Filipino Student Activism at The University of Washington: Transforming the University As Well As The Community

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Abstract

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This thesis asks the questions, "How does the inclusion of Filipino student activism at the University of Washington in the late 1960's complicate the dominant historical narrative of the Civil Rights Movement and challenge assumptions about Filipinos and their visibility as a racial group?" I explore these questions from the perspective of new western history and through the lens of decolonization. This paper argues the importance of Filipino visibility in historical narrative as a way to mitigate the harmful consequences of colonialism. This paper examines Filipino resistance during the Civil Rights Movement and the significant impacts this made on Seattle as well as the University of Washington.

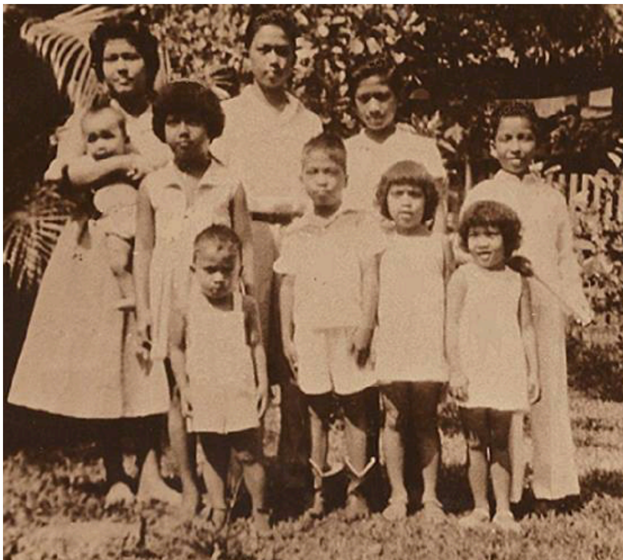
Acknowledgements:

This project was made possible with the support and archives of the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) and Dorothy Cordova and her late husband Fred Cordova who have maintained an incredible treasure of local and national Filipino American history. Dorothy Cordova and Robert Flor met with me early in my research process and upon hearing my topic of interest, Filipino Student Activism at UW during the Civil Right Movement, they both directed me to speak with A. Barreto Ogilvie (Tony Ogilvie), a key leader in the UW student activism of the late 1960's. Dorothy Cordova oriented me through the papers in FAHNS, to archival photos that had been donated to her collection, and generously gave me access to boxes of documents and archives that helped me to construct the data and meaning of the Filipino student activism at UW in the late 1960's.

Meeting with Mr. Ogilvie helped make the archival history come to life. His stories of growing up in the Central District and his leadership in the student activism movement at UW during the Civil Rights Movement are key to my understanding of this time period. Because his story has not been written previously and as a key leader in the campus activism in the late 1960's, I did a full recorded oral history interview with him which I draw upon for direct quotes and texture throughout the paper.

Mr. Ogilvie connected me with several of his friends and comrades from his activist days, many of them refer to themselves as "The Filipino American Young Turks of Seattle". Several of these individuals also grew up in Seattle's Central District and were part of the Filipino student activism at The University of Washington in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Their stories have greatly informed this paper and given

texture, context, and a human experience to this time period. Thank you to the generosity of Dolores Sibonga and her personal collection of *Filipino Forum* newspapers, Sonny Tongalin, Peter Jamero, Robert Flor, Frank Irigon, and Larry Matsuda. These and several other community members have all taken the time to meet with me and be interviewed about their experiences and involvement in Seattle Filipino community and campus activism.



Photograph from the Perez family (Perez, Melquiades Cabato, 2013). Rear row from left to right: Maria Clara Perez holding Virgilio Perez, Geronimo Perez, Godofredo Perez Jr, Melquiades Perez (my father), Second row: Lourdes Perez, Angel Perez, Bibing Perez, Susan Perez, In Front: Orlando Perez

I am uniquely positioned as the researcher as I myself am the daughter of a Filipino immigrant who arrived in Seattle from the Philippines in 1964. My father, Mel Perez, is a storyteller and has passed on to me a love of history, and is in many ways my inspiration for this research. While they were not part of the activism or Civil Rights Movement, their stories and experiences as newly arrived Filipino laborers during this time period are full of humor, heartbreak, and struggle. My father eventually worked as a police officer for 30 years at the University of Washington and his brother, Godofredo Perez Jr., was a janitor for many years on this campus. It is a profound experience for me to be a graduate student at a place where my own family worked to serve the students. So much has changed in the generation between my father and me. I write with awe and gratitude to those that fought and worked for me to be here. This paper is written to honor and respect my elders and to

inspire students of color to learn from these lessons and to utilize our campus as a platform for protest and as a vehicle to support our communities.

Introduction:

"Decolonization is an important project for Filipino Americans. To unlearn the internalized oppression brought on by colonization, there is a need to study how colonial identities are constructed by master narratives that serve to reinforce the social and economic and political structures that perpetuate unequal and unjust relationships of power." (Strobel, 2001 p. vii)

This thesis asks the questions, "How does the inclusion of Filipino student activism at the University of Washington in the late 1960's complicate the dominant historical narrative of the Civil Rights Movement and challenge assumptions about Filipinos and their visibility as a racial group?" I explore these questions from the perspective of new western history and through the lens of decolonization. In the spirit of Strobel's quote above, this paper argues the importance of Filipino visibility in historical narrative as a way to mitigate the harmful consequences of colonialism. This paper examines Filipino resistance during the Civil Rights Movement and the significant impacts this made on Seattle as well as the University of Washington. When we think of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, the dominant historical narrative takes us to the movement to end racism towards Black Americans, particularly in the South (Ransby, 2003, Perlstein, 1990, LaNier & Page, 2009, Gitlin, 1987, Taylor, 1995). This history of struggle has been broadened in more recent historical scholarship and now examines Black experiences in the North as well as other ethnic groups including Mexican Americans in the Southwest (West, 2003). In many U.S. history textbooks, as well as in the dominant narrative of the Civil Rights Movement, Filipino Americans have been labeled as an invisible or silent minority (Strobel, 2001). I argue that complicating

our historical narratives to include Filipino activism in the Civil Rights Movement is essential to reframing Filipino American history and decolonizing not only the master narrative, but reclaiming Filipino ethnic pride and collective memory of resistance.

This paper uses memoirs, archival material, and oral histories to examine the stories of individual participants of the campus and city protests. Most of them have strong identities as Filipino, Asian, and Americans, and are lifelong community activists. A. Barreto Ogilvie (Tony Ogilvie) is a Filipino American Seattle resident and activist who led a significant demonstration in 1969 at the University of Washington. His story and direct excerpts from his interview are woven throughout this paper as a way to demonstrate the lived experiences of campus protest and Filipino activism. I will examine the cross-racial collaborations, the multiple coalitions involved, and how the students used the University as a site of learning and of protest to make transformation both within the institution as well as in the broader community.

The first section of this paper will provide the context and framework for new western history as a way to examine colonization and Filipinos. This theoretical foundation encourages us to challenge the absence of Filipinos in U.S. history books and to critically examine colonialism and its role in rendering Filipino voices silent. The second section of the paper examines education and schools as a tool of U.S. colonization at the turn of the twentieth century and makes claims regarding use of educational indoctrination to oppress and conquer the Filipino people. Understanding this history of conquest and relationship between Filipinos and education provides context and juxtaposition for the significance of campus activism later in the century. The third section discusses early Filipino immigration to Seattle and explores the struggles

Filipinos experienced as laborers and targets of racist policies and immigration reform. The fourth section brings us to the 1960's as a decade of immense change and excitement for the United States as well as for Filipino activists in Seattle. Woven into this section is an examination of alliances, collaborations, and tensions between Filipinos and various cross-racial communities as they worked toward Civil Rights and racial justice. The fifth section describes various examples of Filipino student activism and protest at the University of Washington in the late 1960's. It is in this section that we can see the power and significance of Filipino student resistance and how they used the campus as their platform for demanding justice, support, and visibility for their experience and for the education and future of their communities. I will close by summarizing and making claims as to the significance of this story.

