Filipino American Phenomenon: Community-Based Organization Influence on Ethnic Identity, Leadership Development, and Community Engagement

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ABSTRACT

Filipino American Phenomenon: Community-Based Organization Influence on Ethnic Identity, Leadership Development, and Community Engagement

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This study examined the effects of the Filipino Youth Activities (FYA) on Filipino American youth's ethnic identity, civic engagement, and leadership. This study has five main purposes. These include exploring the role of a community organization in developing the ethnic identity, cultural competence, community engagement, personal efficacy of participants, and critical consciousness of Filipino American youth participants. The FYA was the intended inquiry. Nineteen individuals participated in the study including founders, staff, and former FYA program participants from different generations participated in the study. Data in this study were collected from archives, documents, interviews, and demographic questionnaires. Documents and publications included playbill or programs, letters, scrapbooks, and other historical information on goals, images, and programs retrieved from the Filipino American National Historical Society archives located in Seattle's Central District. The entire interview was transcribed verbatim. A codebook was created marked around categories and themes. Codes were labeled for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during the study. The findings revealed that the FYA positively affected participants in

many ways, including acquiring cultural knowledge and providing leadership development, modeling, and developing anti-racist skills. However, these influences were not universal, such some participants encountered problems with FYA such as being excluded and feeling marginalized in some FYA events and routines, and perceiving the dominant leadership styles as excessively restrictive. The data showed that FYA participants in the 1960s and 1970s shared similarities and differences in social, racial, and educational experiences with the 1980s and 1990s participants. Participants from the 1960s and 1970s thought that racial discrimination was obvious; it was important for them to learn how to negotiate through life obstacles and succeed. The 1980s and 1990s participants experienced less intense racism and were much more optimistic about the resources available to them and their abilities to counter it. Some participants also perceived that the founders and administrators exhibited many leadership attributes that scholars suggest are necessary for effective organizational development. Others countered that the dominant leadership style was very rigid and discouraging.

This study contributes to the growing scholarship on community-based organizations and Filipino Americans. It offers some helpful guidance for other researchers interested in conducting studies of other organizations within the Filipino American community and in other locations, as well as organizations in other ethnic communities. Several recommendations and limitations, and further significance of this study and its findings were presented as well.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Seattle's Filipino American students are at high risk of academic failure. Hune and Takecuhi (2008) reported that in 2007-2008 a mere 22.1% of Filipino American students met the Washington Assessment of Student Learning (WASL) science standards and 38% met the standards for math. Washington State's emphasis on cognitive testing and measurement documents student deficiencies only to a certain extent. However, qualitative research on this subject suggests otherwise; it calls attention to the contributions of school personnel, peers, and other factors to gaps in Filipino American academic achievement. Hune and Takeuchi qualitative study also finds that teachers know little about Filipino American history and culture. This resulted in the frequent lack of awareness of the cultural funds of knowledge that students of color bring to the classroom. Consequently, Filipino American students often conclude that teachers and counselors do not care about them, and Filipino American males feel that teachers and some of their non-Filipino American peers unfairly label them as gang members. Such low expectations from educators and peers contribute to an unsupportive academic climate that leads Filipino American students to distance themselves from schooling. These students claim they are seen as delinquents or failures, tracked into less academically demanding courses, less prepared for college, and denied information that could better qualify them for college admission. One survey of high school students in the San Diego Unified School District identified Filipino American students at higher risk for depression and suicide. Pang, Pak, and Kiang (2004) identified several factors contributing to this disturbing statistic, including difficulties negotiating

cultural conflicts, social pressure to assimilate, race-based harassment, and a desire for more guidance from adults, including parents.

Students of color point out how unnoticed, distorted, and invisible they are in the Euro-centric curriculum (especially in History books), which affects their "self confidence, sense of belonging in school, and their academic achievement" (Hune & Takeuchi, 2008, p. 34). Cordova (1973) argues that many Americans have little or no knowledge about Filipinos, and that culturally and historically most "Filipinos do not know themselves" (p. 136). Even though Filipinos established communities in the continental United States as early as 1763 in the Bayous of Louisiana, "little is known about Filipinos in the United States and even less information is available in libraries, resource centers, or institutions of higher education" (Cordova, 1981, p. 4). Cordova further asserts that despite their involvement with the United States during the War of 1812 and their contributions to the agricultural and fishing industries, Filipinos remain largely invisible in mainstream society. This invisibility in school curricula is one of many issues surrounding Filipino identity, and has been recognized by scholars and Filipino American community members as a substantial factor in the negative academic experience of contemporary Filipino Americans. Various scholars, including Flores (1998), Lott (1980), San Juan (1991), and Santos (1982), explain how the curriculum Filipino students receive in educational institutions transmits invisibility. They posit that when the contributions of certain ethnic groups are portrayed as insignificant or nonexistent in school curricula, it is difficult for youth members of those groups to develop a positive sense of their individual ethnic selves (Flores, 1998). The confidence of Filipino American students is often undermined as a result of the conflicting messages they receive about Filipinos and Filipino identity; the personal and cultural knowledge taught in the home generally does not equate to the academic "truth" taught in classrooms.

The mainstream academic knowledge pervasive in American schools often causes students of color to experience "cultural psychological captivity." Banks (2003) defines cultural psychological captivity as a person's "negative ideologies and beliefs about his or her ethnic group that are institutionalized within society" (p. 63). The implication of this captivity is invisibility in terms of the lack of celebration and acknowledgement of contributions from communities of color in the classroom. These scholars note that invisibility makes the formation of a positive Filipino American ethnic identity difficult and leads to what Banks (2001) calls ethnic confusion. San Juan (2006) contends that political and societal marginalization has forced Filipinos to develop a rich and enduring tradition of resistance and survival that informs their everyday actions. Unfortunately, various resistances of Filipinos to conformity and marginalization are also overlooked, absent, or minimized in school curricula.

A Study by Espiritu (2001) on Filipino American students' experience with an academic curriculum, called *Pinoy Teach,* reveals that teaching youth about their ethnic history and culture leads to student empowerment. *Pinoy Teach* was a ten-week multicultural course focusing on Filipino American history taught by University of Washington undergraduate students in Seattle and Bellevue public schools. The results of the program support the claim that culturally-based curricula increase an individual's sense of ethnic identity, which is an aspect of self-esteem (Godina, 1996). Initially, Espiritu found that Filipino American students were uncomfortable with and resisted the Filipino American history and culture taught in *Pinoy Teach*, even more so than their African American and White peers. Her research describes the perpetuation of "colonial attitudes" that emerged in the education of youth and their parents in the Philippines then were passed down to the students themselves. In their interpretation of Philippine history, Filipino American students "revered the colonizer's perspective and degraded the colonized

while they viewed Spanish and American as good" (Espiritu, 2001, p.121). Many internalized the belief that developing an ethnic identity would be detrimental. After experiencing *Pinoy Teach*, however, they gained a sense of empowerment along with the knowledge that allowed them to refute erroneous information about the Philippines and combat prejudicial comments made against Filipinos. Espiritu noted that in addition to confidence, the undergraduate student teachers and the middle school participants in the program became "more certain of their knowledge when they were able to share it with youth" (Espiritu, 2001, p. 129).

Daus-Magbual (2010) explored similar issues in the Pin@y Educational Partnership (PEP), a teaching pathway and high school retention program that emphasizes developing critical Filipino American curriculum, teaching, and research in the Department of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University. The study reveals that PEP teachers experienced a loss of identity and history during their childhood and adolescent years. When the participants learned of the colonial influences that shaped the identity of Filipinos and the mass exodus from the Philippines, "PEP teachers felt angry, disappointed, and confused" (Daus-Magbual, 2010, p.122). Their involvement in PEP provided a "sense of agency as educators to re-remember, re-discover, and to engage others in learning Filipino and Filipino American studies" (Daus-Magbual, 2010, p.122).

An individual's sense of self and personal identity are fluid and evolve over time, responding to various life experiences and to a continually developing perception of self. Banks (1994) suggests that schools should help students "clarify their ethnic, national, and global identifications, for an individual can attain a healthy and reflective national identification only when he or she has acquired a healthy and reflective ethnic identification" (p.98). Since schools do not provide enough support to meet Filipino American students' needs, only a few

community-based organizations such as the Filipino Youth Activities (FYA) were obligated to provide the social and cultural services to address this gap. In addition to academic content, the family and community have a major influence in shaping Filipino American youth's attitudes towards self identity. Unfortunately the oldest Filipino community based-organization in Seattle closed its doors in 2004. The general issue in pursuing this study, which will be further specified, raises the following over arching questions:

- Did community-based organizations in the Filipino American community promote and influence ethnic identity and civic engagement? If so, how? If not, why not?
- What can school teachers and administrators learn from examining Filipino American youth participants in community organizations that might benefit their in-school achievements?

In pursuit of answers to these inquiries, I proposed to study a specific community-based organization that provides programs focusing on Filipino American history and culture called the Filipino Youth Activities (FYA). This analysis will serve as a case study to explore the influence of community organizations on the ethnic identity development and civic engagement of youth with Filipino ancestry. The study involved participants representing multiple generations, varying educational attainment, and numerous professions. Identifying organizations and organizational attributes that directly address the issues of Filipino ethnic identity and youth confidence described above could have important implications for other community groups and educational institutions hoping to address comparable issues (Chen, 2003).

Conceptual Framework

Based on previous studies on the effects of community-based organization on youth development, the conceptual framework underlying this study suggests that there are four types

of influences that affect positive ethnic identity and civic engagement of students of color. They are critical social capital, community-based organization, critical pedagogy, and cultural modeling. A visual representation of this framework is presented in Figure 1. The components of Figure 1 are divided into three blocks, namely context, process, and effects. However, these components affect each other and are inextricably interconnected and dynamic. The framework assumes that these factors independently and collectively influence the ethnic identity, civic engagement, and leadership development of students of color. The individual contribution of each component may differ according to time, context, and population. They may be different for participants in the 1990s, 1980s, or 1970s; for U.S.-born versus naturalized citizens; and they may vary by socio-economic status and by level of educational attainment.

The blocks in Figure 1 presuppose that community organizations have a valuable role to play in helping Filipino Americans students address these social conditions. Specifically, the "Context" component represents ideas proposed by McLaughlin and Irby (1994) and Heath and McLaughlin (1991), which suggest that community-based organizations are capable of developing methods to resolve the issue of invisibility and marginalization for Filipino American youth, foster ethnic identity, and cultivate other areas of achievement. According to Chen (2003), when the learning process is well connected to their cultural backgrounds, students are empowered because their cultural capital is utilized to transmit knowledge.

The "Process" component of Figure 1 suggests that learners process academic knowledge through filters of language, cultural practices, social status, and institutional protocols (Chen 2003). It alleges that when youth can see parts of their identity, community contributions, and culture in the curriculum, they process things differently more successfully, personally, and positively. When these filters are taken into account, youth's civic engagement, academic

achievement, and leadership development are cultivated.

The "Effects" component illustrates how youth's academic successes positively impact self-esteem. Since most schools in the U.S. continue to use Eurocentric curricula, community-based organizations representing diverse ethnic groups significantly contribute to the deconstruction of ethnic misrepresentation perpetuated in schools and media. Community-based organizations are safe places for students to develop ethnic identity, and can allow students to learn to become social activists and advocate for community equity (Banks, 1994; Gay 2010; Pai, 1990; Sleeter &Grant, 2003), thus helping ethnically diverse students develop positive self-esteem.

The round arrow represents the assumption that participants who benefit from community-based organizational activities will recognize the potential of the organization, demonstrate interest in its programs, and feel empowered personally and collectively. This study considered community organizations as sites of multiple kinds of learning. In this manner community-based organization functioned in ways that are close approximations of the principles of cultural modeling as characterized by C. Lee (2007). It examined whether the elements of this conceptual framework did in fact apply to participants in FYA programs.

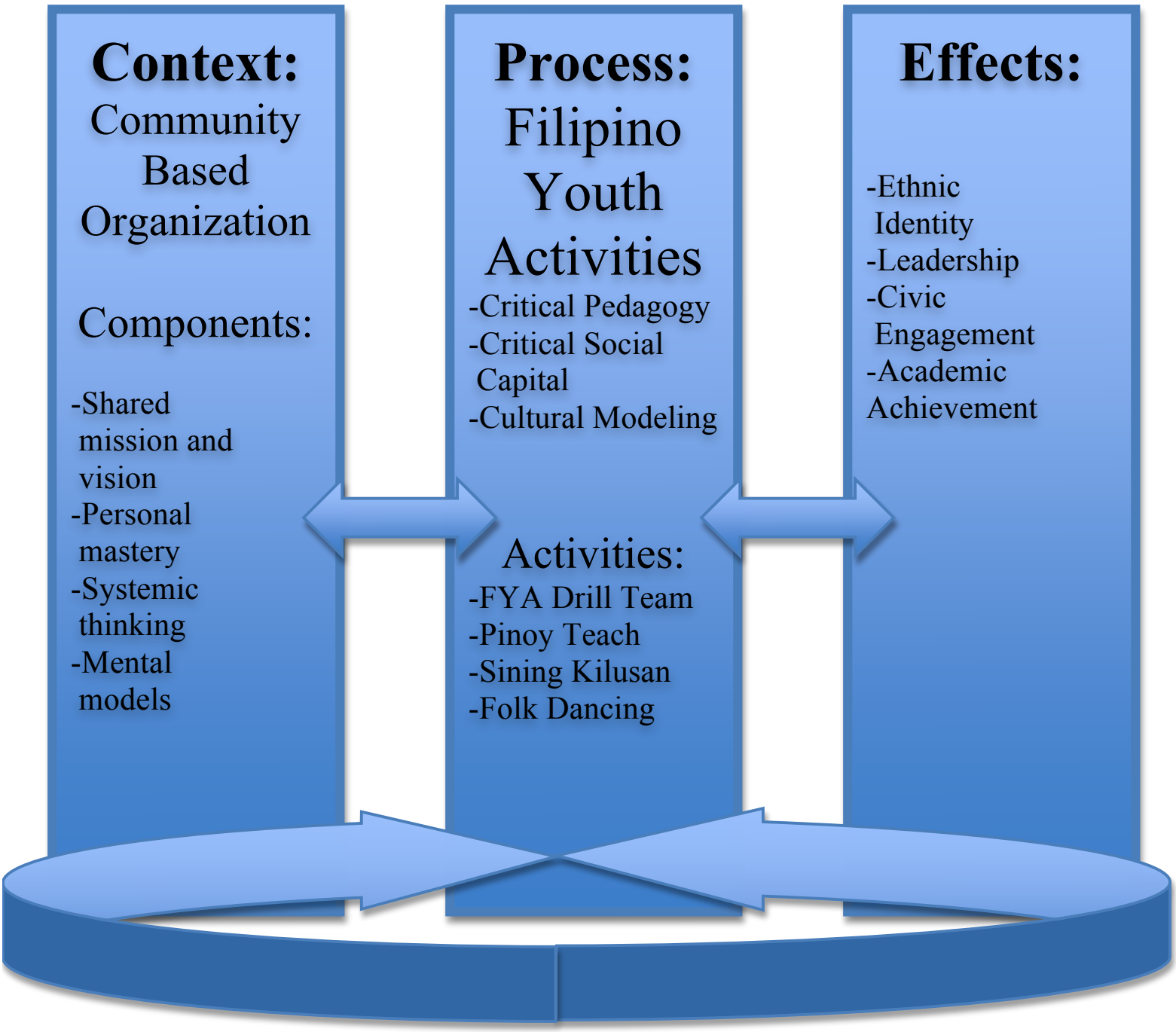

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

The interrelationships of factors that affect ethnic identity and active engagement of Filipino American youth in community settings

Community-Based Organization

The conceptual framework for this study depends heavily on the idea of community organizations as learning sites as articulated by Senge (1990). He defines learning organizations as places where people continually expand their capacity to "create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning to see the whole together" (Senge, 1990, p. 3). These learning spaces can be distinguished from more traditional organizational spaces by the presence of specific properties, including systemic thinking, personal mastery, mental models, shared vision, and team learning.

According to Chen (2003), systemic thinking means "seeing wholes, patterns, and relationships" (p. 9). It is crucial for an organization to develop a framework for seeing interrelationships and patterns of transformation rather than focusing on isolated factors. Senge (1990) argues that the mainstream perspective tends to focus on the parts rather than seeing the whole, and fails to see an organization as a dynamic process. He suggests that an organization is like a system where all elements are related to each other; when any part of an organization is not working well, all other parts are affected. Understanding this notion may help members of an organization "recognize the processes of change and build structures that occur repeatedly" (Chen, 2003, p. 9).

Personal mastery, the second factor in Senge's (1990) model of organizational efficacy, is not something individuals inherently possess; rather, attaining such mastery is a lifelong process. Placing such importance on the concept of personal mastery assumes that the success of an organization in serving the community depends on the development of skills among the individuals within the organization. The organization's operations as a whole consist of each

member's individual contributions (Chen, 2003). While individual challenges or failures are likely to occur, "failure is an opportunity for learning" (Senge, 1990, p. 154) and can feed into the creation of individual visions and goals for the organization that are initiated by an explicit purpose, not just a concept. Personal mastery assists the organization in developing its capacity for perseverance during times of challenge, and encourages members to become their own agents of change in navigating barriers that interfere with their goals for the organization.

Senge's (1990) third factor of organizational efficacy is mental models, which he defines as thinking patterns that determine individual actions. For an organization to function optimally, members must be able to rely on others to freely share their vision within the organization, encourage others to offer multiple perspectives, and make a conscientious effort to avoid pursuing simple answers to complex issues. Chen (2003) states that mental models facilitate making important decisions based on collective understanding of interrelationships and patterns of transformation. They rely on reflection, revealing perspectives and holding them to rigorous critique, and a balance of inquiry and advocacy.

The fourth factor outlined by Senge is shared vision, which emerges from deep and genuine collective engagement, as opposed to a shallow, generic vision statement. When individuals in an organization have a collective vision, they excel and learn, not because they are told to, but because they want to. According to Chen (2003), only through a high level of personal mastery can shared vision be accomplished. Many leaders have personal visions that never translate into the shared visions capable of galvanizing an organization into action. Translating a personal vision into shared vision necessitates developing a set of principles to guide practices. Senge (1990) suggests that in a shared vision, "leaders learn the counter-productiveness of trying to dictate a vision, no matter how heartfelt" (p. 9).

Team learning, the fifth factor outlined by Senge, presumes that individuals need to be able to act together. This type of learning involves a "process of aligning and developing the capacities of a team to create the results its members truly desire" (Senge 1990, p. 236). When teams learn together, members grow and produce results that benefit the organization. Team learning starts with dialogue or the capacity of team members to suspend pre-conceived notions and enter into authentic collective thinking. It allows the group to discover insights that remain out of reach of individuals acting on their own. It also involves learning how to "recognize the patterns of interaction in teams that undermine learning" (Senge, 1990, p.10) in order to actively prevent groups from acting as their own barrier to progress.

McLaughlin and Irby (1994) suggest additional factors that contribute to the success of community organizations in fostering the ethnic identity development and civic engagement of Filipino American youth, which are also included in the conceptual framework for studying the influences of FYA on its participants. They assert that when staff are themselves members of the same communities in which organizations are located, they are likely to be more committed than non-community member staff because they are more familiar with the resources and backgrounds of participants. This claim assumes that community staff members are more compassionate and dedicated to the community in which they live, and that when students feel valued and their heritage is reflected in their learning, academic achievement and civic engagement increase.

McLaughlin and Irby (1994) further suggest that when an organization's staff members function as stand-in family members, providing trustworthy support and guidance to youth participants, the organization becomes more effective. The organization further benefits when staff are invested in the youth and the organization, which allows staff members to not only

adopt the role of an alternate family for youth in ethnic communities, they also serve as informal educators.

The "Process" component of the conceptual framework for this study includes pedagogy, social capital, and cultural modeling (Figure 1). This framework posits that community-based organizations in Filipino American communities provide Filipino American youth with social capital connections that are crucial for cultivating political consciousness and preparing them to address civic issues in their communities. Community-based organizations can significantly impact the skills, attitudes, and experiences that youth require to grow into reflective and responsive citizens.

The import of social capital in this sense lies in its potential to provide various research methodologies and theoretical frameworks. Social capital developments are generally defined as features of community-based organizations, such as "networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1993, p. 36). As people build relationships with institutions, groups, and each other, they gain greater access to resources. These resources include jobs, educational opportunities, neighborhood safety, and cultural affiliation (Fuchs, Shapiro, & Minnite, 2001; Portes, 1998).

Critical social capital differs from mainstream perspectives of social capital "by placing a greater focus on the collective dimensions of community transformation, centering on how racial identity and political awareness serve as an important community and social resource for youth" (Ginwright, 2007, p. 404). It consists of intergenerational involvement that critiques and deconstructs negative external perceptions of Filipino American youth, provides community members with opportunities to construct a collective racial and cultural identity, and cultivates understanding of contemporary social issues within the context of that identity. This form of

social capital is closely linked to Sampson et al's. (1999) explanation that, a "collective efficacy for children is produced by the shared beliefs of a collectivity in its conjoint capability for action" (p. 635). The notion of "collective efficacy" promotes a sense of communal active engagement, acknowledges structural constraints in communities, and views youth as active participants in neighborhood change through strong social networks. Critical social capital in Filipino American communities is also vital to fostering a racial, political, and cultural consciousness, building a strong racial identity, and developing political actions for community transformation.

Critical pedagogy is another aspect of the critical processes hypothesized in the conceptual framework of this study. It is based on radical democracy, feminism, and other movements that strive for social justice. A major feature of critical pedagogy, as advocated by Paulo Freire (1989), is *conscientization,* which is learning that focuses on analyzing social and political contradictions. Critical pedagogy as an educational strategy usually involves teaching students to critique mainstream ideologies and practices. *Conscientization* includes taking action against oppressive elements in one's life (Oliveros, 2009). Furthermore, critical pedagogy helps students achieve critical consciousness, or a deeper understanding of social, political, and economic oppression, and engage in actions against the oppressive elements of society. Mayo (1999) described this as being "concerned with issues concerning social difference, social justice, and social transformation" (p. 58).

Critical pedagogy is the opposite of what Freire (1989) called the "banking concept of education," (p. 77) in which the teacher is the authority figure, the one who knows, and the students are the passive recipients of the teacher's knowledge. It is produced through meaningful dialogue or the dialogical method (Freire, 1989). The dialogical approach emphasizes discussion

and open communication among students and teachers. It presupposes that all teach and all learn. It is different from the hierarchical framework of teacher dominance that often ignores or denigrates the experiences and knowledge of students. Mayo (1999) criticized Freire's theory for excluding discussion of gender, race, and sexual orientations; however, other scholars have expanded his theories to include these (McLaren, 1989; Giroux, 2006).

Critical pedagogy shares some similarities with transformative academic knowledge as described by Banks (1996). He defines transformative academic knowledge as "concepts, paradigm, and explanations that challenge mainstream academic knowledge" (p. 17). It also substantially revises established canons, paradigms, theories, explanations, and research methods by providing "significant new perspectives on the experiences of ethnic groups in the United States… transforming our conceptions about the experiences of American Ethnic groups" (p.18). Banks suggests further that transformative academic knowledge and scholarship can help students of color clarify their cultural backgrounds and "diminish disidentification" (Banks, 1996, p. 18). These ideas suggest that transformative knowledge can help Filipino American students construct more positive thoughts and definitions of their ethnic and cultural identities.

Lee's (2007) cultural modeling technique for teaching students of color effectively fits well with and adds an important dimension to the conceptual framework of this study on the effectiveness of a community-based organization on Filipino American youth's ethnic identity and civic engagement. Although this model has been applied primarily in non-traditional schools, ethnic community–based organizations may be considered deeply vested in cultural modeling. This teaching techniques focuses on the cultural data sets, problem solving processes, and high quality reasoning of a specifically targeted population (for Lee, low achieving poor urban African Americans). It narrows the academic achievement gaps and improves teacher

performance by drawing upon the cultural displays of knowledge inherent in students' everyday experiences. It is designed to develop academic and personal skills while simultaneously building confidence in students' own abilities and prior knowledge. Cultural modeling facilitates productive learning when students understand how to explicitly navigate a particular set of knowledge, enables students to make sense of the subject matter while negotiating their personal goals and sense of identity, and creates a safe space for students to learn intellectually, physically, and socially.

Lee (2007), along with Bransford, Derry, Berliner, Hammerness, and Beckett (2005), Vygotsky (1978), and Gutierrez and Rogoff (2003), point out that knowledge is best acquired when learners actively participate in activities that are constructive in nature and appropriate to their level of development. Bransford et al agree with Lee that valuable funds of knowledge exist in different ethnic communities, and that they are important to creating and sustaining learning communities. Vygotsky discusses the importance of teacher involvement and the social learning aspect of the *zone of proximal development* that relates to the cultural modeling framework through its use of scaffolding. He defines *zone of proximal development* as "the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). This gap can be mitigated by incorporating students' prior knowledge and cultural experience into classroom teaching. These inclusions make up an important aspect of culturally relevant teaching that promotes higher levels of achievement for ethnically and racially diverse students.

Gutierrez and Rogoff (2003) argue that it is of utmost importance to take into consideration students' historical and cultural experiences and directly connect them to all

academic subjects. If this is not done, students may reject the teaching and text because the content is not relevant to their lives. Yet, the authors caution against over-generalizing students' group membership because "categorization of individuals in groups has been treated casually, yielding explanations and expectations of individual skills and behaviors on the basis of category membership, assuming that all group members share the same set of experiences, skills, and interests. This has led to a kind of tracking in which instruction is adjusted merely on the basis of a group categorization" (p. 20).

Cultural modeling also shares some features to culturally relevant and responsive teaching (Ladsen-Billings 2009; Gay 2010). All these techniques involve using the cultural references of students, "such as their cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and performance styles to make their learning encounters more relevant and effective" (Ladsen-Billings, 2009; 1992). Some studies show that using students' prior knowledge has positive effects on different kinds of achievement, including social, political, and academic (Gay, 2010, p.136). This culturally responsive teaching validates the teaching of cultural heritages of different ethnic groups in mainstream curricula so that students can create an ethnic identity from a non-Eurocentric perspective (Gay, 2010).

According to Stritikus and Nguyen (2007) "one aspect in which the research literature could offer keener insight relates to how various scholars define, either explicitly or implicitly, culture and, consequently, cultural identity" (p. 862). Again, this framework will draw on socio-cultural theory to frame culture and identity and offer an explanation of the complexity of identity and the role that out-of-schooling plays in that process. School curricula in the United States are predominantly Eurocentric and lack sufficient ethnic and cultural diversity. To address this issue and increase the positive identities and performance of ethnic youth, cultural modeling

will be used because it suggests that the teaching styles of FYA administrators are assumed to meet the learning styles of its participants to increase their achievement. FYA participants come comes from different backgrounds and have different styles of cognition processing that influence their learning and performance. These needs suggest that diversified curricula are necessary to be implemented simultaneously in teaching multicultural students, particularly FYA participants.

Since this study will focus heavily on the idea of community organizations as learning sites, community-based organization could function in ways that are close approximations of the principles of cultural modeling. Cultural modeling assumes the existence of a consistent caring environment that is responsive to the youth's needs. It is presupposed that individuals are influenced by their cultural backgrounds when expressing themselves through verbal or non-verbal communication. Community-based organizations could provide a kind of cultural modeling outside typical out-of-school settings. These dynamics usually build consolidation among participants and expand the commitment of communities of color at large to fight against discrimination and other forms of marginalization. Community-based organization also contends that backgrounds and experiences of the members are essential to the success of community organizations, particularly those that have grassroots structures.

Critical pedagogy will be used as one component of the framework because it is an approach adopted by progressive educators making a conscientious effort to do away with inequalities on the basis of social class, and that it has generated a wide array of countering sexist, racist, and homophobic based curricula. To meet this need, leaders often use critical social capital such as cultural origins and artifacts, language, shared experience, ancestral places, and cultural organizations to verify ethnic commonalities and group allegiances. This study will

examine whether these theoretical claims did in fact happen for FYA administrators and participants.

Framing critical social capital, community-based organization, critical pedagogy, and cultural modeling as a process of ongoing reconstruction will give me an opportunity to examine closely how youth participate in making connections of meanings around culture and identity in and out of school. This framework hopes to position community involvement at the center of its analysis, providing a different angle from which to understand how FYA youth participants take part in defining ethnic identity, leadership, and community engagement as they encounter social and cultural situations.

General Research Issues

This study has three main purposes. These include examining the role of a community organization in developing the ethnic identity, cultural competence, civic engagement, and personal efficacy; the school performance; and the critical consciousness of Filipino American youth participants. The Filipino Youth Activities (FYA) will be the target of inquiry.

Several key issues of interest will be pursued in this inquiry. They are:

- How can community-based organizations serve as agents of ethnic identity development and civic engagement?
- How is ethnic identity development connected to academic achievement and community leadership development?
- How does a community organization influence the educational attitudes and performance of youth in schools?
- What can be learned about students of color by examining their participation in out-of-school organized activities?

- How do youth experience and make sense of the program and influences of community-based organizations?
- What relationships, if any, exist between generations of participation in community-based organizations and the ethnic identity and personal efficacy of Filipino American youth?

Summary

An introduction, conceptual framework, focus of the study, research purpose, and research issues, were provided in Chapter I. The Filipino Youth Activities (FYA) of Seattle will be analyzed to explore the influence of a community organization on the ethnic identity development and civic engagement of youth of Filipino ancestry. The conceptual framework that provides the theoretical guidance for the study include explanations of the presumed social relationships among the youth, cultural modeling, critical pedagogy, and critical social capital in promoting the positive outcomes for members of community-based organizations.

