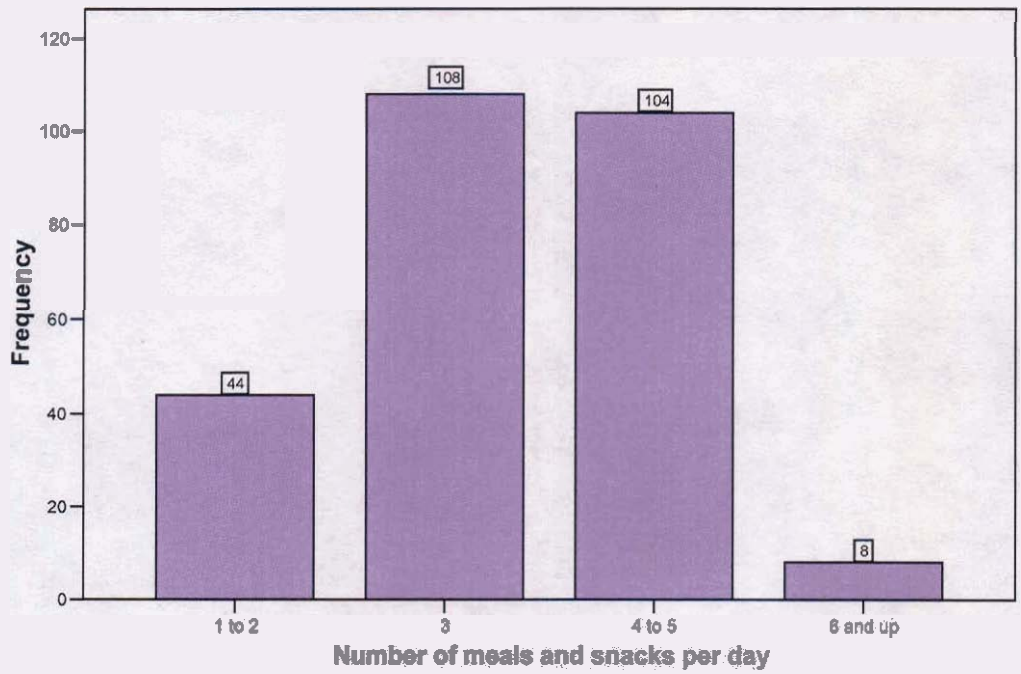

Figure 6. The Number of Meals and Snacks Consumed by the Participants in a Day. *Note.* n = 264.

In terms of meal uniformity, the majority of the survey respondents (66.8%) reported consuming similar food items during the weekdays and the weekends. This finding revealed that Filipino Americans were less inclined to observe the special Saturday or Sunday family meals as is the tradition in the Philippines. Previous documentation of these traditions (i.e., Warde, 1997) may represent older customs less observed in urban families even in the Philippines; however, as no current survey based data for similarly educated age groups in urban Philippine populations are available for comparisons it is difficult to conclude if these observed differences are attributable to acculturation to the US lifestyle or rather caused by more global trends in urbanization.

The Meal Structure. The findings describing the respondents' meal structure are presented in this section. These descriptions are based on the checklists of food items that the respondents used to characterize their meals. Refer to item numbers 6 to 9 of the questionnaire (Appendix C) for the different checklists for each meal.

Figure 7 illustrates the percentage of subjects and various foods they consumed for breakfast ranked according to popularity. The figure revealed coffee, tea or chocolate and bread or pastry as the most widely eaten breakfast items, being consumed by more than 50% of the respondents. Next in popularity were breakfast cereals and egg dishes which were consumed by more than 40% of the respondents. Also eaten but not prominent in the breakfast repertoires of the sample investigated were fruits and fruit juices, rice dishes, milk, meat dishes and preserved fruit spreads. Other breakfast items reported by two different participants were cheese and noodles.

The predominance of bread, coffee and eggs resembles the frequently consumed breakfast items identified by Lewis and Glaspy (1975) and the pattern provided by Dirige (1995) as a

result of their studies of Filipino Americans. While the consumption of meat dishes and milk among the current study participants was not so popular, the consumption of the two items among Filipina immigrants in California was prominent, next to bread and coffee (Lewis and Glaspy). Breakfast cereals were more popular breakfast items among the Illinois respondents. In fact breakfast cereals, along with rice, were absent as breakfast meal components in the Californian study.

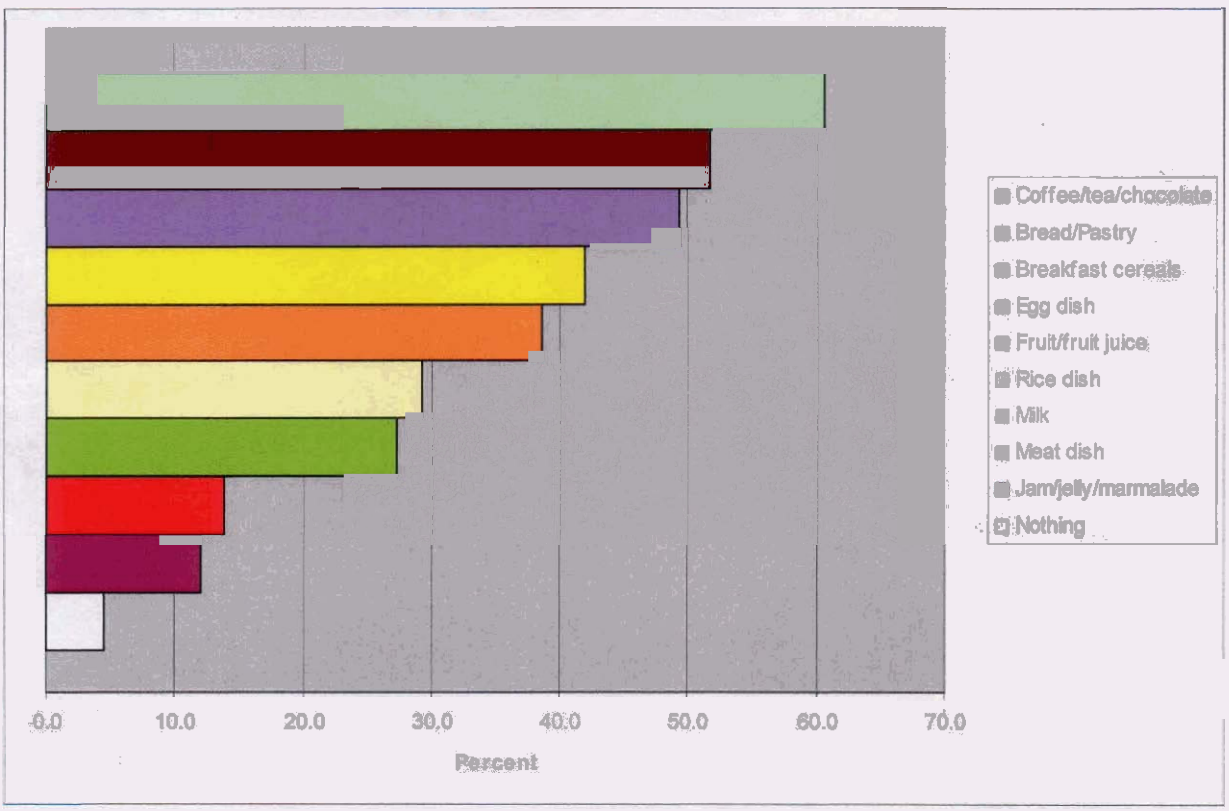

Figure 7. Breakfast Items Consumed by Respondents. *Note.* n = 267.

The breakfast structure of the respondents revealed very similar components with the breakfast structure of urbanites in the Philippines described by Howden et al. (1993). These authors found the morning meals to consist of bread/toast, margarine/butter, fried/ scrambled egg

or processed meat, and coffee/tea. The current study findings matched Fernandez' (1994) observation that coffee and toast made up the urban individuals' breakfast. More so, the present study's findings also have similar elements with the breakfast structure found in the rural areas, except that fish was a common component of the latter. Fish or processed meat, along with boiled rice or pandesal (bun) and fried or scrambled egg comprise the traditional breakfast structure found in the rural areas (Howden et al., 1993). The fish component of this traditional breakfast made the structure more similar with that of Filipino elderly immigrants in California (Gomez, 1983; Hickman-Pemberton as cited by Gomez, 1983). The current study's data suggest the unpopularity of milk as a breakfast item similar to the case in Philippines. This unpopularity may be due to the limited availability of milk in the Philippines and the association of milk consumption with infants and toddlers (FNRI, 2002; National Dairy Authority [NDA], 2002-2004).

The bread-based breakfast meal most commonly adopted by the respondents may have been the best option for a quick yet filling morning meal. Coffee, bread/pastry, breakfast cereals and eggs obviously need less preparation. The prevailing structure converges with both urban and rural/traditional breakfasts to certain extents suggesting minor structural differences between breakfasts among Filipinos in Illinois and in the Philippines. Diverging trends are noted in the consumption of milk, meat, breakfast cereal and rice between the current study and Lewis and Glaspy's (1975). These differing trends may be due to age, gender and generation differences among the respondents.

Figure 8 illustrates the food items consumed by the respondents for lunch. This figure shows that rice and meat were the top items eaten at lunch by 65.2% and 63.3% of the respondents, respectively. The predominance of these two items implies their roles as the foundation of the

typical Filipino American lunch. Fish and vegetable dishes are the more apparent additions or variations to the rice and meat based meals. Nearly 50% of the sample reported consuming these foods. Soup, sandwich/subs and salads appeared to be less important meal additions or alternatives, and were eaten at rates of 30% and 40% respectively. Noodles, bread and potato dishes were also eaten by a few subjects. Other lunch items consumed by a smaller number of the participants included fruits, yogurt, and packaged frozen food (i.e., Lean Cuisine).

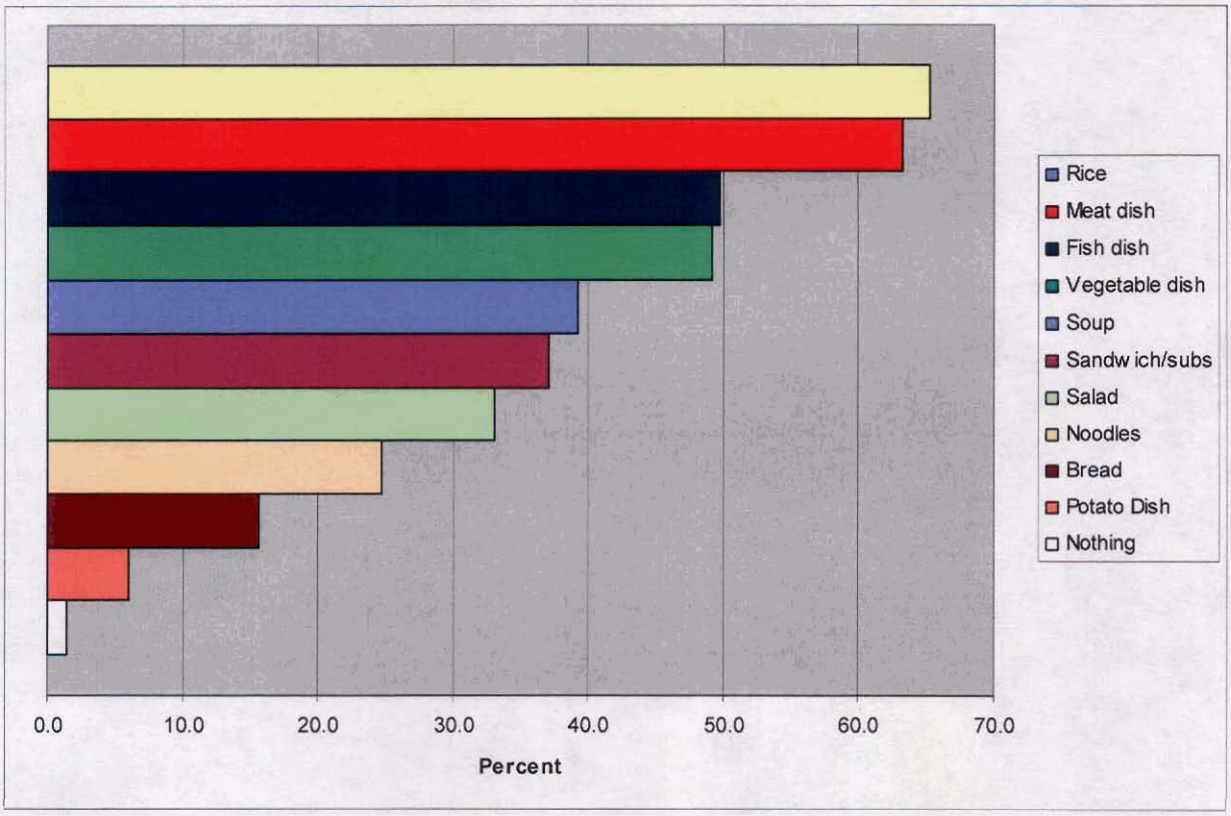

Figure 8. Lunch Items Consumed by Respondents. *Note*. n = 267.