New Western History: Redefining the West:

New Western History is a framework that is helpful in reframing the history of Filipinos in Seattle. This framework directly confronts "Old Western History," a framework that has dominated history books on the West and which emphasizes the Frontier Theory, which asserts the narrative of East to West European movement and the taking of "free land". This Old Western History has in most cases excluded the stories or presence of Natives and Latinos who were the original inhabitants of the West and has ignored the voices of marginalized groups such as the Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, as well as the voices of women in this history (Wunder, 1994).

The Frontier Theory is problematic for various reasons, but perhaps most incongruent with the story of Filipinos in Seattle is the aspect of this theory which

romanticizes colonization; painting the picture that westward migration was free and easy for White migrants. The theory also says that all migration came from the East, which privileges whiteness by ignoring the migration of other groups such as Filipinos and other Asians who did not come from the East, but from the West. By romanticizing colonization the Frontier Theory asserts the narrative of colonizers as saviors entering the West and easily establishing democracy and equality. It fails to acknowledge that democracy and equality did not find a comfortable home in the American West, and if they were achieved it was after decades of hard-won tireless efforts led by communities of color in resistance to violence and exploitation by White settlers.

New Western History critiques conquest and also redefines the borders of the west as going beyond the coastline, across the Pacific Ocean, to the Philippine Islands which were the farthest western lands of United States colonization (Fujita-Rony, 2003). If we adjust border to include the Philippines as the farthest west of the frontier, perhaps the Philippines can no longer be invisible in this history or as something outside of our imagination of the western border, but implicitly part of the landscape of U.S. history.

The colonization of the Philippines by the United States in at the turn of the 20th century was not free or easy, and Filipinos fought an armed and bloody battle for four years following the Spanish cessation of the Philippines to the US. Over 200,000 Filipinos died during the Filipino American War (Root, 1997). These deaths and this battle prove the falsehood of the Old Western narrative that the US colonization was an easy process of taking free land. Colonization came at the cost of lives and sovereignty of Filipinos, which we cannot overlook or ignore.

New Western history encourages us to de-hegemonize the dominant narratives that are deeply embedded in U.S history books and directly implicates the colonial and imperial ideologies that have rendered the Filipino American history invisible. New Western History tells history “from the bottom up” and tells stories of individuals that are not told in the dominant narrative of history (Fujita-Rony, 2003). Racial diversity and understanding how races interacted is essential to this process of this method, it also challenges the historical focus on Blacks and Whites as the primary racial conflict. In examining Seattle and the University of Washington we can see that there were a diversity of ethnic groups and that Filipinos were an integral part of this. Because the racial demographics in Seattle were multi-ethnic, we need to study race in the West through a non-binary lens that does not solely focus on the Black and White racial tensions.

In examining how Filipinos migrated to Seattle from East to West, in critiquing the realities of conquest, and in complicating the narrative of racial relationships, we are directly challenging the dominant narrative of the Western Frontier theory. In this story that centers in student protest, is essential to consider the use of education as a tool of conquest of the Filipino people. Illuminating these historical constructs helps set the stage for how we understand racism to Filipinos and the significance of their involvement in the Civil Rights Movement in Seattle and at the University of Washington.

In the tradition of New Western History, a historical methodology which values the individual stories of ordinary people who may have been marginalized in society as well as left out of the history books, this paper starts with the voice of Mr. Ogilvie. Using oral histories and examining the lived experiences of marginalized people as

central to this process. Mr. Ogilvie is one of many Filipinos who immigrated to Seattle, Washington as a child and grew up in the Central District neighborhood in the height of the 1950's and 1960's. Mr. Ogilvie was born in Manila, Philippines, in 1945 at the end of WWII. At one month of age his family immigrated to Seattle, Washington along with a large extended family and settled in the Central District. Mr. Ogilvie describes his early childhood joys and struggles with his family in Seattle:

"It was at 526 22nd Avenue. You know where Garfield High School is? Just kiddie corner. There were 12 of us but 6 died. 6 kids, my mom and dad, that's 8, and then we had kind of a live in driver named Ramon, my grandmother, and my uncle Kid, that's 12, and then we used to have families, like a mother and three kids, so add four more that's 17 people, and my uncles were living there. It sounds crazy but it was really fun. We always had food on the stove and coffee. We were constantly making coffee. My dad and all of his friends and relatives are all alcoholics. Lots of arrests lots of guns. They were all young, the guys were all macho, we had a lot of police problems in our house. Young Filipinos, macho, not highly educated, drink a lot, smoke a lot, fight a lot, that was them."

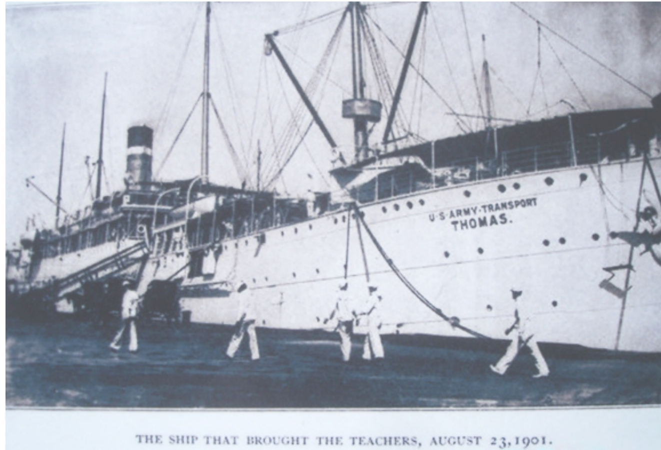
Education as a "Benevolent Gift" and a Tool of Conquest:

Colonization ravaged the lives and souls of the indigenous people of the Philippines under Spanish rule for 400 years. The Catholic Church was a key player in the Spanish domination of the Philippines and the education of the indigenous inhabitants (Leonardo & Matias, 2013). Under Spain, colonial education took the form of Catholic friars and missionaries "saving the souls" of the indigenous people and establishing a racial caste system in which the lighter skinned Filipinos were considered of higher intelligence and given increased access to schooling and wealth. Not only did the Spanish set the stage for U.S. education through colonial subjugation, they taught other nations how to regard the Philippines and the Filipinos. Formal schooling under Spain was only available to the children of Spanish Colonials or to elite Filipino families.

Under Spanish, rule colonial education was the medium that upheld oppressive capitalist enterprise, as well as racist relations and cultural imperialism (Leonardo & Matias, 2013).

In 1898, Spain ceded Cuba, Guam, and The Philippines to the United States. Despite "benevolent" intentions of US control, Filipinos engaged in bitter resistance and several years of war. In 1901 the war ended and the United States claimed wardship of the archipelago of over 7,000 islands and named it *The Philippines* (Root, 1997). Establishing an educational program in the Philippines was part of the US military's way of making a benevolent offering to the Filipino people in the hopes of pacifying the insurgency (Leonardo & Matias, 2013). Education was the centerpiece of American colonization (Fujita-Rony, 2003). Whether or not they attended school, Filipinos are profoundly affected by American ideologies of education.