In Chapter II research and scholarship related to the areas of interest in this study will be summarized. The methodologies used to collect and analyze data are presented in Chapter III.

CHAPTER II

Review of Related Research and Scholarship

This review is organized into five sections, which address issues of ethnic identity, assimilation and acculturation, model minority, community-based organizations, and civic engagement of Asian Pacific Islander Americans. The sections and related information are presented in the order they are introduced.

APIA students comprise 8% of the state's population in Washington State, and could speak any of more than 100 languages and dialects. Seattle Public Schools have the largest concentration of APIA students, in which they represent 12% of the total student population (Hune & Takeuchi, 2008). Language, culture, and race are three of the most significant and inextricably linked factors that affect educational experiences and academic achievement of first, second, and third generation Asian Pacific Islander Americans. These factors also dramatically influence the acclimatization of APIA communities to Eurocentric societal norms in general.

School is one of the places where APIA youth construct their identities. Stacey Lee (2005) indicated that APIA students acquire much of their information about "America and being American through their negotiation of schooling" (p. 2). While schools are institutions where ideas about race and racial inequality are produced, they are also incubators of potential resistance. Few schools and educators are able to recognize and respond to the diversity of APIA students in such a way as to successfully stave off such potential backlashes from the students against Eurocentric curricula and teaching methods.

There are roughly 97 ethnic groups designated under the APIA rubric. Each has distinct characteristics, histories, and acculturation experiences resulting in different behaviors and reactions to their educational experience. These factors influence Filipino American students'

self-concepts and attitude toward learning about their ethnic history and culture. In order to bridge academic achievement gaps and meet students' needs, educators should recognize, understand, and respond appropriately to the diversity and subtle complexities within the APIA student population (Cordova, 1983). Pang, Pak, and Kiang (2004) assert that many teachers, counselors, and administrators assume APIA students are "model minorities" all of whom look and act alike. Stereotyping such as this endangers APIA students' ability to integrate with the student body core, relegating them to the fringes of school culture and consequently restricting the opportunities and services to which they have access. This holds particularly true in special education programs. In order to ensure—or at least enable—academic success for APIA students, educators must consider powerful and complicated notions of ethnic identity development, segmented assimilation, and acculturation.

Ethnic Identity

Maintaining the wholesomeness of one's identity is an ongoing struggle that people undergo throughout adulthood. Identity refers to the "capacity for self-reflection and the awareness of self" (Leary & Tangey, 2003, p. 3). Developing a personal identity involves creating a sense of uniqueness, and of learning who and what one is and is not (Harris, 1995). Identity dictates how individuals view themselves both as persons and in relation to others, ideas, and nature.

As individuals of color become adults in a society that historically marginalized communities of color, they "continue to experience forces which tend to make them question who they are and which push [them] to embrace attitudes and ideas that are alien to them" (Harris, 1995, p. 1). Phinney (1989) describes an identity development stage during which this tendency is of particular concern. "Diffusion" is the point in identity development when people

of color are formally educated to embrace Eurocentric cultural and historical perspectives. Such internalization may lead to feelings of inferiority, shame, and embarrassment about one's self and one's ethnic or cultural group. These individuals denigrate their own race, placing higher value on mainstream norms. Breakwell (2001) also suggests that self-efficacy, positive self-esteem, a sense of continuity with the past, and relationships to particular societal groups are important parts of identity development. Walsh (2004) suggests the importance of additional communities, beyond ethnicity, by asking individuals which groups they relate to and trust. Torney-Purta, Amadeo and Andolina (2010) reaffirm this suggestion by claiming that many communities allow an individual to develop a unique identity that incorporates factors in addition to ethnicity.

Research by S. Lee (1995) suggests, "groups define their identities in relation to those they identify as others" (p. 53). Lowe (1996) identifies important contradictions within the "heterogeneity of APIA communities, particularly class, gender, and notional origin, among peoples of Asian and Pacific Islander descent in the United States" (p.38). First, second, and third generation youth tend to define themselves against each other. What it means to belong to one group is largely based on differentiation from the other groups. S. Lee (1995) reported that first and second generation APIA students rarely interact with each other at school, despite some students admitting they have relatives in the other group. These students sit at different tables in the lunchroom and wear different styles of clothes. Their separation is further compounded by language differences, as most first generation APIA students are English Language Learners (ELL), and second-generation APIA students grew up speaking English fluently. Sixty-five percent of the youth participants in a study conducted in 2001 by Suarez-Orozco (2001) responded negatively to the prompt, "Most Americans think that [people from the child's country

of origin] are____." The study revealed that the most common associations in the prompt were the word "bad, useless, garbage, gang members, thieves, lazy, and non-existent " (Suarez-Orozco, 2001, p. 97). Immigrant students often internalized these negative associations, thus enabling U.S.-born youth to interfere with their own adjustment to the host society. Valdes (1998) explains that most second and third generation individuals often consider first generation students as inferior and do not want to associate with them or be categorized "as one of them." This creates tension and generational gaps. Valdes provides an example of these dynamics, in which "Lillian", a first generation Mexican American, tuned out from school. Instead, she concentrated on affiliating herself with youth known as *surenos* (newly arrived Latinos) to protect themselves from the ridicule and scorn of the *nortenos* (Americanized Latinos), "who, among other things, speak English" (Valdes, 1998, p. 10).

The negative associations of ethnic groups that are pervasive among a majority of Americans further contribute to the creation of divisive factions within these groups, or *within group discrimination.* David and Okazaki (2006) define *within group discrimination* as U.S.-born or second and third generation APIA "discriminating against less-Americanized APIA to distance oneself from the inferior characteristics attached to being traditional Asian Pacific Islander and become as American as soon as possible" (p.242). Banks (2003) claims that perpetrators of this type of discrimination avoid situations that lead to contact with other cultural groups and aggressively strive to become highly culturally assimilated.

According to Suarez-Orozco (2001)**,** children's senses of self are profoundly "shaped by the reflections mirrored back to them by significant others" (p. 98). These include parents as well as "non parental relatives, adult caretakers, siblings, teachers, peers, employers, people on the street, and even the media" (Suarez- Orozco, 2001, p. 98). Conversely, when confronted with

a negative reflection, children struggle greatly to maintain a healthy sense of self-worth. Suarez-Orozco calls this identity reflection *double consciousness,* meaning the tendency to always view one's self through the eyes of others. Double consciousness poses a significant threat, particularly to children, when used for "measuring one's souls by the tape of a world that looks on in…contempt and pity" (Suarez-Orozco, 2001, p. 99). Even parents who consistently provide positive mirroring cannot always compensate for the distorted reflections that children encounter outside the home. In some cases, this leads children to believe that their immigrant parents are simply out of touch with reality. Even when parents' opinions are considered valid by their children, this positive reinforcement "may not be enough to counteract the intensity and frequency of the 'house of mirrors' kind of distortions that immigrant children of color encounter in their everyday lives" (Suarez-Orozco, 2001, p.99).

Some youth resign themselves to internalizing the negative reflections. The hopelessness and self-deprecation that this resignation causes may, in turn, result in self-defeating behaviors**,** including self-doubt, shame, and lowered aspirations. This self-rejection can be further exasperated by externally imposed expectations of academic failure, or at least a lack of success.

First generation APIAs often respond to racism by redirecting their focus to the positive aspects of life in the United States, while U.S.-born or second and third generation APIAs are reluctant to ignore instances of White supremacy and discrimination. This reluctance among second and third generation APIA youth to ignore social injustices, or attribute them to language barriers rather than race or culture (S. Lee, 2005), stems partially from their lack of a *dual frame of reference.* According to scholars such as Suarez and Orozco (2001), dual frames of reference are common among immigrants, and help them persist in the face of racial confrontation and other challenges in the new country (Ogbu, 1987; Suarez-Orozco, 1987; S. Lee, 2005). First

generation youth can compare their experience in the country of origin with that in the United States, while second and third generation youth—lacking an external frame of reference—are more likely to compare themselves to their "White middle class peers than to relatives in their country of origin" (S. Lee, 2005, p. 68). Consequently, first generation APIA may struggle to cultivate a strong and positive public identity in the U.S. while second and third generation APIA achieve this by emphasizing aspects of their culture that mainstream Americans value, and deemphasizing aspects of traditional culture considered problematic by their White peers.

Assimilation and Acculturation

S. Lee (2005) claims that cultural assimilation is a "prerequisite for socioeconomic assimilation, social mobility, and the successful achievement of the American dream" (p.8). Assimilation is crucial to the "melting pot" metaphor; unfortunately, for some members of communities of color this necessitates subjugation to Anglo conformity. According to S. Lee (2005)**,** "while immigrants may imagine an idealized America that is open and free, what they find is a society where race and White supremacy structure identities, experiences, and opportunities" (p.3). Failure to assimilate into the dominant culture is "problematic for the immigrant, the colonized, and the larger society" (S. Lee, 2005, p.8). Banks (2003) explains that assimilation occurs when members of an ethnic minority group acquire the behavior patterns, lifestyles, values, and language of the mainstream culture. As immigrants and their children settle in the United States, many experience a society in which conformity remains central to the nationwide discussion on identity, which in turn presents a barrier to their achievement of socioeconomic success while maintaining a traditional cultural identity.

Brown and Bean (2006) suggest that the current process of assimilation is evolving. Three major theories of immigrant and ethnic-group integration help contextualize these changes. They are classic assimilation, racial/ethnic disadvantage, and segmented assimilation.

Classic assimilation theories assume that immigrants take a linear path when adjusting to mainstream United States. Brown and Bean (2006) claim that this model perceives immigrants and U.S.-born individuals as following a *straight-line* toward a convergence**,** adopting mainstream societal norms, values, behaviors, and characteristics over time. This *straight-line* theory asserts that immigrants, who have resided in the United States the longest, including descendants in later generations, demonstrate greater similarity with the dominant group than immigrants who have spent less time in the United States (Brown & Bean, 2006). However, due to racial discrimination**,** straight-line assimilation is often not an option for immigrants of color. Many European immigrants had the choice to not identify as members of an ethnic group because they had the advantage of blending in with the White Anglo Saxon populace. Studies show that because "American-ness" in the United States has been equated with being White**,** multigenerational Asian Pacific Islander Americans and other people of color are often not accepted as authentic Americans, regardless of how long they have resided in the U.S. (S. Lee, 2005).

Second, the racial or ethnic disadvantage assimilation model assumes that the chances of immigrants to assimilate are hindered by societal barriers. Brown and Bean (2006) assert that linguistic and cultural familiarity alone does not necessarily lead to increased assimilation because discrimination, institutional barriers to employment, and other opportunities block complete assimilation. This theory further suggests that full assimilation may be more difficult and require more time than originally presumed for second and third generations because, when

comparing opportunities between the U.S. and their country of origin, they may not perceive discrimination as a barrier. A lot of immigrants have experienced poverty, marginalization, and distrust of their own government and would rather have a "better life" in the U.S. and deal with discrimination than the lack of opportunities and rights in their country of origin.

Finally, segmented assimilation theorizes that structural barriers, such as poor urban schools or lack of access to employment and other opportunities, can lead to assimilation stagnation or downward mobility. S. Lee (2005) explains "the literature does not pay enough attention to the process of racialization that immigrants undergo and the way race informs immigrant encounters with social institutions that shape immigrant identity" (p. 10). Nor does it "focus enough attention on the role of schools in the formation of youth identities" (S. Lee, 2005, p. 10). She adds that most successful immigrants practice selective acculturation since parents allow their children to learn English and mainstream American norms while preserving aspects of their native languages and cultures.

Smither (1982) defines acculturation as the process by which minorities learn to perform the specific roles that are most valued by the dominant group. It provides an alternative to assimilation**,** by allowing minorities to preserve select aspects of their native culture. Berry (1997) identifies four dimensions of acculturation that immigrants have adopted as coping strategies: integration, separation, marginalization, and assimilation. The most successful of these strategies is integration, which involves only a partial adoption of values from the mainstream culture. It allows minority group to combine selected aspects of both cultures. The ability to develop dual or multiple identities without fear of betraying one's original culture contributes to positive ethnic identities and self-images (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997).

First-generation students may instead employ separation strategies to accommodate a new host culture because of language, cultural barriers, or ethnic pride (Chen, 2010). This entails intentionally avoiding learning to navigate mainstream or other cultures, despite constant exposure to multiethnic settings and issues. First generation immigrants relying on separation strategies associate mainly with members of their own ethnic group, and have no intention of establishing intergroup relationships (Phinney, 1989). The separation strategy does not facilitate acculturation. Instead it blocks contact with the rest of society and limits potential social connection and education of younger generations (Phinney & Chavira, 1997). Marginalization refers to being unwelcomed, unaccepted, and excluded by the mainstream society, or even by groups within their own ethnicity.

Pang (1998) conducted a survey on coping with assimilation among 1,788 high school students of color was conducted in the San Diego Unified School District. The results revealed that Filipino American females were more likely to have seriously considered attempting suicide within the 12 months preceding the survey than any other group. In the study, "45.6% of Filipino American women had considered suicide; this compared with 33.4% among Latinas, 26.2% among Whites, and 25.3% among African American females…In addition 39.2% of Filipino females had made plans about how they would attempt suicide and 23.3 % had attempted suicide" (Pang, Pak, & Kiang, 2004, p. 554). The findings support the beliefs of Filipino American counselors that Filipino American adolescents do not know how to cope effectively with many cultural conflicts and social pressures that accompany assimilation.

Olsen (2008) explains that the social dynamics of schools often include rejection, put-downs, and efforts to keep immigrant newcomers out of the social world of English speakers. This is the context in which immigrants attempt to learn English. S. Lee (2005) states that by

marginalizing immigrant youth, U.S.-born students are rejecting the characteristics of the APIA community they perceive as problematic for life in the United States. Other researchers have identified similar tensions between second and third generation youth of color and their foreign born peers. Like other students affected by challenging or negative academic environments and pressures of assimilation, U.S.-born APIA youth have little opportunity to develop their native-language skills.

According to Valenzuela (1999) these relational challenges are complicated further by the concept of "subtractive schooling," which includes three major threads of discontent. These are identity, caring, and the purpose of schooling within the larger framework of socialization. She contends that, "the demand that students embrace their teachers' view of caring [about success in school] is equivalent to requiring their active participation in a process of cultural and linguistic eradication since the curriculum they are asked to value and support is one that dismisses or denigrates their language, culture, and community" (p. 62).

As the number of students with immigrant parents continues to increase, fostering intergenerational relationships with their families, and struggling to bridge the often conflicting worlds of home and school are increasingly relevant factors in improving the educational success of APIA students. According to Pang, Pak, and Kiang (2004), the strengths and cultural values of family support that are so often praised as explanations for the academic achievement of APIA students are "severely undercut by the lack of programmatic and policy support for broad-based bilingual instruction and native language development particularly in the early childhood" (p. 553). Such policies lead to the "sacrifice of substantive communication and meaningful relationships across generations within many APIA families and the squandering linguistic and cultural resources within the United States" (p. 553).

Espiritu (2003) found that some first generation Filipino Americans are embarrassed by Filipino culture and traditions due to ridicule from their second or further generation Americanized classmates. Cabezas (1981) adds that because second and third generation APIA students tend to be more highly assimilated than the first generation, each group of students relates to their cultural background differently. Kitano (1974), Matute-Bianchi (1986), and Kim (1980) suggest that feelings of mutual distrust, lack of understanding of cultural beliefs and behaviors, and language barriers contribute to *within-group discrimination* between U.S. and foreign-born APIA youth, and negatively affect the performance of both groups in various settings, including communities and classrooms.

In their study of the relationship between assimilation and culture of second and third generation APIA, Gershberg, Daneberg, and Sanchez (2004) found that the acculturation process and the academic achievement of both U.S.-born and ELL students is hindered by a lack of positive representation in school programs. This invisibility creates ethnic confusion and renders identity formation more difficult to achieve. Portes and Rambaut (2001) agree with this assertion**,** noting that assimilation has negative consequences for both individuals and collectives. Policies derived from this ideology delegitimize native cultures and languages and promote dissonant acculturation. For example, many second generation APIA youth report having significant family responsibilities that they must juggle along with their studies. According to S. Lee (2005), second generation youth become the parents' helpers and may to miss classes because they are obligated to drive their parents to doctor appointments, while other youth must work to help financially support their families. Lee also found that girls are more likely to have time-consuming household chores including cleaning, cooking, and taking care of younger siblings.

Model Minority

APIA youth may also suffer negative consequences stemming from the model minority myth. According to Min, Pang, Pak, and Kiang (2004)**,** the model minority myth characterizes APIA as quiet, obedient, high achievers with little or any need for governmental or educational assistance. In 1966, a *U.S. News and World Report* article used the term *model minority* to describe the success that 300,000 Chinese Americans attained without government help. The author stated, "at a time when it is being proposed that hundreds of billions be spent to uplift Negroes and other minorities, Chinese Americans are moving ahead on their own with no help from anyone" (Petersen, 1966, p.73). The article suggested that other minority groups should follow the Chinese example of hard work and self-initiative rather than protesting injustices and inequities.

Osajima (1988) explains that although mass media began to recognize the potential negative implications of the model minority concept during the 1980s, it continues to portray APIA as exemplary minorities who gain success through wholesome effort and determination. Brand (1987) lauded the academic achievement of APIA students in a *Time Magazine* article entitled "New Whiz Kids: Why Asian Americans are doing so well**.**" He argued that by "almost every educational gauge, young Asian Americans are soaring" (p. 42). The message implied that individual effort will be rewarded by success and that "failure is the fate of those who do not adhere to the value of hard work" (Lee, 1996, p. 7). Most APIA students view this as a "positive" stereotype and many buy into it. However, some do reject and resist the model minority notion. They resist this stereotype because it limits their capabilities, holds them to unreasonable expectations, and causes them emotional and psychological stress.

Stereotype threat refers to being at risk of substantiating or internalizing negative traits, values and beliefs attributed to groups of which one is a member. It arises in response to racial prejudices and can cause minorities to succumb to notions such as intellectual inferiority, or to misidentify and disaffiliate with their ethnicity and raciality. Steele (2004) explained that:

> Stereotype threat is especially frustrating because, at each level of schooling, it affects the vanguard of these groups, those with the skills and self-confidence to have identified with the domain…ironically their susceptibility to this threat derives not from internal doubts about their ability (e.g., their internalization of the stereotype) but from their identification with the domain and the resulting concern that they have about being stereotyped in it. (p. 682)

Stereotype threat is a response that arises so as not to fall into notions like intellectual inferiority or "disidentification and a reconceptualization of one's self and values so as to remove the domain as a self identity, as a basis of self evaluation" (Steele, 2004, p. 683). Students of color find themselves in an identity crisis as they try to neutralize the threat of these domains and stereotypes. "Disidentification offers the retreat of not caring about the domain in relation to the self" thus offering an option of reeducating the self about their community of color's contributions to society and values about the self (Steele, 2004, p. 683).

Farkas (2003) explains "African American, Latino, and American Indian students likely show lower maturity and school engagement and effort if alienation and hostility is [sic] prevalent in the classroom and in the curriculum" (p.1126). Such hostility can contribute to higher dropout rates among APIA students as well. These feelings could be compounded by external pressure to excel in math and sciences related professions, and limit students' interest

and development in other subjects and careers such as art, social science, and humanities (Pang, Pak, and Kiang 2004).

Community-Based Organization

Community-based organization can help APIA immigrants and minority youth and families deal with some of the challenges they face in adjusting to new cultures and countries. Community-based organizations serve various functions and have multidimensional influences on their members. Bankston (1997), Hatch (1998), Eldredge and Dronbusch (1992), and Brown and Therobald (1998) assert that such organizations supplement programs offered by public schools. Brown and Theobald (1998) propose that "extracurricular or community learning environments present adolescents with alternative contexts for achievement and self-esteem" (p.31). These claims are in accordance with those of Swap and Krasnow (1992), which reveal that ethnic community organizations facilitate the development of positive identities for their members, and support school achievement. Educational achievement and academic success demand resources beyond the scope of most schools and APIA families. Borden and Perkins (2011) suggest that caring adults in community-based organizations provide a structure for much of the recent understanding about how non-familial adults can cultivate positive youth development.

Community-based organizations operate within and through the neighborhoods, institutions, and social relationships that make up the everyday realities of youth (McLaughlin & Irby, 1994). They serve as a liaison between school staff, teachers, parents and students, and offer programs that keep youth off the streets. In some communities, each hour that a youth spends participating in a community center program is an hour away from negative influences, particularly violence. According to Cole (2010), community-based organizations enhance

learning by making it more relevant and meaningful to students. Engaging youth-centered activities are crucial for attracting youth to participate in community programs (Gambone & Arbreton, 1997; Huebner & Mancini, 2003; Perkins et al., 2007).

Research suggests that youth involved in community activities are more academically and socially competent students and are more likely to volunteer in community-based organizations (Chen, 2010). Consequently, programs offering activities that appeal to youth—such as open mic, spoken word, or dance classes—provide a safe place for socializing. This is particularly important for attracting harder-to-reach adolescent populations (Anderson-Butcher, Newsome, & Ferrari, 2003). These experiences also allow students to situate community issues, frameworks, and challenges in the school curriculum (Cole, 2010).

Although McLaughlin and Irby (1994) found no specific programs that proved successful in affecting positive change among inner-city youth, the authors did find that community-based youth organizations coordinated and sustained by caring adults share several common features. First, they have family-like atmospheres in which individuals are valued and rules of membership are transparent. Hirsch (2005) also found that young people who build strong positive relationships with program staff identify community centers as a "second home." This is significant for youth who lack supportive family environments or who feel marginalized by conventional school programs, and enabled by program staff that assumes that youth in the community are a resource to be fostered rather than a problem to be managed (McLaughlin & Irby, 1994). Community programs provide opportunities to develop personal relationships with non-familial adults and peers through constant interactions across different settings such as community service, activities, employment, and sports. These adults reach out to inner-city youth with "messages that they will hear even though many are alienated from mainstream institutions,

resigned to dead-end lives, and suspicious of anything that purports to be good for them"(McLaughlin & Irby, 1994, p.302). Such mentoring relationships, according to Liang and Rhodes (2007), are effective and beneficial to both the young person and adult because they are authentic, consistent, and enduring.

McLaughlin and Irby (1994) also described successful community-based organizations as exhibiting adaptability and responding in a familial way to helping youth cope with unpredictable adversities that interrupt the lives of inner-city youth. Such organizations recognize that these youth should be treated as adults, while still being cared for as children. Cabrera and Padilla (2004) argue that successful youth outcomes often depend on the ability of youth to surround themselves with individuals who support their goals and aspirations. Hirsch (2005) adds that supportive relationships with adults "provide a bridge between the youth's natural social environment and the outside world, creating similar processes that function to engage and then socialize youth to positive identities" (p. 133). These relationships also encourage youth to "learn how to express their thoughts and ideas in ways that can be heard outside the program" (Borden & Perkins, 2011, p.47). The ability of caring adults in community-based organizations to positively influences the lives of youth extended beyond particular programs.

According to O'Donoghue and Strobel (2006), "youth and adults speak to the importance of supportive relationships characterized by genuine caring and understanding, as well as honest feedback and challenge" (p. 8). They further explain that personal relationships with caring adults play a role in changing the direction of the lives of youth, particularly those at risk. Perkins and Borden (2011) found that a caring non-parental adult is the most common aspect among resilient youth. Supportive relationships with adults help youth form positive

relationships with peers and other adults, and allow them to participate in their own development (Dworkin, Larson, & Hansen, 2003; Larson, 2000). The mentoring relationships in existence between adults and youth in community organizations were apparent in a study of youth activism by Pearce and Larson (2006) in which the adult leaders played a significant role in maintaining group cohesion and in organizing the group's activities.

Numerous community-based organizations that offer history, culture, language, and arts education for Filipino American youth have emerged in response to the lack of representation of Filipino Americans in mainstream U.S. culture and schools (Ogilvie, 2008). Ogilvie (2008) coordinated a national survey to investigate what community support programs and services were available locally for Filipino youth. Seventy percent of the participating researchers reported that community-based organizations exist primarily in cities that have large Filipino American student populations, particularly in Honolulu, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle.

The Hawai'i survey noted the new Filipino Community Center in Honolulu hosts several Filipino youth programs, provides annual high school leadership camps, and maintains a scholarship fund. Moreover, the Office of Multicultural Services at the University of Hawai'i provides tutoring, outreach, and a Gear Up Program that serves Filipino students. The oldest established Filipino program in California, Search to Involve Pilipino Americans (SIPA), offers numerous programs, resources, and services for Filipino youth in the Los Angeles Area. The University of the Philippines Alumni has created a Bahay Kubo Program to support Filipino American community members participating in Philippine culture and arts. The researchers described several college-based programs at UCLA that focus on encouraging and supporting Filipino high school students to access post-secondary educational opportunities, and to support new and transfer students academically at UCLA (Ogilvie, 2008). Pin@y Educational

Partnerships (PEP) at San Francisco State University collaborate with San Francisco public schools and community-based organizations to support students who are interested in teaching careers, or are in need of academic assistance. Other programs available to support Filipino American youth and their families in San Francisco include The Filipino Community Center (FCC), Active Leadership to Advance the Youth, Asian Youth Prevention Services, Filipino American Development Foundation (FADF), Bayanihan Center, Filipinos for Affirmative Action, Oasis for Girls, United Playaz, Coleman Advocates, Youth Speaks, Westbay Multiservices Center, Liwanag Kultural Center, and Kalayaan School of Equity. In 1957, the Filipino Youth Activities (FYA) began offering programs and services for Filipino and non-Filipino youth in Seattle, Washington. The organization is now defunct, but its drill team—the only Filipino American drill team in the United States—continues to serve 40-50 youth (Ogilvie, 2008). In 1995, the Filipino Youth Empowerment Project (FYEP) emerged in Seattle in response to gang violence and to the academic achievement gap and dropouts. FYEP provided tutoring by older high school and college students, peer mentoring, and information for immigrant parents about the issues their children experience as they adjust to U.S. schools and society. The Filipino American Educators of Washington sponsors essay-writing and fine arts contests at the annual Philippine Independence Day celebration. The Filipino Community of Seattle (FCS) coordinates weekly academic assistance programs for high school students, and is currently expanding its reach to middle school students and those in need of culturally relevant counseling.

The Philippine American Youth Organization in Las Vegas, Nevada facilitates outreach to Filipino American middle and high schools students. In cooperation with the Filipino American Student Association (FASA), Your Filipino American Professionals Association (yFAPA), and

the National Federation of Filipino American Associations (NaFFAA), The Philippine American Youth Organization coordinated a mentorship program using the energy and transformative concepts of Filipino American youth (Ogilvie, 2008). Additionally, NaFFAA responded to the academic achievement gap between Filipino American students and their non-Filipino peers by offering grants to the development of tutoring programs.

Jersey City, New Jersey and New York City listed several community-based organizations offering a wide range of academic, cultural, and linguistic programs for Filipino youth, most of which operate without funding and are run by volunteers. Filipino American Human Services, Inc. (FAHSI) offers the Youth Empowerment Summer (YES) program, which is an eight-week camp for 12-16 year olds to learn Filipino history while developing personal leadership skills. FAHSI also provides family counseling to young people and families in distress. FASHI's Kuya/Ate mentoring program offers assistance to high school students preparing for college, and helps them serve as role models for Filipino American children. Additional programs in FASHI encourage at-risk students to stay in school, support and enhance academic achievement, and build leadership skills (Ogilvie, 2008).

Overall, Ogilvie's research documents the widespread existence of Filipino American community-based organizations and volunteers providing various services for Filipino students. While these community efforts are commendable, they are difficult to sustain and limited in the numbers they can serve. As a result of these limitations, the efficacy of community-based organizations for Filipino-American youth and families suffers, leaving many students unsupported and still struggling academically. Without greater institutional support throughout K-12 levels, these organizations will not be able to adequately address the educational achievement gap and social adjustment challenges, and Filipino American youth and their

families will suffer increased stress that will negatively impact the entire Filipino community.

Civic Engagement

Civic engagement is another important educational component for Filipino youth and their families that can impact their identity development and citizenship. Walzer (1989) defines a citizen as a member of a political community, entitled to certain privileges and responsibilities. Flanagan and Faison (2001) opt for a broader definition, associating the term *political* with affairs of the government and procedures in the political process, and the term *civic* with membership to the polity, community, or society. Sherrod et al. (2010) extend this definition even further, to "social relations, opportunities for practice, and the values and behaviors communicated by adults and social institutions" (Sherrod et al., 2010, p.6). In order for youth to develop a strong civil identity, they need opportunities to experience membership in community organizations and institutions. This membership will in turn provide opportunities for youth to exercise their voice, collaborate with fellow members of the organization, and assume responsibility.

Ehrlich (2000) defines civic engagement as:

Working to make a difference in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and non-political processes" (p. xxvi).

Not only do youth benefit from membership in organizations, participation is also critical to the health of the community. By viewing themselves as members of a larger social fabric and taking partial ownership over social problems, individual youth participants prevent the occurrence and persistence of problems at the community level.

According to the Civic Engagement Center at National Louis University (2012), the goal of civic engagement is to provide meaningful services and experiences for all participants. Thus, both students and educators can benefit by working with community partners to find a sustainable way to address student needs, in addition to recipients of community services. Students gain the ability to enhance their scholarship, address academic issues, and progress into a career. Faculty benefit from civic engagement by tying current and future research endeavors directly to their courses, enabling them to better cultivate the passion of their students and incite greater academic achievement.

