

Critical Historical Consciousness & Decolonizing for Filipinx American Undergraduates

Dalya Amiel Perez

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2020

Reading Committee:

Joe Lott, Chair
Rick Bonus
Kara Jackson
Joy Williamson Lott

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

College of Education

©Copyright 2020
Dalya Amiel Perez

University of Washington

Abstract

Critical Historical Consciousness &
Decolonizing for Filipinx American Undergraduates

Dalya Amiel Perez

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor Joe Lott
College of Education

This study seeks to understand how undergraduate Filipinx Americans develop historical consciousness and what the impacts of this are on their racial identity. The roots of Filipinx American historical erasure date back to colonization of the Philippines, both Spanish and U.S. occupations of the Philippines and continue to have a damaging effect on Filipinx Americans today (Leonardo & Matias, 2013). Evidence of this erasure is apparent in the absence of U.S. Philippine history from textbooks as well as the general absence of anything related to Filipinx Americans in contemporary pop culture or dominant narratives. Another form of erasure is in the invisibility of Filipinx Americans under the racial category of Asian. This monolithic racial category obstructs possibilities to examine unique experiences, successes, and challenges Filipinx Americans as well as many other Asian groups face (Teranishi, 2010).

In sum, the legacy of historical erasure, starting with colonization in the Philippines and the invisibilizing of Filipinos as Asian are factors that explain contemporary struggles for Filipinx Americans in higher educational contexts. My research seeks to examine the relationship between these phenomena and to explore what happens when Filipinx American undergraduates engage in learning critical colonial history. This is a qualitative study that centers on the narratives of Filipinx Americans undergraduates and their journey of grappling with racial identity.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	2
TABLE OF CONTENTS	3
LIST OF FIGURES & TABLES.....	6
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	7
VITAE	11
CHAPTER 1.....	12
INTRODUCTION.....	12
FIGURE 1: AN OVERVIEW OF FILIPINX AMERICAN CRITICAL HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS	14
WHY DID I DO THIS RESEARCH?	15
THE PROBLEM WITH INVISIBILITY	16
SUMMARY OF CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS.....	18
RESEARCH GAP.....	19
INTRODUCTORY HISTORY AND CONTEXT	21
<i>Thomasites and U.S. Colonial Schooling in the Philippines</i>	24
<i>Pensionados and Transnationalism</i>	26
<i>Labor, Immigration, and Racism</i>	27
<i>Filipinx Americans as Asian</i>	28
SUMMARY OF INTRODUCTION	31
ROADMAP TO THE DISSERTATION	31
CHAPTER TWO.....	33
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: FILIPINX AMERICAN CRITICAL HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS	33
FIGURE 2: FILIPINX AMERICAN CRITICAL HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS	34
CRITICAL RACE THEORY.....	35
<i>Counternarratives</i>	36
<i>Asian Crit</i>	36
COLONIAL MENTALITY AND DECOLONIZING FOR FILIPINX AMERICAN STUDENTS	38
CONSCIENTIZATION AND LIBERATORY PEDAGOGY	45
HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS	47
SUMMARY OF CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	50
CHAPTER THREE:	51
LITERATURE REVIEW	51
FILIPINX AMERICANS AND EDUCATION.....	54
CAMPUS CLIMATE FOR FILIPINX AMERICAN UNDERGRADUATES.....	57
FILIPINO AMERICANS: RACE AND ASIAN COMPLEXITY	59
FILIPINX AMERICAN IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT	62
REGIONAL STUDIES.....	64
<i>Patricia Halagao</i>	65
<i>Third Andresen</i>	67

<i>Leah Panganiban</i>	69
SUMMARY OF LITERATURE REVIEW	72
CHAPTER 4:.....	73
METHODS AND ANALYSIS.....	73
METHODOLOGY: STUDY OVERVIEW.....	73
CRITICAL QUALITATIVE RESEARCH	73
<i>Research Questions:</i>	75
RESEARCH SETTING: UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON SEATTLE	75
RESEARCH DESIGN CONTEXT	76
POSITIONALITY	76
PURPOSEFUL SAMPLING.....	78
DECOLONIZING CLASS CURRICULUM CONTEXT	79
FIGURE 3: DECOLONIZING CURRICULUM FOR FILIPINX AMERICAN UNDERGRADUATES	81
TABLE 1: PSEUDONYM AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHART OF PARTICIPANT	82
DATA COLLECTION: INTERVIEWS WITH FILIPINX AMERICAN STUDENTS	83
INTERVIEWS WITH FACULTY MEMBERS	84
FIGURE 4: FILIPINX AMERICAN CRITICAL HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS CODEBOOK	88
TRUSTWORTHINESS	89
SUMMARY OF METHODS	90
CHAPTER 5.....	91
FINDINGS PART I:.....	91
THE SPACE IN BETWEEN:	91
LIMINALITY, DUAL CONSCIOUSNESS & ANTI ESSENTIALISM FOR FILIPINX AMERICANS.....	91
LIMINALITY: HOME IS BETWEEN TWO WORLDS	92
DUAL CONSCIOUSNESS: FILIPINX AND AMERICAN, TWO CULTURES AT ODDS WITH EACH OTHER	96
GENERATIONAL DIVIDES AND CONTRADICTIONS	98
LOSS OF LANGUAGE.....	103
RACIALIZED: WHAT DOES FILIPINX AMERICAN MEAN?.....	105
IMPOSTERSHIP FOR MULTIRACIAL FILIPINX AMERICANS.....	107
ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER: OUR POSITIONALITY THROWS OFF EVERYONE’S DISPARITY	110
INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES AND MOVEMENTS	115
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS PART I	117
CHAPTER 6.....	119
FINDINGS PART II:	119
CRITICAL HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS: FACING THE PAINFUL PAST AND DECOLONIZING	119
COLLECTIVE TRANSFORMATION: GETTING WOKE HAPPENS IN COMMUNITY	120
(RE)CONSTRUCTIVE HISTORY	125
UNDERSTANDING COLONIAL MENTALITY: QUESTIONING EVERYTHING	133
DECOLONIZING FOR FILIPINX AMERICAN UNDERGRADUATES.....	136
MENTAL HEALTH: LET’S TALK ABOUT IT.....	140
MORE THAN ONE WAY TO DECOLONIZE.....	144
CHAPTER 7.....	149
DISCUSSION IMPLICATIONS CONCLUSION	149
FIGURE 5: KEY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	152