There were two forms of educational indoctrination in the early U.S. colonization of the Philippines: the Thomasites and the Pensionado program. At the turn of the 20th century, a United States military appointee was charged with a fact-finding mission to replicate Indian education and use it as a blueprint for colonial education in the Philippines. In the United States, Indian education took the form of boarding schools, whose purpose was to separate Native American children from their families, to strip them of their indigenous culture, language, names, traditions, and to replace those things with European and Christian culture and values. The phrase used at Native boarding schools "kill the Indian to save the man," also applied to the U.S. approach to Filipino education in this case (Hsu, 2013, Lomawaima, 1994).

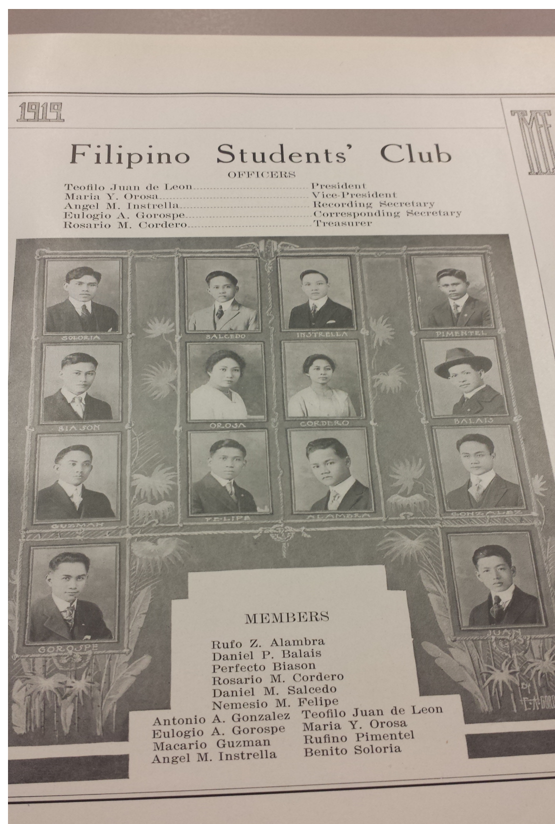


THE SHIP THAT BROUGHT THE TEACHERS, AUGUST 23, 1901.

Shortly thereafter, a military act required the transport of 600 teachers from the US to Philippines. The teachers traveled via the USAT Thomas, a military ship and they became known as “The Thomasites.”

Photograph of U.S. Army Transport Thomas which carried the 600 U.S. teachers to the Philippines (Racelis, 2001)

The teachers, who were primarily White, were on a colonial military mission to educate the “savages” (Hsu, 2013). In 1903, the Pensionado Program was created in order to send young Filipino elites to U.S. colleges and universities in order to return and governthe Philippines complete with a colonized mind and American ideals (Leonardo & Matias, 2013). The presence of Filipino Pensionados at the University of Washington is apparent as early as 1919


1919

TYEE

Filipino Students' Club

OFFICERS

Teofilo Juan de Leon........President
Maria Y. Orosa........Vice-President
Angel M. Instrella........Recording Secretary
Eulogio A. Gorospe........Corresponding Secretary
Rosario M. Cordero........Treasurer

MEMBERS

Rufo Z. Alambra
Daniel P. Balais
Perfecto Biason
Rosario M. Cordero
Daniel M. Salcedo
Nemesio M. Felipe
Antonio A. Gonzalez
Eulogio A. Gorospe
Macario Guzman
Angel M. Instrella
Teofilo Juan de Leon
Maria Y. Orosa
Rufino Pimentel
Benito Soloria

Photograph of the Filipino Students in the Tyee (left)
(*University of Washington Tyee 1919*, 1919)

A colonized mind, or colonial mentality can be defined for Filipinos as the valorization of light skin, the linguistic dominance of English, the all-for-America attitude, and perhaps more insidious, is the lack of historical

self-understanding which has resulted in a distorted a sense of identity, a lack of cultural pride, and a sense of subordination.

Using racial inferiority to justify educational indoctrination in the Philippines mirrored policies and practices for Native Americans and Blacks on the United States mainland. Boarding schools and Black industrial schooling were part of the implementation of industrial education supported by Heredetarian Theories at the beginning of the 20th century. Hereditarian Theory was the practice and implementation of standardized testing and measuring intelligence based on social traits such as race, appearance, class (Gould, 1981). For Natives, Mexicans, and Black people, these tests were used to rationalize their inability to be citizens, to prove them incapable of learning abstract concepts, and justified forced institutionalization, sterilization, and industrial education (Gould, 1981).

A newspaper article in the *New Haven Union* at the turn of the twentieth century was titled "Our New Ape Men" and stated, "Negritos (a Black indigenous group of the Philippines) are most monkey like people in the world (Hsu p44, 2013)." This was the colonial dilemma--these semi humans needed to be governed, managed, and were incapable of assimilation. The racial dilemma of Filipinos as incapable of assimilating was a justification to use Filipinos as exploited laborers. The purpose of education then became not to train Filipinos in democracy, but to produce second-class peoples that had industrial training and manual education to benefit the United States labor needs (Hsu, 2013).

Despite the problematic nature of U.S. colonial education, the popular education model provided an increase in access to schooling and literacy that was previously only for the elite and affluent under Spain. In his iconic book, *America is in The Heart*, Carlos Bulosan, a Filipino author born in the Philippines in 1913, writes about the moment his mother told him he was going to school, he writes about his sentiments, "School!

Photo of Carlos Bulosan from Carlos Bulosan Centenial ("Carlos Bulosan," n.d.)

The stars gleamed brightly (Bulosan, 1973 p 41)." He talks about his imagination of the US as a place of racial equality. He bases this idea upon his Thomasite education in the Philippines where he learned about Abraham Lincoln, described to him as "a poor boy who became a president of the United States and then who died for a Black person" (Bulosan, 1973 p 70). Bulosan was deeply touched by the story of Abraham Lincoln taught to him by a Thomasite teacher and became fixated on this story. Bulosan, like many other Filipino immigrants of this time, thought that the U.S. would be a place of liberation, however he experienced heartbreaking racial discrimination, physical violence, and died a tragic death due to lack of access to health care (Bulosan, 1973).

Immigration and Labor Organizing in Seattle

By 1920, there were only about 5,603 Filipinos in the United States, the majority of whom were Pensionados studying at U.S. universities (Root, 1997). With the passing of the 1924 the Immigration Act, which placed a quota on all immigrants, as U.S.

nationals Filipinos were exempt from this Act and the reduction in Japanese labor provided a demand for more Filipino laborers which brought approximately 45,000 additional Filipinos to Hawaii and the West Coast states by 1926 (Bulosan, 1973). Many of these Filipino laborers arrived to Seattle full of hope. They were American nationals and like Bulosan, were products of a Thomasite school system that preached the best of American ideals (Bacho, 1997). This wave of immigrants, referred to as the "Manong generation" were predominantly young, unmarried male laborers who were escaping rural poverty in the Philippines and seeking what they believed was a life of meritocracy.

New Filipino immigrants faced hostile and racist conditions and were forced into menial labor such as migrant farm work, cannery work, domestic work, kitchen work, and quickly learned the realities of racial restrictions in America (Bacho, 1997) (Cordova, Cordova, & Acena, 1983). This contrast between the Thomasite education infused with American ideals and the realities of racism and discrimination for Filipinos on the U.S. mainland was fertile ground for Filipino resistance movements. Filipinos became involved in the Labor Rights and later the Civil Rights movements that demanded the meritocracy that had been idealized for so many of them.