Wentzel's (2006) three-part classification of research problems and questions can be applied to research on civic engagement. These include personal (ethnic identity), contextual (in-school versus extracurricular), and process-related (observational learning). Civic engagement research has deeply investigated major personal variables, including age, gender, and ethnic group. However, relatively little research has an explicit focus on contextual variables, in spite of the critical importance of political, economic, and social factors of a given historical period, and the power structure of a specific school or community, in understanding civic engagement and its effects on individuals and communities (Torney-Purta, Amadeo, & Andolina, 2010).

Hart and Gullan (2010) find that civic engagement—defined as a set of overlapping activities and motivations observed in different historical and cultural contexts—is highly dependent on psychological, social, and political context. Thus, such contextual variables are necessary in investigating the effects of ethnic, leadership, and civic engagement of Filipino American youth of varying age, generation, profession, and educational attainment. Exploration of these variables reveals that "civic engagement is relatively common in some historical periods, in some strata of youth, and in some with particular attributes, but rare in other periods,

in other cohorts, and in some types of adolescents" (Hart & Gullan, 2010, p.68). Social capital and trust among participants also are necessary to foster civic engagement among traditionally disenfranchised populations.

Deliberative Dialogue. Civic engagement is manifested through deliberative dialogue, service learning, internship, community service, community-based research, and activism. Deliberative dialogue—or the art of speaking up—involves addressing issues in various ways to make certain that people from diverse background have a voice. It enables everyone to participate on an equal basis in making collaborative decisions. According to McCoy and Scully (2002), deliberative processes are useful to the extent that they promote "critical reason (better arguments) instead of raw power" (p.120) in agreeing upon a course of action to address a problem as a group. Young (1996) describes the "norms of deliberation" as "culturally specific and often operate as forms of power that silence or devalue the speech of some people" (pp.123-124). Exhibiting such speaking styles is a sign of social privilege. In order for deliberative dialogue to achieve positive impact, listening must be prioritized by participants as well as speaking (McCoy & Scully, 2002). An emphasis on listening increases the probability that more people will actively engage in the discussion. In any particular group, some members are more articulate or willing to speak than others. Processes that encourage listening decrease pressure on people who may be hesitant to express their perspectives before unfamiliar people, in turn encouraging a better representation of the ideas of all individuals in the group during the discussion. Sincere listening "increases the chance that people will truly understand—and even empathize with—each other" (McCoy & Scully, 2002, p. 121).

McCoy and Scully (2002) explain that successful deliberative dialogue connects personal experience with issues. They suggest that an effective way to "overcome people's initial

hesitancy to discuss public issues is to ask them to share their experiences and talk about how the issue at hand affects their daily lives" (p. 120). All too frequently public engagement processes solicit participation in discussions without providing adequate opportunity to reflect on the relevance of an issue to an individual's personal experience, leading to frustration among participants and counter-productivity. Conveying the message that everyone's perspective is equally important is key in circumstances where some members have greater experience in advocacy than others. Additionally, a dialogue of personal experience encourages people to develop ownership of the issues at stake, further increasing the efficacy of deliberative dialogue. Dialogue must emphasize critical analysis and rational discussion to successfully identify relationships between personal experience and social concerns, leading to a stronger collective understanding that is necessary for solving complicated social issues.

Successful deliberative dialogue encourages the formation of trust and working relationships that lead to meaningful action and change. It is challenging for some people to publicly examine the assumptions and values that underlie their own perspectives, and understand the viewpoints of others. If one of the goals is to "help people explore ways to create change in a collaborative hands-on way, they need to form working relationships with their fellow participants" (McCoy & Scully, 2002, p. 120). Deliberative dialogue also explores a range of views about the nature of an issue, leading to deeper understanding and, more effective group problem solving. Deliberative dialogue is increasingly used in schools to tackle issues and conflicts in new ways that enable students to share control with one another and that welcome and validate perspective instead of ways that leave students feeling overwhelmed and frustrated (Mc Coy & Scully, 2002).

Service Learning. Service Learning is a type of civic engagement that combines

community service and academic study with the intent of deepening understanding of a particular work, educating about civic responsibility, and empowering communities. It places heavy emphasis on learning through active participation and using skills and knowledge in real-life situations outside the classroom, which leads to increased opportunities for reflection in learning and more genuine, caring relationships with others. The United States code of Community Service Act of 1990 defines service learning as:

> A method under which students or participants learn and develop through active participation in thoughtfully organized service that is conducted in and meets the needs of a community; is coordinated with an elementary school, secondary school, institution of higher education, or community service program, and with the community… helps foster civic responsibility and that is integrated into and enhances the academic curriculum of the students, or the educational components of the community service program in which the participants are enrolled; and provides structured time for the students or participants to reflect on the service experience (p.21).

Service learning provides a nurturing environment for developing students' skill sets and discussing their funds of knowledge. Vital to this learning strategy is the incorporation of time for students to reflect on their service experience. Reflection helps students recognize connections between classroom and community learning, and understand their own capability to impact positive change in their community. This feature builds richer academic skills by allowing students to participate in the processes of identifying and selecting projects, and developing a strategy with which to accomplish them. It also accommodates many different learning styles in educating students early about the role they can play in their community, and

fosters inquisitiveness and enthusiasm for learning.

Service learning also promotes lifelong civic engagement by connecting academic activities to real-life experience, develops job skills, enhances personal development among youth, and provides students a sense of competency where they envision themselves as contributors to their community and learning experiences. Service learning does not end when school ends.

Internship. Internship is another type of community-based learning that challenges youth to apply what they learn in the classroom to other settings, such as nonprofit organizations and government agencies. Interns have the opportunity to develop valuable skills in advocacy, reflective citizenship, leadership, and addressing social issues. Participating youth can experience work in a professional setting in their academic field of choice, and meet and interact with individuals who have pursued similar career paths. These personal interactions and professional experience help students clarify their academic and career goals, develop skills, obtain professional credentials, and gain invaluable insights and contacts.

Internships are a broadly accepted way to learn about and enter a profession. Prior to the development of formal graduate education, people learned to become skilled in their profession through on-the-job-training. Internships emerged from the apprenticeships that served many professional fields in the United States until the mid-twentieth century. Internships are also fieldwork placements that can serve as an educational program, which usually take place under the sponsorship of cooperating agencies and university departments. Satariano (1979) explains that faculty can share in such learning experiences and explore avenues of applied research. Ideally, intern programs are beneficial for students, colleges, and community service agencies because of the training, network, and experiences they provide. The values offered by an

internship program may include intellectual development, vocational development, personal growth, and or community service (Conference on Undergraduate Internships, 1976). Service agencies, which are frequently understaffed, can use internships' value as a community resource to increase service offerings within a community.

Community Service. Volunteering for community service is a unique way for youth to engage in community-based organizations while negotiating social identity and adjustment issues. It is motivated by moral ideals rather than personal academic or professional development purposes (Wilson & Musick, 1997). Youth may engage in community service on their own, with a group, or an organization. Volunteer service is unpaid work that benefits others, and can be performed independently or as part of an organization. Community service differs from informal helping, which is typically motivated by a sense of obligation to family and friends. Conversely, Clary and Snyder (1999) identify six distinct motives for volunteering. These are a desire to gain experience related to a career plan, enhance feelings of self-worth, learn more about life, reduce negative affect, act on strongly held values; and develop or strengthen social ties.

When community service is part of academic course work, and relates directly to course content, it is considered service learning. High school and college students inspired to participate in community service display higher levels of personal development. Additionally, these students exhibit a stronger sense of self and of social obligation (Rhoads, 1997; Youniss & Yates, 1997; Jones & Hill, 2003). Youniss and Yates (1997) suggest "high school commitment cannot be linked simply to adult behavior without taking account of such communities that encourage and shape the direction individuals take in their identity development"(p. 115). Thus, community service contributes to building strong communities and academic success.

Community-Based Participatory Research. Community-based participatory research

(CBPR) involves researchers working with community members to examine the functions and effects of community-based organizations and their programs. This type of research operates according to the premise that working with community members directly allows researchers to pursue inquiries that are more accessible, accountable, and relevant to people's lives. CBPR is an approach that "serves community interests, encourages citizen participation, and is geared toward effecting social change" (Khobzi & Flicker, 2010, p. 348). CBPR prioritizes engaging community members in the planning and implementation of research, which takes places in community settings, and involving them in defining research objectives, procedures, and results. Research procedures and results are intended to benefit the community and help build its social capital. According to Schensul, Berg, and Williamson (2008), "the approach combines group-implemented social science research methods and resident-generated local knowledge and social and cultural capital. Critical by-products are methodological innovations favoring collaboration and locally driven theories and models for change" (p. 102). The objective is to involve members in analyzing and interpreting data, distributing outcomes, validating local knowledge, and initiating their own projects that address the community's needs.

Community-based participatory research includes virtues of compassion and humility that foster inclusiveness and integration of community perspectives (Schaffer, 2009). Additionally, it encourages researchers to "step out of the research safety-net, to listen to community member voices and wisdom, and share power in research decisions" (Shaffer, 2009, p. 83). Increased interaction with community members also leads researchers to communicate tangible expectations for research outcomes, communicate findings with community members, and include community perspectives in the dissemination of research findings.

Activism. Activism is a type of civic engagement that strives to persuade people to

change their behavior directly, rather than to persuade governments to change policies or build new institutions. It can also include vicarious involvement, through demonstrations or civil disobedience, to achieve political or other social goals. Hart and Gullan (2010) define youth activism as politically motivated behavior performed by adolescents and young adults, and suggest that young activists are both detested and admired, viewed as idealists by some and criminals by others. Activism can be seen as a means through which adolescents develop perspectives, cognitive skills, and organization capacity, or as indoctrination into disorderly conduct. Even though participation in community service and activism for social justice are usually not acknowledged as forms of civic engagement, many marginalized communities consider social justice a critical aspect of civic engagement and view activism as an important form of participation. For example, Bickford and Reynolds (2002) argue that a more historical and geographic approach to activist learning projects will give learners a "broader understanding of dissent and will encourage them to envision themselves as actors or agents in political arenas" (p.230). They also suggest that activism is a competing, but often times complementary framework that expands the intent of some models of service learning. Service, or work with individuals or groups in their current situation, "is certainly part of activism, which has the larger, perhaps more ambitious, goal of social change" (Brickford & Reynolds, 2002, p.241). Activist efforts seek to change the social climate and structures that make community involvement essential. Activism is an agent to social transformation.

Civic Engagement in the Filipino American Community. Filipino American civic engagement gained momentum from the legacies of labor organizing in Hawai'i and California in the early 1920s through the 1960s (Morales, 1998; Cordova, 1983). Labor leaders such as Larry Itliong, Pete Velasco, and Philip Vera Cruz were influential in the formation of the United

Farm Workers (UFW) and the 1965 Delano grape strike. These events were very important because they became the farm workers' civil rights movement, the struggle to demand improved living conditions for future farm laborers, and significant in the formation of Filipino American contributions and identity. According to Scharlin and Villanueva (2000), Vera Cruz asserts "after all, it was the Filipinos...who started this phase of the farm workers movement when they alone sat down in the Delano grape fields back in 1965 and started what became known as the 'farm workers movement' that eventually developed into the UFW" (p.3).

The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and early 1970s inspired the formation of Filipino American Studies in universities and the emergence of many Filipino American labor, student, housing, arts, and activist organizations throughout the West coast of the United States (Geron, de la Cruz, Saito, & Singh, 2001). The struggle against Martial Law in the Philippines also encouraged many young Filipino and Filipino Americans to form local community organizations throughout the United States (Toribio, 1998). These movements have played a critical role in shaping contemporary Filipino American social movements. The Filipino Youth Activities embodies the tradition of Filipino and Filipino American resistance and empowering youth to become active agents in their communities.

The 1970s fight against the demolition of the International Hotel (I-Hotel), a residence for elderly Filipinos and Chinese that represented the last remnants of San Francisco's Manilatown served as a critical narrative in the long history of Filipino American activism (Daus-Magbual, 2010). According to Habal (2007), the I-Hotel represented "a fight for housing rights versus private property rights; for a neighborhood's existence versus extinction and dispersal; and for the extension of democratic rights to the poor and working class" (p.3). It involved the elderly, youth, San Francisco State University students, the Pilipino American Collegiate Endeavor

(PACE), and various other community organizations. Habal (2007) stated that the I-Hotel provided a distinctly Filipino experience characterized by a unique intergenerational bond. The struggle to keep the early Filipino immigrants, known as "Manongs", in their homes created deep ties between the marginalized pioneers and Filipino American student activists who supported them. In the process, "a coherent, self-conscious narrative of Filipino experience in United States took shape... [that] galvanized the Filipino American community and gave the young activists a new sense of identity and purpose" (Habal, 2007, p 2). According to Daus-Magbual (2010), "the I-Hotel struggle symbolizes the connection of Filipinos of the past, present, and future through the efforts of reclaiming a Filipino American community, as well as the proliferation of a new generation of Filipino American activists" (p 30).

Summary

The research and scholarship reviewed in this chapter provide perspectives on identity development, the perception of Asian Pacific Islander Americans in U.S. society, the complexities of being American, the value of participating in community-based organizations, and the importance of civic engagement. These perspectives guide the techniques that will be used in this research on the FYA as a case study of how community-based organizations may facilitate the development of positive cultural consciousness, civic engagement, and ethnic identity development among Filipino American youth. The research methodologies that will be used in this inquiry are presented next.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

The context of the study and the approaches that were used to collect data relevant to the inquiry are discussed in this chapter. These include the specific components, the research paradigm, a brief history of the Filipino Youth Activities, (FYA) the selection and profile of the individuals who took part in the study, the research questions, and the data sources, collection, and analysis procedures.

Methodological Choices

Qualitative research procedures were used in this study. A qualitative research method was appropriate because, according to Fowler (2002), one of the goals of a good measure is to "increase question reliability and when two respondents are in the same situation, they should answer the question the same way" (p.77). The assumption was participants would have similar perceptions regarding learning Filipino American history, contributions, and culture through a community-based organization since they engaged in similar experiences within FYA. While it may be possible to identify and analyze students' personal experiences, they cannot be measured quantitatively. Experience has components of telling a story, describing a situation, and making comparisons between the event or object being described and another known to the audience. Documenting experience thus requires social interaction and flexible measurement criteria. Deering (1996) states that social interactions are the medium in which meaning or culture is constructed.

Oppenheim's (2005) research questionnaire design was used as a guide to characterize Filipino American youth's experiences in FYA in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s and present the results in a cross-profile analysis which highlight similarities and differences found among

participants' experiences. Patton (1990) explains that the purpose of interviewing is to capture terminology, judgment, and complexities of individual perception and experiences. Because social interactions are an inherent part of interviews, they qualify as an appropriate research procedure that will allow me to elicit in-depth accounts from study participants. Interviewing participants is crucial to understanding the role of a community-based organization in Filipino students' ethnic identity, cultural competence, school performance, civic engagement, and personal efficacy. Dougherty (1999) states that an interview is an ideal source of evidence in the analysis of contemporary social context because "the present is inherently influenced by the historical conditions of the past" (p.3). The interviews were structured to focus on the out-of-school experience and its influence on themselves and their family's attitude towards self. Memory resides "in the domain of power, reflecting institutional ideologies" (Dougherty, 1999, p. 3); consequently, drawing out the scholastic and community-related experience of Filipino American youth in interviews will provide critical evidence in the analysis of the role that community-based organization played and plays in their lives.

Interviews are an outstanding way for a researcher to gather data about a specific area of a case, or to target areas of triangulation of data. Interview schedules also provide a structure for consistent and efficient data gathering**.** The information collection methods vary between the two research tools. For example, although collecting surveys may be less socially interactive and time-consuming than conducting interviews, the external validity is increased by the extensive use of the survey and will therefore dramatically increase the sample of the project. Informants for interviews and for surveys are chosen at random within the target population.

This approach required triangulation in order to reduce the risk of chance associations and systematic biases. Complementarity triangulation uses multiple narratives to analyze

individual interpretations of events and experiences. As such, it is a "tool with which to recognize the fallibility of any particular method or data and minimize threats to validity" (Maxwell, 2005, p.112), allowing me to reduce the risk of associating my findings with my own frames of reference and increase the internal validity of the research.

Research Setting

The primary location for this study was the Filipino Youth Activities (FYA) in Seattle, Washington. According to the 2010 Census, there are about 91,376 Filipino Americans living in Washington State, and 43,848 or 75% of them live in the King County-Seattle area. The FYA was founded by eight Filipino American families in 1957 and is the nation's oldest non-profit organization for Filipino American youth and families. Filipino Youth Activities was the first Filipino American and Asian Pacific Islander American organization funded by United Way. The organization is a multilingual/multicultural agency providing social, cultural, educational, and recreational programs for Filipino youths and families. Its services included gang intervention, advocacy in school, job referral, interpretation, immigration assistance, youth case management, life skills training, basic computer skills, child care referrals, mentoring referrals, college advising, and summer programs, and it is home to the only Filipino American drill team in the United States (Cordova, 1982).

FYA was one of the few organizations founded in the 1950s to accept all young men and women, regardless of age, religion, race, culture, creed, or sexual orientation. Cordova (1982), one of the founders of FYA, states that the organization was initially managed entirely by volunteers. As there was no designated office at the time, activities were coordinated wherever space was available. Subsequently, the volunteers were able to rent a small office at Seattle University and expanded the programs after receiving a grant from the city. FYA's initial

program included the drill team, folk dancing, spelling bee, glee club, teen club, basketball club, and other teen activities (Cordova, 1982).

In January of 1957, Filipino community members approached Fred Cordova, one of the founders of the Filipino Youth Activities to discuss establishing a youth program in the Filipino Community of Seattle (FCS). These community members were concerned about the Filipino youth getting in constant trouble, being incarcerated in the juvenile system, and having no place to channel their energy in a positive way. They noticed that some of the Filipino American youth, particularly those of multiracial background, also had issues with their identity and disassociated themselves from other Filipino American youth and community. The outcome of this meeting led to the creation of a sports program. Fred approached the FCS president and asked if the organization would be able to support the idea of establishing a youth committee. Initially, the president at that time thought it was a wonderful idea and named the committee Filipino Community Youth Activities (FCYA). According to Fred, in recalling these beginnings:

> In 1957, three guys came up to my door, second generation like me…asked: 'How do you start a program?'…And they came in and we sat down and they started talking about kids...Filipino kids on the streets all the time. Where there was no place to go. Some of them were too short so they could not play organized little league or anything like that and we also knew too that many of them were not proud of being Filipino because many of them were Mestizos [multi-racial Filipinos], so if you ask who they were, they were Hawai'ian and everything else but Filipino. And would it be nice if we can have something or to get them together. Start some kind of sports program for them and they were asking me 'How do you do that?' How could we do that? One of the first things I said was well, we can ask the Filipino community to help support us'. I was only 25

> years old… I did not know I had organizing skills. I get people together; apparently I did, I managed to get them together... to start a club. I started a club...the Filipino Community Youth Activities (FCYA) in 1957. Now consider, I didn't have the vision to start a youth program.

FCYA organized a little league baseball team as its first youth program after Fred garnered the community's support. He and other founding members soon realized that aside from having a bat and a ball, there were other things they needed to take care of such as naming the team. Fred remembered that the group refrained from naming the team The Tigers or The Lions. Instead they called it the BOLOS, a Tagalog/Spanish word for machete. Fred and eight other families managed to get the community to acquire uniforms.

The first 6 months of FCYA was only focused on boys' needs and men dominated the club. Fred reflected that, "when we got the men together…they weren't like the women. They [men] did not organize as well, they are not as practical as the women" Dorothy, recalled that other founders' wives would come to her house and wondered why this club was only for boys. The women soon demanded to be part of the group as well "so the men changed their trust to also include the women".

The group decided to sponsor a King and Queen contest as means to raise money for the club's necessities after the new FCS administration decided not to support their endeavor. Fred, Dorothy, and the other founding members managed to raise $1,300 by charging the audience a penny each for admissions. When the Filipino Community of Seattle found out that the founding families raised money, the new administration wanted the proceeds for the FCS and threatened to terminate its relationship with the founders. Fred recalled the FCS claimed that "the community needed the money, that's our money, we need it". The founders refused to give up the money and

the FCS threatened to fire them. At this point Fred and the other 22 organizers separated themselves from FCS and established the Filipino Youth Activities (FYA). Folk dancing and the drill team were its two primary public performance activities.

Cabataan folk dancing was FYA's first program (D. Cordova, 1982). It attracted over 100 participants ranging from pre-school to high school youth and was the first Filipino American folk dancing group to tour the West Coast of the United States. The group performed traditional Filipino folk dancing as well as Spanish and barrio dances.

The Khordobah Drill Team is the only program that survived after the FYA office closed in 2005. With over one thousand participants throughout the decades, the FYA drill team was created to enhance the Filipino American culture and instill discipline, respect, hard work, responsibility, accountability, and core Filipino family values. The Khordobah Drill Team program began in 1959 when the founders wanted Filipino American representation in the Seafair parade. Fred (2012) recalled that,

> During those days Seafair was a big thing. It was a ten-day affair with different parades throughout the ten-day festivities. So there was no Filipino representation in the Seafair parade especially in the grand parade. By the time they finished, they would have 3 million people watching on TV besides the 100,000 in the streets. We gotta have a Filipino representation there with the FYA. Why can't we get a float? But wait a minute, how much does a float cost? It cost a lot of money. What is better? Why not something having to do with youth? I mean after all we are FYA, we are a youth program… Why not have youth there in the parade? Let's do something better than the Chinese. Let's have a drill team!"

The drill team is nationally acclaimed and has won numerous awards, including the highly sought-after Seattle Seafair Torchlight Grand Sweepstakes Award, which highlights the best Drill Team performance at Seattle's Seafair festival. Between 1959 and 1984 the team accumulated 31 grand sweepstakes, 12 sweepstakes, and 124 first place awards. The team performed for Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. The drill routine is a mixture of Singkil, a Muslim influenced courting dance that originated from Lanao in the Southern Philippines, and American drill precision and drum line (F. Cordova, 1982).

The Drill Team is organized by ranks. The male moderator is referred to as Datu and the female moderator is addressed as Califa. For the girls, the ranks are: Balasang or banner carrier; Alipin or umbrella carrier; Princesa or girls marching in ranks; Kalihim or secretary of the team; Rani or third in line team Leader; Majarani or second in line team leader; and Sultana or leader. For the boys the ranks are as follows: Kumbanchero or drummers; Mandayans or boys marching in ranks and Soldan or leader of the drumline (Amelia, interview).

The Teen Club of FYA was founded in 1959 to provide Filipino American youth with direction and leadership skills. It sponsors recreational, social, cultural, and educational activities. Members coordinate fashion shows, dances, theater parties, skating parties, overnight and camping trips to locations throughout Washington state, and youth-led conferences and seminars. The Teen Club stresses that its members recognize their responsibility to the Filipino American community and their duty to reach out to younger Filipino American youth. The programs encourage members to re-orient themselves and learn to rely on one another by providing opportunities for them to come together, share interests, and get to know each other (F. Cordova, 1982).

Young Filipino People's Far West Convention (FWC) was another youth-led project

organized and coordinated by FYA. The first convention was held in 1971 where approximately 400 Filipino American youth, community leaders, and activists from Washington, California, Hawai'i, Oregon, and Guam convened in Seattle to discuss Filipino American concerns and different ways to resolve them. The convention also addressed ethnic identity, cultural awareness, and provided opportunities for Filipino American students and community organizers to network, collaborate, and share resources. Dorothy remembered that, this convention was considered to be the birth of the Filipino American movement that was considered to have a lasting influence on networking, planning, and organizing the Filipino American community. The convention was held annually from the 1970's through the 1980's. The FWC was the precursor to Filipino American Student Associations Conferences held annually in various U.S. Colleges and Universities.

Pinoy Teach was another FYA project that continued to be implemented after the office closed in 2005. This curriculum incorporates multicultural education, teacher education, social action, and Filipino history and culture. In 1996, Dr. Patricia Halagao and community activist Timoteo Cordova developed Pinoy Teach to address the lack of content about Filipino Americans in most school curricula. Pinoy Teach is not only about Filipinos; rather, it provides a more comprehensive view of history and social context that extends beyond mainstream views to incorporate alternative perspectives. The curriculum was widely implemented in schools in Seattle and Bellevue, Washington, and Hawai'i. With its own textbook, teacher manual, and resource kit, Pinoy Teach integrates Philippine and Filipino American history and culture in a multicultural and global context. The project helps teachers and students understand the importance of diversity and multiculturalism and how to apply these concepts in their classrooms and everyday lives (Espiritu, 2001).

Sining Kilusan, or Arts Movement, was an FYA program that integrates music, dance, drama, and visual arts. The shows and performances were educational, political, and community organization tools to inspire the fight against oppression. The shows also provided a forum in which to address contemporary issues in the Filipino American community, such as gang violence (F. Cordova, 1982).

Over the years, Filipino Youth Activities progressed from a volunteer organization to 501(c)(3) nonprofit status with paid staff. An immigrant specialist joined the staff to handle the needs of new Filipino immigrants. FYA slowly evolved from working with children and youth to serving adults and families as well. In the late 1960s and 1970s, young men in FYA were drafted to serve in the Vietnam War. In the 1980s and 1990s, FYA devoted much of its resources to working with at-risk youth, particularly gang members. Now, the only remaining program started by FYA is the drill team.

Selection of Participants

There were a total of 19 participants in this study. They included the FYA founders, former executive director, program director, youth participants, and volunteers. There were 17 participants of various generations. The two-generation members do not necessarily come from the same immediate family, they may represent relations among extended family, such as an aunt and a niece. These intergenerational individuals were selected to investigate the significance and influence of the program during different time periods.

A demographic survey of the research participants is presented in Table 1. It includes age, generation of participation in the FYA, position held, ethnicity, years in the program, education level, and relationship to other members. All of the participants were identified by

pseudonyms except for the founders, who were asked for permission to use their actual names in the study.

Table 1: Participants' names and brief backgrounds

Name & Age	Position & Program participated(s) in FYA	Years and Decade in FYA Program	Generation	Relationship	Language Ability	Ethnicity	Education Level
Dorothy, 80	One of the Founders	45	2nd	Spouse to Fred	English Ilocano	Filipino	Undergraduate College
Fred, 82	One of the Founders	45	2nd	Spouse to Dorothy	English Tagalog	Filipino	Undergraduate College
Nino, 60	Drill Team Youth Director Basketball Far West Convention	5 1970	2nd		English	Filipino and White	PhD
Arcee, 58	Datu/Moderator Drill Team Baseball Team Young Gleeman	50 1960	3rd	Spouse to Ellese Son of one of the Founders	English	Filipino and Native Alaskan	Undergraduate College
Ellese, 56	Khalifa/Moderator Drill Team Folk Dancing	50 1960	2nd	Spouse to Arcee	English	Filipino and White	HS
Bea, 55	Princesa Drill Team Folk Dancing Moderator	17 1960	2nd	Daughter of one of the Founders	English	Filipino and Native Alaskan	Undergraduate College
Abe, 58	Basketball team director	3 1970	2nd		English	Filipino	DDS
Cee, 55	Princesa Drill Team	1	4th		English	Chinese and White	PhD

Name & Age	Position & Program participated(s) in FYA	Years and Decade in FYA Program	Generation	Relationship	Language Ability	Ethnicity	Education Level
Laura, 53	Moderator Princesa Drill Team Folk Dancing	7 1970	1.5	Mother to Melle	English Tagalog	Filipino	Undergraduate College
Leigh, 54	Princesa Drill Team Folk Dancing Teen Club Far West Convention	6 1970	3rd	Daughter of one of the Founders	English	Filipino and Native	Undergraduate College
Amelia, 45	Princesa Drill Team	1 1980	2nd		English	Filipino	Master's degree
Shelly, 49	Princesa Drill Team	12 1980	3rd		English	Filipino and Chamorro	Undergraduate College
Ric 38	Kumbanchero Drill Team Folk Dancing	3 1980	2nd		English	Filipino and Native	Technical College
JD, 35	Production Assistant Sining Kilusan	2 1990	2nd		English	Filipino	Undergraduate College
Chrissy, 34	Student Teacher Pinoy Teach	2 1990	2nd		English	Filipino	Master's Degree
Lupe, 34	Soldan Drill Team Folk Dancing	4 1990	1st		English	Filipino	Associates Degree
Melle, 29	Folk Dancing	1980	2nd	Daughter to Laura	English	Filipino	Undergraduate College

Name & Age	Position & Program participated(s) in FYA	Years and Decade in FYA Program	Generation	Relationship	Language Ability	Ethnicity	Education Level
Jay, 26	Princesa Folk Dancing	3 1990	2nd		English Vietnamese	Vietnamese	Master's Degree
Mar, 22	Soldan Drill Team Eskrima Kids Club	7 1990	2nd		English	Filipino and African American	Associates Degree

Founders. Fred Cordova, one of the founders of FYA, is a second generation Filipino American. He spent the first 17 years of his life in the California Delta. He attended Seattle University. He is married to Dorothy Cordova and has 8 children. Both of his parents are Filipinos and he self-identified himself as Filipino American. His first language is English but he also speak Tagalog. He was also a major participant in the Civil Rights and Labor Movement advocating for Filipino American basic rights and issues. He is the author of *Filipino Americans: Forgotten Asian Americans*, published articles on Filipino American identity, and is the co-founder of the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) co-founder. The FANHS mission is to archive Filipinos and Filipino American achievements. Fred was Filipino Community Youth Activities' (FCYA) first youth director and organized little league baseball team. He is the founder and the first Datu, or male moderator of the Khordobah Drill Team of FYA. It continues to be the only Filipino American Drill Team in the United States.