CRITICAL COLONIAL HISTORY AND FILIPINX AMERICAN IDENTITY	153
<i>Contributions to Filipinx American Identity Development</i>	<i>155</i>
<i>Pacific Islander identities, pan colonialism and pan indigeneity.....</i>	<i>158</i>
NARRATIVE COMPETENCE FOR FILIPINX AMERICAN UNDERGRADUATES	160
<i>“Becoming woke” and the importance of courses/community spaces in Higher Education.....</i>	<i>162</i>
<i>(Re)constructing and Unlearning.....</i>	<i>164</i>
THE PERPETUATION OF FILIPINX AMERICAN INVISIBILITY AND CHALLENGING MASTER NARRATIVES	165
<i>Liminality and Dual Consciousness as resilience and survival.....</i>	<i>166</i>
<i>Familial Wealth and Cultural fluidity</i>	<i>168</i>
IMPLICATIONS & CONCLUSION	170
REFERENCES.....	173
APPENDIX A: PROTOCOL FOR FILIPINX AMERICAN UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS.....	184
APPENDIX B: PROTOCOL FOR FILIPINX AMERICAN STUDIES FACULTY	186
APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT.....	188

List of Figures & Tables

Figure 1: An Overview of Filipinx American Critical Historical Consciousness.....	14
Figure 2: Filipinx American Critical Historical Consciousness.....	34
Figure 3: Decolonizing Curriculum for Filipinx American undergraduates.....	81
Table 1: Pseudonym and demographic chart of participant.....	82
Figure 4: Filipinx American Critical Historical Consciousness Codebook.....	88
Figure 5: Key Findings and Discussion.....	152

Acknowledgments

I give thanks to the Coast Salish peoples of this land, the land which touches the shared waters of all tribes and bands within the Suquamish, Tulalip and Muckleshoot nations. This is the land that my parents came to as immigrants and kindled their love. While they were pushed into migration due to war and economic reasons related to colonization, it's important to acknowledge that I am a settler on Coast Salish land. As a scholar that looks at ways Filipinx Americans decolonize in psychic and epistemological ways, I recognize that this research must be paired with action and movements for sovereignty and justice for Native Americans whose lands I occupy. While that is not the topic of this paper, it is my lifelong commitment to be in solidarity with Indigenous Peoples rights. Seattle, Washington is land I was born into and has nurtured me to grow into the person that I am and raise my own children with a love and reverence of nature, rain, and beauty. I give thanks to the earth and the original peoples of this place.

To my mother, Josee Perez, who is a bedrock of support and wisdom. Babysitting our children in order for me to do this PhD is one of the greatest gifts, your home is their second home. Your amazing generosity, soul food, and constant cheering me on in life is such a gift, thank you, mama, for infusing me with a love of learning and ambition. Papa, in many ways you have inspired this dissertation, your love of storytelling and your never-ending tales of mischief and adventure have touched my life so dearly. To Yasmeen, my dearest sibling, for moving back to Seattle in time to celebrate so many family milestones, birthdays, and be together as a family. My heart is full being in the same city together and I'm so excited for your own scholarly and career adventures. Thank you for being one of my best friends and the best Uncle Meen to my

kids. To the Creeley family, you all have taught me so much about fun, soccer, card games, and the joy of being together. Family is everything.

Thank you Brian my incredibly loving and dedicated husband who has believed in me and been a pillar of parenting in our home while I have sacrificed many weekends and vacations to write and work over the past seven years. There are so many ways you showed up for me during this process. Thank you. I love you forever. My children, Carlos, who was 3 years old when I started this journey and who will be 10 when I finish. So much of your early childhood has been spent watching mama sit at the kitchen table clicking on a laptop. I'm so thankful for your patience with me and for your joy and weirdness. I'm proud of you and am so lucky to have you as a kid, you'll always be my Guapo Tigre Fuerte!!! To little Amiel, you were created in the midst of this doctoral journey and taught me that motherhood is a super power! You have brought our family so much joy and laughter, I love you my littlest one.

To my intellectual and scholarly mentors and committee, first, Dr. Joe Lott, who has been my advisor, boss, mentor, and friend, thank you for bringing me into your work and your team and believing in me as a scholar and educator. Your support of me over these years, your kindness, and loyalty have been so meaningful. To Dr. Joy Williamson Lott for encouraging me to continue on with a PhD after the master's degree and for guiding me in my research. To Dr. Rick Bonus for generously meeting with me regularly all seven years that I've been at the UW and being an incredible resource and mentor as a Filipino scholar. To Dr. Kara Jackson for believing in my work and helping me sort out my methods and research design for this study. To all of the Filipinx American scholars that paved the way for me and mentored me; especially Third Andresen, Leah Panganiban, and Anthony Ogilvie for your encouragement and support.

The work of Dr. Fred and Dorothy Cordova, Patricia Halagao, Leny Strobel, Dina Maramba, Maria Root, E.J. David, Kevin Nadal, and Anthony Ocampo have been sacred texts for me.

To University Cooperative School. I don't know what I would have done without this amazing school that my kid is excited to go to every day. The support of the teachers and the parent community has been one of the greatest gifts these past five years. Thank you for being a second home and safe haven of delight and learning for my child while I do my work. Special shout to Jim Riley, Jeanne Garland, my Co-Chair Jonathan Foster, and the board that has supported my leadership during these years. To the Caruso's for being our BFF Family and for all of the carpool, playdate, soccer, and sleepover magic, I love you!! Special thanks to the Drellishaks for generously offering the "Vashak" as an amazing island getaway for me to write. Also next to Ucoop was my second office! To the staff at Herkimer Café! Thank you for the coffee, the hugs, the great playlists, and my productivity power space!