This lunch pattern had similar components with the results of Gomez (1983), Pemberton (as cited by Gomez, 1983) and Lewis and Glaspy. Their studies on Filipinos in California revealed rice, meat and vegetables as popular lunch items. However, their findings did not indicate fish as a highly consumed lunch item, a large deviation from the current data. Moreover, the

respondents in Lewis and Glaspy 's research conveyed the increased popularity of fruit over rice and vegetables. Over-all, the predominating meal structure revealed from the current study is not parallel to the Filipino American lunch pattern described by Dirige (1995) which includes sandwich, fruit juice/soda and dessert.

The prevailing consumption of the four lunch items (a) rice, (b) meat, (c) fish and (d) vegetables among the Illinois respondents follows the Filipino lunch structure of fish/meat, vegetables, rice and dessert (Dirige, 1995). Notably, dessert is missing in the lunch structure observed in the current study.

The identification of popular lunch items among the respondents indicated a very Filipino lunch structure prevailing in Greater Chicago/Illinois. The predominance of rice consumption at this meal was not expected as lunch was described as one of the most westernized meals in migrant population studies (Satia-Abouta et al, 2002). Rice does not fit well in this western food scheme. Furthermore, rice consumption does not seem very plausible for the majority of the respondents who are assumed to be coming from their offices during lunch time. Going home for the midday meal was not thought to be a common practice among this sample. Eating in Filipino restaurants may also not be a common option. The findings of the current study confirmed this low patronage of Filipino restaurants. Further discussion about the Filipino restaurants as sources of Filipino food is included in the succeeding sections.

What may possibly have sustained the rice eating routine were packed lunches brought to school or in the workplace; or eating rice offered at restaurants in the proximity of their offices. Filipinos are claimed to be regular *baon* (packed food) bringers especially in the workplace (Sta. Romana-Cruz, 1997). They not only feed themselves, but they feed others as well. Also, these

Filipino Americans in the sample may have access to the Filipino friendly restaurants which may include Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, Thai and Korean restaurants which all serve rice.

The popularity of meats in the meals may have been permitted by the relatively cheap cost of food in the US (Axelson, 1986). Meat particularly is a high status food in Southeast Asia and, thus, a commodity that may have increased consumption where it is cheap or where buying power is large (Story and Harris, 1989).

With regards to the deviations in the observations between the California and Illinois studies, it is unclear why fish consumption tended to be higher in the current Greater Chicago/Illinois study. Fresh fish supply is not seen as a reason because California happens to be one of the nation's leading fishing states, thus a potentially larger source of fresh fish/seafood than Illinois (MSN Encarta, 1993-2005).

Figure 9 presents the different food items consumed by the respondents for supper. This figure revealed trends similar to the participants' lunch patterns. Rice and meat were consistently the highest consumed supper items, followed by fish and vegetable dishes. However, the percentages at which these were eaten at supper were higher compared to their consumption during lunchtime. Rice and meat were eaten by between 70 to 80% of the respondents (compared to 60 to 70% for lunch); while, fish and vegetables were partaken of by between 60 to 70% (compared to 40 to 50% for lunch). The frequency of fish intake was higher than vegetable consumption; the frequency of consumption of these two items for lunch were almost equal.

The remaining food items, with the exception of soup and potato, were consumed by fewer respondents. Soup remained the fifth most common lunch/supper meal item; bread and potato were the least popular for the two meals. Other supper food items identified by less than 2% of the respondents were fruits, pizza and specialty foods such as protein bars and Atkins food packages.

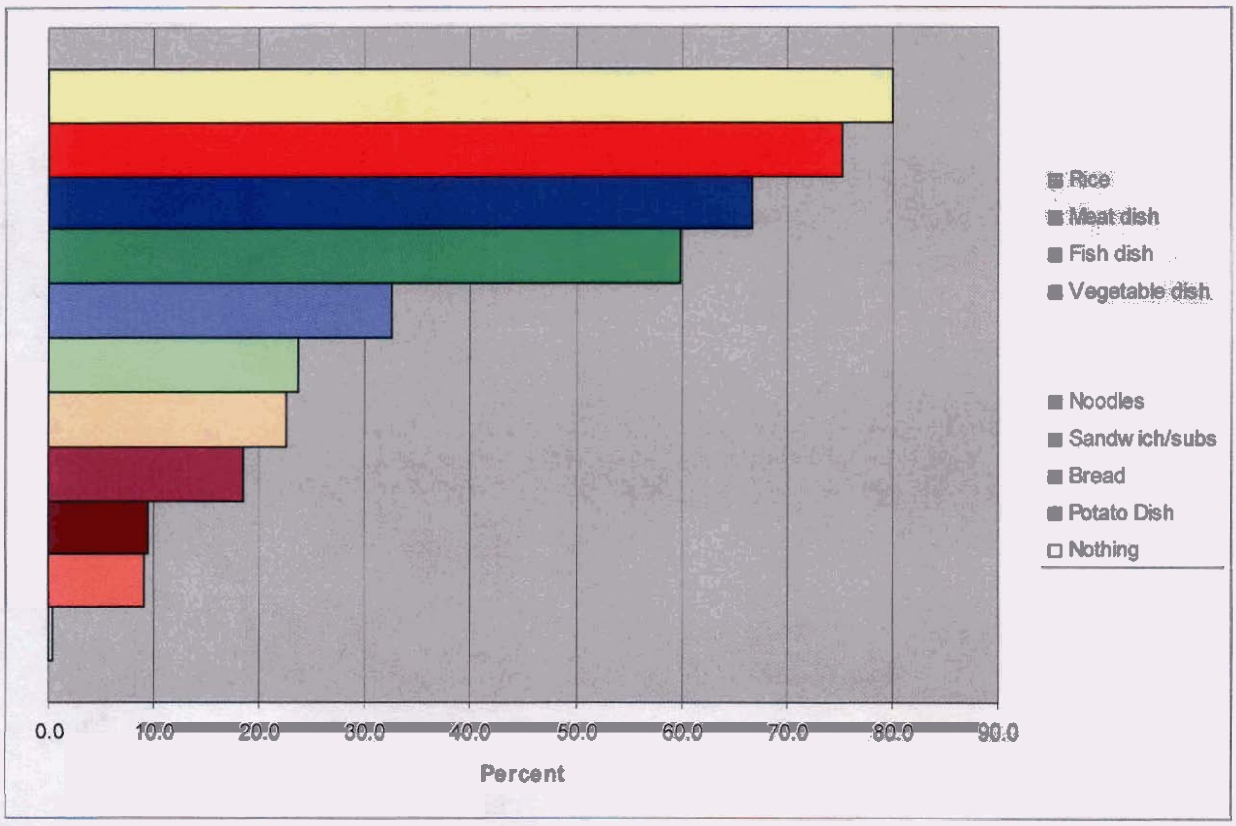

Figure 9. Supper Items Consumed by Respondents. *Note*. n = 267.

The prevailing meal structure of rice, meat, fish and vegetables was similar to the results of Gomez (1983) and Hickman and Pemberton (as cited by Gomez, 1983). The rice, meat, fish and vegetable pattern was also evident in the supper structure given by Dirige (1995), except that beverage and dessert were absent from the Illinoisan meal. Lastly, the present study's meal

structure was similar to the pattern described by Lewis and Glaspy (1975) except for fruit's inclusion and fish dishes' exclusion from the meal structure they identified.

The popularity of the supper items (a) rice, (b) meat, (c) fish and (d) vegetables among the Illinoisan respondents similarly follows the Filipino supper structure of fish/meat, vegetables, rice and dessert (Dirige, 1995). Obviously, dessert is not a major element of the current study's structure.

Apparently, the eating of dessert as part of the meal is not pronounced in the Greater Chicago/Illinois sample. There were just small numbers of respondents who reported eating fruits with their meals (1.1% for lunch and 1.8% for supper). The unremarkable presence of desserts in the meal may be due to the nature of the snacks the respondents nibbled between their meals.

Figure 10 presents food items consumed by the respondents for snacks. Results indicate that the consumption percentages obtained for snack items were rather low, perhaps due to the diversity of snack foods available to the participants. Also, there was almost 10% of the sample (8.2%) that did not partake of any snacks during the day. Nevertheless, the top selected food items for snack by the participants included (in decreasing order): (a) chips, popcorn or fries; (b) breads, cakes or pastry; (c) coffee, tea or chocolate and (d) soda/pop. The snacks mentioned, along with other American snack items (i.e., candy bars, ice cream, pizza and hotdogs) were consumed frequently by more individuals than oriental or Filipino type snacks as dim sum/dumplings, rice cakes, rice and viand, and noodles. Other snack foods mentioned by less than 10% of the respondents were fruits, nuts, yogurt and cookies/crackers.

Lewis and Glaspy (1975) also observed the predominance of western snacks over traditional snacks among their California based respondents. Snack foods popular to both their respondents

and the Illinoisan respondents were bread and coffee/tea/chocolate. Lewis and Glaspy disclosed fruit/fruit juice and milk as popular snack items among their subjects as well.

At the time of this study, no documented snack structure in the Philippines is available to facilitate comparison of snacks among Filipinos in Greater Chicago/Illinois and in the Philippines. It is the researcher's view that the diversity of snack foods and the several/irregular snack times make it difficult to establish a structure for snack. Based on her personal experience, she agrees that (a) chips, popcorn or fries; (b) breads, cakes or pastry; (c) coffee, tea or chocolate and (d) soda/pop are also favorite snack foods in the Philippines and that these items co-exist with the equally popular traditional rice cakes, noodle and dimsum/dumplings.