Dorothy Cordova, one of the founders of FYA, is a second generation Filipina American who attended Seattle University where she met Fred. Both of her parents are Filipinos and she self-identified herself as Filipina American. She speaks English and understands Ilocano. Dorothy created Cabataan Folk Dancing, which was the first FYA program. She is also the first Califa of the Khordobah Drill Team. Dorothy also founded and served as Director of the Demonstration Project for Asian Americans (DPAA). DPAA conducted a wide variety of studies on the problems Asian and Pacific Islander Americans faced in the 1970s. Her research and advocacy led to the establishment of the first bilingual education program in Seattle, which set the precedence for current Bilingual Education programs. Through the DPAA, she conducted research and collected oral histories. After the DPAA ended in the early 1980s, she moved the

work to a new organization she had created Filipino American National Historical Society. It is still operating today.

The 1960s Participants and Staff. Arcee identified himself as a third generation Filipino American. His mother is Alaskan Native and Filipino, and his father is Filipino. He can only speak English and wishes he could speak Tagalog. His parents were also FYA founders. Arcee began participating in FYA programs when he was six years old. He has been involved with FYA for over fifty years. Arcee played on the BOLO baseball team, sang with Young Gleemen, and participated in the Drill Team in the 1960s. He graduated from a Catholic High School and at a State University in Seattle. Arcee became the Khordobah Drill Team's Datu and longest-serving moderator of the program to date. He is married to Ellese and has two children. His daughters participated in the Drill Team as well.

Ellese is biracial. Her mother is White and her father is Filipino. She self-identified herself as a second generation Filipina American and can only speak English. Her family was one of the few Filipinos that lived in North Seattle in the 1950s. Ellese has been involved with FYA for over fifty years. She and her sister participated in Folk Dancing and the Drill Team when she was nine years old. She became the Sultana of the Drill Team, and was the longest-serving Califa, a female drill team moderator to date.

Nino was born as a U.S. citizen in the Philippines. His family moved back to the U.S. mainland a month after his birth and he grew up in the Central District neighborhood. His father is a U.S. citizen of Filipino, French, and Spanish descent and his mother is a U.S citizen of Filipino and German descent. He considered himself as a first generation U.S. born Filipino and identified himself as both Filipino and Filipino American. Nino speaks English and can converse in Tagalog. He participated in Teen Club, and the Drill Team in 1959 when he was 14 years old

with his older brother. He did not to continue to participate in the Drill Team the next year, later and did not decide to participate in FYA again until the 1970s when he became one of the youth directors and organized FYA's basketball program. Nino was instrumental in the organizing and coordinating of the Young Filipino People's Far West Convention in 1971. He was the keynote speaker and addressed the Filipino response to activism of U.S. ethnic minorities who were developing ethnic knowledge and pride. He earned his PhD in education at a State University in Seattle and has been an educator for over 30 years. His professional experience includes teaching high school and college, and serving as a bilingual education specialist and multicultural education administrator. Nino also developed international exchange programs in Japan and the Philippines. He traveled extensively worldwide developing and conducting a variety of training programs on a wide range of topics. Nino retired as a Dean of one of a community college.

The 1970s Participants. Abe is a second generation Filipino American who grew up in the Central District neighborhood. Both of his parents are Filipinos and he identified himself as Filipino American. His first language is English and he would also like to learn Filipino. He joined FYA when he was six years old and participated in Folk Dancing, Teen Club, and the Drill Team in the 1960-1970s. From 1971-74, he organized one of the FYA's basketball programs and also participated in FWC as one of the delegates. Abe co-taught the first Filipino American history and culture classes with Fred at the University of Washington. He was the first Filipino American student to graduate from the School of Dentistry at State University in Seattle. Abe moved to the East Coast to practice his field. He was instrumental in the establishment of Filipino American National Historical Society East Coast Chapter.

Leigh is a third generation Filipina American who grew up in the South End neighborhood. Her mother is Filipino and Native American and her father is Filipino and

identified herself as a Filipina American. Her parents were also among the FYA founders. Leigh attended a Catholic High School and graduated from State University in Seattle. Her first language is English and she aspires to speak one of the Filipino dialects. She is also the daughter of one of the founders. Leigh joined the FYA when she was nine years old and participated in Teen Club, Folk Dancing, Far West Convention, and Khordobah Drill Team in 1966. She was active in FYA for six years, and volunteered to help with fundraising in the 1980s and 1990s. Leigh was also instrumental in organizing and coordinating the Far West Convention. She held an academic counselor position for the Office of Minority Affairs and Diversity at University of Washington. She also served as an advisor for the University of Washington's Filipino American Students Association providing support, networks, and mentoring Filipino American students for 15 years.

Cee is a fourth generation Chinese American who grew up in the Mount Baker neighborhood. Cee comes from a long line of Chinese pioneers in Seattle's Chinatown. She is a niece of the first Chinese American to run for office in Seattle in the 1960s. Cee's mother is Chinese and her father is White, she considers herself Chinese and "faux Filipina American". Her first language is English and she wants to learn Chinese. She joined FYA's drill Team when she was 14 years old in 1970. She worked in the FYA office under Seattle Youth Employment Project supervision after her participation in the Drill Team. Cee dropped out of High School, enrolled at a community college and was admitted to the State University in Seattle to pursue her Bachelor, Master, and Doctoral degrees. She became the Director of Minority Recruitment and Retention at the University of Washington. Cee continues to be involved with FYA's drill team.

Bea is a second generation Filipina American who grew up in the Central District neighborhood. Her mother is Alaskan Native and her father is Filipino Hawaiian, and she

considers herself as a Filipino, Hawaiian, and Alaskan Native American or Indipino, although she claims to identify more strongly with her Hawaiian heritage. Bea's parents were also among FYA's founders. Her parents played a pivotal role with Fred and Dorothy when they started the in-home meetings in 1957 and developed the Filipino-centered activity groups which that included the Bolos Baseball Team and the Drill Team. She participated in Drill Team and Folk Dancing when she was six years old in 1962. She left the drill team but re-joined when she was 14 years old in 1970 and stayed active until she was 30 years old in some capacity or another until she was 30 years old. Bea aspires to complete a Bachelor's degree in Psychology and Masters in Clinical Psychology, which would allow her to pursue a career as a Psychotherapist. These aspirations are driven by her desire to rebuild and support women who are healing from a variety of personal issues. Bea currently works at Seattle Indian Health Board as one of the agency's coordinators. One of her goals is to have a broad understanding of the healthcare field while particularly targeting American Indians and Alaskan Natives. Bea is dedicated to supporting and mentoring women dealing with crisis issues.

Laura is a 1.5 generation Filipina American. Her family moved to Seattle from the Philippines when she was 11 years old. Both of her parents are Filipinos and even though she considers herself a proud Filipino American, she identifies more with being Filipina. Her first language is Tagalog but she is fluent in English. She joined FYA when she was 13 years old and participated in Folk Dancing and Drill Team in 1975. She continued to participate in FYA programs for seven years, and then decided to help out as a Folk Dancing instructor in the 1980s and 1990s. Her daughter Melle also participated in Folk Dancing in the 1990s. Laura currently works at the University of Washington in the Science Department.

The 1980s Participants. Amelia is a second generation Filipina American who grew up

in the Central District-South End neighborhoods. Her parents are both Filipinos, and she indentified herself as Filipina American. Her first language is English and she can understand Tagalog. In 1979, Amelia and her brother joined the FYA Drill Team when she was 12 years old against her will as a political move by her father. Her parents were highly involved in the Filipino Community of Seattle Incorporated (FCS), where her father was one of the Presidents of FCS. Amelia teaches Filipino American history and literature, Asian Pacific American Women, Oral History Methods, and Community Service-Learning courses in the *Asian/Pacific Islander American Studies* and the *Department of Women's Studies* at the University Michigan. She also taught Asian American Studies at a California state university, where she won awards for her dedication to students. She serves as one of Filipino American National Historical Society's Board of Trustees and volunteers with Detroit Summer, the Detroit Chinatown Revitalization Committee, Detroit Asian Youth Project, Paaralang Pilipino Cultural School, Filipino Youth Initiative, Asian American Center for Justice, and the Japanese American History Project of Michigan. Amelia is the co-author of *Filipina Women in Detroit, 1945-1955: Oral Histories from the Filipino American Oral History Project.* Her poetry and essays on war brides, students, and writers have been published in numerous academic journals, newspapers, and anthologies.

Shelly is a third generation Filipina American from Stockton, California. Her family moved to Seattle and lived in the Beacon Hill neighborhood. Shelly's mother is Filipina and her father is Chamorro, and she identifies herself as both Chamorro and Filipina American. She joined Folk Dancing initially and the Drill Team thereafter when she was 12 years old in 1975. She remained in the programs until1982. After her participation in the Drill Team, she continued to help out and teach new participants until 1987. Over the years Shelly volunteered for many organizations. She is highly involved at her children's schools as a PTA President and

Fundraising Co-Chair, as a Room Parent Coordinator, and in their sports club. Shelly worked as a United Way Loan Executive, Diversity Board Member, and Volunteer Board Member. She is also involved in Dearborn Park Community Council and Washington Blues Society as a Membership Director.

Ric is a second generation Filipino American who grew up in the Central District neighborhood. Ric's mother is from the Nooksak Nation and his father is Filipino. He identifies himself as Native and Filipino American. He recently found out that his mother is part of the Nooksak Nation and he is currently researching his maternal side of the family. His first language is English and he knows few a Tagalog phrases. Ric joined the Drill Team when he was 12 years old in 1985. His two sisters were also members of the Drill Team. He participated for three years and continued to be involved in the Drill Team's fundraising efforts. He is a well-known DJ in Seattle and is currently enrolled at a technical college.

The 1990s Participants. JD is a second generation Filipino American who grew up in Seattle. Both of his parents are Filipinos and he identified himself as Filipino American. His first language is English and he is familiar with a few Tagalog phrases. JD joined FYA when he was 20 years old in 1997. He participated in Sining Kilusan as a production assistant in the *Heart of the Son* musical play. JD was involved for a year and a half helping the producer of the show with logistics, research for grants, typing and running errands. He also provided assistance back stage on the day of the performance. He graduated from the State University in Seattle and is currently working at a non-profit organization in the Seattle area. JD was instrumental in the founding of *Isangmahal*, which is a Filipino American arts collective. He continues to be an influence in the Filipino American arts movement.

Chrissy is a second generation Filipina American who grew up in Mountlake Terrace

City. Both of her parents are of Filipino descent and she identified herself as Filipina American. Chrissy joined FYA when she was 22 years old in 1999. Her first language is English and she wants to able to speak Tagalog to her son. She participated in Pinoy Teach as one of the student teachers and Sining Kilusan as one of the theater interns. She pursued a Master's Degree in Teaching in the East Coast and is currently working at Highline Public School District.

Lupe identified himself as a second generation Filipino American. He grew up in Seattle and both of his parents are Filipinos. He joined FYA when he was 14 years old and participated in Folk Dancing and Drill Team in 1992. Lupe's friend who participated in FYA introduced him to the program. After attending his first practice, he liked the program so much he decided to join the team. He left in 1996 as a Soldan.

Melle identified herself as a second generation Filipina American. Both of her parents are Filipinos. Melle, Laura's daughter went to private school for elementary, middle and high school years. Her first language is English and she can converse in Tagalog. She joined FYA when she was 6 years old in 1989. She participated in Folk Dancing until she was 15. At 19 Melle volunteered to teach younger participants the basic steps of one of the Filipino dances. She became one of the officers in Filipino American Students Association at the University of Washington and produced a musical show for the annual Filipino Cultural Night.

Jade identifies herself as a second generation Vietnamese American. She grew up in Tacoma and both of her parents are Vietnamese. Her first language is English and she is fluent in Vietnamese. She joined FYA when she was 15 years old in 2000. She participated in the Drill Team as a Princesa. She graduated from the University of Washington and is currently pursuing her Master's program in Business.

Mar is a second generation Filipino American and grew up in the Beacon Hill

neighborhood. Mar's mother is Filipino and his father is African American. He identifies as half Filipino and half African American. He joined the FYA when he was seven years old in 1996. He participated in Kid's Club, Eskrima, Pinoy Teach, and Drill Team program. He became the Soldan for the Drill Team. Mar attended Seattle Public Schools and is currently enrolled in Bellevue Community College.

Research questions

The primary research questions in this investigation examine the effects of FYA on Filipino American youth's ethnic identity, civic engagement, and leadership. They are:

1. How did FYA affect the ethnic identity development of its participants?
2. What perceptions of the values and effects of FYA during different periods of time did the participants express in common? How did participants arrive at these perceptions?
3. How did FYA participants contribute to FYA's development in the past 50 years?
4. How did FYA affect the leadership skills and pursuits of higher education of its members?
5. What were the perceptions of youth on how their experiences with ethnic identity and leadership development in FYA compared with the treatment of similar issues in their school(s)?
6. How did the participants' experiences with FYA programs and projects influence their ethnic knowledge, ethnic identity, and sense of empowerment?

Data Collection

The data in this study were generated from three primary sources. These were archives, documents, interviews, and demographic questionnaires. Documents were retrieved from the Filipino American National Historical Society archives located in Seattle's Central District. The publications included playbill or programs, letters, scrapbooks, and other historical information on goals, images, and programs. Publications in the University of Washington libraries provided cultural, political, and scholarly information on Filipino and Filipino Americans. The acquired information was used to develop the historical and cultural context surrounding the Filipino American cultural experiences and perspectives for interpreting the study. Filipino American community newspapers such as *Filipino American Bulletin* and *Filipino American Herald* provided viewpoints of FYA and its leaders.

Demographic questionnaires

Research participants were asked to complete questionnaires to provide demographic information. This will contribute to the development of good rapport with the participants, and function as the foundation for probing and in-depth questions during interviews. These questionnaires solicited information on family history background, types of schools attended, reasons for participating in FYA programs, experiences of marginalization, and brief evaluation of FYA. Understanding the scholastic experiences of the participants elicited insights into ethnic relations present in the formal instruction they received related to Filipino American history, culture, and ethnicity.

Interviews

In-depth interviews were used to complement data collected from archival documents and questionnaires. Efforts such as not recording any participants direct subject identifiers and

not publishing or displaying information in reports that identify the human subjects directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects, (including photographs), without written consent were used to ensure that all information provided by the participants will remain confidential.

Fostering dialogue between researchers and interviewees minimized the researcher dominating the interviews. Interactive interviews allow researchers to benefit from questions the participants formulate about their own lives, and to move beyond conventional, foreseeable answers to the deeper constructions of complex personal experience (Anderson & Dana 1991).

Skill in probing and recording were significant factors that will affect the responses of the participants, which in turn will influence data analysis and interpretation. Therefore, I listened to the participants very carefully during interviewing sessions to understand the overtone of the narrative that is provided, and I remained cognizant of my own feelings, values, and beliefs to avoid imposing them on the participants. Face-to-face interviews and email correspondence were the primary technique used to collect data, though occasional telephone interviews will be conducted as needed. Semi-structured and open-ended protocols were more useful in probing responses than close-ended ones (Babbie, 1990).

The interview protocols were used with all participant groups and presented in questionnaire in Appendices A, B, C, and D. They were modified as needed within the actual interviews. The interview questions were designed to determine if or how FYA contributed to the ethnic and identity development, leadership, aspirations, and academic accomplishments of its members. Each participant was interviewed and audio taped for at least one hour. However, the length of the interviews varied somewhat by individual, depending on availability and communication skills. Written and audio taped interviews were collected and stored. Follow up

interviews were performed with select participants in order to further refine or clarify previously collected data.

The entire interview was transcribed verbatim. The researcher reviewed the notes and identified coding themes by listening to the tapes and reading the transcriptions. The researcher also recorded comments on the interview data and begin preliminary analysis as the interviews were transcribed. These audio-recorded interviews led to better understanding and analysis of the data throughout the study. I personally conducted interview transcriptions since I was best positioned to recognize nuances in the interview data that a third-party transcriber would miss.

Data analysis

The data that were collected consisted of transcripts from the audio-recorded in-depth interviews. The content that was examined was from interviews that revealed emerging themes through inductive and deductive approaches. The variables used in this study were words, actions, and phrases. For example, Filipino culture and ethnic identity that might emerge as separate but related code categories suggests marginalization. The data and the samples were reviewed ten times to ensure a high level of agreement with categories that are both exhaustive and mutually exclusive. A codebook was created in an Excel spreadsheet marked around categories and themes. Codes were tagged or labeled for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during the study. Color coded samples were utilized as part of the inductive analysis, which was how patterns, themes, and categories of analysis emerged from the data rather than being imposed on it prior to data collection and analysis. While analysis of the data samples was ongoing, the researcher continued to seek advice from his advisor, members of my supervisory committee, community members, and scholars from the American Ethnic Studies department to ensure reliability. They provided

"another set of eyes" to identify patterns that led to the development of appropriate themes that accurately reflect the data. The themes that emerged from the data were identified, cross-checked, coded, and classified.

Summary

The research methodology that was used for this study is described in this chapter. It includes a brief description of the study's history and context, the selection of participants, and data collection and analysis procedures. The participants were selected to represent intergenerational perspectives on how the FYA influenced their ethnic identity, leadership, civic engagement, and academic development.

CHAPTER IV

Findings

This study revealed several influences of the Filipino Youth Activities (FYA) on the development of ethnic identity, leadership, community engagement, and friendship among its youth participants. Discrimination was also a topic of concern.

These findings emerged from data collected through semi-structured interviews, coding system, field notes, and conversations with participants, volunteers, staff, and parents of FYA members. Some data indicated strong similarities among the viewpoints, while other uncovered differences in opinion. Nineteen participants contributed their viewpoints on the influences of FYA. To gain further diversity in perspective, FYA founders (Fred and Dorothy Cordova) offered their own ideas about the impact of this organization. They were icons and role models in FYA, and have served Seattle's Filipino American community for over 60 years. As founders and administrators, they provided perspectives and information on FYA's role beyond personal reflections on being Filipino Americans.

Ethnic Identity

One of the major research questions in this study was whether FYA had any impact on the ethnic identity development of its members. In order to address this question, participants were asked if they had and acquired knowledge of their ethnic identity and history before and after participation in FYA programs. Two codes were used to categorize their responses. These were (1) external ethnic identity, which is awareness of Filipino language and having Filipino friends, and (2) internal ethnic identity that included knowledge and appreciation for Filipino history, culture, and images. The study showed that most participants did not display prior knowledge about their ethnic history and culture beyond references to their family and Filipino cultural

elements. Most participants said Filipino American identity is subjective. When asked what it meant to be Filipino, the top three answers were family, music, and food, followed by language and social networks. These responses however, did not mean that the participants' ethnic identity was well developed. In cultural studies tangible artifacts such as food and music are considered profound indicators of cultural knowledge and identity than intangible aspects of culture such as values and beliefs.

Sixteen participants agreed that they did not learn anything about Filipino American history or being Filipino American beyond brief mentions or token references to Filipino culture and folk dancing in elementary, middle, and high school. Those who participated in FYA in the 1980s and 1990s stated that they did not learn about their ethnic history and culture in school until they reached college, but rather that their families and the Filipino American community were responsible for teaching their cultural knowledge. For example, Melle, a 1990s participant, said, "everything I learned about Filipino culture, I learned socially. I did not learn it at school; I learned it from family and other Filipinos." Shelly, who participated in the 1980s, had similar experiences:

> They [teachers] didn't really cover it. I learned so much more now as an adult than in school. Most of what I learned about my culture I learned through FYA's teachings and my own personal educational search. Aside from actually taking an ethnic studies program, there is not a lot of teaching.

In contrast, 1970s FYA participants like Nino said that courses focusing on Filipino American history and culture did not exist when he was at the State University in Seattle. Abe, another 1970s participant, stated that his generation initiated education on Filipino American history, culture, and identity at the university. Leigh agreed that there was no formal setting

where one could learn Filipino American history. Consequently, she and others advocated for a course until it came to fruition. She stated:

> There was no system in place. There was no formal system, not until college. As far as reading, exposure, and doing oral history, I started doing it in high school, but when in college, KDP [Philippine Democratic Movement] was there and at that time we were advocating for the creation of American Ethnic Studies with everybody. That's when the first class was offered. It was an exciting time because you had people here who had access to information that was so raw and not supported then. It wasn't supported until it all came true in history. It all came to be but it was not being seen in this college system and community as legitimate, people think that we were just bashing the Philippines. That all happened on this campus, in the mid seventies. That was an exciting time. We learned a lot about Martial Law and about Marcos that we would not have been able to learn and it was because it came here. There was no formal setting. Oh yeah, my dad always had us have a small library of books that we would read. We were probably at a time in our lives where we were just trying to party and look cute; we did not listen too much. It was not really until college when we started listening.

The 1970s participants in general agreed they did not have the opportunity to learn about Filipino American history, culture, or contributions in K-12 schooling. Cee, who is Chinese American and White, accredited FYA for playing a significant role in Filipino American identity development in the Filipino American community. She declared:

> To this day they’re not even talking about Filipino Americans or Filipinos in K-12 at all. When you get to college you can take American Ethnic Studies classes, but if you take American history, are Filipino Americans mentioned? I don’t think so, I mean I can’t

> vouch for that but I would doubt it. So unless people used Howard Zinn or Ronald Takaki, you're probably not going to hear, you probably don't even know what a Filipino American is. It's just wrong. So for that FYA was so amazing. It taught a lot of Filipino American youth about being Filipino American and why that is important and how to be a proud Filipino American.

Thus, in connection to the coding system, FYA was a viable and available opportunity for Filipino American youth to gain knowledge of their ethnic group's role in history, and to develop an ethnic identity based on historical and cultural understanding rather than either social anecdotes or a complete void in cultural identity.

Leigh, who invited Cee to participate in the Khordobah Drill Team, asserted that FYA helped her to question mainstream perspectives of Filipino American identity. Both Cee and Leigh saw FYA as a factor in creating a positive attitude toward self. Leigh stated that it facilitated:

> Understanding who I was as a Filipino American, how I was viewed and then how I could respond to that, and if I should respond to that…FYA helped me to like myself and be willing to go…and represent and defend who I was, and just say to others 'why should I defend anything to you?' It's their ignorance not mine. So that type of toughness helped me develop. It's your self-identity and self worth and comfort in who you are. Being in the drill team helped a lot of youth.

Bea, who identifies strongly with her Hawaiian and Alaskan heritage, acknowledged the FYA as an influential factor in the development of a Filipino American identity. She said:

> I am Alaska Native and Hawaiian because those are the strongest influences in my life. Once I left the drill team, Filipino influence stopped. I am aware that I am Filipino

> American but I'm disconnected. My dad, even though he is Filipino, was raised in Hawai'i. Half of his family is Hawaiian so it's stronger. My mother is an Alaskan native. She talked about…the oppression that went on so we became aware of that and started to support her and get involved with her Native side and feel more supported. As far as dad, that's what we were always around; the music, the food, everything Hawaiian. I am disassociated from the Filipino American community because I was more rebellious. I feel the tension between first and second generation. There was too much conflict for me, and I just disassociated with it.

Despite her dissociation from the Filipino American community, Bea admitted that everything she learned about being Filipino, came from participating in the Khordobah Drill Team and Folk Dancing. She claimed that these FYA programs provided her the chance to learn Filipino and Filipino American history, culture, and contributions when no other opportunities existed for her. She declared:

> Everything I learned about being Filipino, I learned from the FYA. Had it not been for the FYA, I would have not learned a quarter of what I know. I don't want to say we were forced, but my mom said we have to be there. Fine okay, I'll do my fun part and they were going to teach me something about being Filipino. We took language classes, so we learned a few words. We were constantly told by staff about our heritage, our history. We got to read books about Filipinos. I would have never read history books about Filipinos had it not been for FYA. So everything I learned about being Filipino came from there.

Nearly all participants in this study identified themselves as Filipino Americans, claimed they received little to no information that contributed to their ethnic identity during their K-12 schooling, and that they learned only a portion of Filipino identity and culture at home.

Consequently, the knowledge they gained through participating in FYA was influential in developing their Filipino American identity. Seventeen of the 19 participants agreed that participation in FYA reinforced their ethnic identities. All participants said pride in their Filipino heritage increased, and would like to pass it on to future generations.

However, some participants did not relate directly with the dominant sentiments of the study group. Laura, a 1970s participant and first generation Filipina American, said she did not learn her cultural heritage and identity from FYA. Instead, she feels that as a Filipina from the Philippines she helped teach Filipino history and preserve Filipino culture. Amelia, who participated in the 1970s, was the only participant in the study who learned Filipino American history and culture in both high school and FYA. At high school, she was enrolled in the Advanced Placement program where she read Filipino American and other non-White authors such as Carlos Bulosan and W.E.B. Du Bois.

The heritage knowledge of most of the participants prior to their involvement in FYA was concentrated more on Philippine history than Filipino American history. JD, who participated in the 1990s, explained:

> I didn't learn about my Filipino history and identity at home, other than the food and the language, which were two big things...As far as history, maybe the migration like grandparents and mom and dad and all that stuff, but never in the specific area like when Spain took over. No one sat me down and taught me that at home.

JD also felt that his participation in FYA helped him realize the importance of knowing who he was as a Filipino American. He believed that Filipino cultural heritage preserves a lot of what it means to be Filipino. It could be dancing, singing, and anything that has to do with Filipino American history. He noted that:

> I didn't learn everything about cultural heritage from the FYA, but I learned the importance of it and why it should be important to me. I have this old school photo from 1996 that my cousin posted, and I was wearing a 'Filipino' shirt. I remember rocking that shirt until it fell apart, but those were the days. Just wearing that shirt made me feel so prideful of who I am. Without the shirt, I'm just a regular person, but having been empowered by a shirt and feeling empowered by joining something like FYA led up to these other groups. I think it really helped in forming who I am right now. So when you go into Inays, you go to Kawali Grill [Filipino Restaurants], you walked into Pista sa Nayon [Filipino American event] and everything around you is cultural heritage, right! Anything down from tsinelas [flip flops] to the accent, you recognize immediately; that's Filipino. I think just for us being aware all the time, but I think the things that we do, I think the things we have not noticed before and noticing now especially when we are older; saying 'Oh yeah that $h!t is Filipino'; or that is part of Filipino history…makes it even more important…[to] keep teaching other people about stuff that has to do with Filipino history.

Despite these exceptions, a majority of participants learned little about Filipino American culture and identity at home. For example, 1990s participant Chrissy's parents knew very little about Filipino American history and culture, and provided minimum assistance in developing her Filipino ethnic identity. Like most participants in the study, Rick felt the need to learn more about being Filipino American after participating in FYA during the 1980s. He explained:

> I mostly learned my heritage from FYA and among Filipino American friends I had in grade school who were also FYA participants. Pretty much that was my clique. That is,

> all who I knew…was just FYA. I mean, I would meet other people outside FYA but I mean…that was pretty much my life.

The findings suggested that FYA programs seemed more influential in developing the youth's ethnic identity than their parents. Ric elaborated on the role FYA played in his life, stating that his father had a "different outlook on FYA. He just felt like there were too many cultures of the Philippines all meshed up. He, being from the Philippines, had a disagreement about how FYA is portrayed." He would ask his father:

> 'Why don't you let me know what the real _____ is? I'm not going to be learning from somebody else.' Mainly with him, I learned the food. I was never taught the language. I was pissed off about that. So, I learned it through FYA's Tagalog program…My perception after participating in FYA was I need to learn more, not so much finding the truth I just know that there is more for me to know…There's more to it than FYA.

Acre and Elise participated in FYA in the 1960s and they, like other participants, did not learn much Filipino American culture and language at home, despite being exposed to it. Acre actually learned Tagalog in college and recalled:

> The Filipino class I took in college was a Tagalog class. My mom would speak [in Tagalog] to my uncles, the first generation, but it was never passed down to any of us. My dad never spoke it. Even though we grew up with my grandparents from Hawai'i and Locos Norte, it was never passed down to us.

Even though Elise grew up in the presence of aunties and uncles who spoke the language, she was encouraged not to speak Tagalog or Ilocano, and her family never taught her and her sibling how to cook traditional Filipino dishes. She recalled:

> Even our family, the uncles around us, we were always taught that we shouldn't speak

> Filipino. As a matter of fact they would cook Filipino food in the kitchen and they would have our mom cook for us and we never learned how to cook and eat Filipino food till I got old enough to ask, what is that?

Prior to participating in FYA, most participants struggled over what it meant to be Filipino American and had little to no knowledge about their ethnic history. Their lives differed by familial and social upbringing and school environment, which created varying degrees of knowledge and attitude toward Filipino American history and culture. This variation in turn influenced the participants' attitudes towards learning about their ethnic history and culture and involvement in FYA programs, such as the Khordobah Drill Team and Pinoy Teach. The ethnic identities and feelings of empowerment of the participants increased as a result of learning about their ethnic heritage.

The 1990s FYA participants experienced the greatest impact on the development of their ethnic identity from involvement in FYA. This group also represented a significantly greater proportion of second and third generation Filipino Americans. The 1970s FYA participants experienced the least impact from their involvement. However, this group served as the advocates and catalysts for the introduction of Filipino American education in formal settings and thus helped subsequent generations of Filipino American students through the development of FYA itself. Most of the members of this group are second generation Filipino Americans. Overall, FYA had a significant and positive impact on the development of ethnic identity among the participants spanning three generations. FYA staff and programs benefited the participants by serving as either building blocks, impetus for innovation, or as grounding forces.