To the Ethnic Cultural Center and Dalya's Dance Crew. This one brings tears. Thank you for being a place of joyful dancing through these years of writing. I feel so bonded with all of you in the way we know each other through silly, sexi, embarrassing dance moves. No matter what's going on, I leave with a smile on my face every time, I honestly think this has been one of the great highlights of my entire life is dancing through graduate school with all of you. You are my dancing family and I'm forever grateful to you! Special shout outs to the original crew, you know who you are, and our humble beginnings in the basement of the School of Social Work! May we continue to raise a glass for all of the joyous milestones in our lives.

To the Brotherhood Initiative for being my scholar family and work team. To the Pipeline Project and the Office of Student Diversity and Inclusion, for being amazing assistantships in my first years of the graduate program. For my students who I've gotten to

grow with as an educator and who teach me so much every day. To the beloved friends I've made in graduate school, Aditi Rajendran & Emily Affolter, and our prismatic bond!!! Christian Love, Tory Brundage, & Ling Yeh, I'm so grateful for our friendship! To my Kriya Velasco, for being my partner in creating liberatory pedagogy for Filipinx Americans!!! Norah Fisher for the many guiding moments and lunch dates. To Christi and the whole Cruz family, thank you for being the best neighbors ever. The day that the slat fell between our fences was a blessing. Thank you for being a safe haven for Carlos and for the open doors between our families. To all the friends old and new, near and far, supporting, cheer leading, encouraging, it means the world.

To Godofredo Perez Jr., who passed away in January of 2020 and who was my uncle, my dad's brother and best friend, and immigration companion on their journey in a freight ship to the U.S. in 1964. Rest in peace Uncle Juno, your joy lives on through us forever.

To all of my ancestors, thank you. This one is for you.

Vitae

Dalya Perez was born in Seattle and grew up in Bothell, Washington. She is a diversity and inclusion strategist and a qualitative researcher. She leads organizations in identifying and applying the solutions across multiple stakeholders and departments that result in high rates of retention, increased inclusion across all touch points, and better economic outcomes for populations that we want to see gains among. She has worked on equity issues ranging from health disparities in Latinx communities, LGBTQ youth empowerment, and various intersections of identity, power, and privilege. In 2002 She earned her Bachelor of Arts from the Evergreen State College in Latin American Studies and Bilingual Education. In 2015 she received her Masters in Education from the University of Washington. In 2020 she earned her Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Leadership & Policy Studies.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This study aims to understand how invisibility and historical erasure impact identity for Filipinx Americans. The roots of Filipinx American historical invisibility date back to colonization of the Philippines, both Spanish and U.S. occupations of the Philippines that continue to have a damaging effect on Filipinx Americans today (Leonardo & Matias, 2013). This invisibility can be examined further by looking at the absence of U.S. Philippine history from textbooks, as well as the general lack of awareness of anything related to Filipinx Americans in contemporary popular culture or dominant narratives. Another form of invisibility of Filipinx Americans is couched in their membership of the Asian racial category. This monolithic racial category obstructs possibilities to examine unique experiences, successes, and challenges Filipinx Americans as well as many other Asian groups face in educational contexts (Teranishi, 2010).

This is a critical qualitative research project focused on understanding Filipinx American undergraduates at the University of Washington Seattle campus. It asks the questions:

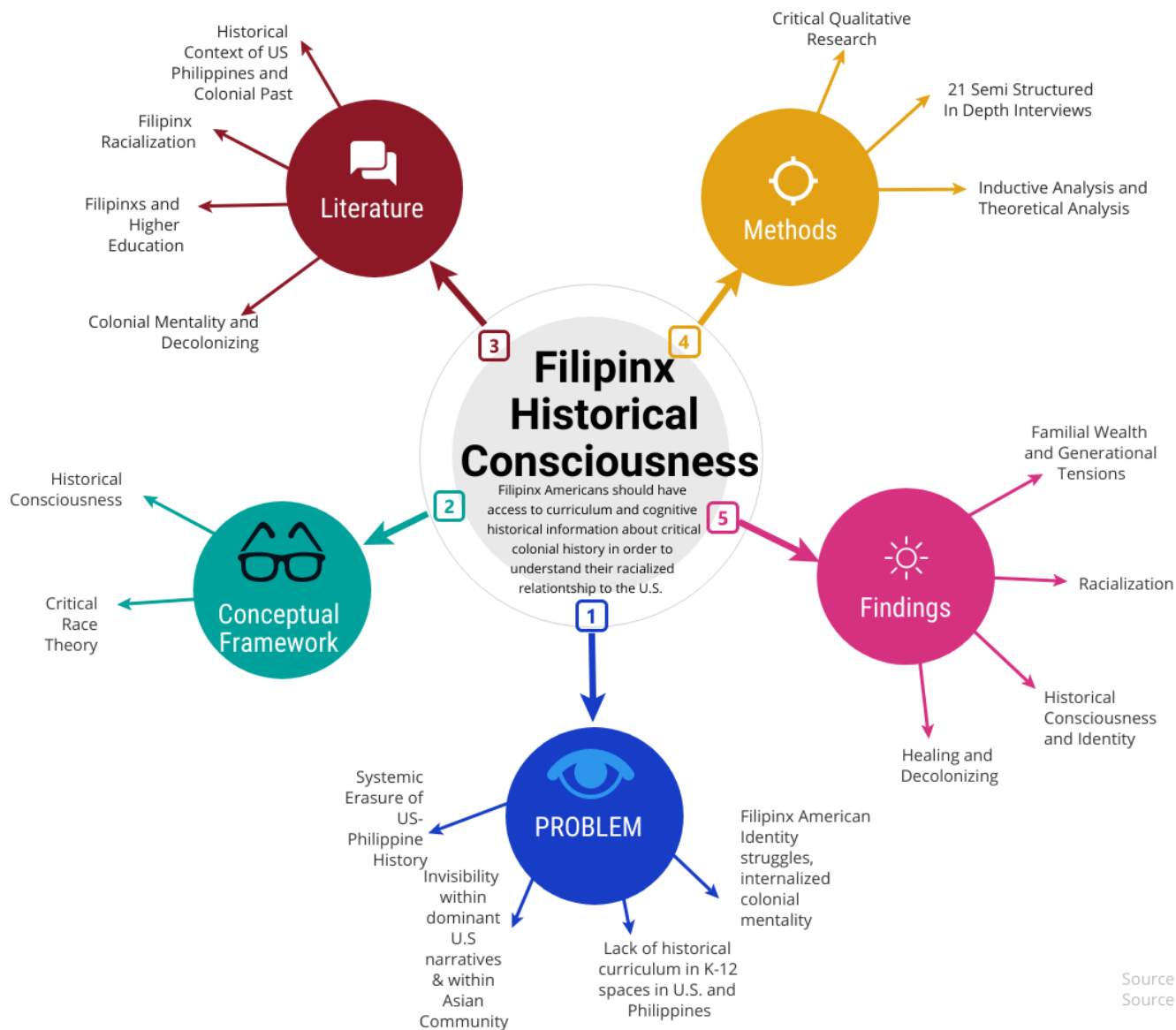
- RQ1: How do Filipinx American undergraduates who have engaged in critical educational experiences understand what it means to be Filipinx American?
- RQ2: How are Filipinx American undergraduates involved in developing historical consciousness?
- RQ3: What does the process of decolonization look like for Filipinx Americans undergraduates?