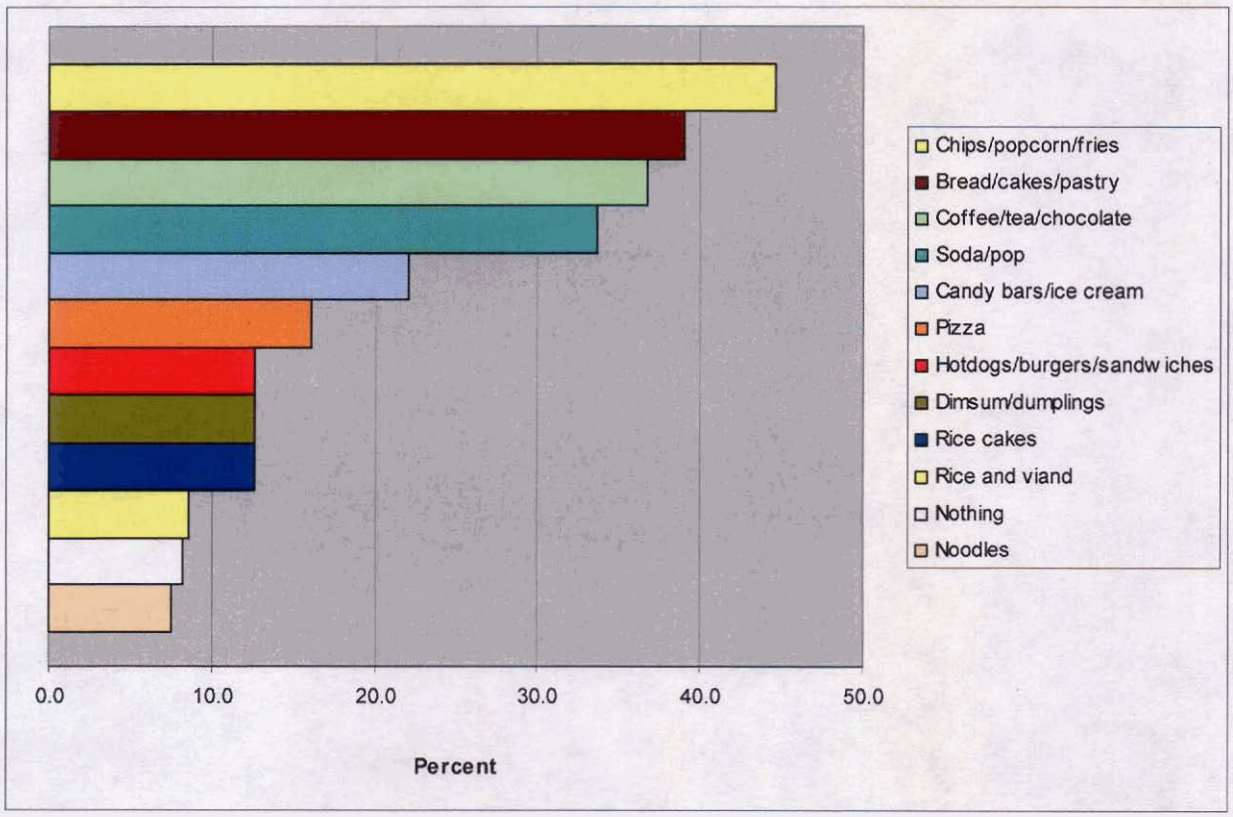

Figure 10. Snack Items Consumed by Respondents. *Note.* n = 267.

The consumption of the top four snack items observed in this study may be due to various reasons. Chips, popcorn and fries may have been consumed most frequently because of the respondents' innate or conditioned taste for salty snacks and the popularity of these snacks even in the Philippines (Canono, 2001). Cakes and pastry may have been eaten to satisfy the participants' sweet tooth. As earlier mentioned, Filipinos have a predilection for sweet foods. Bread, just like coffee, tea or chocolate was in their diet even before coming to the US and, thus, it is familiar and acceptable. Coffee, other than being a usual beverage in the Philippines, has been elevated to portray higher or more sophisticated status with the entry of flavored variants and upscale coffee shops. Tea was viewed the same way as coffee (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2005). Soda/pop was consumed by many respondents possibly because it has been a long time favorite in the Philippines and because soda is a status symbol as in the case in other South East Asian countries) (Story and Harris, 1989).

Of all the meals discussed, supper seems to be most important among the respondents as only 0.4% of the subjects omitted this meal. This finding may be because family/household members are at home at this time of the day. For this reason, supper becomes a venue for a different, special or traditional meal. Supper has in fact been reported to be the most conservative or traditional meal among migrant populations (Satia-Abouta et al, 2002; Pan et al., 1999; Dirige, 1995). Breakfast, on the other hand, was skipped the most. There were 4.5% of respondents from the Illinois sample who skipped the said meal. This percentage was slightly higher compared to the 1% in the Philippines reported by Frank Small and Associates (as cited by Howden et al., 1993). The higher percentage of those who skipped breakfast in Greater Chicago/Illinois was anticipated as breakfast was one of the meals which was skipped or modified most by immigrant populations (Nan and Cason, 2004; Satia-Abouta et al, 2002; Kalcik, 1984).

The Traditional Content of the Meal.

Twenty-seven traditional Filipino food items/groups have been assessed for their occurrence in the Filipino American diet. This was done using a food frequency segment with the intervals: (a) *never*; (b) *rarely*; (c) *about 1 to 3 times a month*; (d) *about once a week*; (e) *about 2 to 3 times a week*; (f) *about 4 to 6 times a week*; (g) *about once per day*; and (h) *about 2 or more times a day* (refer to survey item numbers 15 to 41 in Appendix C). The resulting median frequency of consumption of each of the food items/groups are shown in Table 16.

Table 16

Median Frequency of Consumption of Traditional Filipino Food Items in the US

Traditional Filipino Food Items	Frequency of Consumption			
	Rarely	*About 1 to 3 times a month*	*About once a week*	*About once per day*
Staples		Noodle dishes		Boiled Rice[a]
		Filipino breads[b]		
Flavoring Ingredients		Fermented fish/ shrimp pastes[b]	Fermented sauces as sauces	
			Sour foods as sauces	
			Vegetable/fruit side dishes[b]	

Note. The table was based on the median values obtained from the study's food frequency questionnaire.

[a]Consumed 2 or more times a day by the majority of the respondents. [b]Consumed rarely by the majority of the respondents.

Table 16 (continuation)

Median Frequency of Consumption of Traditional Filipino Food Items in the US

Traditional Filipino Food Items	Frequency of Consumption			
	Rarely	*About 1 to 3 times a month*	*About once a week*	*About once per day*
Main Dishes	Vinegar based Dishes	Sour broths		
	Peanut based Dishes	Mildly flavored Soups		
	Dishes with internal organs	Vinegar and soy sauce based dishes		
	Coconut milk based dishes	Tomato based Dishes		
	Stuffed/ground meat dishes	Stir fried dishes		
	Meat rolls or Loaves	Spring rolls and Fritters		
	Barbecued/roasted Dishes	Preserved meats		
	Rice dishes	Dried and smoked Fish[b]		
	Egg products	Fried foods		
		Steamed foods		
		Canned fish and meat		

Note. The table was based on the median values obtained from the study's food frequency questionnaire.

[a]Consumed 2 or more times a day by the majority of the respondents. [b]Consumed rarely by the majority of the respondents.

For all foods, consumption tended to cluster under the less frequent intervals: (a) *rarely*, (b) *about 1 to 3 times a month* and (c) *about once a week*. One exception to this trend was boiled rice. Boiled rice was the most commonly consumed traditional dish. Its median consumption was about once per day, although majority of the participants (39.3%) indicated they ate it two or more times a day, most probably for both lunch and supper. This frequency of consumption implied the maintenance of the rice eating practice among the respondents as previously indicated in the discussion of their meal structure. Nevertheless, it is not entirely clear if rice intake frequency among the respondents was lower than rice consumption frequency in the Philippines. The previous section (see Figures 7, 8 and 9) revealed the rate of rice consumption observed across the meals was less than 100%. Not everybody ate rice at every meal. For the breakfast meal, this is very understandable as literature indicated the fluctuating presence of rice in this meal. The less frequent consumption of rice in the lunch and supper meals indicates its substitution with other carbohydrate-rich staples. For both meals, the results showed that the noodle dishes were the most frequent alternative carbohydrate source, superseding breads and potato dishes. It may be inferred from Table 16 that these noodle substitutes are less likely traditional Filipino as the Filipino noodle dishes occurred at infrequent rates (*about one to three times a month*).

Following rice, food items that were most frequently eaten were the fermented sauces (i.e., *patis*, *soy sauce*), sour based sauces (i.e., vinegar, tamarind) and vegetable/fruit sides (i.e., *atchara*). These were eaten at least once a week. The occurrence of these flavoring ingredients next to rice suggests their place in the Filipino meal as *core foods*, even in the US setting. They most likely occurred in the meal because of Filipino dishes requiring certain sauces. Or, they may be used to add Filipino flavor to certain foreign dishes. Excluded from this list of frequently

consumed condiments is fermented fish or shrimp paste which only occurred in their menu once to three times a month. The low frequency may correlate with a lower frequency of consumption of specific dishes that use fermented fish or shrimp paste (i.e., *kare-kare*, *binagoongan*, unripe mangoes). Also, the respondents may have avoided the paste because its intense smell may displease others (i.e., foreign roommates or neighbors).

Food items that were eaten by the majority about 1 to 3 times a month were a combination of starchy staples and viands. These were predominantly easy-to-prepare or ready-to-cook items. For instance, Filipino style fried foods and steamed foods need the least preparation. The same is true for spring rolls, preserved meat (i.e., *tocino*, *longanisa*), dried/smoked fish (i.e., *tuyo*, *daing*) and canned meat (i.e. corned beef, SPAM) which can all be fried directly from the package. The stir-fried dishes, noodle dishes and the spring rolls, if made from scratch were apparently the most complicated to prepare in this set of food items. The sour broths, the mildly flavored soups, vinegar-based and soy sauce-based dishes, tomato based-dishes which may include the one dish meals sinigang, *tinola, nilaga* and adobo, can all be conveniently cooked by putting all the ingredients in one pot and then letting them boil to cook. These dishes are actually well accepted in the US because of their subtle flavors. Also, *adobo* and *sinigang* are considered the Filipino national and favorite dishes. These two factors may account for their regular appearance in Filipino American dining tables.

The traditional food items that were rarely consumed consisted of both simple-to-make and elaborate dishes. The traditional dishes' rarity may either be due to their tedious preparation (i.e., they may need several ingredients, complicated cooking methods and long cooking times) or their special fare category. Dishes like *paella* (a rice and seafood dish), *morcon* (meat roll), *rellenong bangus* (a stuffed fish dish), and kare-kare (a peanut based stew) are examples of the

dishes that are harder to prepare. Their tedious preparation may limit their appearances to certain seasons or special events. Filipino roasted dishes, which may or which may not be hard to make, may be seldom eaten because these are considered special fare.

The simpler vinegar, coconut milk and internal organ based dishes may have been consumed rarely for reasons such as (a) ingredient availability, and (b) unacceptability of strong flavors among peers, Filipino or not. For instance, the vinegar-based dish *kinilaw* requires fresh-caught seafood, an ingredient not easily obtained in the Midwest. Likewise, internal organs (i.e., pork blood, liver, spleen, lungs and heart) for the dishes *dinuguan* and *bopis* may not be available in supermarkets or Filipino stores. If available, they may not possess the newness or freshness that consumer's desire. The same is true for Filipino egg (i.e., *itlog na maalat* and *balut*) and bakery products (i.e., *pan de sal*, *pan de coco*, *monay*).

All the food items mentioned (with the exception of those consumed rarely) may not occur in the participants' meals as often as rice, but they are implied as mainstays in the respondents' meals. For instance, if all the items are served once to three times a month, the meals can be very Filipino in nature. It is not clear if these frequencies are significantly less than their frequencies in the Philippine. Such a decrease has been found in Albarracin's study (1995) which compared changes in consumption of 49 Filipino food items among Filipinos in Ohio. This shift from the preparation and consumption of traditional dishes to the adoption of mainstream food culture was thought to be the result of the diversity of food available coupled with time efficient preparation (Drewnowski & Popkin, 1997).

The following section describes how the study's respondents perceived their meals in the US. The discussion will confirm the previously described meal patterns of the target Filipino group.

Perceptions of the Cultural Nature of Meals

The entire sample reported themselves as consumers of Filipino food. This finding was in sharp contrast to Lewis and Glaspy's study (1975) which revealed Filipino food consumption was only 40% among their 47 Filipina respondents in California. The difference may in fact be due to more Americanized eating patterns among the California-based sample during the mid 1970s. Also, it may have been due to the differences in sample size or in the respondents' relative perceptions of the delineations of Filipino and American food.