Influence Formation

All participants indicated that learning about their ethnic history produced a sense of cultural awareness and pride, regardless of how the lessons were learned. The codes used to organize data in support of this research question included influence from education, friendship, ethnic identity, civic engagement, and leadership. In connections to influence in education and identity, Pinoy Teach was the only FYA program that addressed ethnic identity and issues strictly in a classroom setting. Despite the traditional setting, Chrissie experienced a sense of revelation when she learned about the Philippine and Filipino experience. She recalled:

> I had no idea that we were a colony of the Spanish and no idea about the American involvement. It's so simple and trivial now. I had no clue while going to school. I don't think a Filipino or the Philippines was ever mentioned in high school.

Similarly, Cee's participation in FYA enabled her to experience a greater sense of awareness related to her identity as Chinese and White, and the role of Filipinos in global history. This awareness stemmed from learning about a particular Filipino American community tradition of which mainstream society was not aware, and that was not taught in traditional school curricula:

> I learned that the first waves of Filipinos coming [to the U.S.] were scholars, and there is a long history of education in the Filipino American community. Yet, that is not known to the mainstream [society]. Unless you teach it to each generation, they might not see that because they are so influenced by the messages of the mainstream society, so we have to fight that off. So, there is the tradition of education, pride, food for sure, and family and community.

Fred adopted a teaching approach in leading the Khordobah Drill Team, of taking

advantage of the myriad opportunities present in non-traditional learning environments. He presented Philippine history and Filipino identity through the lens of Filipinos, stressing connections between people and explaining why every aspect of a drill performance is relevant to Philippine culture. He presented history as part of U. S. and world perspectives. To locate Philippine history and culture within a larger context, the Khordobah Drill Team employed conceptual and responsive approaches to teaching. The cadence and commands of drill performances were structured around Filipino culture, language, and history, because–according to Fred—powerful ideas help participants absorb, organize, and synthesize information. For example, Drill team is physical, repetitive, and employs words and costumes. It is performed on specific days that are affiliated with some aspect of Filipino culture, and provides many teachable moments for members. Rather than just going through the motions, leaders of this activity took advantage of all of those opportunities to pass knowledge on to the participants by adopting new language. The Drill Team imparted implicit knowledge that was not inherently obvious. Fred remembered:

> The first parade we had ever been in was here on Cherry and 22nd. Coming around the corner, all the Black kids would say 'here comes the Chinese drill team' 'Haha' and from then on, we would say we are not Chinese; we are Filipino. The next year, I would ask the old people, 'How do you say right face in Tagalog?' They would say, 'Well, you know the old veterans actually were guerillas. If you want to go this way and the mountains are there, turn to mountains'. I was like, that's not going to work you know. If the ocean is this way, turn to the digit. So I developed a language. "Pihit" means turn. Kanan, but kanan is too long, and in military language, it's just going to be short right, kanan-nan, Kaliwa twa, Kaliwa-twa. When we learned a formation…we would name it

> after families, so that way Filipinos would understand family names. Or if it's not in Tagalog, it's too long [then] I do it in Ilocano. If I can't find it in Ilocano, how do you do it in Cebuano, or any language, whatever. If we couldn't do that, how do you say it in Arabic...Ahhh…We're turning into history now, not so much Spanish...Arabic...so all this time we're teaching kids Philippine culture; not so much Filipino American culture, but Philippine culture. The drums, not just drums; Maria Clara drum. Who is Maria Clara? Well, this drum is probably the lead drum. It has a beauty to it so we named it "Maria Clara" after Jose Rizal's referral to her in his novel. Those beautiful women that you meet are Maria Claras.

Dorothy also emphasized the importance of helping Filipino youth develop knowledge of ethnic history, culture, and identity by using creative teaching methods that took advantage of every teachable moment to impart Filipino knowledge. Such methodologies transmitted cultural and historical lessons that extended beyond school classrooms into extra-curricular activities and even family life. Dorothy described these additional cultural teaching techniques as:

> We taught them Folk Dancing and Drill Team. Fred...he made up a language. I don't know if they still use it but there was a language. He even had, a book with all those things and he taught the kids all the different dialects. They could talk, they could count, [in] Tagalog, Ilocano, Hindu, Maranao, and he told them what it was. He taught them the chants and where the chants came from...and Igorot...he taught them sing chants and people would come in and they would do it. [He would] tell them that this chant came from the mountain people, this was from the Muslims, and As-salāmu `alaykum was part of the southern Philippine Islands...so the kids were picking up a lot of things they didn't know, and we didn't realize that gradually Fred was actually teaching them PI history. He

> started to write the Alibata and some of the kids would pick it up in the FYA. We would even have Tagalog classes early on. I think we tried cooking classes so kids learned Filipino food; the basketball team had Filipino names...the basketball league... [had names] after tribes. I mean kids were inundated; the whole thing was PI. They made a map of the PI in the old office so the kids would know where they came from. And Fred would teach these classes and ask the kids where their family was from. He would tell the kids to find out where their family came from. Their mothers were not Filipino, or their dads weren't, but they had to go back and talk to a grandparent or to a parent who was an immigrant. I mean, so many of us had immigrant grandparents.

Dorothy's last point illustrates that the teaching methods, she and Fred used enabled FYA participants to better relate to their heritages and identities, and encouraged the youth to apply what they learned beyond FYA classes and activities. The youth were encouraged and expected to explore their own history and connect with their families by exploring the simple question, "Where did we come from?"

Ric agreed that Fred taught drill team members Filipino and Filipino American history and culture during formations. He remembered:

> When we had Jahbandah [drill team formation], showcase of the drill team and you would have times where Uncle Fred gave a little historical piece, when we were at Handa [at attention] in a certain kind of formation. It would just let the audience know that here are the leaders and this is what they represent and this is what FYA represents as far as Filipino culture. I would consider it big, you learned a lot from FYA. From there when you start meeting new people outside FYA with the same Filipino culture, you learned from that, but the base was FYA.

Shelly, who participated in FYA during the 1980s, elaborated on the teachings Fred imparted during drill team rehearsals and performances. He explained the relevancy of their attire and instruments, and how they related to various elements of Filipino history and culture. He extended these points to incorporate various issues affecting Filipino Americans today. Shelly recalled:

> Uncle Fred would say that we are a minority within a minority, within a minority and people out in the audience would shake their head…What does it mean? Uncle Fred would always explain about the culture, why we wear what we wore, we speak Arabic with our salutations, because not everybody in the Philippines is Catholic. The world is learning this now, but rewind back 40 years ago, they are naive about what Filipinos were. They had a small idea what a Filipino was. Here was this group coming around dressed in outfit that [they] were trying to figure out what they were. Counting in different languages, speaking in Arabic; looking kind of different from everybody else around them. We were pretty Brown. Uncle Fred told me that he used the ratio of the school district and would say that out of the drill team only certain percentage should be non-Filipino. Everybody wanted to join the drill team; they were loud and funky. Everybody wanted to be part of it whether they are Filipino or not. You're Pinoy [Filipino male]; you're Pinay [Filipino female]. I don't care if you have blue eyes and blonde hair, when you are in the drill team and you put on a uniform, you are with us. It's a learning experience when it comes to that. Every time we went out we represented our culture; there is always an educational process. When you are on uniform you always have to represent the team and your ancestors. You educate them; always educate people. The more people are educated, the fewer stereotypes they will [have] because they can identify with it. Sometimes, deconstructing these

stereotypes is exhausting for kids; just by representation alone.

The Drill Team participants not only learned language, historical facts, and culturally relevant information related to the origin of attire and music, they also learned these affected who they are, and informed the development of their Filipino identity as American youth.

Arcee noted that the instruments and accessories used in performance represented more than aesthetic symbols of Filipino culture; they evolved from a strong history and a prevalent way of life. He explained that "in Drill Team I taught bamboo sticks of the Agongs to all the Filipino instruments and they weren't just instruments. Before that, I did not know anything about it."

According to Leigh and Ellese, participating in drill team helped them to explore their ethnic heritage. These explorations, and experimentations in creating new drill team routines, combined aspects of American drum lines and Filipino traditional dance ceremonies, and constructed a distinctive Filipino American precision drill team. Ellese recounted the evolution of Filipino culture into a unique Filipino American culture:

> We were more Filipino American and we patterned [some] after the Philippines. We were always told, this is not what they do in the Philippines; it's more of what we can do as Filipino Americans. Be proud of your culture when going out in the streets, It was a positive experience.

Ellese's participation in the drill team helped her to consider this comparison of Filipino culture in the Philippines and in the US, and further develop a Filipino identity unique to her. Such a comparison allowed her to more closely relate to her ancestors from the Philippines, as well as to her Filipino American peers.

Leigh's parents, who were FYA founding members, embedded family values such as

respect for elders and pride in oneself into FYA. Leigh attributed her own self-growth to the values that were fostered in FYA and taught at home:

> It's you're self-identity and self-worth and comfort with who you are, and being in the Drill Team helped a lot of youth. I think our Filipino culture, culture from the Philippines, is convoluted. You're not sure what is real Filipino culture and what's been influenced by the U.S. [and] Spain. But here at home, I think the most important thing is how you approach your family. We are raising them as Filipino Americans but their roots of how they are being raised are from back home. They will understand when you enter a room, your elders are important and they have knowledge and earned their respect through life and hard work. When you go out in public you honor yourself and in turn honors your family. For me my father is hard and people think we were so obedient. He would pinch us under the table. It's all about how we relate to our family and how we value our family. What is sad for me is people are getting away from that. So they don't learn and hear the stories of their forefathers and mothers. They would not understand the struggles of the Alaskeros and Manongs of our country.

The experiences of Leigh's parents with discrimination helped her to understand various social power dynamics and influenced her to make conscientious efforts and sound decisions. She also raised her children to understand these power dynamics, and how they relate to their lives as Filipino Americans.

Sining Kilusan used learning opportunities similar to those provided by the Khordobah Drill Team. It allowed the youth to discover Filipino and Filipino American history and culture through participating in a play that, in turn, created opportunities to interact with Filipino Americans throughout the country. For example, JD learned Filipino and Filipino American

history, particularly the Philippine Revolution, through participation in a Sining Kilusan play. His interactions with other Filipino Americans helped him to understand the extent of the diversity present in Filipino American communities. JD continued to learn about Filipino American history, culture, and identity as an administrative intern for FYA. He explained:

> I first got involved in FYA in 1996-1997 through Sining Kilusan; being the cultural arts group of FYA. I had a title, but I was not paid or anything. But it was a production assistant in the Heart of the Son and this was around 96. I think it was 96 going on 97. So I was probably involved for a year, a year and a half. Heart of the Son was a play about the Philippine Revolution in 1896-1898, and it profiled the story of Jose Rizal, and Andres Bonifacio as the main leaders of the war. It was a musical so rather than being a play and you know there's a lot of acting, usually the main points for song and dance were acted out. So it was a combination of drama and song and dance, and it was an opportunity to show off Philippine martial arts, Philippine cultural dances, and the different ways that Filipino activists at the time or leaders handled that situation. So it in encapsulated in an hour and a half. I mean there could be a lot of different ways to tell a story but just using that part of the war that insurrection was the main focus.
>
> I was helping Patricia out, who was the producer at that time of the show; helping them out with logistics; doing a little bit of research for grants; doing like, menial things on the computer like typing stuff for them. The day of the shows, I would help out back stage and whatever was needed. I did that for about a year and a half and I did several shows with the group. This was the period when Tim and those guys recruited actors from out of state to be part of the cast and crew, and there were some folks who were also from Seattle who were part of the team…I remember meeting all these guys; a good mix of male and female.

> Usually in the Filipino community, you know who the cats are. I had no idea who these folks were; they were coming out of Southern California…probably coming from the, Bay too. So they had taken the show on the road to Oakland so I went along with them to the Heart of the Son show production in Oakland; just going along being part of the family, being part of the team, and just supporting the work. During that time I didn't really do any artwork, you know with Sining Kilusan. I never did any drama theater based work. It was just behind the scene stuff, but I've always been a behind-the-scenes type of guy. I was sort of there when Pinoy Teach was founded at the University of Washington. I was part of that original group for just a little bit. I didn't go through the whole curriculum and everything; I was there when Pinoy Teach was just an idea and I remember editing some books.

JD's account illustrated another form of learning provided by FYA participation: that of service learning. Even without direct participation in FYA programs, youth involved in internships and "behind-the-scenes" participation contributed to the ethnic identity development of the FYA participants.

Multiethnic Inclusion

The participants in this study experienced and celebrated diverse ethnicities on a daily basis while involved with FYA. The supportive data were coded as multiple multiethnic identities. Filipino ethnicity is often multilayered, enhancing the importance of a multicultural experience within a Filipino American community organization: Twelve of the19 participants were of interracial heritage, representing African American, Nooksack, Alaskan Native, Chamorro, Chinese, and European heritages. Despite this diversity, some multiracial and second generation Filipino American participants felt tension from first generation Filipino Americans for "not being Filipino enough." For these participants, FYA provided a means for them to

connect with their Filipino heritage, and develop and strengthen a more complete ethnic identity without the stress of having to prove their "Filipino-ness" to anyone else.

Bea explained the internal conflict she experienced being both Filipino, and not "Filipino enough" in the eyes of some of her peers:

> I am aware but disassociated with being Filipino. I am aware that I am Filipino American but I'm disconnected because of a stronger influence. My dad was raised in Hawai'i; half of his family is Hawaiian so that's a stronger [influence in my life than my Filipino heritage]. My mother is Alaska native. [I experienced] very little Filipino cultural influence [growing up]. I dissociated from it because I felt the tension between the first and second generations, there was too much conflict for me so I just disassociated with it.

Bea grew up feeling tension between her various ethnicities and reluctant to explore her Filipino history and culture as a result. FYA provided her with an environment in which she felt confident enough to explore her mixed ethnicity without fear of external criticism.

Fred claimed the goal of FYA was to unite the Filipino community and bring Filipino American youth who were ethnically disaffiliated back into a strong and welcoming Filipino community experience. Dorothy elaborated on the tendency for first generation youth to reject multiethnic Filipinos and the importance of FYA:

> We're American; the others were immigrant. We were the only American organization for young Filipino people. FYA was the most accepting of any such organization. There was a time that FYA was very unique. We were dealing with kids who were rejected by the Filipino Community.
>
> FYA included youth who were rejected by their "more Filipino" peers, and were also

disenfranchised in other ways. Dorothy explained that at the inception of the organization, roughly a fourth of involved youth were foster children. Fred and Dorothy placed a heavy emphasis on creating welcoming community organization because they saw a growing need to incorporate multi-generational Filipino Americans into the community. They worked hard to develop an organization that was inclusive of all backgrounds, class, and ethnicities. Fred commented on the lack of ethnic pride and connection among Filipino American youth that necessitated such inclusivity:

> Many of them were not proud of being Filipino because many of them were Mestizos. So if you asked who they were, they were Hawaiian and everything else but Filipino. Wouldn't it be nice if we could have something to get them all together. Some did not have full families; some of them were from broken homes, some of them were orphans; we took them all. On the drill team in particular. If we went …on a tour, we brought everybody with us regardless of whether they were rich or they were poor. If they were poor, we found ways so that they were able to be with us…we did not leave people behind.

The goal of FYA inclusivity was to provide positive reinforcement for youth so they would develop stronger self-esteems, higher expectations for personal achievement, motivation to pursue such achievements, and appropriate social behavior in general. Providing a positive environment that fostered cultural and ethnic identities enabled participants to experience feelings of community and connectedness with other members. For some of them, this was their first time feeling such connections.

This open-minded attitude and inclusive actions motivated some participants to get involved with FYA. Cee joined Khorodobah Drill Team instead of the Seattle Chinese

Community Girls Dream Team (SCCGT) because she thought FYA staff and moderators were more open to non-Filipino American youth than SCCGT was to non-Chinese. She said “that is why I joined FYA, because I felt like I was accepted more than in my home community. For Filipino Americans, mixed race is not a foreign or negative concept. It’s fine; mixed race is accepted.”

Jade, who is ethnically Vietnamese and Filipino, experienced similar feelings of acceptation in FYA. As she explained:

> My mom asked me why I was so involved in the Filipino Drill Team, and why didn't I join a Vietnamese drill team. I mentioned how kind and generous Filipino are, while Vietnamese are kind of closed off in general. So that's why I like being part of that environment [at FYA]. I don't like negativity or people judging me, and I felt like I was never judged when I was part of the drill team. I felt that if I did join a Vietnamese drill team or any other Vietnamese club, I would get judged first, and then people would try to get to know me.

Jade was pleased with her participation in the FYA drill team because it was a welcoming and nurturing environment, and it allowed her to interact with non-Vietnamese students. She found she enjoyed this culture, and even preferred it to the Vietnamese groups with which she was previously more familiar.

Mar described Fred’s views on fostering a sense of family within FYA, even though this necessitated creating an unconventional definition of “family”:

> Each family has its own culture and not all Filipino families are the same. It's harder for me to speak to that because my family is not as conventional within the Filipino heritage. Uncle Fred would always talk about being family, even though a family would usually

adopt an old way of thinking that if someone were Filipino or Black, they would be considered a forbidden child. Uncle Fred said that it doesn't matter if you are Filipino or Black–you're family.

Leadership Development

Fourteen of the **17** participants declared that FYA programs greatly affected their leadership abilities. These claims were substantiated by data coded as leadership skills gained in specific FYA programs including The Khordobah Drill Team, Pinoy Teach, People's Far West Convention, Cabataan Folk Dancing, and Sining Kilusan. Participants in all programs, including Khordobah Drill Team, Cabataan Folk Dancing and Sining Kilusan experienced Fred and Dorothy's unique views on leadership and leadership development for youth. The philosophy behind this leadership, as well as experience serving in leadership/officer roles, allowed participants to develop various leadership skills and apply them in other programs, careers, and their personal lives. The remaining three participants indicated that involvement in FYA either clashed with or stagnated their leadership development due to its rigidity. The primary leadership traits affected by FYA participation included assuming leadership roles and responsibility, organizing trips, administrative duties, and mentorship through the Big Sister/Big Brother program.

Leadership Modeling and Development. Dorothy and Fred were widely regarded among Filipino American community members as visionary leaders with strong personalities, capable of recognizing the potential of FYA, demonstrating personal interest in the program's success, and confident in their ability to make the changes necessary to benefit all members. The couple emphasized leadership development among its membership as a pivotal component of FYA's mission. They pursued this goal primarily by assigning youth participants to leadership

positions in various activities, particularly the Khordobah Drill Team. Fred's service in the U.S. Army shaped his approach to leadership development, which was militaristic, authoritarian, strict, and rigid. He demonstrated these principles during drill team practices, when he demanded obedience, accountability, ethnic pride, and respect. As Fred explained:

> Eventually when we had the Teen Club at the FYA president, vice president and somewhat. With all of [the youth participants] we made sure they understood what the rules were; what was expected to be a secretary, what was expected to be a treasurer, and so on. Based on the order of the Tamaraw, leadership and service were emphasized. Brotherhood and sisterhood were emphasized. All those things led to character building. That's the reason why in the Drill Team you had a Sultana, you had a Soldan, you had a Rajahani, and you go further up. And those that could dream that they could become a Maharajah or Maharajani deserved to be that or else. Eventually they began to try to aspire towards that. Some thought that 'I can become Maharaja or such and such,' How can you? Prove it...prove it...that you know how to lead first, and then I'll think about it. In other words, I was very hard on people in that they had to aspire to be that. To this day I don't think I did poorly. I mean there might have been some bad spots where I made a bad choice, but by and large, those that I chose turned out to be very good and have gone on.

Some participants, including Leigh, Arcee and Ellesse, supported Fred's stance on adopting an authoritarian leadership style in the drill team. They felt that his approach allowed drill team members to focus on performing specific tasks well without the distraction of making complex decisions particularly in the stressful political and racial climate of the 1970s. Bea

asserted that FYA leaders "taught you responsibility, they taught you about peer groups. It was strong you had a lot of leadership development and modeling." Leigh described in detail how her leadership skills benefitted from Fred's teaching:

> FYA definitely affected my leadership development. If you think about being that young and learning to function within the group, take orders, give orders, how to be helpful and function within a small community, and then going out into the community holding your chin high and letting the community know that you are proud to be Filipino, Filipino American. So much so that you are willing to march down the street and show people. When I was on the team, we went through heavy riots in the Seattle area. We created a move where if we were under attack at a parade, the team would go within the banners and the Kumbancheros [percussionists] would come in from the exterior. To know that was happening and not be afraid of making a political stance, to go ahead and go out there and still represent the Filipino community in the north end of Seattle where they didn't really want you there; at Cleary, Washington where they would make slanted-eyed faces at you when we march. What I always appreciated with FYA was that it was never with deference. It was always about pride, about carrying yourself as a Filipino American and being proud of it. So we always learned to put our chin up and let [others] know that we were proud. It taught me not to be afraid to say who I was.
>
> In terms of being on the team and in leadership, planning and negotiating with the people in the team as to how we would move forward in regards to any movement, we learned how to give and take, and how to negotiate with people.

> You learned about whether your ideas were or weren't being heard and how to advocate for them. You learned about collectively working with many families; learned how to be a group and get to a group consensus. In terms of articulating when we had to go out in the community and speak on behalf of the team, you knew you had an opportunity to go in front of different communities and talk about your experience or represent the community.
>
> The extension of the drill team was the FYA offices. When I was a young teenager, some of my friends were hired there so I would volunteer to learn how an office functions, how to collate things, and I learned about PR diplomacy, when we would have to go up against different teams. There were times when we would have city competitions and would be diplomatically dealing with people from different communities in Seattle. We learned how to pick our battles and what was appropriate behavior in a certain situation.

Leigh's account revealed another important aspect of Fred's leadership style—that is, its contextual importance during the socially and racially charged 1960s and 1970s. The military style practiced and exhibited by the Drill Team was a source of defense, pride, and opportunity, while simultaneously teaching diplomacy skills critical to the team's frequent interactions with different community groups.

While she participated in FYA during the 1980s, Fred's militaristic style cultivated physical stamina, intellectual concentration, and teamwork for Amelia. She recalled that:

> I actually teach classes now on leadership and community service learning and I always think back on the days of FYA. My brother and I absolutely hated it, because it was military training. Seriously, it was like boot camp. I had never

> walked, jog, or ran so far in my life. I was itty-bitty–I'm five-foot-two now and I was a foot shorter then. For a little girl, being able to march three miles down Fourth Avenue in the torchlight parade is something. I credit the FYA for teaching me how to do that, and [for allowing us] to travel, which was what everyone wanted to do because none of us had ever gotten out of the hood. The only way we were going to get anywhere was in the FYA van, so if you wanted to get on the plane to somewhere you needed to be in step with the team and with the program. When you left, you had to represent the CD [Central District] and Seattle well. We had the system of Big Sister Little Sister, or the buddy system. We went to D.C. with more than a hundred kids. I was one of the older kids and you had to pair up with the younger kids.

Amelia's story pointed to the opportunities for youth leadership that were created by Fred's highly structured programming. The youngest members of the team started out as little siblings, for whom the older participants were responsible. Beyond that, all participants had additional responsibilities through such measures as a phone tree, and the principle that every participant served as a representative of the Khordobah Drill Team, the local city, FYA, and the entire Filipino American community. This representation held true both within Seattle and at the team's various travel destinations. Due to the hierarchical nature of the organization, drill team members had the option to pursue leadership roles with increasing levels of responsibility.

Serving as Officers. Participants who served as officers in the Khordobah Drill Team appreciated the opportunities these positions provided to develop their organization, leadership, and communications skills. The Rani, Maharani, and Princessas were in charge of their own squads within the Khordobah Drill Team, and were responsible for getting each member to

improve in order to ensure that the whole team performed well. Beyond the strong leadership skills demanded by these positions, leaders—particularly the Sultana and Soldan—of the drill team, Cabataan Folk Dancing, Pinoy Teach, and Teen Club had to overcome shyness and hesitation, and had to learn how to make quick decisions and communicate these confidently and clearly to their teams. These leadership skills were demanded before, during, and after every practice and every time the instructor was occupied by other demands.

Shelly claimed that participation in the Khordobah Drill Team allowed her to develop her own definition of leadership. She said:

> I define leadership as seeing that there is a need for someone to address, stepping up to the plate and accepting that responsibility, then doing something about it. It doesn't have to be anything huge. Those situations happened: 'Take over the banners; we don't have a team leader!' So they pulled me out of ranks, and I just took control. I was responsible for them and their welfare, so I treated them like my little brothers and sisters. And so that's how it taught you to identify a need and fill that need.

Participating on the drill team placed Shelly in situations that demanded leadership, even when there was not a clear leader accountable for the situation at the moment. She also claimed that proactively recognizing the needs of the group as well as possible solutions during every moment of practice and performance refined her ability to focus. Having a Little Sister further cultivated her leadership abilities:

> [The drill team leadership] was very militaristic in the mindset, but at the same time it really showcased your leadership skills; in particular to step up and take responsibility for the younger ones; to teach them; to show them the way; and to

> pass on to them what was passed on to you. FYA encouraged that and it still does to this day. There were so many young people I taught that remember that, and it trips me out sometimes because we have kids now and [FYA is] teaching them these ways. It's a legacy. The Cordovas and the Laigos started that [and it] continues to this day. They were delivered in a different way but nonetheless; the pride and the values are still there. That says a lot about the staying power of the program.

Acting as a Big Sister encouraged Shelly to display responsible and independent behavior, in order to better serve as a role model for younger children. She was required to alter her behavior, assume more responsibility, and practice her developing leadership skills so her younger peers could better develop their own skills.

Lupe and Jade defined leadership as the ability to show a group of people a way to move forward by setting an example. Like Shelly, Lupe learned how to be a proactive leader during stressful situations by serving as a Drill Team officer. She noted:

> I was thrown in there and I was not quite ready for it. There was one performance where afterwards I was named Soldan-in-waiting. There was one performance when I was supposed to have people in certain positions and I hadn't done; I got yelled at pretty good for it, not by the team leaders but by teammates who were at the same level as myself. [I thought] 'Why are they yelling at me? I should be yelling at them.' Looking back, I started to realize that I had to take charge in those situations. I went to [everyone] I was in charge of and made sure they knew their roles and what to do.

Lupe learned from experience that strong leaders demand respect from their squads by taking charge of situations. This trait proved more important than always making the right decision. The strain of demanding immediate compliance from Lupe's squad members improved their perception of him as a leader, and benefited the squad members by improving their performance and minimizing the distractions by placing the obligation of decision-making solely on the leader.

Melle recounted similar experiences through her involvement in Cabataan Folk Dancing. She described how this group allowed her to exhibited a greater degree of confidence as a leader:

> First off, it made me more comfortable with my [Filipino] identity because I grew up in a predominantly White neighborhood and school. I was able to come out of my shell and not be so shy. I had to take the lead a lot. My mom was one of the folk dance teachers, so she counted on me a lot to demonstrate the dances and to lead the younger ones. It helped me cultivate a lot of leadership qualities.

Melle also learned how to overcome shyness in group settings and express herself clearly and confidently. Being placed in a leadership position forced her to act like a leader. Thus, she discovered her capacity to take on responsibility for a group and serve as a role model to its members.

Laura learned leadership skills from FYA as well. She learned practical and cultural lessons that also served her in her life beyond FYA as evident from the following comment:

> I have been at my job now for 26 years and never thought I would stay that long. When I move up in the ranks I always think back on what I learned from FYA. I held a couple of summer jobs where I would answer the phone. Of course English

> being my second language, at that time I never knew the right thing to say. If I didn't say the right thing, [Fred] corrected me. Now I am supervising 18 people and I think, 'Wow, what brought me here?' Part of that was FYA leadership that I saw; the examples that they set for me; the bar they set; and the opportunities they opened up for me. I would not be where I am now if it wasn't for what they have done.

Laura worked in the FYA office as an English language learner in the 1970s. The office staff equipped her with office management skills and American cultural cues. She learned from Fred's and Dorothy's example, and considered them to be role models and as key influences on her leadership and professional development.

During her involvement with FYA, Cee learned to identify herself as a leader. She declared:

> I really credit FYA, Uncle Fred and Auntie Dorothy with my leadership development in every way because I never saw myself as being a leader. Yet they let all of us know that we are all leaders in our own way. They really pushed us and expected us to lead, to rise and lead. It was an expectation. They all made us believe that they believed we were all leaders. When that is the expectation, you will rise and you will just do it. They let us know, "You are all leaders, this is expected and we will not take 'no'.

Cee adjusted her self-perceptions to accommodate the leadership traits she was expected to exhibit. She stated that there were multiple ways to "use your power to influence others," and that this is how she defined leadership. Unlike Lupe, Cee believed that a good leader needs only to be able to influence others, and the group's perceptions of the leader's strength or command

are not relevant.

JD thought good leaders set good examples that enabled them to lead from the back as well as from the front. He solicited advice from the group and encouraged cooperation from the leadership and throughout the member ranks. JD also stressed the importance of a leader's presence in front of the group, but preferred a cooperative leadership style despite Fred's hierarchal model. FYA provided a stepping-stone for JD to develop as a leader although he thought some people are born leaders, while others—including him—must acquire those skills. For him, they were gained through participation in Sining Kilusan and Pinoy Teach, and in similar cultural campus organizations during and after college. For example, he utilized these skills to advocate for the reinstatement of Fred and Dorothy as teachers of Filipino American Studies at the University of Washington during the 1990s, and received an award for outstanding leadership from the Filipino American Students Association (FASA).