This qualitative study centers on the stories and in-depth interviews of 21 Filipinx American undergraduate students and 3 Filipinx American faculty, and their reflections on developing historical consciousness and making sense of racial identity. All of my research questions seek to uncover the meaning of phenomena through greater understanding of people's experiences, while also attending to critical historicity, decolonizing, race, and oppression.

Because this project has implications for improving practice as well as contributing to greater understanding of the phenomena of decolonizing for Filipinx American undergraduates, a critical qualitative approach is the best match for my research questions.

In sum, the legacy of historical erasure, starting with colonization in the Philippines, the invisibility of Filipinos as Asian, and the continued lack of historical consciousness for Filipinx Americans are core factors that I seek to understand through this research. My research seeks to examine the relationship between these phenomena and to explore what happens when Filipinx American undergraduates engage in learning critical colonial history (see visual map below of the overall project).

Figure 1: An Overview of Filipinx American Critical Historical Consciousness



Why did I do this research?

During completion of my master's degree in education, I examined issues regarding the civil rights movement of the late 1960's in the Pacific Northwest. I was curious about what racial tensions looked like in the Pacific Northwest during the late 1960's and how Filipinx Americans were racialized and/or involved in the movement. It was hard to find anything: and therein lies the problem. There is an overall lack of research on Filipinx Americans in historical accounts of race in the United States. Through an archival search, I found a series of documents about Filipinx American campus activism at The University of Washington in the late 1960's and demands that students were making on behalf of Filipinx and Asian student recruitment and support, this was the topic of my master's thesis. My dissertation is informed by this history and looks into what's happening fifty years after the Civil Rights movement in contemporary times for Filipinx American undergraduates at the University of Washington.

I created an undergraduate course in winter of 2016 based on my master's thesis about Filipinx American Civil Rights history in the Pacific Northwest. I found while teaching a seminar-style class, that something important was happening for the Filipinx American students in the class. Creating space for learning, making sense of history, and engaging in dialogue and reflective writing was having an impact on Filipinx American students who were sharing feelings about learning Filipinx American history for the first time. Students connected dots between Filipinx civil rights history and their own family stories, and what it meant to hear Filipinx American stories of activism and resistance. This led me to explore the relationship between gaining historical consciousness and racial identity for Filipinx American undergraduates.

Most Filipinx Americans have not seen themselves reflected in history books or have had educators who know anything about their historical context or cultural experiences at the K-12 level. This erasure of history has negative impacts on Filipinx Americans and their sense of identity and racialization. This invisibilization covers up a story of U.S. Philippine war, of colonial schooling, mass Filipinx migration and labor, racism and exploitation of Filipinx people, to name a few. Without learning about this history, Filipinx Americans are miseducated and informed about a history of struggle and resilience which informs their experiences. My research seeks to understand the importance of developing historical consciousness for Filipinx American undergraduates and what the process of decolonizing looks like on a college campus in the Pacific Northwest.

The problem with invisibility

Filipinx Americans are the second largest Asian ethnic group in the United States; and yet, despite their large numbers in the United States, most people do not learn anything about Philippine history or Filipinxs, are hard pressed to name a famous Filipinx person, much less name a Filipinx food dish (Cordova, Cordova, & Acena, 1983; David, 2013; Ocampo, 2016; Panganiban, 2016; Strobel, 2001). Dominant historical narratives have rendered Filipinxs as null or absent from text books or other formal spaces of schooling (Sintos Coloma, 2013). This lack of consciousness is part of a larger institutional invisibility or historical amnesia of U.S. colonization and erasure of U.S. imperialism (Maramba & Bonus, 2013). Another problematic form in invisibilizing has been in combining Filipino American student data together with all other Asian American groups, which does not accurately represent how Filipinx Americans are doing in education (Panganiban, 2016).

Dr. Fred and Dorothy Cordova, the founders of the Filipino American National Historical Society, published their foundational work, *Filipinos the Forgotten Asian Americans: a Pictorial Essay, 1763-1963*. This book, along with other writing of the Cordova's, discusses the early waves of Filipinx immigrants, laborers, families, oral histories and photographs of many Filipinx Americans. They acknowledge that these stories are untold and "forgotten" by many and mention the contributions, success, as well as struggle and adversity that the early Filipino immigrants faced in the United States. This work sheds light on the early contributions of Filipinx laborers as well as their stories, families, and legacies in the United States (Cordova et al., 1983). Despite these many contributions and rich narratives provided by Cordova et al. (1983) of Filipino lives in the United States, there are few other examples of this historical awareness or in the general public. In Roland Sintos Coloma's (2013) book section, *Invisible Subjects; Filipinos/as in Secondary History Text Book*, he examines the marginalization present in school textbooks and found that mention of Filipinx or the Philippines amounts to less than 1% of U.S. History and World History Text books. In addition to the erasure of history, there is minimal information that traces the educational trajectory of Filipino Americans (Museus & Maramba, 2010).

Most studies of Asian American Pacific Islanders (AAPI) are focused on K-12 education and are based on aggregated data which has higher numbers of East Asians, such as Chinese, Japanese and Korean, making it hard to understand specific issues related to Filipinx American Students (Vea, 2013). Because of the Model Minority Stereotypes (MMS) and the aggregating of Asian students in one monolithic category, little attention has been paid to Filipino American Students in higher education (Okamura, 2013). Many Asian American scholars have called for the importance of disaggregating data on Asian American students and to highlight and

understand unique challenges that various Asian students have (Buena Vista, 2010; Museus, 2013; Teranishi, 2010).