In the present Illinois study, participants' perceptions of their meals in the US were assessed. They were asked whether their meals and diet as a whole were *purely Filipino*, *very Filipino*, *Filipino and American*, *very American* or *purely American*. To observe the evolution in these perceptions, the participants' were also asked to characterize the nature of their diet in the Philippines using the same Likert scale.

The participants' perceptions of their diets in the Philippines were more characteristically Filipino (see Figure 11). The majority of the respondents (78.2%) described their diets as either *very Filipino* (47.7%) or *purely Filipino* (30.5%) whereas only about one fifth of the sample (21%) indicated their diets were both *Filipino and American*. The Filipino and American perception was an anticipated observation. The fact that some respondents reported a mix of Filipino and American cuisine in their diets at home is not surprising given the significant U.S. presence in the nation over the past century. Thus, those who have referred to their home diets as *Filipino and American* may have done so either because they recognize the Filipino-American fusion, or alternatively because they recognize the cuisines as distinct but simply patronize American fast foods, restaurants and other outlets of the American culinary culture at the same time.

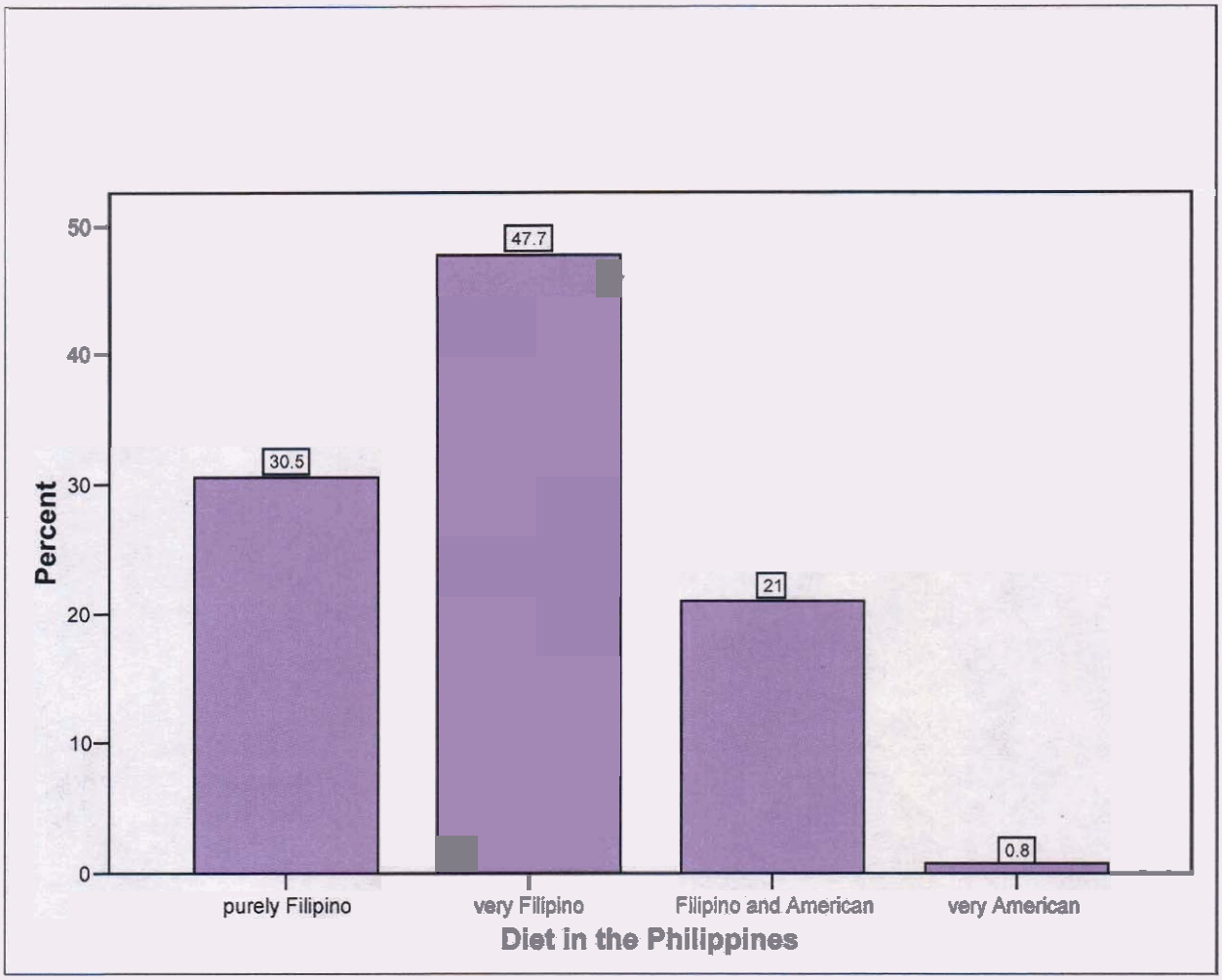

Figure 11. Participants' Perceptions of their Diet in the Philippines. *Note*. n = 262.

In contrast to meal patterns reported for life in the Philippines, results of the respondents' description of their meals and diet while in the US revealed a more pronounced *Filipino and American* trend. The resulting distribution of responses regarding the nature of the diet in the US showed the concentration of responses (72.6%) was for the description *Filipino and American* (see Figure 12). *Very Filipino* and *Very American* comprised the bulk of the remaining perceptions. Those who described their diets as either *purely Filipino* or *purely American* accounted for only 3.8% of the sample. This percentage suggests that there is only a limited number of Filipino Americans who were purists in their consumption patterns. And, those who

ate purely Filipino food (2.6%) were greater in number than those who ate purely American food (0.8%). The presence of the 0.8% who ate purely American food was inconsistent with the finding that 100% of the respondents ate Filipino food in the US. This inconsistency was attributed to the observed tendency of individuals to qualify the consumption of ethnic food as part of their food culture.

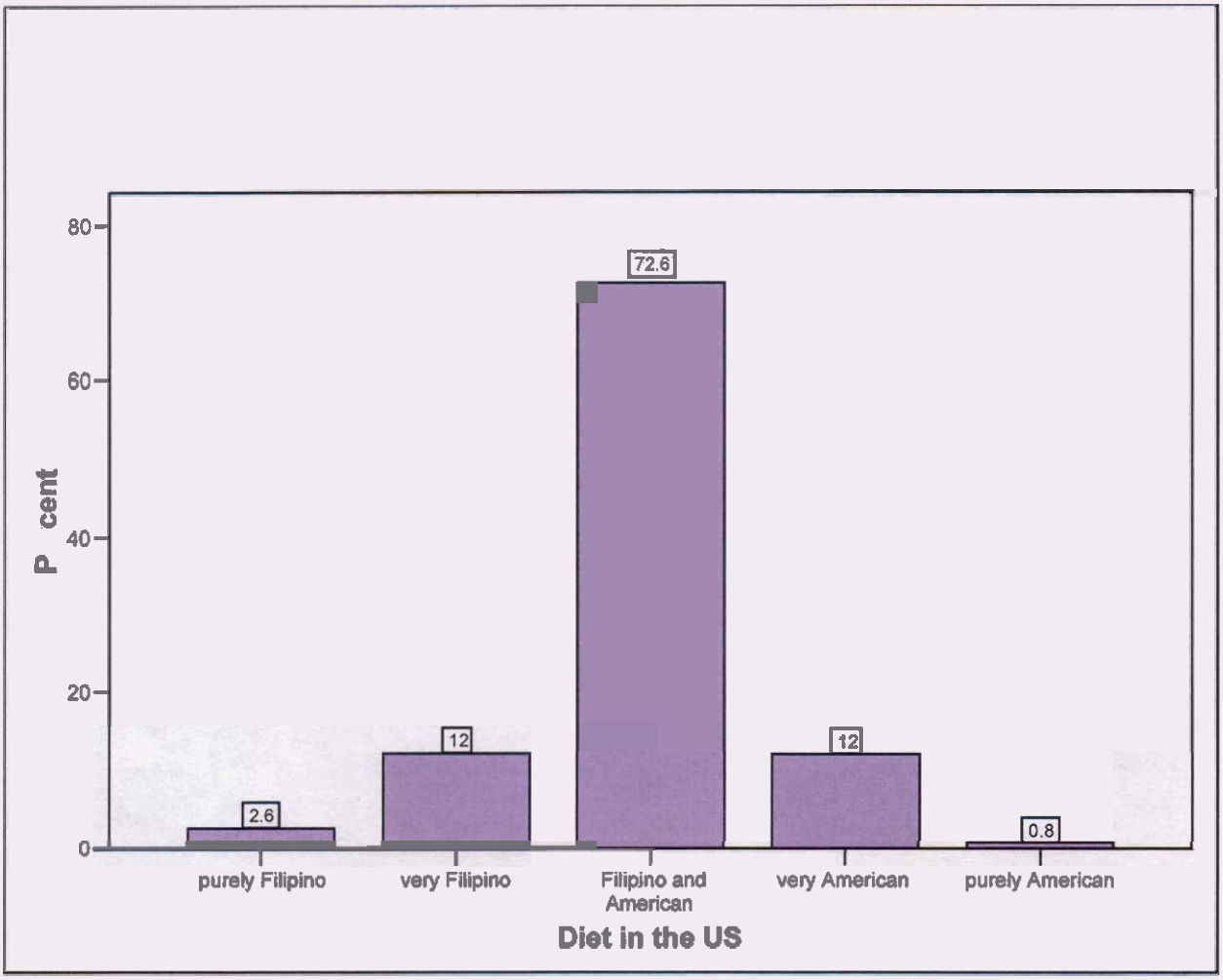

Figure 12. Participants' Perceptions of their Diet in the US. *Note.* n = 266.

The participants' perceptions of the nature of their individual meals consistently supported the predominance of Filipino and American identification of the diet in the US. *Filipino and*

American responses for breakfast, lunch and supper were 66.2%, 61.9% and 60.5%, respectively (see Figure 13). The *Filipino and American* perception exhibited a downward trend from breakfast to supper, though the differences across segmented *Filipino and American* responses for lunch and supper appeared small (5.7%).

Although the remaining responses have been divided into the remaining perceptions (*purely Filipino, very Filipino, very American and purely American*), the patterns they have displayed were equally interesting and anticipated. For instance, there were higher percentages of those who described their breakfast and lunch meals as v*ery American* rather than v*ery Filipino*. The trend was the opposite for the supper meal. Supper was described by more respondents as *very Filipino* rather than *very American*. In fact, the percentage of those who described supper as *very Filipino* (28.6%) was highest as other perceptions (except *Filipino and American*) gained percentages of less than 20%.