The political and social climate in Seattle was not encouraging for permanent settlement for Filipino laborers who arrived after the Chinese and Japanese and were referred to as "The Third Oriental Invasion" (Tamayo Lott, 1997). Filipinos were victimized by anti-Oriental racism and legalized segregation which barred them from hotels, cafes, swimming pools, pool halls, barber shops, apartments and other facilities. Filipinos were also banned from owning land in Washington, they could not vote, hold elective office, start commercial businesses or marry white women (Fujita-Rony, 2003,

Cordova et al., 1983). Filipinos did not have a governmental authority that could protect them or speak for them as Imperial Japan had done for resident Japanese. And unlike the Chinese their status was ambiguous as nationals who could not be deported because they were not immigrants, nor could they be excluded yet Filipinos could not become naturalized citizens. Filipinos were publicly called “Little Brown Monkeys” and were exploited by labor contractors who overcharged and underpaid them (Cordova et al., 1983). Out of these oppressive conditions the Filipino labor movement of the 1920’s and 30’s and the beginning of the union history was born (Tamayo Lott, 1997).

Photo courtesy of Filipino American National Historical Society, photo said to be from California in the late 1920s and 1930s. Another such sign read, "No Dogs or Filipinos Allowed." Another sign threatened towns that did not get rid of Filipinos (“#FAHM2014 #FilipinoAmericanHistoryMonth (with images, tweets) · ForCommunities,” n.d.).

The Manong generation many of whom came without family ties, were characterized by racist stereotypes which associated them with gambling, drinking, and they were perceived as a threat to the White community for engaging in relationships with White women (Bulosan, 1973). The approaching Depression accelerated the Anti Filipino agitation, for instance in 1928 in Yakima, Washington the “Kick the Filipinos out” movement sparked and spread quickly south to Exeter, California and other farm working communities (“Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project,” n.d.). Filipino laborers were seen as a growing economic and social threat to bigoted White Americans

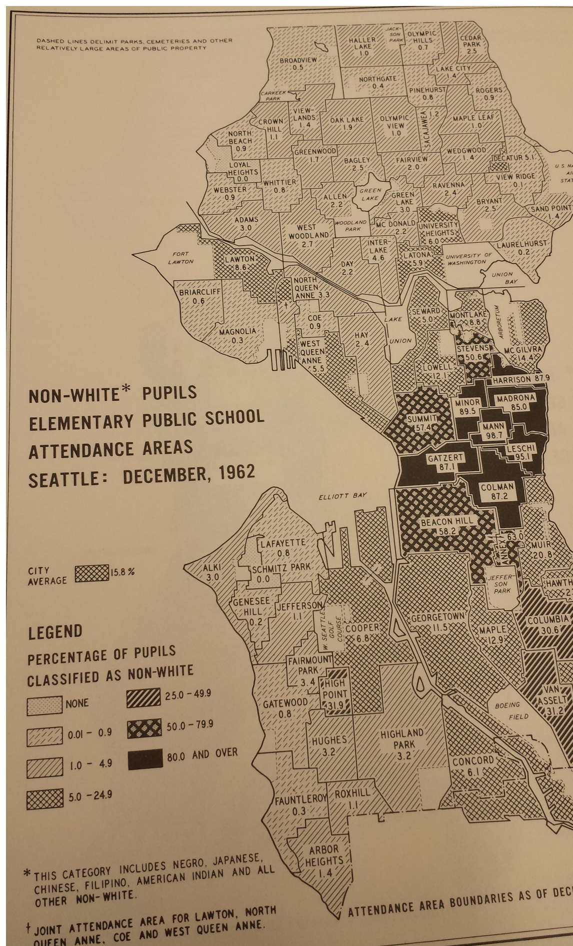
(Cordova et al., 1983). This bigotry and tension culminated in the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, which guaranteed the Philippines independence within ten years, something the U.S. could afford to offer since they had established economic control over the Philippines. The Tydings-McDuffie Act also came with a quota of 50 Filipinos to enter the United States per year (Cordova et al., 1983). By offering the Philippines independence, Filipinos were no longer considered U.S. nationals and the U.S. could legally enforce their immigration reforms and limit the waves of Filipino immigrants. As a sequel to this act, President Roosevelt signed the “Repatriation Act” which offered Filipinos free transportation back to the Philippines under the condition that they could not again re-enter. Not very many Filipinos took advantage of this offer, only 2,190 out of the 45,000 who were eligible returned to the Philippines despite the extreme racism and violence, exclusion, and the poverty for Filipinos on the U.S. mainland. There are several explanations to this, one due to a sense of shame for going home at the government’s expense, two, that many did not want to be barred re-entry to the U.S. mainland, another possibility is that there was also an economic upturn at this point which offered some hope to Filipinos. In any case the Repatriation Act failed (Fujita-Rony, 2003).

The violence, oppression, and exploitation of Filipino laborers in the 1920’s and 30’s gave birth to the Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers Union, known today as Local 37, which formed in 1933 in Seattle, Washington. Prior to the union, the cannery workers were subject to a repressive contract labor system in which they were treated like indentured servants with no collective bargaining rights or protections against poor treatment and workplace hazards (Chew, 2012). The union became a powerful voice for

Filipino immigrant laborers and had a foundation of democratic representation and militant direct action in support of workers rights. Many of the union leaders were Filipino laborers who opposed U.S. colonial control of the Philippines. This point is significant and is evidence that Filipino labor activists were organizing for labor rights on the U.S. mainland, while at the same time resisting and critiquing U.S. colonial control of the Philippines, organizing not only for local conditions to improve, but also making connections to the exploitation of the Philippines and that labor and U.S. colonization were entangled and had to be addressed in tandem. As a result of their political beliefs many of the union leaders were targeted, detained, and in some cases deported during the height of anti-Communist purges during the late 1950's (Chew, 2012). These traditions in resistance and workers rights built a foundation upon which Filipino student and community activists would be deeply proud of and refer to as a model for their civil rights organizing in Seattle.

Perhaps there is a pedagogy of resilience in the "fun" that the laborers had despite racially oppressive conditions. Mr. Ogilvie shared his experience working in the Alaska Cannery with is brother in 1966. His story compares to that of my father who worked for two summers in the late 1960's. Interestingly they both talk about the horrible work conditions, bunks, and food, but the emphasis of the story is on how much fun they (the Filipino workers) had with each other. According to Fred Cordova "Alaska offered an environment of togetherness among Filipino Americans, regardless of age or national origin. Alaska was a place for Pinoys to work with their own kind, who had developed a built-in social community of their own within a built-in selective labor force (Cordova et al., 1983 pg. 63)." In reading K. Tsiana Lomawaima's book on Native Boarding Schools,

her oral histories share a similar nostalgia for how much fun and mischief the Native youth had together in the midst of adverse conditions in the boarding schools (Lomawaima, 1994). One theory is that that having fun in these exploitative and oppressive conditions is a form of resistance and protest in itself. In Mr. Ogilvie's recollections, the work and bunk conditions were deplorable but all that is swept under this sense that being together made it "ok":



"There was a separation between the whites and the Filipinos, hey but that was ok. The Filipinos were put in a bunk house about this big (makes a small space with hands), but we liked being with each other so it was ok. Our showers and our toilets were like a big out house, and there were no stalls and no doors for the toilet stalls, that was tough, when we took a shower we had to run out and run back in. Whereas the white guys had a nice college dormitory."