While JD was able to develop his own cooperative leadership style, other participants took issue with Fred and Dorothy's militaristic approach and strict demands. One of them was Nino. He felt it left no room for creative thinking or alternative leadership approaches. As he explained:

> Yes, the FYA taught responsibility, discipline in doing things, and doing things well. Also, [I learned from] interacting with Fred in the early years. I can remember going to his house on Friday at 8:00 P.M.. We would get in long debates until about 4:00 in the morning. We would eat dinner there. Even though Fred was not making any money, there was always food on the table. They would always bring out food for us. I think the ability to articulate and do critical thinking was very helpful. But there is a downside to being in FYA, and that is

> that Fred and Dorothy are very strong in their opinions of how things should be done. Sometimes they suppressed any thinking that goes contrary to what they were thinking. In some respect, they helped me develop my leadership skills without any question. At the same time, that leadership eventually came into conflict with Fred and Dorothy. I'm not active with Fred and Dorothy because I'm a free thinker, I am a creative thinker, and if Fred and Dorothy don't agree with you, they get upset.

Nino defined leadership as "getting things done and getting people to help you" He felt his time spent with FYA was sometimes counter-productive to his development as a leader.

Abe offered a rather staunch rebuttal to Fred and Dorothy's leadership styles. It began with him declaring, "Leadership to me does not exist. In order for you to lead, you need to have a follower. How do you know if you are a leader or a follower? I would not use the term 'leader.' I don't know what a leader is." Abe did not believe in hierarchy, so he rejected the FYA leadership model. He elaborated:

> People classify me as a leader, but I always classify myself as a cheerleader. I make people better; I make conditions better. I see myself as a cheerleader, and that's what FYA did for me; being able to connect with other people; to deal with certain other people when you want to get a project done. You needed that camaraderie, that horizontal type of leadership. I'm a believer in an egalitarian type of leadership. No titles. I'm just doing the best I can.

Abe offered a completely different definition of leadership than any other FYA participants or leader. His involvement with FYA improved his interpersonal skills and

developed his ability to support and motivate "leaders" more than actually being one himself.

Community Engagement

All participants in this study volunteered or were otherwise involved in community building and engagement after their participation in FYA. Program coded as Khordobah Drill Team, Pinoy Teach, People's Far West Convention, Cabataan Folk Dancing, and Sining Kilusan. They volunteered for FYA—itself after participating in these programs, and several extended their service to other organizations as well. They also considered involvement in FYA–particularly the Khordobah Drill Team—as automatically contributing to the community. The benefits they gained from FYA included networking, leadership skills, ethnic identity awareness, career preparation, cooperation from participants and various groups, accountability to youth and staff, and commitment to the community.

Personal history with FYA and a desire to improve the organization for current and future youth motivated Bea to volunteer. This was evident in this statement that:

> I value the kids that came in because I knew what it was like to be on the team. It became a strong social network, so it was important for me to give back. I was also a parent, doing for them what had been done for me. I define that as a form of community engagement; long hours and no pay; taking care of other people's kids.

Crediting FYA for developing cultural community after their participation in its programs ceased was a common view among the participants in this study.

Bea also stated that FYA provided opportunities for cooperative learning experiences, where participants worked in groups to complete tasks and for critical reflection. Community

engagement through FYA further encouraged Bea to extend her community involvement beyond the Filipino American community. She explained that:

> I felt so focused on being Filipino. Then I started to look at my mother who is involved in another rich culture, being Alaska Native. It motivated me to listen to her stories and go with her to powwows and potlatches and hear about the traditions on that side.

Abe participated in FYA during the politically and economically tumultuous 1970s, and was motivated to help his community through these challenging times. He did this by volunteering for FYA because:

> When you do work for the community you don't expect payment. That's not what you do it for. You do it for the passion and for the love. Money does not rival the gratification of experiencing the life of lighting up young students' eyes. To increase the awareness of the possibilities of who we are and what we can be, to see people turned on; you can't put a price on that. Volunteerism is the spirit of responsibility in the sense that you can't be bought off; you can't be paid. You give me a nation of volunteers, I'll give you a successful nation. Money is no motivation.

Abe also credited FYA for being a catalyst of Filipino American activism in Seattle and throughout the West Coast:

> Back in the East Coast, they talk about Carlos Bulosan this, Carlos Bulosan that. You have to remember that Carlos Bulosan wrote *America Is in the Heart* in 1946 but did not get it published until the 1970s by UW press. Those cats came from here and they were all involved in FYA: Tony Ogilvie, Roy Flores and Larry

> Flores. FYA has a proud tradition of pioneers in activism; it's in our blood. This is life; this is not heaven. Understand that life is hard, life is supposed to knock you down, but the great ones are the ones that get back up.

JD recounted that his service to communities extended beyond FYA. As he explained:

> I left FYA because I was moving on to other organizations. With FASA, I wanted to involve a lot of my energy there; Isang Mahal, I wanted to focus my energy into that because I was an English major and I wanted to get involved with a writing group. FASA was totally on the social tip and on the critical tip. I wanted to get involved with that and I was going to school there so I wanted to combine all of those things. That opened a lot of doors too.

JD wanted to stay involved within the Filipino American community, but he also wanted to apply the lessons he had learned to help and develop other organizations. He viewed FYA not as an end, but as a platform for future opportunities to strengthen the Filipino American community.

Prior to her involvement in FYA, Amelia had not engaged in any form of community service. As a participant she initially questioned the FYA community engagement requirement because:

> You have to do it; you have no choice. Well you did have a choice: if you didn't do it you just wouldn't go on. If you didn't do community service you were not on the team. They had the point system; if you didn't have enough points, you would not go on trips. I think now there is an elite team. I think they call it Ang Tiffany team, named after one of Dorothy's sisters. There is a way to get on that team, and when we were on that team it was through community service and fundraising and

performance. We all complained when we had to do it but in the end we realized it was for the best.

Drill team participants in the 1980s were required to perform community service to earn enough points to move up the ranks and eligibility to participate in performances outside Seattle. Initially, Amelia was frustrated with the community service requirements and the consequences when they were not met. It was not until later that she learned to appreciate the skills she developed through the FYA service component, and that those skills would continue to benefit her professional and moral development long after she left FYA. Amelia also learned to distinguish between community service and the service learning demanded by FYA. She explained that:

> I teach a class on community service and service learning and the difference between them. What we were doing was not community service. It was service learning because we were learning as we were doing. Community service would be picking up that trash and putting it away. But service learning is if you pick up that trash then you learn why the trash is even here, why we should recycle, how we can make this neighborhood a better place. When I was filing papers for Uncle Fred and Aunt Dorothy, when I was transcribing those tapes I was performing a service and I was also learning.

Through participation, Amelia learned the full benefit of her FYA-required service learning and how it provided greater life-long benefits than other community service opportunities. Furthermore, it was important for her to realize how working together benefited the FYA and those served or represented by the organization.

Participants of the 1990s, such as Mar and Jade, had already participated in some type of community engagement before joining FYA. Mar said FYA did not influence his community engagement because he was volunteering before he joined the Khordobah Drill Team:

> I don't know if it's giving back to the community because if you ask anybody on the street what the Filipino drill team is, they would absolutely have no clue what you are talking about. The people in the community know who we are and what we stand for. But it's a little disheartening to hear especially from other drill teams who are you? Personally, the drill team did not motivate me to give back. There is nothing from the drill team that I see as giving back, other than giving to the drill team. That's definitely on the table; giving back to the drill team as a percussionist. When I hear someone playing the instrument that I used to play and they're playing it very, very terribly or just not knowing what to do and it's very obvious, maybe I should try and help you. You could say that in a sense that influenced me to give back, but I was doing that way before I was even on the drill team. That's just who I am and the drill team had no effect on that.

Mar claimed that his participation in FYA did not motivate him to give back to the community paralleled Jade's opinions. She had performed community service before getting involved in FYA, and thus noted that:

> FYA did not influence my giving back to the community because growing up, I was already involved in my community, doing a lot of tobacco prevention board and environmental community service work. I was able to bring the Drill Team [members] with me to some of the activities. They actually came out to one of my tobacco prevention events and performed.

Chrissy was not involved with the Drill Team, but benefited from the community service aspect of FYA in the same way as Bea, Abe, JD, and others through her experience with Pinoy Teach:

> I feel like I would not really care about getting involved prior to FYA. That is something my family never did; something I didn't grow up with. At least for the first few years out of college, I would always seek out some sort of a community or make a community where I was. When I was in New York, I actually sought out a Filipino community. I did some tutoring when I was in Queens. I got involved in the Gabriella [women's organization] project down there because they really have a strong woman organization. I started a school in New York. You know how Bill Gates gave New York City public schools tons of money to break down their bigger schools and turn them into smaller public schools? I was one of the first social studies teachers to help build one of the smaller schools. Professionally, that was the best time of my life. And it was really hard for me to leave the school. I'm still involved with the curriculum stuff there; still involved with mentorship. I think the skills that I learned from Pinoy Teach, the encouragement; the camaraderie was a huge part of what makes me a successful teacher. I would pull out the Pinoy Teach curriculum once in a while.

FYA required community service of all its participants. This helped developed the FYA community itself, the Filipino American community of which it was a critical component, and communities far beyond FYA and the local area. While some participants already had a strong sense of community responsibility before their involvement in FYA, others learned the benefits of community service from FYA that contributed to their

careers and community interactions throughout their lives.

Motivation and Modeling

The interplay between program leaders—founders, staff, volunteers, and parents—and youth resulted in a range of motivation for participants who chose to stay involved in FYA. Some participants admired the personal and professional achievements of the leaders and their contributions to the greater Filipino American community. Others related to and respected the humanity of the leaders, connected with them in a familial way, and acknowledged their achievements and their flaws. Still others experienced frustration at the shortcomings of leaders but remained in the organization so that they could someday emerge as leaders themselves and provide better opportunities for future participants.

Regardless of the nature of the motivation, most participants in the study benefited from the opportunities offered by FYA that heightened self-expectations, personal and cultural pride, and encouragement to pursue and attain loftier life goals as a result of their interactions with the program's leadership. Cee was among the personal admirers of Fred, Dorothy, and other FYA founding members. She credited Dorothy for being a strong woman possessing leadership skills and passion for the community. She also respected and appreciated the founding families who gave her food and shelter, and acted as her stand-in family in times of personal turmoil. She recounted:

> Auntie Dorothy and Uncle Fred taught us cultural pride. He [Uncle Fred] taught us how important history is even though sometimes…people felt he was kind of brutal in his guidance. He just loved us really hard, and he made sure that all of us knew that [we] are all connected no matter what. And [that connection] for most of us was never broken. I can't say enough good things about them. Auntie Dorothy, although she was not in front

> with Uncle Fred, she's the one that did all the guiding from behind as the women do. You know really, that whole Laigo-Castillano family was very influential in their own ways, for me anyway. I lived with Mario when he was married to Allana Cher. They took me in when I did not have a place to go and they were willing to share their house with me. So Cher boys, those were my people; those were my brothers… Although the boys didn't participate in the Drill Team, they were supportive; they came out and supported us all the time…I mean just the fact that they extended themselves, when they did not even have kids or [were] in the organization. I mean, we really grew our respect and appreciation particularly later for how much of their life and their time they devoted to building a community. I really appreciate and respect that.

JD gave Dorothy and Fred credit for being ardent about their lifetime involvement in community-based organizations. Because of this, JD was able to learn and experience Filipino American history, culture, contributions, and youth development. He elaborated on the importance of this knowledge for himself personally and to the community as a whole:

> First and foremost Uncle Fred and Auntie Dorothy definitely are great role models because they have been around a long time supporting the community in terms of learning their history, preserving their history. I think that [this] is powerful because we have to keep everything that we have that has been going on in Seattle in a place where people can refer to it later. Knowledge is power; learning, knowing your history is always going to provide an avenue, a place where you can go. Whether having a conversation with your friends about a certain thing that pertains to Filipino history we can always relate it to history that happened in the Seattle community. That's always going to be something powerful because you may know something about Charise Tampeco who was

> in this show, Glee. But did you know about Carlos Bulosan, you know. The seeds for that were planted through people like Uncle Fred and Auntie Dorothy; just aspects of learning your history, the importance of it and that passing it along is important. An example is going to FAHNS [Filipino American National Historical Society] for the first time and talking to Uncle Fred about how he started all that; what all those cabinets in the back were; looking at all the posters and stuff…and just talking to them about their experiences a long time ago. They've seen how the Filipino community changed, going all the way back to folks who were doing activism in the 70s and how it relates to activism that is going on now. What is the correlation? Why should these stories be told to eventually to great grand children? Why these stories should be put in books? Ok, people is going to forget…FYA did this and that, and all sort of the things that sprouted from it, directly and indirectly.

Like Cee and JD, Bea considered the FYA founders as role models, and even surrogate parents. Her relationship with her own parents further fostered this sentiment of respect and appreciation for social resources of the generation before her. Her parents got involved with Bea's activities and accepted the other FYA leaders as parent-figures in their daughter's life. For Bea, the founders and early elders of FYA were:

> Role models, they were second parents. When other parents disciplined me my parents accepted it. I learned even at my early age to respect the generation above me. Whatever race, the generation above me earns respect at all levels.

Rick and Lupe do not go as far as Bea in their respect for the older generations. They appreciated parent volunteers for providing transportation and snacks for the youth participants but did not consider them mentors. They did admire FYA staff and moderators as role models

and claimed they helped them develop their ethnic identity and leadership skills. Rick considered Arcee a surrogate father. He also relied on the program moderators to help him develop his skills for playing a percussion instrument that helped him in his profession as a Deejay. He benefited from Dorothy's encouragement to pursue a higher education and apply for scholarships. These were goals he might not have pursued otherwise. Ric explained:

> I found the directors to be role models to me, especially Uncle Arcee. I consider him to be my second father. I relate to him how he is; portray his leadership. Uncle Fred, I just see him as the guru of the whole deal. Chaperone and parents, not so much; they're just there to watch their kids. I mean they would help out but I look more towards the directors and managers who bring out your best. I find them very good role models. With Arcee, I see him as a good role model because later on when I was in high school and found out that he went to O' Dea, we kind of have that brotherhood. I go to his home and learn what he does outside of FYA. Instructors and mentors—people like Tim Cordova, Tracy Samoang—they would help me with the musical aspect of the drill team…If they felt you could play a certain instrument and you didn't, they pushed you to get out of that comfort zone…they will help you think outside of the box. Among team members, John was a big role model. I think I was more of a follower back then. He showed me the ropes on the drill team and folk dance and I needed that. I didn't have any direction at that time. I've learned every bits and nuggets out of these people. Even parents chaperones [when you're] feeling kind of crappy they are there to comfort you and you are not alone. So you have a big support system within FYA. Administrators were a good role model, dating back to when I was going to Seattle Central. Aunt Dorothy pushed me to apply for a scholarship because I didn't want to go to school. I'm

> tired of school. She [said] 'Education is important and you need to go forward on that'. That was a good example and that was very encouraging; still wanted me to continue school and I felt like I want to go further with education.

Leigh was appreciative that other parents and staff were able to provide transportation, food, and water when her parents were not available to volunteer. She emphasized the importance of having adults to provide a protective haven for the youth participants, especially when they performed in an unfamiliar neighborhood during the 1970s. She recalled:

> When I was on the team the moms and the dads always transported us safely, made sure we where hydrated and fed when we were in a community that was unfamiliar to us. So they took care of us when our parents couldn't be there to watch over us.

Similarly, Amelia considered all the FYA moderators as role models. Dorothy and Fred in particular served as primary motivators for pursuing her current career of teaching Asian Pacific and Filipino American history at the university level. She described how all program leaders, including parents, staff, and moderators, whether they acted as role models for the participants or abused their positions, helped conveyed valuable life lessons to the youth:

> All the moderators were role models for me because I was very impressionable and obviously there were those like Uncle Fred and Auntie Dorothy that heavily mentored me and were my professors and teachers in college. People that get into these roles and abuse them may not be the best role models. Surprisingly, somehow those people would roll on out; you know, they would exit. So we were lucky in that sense. What I'm trying to say, it's not always great to put people on pedestals because in the end we all learned that all the moderators are human and they allowed us to see their vulnerability. At the same time we can still respect them, at least those who stayed. Those who left had their

> reasons, I respected and I understood. Those were also lessons for us as youth as to when to say good-bye, when to leave, when do you know when it's the right time to leave. You could stay there forever if you wanted to. This was when you had age limits. Now you can stay forever. You kind of have to learn when it's time to let go.

Amelia appreciated that the parents and moderators exhibited vulnerability and made mistakes. This allowed the FYA participants to connect with the program leaders on a more personal and influential level than if they were merely interacting with teachers. Consequently these relationships were powerful motivation for youth.

Arcee and Ellese also recognized some of the mistakes the leaders made and this motivated them to continue being involved with the Khordobah Drill Team for over 50 years. They felt that the team moderators were not as effective as they could have been in helping the participants feel secure, providing opportunities to expand knowledge and interest, and listening carefully to better serve their needs. Arcee elaborated on the importance of learning how to be a better leader by listening and responding to program participants, as well as understanding the mistakes of past leaders:

> Most definitely it's always what we are trying to teach now, so we learn. They say you learn from mistakes. Well, we learned a lot from Uncle Fred's and Aunt Dorothy's mistakes. A lot! We were on the other side of it so we knew as kids. They would take us to hotels and places, go to California, sleep on the gym floor for ten days, and eat Adobo and rice for 10 days straight. To them it was good. But as participants, we learned from that. Now that's how we're not going to do that now that we are in-charge. If we can't afford to go on a whole trip and [have to] put the kids on gym floor, I won't do it because we went through it.

Mar was frustrated with the inconsistency in rules, regulations, and values displayed by some FYA moderators and participants. He remembered:

> Auntie Ellese has always been consistent as far as the values of the drill team. She's pretty hardcore on old values and how things should be in order to progress to more complex ideas. As opposed to, let's say the whole thing with the earrings on the guys side being loose and not being addressed since Auntie Ellese no longer come to practices, and not being enforced by Uncle Arcee. That's where I fault the inconsistencies. There has to be consistency. There is a lack of consistency [because of] the people who are directing it.

The Khordobah Drill Team imposed strict policies about wearing earring and chewing gum in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, but these policies were not enforced consistently in the 1990s through today. One reason for this change is that the Drill Team no longer participates in competitions, and the moderators do not regularly attend practices. This inconsistency contributed to a sense of "confusion, disorganization, and alienation during practices and performances" for Mar. However, Mar continued to support the Drill Team to even though he did not think highly of its leadership.

Several participants described other specific traits of the FYA leadership that they admired, or enabled them to gain more out of the programs. For example, Abe enjoyed his interactions with FYA leaders because they recognized his potential and wanted to work with him to further develop his skills and ideas, despite these being unique from many of the other participants. He recalled that:

> At first, I was very uncomfortable with FYA…I remember that FYA had a teen club and I went to the first teen club meeting. I felt very uncomfortable because everyone seemed to be cliquish. I was not on the drill team. They weren't aware of my basketball skills

> yet. We went around the room and introduced ourselves and what would be a good idea for the teen club to get involved in. One of my suggestions was to [create] a clean up committee so we can go into the International District and clean up the area, and pick up the garbage and put it in cans. Everybody laughed at that $h!t, 'Man what are you talking about'. Now I see the highway, Kiwanis club is responsible for [certain parts of] the highway and pick up the garbage and $h!t. That was the type of stuff I was thinking in high school as a teenager. Everyone laughed at me except the moderators. They were the one that could see that I had the vision and was not the typical FYA kid that would laugh at that $h!t. You know, what I'm saying. That was my memorable encounter with FYA. The moderators seemed to be more inclusive than people of my age. And that made sense. You're dealing with kids that were onto their own little thing.

Abe connected with the staff through a shared vision of investing in the well-being and local ecology of the neighborhood. According to Abe's account, the staff also supported his efforts to develop clean-up efforts around the community and entrusted him to attract other youth to participate. This support, trust, and shared vision allowed Abe to achieve personal confidence and academic development that otherwise would not have been possible.

The benefits Nino gained from FYA moderators, parents, and volunteers extended beyond the immediate programs of the organization to larger values, achievement, and career aspirations. He stated:

> I emulated Fred's writing. I remember Fred with a typewriter. I remember Fred writing. I consider myself a journalist even though I'm not a journalist, but I did publish in a Filipino newspaper for several years. I considered myself as a professional journalist and I got that from Fred. The moderators, some of them were engineers and it kind of

> affected how I thought. Maybe one of these days I'd like be a professional myself. You know Dorothy was a social worker; Fred to me was a writer…Over the years Fred and Dorothy pushed a lot of people who really wanted to work with the youth.

Nino appreciated Fred's skills beyond Filipino culture and history, and recognized the value of being involved with FYA staff members that were committed to helping youth and performed responsible roles in the organization, community, and family.

Jade expressed similar sentiments as Nino regarding FYA staff extending themselves beyond their required roles. These sentiments were captured in the following comments provided by Jade:

> I had a team leader, Chris, he doesn't know this till this day but he will always be my hero. I look up to him. I always thought of him as my hero when I was in the drill team because he is a good leader. He could corral his group of guys to get the job done and do it well. They also have high amount of respect for him and he is also so kind, not only to his parents, [and] his peers but also to the younger ones. To the little kids, he was highly kind to them, so generous. He is always a hard worker. He went to UW when I was on the drill team, and I always wanted to be like him. Some of them, especially Uncle Ronnie and Auntie Lynette, I respect them for how dedicated they have been with the drill team and not have a high turn over. They have passion for the drill team. I did learn from being around parents who weren't as mature as they should be, and [were] a good learning experience for me on what not to do when I become a parent.

Jade appreciated the commitment of the moderator and volunteers for ensuring that the youth were well taken care of and encouraged to be as successful as they could. She wanted to model her life and values after theirs. She was successful in this endeavor because the FYA staff was

willing to entrust youth such as her with a lot of responsibility. This contributed to them learning new skills, solving problems, and developing a stronger sense of self.

The traits that Shelly admired in the FYA leaders related to them constantly encouraging her to behave well and respect the program and its leadership. Fred and Dorothy in particular were successful in these endeavors because they were positive examples themselves. She stated:

> I do consider them to be role models and they should act as role models and when I became a teacher [and] one of the moderators, I held myself to those standards as well. I did that based on those who, like Uncle Fred and Auntie Dorothy, were moderators when I was in the drill team. I saw how they conducted themselves so I conducted myself accordingly. And that's an example of a positive role model. Uncle Fred and Auntie Dorothy always held themselves to higher standards than someone who is not a moderator because they knew they had a lot of responsibility.

Chrissy described her relationship with FYA staff as being comparable to a caring circle of uncles, aunties, older brothers, and older sisters:

> Tim and Patricia; I looked up to them like mom and dad, auntie and uncle whatever you want to call it. Patricia, just like…look at this woman who could do everything she wants; knowledge is power so go for it. She really was my role model. She gave me the confidence to do what I want to do and not to give up. Auntie Dorothy also like here is this strong political woman. She really was the person that started it all and, you know what, she does not take anything from anybody. I really looked up to that and admired that, especially an older woman because I was always taught to agree and not be confrontational and this was a…motherly Filipino woman that would stood up for what she believed in and encouraged us to stand up for what we believe in and not just be submissive.

Chrissy particularly admired Dorothy for her strong leadership personality. She witnessed Dorothy recognizing the potential of the organization, demonstrating commitment to the program's success, and exhibiting confidence in her own ability to improve the program to benefit the youth who participated in it. She admired the staff in general because of the love, commitment, mission, vision, and passion they displayed in their everyday involvement with the FYA and its youth. These traits created an environment of hope that positively affected Chrissy's personal development.

The FYA participants described a wide range of how FYA, programs and leaders affected their personal development and motivated their involvement. Some participants looked up to FYA leaders as role models while others connected with them as with family and still others learned from their mistakes and shortcomings. The participants highlighted various specific traits that resonated with them in particular. Regardless of their motivation, the FYA leaders played a pivotal role in the personal, academic, and cultural development of these youth, and inspired their involvement in this or similar programs and in the improvement of the broader Filipino American community.

Friendship

All participants agreed friendship was a critical reason for them to join and remain involved in FYA programming. As with leadership and community engagement data related to friendship development were coded by the five major FYA programs (i.e. The Khordobah Drill Team, Pinoy Teach, People's Far West Convention, Cabataan Folk Dancing, and Sining Kilusan). The friendships created in FYA enabled some participants to develop and further strengthen their social networks, resulting in benefits to their social and professional lives that extended far beyond the program itself. Some of these relationships even progressed into kinship

bonds that created an important safety net for the youth. In some cases, two participants created a family together, and helped foster FYA friendship in a new generation. While not all participants developed connections at this level or felt at ease with the majority of the group, they all developed friendships that endured for many years. For example, Cee developed lifelong friendships among both FYA staff and participants that continue to be an integral part of her life:

> I am still friends with almost every single person I met in FYA. I could knock on their door right now if I said I need a place to sleep…door open! Somebody knock on my door,…door open, there's the sofa, there's a blanket; see you in the morning. People that I met are so important in life now and they are so important in my daughter's life…my daughter grew up with FYA. They are not super tight now, but she definitely spent time with them…Bryson totally tight… there were no girls; that was kind of a drag, but she knows and she appreciates that is a part of her group still. So FYA people are still important in our lives. Still to this day, I still go down and visit Auntie Dorothy and Uncle Fred regularly. I could call them anytime for anything, and we do, all the time.

JD described how FYA contributed to his strong social network:

> Yeah, I think the person who I will always be connected with the FYA is Ron because him and me started to get involved almost at the same time. I was involved with the Sining Kilusan part, and he was involved with the Eskrima part, and we always supported each other. Yeah, just meeting a lot of folks who would get involved in Isang Mahal as well. It branched out to FASA or Alliance; definitely the seeds were planted in our experiences in the FYA. You'd go out and you create those friendships yourself.

JD and his friendship network continue to be involved in the Filipino American community. FYA helped him develop networking skills.

Rick elaborated on the potential of FYA to foster a social network with lifelong benefits in explaining that:

> In FYA especially in Drill Team, you would kind of feel who you're cool with and whoever you're friends with. You started being known as this group or that group. I became a DJ because of FYA. I want to keep the whole superstar ego. I want all these people to know me so I started branching out from my inner circle of friends of FYA to their friends, getting to know them. I think that was a big part of it. When you started to network with those friends and let them know what you are doing, it helped out a lot. In a contained group like that, [you] kind of branch out and know a lot of people, especially when it came to girls, She's not from FYA but I would like to talk to her...It got me to be open to other people and develop more friendships from that. I just want to self-contained myself and always hanging out with FYA and living my life and saying FYA was the best. You don't grow from that, you need to branch out.

Bea associated her FYA friendships to familial ties, and in her case, this became literal truth:

> I married the guy I met at 14 in drill team. We met in drill team, got married in drill team, worked together for 20 years as parents and moderators. A lot of the friends are close community members. The ties stay the same.

Bea also claimed that she never developed any strong connections with anyone from school who was not in FYA. FYA was her source of friendships and these friendships were like

family. Nino mirrored this sentiment: “FYA developed friendships as teenagers and friendships as family. That was very important and those existed and got stronger over the years”. Abe shared similar explanations:

> It’s more than friendships; it became family. We had each other’s back for the rest of our lives. Your problem is my problem. We grew up together and we are all in this together. It's a community thing. It's a good way to define yourself in society. It's FYA. It's a tremendous community organization. I wouldn't even know what a community organization is if it wasn't for FYA. I never even heard of the term, community organization. Activism, I didn't know WTF that was. Sometimes it's a bad word like saying ‘communist’.

These statements indicated that FYA was an important emotional support system for the youth and a springboard to the development and enrichment of a broader community. This community in turn, resulted in stronger cultural ties and perpetuated social cycles of support for and awareness of Filipino Americans in the community.

Chrissy was a direct beneficiary of this friendship networking and community development, because of her involvement in Pinoy Teach:

> My first Filipino friends were in Pinoy Teach. I even told Patricia so during a conference at Rutgers the third year I was in Pinoy Teach. I remember saying it out loud and they all thought I was crazy. ‘This was the most Filipinos I've ever seen in my entire life in one place.’ I dated a Filipino guy we dated through college. I was never attracted to someone like that. All my Filipino friends I made were through Pinoy Teach. I 'm still friends with them. I cannot tell you a person of color that was a good friend of mine through college, through Pinoy Teach.

Leigh elaborated further on the family-like relationships and community networking she gained through FYA:

> Definitely friendships were born; I had lifelong friends. The day I walked into Jefferson Community Center and met Ann and Ellese at nine and ten, and we were friends since. You're talking about in the 1960s. I have friends from all the way back then that have sustained ties. You're each other's godparents to their kids, so it created this tight-knit community. Even when you go out in the public and you're sitting at the Chinatown parade and people from FYA walk by, there is just this camaraderie and bond that you always will have because you have that experience, and you're all aligned with that; with FYA.

Shelly described the environment in FYA that helped develop such powerful friendships for her:

> Oh yeah, there is a lot of friends. You are close with these girls. You bond and [have] connectivity that can't be replicated in any environment. You eat, sleep, dress, and travel together. You can't help but forge strong ties with one another. It's like a sorority but then you also have age difference. So the older ones look after the little ones. You always have a little sister to make sure they are taken care of. I met my husband in the drill team because we were friends before we were married. One of my good friend on drill team, they were dating in junior high school. We were all part of this big group, years after they broke up, we started dating and then we got married. So, there is a bond that is forged there. Friends to this day; loved those girls and guys even. Friends to this day and we may not see each other everyday but when we do see each other it's just pick up

> where you left off because you have so much history together. You grew up together and in an environment that was controlled as far as FYA. You are part of the FYA family. In some regards, you're an extended family. Multiply it by the next generation; they had kids, now they have grand kids, so you're auntie with everybody and that is how you are treated, with respect.