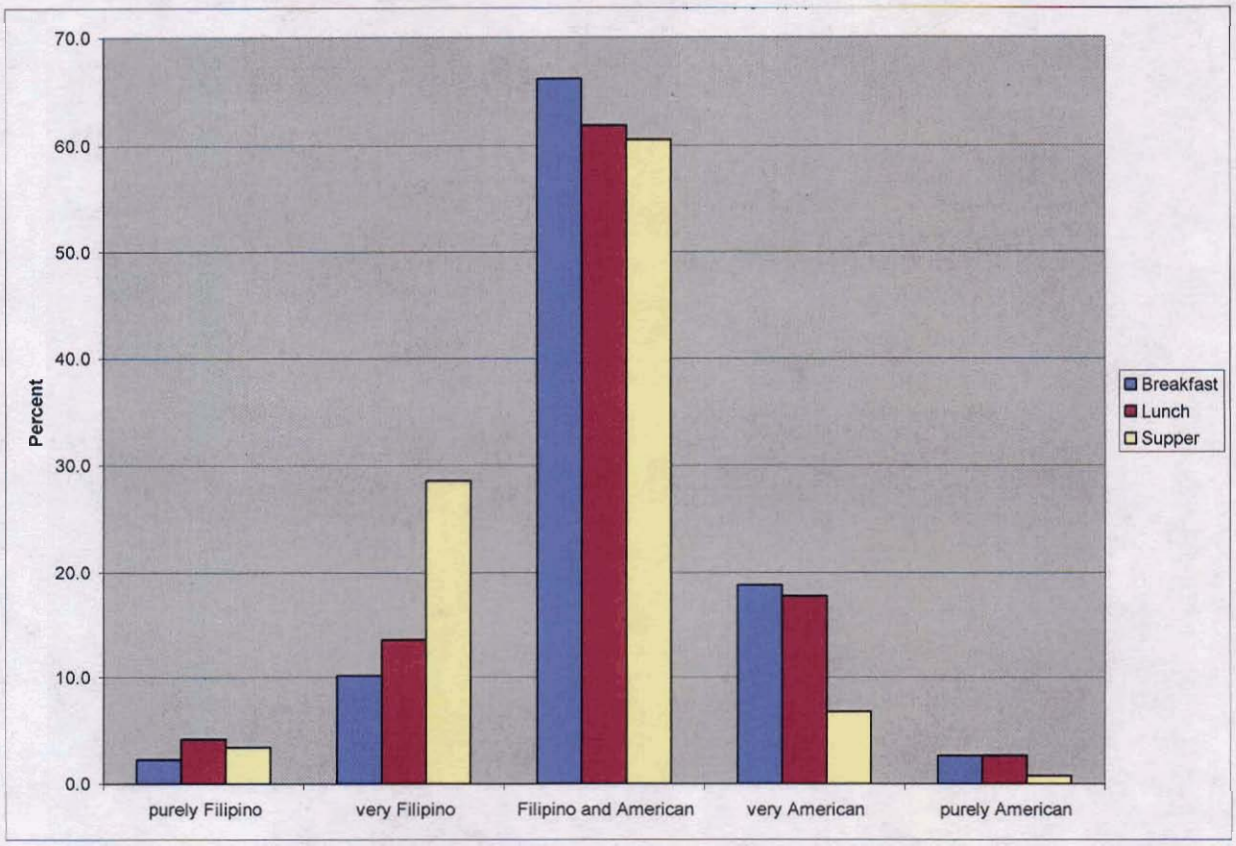

Figure 13. Participants' Perceptions of their Meals in the US. *Note*. n = 266 except for Lunch where n = 265.

Based on the reported patterns of the meals, it appears that among the respondents certain food items are associated with certain meals as the different meals seemed to follow certain cultural rules. Breakfast tends to be the least Filipino (the most American), lunch being in between, and supper as the most Filipino (least American). The observation of conservative food practices for supper is actually similar to many migrant populations' practices (Satia-Abouta et al., 2002).

Seemingly, the prevailing consumption of coffee/tea/chocolate and bread for breakfast contributed to perceptions that breakfast was more of both a Filipino and American meal. This observation was not surprising as the said items are western in nature. Lunch and supper, which were very Filipino in structure, were perceived as a combination of Filipino and American. This

leads to a hypothesis that the content of these meals may have been largely altered. The regularity of the consumption of traditional foods, particularly, may have been reduced similar to the case of the Ohio study respondents.

Relationships Between Demographic Characteristics and Filipino Food Intake

The prevailing consumption patterns among the respondents appeared to be most related to the number of years they have been in the US. This variable was shown to have significant positive correlations with all their meals (see Table 17). The longer the respondents stayed in the US, the more Americanized their diet became. This significant correlation is consistent with the second wave of Filipino immigrants to the US and with other immigrant populations (Dirige, 1995; Satia-Abouta et al., 2002; Pan et al., 1999). Interestingly, this trend is also significant for supper but at a lower level of association (r=.13 versus .23).

Table 17

Correlations Between Food Intake in the US and Respondents' Demographic Information

Food Consumption in the US		Age	Gender	Education Level	Number of Years in the US
Breakfast	Correlation Coefficient	-.057	.170[a]	.039	.233[a]
	N	258	265	259	240
Lunch	Correlation Coefficient	.001	.184[a]	.058	.237[a]
	N	257	264	258	239
Supper	Correlation Coefficient	-.040	.017	.187[a]	.128[b]
	N	258	265	260	240
Diet in the US	Correlation Coefficient	-.041	.114	.121	.208[a]
	N	258	265	260	240

Note. [a] Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). [b] Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Age was not found to have a bearing on the food consumption, a finding that is inconsistent with other studies on immigrant populations (i.e. Korean Americans and oriental students studied by Kim et al., 1984 and Ho et al. [as cited by Pan et al., 1999]). Gender was found to be significantly correlated with breakfast and lunch patterns. Females tended to have more Americanized meals than males. This finding that females are more likely to adopt American meals is inconsistent with studies on other immigrant groups (Pan et al., 1999; Yang & Read, 1996). In addition, education level was found to be significantly positively correlated with supper. Those with higher educational attainment tend to eat more Americanized suppers. These may be due to changes in nutritional or health beliefs or simply mere changes in degree of affluence (i.e., being more able to afford convenience food items or eat in upscale restaurants).

The correlation coefficients of the relationships described above, though significant were not overly impressive predictors of food intake. There are many conceivable elements confounding the consumption patterns. These may include socio-economic, psychographic and cultural factors such as venue of meals, meal partners or groups, work shift, physical activity and meal structure dictated by culture.

Food Availability Influences

This section discusses the Filipino food sources in Greater Chicago/Illinois, the respondents' perceptions of their Filipino food sources and their Filipino food procurement strategies. Furthermore, it describes the relationship between Filipino food availability as a major determinant of this immigrant group's meals.

Sources and Strategies for Filipino Food Procurement. A large percentage of the study participants (96.2%) have identified the *Filipino/Asian store* as their source of Filipino food and ingredients. Other sources as the supermarket, restaurant, relatives/friends and the Philippines were identified by less than 50% of the respondents (see Figure 14).

The findings imply the majority of the respondents ate at home; only 35.1% resorted to the restaurants for their Filipino food needs. Possible reasons include high prices, limited menu or inferior quality of food at restaurants. Also, fast foods and restaurants offering American or other cuisines may have been visited instead.

Food from the Philippines may be purchases made by the immigrants themselves during their visits to the Philippines or *pasalubong* (food gifts) from friends/relatives who are visiting from the Philippines. Incidental food purchases during visits to the Philippines could have been made not just because of the wider variety of food choices but also because of the cheaper prices. These purchases though may have been limited by the amount and kind of food that can be brought back to the US as per requirements of U.S. Customs.

A few of the respondents relied on supplies from online distributors (0.4%) or from their own garden harvest (6.1%). These sources may have been tapped for Filipino ingredients not available from the major sources mentioned. Online buying would not be a very practical procurement strategy as there were Filipino stores operating in Greater Chicago area/Illinois. The growing of vegetables and fruits may be for business or leisure. The usage of home-grown produce probably is largely restricted to those few Filipino Americans in the Chicago urban environment that have the time, interest or skills to grow edible gardens.

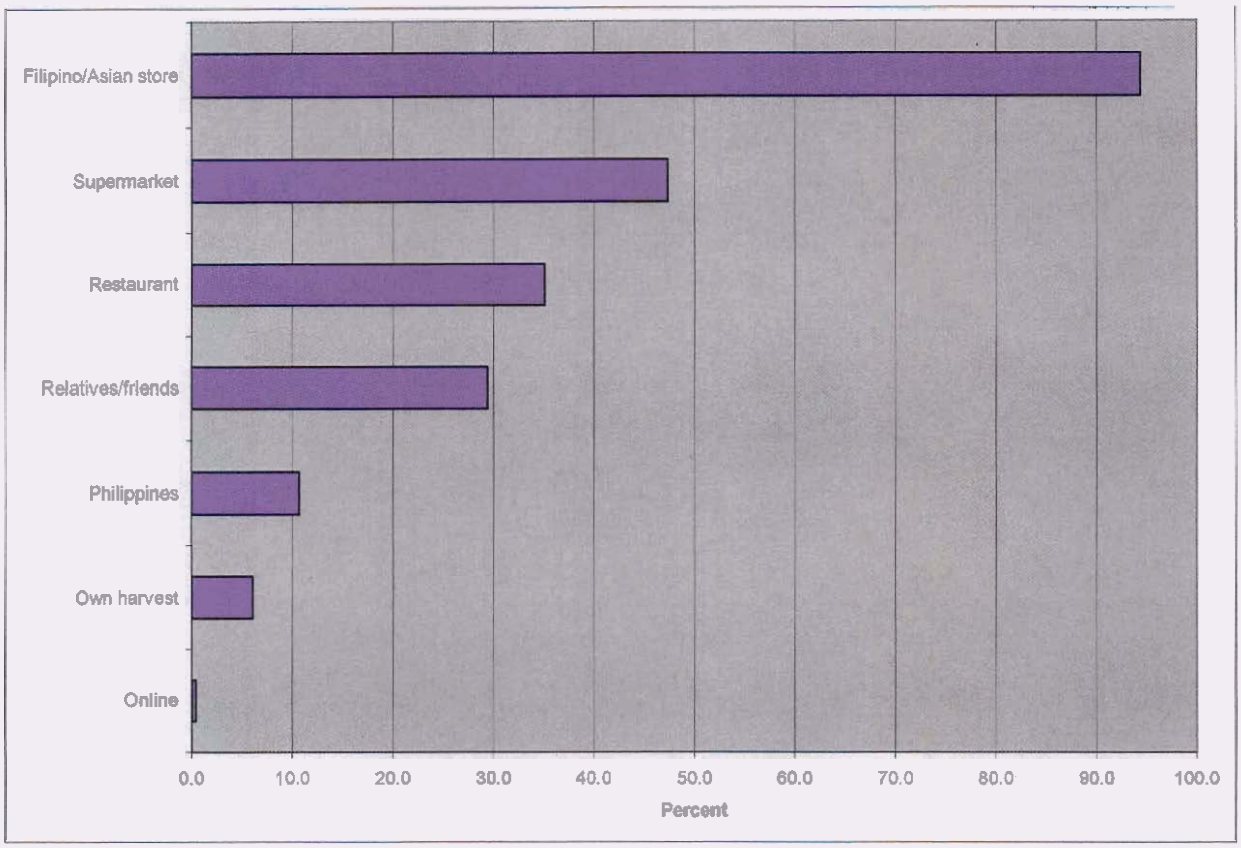

Figure 14. Filipino Food Sources of Respondents. *Note*. n = 262.

A relatively small number of the study participants actually reported that their Filipino food sources were insufficient (16.1%; n = 41). Their measures to cope with the lack of ingredients are listed in Table 18. For the Filipino immigrants, the most common coping mechanism for lack of ingredients was substitution (63.9%) followed by the preparation of the Filipino dishes omitting the missing ingredients (47.29%). The former was actually the major strategy also identified by Albarracin (1995) in her Ohio study. These two top strategies suggest persistence in the preparation of Filipino cultural food despite the need to make compromises. Apparently, these compromises to the quality of the food, be it due to simple or major recipe modifications, are more desirable than having no Filipino food at all. These results indicate the importance of

maintaining native cooking methods and styles to Filipino Americans. Thus, ethnic identification is the major concern, not authenticity of the dish, a distinction noted by (Kalcik, 1984).

Table 18

Food Procurement Strategies When Filipino Food Sources are Inadequate

Food Procurement Strategy	Percent
Use another ingredient/food item.	63.9
Prepare the dish even if there are missing ingredients.	47.2
Wait until the ingredients/food items are available.	5.6
I don't cook the dish.	19.4
I don't cook the dish; it is not important.	2.6

Note. The values reflected in the table were based on the multiple responses of those who have indicated that their Filipino food sources were insufficient in supplying their needed food items/ingredients. n = 36.