Cross Racial Collaborations and Activism:

In Seattle, racially restrictive housing covenants created in the 1940's excluded all non-White individuals from living in specific Seattle neighborhoods throughout the north-end of the city, which meant that Filipinos

Map is attached to a scrapbook in Seattle Urban League papers in University of Washington Special Collection. It's part of a report titled Growth and Distribution of Minority Races in Seattle, Washington by Calvin Schmid, a Professor of Sociology and and Director of Office of Population Research at UW and his research assistant Wayne Mcvey Jr. who was also affiliated with the Washington State Census Board. The Report is published in 1964 by the Seattle Public Schools. The report is analyzing trends and distributions of People of Color in Seattle between 1957-62. The report includes a lot of demographic maps as well as several data charts to show changes and growth in Black, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Native populations in Seattle. One of these maps is specifically focused on school enrollment. The map is titled Non-White* Pupils Elementary Public School Attendance Areas Seattle: December 1962. The asterisk denotes "This category includes

Negro, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, American Indian and all other Non-White". The map has a legend that shows percentages and different shading where Non-White students are attending school Seattle. It is clear in the map that the most Non-White students are attending a few schools in the Central District (Schmid & McVey, 1964).

were growing up alongside Blacks, Japanese, Chinese, and Native American communities in the Central District (Majumdar, 2006). Even though these multi-ethnic groups were living alongside one another, the relationships between them were complex, at times joining them together in solidarity and at others fraught with tension and conflict. From A. Barreto Ogilvie's childhood memories he recalls the diversity of playmates in the Central District:

> *"It was a total mixture, we had blacks, whites, Filipinos, Indians here, we were just all here, we played with each other, there was no racial anything, we were all poor kids in the ghetto, what the heck. Let's have fun and we did. Some people talk about the ghetto as bad, but sometimes the ghetto was good, because there was a time when families were tighter you know, closer. There was a lot of family and community support for each other."*

Although Filipinos were racially categorized with other Asians, Chinese and Japanese immigrants had larger and more established communities that had been in Seattle longer than Filipinos or Blacks. Many of the Japanese and Chinese had their own ethnic organizations and excluded Filipinos and Blacks from their labor unions in the 1920's-40's(Taylor & Rice, 1994). Out of necessity for more numbers and political power the Filipinos formed cooperation and solidarity with the Black community (Taylor & Rice, 1994). An example of this cooperation is that the Filipino labor unions, unlike others, were racially inclusive and welcomed Blacks, some of whom joined them in the canneries in Alaska. In California, Blacks and Filipinos worked together to dismantle anti-miscegenation laws, Blacks as citizens and Filipinos as nationals had expectations that American egalitarian beliefs would inspire fair treatment (Taylor & Rice, 1994).

These Filipino and Black collaborations towards equitable treatment began here and formed strength in cross-racial coalitions later in the Seattle Civil Rights movement.

Alliances amongst Asian communities were complex and shifted according to the context and individuals involved. In the 1960's a movement for Asians to ban together in more solidarity sparked in California and spread to the Northwest. The Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) in Berkeley became the first organization to use "Asian American", a new concept in contrast to the conventional term "Oriental" (Asian American Movement 40th Anniversary collection from the archives of the Asian Community Center, 2008). Prior to this, many Asian Americans had been mostly divided into separate ethnic organizations, the term "Asian American" became a unifying force across the nation among the different Asian ethnic groups.

An example of cross-racial collaborations in Seattle is the St. Peter Claver Center, which was a Catholic social service center. Bob Santos, a local Filipino leader and activist, was the manager of the St. Peter Claver Center, which he calls the "Heart of The Struggle". The Catholic Church, just like the university campus, had been a tool of colonialism of Filipinos though in some cases, such as The St. Claver Center, was also the site of liberation. The St. Claver Center was used by many activists and organizing groups including the Black Panthers, which used it daily for their free breakfast program, as well as the Blackfeet Indians, the Asian Coalition for Equality, and the United Farmworkers, all of which used the space for weekly meetings (Santos, 2002). Mr. Ogilvie also remembered the St. Claver Center as the beginning of his activism and service work and as a major influence in his later involvement in demonstrations at the University of

Washington in which cross racial collaborations were instrumental in having large enough numbers of students to make demands (Ogilvie, 2015).

This shared meeting space at St. Claver Center became a place of relationship building and cross coalition support. One outcome of this is the "Gang of Four" which was comprised of friendship and political solidarity between four passionate leaders of different racial and ethnic groups who strategically supported one another's activism and movements.

Photograph from the wall at Seattle FANHS is of the Filipino Youth Activities group marching in support of Open Housing and the ending of Red Lining circa 1963 .

The Gang of Four was made up of Bob Santos who was a major activist for Filipinos and Asians in the International District, the late Bernie Whitebear who was a tireless activist for the Seattle Native American community, the late Roberto Maestos who founded El Centro de la Raza in Seattle, and Larry Gosset who was a leader of the University of Washington's Black Student Union and was eventually elected to King County Council (Santos, 2002, "Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project," n.d.).

Dozens of committees to end discrimination formed during this time period in Seattle. A few of them formed explicit missions to build alliances and working relationships across multi-ethnic civil rights organizations. The Asian Coalition for

Equality (ACE) was formed and led by Reverend Mineo Katagiri, a Japanese American minister who was committed to joining the Asian struggle for civil rights alongside Black, Latino, and Native community members in Seattle. ACE members joined the Black community and United Construction Workers Association in demonstrating at various job sites and demanded that minority workers be hired for labor (Santos, 2002). Another group, The Coalition Against Discrimination (CAD), was a cross-racial group that grew out of ACE, some of CAD's members listed in their pamphlet include the United Indians of All Tribes Foundation, the Seattle Urban League, the NAACP Seattle Chapter, and BAWA-Black & White Action of Greater Seattle("Coalition Against Discrimination," n.d.). The objective of CAD was to work toward ending state sanction of discriminatory practices such as granting liquor licenses to clubs such as the Elks Club, Moose Club, and Rainier Club, some of which had explicit signs and stating, "Whites Only" or "Positively No Filipinos." Several of the University of Washington Filipino student activists including Mr. Ogilvie were members of these community groups as well as student organizers at the University of Washington.

Filipinos were organizing amongst themselves as well as with other Asians and ethnic groups to work towards Civil Rights in Seattle. Mr. Ogilvie described the excitement of the 1960's and the hours upon hours that he and other Filipino activists spent together late into the night talking and debating about social issues and making plans for radical change in their communities. He talked about going to the house of Fred and Dorothy Cordova, the founders of Filipino Youth Activities (FYA) which many young Filipinos participated in the Central District grew up participating in during the 1960's. Mr. Ogilvie recalls staying up until 3am talking and debating with Fred Cordova

who was a major influential figure for him and encouraged him to be a leader in the community. Mr. Ogilvie as well as other young Filipino activists and professionals called themselves "The Filipino American Young Turks of Seattle" and were on a mission to end racial discrimination in Seattle and to make opportunities for Filipinos to ascend into professional, political, and social power . Many of them have life long friendships.

Photograph of Seattle Filipino American Young Turks from Peter Jamero's book *Vanishing Filipino Americans, The Bridge Generation*. From left to right, A. Barreto Ogilvie, Bob Santos, Peter Jamero, Dale Tiffany, Fred Cordova, Andres (Sonny) Tangalin, Roy Flores, Larry Flores (Jamero, 2011).

<u>The University As a Site of Protest and Community Transformation:</u>

The 1960's sparked national demonstrations, marches, and protests, which brought attention to civil rights of racial minorities. The end of the Eisenhower era and the election of John F. Kennedy opened new possibilities, insurgencies, and the climate of opinion began to shift (Gitlin, 1987). Black student sit-ins at Whites-only counters in North Carolina sparked widespread resistance to racial segregation. In San Francisco, university students demonstrated and insisted on their right to attend the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee. These direct actions helped to spark the beginning of the 1960's on campuses nationwide (Gitlin, 1987). In 1968, the formation of the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) in San Francisco and Berkeley created an unprecedented coalition of Black, Chicano, Asian, and Native American students. These

students banned together to make demands of their universities to provide ethnic studies curriculum and minority admissions and staffing reforms.