Multiple generations participated in numerous drill team practices and performances over the course of years. Older participants provided the younger ones with guidance and instructions. Drill team participants such as Shelly remembered that they helped each other with their "uniforms and equipment, fix each other's hair styles and makeup, all while chatting about friends, school, relationships, music, and social events". These daily, supportive, and collaborative interactions experienced over several years resulted in strong friendship ties.

> Laura described other benefits she experienced as a result of her FYA friendships: Definitely, that is the age when you develop good friendship. One of my best friends; I still talk to her, especially during my birthday. Her daughters, they call me Auntie. The family got bigger, definitely. The aunties and uncles; it wasn't just my parents and siblings. My family became bigger, it's a big family now. Everyone became family so it felt great and you can go anywhere and recognize each other. Sense of belonging in the community; the sense of pride. The friends that you make around that age and time in any culture is when you develop friendship.

As a first generation Filipino American, Laura recalled that she struggled to develop a sense of Filipino American community before her involvement with FYA. Within the organization, she became entrenched in a group so tightly connected they adopted each other as alternate families, forming lifelong alliances.

> Lupe provided a perspective on friendship with FYA from the other end of the spectrum: I'm good friends with four or five of them in the drill team. I have friends that lived down the street from me were from the FYA. I don't chat with a lot of them. There are others that I don't want to hang out [with]. It was tough making friends in drill team because it was cliquish. I probably won't even get a 'hi' or not even a look. In drill team I was not the cool guy that you want to talk to. A lot of girls on the team didn't give you the time of day. There were a couple of girls that I liked and ended up dating, I'm the guy they didn't like.

Lupe felt alienated by the tight-knit friendships he witnessed among some FYA participants that he did not experience himself. He enjoyed some of the social benefits described by other participants, but not to the same extent. The effects of this extended into his personal development. Lupe's self-confidence suffered to some extent, and he did not view himself as completely successful within FYA.

Mar's experiences loosely paralleled Lupe's. He elaborates on the connections he formed among other participants who also felt marginalized:

> To some of them I won't even use the word 'friend.' But, I actually still talk to members who have retired and always talked about what drill team life was like and being in the drill team.... It's always a trip because sometimes…when you hear. 'You could be replaced, what are you doing, we don't need you', things like that. When you hear that from Uncle Arcee or other team leaders, it felt like you didn't belong there, or you weren't wanted there. We knew the message wasn't that, but at the time that's exactly how we were hearing it. One of the other people that I still talk to, we both kind of left there with a little less self-esteem

> only because we didn't hear everything we were good at while we were on the team. There were no talks of what we were ever good at and for both of us it affected us negatively... I can say before I was on drill team, if someone asks you what you are good at, I could answer it, but after drill team I had a hard time [naming] what actually I'm good at. If I am good at something where is the evidence?

Despite these non-productive or negative experiences, Mar still developed some friendship connections and benefited from his involvement in FYA.

Melle and Jade formed strong friendships in FYA, but neither spoke about the family-like connections experienced by other participants. In describing these relationships, Melle mentioned the role that social media has played in the longevity of FYA:

> I considered a lot of people from FYA my best friends when I was younger. They might not be my best friends now [but] we are still friends on Facebook, liking each others photos, keeping up on what everybody is up to. The younger ones, still call me 'Ate' [older sister] and I still call them 'Adings' [younger sister]. The friendship is definitely sustained.

Jade's relationships play a similar role in her life today:

> In FYA you create lifelong friendships. I haven't been actively participating with the drill team for a little over five years now, but if I ever feel I need anything I could just call people up and they would help me without questions.

Dealing with Racism

All the participants, across generations, experienced racial discrimination. Selected comments from a few participants illustrate these experiences. Dorothy reported

the impact of racial discrimination on participants by describing different events. These events led FYA founders to begin educating the participants about racism and the system of White supremacy. Dorothy recounted one of these events:

> Filipinos were getting a good name. We didn't realize it but there was still discrimination. Most people were good to us but the worst discrimination was in a state park in southwest Washington. I didn't realize until later that it was a hotbed for KKK at that time and one day I will write about that experience. Before every parade I would call up the state and find out where the places are and what they would allow us to do. When our kids [had] just gotten off the parade, these men showed up. Fred was trying to sleep on the table; all the women were busy preparing the food; and the kids – the older kids – were playing baseball…and the little kids came to me. It was around 2 in the afternoon: [They said], 'Auntie Dorothy, we can't go to the restroom; they closed the bathrooms.' 'Why are you closing the bathrooms?' and they said, 'Oh, the kids dirtied it.' I asked, 'How could they dirty it? We just got here.' I said, 'this is a state park, everybody pays for it.' And they said, 'you know we have to keep it clean.' Anyways there was a road like this, on our side the kids are where you are...playing baseball, and the restrooms were here and the big road was leading here. There were logs where people can sit; and all of a sudden trucks come up and these White yahoos were in the truck and they were getting out the trucks watching us, and I remember thinking, 'What the hell is going on?' And they said, 'We have to clean because your kids are dirtying it.' I said 'we just got here.' But they stayed there, about three to four trucks. I started to sit on the log with my arms crossed. The mothers realized what I was doing and they all sat down and we had a stare off. We sat there and we just stared at each other. All the mothers were not Filipinos—a few of

them were, but most of them were White or Native American. After a while the men left. By this time Fred was asleep: 'Boy, you missed something.' Good thing he was asleep. He would have taken his bolo; he would have been in jail. That was the only time we had a bad experience in the park.

Participating in the Khordobah Drill Team helped Cee understand that racism is a problem at the societal level but she did not have to concede to it. She said:

> It helped me really understand the dynamics of it. I mean, to know that discrimination is real and it matters, but its not personal and its not directed towards me. It's about how other people are so racist. You just have to know these other people have a big problem and I can't do anything about their problem. What I need to do is have my business straight so I can deal with them in a way that does not have a negative impact on me. I can't internalize [their] big problem, I can try to stay healthy and just know other people have the problem.

Shelly said that participating in the Khordobah Drill Team allowed her to educate audiences through performances. Like Cee, she learned not to take racism personally, and felt that she had to continuously deconstruct every stereotype about Filipinos. She recounted:

> There were times marching [when] people would say derogatory comments about us, or how we look, or what we wore: 'You guys sound funny, you look funny, you look snotty.' What they interpret as snotty we interpret as pride. There is no reason to march with your eyes and chin looking at the ground. 'Be proud of who you are,' so we were proud in our stature and they took that as being snotty. You guys are stuck up. You b!tche$. All you Chinese...Hahaha.' First of all, the banner says "Filipino," and you have us confused with girls that ran over there. We'd have that 'brown room' discussion

> afterwards: “Okay there was a lot of crock flying around out there. Tell us how you feel about it?’ They just need to be educated. It was not personally me that they were throwing slams at; it was we as a group, and I take offense to that. They just painted us with the same brush. I hate stereotyping and I hate generalization. I always try to qualify my statements by saying 'in my opinion' or something to that effect, because not everyone falls under the same umbrella. Not all Filipinos have wooden spoons and forks anymore. Not all Filipinos sleep on mats. Not all Kenyans eat sacrificed goats. You can't say all people do the same things; it’s not true. The reality of it is that we are all different. FYA helped to remind us that it's not us; it's a lack of education on their part. ‘Continue to be who you are, your family is proud of you, we're proud of you—just let it go.’ It taught me to work through the adversity and it resonated. It’s who our family taught us to be, and people are going to see you and automatically make assumptions. You just have to work through that. Prove them wrong.

The Pinoy Teach curriculum helped JD learn about racial discrimination faced by Filipinos in the United States. He said, “Pinoy Teach did in all the teaching the stuff that was in the books but never directly deal with [racism]. There was never a “Let's get some training on racism and stereotypes.” JD thought that Pinoy Teach covered all these, although the curriculum did not do so explicitly. Rather, anti-racism was an inherent part of the curriculum, not a separate unit or chapter in the books. Shelly’s experience with racism was subtler, yet frustrating. Sometimes she had to remain calm, particularly when engaged in discussions with her family and friends. She recalled:

> I don't think I ever encountered blatant racism. It's always been passive aggressive racism; subtle. I felt it from time to time. I just chalked it up to ignorance. The person is

> acting racist because I have not. I have family members who are racist but not towards me. I witnessed racism and it's not pretty, and I refused to be in the same room when they started talking like that. They didn't realize that the last time we were down there they said, “Did we say something to offend her?” Yeah, your whole conversation was offensive and you don't think it is. We can't have a conversation right now because I can't look at you.

Several Khordbah Drill Team participants referred to the “Brown Room” as a place where they conducted performance assessments, discussed internal issues, and strategized for how to deal with social ills such as racism when it occurred during their parade performance.

In-Group Discrimination

All the participants in this study also faced in-group discrimination. Not being able to speak any Filipino language often created tension between U.S.-born and non U.S.-born Filipinos. Feelings of distrust and a lack of understanding of cultural beliefs and behaviors also contributed to in-group discrimination between U.S. and non-U.S.-born Filipino youth. This conflict often negatively affected social relationships both within and beyond FYA. In the following statement, Shelly elaborated on this tension between generations:

> I am too dark; I don't speak the language; I was born here: I'm married to an [European] American. As soon as someone looks at me they ask, 'Are you Filipino?' ‘Yes I am!’ And the next sentence out of their mouth is in Tagalog. I can understand some of it and would get the gist of what they were saying and I would answer in English. They’d respond, 'Oh, you don't speak it,' and all of a sudden I was just knocked down a peg. 'Oh, were you born here?' ‘Yes.’ Boom! Down another peg! ‘Oh, is that your husband?’ Pretty soon I'm going to clean up the floor here because you dropped my class all the way down. It would drive

> my mom crazy because she was full Filipino. When she would visit and someone would start to treat me like that she would just wail in Tagalog. And I'd say, 'Mom, it ain't worth your time. I don't have to patronize this place. My money is good wherever I want to take it. If they want to treat me like that they obviously don't want my business.' 'No one treats my daughter like that!' It bothered me a long time ago. [Now] I just chalked it up to ignorance because there were so many others that did not act like that towards me. Some people were open-minded and embraced the people they came in contact with. It was almost as if we were not exactly like them. Then, you were not as good as them. That was the impression they gave. And unfortunately, because we can learn a lot from each other, that small-mindedness is impeding that education process. One day you will want to talk to me; it's just going to be in English. Sorry!

Bea had experiences similar to Shelly. As the number of second and third generation and U.S.-born FYA participants with immigrant parents increased throughout the years, so did the inter-generational tensions. Bea recalled the following cultural tension:

> I was on the bus when I was a teenager with three girls. They had a strong Filipino accent. So they came back to me [it almost got me beat up] and said, 'Are you Filipino?' 'Yes, I'm on the drill team and on my way.' [I had the bamboo]. They asked, 'Oh, you're with them?' I said 'yeah.' 'Do you speak the language?' I said 'No, I don't.' Then all hell broke loose; I almost got beat up. So that was when I was first aware that there was friction with the non American-born, 'Oh you think you're better than us? You haven't even been home,' or 'You're blonde. Do you think you're White?' All this stuff came at me. Dude, I'm just trying to ride the bus. It was my first incident and it stuck with me. I became very aware of American-born and non- American-born conflict back then.

According to Dorothy, FYA supported Filipino American youth and was involved in a broader civil rights movement. These encounters led her to address systemic inequalities and create programs to empower youth and families. She explained that:

> By around ’68 or ‘69 we were having the Civil Rights riots right in the CD and yeah we were right here. I led the Demonstration Project for Asian Americans (DPAA) in their research, so I was able to address these social problems and tie them in with the FYA. And I just wrote the proposal and I was part of this group called the Greater Seattle Asian American Consul. We were Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Filipino. When we did the grant proposal addressing language issues, I wrote that thing called ‘colloquial English.’ So the city called me up and said, ‘You have to get together with these other people who are submitting issues like you for their Chinese and Japanese [communities].’ So we got together and we formed this organization called Greater Seattle Asian American Consul**,** and we worked to put immigrant teachers who are educated in the old country in the educational system here. We felt they could understand the kids that were coming in. I mean I was one of the group. I wrote the first [proposal]. Forty years ago, 1971, and so we had to fight with the school district to put it in and they did, but what we had to do was send a call. By this time all these immigrants were coming to America and they were educated people. We were going to run a summer program in four different sites for Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and Koreans. I was the one who insisted on bringing in the Koreans. The others said no, they're not that many. I said no to that. I met this Korean guy (Mr. Kim) who was at SU and I said well if he's there, there must be some others. He was eternally grateful to us for the rest of his life. We set up things so FYA had the first Filipino Bilingual program on the West coast in the country! In the country, in 1971!

Summary

The findings presented in this chapter reveal that the FYA positively affected participants in various ways, including acquiring cultural knowledge and providing leadership development, modeling, and developing anti-racist skills. However, these influences were not universal, some participants encountered problems with FYA such as being excluded and feeling marginalized in some FYA events and routines, and perceiving the dominant leadership styles as being too restrictive. When related to the specific research questions examined, the results were as follows:

- The FYA positively affected the ethnic identity development of youth participants in several ways by providing culturally appropriate activities; developing pride in being Filipino; and enabling members to counteract prejudices. These influences were reinforced through lifelong commitment and involvement in the Filipino American community, collaboration with other communities, appreciation for Filipino culture, and the self-esteem level the of participants. These effects were operationalized and evidenced through Pinoy Teach, Khordobah Drill Team, Cabataan Folk Dancing, and Sining Kilusan. FYA taught several specific cultural values, such as self-confidence, succeeding personally in their endeavors; taking advantage of learning opportunities specific to the Philippines and Filipino American culture, collaboration and commitment; and the shared vision of increasing the success of FYA programs, particularly the Khordobah Drill Team.

- FYA leadership played a pivotal role in the participants' personal, cultural, and leadership development, and inspired most of them to contribute to the improvement of the broader Filipino American community.
- Based on the education level they attained—as shown in Appendix A—and involvement in the Filipino American community—shown in Appendices B and C—no individual FYA program explicitly promoted academic achievement; however, this suggest that FYA participants transferred the teamwork, discipline, commitment, hard work, and performance skills they acquired in FYA programs to their academic studies and subsequent professions. With the exception of Pinoy Teach, no study reveals that the FYA served as an education site on its own and not connected with schools. This implies that schools are not the only spaces in which learning transpires. Thus FYA became an out-of-school setting for learning and community involvement.
- Most of the participants regarded FYA as a shelter in which they learned about their own cultural heritage and ethnic identity, as well as how to become more assertive and independent. As the study reveals, students that participated in FYA felt more confident. According to the participants, the schools they attended neither addressed their ethnic heritages nor prepared them to be more capable and responsible youth or citizens of color.
- FYA programs and projects strengthened participants' sense of empowerment. Much of the empowerment emerged from cultural validation and peer coaching. However, critical pedagogy was not applied when it came to teaching methods. According to most participants, teaching methods were not as effective as they could have been in helping

the participants feel secure, providing opportunities to expand knowledge and interest, and listening carefully to better serve their needs.

CHAPTER V

Summary, Discussion, and Recommendations

This chapter is divided into five sections: Summary, Discussion, Limitations, Significance, and Recommendations for Future Research. The Summary provides a synopsis of the problems, purposes, procedures, and findings of this study. The Discussion provides an interpretation of the research results presented in Chapter IV. Some relevant variables that were not explicitly presented throughout the study are outlined in the Limitations section. A discussion of the importance of this study is included in the Significance section. The Recommendations section includes suggestions for extending and strengthening the research undertaken in this study.

Summary

This study investigated how a Filipino American community-based cultural organization helped its members develop positive ethnic identities, leadership skills, and civic engagement. A qualitative approach was used to obtain the data necessary to answer the research questions. The research questions asked: (1) How did the Filipino Youth Activities (FYA) affect the ethnic identity, leadership development, and civic engagement of its participants?; (2) What perceptions of the values and effects of FYA during different times did the participants have and how did they arrive at these perceptions?; (3) How did FYA participants contribute to FYA's development in the past 50 years?; (4) How did FYA affect the pursuits of higher education of its members?; (5) How did the perceptions of youth participants in FYA regarding its effects on their ethnic identity and leadership development compared with their perceptions of similar issues in school?; and (6) How did the participants' experiences with the FYA programs and projects influence their sense of empowerment?

The data in this study came from three primary sources. These were archival documents, interviews, and demographic questionnaires. Documents were retrieved from the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) located in Seattle, Washington. The publications included playbills, activity programs, letters, scrapbooks, and other historical information on the goals and images of FYA. Publications at the University of Washington libraries provided cultural, political, and scholarly information on Filipinos and Filipino Americans. The information was used to develop the historical and cultural context surrounding Filipino American cultural experiences and perspectives for interpreting the findings. Filipino American community newspapers such as the *Filipino American Bulletin* and *Filipino American Herald* provided viewpoints of FYA and its leaders.

There were a total of 19 participants in this study. They included the FYA founders, program directors, youth participants, and volunteers. There were 17 FYA participants of various generations. Some participants included extended family members, such as an aunt and a niece, thus offering perspectives from different generations within a single family. These individuals from different generations were selected to investigate the significance and influence of FYA during different time periods. All of the participants were identified by pseudonyms except for the founders, who granted permission for their actual names to be used. All interviews were coded, transcribed verbatim, and reviewed to identify themes and patterns that emerged across participants.

Several major findings resulted from the study. First, FYA positively influenced youth ethnic identity development by providing culturally appropriate activities, developing Filipino cultural knowledge and ethnic pride, and teaching strategies to address racial prejudice and discrimination. FYA programs that facilitated these developments included Pinoy Teach,

Khordobah Drill Team, Cabataan Folk Dancing, and Sining Kilusan. Second, all participants in the study regarded FYA as a refuge in which they learned about their cultural heritage and ethnic identity, as well as how to become more self-confident and responsible. According to the participants, the schools they attended neither addressed their ethnic heritages nor prepared them to be more capable. Third, FYA strengthened participants' sense of empowerment. Much of it emerged from learning and teaching their own ethnic history and culture.

Fourth, friendships created in FYA made it possible for some participants to develop and expand their social networks. They considered these connections benefits to their social and professional lives that extended beyond FYA itself. Some of these relationships resembled families that created a safety net for the youth. In one case, two participants got married to form a family of their own. While not all participants built connections at this level or felt at ease with everyone in FYA, they all developed friendships that endured for many years. These friendships provided emotional support that encouraged participants to accomplish their academic and professional goals beyond FYA.

Fifth, the participants in this study were involved in multicultural interactions regularly through FYA. Twelve of the 17 participants in the study were of interracial heritage, representing African American, Nooksack, Alaskan Native, Chamorro, Chinese, and European heritages. Filipino ethnicity itself is multilayered and added to the multicultural experiences within this organization. Although diversity played a significant role in their identity, some multiracial and second generation Filipino American participants felt tension from first generation Filipino Americans for "not being Filipino enough." For these participants, FYA helped them to connect with their Filipino heritage in developing and strengthening ethnic identity without the stress of having to prove their "Filipino-ness" to anyone else.

Sixth, various responsibilities in FYA played a significant role in some of the participants' personal, cultural, and leadership development. It inspired them to contribute to the improvement of the broader Filipino American community. Participants in all programs experienced the founders' views about leadership in general and youth leadership. Exposure to this philosophy and practical experiences helped some participants develop various skills applicable to FYA, their future careers, and their personal lives. The primary leadership skills fostered by FYA participation included assuming roles of responsibilities in different programs, organizing trips, fulfilling administrative duties, and providing mentorship through the Big Sister/Big Brother program. Other participants, however, claimed that involvement in FYA either clashed with or stagnated their personal leadership development due to the rigid militaristic style of the founders and other moderators.

Seventh, specific FYA programs did not explicitly promoted school achievement. However, FYA participants applied the teamwork, discipline, commitment, work ethic, and performance skills they acquired in FYA to their academic studies and in subsequent professions. FYA emphasized cultural values that are particularly valued in Philippine and Filipino American culture, including self-confidence, pride in personal and academic success, taking advantage of learning opportunities, collaboration, commitment, and participating in a shared vision of increasing the success of community programs, particularly FYA's Khordobah Drill Team.

Discussion

Some of the findings of this study matched the claims made in the conceptual framework, but others were not congruent with the assertions. The data showed that FYA participants in the 1960s and 1970s shared similarities and differences in social, racial, and educational experiences with the 1980s and 1990s participants. As earlier research and the conceptual framework

suggested, Filipino American youth encounter racism in the mainstream society and prejudice within the Filipino American community. The generational experiences and issues make a difference because participants from the 1960s and 1970s thought that racial discrimination was obvious. It was important for them to learn how to negotiate through racial obstacles and succeed. The 1980s and 1990s participants experienced less intense racism and were much more optimistic about the resources available and their abilities to counter it White Supremacy. The founders prompted the participants, particularly the Khordobah Drill Team, to be cognizant of White supremacist attitudes, undertones, and behaviors so that they could develop skills to address racism and change how they experienced racism. The programs and practices of FYA exhibited several ideas about organizational dynamics and effectiveness identified by previous scholars.

Organizational Principles

Chen (2003) suggested that systemic thinking means "seeing wholes, patterns, and relationships" (p. 9). According to this thinking, it was crucial for FYA to develop an ideology and ways of operating for creating interrelationships and patterns of transformation rather than focusing on isolated factors. Thus, all elements of FYA were related to each other; when any part of an organization is not working well, all other parts are affected.

In organizing the Far West Convention the FYA participants exemplified many of the elements of deliberative dialogue identified by McCoy and Scully (2002). The Far West Convention emphasized critical analysis and rational discussion in identifying relationships between personal experiences and social concerns that lead to stronger collective understanding that is necessary for helping solve complicated social issues. The convention conveyed the message that everyone's perspective is equally important, although some FYA participants had

greater experience in advocacy than others. Additionally, by encouraging a dialogue of personal experience, participants were encouraged to develop ownership of the issues at stake, further increasing the efficacy of the deliberative dialogue.

Irby and McLaughlin's (1994) findings on the traits of successful organizations were exhibited by FYA providing a sanctuary for its participants that, in turn, contributed to the growth of the organization. They further suggest that when the staff of an organization function like surrogate family members, and provide trustworthy support and guidance to youth participants, the organization becomes more effective. FYA benefited from its staff's vested interest in the youth and the organization, and their services as informal and formal educators.

According to Senge (1990), members of organizations must be willing to contribute their personal skills, commitment, and allegiance if an organization is to be vital and successful. FYA founders and first generation participants manifested these attributes. Their efforts, cross-generationally, enabled the success of FYA as an organization, while allowing members to share their accomplishments. Senge also identified personal mastery among members as a component of organizational efficacy. It presupposes that the success of an organization in serving the community depends on the development of skills among the participants within the organization. This was not something FYA participants inherently possessed; rather, they embarked on long term endeavors to master the broad range of skills introduced in FYA activities. The operations of the organization as a whole consisted of each member's individual contributions. While individual failures inevitably occur, "failure is an opportunity for learning" (Senge, 1990, p. 154) and can contribute to the visions, goals, and purpose of the organization. The personal mastery of participants assisted FYA in developing its capacity for perseverance during times of

challenge, and encouraged participants to become their own agents of change in navigating barriers that interfere with their goals.

Senge (1990) and McLaughlin and Irby (1994) also suggested that the prestige of an organization affects the self-perception of its members. McLaughlin and Irby added that the degree of cultural maintenance and cultural heritage among individuals of different ethnic groups often correlates positively with the image of the organizations in which they participate. Participants in this study confirmed these assertions. They were motivated to become members of specific FYA programs —including the Khordobah Drill Team, Pinoy Teach, Sining Kilusan, and Cabataan Folk Dancing —by the organization's long history of success and positive public image. Additionally, they felt obligated to continue its legacy through life-long volunteering.

The findings of this study also confirmed many of the ideas that McLaughlin and Irby (1994) and Senge (1990) suggested about the effects of voluntary organizations on their members. Individual FYA participants—particularly those in the Khordobah Drill Team—were held accountable for personal and collective high quality performance to honor themselves and the Filipino American community as a whole. These attitudes were influenced by the strong emphasis that the Khordobah Drill Team placed on maintaining its positive image and a long legacy of success.

Some participants claimed that FYA played a pivotal role in mobilizing the Filipino American community to address issues of social inequity in the 1970s. For example, Filipino American youth from the 1980s to today would likely have remained unfamiliar with Carlos Bulosan, a Filipino American author and activist, if it were not for FYA. Through education and an emphasis on community, FYA helped participants of all ages gain self-cultural knowledge, ethnic pride, and skills for active citizenship.

Senge (1990) also emphasized the importance of shared vision for an organization to succeed, meaning that the achievement goals of founders and participants must align. Many FYA participants were very committed to the goals of the organization. Some wanted their respective teams to be recognized for their abilities, and as representatives of the Filipino American community. Other participants were involved with FYA because they did not have any options and they were individualistic about their goals. FYA did not have protocols in place to prevent individualistic agendas from infiltrating the organization. Some participants claimed that this is the reason why FYA no longer exists.

Values

Some participants thought the founders and administrators exhibited many leadership attributes that scholars suggest are necessary for effective organizational development. Others countered that the dominant leadership style was very rigid and discouraging. Initially, some participants in the study, particularly those in the Khordobah Drill Team and Pinoy Teach—did not appreciate the instructors' teaching styles, but eventually came to understand and appreciate their passion, while others developed alternative conceptions of leadership. Two of the founders of FYA believed that a structured, authoritarian leadership style provided the youth with the best possible opportunities to develop leadership skills themselves. Yet, some participants could not become leaders within this hierarchical system. These participants admitted that their involvement with FYA improved interpersonal skills and that this was a critical leadership quality. However, they developed abilities for supporting and motivating leaders more than actually being leaders themselves.

These participants also expressed gratitude for the discipline and demands of the instructors when they won awards and were highly acclaimed by audiences. According to the

data, even though some participants did not like the leadership styles of the founders and some administrators, they nevertheless respected the individuals. The findings also indicated that high expectations encouraged participants to perform well, which in turn promoted self-confidence and ethnic pride. While critical pedagogy some content components of critical pedagogy were evident in some FYA programs and experiences (such as developing critical consciousness of and resistance strategies to racial prejudices and discrimination) the teaching styles used by founders and moderators were didactic and often dictatorial. For example, drill team members to were expected to focus on performing specific tasks. The way the founders and moderators treated the other participants in the study were sometimes interpreted as disrespectful and obsolete. This was due to their militaristic and rigid approaches. There were times that participants could not voice out issues unless approved. Most of the instructors' teaching styles were compassionate, but very difficult. Yet, many of these participants continued to support and volunteer for FYA. The founders acknowledged that they were hard on the participants because of the marginalization they were going through. Others experienced the receiving end of FYA leadership firsthand, as participants. This placed them in a unique position to respond differently to the needs of current participants by capitalizing on their own experiences as participants, which the program's founders did not have. These experiences motivated many participants to apply what they learned through personal experience to the continual improvement of FYA, to create a more comfortable environment, and to more effectively share knowledge with subsequent FYA youth participants.

FYA participants were immersed in activities that inspired them to be socially conscious and advocate for social justice. Most youth engaged in community service on their own, with a group, or in FYA, which consisted of unpaid work that benefited others. Instructors and adult

volunteers modeled responsibility for community service and societal welfare by taking actions rather than just professing them. Participating in a community organization with a strong community service mission was an introduction to potential activism for the participants. They were exposed to individuals who remained involved with FYA activities long after being youth participants, thus maintaining close ties. FYA participants were obligated to aid and assist the programs they were involved in as their way of giving back to the community. The act of volunteering became closely linked with activism. Many former FYA participants were involved in advocating for fair housing, civil rights, and community preservation. To most FYA participants in the study, activism was a means of social transformation.

Some participants never considered their impact on the community or any sort of community involvement until they participated in FYA. In communities beyond their local residence, they encountered Filipino youth who had never been instructed by a Filipino teacher. Conversely, FYA filled this void by offering its participants leadership skills, and motivating some to pursue careers in education. Some former youth participants believed the Filipino American community locally, and society at large, will continue to benefit from Fred's and Dorothy's accomplishments in creating and guiding the FYA and other community-based organization such as the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS). They also think that new generations of youth are obligated to revitalize the traditions of cultural practices, ethnic pride and community service the FYA spearheaded for so many years.

Relationships

The participants in this study agreed that Fred was able to provide a sense of belonging, identity, and recognition for participants by modeling a conception of family that fitted the needs

of the Filipino American community's disenfranchised youth. They were appreciative that Fred always reminded FYA participants that whatever their particular background, they were family. He further reinforced this thinking by constantly reminding participants of the wide range of diversity within the Filipino American community; even if you were Black or White or Brown, or something in between, you are Filipino, and as such you are family.

FYA developed valuable social, emotional, ethnic, and cultural support networks for the participants and facilitators. Respect for peers and mentors in FYA allowed participants to benefit from their involvement in the program beyond the mission and tenets of FYA, and enabled them to become affiliated with the Filipino American community. This community identity and involvement contributed to their cultural knowledge acquisition, self and cultural identity, and empowerment. Some participants were not certain how much the value of engagement with FYA extended beyond the Filipino American community. However, they did admit that involvement in FYA activities helped raise awareness of the FYA itself. Beyond that, for many their community service was limited to helping younger Kumbancheros improve their percussion skills. They made no claims that this either benefited the broader community or improved their long-term well-being, yet it was a valuable "service" in itself.

The friendships that emerged among FYA youth participants were based in mutual respect, affection, mutuality, and providing comfort in times of crises, resulting in the development of deep bonds. In the Khordobah Drill Team, older participants and adult volunteers functioned as surrogate family members for the younger participants and for each other. Friendships like these were important because they provided the resources and networking that FYA youth needed to accomplish their goals, as well as emotional support. Long-term connections in FYA evolved into an even broader definition of family. FYA friends play such a strong role in each other's

lives that their bonds extended to each other's families, further perpetuating family and community networks. These friendships provided the emotional support that encouraged participants to pursue loftier accomplishments, both within and beyond FYA.