Doyle (1996) reported boiling, roasting, frying and steaming as the cooking methods frequently used by Filipinos and Filipino Americans. Gomez (1983) identified sinigang (stewing in sour broth), frying, guisado (Filipino style of sautéing) and adobo (stewing in vinegar and soy sauce) as the most frequently used cooking styles by Filipino Americans in California. Despite the use of foreign ingredient substitutions, the use of these cooking methods still renders the resulting dishes Filipino. In this way, the lack of ingredients becomes a minor issue. It is perhaps this process of Filipinization of new food items that instilled perceptions of Filipino food sufficiency among the respondents who reported higher levels of satisfaction with their Filipino food sources (73.9%).

The next two courses of action resorted to by the respondents were (a) to prepare the Filipino dishes only when the complete set of ingredients are available (19.4%),and (b) to not cook the

dish at all (5.6%). These figures indicate individuals who were more traditional or more purist in their culinary pursuits in the immigrant population. This suggested an existing yet not so large presence of Filipino culinary purists in the population. These figures may also include those who eat American dishes because of the absence of authentic Filipino dishes. An even smaller percentage (2.6%) of the group studied expressed their disinterest in preparing Filipino food when ingredients are missing, not because they are purists but because they could forego eating Filipino food.

Relationship Between Filipino Food Availability and Filipino Food Consumption

Filipino food availability seems to be a determinant of Filipino food patterns in the US. The correlations indicated increased Americanization of lunch ($r = .153$, $p<0.05$) and supper ($r = .141$, $p< 0.05$) with increasing perceptions of Filipino food unavailability. Nevertheless, the significant relationships obtained do not point to food availability as a major predictor of Filipino food consumption as the study's findings revealed low correlation coefficients. The majority of the responses falling under the Filipino and American dietary pattern have limited the magnitude of the correlations, so did the few responses indicating Filipino food as insufficient.

Significance of Filipino Cuisine

This section identifies the reasons for the Filipino or American consumption patterns of the Filipino immigrant population. Also, the succeeding paragraphs discuss the implied high regard for Filipino cultural food among the immigrants based on their sharing of Filipino food with their children and non Filipino friends.

Significance of Filipino and American Food. Tables 19 and 20 summarize the responses pertaining to why American versus Filipino foods was eaten. (a) "It fits my lifestyle" (44.7%) and (b) "I am in America now" (33.6%) were the top two reasons why American food was eaten

(see Table 19). The faster paced lifestyle in Greater Chicago/Illinois (compared to the Philippines) could have encouraged the purchasing of convenience food items and goods that are readily available or easy to prepare; and American food fit into these features so well. More so, Filipinos in the US are exposed to the same food, the same marketing efforts of food companies, and the same food practices and lifestyle which influence norms in food procurement and preparation as U.S. residents (Warde, 1997). Being in America also means the start of an American identity, indifference to the Filipino culture and social status changes

Table 19

Respondents' Reasons for Eating American Food

Responses	Percent	N
It fits my lifestyle.	44.70	262
I am in America now.	33.60	262
I don't have a choice.	23.30	262
It is nutritious.	18.30	262
It is cheaper.	16.80	262
It tastes better.	9.14	262
I need it to be accepted.	6.88	262
Others		
Variety/no preference	5.73	262
Availability/accessibility	5.34	262
Convenience	4.20	262
Accustomed to it	0.76	262
Insufficient cooking skills	0.38	262

Note. Based on multiple responses.

The third top reason for American food consumption, "I don't have a choice", was identified by less than a quarter of the respondents (23.3%). This reason implied the overpowering presence or availability of American food as the reasons for consumption. This reason also suggests several other non-availability factors such as zero Filipino cooking skills, peer acceptance/rejection, lifestyle, and convenience.

Less than a fifth of the respondents indicated eating American food because it is nutritious and inexpensive while less than 10% indicated taste and the need for acceptance. Also, less than 20% responded for the reason "It is cheaper" which gives an indication that American food, in the opinion of Filipino immigrants, is not really cheap. However, 16.8% of the respondents may have also meant that American food is cheap but not a substantial motivating factor for American food consumption. Food cost may not be an issue among Filipinos in Greater Chicago/Illinois because of their generally high incomes. As shared by one of the respondents and other Filipinos in the US, one can buy any food he/she likes.

It is interesting to note that only 6.88% indicated their consumption of American food is because of the need to be accepted by peers or because of their fear of rejection (i.e., husband, roommates and officemates). This finding implies extremely little perceived peer pressure for the respondents to alter their food habits according to their current social environment.

Among the other reasons enumerated by the participants: (a) American food availability/accessibility, (b) convenience for the particular lifestyle they are living and, (c) the need for variety were mentioned the most. Availability and convenience were the top reasons among other immigrant populations for consuming host country dietary habits (Nan and Cason, 2004; Pan et al., 1999). These reasons are consistent with the responses selected by the subjects in the current study as the top two reasons for eating American food.

Regarding reasons for Filipino food consumption, the most common response given is "It is what I have grown up with" (see Table 20). This reason was cited by 69.9% of the respondents, a robust percentage far larger than the most common reasons given for eating American food. The next top three reasons for consuming Filipino food cited by less than 50% of the respondents were "It tastes better", "It is my culture" and "It reminds me of home".

Table 20

Respondents' Reasons for Eating Filipino Food

Responses	Percent	N
It is what I have grown up with.	70.20	265
It tastes better.	49.02	265
It is my culture.	42.30	265
It reminds me of home.	40.40	265
It is nutritious.	23.40	265
Certain foods have meaning.	14.70	265
It is cheaper.	4.50	265
Others		
Filipino social environment	1.51	265
Variety/no preference	1.13	265
Indescribable	1.13	265
Availability/accessibility	0.75	265
Convenience	0.38	265
Satiation	0.38	265

Note. Based on multiple responses.

The top four responses mentioned were indicative of the conditioned food preference and culture identification of the respondents. This means that the respondents developed the preference for Filipino food and continued its consumption because of the previous conditioning at one level and associations they have with Philippine food and the whole Filipino cultural at another level.

The reasons for Filipino food consumption (a) "It is what I have grown up with" and (b) "It reminds me of home" are specifically in agreement with Warde's (1997) concept that "the practical experience and emotional significance of family cooking remain a preponderant force behind most people's taste for food" (p. 184). Cultural conditioning may have also been the reason why a number of participants indicated responses expressing indescribability (i.e., "I don't know", "can't describe"). It is the researcher's suggestion that cultural food may have been consumed as comfort food. This suggestion was based on the motivation for consumption resulting from the emotional reassurance derived from the intake of Filipino food (Warde, 1997).

The nutrient value of Filipino food was the fifth reason given for its consumption. Those who identified it as their reason for Filipino food consumption accounted for 23.4% of the respondents, a percentage slightly higher than those who identified it as a reason for American food consumption (18.3%). The low percentages imply the little priority given to nutrition by Filipino Americans in their food choices, regardless if food is Filipino or American.

A lesser group of respondents (14.7%) consumed Filipino food for the reason "Certain foods have meaning". An even smaller group of respondents (4.5%) indicated the reason for Filipino food consumption "It is cheaper". This small percentage was anticipated as anecdotal information generally describes Filipino food in the US as more expensive. The perception of

Filipino food as inexpensive may have been due to very high incomes, cheaper food choices, supplementations or substitutions among the respondents.

The "Filipino social environment", was an important reason identified by only 1.51% of the respondents. This reason was expressed through responses relating to (a) attendance in Filipino parties/events, (b) eating with relatives and (c) the presence of a parent cooking for the respondent. The Filipino social environments (i.e., homes, organizations, churches) serve as support groups for those who wish to express their culinary traditions. At the same time they serve are reinforcements among those who intentionally or unintentionally detached from Filipino food culture. Such environments were described by Kalcik(1984) as "safe for the public display of ethnic foodways differences" (p. 55). The few responses (6.88%) for the reason "I need it to be accepted", one of the answer choices for American food consumption, corroborated the presence of Filipino social reinforcement among the respondents. It is not clear what comprises the overarching normative expectations of the immigrant group's social environment. This environment may include not only Filipinos, but also Americans or foreigners who are open and appreciative of ethnic foodways.

How the respondents deliberately retain their cultural food was investigated through their inclination to share their food with foreign friends or even with their American born and reared children. Sharing is the unconscious yet the concrete way of teaching or promoting one's cultural food with others. It gives the receiving party a multi-sensorial experience. The sharing actions are assumed to be a better measure of how the respondents love and hold up their food cultural heritage as compared to spoken or written testimonies. Thus, positive responses on sharing are assumed to indicate willingness, fervor or even pride in displaying and cultivating the food culture beyond the self and the Filipino circles.

The results reveal that the majority of the respondents (91.7%, n = 244) share their Filipino food with foreign friends. Likewise, 97% of those who have kids (n = 195) shared their Filipino food with their children. An equally high percentage of respondents in Albarracin's study (1995) also expressed the importance of Filipino food. The small deviation between the percentages of two studies may be caused by gender differences as Albarracin studied the variable only among Filipino female homemakers and/or sample sizes.

The present study's figures imply willingness and openness on the part of the Filipino giver regarding sharing food with people of a different culture that potentially may result in frustration and rejection. Sharing food with one's children is a less potentially threatening act but it also may be challenging. Certain respondents cited their efforts to share their food with their children, but unfortunately their children were not willing to share the cultural food of their parents. The resistance from the children may have resulted from what Espiritu and Wolf (2001) described as the "lack of active cultural socialization-the deliberate teaching and practicing of the languages, traditions and history of the Philippines-in Filipino American homes"(p.176) that could have been an encouraging prelude to the consumption of Filipino food. This lack of the parents' systematic teaching and practice despite the importance of the traditional culture to the parents was observed among children of Filipino immigrants in San Diego, California. The same may have been true for the present study's respondents. A large percentage of Filipino parents with children under six years old in Illinois (70.8%) are in the workforce and thus might not have the time or might not be taking the time to do so (American Factfinder, n.d.).

In this study, the percentages observed for cuisine sharing are high and, thus, are indicative although not conclusive of the esteem respondents maintain for their cultural food. Another way of interpreting this high level of sharing is through understanding the high value Filipinos place

on generosity and thoughtfulness. These values were outlets for Filipinos to share whatever blessings they have. Combined with their national trait of being very accommodating, considerate of others and fearful of shame, they share (Claudio-Perez, 1993). And, what better way for them to share but through food. But again, this phenomenon may be different in the US setting because of a different set of predominating values (i.e., individualism and independence) and different levels of receptiveness among food recipients.

Relationship between Filipino Cuisine Sharing and Filipino Food Consumption

Spearman correlations were performed between the variable Filipino food consumption and food sharing with children and foreign friends. This was done to determine the tendency for the respondents to have more Filipinized/Americanized meals when they share or not share their cultural food. Results showed no relationship between Filipino food cuisine sharing and consumption. Correlation coefficients obtained for Filipino food sharing with friends was at -.090 ($n=261$), for sharing with children it was -0.041 ($n = 197$). Both were non-significant at $p<0.05$. It appears that the tendency to share Filipino food did not predict the respondents' likeliness to consume more Filipino food.

Relationship Between Demographics and Filipino Cuisine Sharing

Spearman correlations were performed between the different demographic variables with food sharing with children/foreign friends. This was done to examine any relationships between the said variables. The correlations revealed that respondents with lower educational levels were more likely to offer their non-Filipino friends Filipino food (see Table 21). This was the only significant relationship found between the respondents' demographic information and their tendency to share their food heritage with non-Filipino friends or children. The correlation coefficient for this relationship was low at -.173 at $p<0.01$. The low values are attributable to (a)

the highly skewed education variable and, (b) the high rate of offering Filipino food to friends. A possible explanation for this relationship was that those with less education may be trying harder to be accepted in their circles by way of sharing what they have, that is, Filipino food. Another possible but not likely explanation is that the less educated segment may be less adapted to mainstream U.S. food culture and, thus, may care more for their cultural food. This was not the case in the present study as the correlation coefficients found across food consumption and educational levels were very low and insignificant (except for supper).