When the data on Filipino Americans is disaggregated and census information is examined at a micro level, we can see that there is a downward intergenerational mobility between U.S. born Filipinos and their parents who were Filipino immigrants (Ong & Viernes, 2012). For Filipino Americans the educational attainment stalls or declines by the second and third generation. Filipinos have a markedly lower college completion than their immigrant parents. Such intergenerational discrepancy has not been found in other Asian American groups (Nadal, 2013). This data tells us that Filipinx Americans don't fit into the Model Minority Stereotypes and that more research is necessary to understand the complexities of phenomena related to Filipinx Americans and education. Aggregating data about Asian students has worked to further invisibilize Filipinx American undergraduates. While educational attainment is not the focus of this study, this is an example of how Filipinx Americans are deserving of specific attention and research in education, and how lumping data under the monolithic racial category of Asian obscures our understanding of different ethnic groups. This dissertation examines invisibility for Filipinx American undergraduates and also examines how students grapple with and identify with racial categories.

Summary of Conceptual Frameworks

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is an overarching framework and method that I use to center voices, stories, and experiences of Filipinx American undergraduate students in this dissertation. CRT acknowledges racism and the knowledge that whiteness is valued and renders people of color invisible. CRT starts from the premise that colonization had a damaging effect on the lives, history, and culture of people who have been colonized (Patton, 2016). Specific to this

study, a critical race framework problematizes the ways that historical erasure was used as a colonial tool by the United States in the Philippines and to acknowledge the ways that colonialism continues to impact Filipinx Americans on a college campus. By centering my topic in Filipinx American undergraduates, I aim to amplify voices and stories that are typically invisibilized. It's important to acknowledge that CRT has largely left out Asian Americans and has been used minimally to apply to experiences of Filipinx American undergraduate students (Tumale, 2016).

Historical Consciousness is another theory I use to examine the phenomena of what happens when Filipinx Americans seek to learn US Philippine history. Historical consciousness shapes our autobiographical accounts and understanding of ourselves (Straub, 2005). The act of thinking and arguing historically has implications for how we understand our present situation and how we justify the direction of our future plans and movements; it also informs how we form social and personal identities. How one develops historical consciousness is essential to understand in this research. Historical consciousness is a helpful theory in re-imagining a historical narrative that includes Filipinx American history, people, and struggles and how to make meaning of a history in order for Filipinx American undergraduates to locate and understand themselves, make sense of their stories, and their future trajectory.

Research Gap

As of yet, there are minimal studies, theories, or implications regarding Filipinx American college students and the relationship between lack of historical consciousness and how this impacts their process of racialization. The framework of historical consciousness has not been used in any of the studies and literature that I have explored regarding Filipinx Americans and postsecondary education. While this represents a potential gap, it also represents a

challenge. Much of the literature on historical consciousness comes from a Eurocentric framework, and its references to invisibilized histories are mostly coming from a reference of working class histories as well as Jewish histories (Seixas, 2004). That being said, the literature on historical consciousness is interdisciplinary and spans across history, historiography, psychology, as well as anthropology and others. This presents an interesting challenge and an opportunity to expand upon theory, while applying the lens of historical consciousness to a study of Filipinx American undergraduates.

There is also a lack of cohesion in how race and racism is discussed on a college campus; most research on racial identity rarely addresses applicability in higher education contexts (Patton, 2016, p. 25). The analysis of racial identity development and racism is sorely needed in colleges and universities as racialized transgressions from microaggressions to violence are pervasive on college campuses (Patton, 2016). A few scholars including Tatum (1992) have encouraged faculty to learn more about their own and students' racial identities. Tatum says that the only way to displace white racial identity as the universal norm is by challenging ourselves and students to name it (Tatum, 1992, p. 82). Other scholars have suggested that student affairs and academic affairs individuals be responsible for facilitating dialogue, hosting programs that address race, create policy change, structural diversity and assessment (Bensimon, 2005). Workshops have been created for student affairs administrators that focus on unlearning racism and in working with White students to not view other racial groups as invisible (Patton, 2016, p. 114). Academic affairs have been encouraged to revise curriculum to offer more diversity courses, cultural centers, and to have an office for multicultural affairs (Patton, 2016). An understanding of Filipinx American undergraduate racialization and experience is missing from the higher education landscape especially through the lens of Critical Race Theory and centering

critical colonial history as a central component of identity development. I hope that this dissertation has added an opportunity for Filipinx American undergrads to see, understand, and become connected to their own history. Another goal is adding scholarly implications for institutional level support and responsibility for how ethnic studies and community spaces shape identity; and finally, is around correcting the curricular and cultural silence for Filipinx Americans and encouraging robust voices and visibility for Filipinx Americans and the historical consciousness that comes with it. This dissertation adds to the field of higher education in better serving Filipinx American undergraduates and the value of their voices and stories in defining who they are.

Introductory History and Context

In order to understand Filipinx American undergraduates, we must understand where the Philippines is and how Filipinxs came to be here in the United States. Part of the challenge for most Filipinx American scholars is that we must provide this overview since it has been omitted from history books and from dominant narratives. I argue that this historical context is important for all Americans to understand because of the large representation of Filipinx Americans and the many contributions they've made to United States history and culture. This history has been absent from contemporary K-12 schooling as well as mainstream dominant narratives. Many Filipinx American scholars include historical coordinates as the introduction to their research on Filipinx Americans in order to connect contemporary problems to greater historic roots (David, 2013; Maramba & Bonus, 2013; Root, 1997; Sintos Coloma, 2013). This contextual overview focuses on a basic chronology of colonization in the Philippines and how this impacted education, immigration, as well as the history of Filipinx Americans being categorized as Asian.

This content is an abbreviated version of things that many Filipinx American students learn for the first time as young adults in ethnic studies courses.