The actions of the civil rights movement, the Third World Liberation Front, the growing Black and Brown Power Movements, and the resistance to the Vietnam War inspired and sparked the movement of Asian American student activists in Seattle and at the University of Washington in the late 1960's. This dovetailed with an increase in the number of Asians, including Filipinos, who immigrated in larger numbers after the 1965 Immigration Act lifted quotas that had been in place since 1934. The number of Filipinos allowed to enter the U.S. raised from 100 to 20,000 per year. Not all of these new immigrants participated in activism, many of them did not, but their increased numbers meant they were no longer invisible.

Filipino and other activists targeted the university as well as off campus issues. In fact, they saw the on and off campus issues as closely related and used the campus to attack inequality and racism off campus. One example of this is the use of campus printing materials to produce newsletters addressing the preservation of family run businesses in the International district, fliers regarding housing concerns for low-income seniors, and Silme Domingo, local labor activist, using the campus to research local labor history in support of his labor organizing in the early 1970's (Chew, 2012).

There are no racial demographic numbers from the University of Washington in the late 1960's. According to the oral history interviews, there were about 20 Filipino American student activists at the University of Washington who had grown up in the Central District (Ogilvie, 2015). There were other Filipino students at the university, some of them were newer Filipino immigrants who were not part of the campus

demonstrations. None of the other interviewees can recall newer Filipino immigrants being part of their coalitions or activist movements. In my own discussions with my father and relatives who were Filipino temporary laborers in the mid 1960's, the thought of being at the forefront of the Brown Power movement and waiving banners was the farthest from their minds. The focus of their life was on trying to survive in a new country and to not get deported. For my father, being in America was a ticket out of a life of poverty in the Philippines and he was grateful for the opportunity for a life in the U.S (Perez, Melquiades Cabato, 2013). This disconnect between Filipino Americans and new Filipino immigrants is in interesting fragmentation. Because The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 was selective of the college educated and highly skilled there was likely socioeconomic differences between the waves of new Filipino immigrants and the working class and laborers who had grown up in Seattle's Central District (Pido, 1997). Another reality is that the newer Filipino immigrants of the 1960's had not grown up entrenched in the experiences and politics that many of the Seattle Filipino American activists identified with. Despite Filipino American activists fighting for Civil Rights and racial justice, there was not a strong bridge to include or welcome many of the new Filipino immigrants.

Those Filipino students involved in the campus activism were small, about twenty, according to Tony Ogilvie. They grew up with a sense of American identity and entitlement to equal rights. They saw that their siblings, cousins and friends in the local Filipino community were being tracked into vocational fields and were not represented at the University of Washington. They also had the example of their elders who helped

organize for labor rights of the Filipino farm and cannery workers. Mr. Ogilvie talks about being a student at the University of Washington during this time,

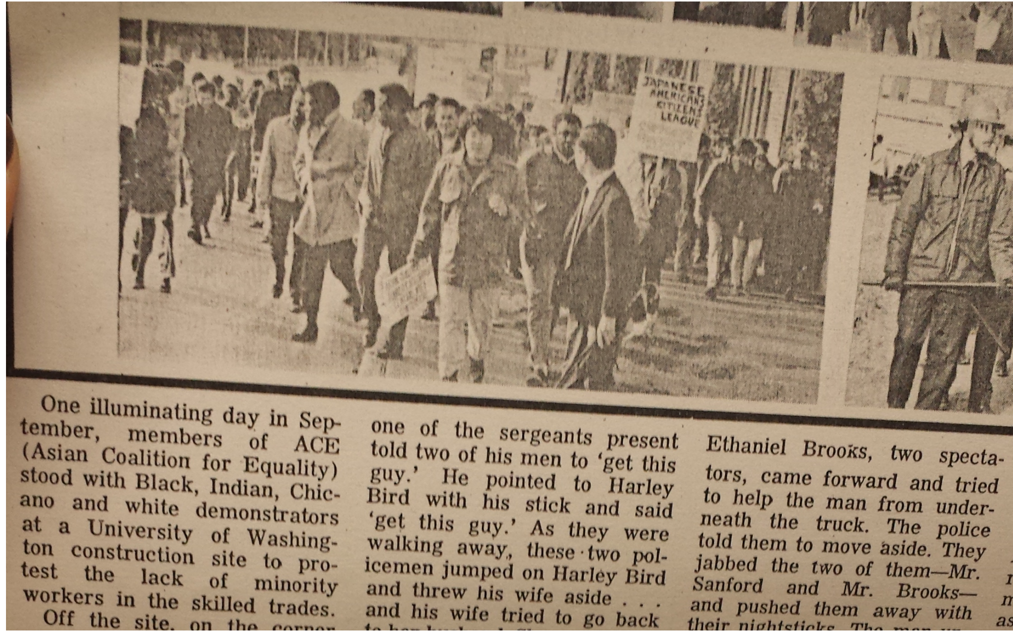
"I was thinking of my brothers. They never had a chance, they never thought about college, they both graduated from Garfield High School. They were to me a perfect example. I went to a private school, I'm prepared to go to college, I never thought of anything else but to go from high school to college. But my brothers went to Garfield, where the thing back then was... counselors would counsel White kids on how to go to college and they would counsel all the kids of color how to go to vocational school or get a job, because they probably aren't going to get any farther in life. So that's where that connection was."

In 1968, the Black Student Union (BSU) set the stage for the Asian student activists at the University of Washington. They made a list of demands to the president Charles Odegaard. In the opening line of the letter they stated, "The University of Washington has been and is a racist institution. Its function has been and is to preserve a racist status quo." The BSU letter went on to make five demands outlining how the university needs to support Black students, staff, and faculty and make specific policy and procedural changes. These demands look very similar to what the Filipino students demanded just one year later.

Through their activism and their demands for racial justice, Black students redefined and transformed the missions of Predominantly White Colleges and University's (PWCU's) (Williamson, 1999). Through the alignment with the Black Power movement, many Black students like those at the University of Washington, created Black Student Unions and Black Cultural Centers as a way to call for recruitment and retention of more Black students as well as for Black Studies departments. These centers provided renewed spirit and confidence to Black students who were experiencing isolation and hostility on PWCU campuses. Black students were simultaneously

demanding an end of racial segregation by enrolling in PWCU's while also demanding separate space for themselves on campus to preserve their racial identities and wellbeing within these institutions. The Filipino student activists at the University of Washington used a similar blueprint, demanding more access and representation for their community into a predominantly White university, but also demanding separate space by calling for culturally relevant and specific hiring and programs.

One protest demonstration in 1968 united Asian and Black students from the University of Washington with Tyree Scott, a Black electrician who organized Black and other minority construction workers to fight discrimination in the skilled trades. Scott founded the United Construction Workers Association, and they organized demonstrations both on and off campus. At the time the University of Washington was doing a major construction job on campus and had exclusively hired White workers for the job. Students and community members protested together on campus demanding that minority workers be hired. They campaigned to close the construction site until their demands were met. Blacks and Filipinos in Seattle collaborated when it came to labor rights and Filipino student activists were at the forefront of this campus protest at The University of Washington.



One illuminating day in September, members of ACE (Asian Coalition for Equality) stood with Black, Indian, Chicano and white demonstrators at a University of Washington construction site to protest the lack of minority workers in the skilled trades.