Table 21

Correlations Between Demographics and Filipino Cuisine Sharing

Response		Age	Gender	Education Level	Number of Years in the US
Offer non Filipino friends Filipino food	Correlation Coefficient	-0.024	-0.006	-0.173 [a]	-0.115
	N	258	265	259	240
Offer children Filipino food	Correlation Coefficient	0.063	-0.130	-0.090	-0.017
	N	198	200	194	180

Note. [a] Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Conclusion

A cross-sectional study among Filipinos in Greater Chicago/Illinois was conducted to characterize the (a) existing meal patterns of the migrant population, (b) Filipino food availability as a predictor of consumption, and (c) value placed on Filipino food by these immigrants. To meet these objectives, a survey was conducted using a 50 item questionnaire especially designed for the study.

The findings of the study indicate that the meal structure of the Filipinos in Greater Chicago/Illinois largely follows the traditional structure of meals in the Philippines. Meals and snacks in the US number three to five in a day as against four to six in the Philippines. The meal components of bread and coffee/tea or chocolate for breakfast and rice, meat, fish and vegetables for lunch and supper are markedly Filipino. Frequencies for consumption of rice, meat, fish and vegetables for supper are larger than those for lunch. Although the Filipino components of a meal commonly predominate lunch and supper, the reverse is true for snacks. Snacks were more U.S. oriented though western snacks are also frequently observed in the Philippines (Wade & Canono, 1997; Canono, 2001).

Regarding meal content, the study shows a similar tendency toward the maintenance of traditional Filipino food. Filipino cultural food is maintained in varying levels. Rice and meal accompaniments (i.e., sauces and relishes) were consumed most frequently. The remaining assessed food items appear less frequently in the meals but not to the extent of disappearing from their diets. Viands and starchy staples that are easy or ready to cook are consumed about once to thrice a month. Special or tedious-to-prepare viands are eaten rarely. The appearance of all these food items in the diet, though infrequent, actually suggests meals of explicit Filipino identity.

For the respondents of the study, Filipino food is primarily obtained from the Filipino grocery stores and its supply is thought to be sufficient by the majority of the respondents. The respondents who perceive their Filipino food supply as inadequate deal with this inadequacy through substitution of ingredients or preparation of the Filipino dishes despite missing ingredients. This two coping mechanisms for the lack of availability of Filipino ingredients are thought to be responsible for the perceptions of Filipino food adequacy held by the majority of the respondents. Long term substitutions and preparations despite missing ingredients may have caused the respondents to be content with what food ingredients are available. More so, substitute ingredients may have been Filipinized in the process and, thus, act as additional supplements for any ingredient deficiency.

The respondents eat American food primarily for reasons related to their present location/situation and for lifestyle reasons; while Filipino food is eaten for reasons of previous cultural conditioning and national/ethnic pride. Food cost, nutrition and food meanings, though considered by the respondents in their food choices, are not the major factors for influencing their daily food intake. Although reasons for Filipino food consumption seem to be more robust compared to responses for American food consumption, American food is largely consumed perhaps due to the lifestyle factor that supersedes the emotional security obtained from foods as described by Warde (1997).

The significant findings of the study include the following: (a) the positive correlation between Filipino food unavailability and the meals' Americanization; (b) the positive correlation between the American inclination of the diet/meals (especially supper) and the number of years the respondents have stayed in the US; (c) the female respondents being more likely to consume Americanized breakfast and lunch than their male counterparts; and (d) the respondents with

with higher educational attainment tend to eat more Americanized suppers. These observations corroborated trends in other immigrant population studies. However, these results are not conclusive because of the low correlation coefficients obtained.

The majority of the respondents indicate that they actually share their cultural food with non-Filipino friends and with their U.S. born/reared children. The action of giving away Filipino food implies a high regard for cultural food and suggests the reinforcement of the foods' monetary, cultural or sentimental value.

Cultural food sharing was found to have no relationship to food consumption. That is, sharing of food to children or non Filipino friends does not automatically mean consumption of a more Filipino or more American diet. Cultural food sharing also had no associations with demographic information, with the exception of education level. The significant correlation coefficients obtained ($p < 0.05$) indicated more sharing from the lower educated segment of the sample. This finding may be attributed to the need of the said respondents to exert more effort in order to be accepted in their social circles.

The difference in the perceptions of the respondents' diets in the Philippines signal dietary changes within the group studied. The results showed that the majority of the respondents looked at their meals in the US as both Filipino and American in nature; while the majority perceived their diets in the Philippines as very Filipino.

Apparently, the study respondents essentially uphold much of the traditional structure of their meals. Meal content was thought to be the entry point for the changes in the meal and subsequently the integration of both American and Filipino food cultures. The dietary changes evident include (a) a decrease number of meals and snacks; (b) similar weekday and weekend meals; (c) the high popularity of meat for lunch and supper; and (d) higher occurrence of

American snacks than traditional Filipino snacks. The observation that respondents modified their eating habits while maintaining a number of their traditional meal patterns supports what Axelson described in 1986 that "[c]ultural subgroups seem to exhibit food-related behavior unlike their culture of origin as well as unlike their culture of residence." (p. 357)

These dietary changes may be interpreted as dietary acculturation effects of migration. However, the changes may be due to other phenomena as increased incomes, urbanization and/or global modernization. At the moment, no meal pattern specific studies on Filipinos in the Philippines or in the US (except for the Asian breakfast pattern study of Howden et al. in 1993) are available for use as baselines for comparison and more conclusive interpretations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study will benefit from more current meal pattern research within the Filipino migrant population as well as within the Filipino population in the Philippines. Studies to be conducted among Filipino Americans in states other than California and Ohio would provide much needed additional insight since it is unclear how environmental influences vary across geographic locations and variability in urbanization. The examination of specific meal content (i.e., cooking methods, American food items eaten, other cuisines) among the same Filipino American population in a longitudinal or retrospective manner will confirm/disprove dietary changes the group has undergone. There is also a need for alternative operationalization of the concept of Filipino food significance among the immigrants.

The insufficiency of Filipino food availability as a rationale for the prevailing eating patterns and the evidence of the esteem held for the cultural food signaled the need to look deeper into the psychographic and cultural factors of consumption among Filipino Americans. The reasons for Filipino versus American food consumption will have to be scrutinized further. The investigation on the variables pertaining to meal environment, food preparation, food usage and lifestyle prove to be especially useful. The suggested meal environment variables for further study include (a) who the respondents eat with, (b) where the meals are eaten and (c) the social environment's tolerance/acceptance/affirmation of ethnic diversity. The food preparation variables include (a) who prepares the food and (b) the food preparation skills of the respondent. Food usage variables include (a) weekday vs. weekend food, (b) food for different seasons and occasions, (c) food gifts, and (d) meanings of food. Lifestyle variables include (a) activities for leisure time and (b) the maintenance of values. More factors of dietary acculturation and nutrition transition may be included but those mentioned were deemed understudied and thus given priority.

Similar meal pattern studies of the rural and urban communities across the Philippines will be beneficial. It would be, in fact, advantageous if meal pattern studies are included in the dietary component of the country's national nutrition survey. Knowledge of the meal patterns can help nutrition and health workers address nutrition problems in the culturally diverse country through more holistic and ethnically sensitive approaches. Lastly, meal pattern studies in the context of increasing affluence and urbanization will also benefit this area of research.

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APPENDIX A

Number of Registered Filipino Emigrants by Major Country of Destination: 1981-2001

YEAR	U.S.A.*	CANADA	AUSTRALIA	JAPAN	U.K.	GERMANY	OTHERS	TOTAL	% INC.(DEC.)
1981	40,307	5,226	2,752	254	88	45	195	48,867	
1982	44,438	4,898	2,931	310	682	263	431	53,953	10%
1983	34,794	3,946	2,608	140	346	282	365	42,481	-21%
1984	34,682	2,463	2,915	137	364	346	644	41,551	-2%
1985	38,653	2,097	3,458	126	276	213	446	45,269	9%
1986	40,650	3,206	4,374	53	658	88	309	49,338	9%
1987	40,813	5,757	8,983	6	436	58	297	56,350	14%
1988	41,378	6,602	9,319	62	256	83	320	58,020	3%
1989	39,524	8,040	5,943	1,271	248	135	584	55,745	-4%
1990	43,781	8,400	5,847	3,569	291	334	927	63,149	13%
1991	43,824	7,211	5,715	3,946	286	522	960	62,464	-1%
1992	46,691	7,454	4,104	4,048	205	593	1,059	64,154	3%
1993	44,903	11,627	3,083	4,527	159	780	1,311	66,390	3%
1994	40,515	14,302	3,224	4,225	175	784	1,307	64,531	-3%
1995	34,614	11,288	2,966	4,883	150	661	1,680	56,242	-13%
1996	41,312	10,050	2,002	4,510	150	542	2,347	60,913	8%
1997	37,002	8,215	2,124	4,171	195	566	1,786	54,059	-11%
1998	24,886	5,651	2,189	3,810	193	560	1,720	39,009	-28%
1999	24,123	6,712	2,597	4,219	225	550	2,081	40,507	4%
2000	31,324	8,245	2,298	6,468	174	552	1,970	51,031	26%
2001	31,287	9,737	1,965	6,021	176	507	2,361	52,054	2%
TOTAL	799,501	151,127	81,397	56,756	5,732	8,464	23,100	1,126,077	
% TOTAL	71.00%	13.40%	7.20%	5.00%	0.50%	0.80%	2.10%	100%	
ANNUAL AVERAGE	36,582	6,733	3,782	2,416	265	379	988	53,623	

Note. The 1981-1994 U.S. data include Trust Territories of American Samoa, Marianas Islands, Saipan and U.S. Virgin Island. From "Number of Registered Filipino Emigrants by Major Country of Destination: 1981-2001" ,by Commission on Filipinos Overseas, Retrieved December 17, 2004, from http://www.cfo.gov.ph/statistics/emigrants_country.htm.

APPENDIX B

Filipino Americans in Each State

State/Other	# of Filipinos in 1990	# of Filipinos in 2000	State/Other	# of Filipinos in 1990	# of Filipinos in 2000
Alabama	1,816	2,727	Nebraska	1,377	2,101
Alaska	7,976	12,712	Nevada	12,048	40,529
Arizona	7,904	16,176	New Hampshire	874	1,203
Arkansas	1,569	2,489	New Jersey	53,146	85,245
California	731,685	918,678	New Mexico	2,018	2,888
Colorado	5,426	8,941	New York	62,259	81,681
Connecticut	5160	7,643	North Carolina	5,332	9,592
Delaware	1,321	2,018	North Dakota	708	643
Florida	31,945	54,310	Ohio	10,268	12,393
Georgia	5,848	11,036	Oklahoma	3,024	4,028
Hawaii	168,682	170,635	Oregon	7,411	10,627
Idaho	1,083	1,614	Pennsylvania	12,160	14,506
Illinois	64,224	86,298	Rhode Island	1,836	2,062
Indiana	4,754	6,674	South Carolina	5,521	6,423
Iowa	1,607	2,272	South Dakota	531	613
Kansas	2,548	3,509	Tennessee	3,032	5,426
Kentucky	2,193	3,106	Texas	34,350	58,340
Louisiana	3,731	4,504	Utah	1,905	3,106
Maine	1,058	1,159	Vermont	253	328
Maryland	19,376	26,608	Virginia	35,067	47,609
Massachusetts	6,212	8,273	Washington	43,799	65,373
Michigan	13,786	17,377	West Virginia	1,606	1,495
Minnesota	4,237	6,284	Wisconsin	3,690	5,158
Mississippi	1,565	2,608	Wyoming	408	472
Missouri	5,624	7,735	New Hampshire	874	1,203
Montana	735	859			
United States	1,406,770	1,850,314			
District of Columbia	2,082	2,228			
Puerto Rico	Not Available	394			

Note. From "Filipino Americans in Each State", by National Federation of Filipino American Associations, Retrieved December 17, 2004, from http://www.naffaa.org/census2000.