The Philippines are an archipelago, or cluster of islands, located in between Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific regions, in the region known as Oceania in the Pacific Ocean. Filipinx are part of the Austronesian group, a linguistic family of people who speak Austronesian languages including Malay, Indonesian, Maori, Native Hawaiian, Chamorro, Samoan, and Tongan (Bellwood et al., 2006). The majority of Filipino people are descendants of Indonesians and Malays who migrated to the islands in successive waves over many centuries. The indigenous people who inhabited the archipelago islands were called the Tao and were culturally diverse groups of people who were self-sustaining, with deeply established customs, governing structures, language, music, religious beliefs, and skills for subsisting from the land and ocean, before European colonization (David, 2013).

In 1521 Spain arrived to colonize the archipelago under King Philip II and occupied for 300 years. The islands were named “Philippines” after King Philip II (Larkin, 1982). It is crucial to acknowledge that it took Spain approximately 50 years to quell the indigenous Tao’s opposition to the Spanish occupation and that the Spanish were met with fierce resistance. Ferdinand Magellan, the famous Spanish explorer who landed in the Philippines in 1521 was killed by Lapu Lapu, one of the greatest indigenous warriors (David, 2013). These years of Spanish rule in the Philippines are referred to many as the “Convent,” as they used the propagation of Catholicism as a primary agenda for their “civilization” efforts (David, 2013). Spanish colonization in the Philippines was happening in tandem with the colonies in Mexico, Central and South America, aligning the Philippine culture, governance, architecture uniquely with much of the Spanish speaking world (Ocampo, 2016).

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

In 1898 following the Spanish-American War, the United States assumed colonial rule of the Philippines, Cuba, Guam, and Puerto Rico. The Filipinxs, who had been actively working towards independence from Spain, declared war upon the United States in what was known as the U.S. Philippine war from February 4, 1899 to July 2, 1902 (Racelis, 2001). Although the war officially ended in U.S. victory in 1902, Filipinxs continued to fight for independence for over ten years following the end of the war resulting in over 200,000 Filipinx casualties cumulatively by 1913 (Racelis, 2001). The United States perceived its rule in the Philippines as an extension of Manifest Destiny, and as “benevolent” rather than tyrannical, yet the casualties and violent battles went on for over a decade. Many people do not know or remember the Philippine-American war as it is often overlooked in text books (David, 2013; Sayles, 2010; Sintos Coloma, 2013). This long and bloody war is evidence to the falsehood of the Old Western narrative that the US colonization was received as a gift of benevolence by the inhabitants; rather, it was fiercely resisted (Racelis, 2001; Wunder, 1994).

These years of U.S. occupation in the Philippines are known as the “Hollywood years,” due to the colonial heritage producing pervasive cultural Americanization of the population, exhorting Filipinos to regard American culture and way of life as superior to their own (David,

2013; Espiritu & Wolf, 2001). The U.S. occupation affected and continues to pervade all segments of Philippine society, from English curriculum in schools, to military naval bases, to economic and business relationships forged between the two countries. The Philippines was granted commonwealth status in 1935 with the implementation of the Tydings McDuffey Act, which aimed to limit Filipinx immigration to the U.S. (Fujita-Rony, 2003).

Preparation for a fully sovereign state was interrupted by the Japanese occupation of the islands during World War II. After the war ended, the Treaty of Manila established the Philippine Republic as an independent nation. In the late 1960s and early 1970s there was a rise of student activism and civil unrest against 20-year Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos who declared martial law in 1972, he was eventually ousted by mass protests known as the “People Power Movement” in the 1980’s (Schock, 1999). The Philippines has struggled in its years of democracy and has been marked by political instability and hampered economic productivity (Hutchcroft, 1998). The current president Rodrigo Duterte is also has once again implemented martial law in parts of the Philippines as well as extrajudicial killings of drug dealers and addicts (Berehulak, 2016; Coronel, 2016).

Thomasites and U.S. Colonial Schooling in the Philippines

At the turn of the 20th century, a United States military appointee was charged with a fact-finding mission to replicate Indian education and use it as a blueprint for colonial education in the Philippines. In the United States, Indian education took the form of boarding schools, whose purpose was to separate Native American children from their families, to strip them of their indigenous culture, language, names, traditions, and to replace those things with European and Christian culture and values (Leonardo & Matias, 2013). The phrase used at Native

boarding schools “kill the Indian to save the man,” also applied to the U.S. approach to Filipino education (Hsu, 2013; Lomawaima, 1994).

Shortly thereafter, a military act required the transport of 600 teachers from the US to Philippines. The teachers traveled via the USAT Thomas, a military ship, and they became known as “The Thomasites” (Racelis, 2001). The teachers, who were primarily White, were on a colonial military mission to educate the “savages” and brought with them English language and U.S. history curriculum in order to train teachers in the Philippines (Hsu, 2013; Racelis, 2001). Perhaps most notably, the Philippine educational system was revamped using the American system as the model and English as the language of instruction. This colonial education system was viewed as an instrument of assimilation and subjugation because it taught Filipino youth to regard American culture as superior to any other (Coloma, 2004; Constantino, 1982).

Despite the problematic nature of U.S. colonial education, the popular education model provided an increase in access to schooling and literacy that was previously only for the elite and affluent under Spain. In his iconic book, *America is in The Heart*, Carlos Bulosan, a Filipino author born in the Philippines in 1913, writes about the moment his mother told him he was going to school, he writes about his sentiments, “School! The stars gleamed brightly” (Bulosan, 1973 p 41). He talks about his imagination of the US as a place of racial equality. He bases this idea upon his Thomasite education in the Philippines, where he learned about Abraham Lincoln, described to him as “a poor boy who became a president of the United States and then who died for a Black person” (Bulosan, 1973 p 70). Bulosan was deeply touched by the story of Abraham Lincoln taught to him by a Thomasite teacher and became fixated on this story. Bulosan, like many other Filipino immigrants of this time, thought that the U.S. would be a place of liberation,

however he experienced heartbreaking racial discrimination, physical violence, and died a tragic death due to lack of access to health care (Bulosan, 1973).