Off the site, on the corner

one of the sergeants present told two of his men to 'get this guy.' He pointed to Harley Bird with his stick and said 'get this guy.' As they were walking away, these two policemen jumped on Harley Bird and threw his wife aside . . . and his wife tried to go back

Ethaniel Brooks, two spectators, came forward and tried to help the man from underneath the truck. The police told them to move aside. They jabbed the two of them—Mr. Sanford and Mr. Brooks—and pushed them away with their nightsticks.

Photograph from Filipino Forum, paper dated October 15th 1969, courtesty of Seattle FANHS archive (Sibonga, 1969).

Dolores Sibonga was a reporter for a lot of Filipino activism during the Civil Rights Movement and she and her and her husband published *The Filipino Forum*. Sibonga is a Filipina American who grew up in the Central District and witnessed police brutality in her neighborhood. She grew up around a racially and socially diverse community and developed a respect for every human being and an awareness of the need to be treated equal. Sibonga attributes Seattle's multi-racial coalitions to Seattle's communities of color being relatively small compared to other large West coast cities. She remembers the Civil Rights activism years as a great time. She shared a story of being arrested at a protest and generally feels that people were focused and rallying together on a few issues. Sibonga characterized Filipinos as achievers and said they were involved from the beginning of the Civil Rights movement and is very proud of this. Sibonga felt that Filipinos in the U.S. were not held in high esteem even though many of their generation grew up as Americans with rights. Printed as the subheading for

Filipino Forum was the phrase “Spokesman For Minority Action”. According to Sibonga, the purpose of the paper was to cover the activism and create visibility for Filipinos and other communities of color in Seattle and to demand equal rights. The Filipino Forum wanted to ensure that Filipino Americans and other communities of color in Seattle receive the benefits and Civil Rights of American citizenship that they deserved.

Filipino and Asian students aligned their movements, united together against oppressive immigration laws and which had excluded them from many parts of U.S. democracy.   These students made a significant step in 1969 by demanding further change from the University of Washington administration. Despite the expectation that they were to be passive subjects, colonial bodies, invisible and assimilated in the context of schooling, the Filipino students, armed with the tools of their education, continued to use the university as a site of protest.

In the summer of 1969 A. Barretto Ogilvie led a demonstration attended by a “rainbow” of young people as described by an article in the *Filipino Forum* (Sibonga, 1969). Ogilvie and other Asian students who were members of the Asian Coalition For Equality, were concerned and angry that Filipinos were not included in the Special Education Program (SEP). The SEP was created the year prior, in 1968 to recruit and retain Black, Mexican, Indian and “poor White” students (Dykeman, 1969). At the time Ogilvie and Larry Matsuda, another member of ACE brought their concern to ACE leaders, all of whom were older and who did not respond with the urgency that Ogilvie and Matsuda felt was warranted for this exclusion. They took matters into their own hands and organized a demonstration at the University of Washington.

—photo by dick Conrad

Anthony Ogilvie, surrounded by other members of the Asian Coalition, confronts Dr. Charles Evans with a list of demands for inclusion of Filipino and needy Oriental students in the University's Special Education Program.

Photograph from the University of Washington *Daily* paper courtesy of Seattle FANHS archive (Dykeman, 1969).

Larry Matsuda wrote an article published in the book, *Community and Difference: Teaching, Pluralism, and Social Justice,* describing the events of the 1969 demonstration at The University of Washington (Matsuda, 2005). Matsuda was born in a Japanese internment camp in Idaho. He grew up knowing that his family was forcibly incarcerated for three years based on racial discrimination, failed leadership, and wartime hysteria. As a young adult Matsuda read the autobiography of Malcolm X, which was a major inspiration for him and clarified that this country had discriminatory laws based on White and Non White racial status. Matsuda saw examples of this institutionalized discrimination towards himself and his family. In 1950, Matsuda's parents purchased a home in Beacon Hill, but no bank would give them a loan in Seattle. They finally found a bank hours away in Bremerton that would loan to them.

The Black Power movement and demonstrations against Red Lining were major forces of activism surrounding Matsuda as a young adult. Matsuda was a school teacher at Sharples Junior High School teaching Language Arts, Literature and decided he wanted to teach an Asian American History class. Today this school is called Aki Kurose Middle School. During his process of developing the Asian American History class he met Reverend Katagiri from Hawaii who was the director of ACE and was calling Asians

in Seattle together, this is where Matsuda met Ogilvie and they discovered that they were also colleagues and students attending the University of Washington, both of them were teachers and earning credits towards their teaching degrees. Matsuda and Ogilvie as teachers in Seattle had first hand evidence that the students of color in their classrooms were not being represented at the University of Washington. Mr. Ogilvie was a Social Studies teacher at Blanchet High School teaching Contemporary Urban Problems and Regional Area Studies. Ogilvie and Matsuda understood that there was a gap in the education system and they were committed to working together to bridge it and to demand more access for Filipinos and Asians.

Filipino Forum
Spokesman For United Minority Action
Vol. 41, No. 8 14 August 15, 1969
confrontation!

Photograph: from Dolores Sibonga's private collection of Filipino Forum papers, this article covers the demonstration and demands of Charles Evans in detail (Sibonga, 1969).

Matsuda described the civil rights movement and the year of 1969 as a year of "cosmic proportions." Despite the leadership of ACE not supporting the urgent call to action by Ogilvie and Matsuda for campus organizing, Matsuda and Ogilvie proceeded independently and generated cross-racial student support for their demonstration. The Asian students were joined in this protest by members of the Black Student Union, Latino Students, and Native Students and they made seven demands to Dr. Charles Evans who oversaw the university's Special Education Program. Oglivie is quoted in the University of Washington *Daily* saying, "The University was discriminatory to leave Asian-Americans out of the S.E.P. (Dykeman, 1969)" This article lists the seven demands of the students:

1. For the University to commit the SEP program to formation of a recruiting committee for Filipino and needy Orientals
2. To recruit Filipino and needy Oriental students
3. To change the 1969 SEP brochure to include Filipino and needy Asian students as well
4. To name Asian recruiters for the summer.
5. That the addition of Asians will not exclude students from other minority races
6. For the University to hire a Filipino or Oriental counselor as the need warrants
7. The SEP Admissions Committee membership to be opened to students of Filipino and-or Oriental descent.

These demands included commitment to the formation of a recruiting committee for Filipinos and “needy Orientals”. Here the term needy refers to language that was previously existing in the SEP program that advocated for the University of Washington to support the admission of “needy Whites”. The Filipino students were angry that needy Whites were included in this program but not needy Asians. The terms Oriental and Asian are used interchangeably in these demands capturing a historical moment of shifting language. The students wanted the UW to make a public pronouncement that they were seeking Asian Americans for recruitment and enrollment, would hire Asian American recruiters, and would hire a Filipino or Asian American counselor and SEP Admissions Committee.

In one document from UW’s Information Services, a press release states that Filipino students asked that the University of Washington “make clear that the addition of Asians would not deprive other minority students,” which indicates that there is already a large representation of Asian students at that time (University of Washington Information Services, 1969). Mr. Ogilvie says that he could not believe that Charles Evans said yes to all of these demands. Mr. Ogilvie and other Asian students had planned to make a threat, to shut down Suzzallo Library if Dr. Evans did not acquiesce to their demands, they were

ready to pull all of the books off of the shelves and stage a sit-in if he denied their demands (Ogilvie, 2015). There are a couple of interpretations to why Dr. Evans was so willing to cooperate with the demands made by this protest. The protests and demands made in the year prior by the BSU opened the door to this form of student protest. We can also see that the student protests at UC Berkeley and SF State were making headlines and perhaps Dr. Evans was nervous for the potential for a larger scale student protest or the potential for violence. On a national scale student protests were taking place throughout the country during the late 1960's. The power of this historical moment and the opportunity the Filipino and Asian students took to be part of it resulted in the hiring of admissions and advising staff and the incorporation of Asian students in the university's SEP program.