APPENDIX C

Survey Questionnaire

Respondent no. _____

Filipino Meal Patterns in the United States
QUESTIONNAIRE

Please do not write your name, address or any identifying information on the form. Please answer the following questions by writing down your responses or putting a check on the spaces provided. Your responses are very important and highly appreciated.

Let's start with questions about your self.

1. Age: _____
2. Gender: ____ Male ____Female
3. Highest Level of Education: ____ Grade school ____ High school ____ Bachelors ____ Graduate
4. Number of years you have been in the US: _____

Now, we wish to ask you about your meals.

5. How many meals and snacks do you have in a day?
____ 1 to 2 ____ 3 ____ 4 to 5 ____ 6 and up
6. What do you eat for breakfast? Please check all the foods that you eat regularly.
____ egg dish ____ bread /pastry ____ fruit/fruit juice ____ nothing
____ meat dish ____ breakfast cereals/oats ____ coffee/tea/chocolate ____ others, please name:
____ rice dish ____ jam, jelly, marmalade ____ milk _____
7. What do you eat for lunch? Please check all the foods that you eat regularly.
____ soup ____ rice ____ sandwich/subs ____ fish dish
____ salad ____ noodles ____ vegetable dish ____ nothing
____ bread ____ potato dish ____ meat dish ____ others, please name those not listed
_____
8. What do you eat for supper? Please check all the foods that you eat regularly.
____ soup ____ rice ____ sandwich/subs ____ fish dish
____ salad ____ noodles ____ vegetable dish ____ nothing
____ bread ____ potato dish ____ meat dish ____ others, please name those not listed
_____
9. What do you eat for snacks? Please check all that you eat regularly.
____ bread, cakes and pastry ____ *kakanin/kalamay* (rice cakes) ____ coffee/tea/chocolate
____ hotdogs/burgers/sandwiches ____ *kanin at ulam* (rice and viand) ____ candy bars/ice cream
____ chips/popcorn/fries ____ *siomai/siopao*(dimsum/dumplings) ____ soda/pop
____ pizza ____ noodles ____ nothing
____ others, please name: _____
10. Are the foods you eat during the weekdays similar to those you eat during the weekends?
____ Yes they are similar ____ No they're different

Now, let us talk about Filipino food.

11. Do you eat Filipino food? ____ Yes ____ No

If you don't eat Filipino food, please stop now. Do not answer the rest of the survey. Please submit the form to the survey coordinator/researcher. Thank you so much.

If you eat Filipino food, please continue answering the rest of the questions.

12. Where do you get your Filipino food supplies from? Please check all that apply.
____ Filipino/Asian Store ____ supermarket ____ relatives/friends
____ restaurant ____ own harvest/products ____ Philippines
____ online ____ others, please name sources not listed: _____

13. Do your sources provide you with all the Filipino food/ingredients you need? ____Yes ____ No

If you answered 'Yes' to question number 13, please skip question 14 and proceed to the next section.

14. What do you do when your sources don't have the Filipino foods you need? Check all that apply.
____ I use another ingredient/food item
____ I prepare the dish even if there are missing ingredients
____ I wait until the ingredients/food items are available
____ I don't cook the dish
____ I don't cook the dish; it is not important
____ Others, please name responses not listed: _____

How often do you eat the following food items? Please check the best answer.

Traditional Filipino Food Items	Never	Rarely	About 1 to 3 times a month	About once a week	About 2 to 3 times a week	About 4 to 6 times a week	About once per day	About 2 or more times a day
15. *Kanin*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
16. Noodles like *pancit, gisado, bihon, palabok*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
17. Filipino breads like *Pan de sal monay, pan de coco*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
18. Fermented sauces used as sauce/*sawsawan* like *toyo, patis*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
19. Sour foods used as sauce/ *sawsawan* like *suka ,kalamansi*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
20.Fermented fish/shrimp pastes like *alamang, bagoong*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
21. Vegetable and fruit side dishes *Kamatis, mangga, achara*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
22. Sour Broths like Sinigang	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___

Traditional Filipino Food Items	Never	Rarely	About 1 to 3 times a month	About once a week	About 2 to 3 times a week	About 4 to 6 times a week	About once per day	About 2 or more times a day
23. Mildly flavored soups like *Nilaga/Pesa/Tinola*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
24. Vinegar & Soy sauce based dishes like *Adobo*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
25. Vinegar based dishes like *Kinilaw/Kilawin/Paksiw*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
26. Peanut based dishes like *Kare-kare, gado-gado*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
27. Dishes with internal organs like *Dinuguan/Bopis*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
28. Coconut milk based dishes like *Ginataan tilapia, laing*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
29. Tomato based dishes like *Puchero, Kaldereta, Afritada*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
30. Stir fried dishes like *Ginisang ampalaya,chopsuey*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
31. Spring rolls and fritters like *Lumpia, ukoy*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
32. Stuffed/ground meat dishes like *Torta/Relleno*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
33. Meat rolls/loaves like *Morcon/embutido*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
34. Preserved meats like *Longanisa, tapa, tocino*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
35. Dried and smoked fish like *Daing bangus,tinapa, tuyo*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
36. Barbecued/roasted dishes like *Inihaw na liempo, sisig, litson*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
37. Fried foods like *Fried chicken, lechon kawali*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
38. Steamed foods like *Halabos na hipon*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___

Traditional Filipino Food Items	Never	Rarely	About 1 to 3 times a month	About once a week	About 2 to 3 times a week	About 4 to 6 times a week	About once per day	About 2 or more times a day
39. Canned fish and meat like *Sardines, tuna, corned beef*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
40. Rice dishes like *Arroz caldo, goto, paella*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
41. Egg products like *balut itlog maalat* and *itlog pugo*	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___

42. How would you describe your Breakfast in the US?
___purely Filipino ___very Filipino ___Filipino and American ___very American ___purely American

43. How would you describe your Lunch in the US?
___purely Filipino ___very Filipino ___Filipino and American ___very American ___purely American

44. How would you describe your Supper in the US?
___purely Filipino ___very Filipino ___Filipino and American ___very American ___purely American

45. Overall, how would you describe your diet (including snacks) in the US?
___purely Filipino ___very Filipino ___Filipino and American ___very American ___purely American

46. How would you describe your diet when you were still in the Philippines?
___purely Filipino ___very Filipino ___Filipino and American ___very American ___purely American

47. Why do you eat American food? Please check all that apply.
____ I am in America now ____ I need it to be accepted by others
____ It is cheaper ____ It is nutritious
____ It tastes better ____ It fits my lifestyle
____ I don't have a choice ____ others, please write reasons:_____

48. Why do you eat Filipino food? Please check all that apply.
____ It is what I have grown up with ____ It is my culture and identity
____ It is cheaper ____ It is nutritious
____ It tastes better ____ It reminds me of home
____ Certain foods have meaning ____ others, please write reasons: _____

49. Do you offer your non Filipino friends Filipino food?
_____ Yes _____ No

Please answer question number 50 only if you have children
50. Do you offer your children Filipino food?
_____ Yes _____ No

You have completed the survey. Please submit this form to the survey coordinator/researcher.

MARAMING MARAMING SALAMAT PO!

APPENDIX D

Research Matrices

Matrix 1

General Objectives and Specific Objectives

General Objectives	Specific Objectives						
	A. Description of Meal Frequency and Structure	B. Traditional Filipino Food Items in the Meal	C. Perceptions on Nature of Meals	D. Relationships between Demographics and Food Intake/Cuisine Sharing	E. Sources & Strategies for Filipino Food Procurement	F. Relationships between Filipino Food Consumption and Availability/ Cuisine Sharing	G. Significance of Filipino and American Food
I. Description of Filipino Meal Patterns in US	X	X	X	X			
II. Food Availability Influences					X	X	
III. Significance of Filipino Cuisine				X		X	X

Matrix 2

Specific Objectives and Questionnaire Items

General Objectives		Specific Objectives						
		A. Description of Meal Frequency and Structure	B. Traditional Filipino Food Items in the Meal	C. Perceptions on Nature of Meals	D. Relationships between Demographics and Food Intake/Cuisine Sharing	E. Sources & Strategies for Filipino Food Procurement	F. Relationships between Filipino Food Consumption and Availability/ Cuisine Sharing	G. Significance of Filipino and American Food
1	Interval				X			
2	D. nominal				X			
3	Ordinal				X			
4	Interval				X			
5	Ordinal	X						
6	Nominal	X						
7	Nominal	X						
8	Nominal	X						
9	Nominal	X						
10	D. nominal	X						
11	D. nominal				X		X	
12	Nominal					X		
13	D. nominal						X	
14	Nominal					X		
15 to 41	Ordinal		X					
42	Ordinal			X				
43	Ordinal			X				
44	Ordinal			X				
45	Ordinal			X				
46	Ordinal			X				
47	Nominal							X
48	Nominal							X
49	D. nominal				X		X	
50	D. nominal				X		X	

APPENDIX E

Informed Consent

Consent to Participate In UW-Stout Approved Research

Title: Filipino Meal Patterns in the United States

Investigator:	**Research Advisor:**
Melanie H. Narciso 345 North Hall, 124 10th Avenue E Menomonie, Wisconsin 54751 (715)232-3305	Dr. Esther Fahm Department of Food and Nutrition College of Human Development University of Wisconsin-Stout (715)232- 2550

Description:

This research attempts to describe what Filipinos in the United States (US) eat and to explain the reasons for such. This will be accomplished through a survey among Tagalogs who were born or raised in the Philippines and who have spent at least three years in the U.S. As a participant, you will need to complete the survey which asks questions primarily on your meals, foods usually eaten and demographic information (example: age, gender).

Risks and Benefits:

There are no risks in participating as the questions asked do not deal with sensitive issues. In fact you can benefit from completing the survey. At the personal and community level, this research on Filipino food is important in developing effective nutritional and health programs for the Filipino people in the U.S.; developing marketing plans for Filipino food businesses and identifying ways for the preservation of the Filipino culture and heritage.

Time Commitment

The only tasks requested from you are to carefully answer all the questions in the survey and to submit the completed form to the investigator or assigned collector within the given deadline. The questionnaire would just take more or less 15 minutes to be finished.
You will be given approximately one week to complete the form.

Confidentiality:

You can be sure that your name will not be included on any reports/publications.

Right to Withdraw:

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You can stop participating at anytime.

IRB Approval:

This study has been reviewed and approved by The University of Wisconsin-Stout's Institutional Review Board (IRB). The IRB has determined that this study meets the ethical obligations required by federal law and University policies. If you have questions or concerns regarding this study please contact the Investigator or Advisor. If you have any questions, concerns, or reports regarding your rights as a research subject, please contact the IRB Administrator.

Investigator: Melanie H. Narciso (715)232-3305 narcisom@uwstout.edu	**IRB Administrator** Sue Foxwell, Director, Research Services 152 Vocational Rehabilitation Bldg. UW-Stout Menomonie 715-232-2477 foxwells@uwstout.edu
Advisor: Dr. Esther Fahm (715)232- 2550 fahme@uwstout.edu	

Statement of Consent:

By completing the following survey you agree to participate in the project entitled, ***FILIPINO MEAL PATTERNS IN THE UNITED STATES.***

APPENDIX F

Illinois Based Individuals/Groups Involved in the Data Collection

Individual/Organization
Cook County
Consulate General of the Philippines
Faith Community Presbyterian Church
Filipino American Network
Julieta Elazuegui and Vilma Valledor
LG Production
Northwest Filipino Baptist Church
Pintig Cultural Group
University of the Philippines Club of America
Lake County
University of the Philippines Nursing Alumni Association of the Midwest
Du Page County
Ateneo USA Alumni Assocation
Samahang Kapatid

Note. The individuals and organizations listed were the key contacts for the snowball method of data collection implemented.