Amongst the U.S. teachers who were aboard the USAT Thomas was Carter G. Woodson, an African American author and educator whose seminal work is titled, *The Miseducation of the Negro*, published over 30 years after his time in the Philippines, which critiqued the structural and systemic features of American education that cause social segregation, economic disparity, and class distinctions among people of color and white citizens. Woodson's analysis of schooling as a means of colonization in the Philippines influenced his seminal publication (T. Andresen, 2013). Later in 1959 a Filipino historian, Renato Constantino would write a famous publication similarly titled, *Miseducation of the Filipino*, which interrogates the militarized colonial mission of US Schooling and English only curriculum in the Philippines (Constantino, 1982). English curriculum in the Philippines persists in contemporary times and Constantino's concerns regarding demand of language are still germane for Filipinx today. For second generation Filipinx Americans loss of Filipinx language is also common (Bonus, 2000; Strobel, 2001). The legacy of English-only curriculum has resulted in a break in passing on native language to the next generation for many Filipino Americans (Rafael, 2016).

Pensionados and Transnationalism

The second educational indoctrination under U.S. colonization was the Pensionado Program. The Pensionado Program began in 1903 in order to send young Filipinx elites to U.S. colleges and universities in order to return and govern the Philippines, complete with a colonized mind and American ideals (Leonardo & Matias, 2013). While some argue that Pensionados were the elites of the Philippines obtaining U.S. education to continue the U.S. colonial mission, many

Pensionados used their position as students at American Universities to argue on behalf of Philippine independence (Posadas, 2013).

In 1904, the year following the first Pensionados, a major fair took place in St. Louis in order to educate America about the indigenous people of the Philippines. The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, held in St. Louis in 1904, displayed a “Philippine Reservation,” which spanned 47 acres and was the centerpiece of the exposition. The exhibit cost one million dollars and included over 1,000 Filipinos who were on display and represented various groups from the archipelago. Among them were indigenous group such as the Igorots who performed the sacrifice of a dog 20 times each day and represented the “wild savages” that America was taming with their benevolent colonial mission (Vergara, 2013). Also at the fair were 98 Pensionado students who represented the “Filipino potential” and the possibility of Filipino acceptance in the United States (Vergara, 2013).

Pensionados used their position to partake in nation building, both in U.S. and in the Philippines; they also refuted claims that Filipinxs were savages in need of saving (Posadas, 2013). The number of Pensionados declined over time due to insufficient funds and the growth and improvement of the Filipinx higher education system (Catapusan, 1941). Eventually, the majority of Filipinx students in the United States were not Pensionados but rather self-supporting students (Mariano, 1933).

Labor, Immigration, and Racism

The first recorded Filipinxs came to the U.S. in the 1500s, the first major wave of Filipinx migration were seamen (Manilamen) in Acapulco who crossed the Gulf of Mexico into Louisiana in 1763. They established a series of Philippine-style fishing villages and pioneered the dried shrimp industry in America (Mariano, 1933).

By 1920, there were only about 5,603 Filipinos in the United States, the majority of whom were Pensionados studying at U.S. universities (Root, 1997). With the passing of the 1924 the Immigration Act, which placed a quota on all immigrants, as U.S. Nationals, Filipinos were exempt from this Act and the reduction in Japanese and Chinese labor provided a demand for more Filipino laborers which brought approximately 45,000 additional Filipinos to Hawaii and the West Coast states by 1926. These laborers were American nationals and like Bulosan, were products of a Thomasite school system that preached the best of American ideals (Bacho, 1997). This wave of immigrants, referred to as the “Manong generation” were predominantly young, unmarried male laborers who were escaping rural poverty in the Philippines and seeking what they believed was a life of meritocracy (Bacho, 1997).

In 1934, Filipino immigration was limited by the Tydings-McDuffie Act. This act granted the Philippines commonwealth status while restricting the immigration of Filipinos to the U.S. to fifty people a year. Former American nationals, Filipinos became “aliens” ineligible for federal assistance and many jobs (Min, 1995). In 1935, the Filipino Repatriation Act went one step further by providing Filipino immigrants with free transportation back to the Philippines. Fewer than 2,200 immigrants took the government’s offer (Fujita-Rony, 2003). The 1965 immigration policies re-opened the decades of restrictive immigration and resulted in an influx of highly educated and skilled Filipinx workers. For many Filipinxs their college education was a means to immigration to the U.S. Despite their education and skills, many have only been able to obtain employment as substandard service workers in the U.S. (Buonavista, 2013).

Filipinx Americans as Asian

The political and social climate on the West Coast was not encouraging for permanent settlement for Filipino laborers who arrived after the Chinese and Japanese and were referred to

as “The Third Oriental Invasion” (Tamayo Lott, 1997). Filipinos were victimized by anti-Oriental racism and legalized segregation which barred them from hotels, cafes, swimming pools, pool halls, barber shops, apartments and other facilities. In the Pacific Northwest, Filipinos were also banned from owning land in Washington, they could not vote, hold elective office, start commercial businesses or marry white women (Fujita-Rony, 2003, Cordova et al., 1983).

Filipinos were publicly called “Little Brown Monkeys” and were exploited by labor contractors who overcharged and underpaid them (Cordova et al., 1983). The Manong generation, many of whom came without family ties, were characterized by racist stereotypes which associated them with gambling, drinking, and they were perceived as a threat to the White community for engaging in relationships with White women (Bulosan, 1973). The Depression in the 1920’s accelerated Anti Filipino agitation, for instance in 1928 in Yakima, Washington the “Kick the Filipinos out” movement sparked and spread quickly south to Exeter, California and other farm working communities (*Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project*, n.d.). Filipino laborers were seen as a growing economic and social threat to bigoted White Americans (Cordova et al., 1983).

Although Filipinos were racially categorized with other Asians, Chinese and Japanese immigrants had larger and more established communities that had been on the West Coast longer than Filipinos. Many Japanese and Chinese communities had their own ethnic organizations and excluded Filipinos as well as Blacks from their labor unions in the 1920’s-40’s (Taylor & Rice, 1994). Out of necessity for more numbers and political power the Filipinos formed cooperation and solidarity with the Black community (Taylor & Rice, 1994).