Educational Philosophy

Both the instructors and youth participants in this study placed a high value on making connections that at times went above and beyond the traditional limits of teaching. They were convinced that caring for participants played a significant role in their success. The founders and instructors emphasized the positive attributes and skills the youth possessed rather than dwelling on their disadvantages, and emphasized cultural knowledge and ethnic pride. In doing so, FYA demonstrated some fundamental features of culturally relevant teaching and its positive effects for Filipino American youth.

Founders and administrators consistently connected their programs to the lived experiences of the participants by also including their Filipino cultural heritage. They cared about the feelings and achievements of the members, and helped them improve their self-perception by instilling pride, enjoyment, and accomplishment. Many of these teachings were accomplished by being immersed in the culturally rich learning contexts of the Khordobah Drill Team, Pinoy Teach, Sining Kilusan, and Cabataan Folk Dancing. The facilitators of the FYA programs considered meaningful personal connections between staff and participants to be a reflection of a high cultural value among Filipino Americans and necessary components of teaching Filipino American youth successfully.

The participants were responsive when founders and staff presented FYA programs in a way that appealed to them. The importance of establishing personal relationships with participants in this study is consistent with Gay's (2010) recommendations for effective

communicating with youth of color as condition of teaching them more effectively. In the case of FYA this included affirming Filipino American ethnic identity and cultural heritage; establishing strong caring and supportive relationships; using cultural experiences and frames of reference for teaching other skills; building communities of learning; and developing social, political, personal, cultural, and academic competence, simultaneously.

Cultural modeling as characterized by C. Lee (2007) also was evident in the study. This framework makes it possible "to narrow the academic achievement gap and improve teacher effectiveness, through drawing upon the students' cultural displays of knowledge that is inherent in students' everyday experiences" (p. 18). The Cultural Modeling Framework was used for building skills while simultaneously developing confidence in the participants' own abilities. It helps youth in to learn better when they understand how to explicitly navigate a particular set of tools. Participants' own efforts to make sense of content and skills improve when they are able to negotiate their personal goals and sense of identity. Most importantly, Cultural Modeling created a safe space/environment for FYA participants to learn intellectually, physically, and socially and where their speech, thoughts and questions are given voice.

The FYA programs also motivated participants to become engaged in the community through volunteering and pursuing academic and professional success. The Pinoy Teach and Sining Kilusan program challenged classist, sexist, racist, and homophobic biases and inequities. The founders and facilitators used social capital, such as cultural origins and artifacts, language, shared experience, ancestral places, and cultural organizations, to verify Filipino cultural heritages and group allegiances. Participants in FYA who took part in this study experienced extensive constructive influences on their ethnic identity through involvement in a variety of activities and learning methods about Filipino history, culture, and issues. These learning

experiences used Filipino funds of knowledge and social capital in non-traditional ways. The participants agreed that learning about their ethnic history strengthened their cultural knowledge, ethnic pride, and personal sense of self. Thus, FYA exhibited many elements of critical, social, and cultural capital as described by Ginwright (2007). These are "collective dimensions of community transformation, centering on how racial identity and political awareness serve as an important community and social resource for youth" (p. 404). FYA consisted of intergenerational involvement that challenged negative external perceptions of Filipino American youth, provided community members with opportunities to construct a collective racial and cultural identity, and cultivated understanding of contemporary social issues within the context of that identity. This study also demonstrated that ethnic and cultural knowledge became more meaningful when it is applied beyond the "classroom." A greater sense of empowerment and ethnic pride occurred for the FYA participants when they performed for audiences and environments beyond FYA, both within and outside the local Filipino American community.

Significance of the Study

This study contributes to the growing scholarship on community-based organizations and Filipino Americans. It offer some helpful guidance for other researchers interested in conducting case studies of other organizations within the Filipino American community and in other locations, as well as organizations in other ethnic communities. The findings can benefit Filipino American youth by identifying opportunities for them to become more productive and reflective participants in the U.S. pluralistic society.

The study contributes to understanding how community-based cultural organizations may supplement or support public school programs and compensate for missing links in the construction of the ethnic identity and social, cultural, academic, and career development of

youth of color. It is important to inspire parents and educators of youth of color to look for various opportunities for these youth to be immersed in cultural experiences that validate who they are to learn more about their ethnic and cultural heritages; and to develop positive identities. Organizations such as FYA are resources of inspiration for many marginalized, and frequently overlooked, youth and communities. Other institutions and sites of teaching and learning may acquire useful lessons from this study that can be incorporated into their own efforts to better serve the needs of youth of color. This study could help to understand how schools could work together with various community-based organizations to accomplish these goals.

This study demonstrates how parents and community-based organizations collaborate for common causes. Parent involvement is a significant factor in youth learning about their ethnic and cultural heritages. Educators are also encouraged to be involved in community-based programs that promote the ethnic identity and cultural validation of youth of color. Furthermore, other institutions could gain valuable insights from studies such as one that can be incorporated into their efforts to better service ethnically diverse communities of color on different levels, including educational, political, social, cultural, economic, and civic.

The study is important for other researchers striving to determine how youth in the community get the support they need to be effective within and beyond formal learning settings. It addresses these issues from a point of view that is rarely considered in preparing youth of color for successful futures. This study identified environments in which Filipino American youth experienced higher degrees of positive results and success. These environments turned out to be in out-of-school settings. The study brings visibility to an agency that has a legacy of self-design, self-determination, activism, and community building for Filipino Americans by Filipino Americans. These findings indicated that the Filipino American community provided Filipino

American youth with social capital, cultural, and communal connections that are crucial for cultivating political consciousness and preparing them to address civic issues in their communities. Therefore, this study contributes to understanding how community-based organizations can teach ethnic identity, leadership development, and community engagement of youth of color, and reinforces the idea that powerful learning occurs in locations other than schools and classrooms.

Limitations

The primary features of this study that provided its foundation also included some inherent limitations. Among them were researcher influence, sample size, reliance on memory, and the duration of time devoted to data collection. While these factors enabled a deep-dive into the personal experiences of the individuals most capable of exposing the potential influence of FYA on personal development and civic engagement, they also limited the ability of this research to offer generalizable conclusions.

The researcher role in studying the selected Filipino American participants can be viewed as both a limitation and an advantage. Being a Filipino American male and FYA participant may have generated deeper meaning from other participants because he could relate personally to their experiences, while there was the potential risk of projecting his perceptions onto them. In conducting research such as that presented here, the presence of the researcher can alter the behavioral dynamics of the researched. The researcher's efforts to minimize these limitations included audio-recording all interviews, taking detailed field notes either during or immediately following observations and interviews, and checking for consistency of data across coding schemes and data display charts. Another technique used was to solicit feedback from all participants.

This was a small, qualitative study of one community-based organization. These findings cannot be generalized beyond the specific individuals who participated in the study, the particular organization (FYA), and the theoretical and conceptual framework. Although the only ethnic group explored was Filipino American, the study did provide rich descriptive narratives about the interactions among participants, founders, and administrators. They can be instructive for other researchers studying organizations in other ethnic communities.

Another limitation was associated with coding the words expressed and addressed by the participants. The words chosen by the researcher to categorize the thoughts and feelings of the participants may not adequately represent a category and the content placed in it. Also some terms may have multiple meanings. For instance "state" could mean a political body, a situation, or a verb meaning "to speak." Consequently some comments made by the participants may have nuances of meaning other than those assigned by the researcher causing some important information to be missed muted, or distorted.

All participants were adults remembering thoughts, events, and experiences about their participation in FYA after the fact. Therefore, the validity of the primary data collected in this study is dependent upon the accuracy of their self-reports. What participants claimed might have happened at the time of occurrence, may in fact have been affected by subsequent or fading memories. Although they probably did not intentionally create flaws or distortions, the possibility of inaccuracies of the data must be considered. The recollections of participants in the earlier years of FYA might not have been as vivid as the descriptions of active members of the Khordobah Drill Team or participants from the 1990s. Furthermore, the influence of FYA on younger participants may not be as clear as with older participants, who are able to look back on

a broader range of experiences and years to identify ways in which the experiences they acquired in FYA influenced them.

The study primarily relied on description rather than analysis. Its focus was to capture the story of how FYA affected in the lives of the participants. The nuance of the information was more in line with portraiture in that it was intended to construct detailed profile of how FYA operated for whom and to what effects. (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 2002).

Another limitation of the study was the duration of the data collection period, which was two months. The brief amount of time spent immersed in this research setting may have resulted in limited insights about the major research questions. Longer time periods spent collecting data could have produced significantly different results.

Recommendations for Future Research

Similar future studies that give more consideration to sample size, age group, and social context are warranted. They could explore the differences and similarities among the experiences of learning about ethnic history and culture for various marginalized groups in U.S. society. Biases may be reduced with researchers who share similarities to their participants, particularly among people of color who have experienced racism or discrimination.

Studies similar to the current one should include more participants to increase the sample size. A survey of a large number of former and current Khordobah Drill Team could be conducted to verify, refute, or extend the findings of this study. More participants may reveal more depth, similarities, and differences in the results obtained. They may also increase the reliability and validity of the data.

It is important to conduct similar studies of community-based organizations in other ethnic communities and locations as well. This study focused only on Filipino American youth

in Seattle, Washington where Filipino Americans have a strong historical presence. This may have directly or indirectly increased positive influences of the Filipino Youth Activities, on Filipino American ethnic identity, leadership development, and civic engagement, both within and beyond the organization. Studies of other ethnic groups, organizations, and locations could help determine if the results are unique to particular groups and organizations or applicable across groups.

Future studies could also focus on different issues and concerns: for example, by examining how intersections of gender, race, and social class affect the interactions between participants and organizational programs. Furthermore, research is required to explain the effects of participation in ethnic and cultural community-based programs on leadership development and academic achievement of students of color in K-12 and college classrooms. In conducting these studies, the involvement of researchers from different identity categories is necessary. While some of the ethnic communities may share cultural similarities, there are many differences among them. Thus, studies of the effects of different cultural-based programs that involve participants from various identity backgrounds have the potential to provide valuable information for designing and implementing programs and practices in community organizations and schools that develop the agency and empowerment of youth of color personally, socially, culturally, academically, and civically.

Since FYA as an organization is no longer operational, it would be informative to know what were the contributing factors that led to its demise, and why the Khordobah Drill Team the only FYA program still in existence. This study could help other community-based organizations avoid the dangers of organizational collapse. It will also be interesting to know what, if any, possibilities exist for FYA to be reactivated and reconstituted. What can be done differently?

How should FYA be managed? The study could serve as a guide in efforts to re-establish the organizational and operational structures of FYA, or to create new organizations based on its precedents.

Closing Statement

The FYA had an influential history, significant challenges, and impressive effects. Fred, Dorothy, and current Khodobah Drill Team staff who provided leadership and continuity across the years are now approaching retirement. Will their successors be as motivated and dedicated to continue the legacy of FYA? Will another community-based organization emerge that serves Filipino American youth in similar or different ways? Even though Filipino Americans have more social and cultural opportunities or organizations in which to take part, no Filipino American community-based organization in Seattle to date has influenced Filipino American youth's ethnic identity, leadership, success, and community achievement as much as FYA. It had notable positive effects on the youth participants and the Filipino American community. It was a place where primarily Filipino American youth were taught ethnic identity, leadership, success, and community engagement. FYA demonstrated that schools are not the only place where learning happens, rather community-based organizations are also settings for effective learning and constructive engagement.

Now the absence of FYA is strongly felt. Participants in this study (and others beyond) wonder if another community-based organization that addresses, advocates, and fosters ethnic identity, leadership, and community engagement will emerge. Many within the Filipino American community think that individuals who benefited from FYA should step up to the helm of leadership in planning and organizing for future generations. Whether this hope and

expectation will be realized in the creation of a future FYA–like (or not) organization is yet to be seen. The precedents for such a creation are certainly a viable, living legacy.

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Appendix A

Questionnaire for Filipino Youth Activities

1) Name:
2) Birthdate:
3) Generation: [ ] First [ ]Second [ ] Third
4) Where do you live?
5) Parents' ethnicity and generation: _____Mother _____Father
6) Is or was anyone in your family married to a non-Filipino American?
7) What grade or how old were you when you started to participate in FYA?
8) How did you learn about the FYA? [ ] Friends [ ] Family [ ] School [ ] Other
9) Did you participate in the FYA program of your own will? [ ] Own will [ ] Parent and/or guardian encouragement [ ] Encouragement from friends [ ] Encouragement from extended family
10) What type of program did you participate in? [ ] FYA Drill team [ ] Sining Kilusan [ ] Pinoy Teach [ ] Other (please specify)_____
11) What schools did you attend? Elementary_____ Middle School _____ High School_____ College_____ Graduate School_____
12) Have you learned about Filipino American history and culture in school? If yes, what did you learn?
13) Have you learned about Asian Pacific Islander history and culture in school? If yes, what did you learn?
14) Did any of your teachers ever encourage you to learn about being Filipino American or Filipino American history and culture?

Appendix B

Interview Protocol for Participants in the Filipino Youth Activities

1) How would you describe yourself in terms of being Filipino American?
2) When asked about ethnicity, do you consider yourself as Filipino, Filipino American, or Other?
3) Is it important for individuals to know about his/her cultural heritage? If so how? If not why is it not important?
4) Did FYA affect your leadership development? If so how? If not what are the reasons?
5) Did participation in the FYA motivate you to pursue academic success (if applicable)? If so How, if not, Why not?
6) Do you think that the FYA participants contribute their abilities to ensure FYA's success? If so, please give examples.
7) Did a member(s), officer(s), instructor(s), administrator(s), or some combination thereof perform decision-making? If so, how? If not, what are the reasons?
8) Who was/is able to make suggestions to the staff? Can you give me examples of suggestions received in the last six months?
9) Do you think that each member has a similar goal in mind for the FYA? If so, what is it?
10) In your experience with the FYA, have you seen participants discuss issues openly and abide by the ground rules they have established?
11) What can be considered as Filipino cultural heritage? Did you learn this from the FYA?
12) What have you learned about the Filipino and Filipino American history and culture at school and/or at home?

13) What among the Filipino traditions do you think are worth passing down to future generations?

14) What are your perceptions of being Filipino American?

15) Did these perceptions change after participating in the FYA? If so, how? If not why not?

16) Did the friendship(s) you have developed in the FYA play out in other aspects of your life? If so how? If not what are the factors/reasons?

17) What is the difference, if any, between friends at school, in the neighborhood, and at the FYA?

18) Do you consider parents, chaperons, directors, instructors, or administrators of the FYA to be role models? Give examples to illustrate what you learned from them, if applicable.

19) What role(s) did the FYA play in your life? What was its impact on you?

20) What do you think was the reason for multi-generational participation in the FYA?

21) Did you think that the role of FYA has changed since it was established in 1957? If so, how? if not why not?

22) Have you ever been discriminated against? If so, please give some examples.

23) Did you encounter racism or system of White supremacy? If so, How did you encounter it?

24) Did you encounter racism among Filipinos, for example because your skin is darker, you speak with a regional accent, or you have just arrived to the United States? If so, how? If not, why is that so?

25) Did the FYA help you deal with discrimination? If so, how? If not why not?

26) If you could decide the color of your skin, what would you choose and why?

27) Did you cultivate yourself to enhance your sense of "Filipino Americanism"? If so, how? If not what are the reasons?

28) What would trigger your curiosity about being a Filipino American?

29) Who do you usually socialize with at school? In your neighborhood? At church? At work?

30) What factors do you consider in making decisions about who to socialize with?

For multiracial members:

1) What do you consider your ethnicity to be? What is the basis for your choice?

2) When someone asks about your ethnicity, what is the first answer that comes to mind?

3) When asked for your ethnicity in a college or job application, what do you typically mark?

4) When a non-Filipino mistakes you for "something else," do you let them know you are Filipino American?

5) Is it important to you to learn about the Filipino culture and heritage? If so, how is it important? If not why is it not important?

6) When you are in a social situation and you notice one of the guests is Filipino American, do you initiate a conversation, totally ignore him/her, or treat them with the same regard as anyone else? Why?

7) Important is it to you to be able to communicate in Filipino and other native languages? If so, how? If not why is it not important to you?

8) What are the advantages of being a multiracial individual within the Filipino American community? What are the disadvantages?

9) What made you decide to participate in the FYA? Do you or do you have the desire to participate in other organizations?

Appendix C

Interview protocol for staff and administrators in the Filipino Youth Activities

1. Do you describe yourself as an ethnic person? If so, how? If not, what are the reasons?
2. Was there a difference in your perceptions of being (your ethnicity) Filipino American after serving in the FYA?
3. Do you think that it's important for youth to know about their cultural heritage? How so, and why?
4. Did you help FYA participants cultivate cultural heritage, develop leadership aspirations and skills, and increase academic achievement? If so, how? If not what are the reasons?
5. What made you feel dedicated to the FYA?
6. Is it important for children to participate in cultural activities? Why or why not?
7. What did you intend to teach FYA participants?
8. Why do you think that FYA has intergenerational participants?
9. Did you address and support FYA participants in deconstructing stereotypes and countering systems of oppression, such as White Supremacy (racism), Patriarchy (sexism), Homophobia, and poverty? If so, how? If not why not?
10. What is your advice for parents who would like their children to be multilingual?
11. Do you think that languages create belongingness to an ethnic group?
12. Is it important for FYA participants to learn about Filipino American history and culture? If so, how? if not, how so?
13. What was the significance or importance of FYA in the Seattle area? What was the impact of FYA to its members and their family?

14. What where the factors that led to the closing down of FYA? What do you think about the future of remaining FYA programs such as the drill team?
15. Did FYA empower its participants and families? If so, how? If not, what are the factors that prevented them to empower its participants?

Appendix D

Coding system

Ethnic Identity
EID: Ethnic Identity
EID-MEID: Multiple Ethnic Identity

External Ethnic Identity
EXID: External Ethnic Identity
EXID-LANG: Language as part of External Ethnic Identity
EXID-AFLT: Association with Filipino Americans as part of External Ethnic Identity

Internal Ethnic Identity
INID: Internal Ethnic Identity
INID-KNOW: Knowledge about Filipino and Filipino American history
INID- HRTG: Knowledge of Filipino and Filipino American heritage
INID-CULT: Knowledge about Filipino American culture and images

Elements of Filipino and Filipino American culture
LMNT- CHNG: cultural values are shifting along with time and needs of community
LMNT-EDCT: Education as part of Filipino American cultural elements
LMNT-FILM: Filipino American history as part of Filipino American cultural elements
LMNT-SPCT: Respect as part of Filipino American cultural elements
LMNT-FOOD: Food as part of Filipino American cultural elements
LMNT-FMLY: Family as part of Filipino American cultural elements
LMNT-LANG: Language as part of Filipino American cultural elements
LMNT-RTUL: Ritual as part of Filipino American culture elements
LMNT-HRTG: Heritage as part of Filipino American cultural elements

Filipino and Filipino American culture learned from FYA
EFYA-DRIL: learned from Khordobah Drill Team
EFYA-GURU: learned from Pinoy Teach
EFYA-PFWC: learned from People's Far West Convention
EFYA-FOLK: learned from Folk Dancing
EFYA-THTR: learned from Sining Kilusan
EFYA-

Filipino American history learned from FYA
HIST-EFYA-DRIL: learned from Khordobah Drill Team
HIST-EFYA-GURU: learned from Pinoy Teach
HIST-EFYA-PFWC: learned from People's Far West Convention
HIST-EFYA-FOLK: learned from Folk Dancing
HIST-EFYA-THTR: learned from Sining Kilusan

HIST-EFYA-

Friendship gained from FYA
FRND-EFYA-DRIL: gained from Khordobah Drill Team
FRND-EFYA-GURU: gained from Pinoy Teach
FRND-EFYA-PFWC: gained from People's Far West Convention
FRND-EFYA-FOLK: gained from Folk Dancing
FRND-EFYA-THTR: gained from Sining Kilusan
FRND-EFYA-

Leadership Development gained from FYA
LEAD-EFYA-DRIL: gained from Khordobah Drill Team
LEAD-EFYA-GURU: gained from Pinoy Teach
LEAD-EFYA-PFWC: gained from People's Far West Convention
LEAD-EFYA-FOLK: gained from Folk Dancing
LEAD-EFYA-THTR: gained from Sining Kilusan

Civic Engagement developed from FYA
CIVC-EFYA-DRIL: developed from Khordobah Drill Team
CIVC-EFYA-GURU: developed from Pinoy Teach
CIVC-EFYA-PFWC: developed from People's Far West Convention
CIVC-EFYA-FOLK: developed from Folk Dancing
CIVC-EFYA-THTR: developed from Sining Kilusan

FYA influence
FYIN-EDCT: Education
FYIN-FRND: Friendship
FYIN-EID: Ethnic Identity
FYIN-CIVC: Civic engagement
FYIN-LEAD: Leadership

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C U R R I C U L U M V I T A E

EDUCATION

University of Washington	PhD student in Multicultural Education	June 2013
University of Washington	MA in Multicultural Education	June 2005
University of Washington	BA in American Ethnic Studies	June 1999

DISSERTATION

Filipino American phenomenon: Community-based organization's influence on Filipino American youth's identity, leadership, and community engagement.

PUBLICATIONS

Andresen, T. (2012). Knowledge construction, transformative academic knowledge, and Filipino American Identity and experience, In E. Bonus, E. & D. Maramba, (Eds.) *The "other" students: Filipino Americans, education, and power*. Charlotte, NC: IAP.

Hune, S. & Takeuchi, D. (2008). *Asian Americans in Washington State: Closing their hidden achievement gaps.* A report submitted to The Washington State Commission on Asian Pacific Affairs. Seattle: University of Washington.

Hune, S. & Takeuchi, D. (2008). *Growing presence, emerging voices: Pacific Islanders and academic achievement in Washington.* A report submitted to The Washington State Commission on Asian Pacific Affairs. Seattle: University of Washington.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND TEACHING EXPERIENCE

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY LEVEL

University of Washington *Comparative History of Ideas* Seattle, WA 2013-Present
CHID 250 B: Hollywood and the portrayal of minority groups in the motion picture industry.

University of Washington *Comparative History of Ideas* Seattle, WA 2012-Present
CHID 250 B: Hip Hop culture, tracks, and videos.

University of Washington *Study Abroad Program Director, CHID* Seattle, WA Summer 2011
Created Philippines Study Abroad Program for Comparative History of Ideas.

University of Washington *Comparative History of Ideas* Seattle, WA 2010-Present
CHID 250: Hip Hop in the 206.

University of Washington *Comparative History of Ideas* Seattle, WA Winter 2009
Co-developed CHID 390: New Zealand Study Abroad Program course. South Pacific Study Abroad & Community Engagement – Maori & Colonial Histories: CHID472 Pre-Departure Seminar: CHID298.

University of Washington *College of Education* Seattle, WA 2009-2010
Established EDU100: Martinez Scholars Program

University of Washington *Comparative History of Ideas* Seattle, WA 2006-2010
CHID 260: (Re) Thinking Diversity.

Seattle Central Community College *Humanities Department* Seattle, WA 2005-Present
HUM 105: Intercultural Communications at the Humanities Department.

Safefutures Youth Center
Program Coordinator Seattle, WA 2005-2010
Developed, implemented, and evaluated culturally responsive curriculum while adhering to the best practice model in creating lasting family connections which includes alcohol and other drugs prevention component focusing on At-risk youth.

University of Washington
American Ethnic Studies and Comparative History of Ideas Seattle, WA 2003-2006
Teacher Assistant for HIS 205: Asian American History, AAS101: Asian American Culture, AAS 206: Asian American Contemporary Issues, AES 360: Filipino American History, AFRAM 101: Intro to African American Studies, and AES 151: Introduction of American Ethnic Groups.

University of Washington
Undergraduate Peer Facilitator, Asian American Studies 206 Seattle, WA 1996-1999

MIDDLE SCHOOL LEVEL

Bellevue School District *Robinswood Middle School* Bellevue, WA 1999-2001
Taught required courses and evaluated students' Individualized Education Plan (IEP).

ELEMENTARY AND PRESCHOOL LEVEL

Experimental Education Unit at the University of Washington Seattle, WA 2005-2006
Provided typically developing children and children with various developmental delays or disabilities support to meet and exceed their Individual Education Plan.

Graham Hill Elementary School and New School K-12 Seattle, WA 1999-2001
Taught elementary students on how to play strategic chess.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

University of Washington

College of Education Seattle, WA Fall 2008
Assisted Professor Hune on the statewide study of Asian and Pacific Islander American (APIA) student academic achievement gap by gathering quantitative and qualitative data in preparation to address the Washington State policy makers about the need for more school program funding that focuses on bridging the APIA student's academic achievement gap.

University of Washington
American Ethnic Studies Seattle, WA Spring 2007
Assisted the American Ethnic Studies department in planning to implement an American Ethnic Studies graduate curriculum and program.

University of Washington
Undergraduate Research Assistant Seattle, WA Spring 1999/Spring 2006
Assisted Professor Enrique Bonus research his book: Locating Filipino Americans: Ethnicity and the Cultural Politics of Space.

U of W *College of Education* and Filipino Youth Activities Seattle, WA 1996-1999
Researched various Filipino historical facts and contributed to *Pinoy Teach* curriculum's inception and development in order to demonstrate and establish the effectiveness of multi-cultural curriculum in the public school system.

ADVISING EXPERIENCE

University of Washington
College of Education Seattle, WA 2009-2010

Group Health Cooperative Tukwila, WA 2001-2002

LEADERSHIP, COMMUNITY ORGANIZING, AND MOBILIZING EXPERIENCE

Filipino National Historical Society Conference
Conference Chair Seattle, WA Summer 2010

Experimental Education Unit at University of Washington
Helped fundraise over $1.5 million Seattle, WA 2004-2008

Washington Army National Guard
Officer Candidate, Co B 1-205th Bn REG (LDR) Camp Murray, WA 2003-2006

International Examiner
Fundraised $37,00 Seattle, WA March-May 2003

AmeriCorps

Program Coordinator, Highland Park Elementary School Seattle, WA 2001-2003

Third World Productions
Raised $60,000 Seattle, WA 20001-present

After Childbirth Services of the Northwest
Co Founder Seattle, WA 1999-2003

University of Washington
Filipino American Student Association President Seattle, WA 1997-1998

AFL-CIO
Community and Union Organizer, Union Summer Los Angeles, CA July 1996

CONFERENCE PANELS PRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION

Association of Asian American Studies Conference, 2013	Filipino American students academic issues
3rd and 4th Annual Hip Hop conference, 2011, 2012	Hip Hop in the academic context
Experience Music Project POP Conference, 2010	Hip Hop in the academic context
National Association for the Education and Advancement of Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese American (NAFEA), 2005	Bridging academic achievement gap
Organization of Chinese Americans, 2001	Hate crimes and Stereotypes
Filipino American Student Association Alliance Conference, 2000	Student Organization and Mobilization
UW Undergraduate Research Symposium, 1999	Transformative Knowledge and Identity
Filipino Intercollegiate Network Dialogue, 1998	Filipino Americans in the West coast
Association of Asian American Studies Conference, 1997	API and the arts movement

FEATURED MEDIA COVERAGE

UW Daily	CHID 250 B class http://dailyuw.com/news/2012/may/30/heres-wishing-all-classes-are/
UW Daily	CHID 250 B class http://dailyuw.com/news/2012/may/30/brew-born-chid-250/
Go Hard Superstar	http://blog.gohardsuperstar.com/post/23313961206/this-is-a-f-cking-class-and-im-the-f-cking

Seattle Weekly	Hip hop 101 http://www.seattleweekly.com/2010-06-09/music/uw-s-school-of-rap/
College of Education	Scholarship recipient to be honored at MAP http://education.washington.edu/news/stu_spotlight/MAP_scholarship_08.html
College of Education	Student profiles http://education.washington.edu/areas/ci/students/profiles_multi.html
College of Education	In the News http://education.washington.edu/ttp/2009-10/supplement/
Prospective	CHID 270: Re Thinking Diversity
Seattle Times	Yao Ming article November 29, 2002
Isang Mahal Arts Collective	Featured artist 1999
The Daily (UW newspaper)	No on I-200 article February 12, 1998
Time Magazine	Union Summer AFL-CIO Labor youth's brigade July 15, 1996 | Vol. 148 No. 4

AFFILIATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

COMMUNITY LEVEL

Filipino American Student Association of University of Washington

Filipino Youth Activities

Filipino Youth Empowerment Project

Filipino Community of Seattle, Inc.

Filipino American Educators of Washington

NATIONAL LEVEL

University of Washington Alumni Association

Organization of Chinese Americans

Filipino American National Historical Society

National Federation of Filipino American Association

National Filipino American Youth Association

AWARDS

Bloom-Bernheim Memorial Scholarship Fund 2011
Comparative History of Ideas (CHID) Interdisciplinary Educator Award 2010
Emerging Filipino Leader Award 2009
Andrew, Christine, and Paula Sater Memorial Scholarship Award 2009
Multicultural Alumni Partnership Award 2008
Betty Roos Academic Scholarship Award 2007

College of Education Mentorship Network Award 2007
Research Assistantship 2006, 2007, 2008
Teacher Assistantship 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009
AmeriCorps Outstanding Service Award 2001, 2002
Filipino Youth Activities Educator Award 1998, 1999
American Ethnic Studies Contribution Award 1999
Reserve Officer Training Corps Academic Award 1997
Reserve Officer Training Corps Scholarship Award 1996