Mr. Ogilvie, Matsuda, and all the students that stood with them made history with the SEP program. Charles Evans hired Mr. Ogilvie and Larry Matsuda to be admissions recruiters. The first person they recruited for undergraduate admission was Allen Ogilvie, A. Barreto Ogilvie's brother. It was summer and Matsuda recalls them hanging out in pool halls to get students to come to UW, he thinks they helped admit 15-17 students in that first summer. The SEP became Educational Opportunity Programs (EOP) in the following year and officially had an "Asian Division". The program continues today and many underrepresented Asian students have come through the program and received counseling, financial aid, and support (Matsuda, 2005).

At the University of Washington in the late 1960's Filipino students were using the site of an American campus, the very place that was used as a tool to colonize their people as the place to demand justice. Filipino students fought the lack of representation,

support, and institutionalized racism that they witnessed at the University of Washington and demanded justice. An educational theorist, bell hooks, says that academic theory should emerge from and speak to students' personal experiences in the world (hooks, 1994). She says, "When our lived experience of theorizing is fundamentally linked to processes of self-recovery, of collective liberation, no gap exists between theory and practice. (p 61)." Hooks' ideas regarding praxis have been inspired by Paolo Freire, whose pedagogy talks about the process of naming-reflection-action. Freire emphasizes the process of the oppressed "naming" their reality as an important state of consciousness essential in being able to reflect and take transformational action which liberates them from being objects to human beings (Freire, 2001). In this case Filipino and Asian students took tremendous courage to name the unfair conditions at the university, to reflect on this reality, and to make steps to demand change and action.

Conclusion:

Examining Filipino student activism at the University of Washington during the civil rights movement changes our historical narrative of racial dichotomies. There are several points of significance to this story. One is the meta-narrative of including Seattle Filipino histories into the Civil Rights literature and the implications this has on decolonizing history. The lack of literature or knowledge about Filipino participation in the Civil Rights movement is evidence that colonial education and history has continued to exclude the stories and movements of resistance amongst Filipino Americans. Changing the literature historical narrative illuminates the power and resilience of a people silenced and suppressed by colonization.

Second, the use of a college campus as a place of protest is significant when we consider the extent to which education and schooling was used as a colonial tool to suppress the Filipino people. The legacy of Thomasite schooling in the Philippines and the use of schooling to train Filipinos as laborers and to indoctrinate them with American idealism had huge impacts on Filipino identity and history. The disparities between Thomasite ideals taught in the Philippines and the blatant racism that Filipinos experienced in Seattle was fodder for a growing resistance. The University of Washington, the very site which had participated in the Pensionado program, the site of colonial subjugation of Filipino intellect, became a site of protest. Despite the efforts to colonize the minds of Filipinos, this colonial project was not completely successful. Filipino students at the University of Washington were not passive recipients of knowledge, but were active characters in demanding equality and fairness, therefore decolonizing the institution and it's access for Filipino scholarship.

Third, the story of student protest has interwoven connections with a legacy of labor organizing which built a foundation upon which student protesters could stand. Labor is what brought the first large waves of Filipinos to Seattle. The children of these laborers had seen their parents and elders work tirelessly in the canneries, as migrant farm workers, and in menial labor jobs, some of which heard first hand the stories of how their parents organized and pushed for equitable conditions. The decades of labor organizing was a bedrock on which student activists could stand on as an example of fiercely advocating for their rights and ideals that they believed they deserved as Filipino Americans. The foundational beliefs in democratic processes that were infused into the Local 37 and the decades of training as organizers advocating for fair labor rights

established strong leadership and role models for the next generation of Filipino Americans growing up in the Central District.

Fourth, the complexity of Filipino racialization and the unique cross-racial collaborations that we see in the Seattle during the late 1960's made this a unique story in the Civil Rights movement. In order to gain political power and make effective demands for racial equity Filipinos joined the Asian movement despite a history of being excluded from many Chinese and Japanese cultural groups and organizations. Filipinos as nationals also had a lot of shared experiences and identities with Blacks as citizens and made partnerships around several civil rights initiatives together. These multi-racial coalitions in Seattle argue the case for examining race and the Civil Rights Movement beyond a Black and White racial dichotomy, but as part of a complicated network of racial alliances, conflicts, and racist policies that bound these together in common spaces and circumstances.

Finally the impacts of the Filipino student activism not only made institutional changes on the University of Washington, but on the wider Seattle community. The activism of these students opened the doors for other Filipino students to be admitted and supported in attending the university. Many of these students used their position at the University of Washington to gain leadership and make policy changes to improve the life of Filipinos in Seattle.

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Appendix:

Interview questions for oral histories:

- When you reflect on US colonization of the Philippines, how did this impact you and your family?
- What other ethnic and racial groups did you grow up spending time with, was it harmonious, were there tensions?
- Did you experience racism as a Filipino or witness other Filipinos or family members treated with discrimination?
- Did you experience or witness Filipinos believing or behaving as inferior or less than White or European Americans?
- What did it feel like to experience the 1960's and the civil rights movement?
- When racial tensions are talked about in terms of Black and White, where do you think Filipinos fit into this context?
- Tell me about the Asian movement and your thoughts about Filipinos being categorized as Asian? Have your thoughts or feelings changed about this over time?
- What were the significant political, social, or historical events during that time period that made an impact on you? JFK, Cold War, Vietnam etc.
- Please describe your early working experiences/cannery work? Filipinos have a long history with labor rights, how were you involved in this? How did this influence your later activism?
- What made you decide to go to college? Why UW?
- What was UW like? How did it feel to be Filipino at UW during that time?
- Please describe racial discrimination that you experienced, witnessed, or heard about at the UW. How did White students experience more support or opportunities than other students?
- How many Filipino students were attending at the time that you were there?
- Describe how you came to be involved in social activism. What inspired you? Who were your mentors? What were you reading?
- Please describe the protests you led/participated in at UW. What happened? Why did you participate in these? What were your hopes?
- Who were your friends and comrades in these efforts? How did they support you? Tell me about the "Young Turks"
- What were the other community activism projects you were participating in off campus? Asian Coalition for Equality, Filipinos Americans Concerned About Racial Equality, others?
- How were your on campus and off campus activism related or separate?
- What impact did you make on the University and on the Seattle Filipino Community?
- Who was helping you? What other racial and ethnic groups were standing in solidarity with you?

- How did the Asian students build off of the actions that the Black Student Union had taken? Where did you get your ideas and strategies?
- Universities are places of learning, how did it feel to use this space to protest, make demands, and participate in civil disobedience? Was it exciting, scary, inspiring?
- Why was it important for you to demand these 7 items of the University of Washington?
- What difference did these demands make to you personally, your family or other people that you know?
- How did the work you were doing on campus overlap with activism and issues off campus? Did you use resources on campus to do activism off campus? Was this unique to Filipinos or did you see this happening with other marginalized groups who were also organizing for racial equity?
- How does increased access to Higher Education impact Filipinos?
- Do you feel that the UW changed or became a more accessible or more supportive place for Filipinos today because of your efforts?
- How did your activism impact the greater Seattle community?
- What else do you want to tell me that is important to know about this story?