Alliances and tensions amongst Asian communities were complex and shifted according

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

One of the most problematic phenomena that has resulted in categorizing people as Asian American is the Model Minority Stereotype, which was first referenced in 1960 when an article about Asian American success in the New York Times titled "*Model Minority*" was published. In 1966 another New York Times article titled, "*Success Story: Japanese American Style*," similarly wrote about Asians as a model minority and was framed as the example to other groups of Color in the U.S, especially in regards to race based affirmative action (Banks, 2010).

The model minority myth has been written about extensively in regards to Asian American Pacific Islanders (AAPI) in education (Cho, 2011; Museus, 2013; Panganiban, 2016; Teranishi, 2010). Educationally, Asian Americans are often portrayed in the media and public discourse as "model minorities" and are often perceived to experience few, if any, social and psychological problems in their adjustment to life in the United States (Uba, 2003). The theory that Asian Americans academically excel, especially in the areas of science and mathematics, is the model minority stereotype that has received the most attention over the years (Teranishi, 2010). This Model Minority Stereotype (MMS) theory contains a noticeable number of characteristics such as hard-working, uncomplaining, persevering, disciplined, conservative,

clean, obedient, and law abiding (Butterfield, 1986). This seemingly positive stereotype has resulted in resentment or terms such as the “Asian Invasion” of higher education, and has also resulted in the assumption that AAPI students don’t have needs or concerns worthy of attention (Teranishi, 2010).

Summary of Introduction

In summary, Filipinx Americans have a long and complex history of colonization and migration to the United States. Schooling and educational indoctrinations under U.S. colonial rule acted to systemically erase Filipinx history and to replace it with U.S. content, White supremacy, and American ideologies. Immigration to the U.S. is, and was, racialized as Filipinx were used as cheap labor during restrictive immigration quotas for other Chinese and Japanese immigrants. Filipinx Americans have interconnected history with other Asian communities and a shared movement for solidarity and anti-Orientalism that came out of the Civil Rights movement, but there are historical tensions and differences that deserve to be acknowledged. This study examines what happens for Filipinx American undergraduates when they seek to learn about these historical events for the first time and how it shifts their understandings of their own families, their racial identities, and transforms the framework for how they view the world and themselves.

Roadmap to the Dissertation

The following chapters will be as follows. Chapter 2 is the conceptual framework which will help anchor this study in the theories that overlay the design, as well as informing how I coded the data. I will introduce the idea of Critical Historical Consciousness for Filipinx Americans as the framework that draws upon tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT), Colonial Mentality, and Historical Consciousness. Chapter 3 will focus on previous scholarship and

literature that has applied CRT to Filipinx Americans, an overview of extant literature on Filipinx Americans in education, Filipinx Americans in higher education, Filipinx Americans and racial identity, and finally an overview of regional scholarship from other University of Washington Filipinx American dissertations.

In Chapter 4, I provide an overview and rationale of using Critical Qualitative research methods, I discuss the research setting, the design context, my own positionality, purposeful sampling and data collection and in-depth interviews, and finally analysis and trustworthiness. My findings are organized into two chapters; Chapter 5 Findings Part I: The Space in Between: Liminality, Dual Consciousness & Anti Essentialism for Filipinx Americans and Chapter 6 Findings Part II: Critical Historical Consciousness: Facing the painful past and decolonizing.

Chapter 7 is the discussion, implications and conclusion of the project where I discuss and highlight three major findings and implications of this paper. One implication of this work is the perpetuation of Filipinx American invisibility and how this contrasts with familial cultural wealth. The second implication focuses on the importance of building narrative competence of Filipinx American history alongside emotional and community support. Finally, the third implication is regarding Critical colonial history and Filipinxs aligning with Pacific Islander racialization.

Chapter TWO

Conceptual framework: Filipinx American Critical Historical Consciousness

This chapter outlines how tenets of critical race theory and historical consciousness apply to this project. Drawing from CRT are specific components that are useful for this study, such as Counter Narratives as well as tenets of Asian Crit. Colonial Mentality and Decolonizing for Filipinx Americans are important conceptual frameworks that anchor this study; this chapter describes them in depth. This chapter also defines components of Historical Consciousness, a framework that is helpful in understanding what happens when Filipinx American undergraduates learn critical colonial history for the first time and shift in their historical consciousness. The diagram of *Critical Historical Consciousness* below visualizes how I brought together these various theories to inform design and analysis.

Figure 2: Filipinx American Critical Historical Consciousness



Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is an overarching framework that I use to center voices and experiences of Filipinx American undergraduate students. Race and racism are at the center of CRT, which includes an analysis of history, cultural, social, and power relations through a racialized lens. The origins of CRT go back to WEB Dubois (1903) and came to formation in Critical Law Studies in 1989 (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). This framework and theory was largely co-created by Derrick Bell, Kimberle Crenshaw, Richard Delgado, Patricia Williams, and Mari Matsuda. Foundational to its philosophy is that race and racism are endemic to U.S. society and that racism intersects with all other forms of oppression (Solorzano, 1998).

CRT has five tenets, all of which are relevant to this study: 1) Intercentricity of race and racism with other forms of subordination 2)The challenge to dominant ideologies, rejecting notions of neutrality or objectivity, and distorting dominant epistemologies; 3) Centrality of experiential knowledge and the importance of storytelling and family histories; 4) Transdisciplinary—it values interdisciplinary concepts and challenges ahistoricism; 5) Challenges the master narrative that whiteness is natural or superior (Solorzano, 1998).

CRT as a framework serves to problematize the experiences of Filipinx American undergraduates as rooted in a legacy of racism. CRT challenges notions of color blindness, meritocracy, objectivity and neutrality and posits that racism is endemic to the United States (Ladson-Billings, 1998). CRT has three core assumptions, 1) Dominant racial groups have the power to act on racist beliefs; 2) dominant racial groups benefit from this power; and 3) dominant racial groups benefit from institutional racism. Racism towards Filipinx Americans dates back to the violence and killing in U.S. Philippine war, the educational indoctrinations marshalled by U.S. colonization, the Anti-Filipinx riots in the 1920's and 1930's along the West

Coast, the oppressive treatment of Filipinx laborers, and the continued and contemporary downward mobility of Filipinxs in the educational and socio-economic pipeline to name a few (Bogardus, 1930; Coloma, 2004; Fujita-Rony, 2003; Leonardo & Matias, 2013; Ong & Viernes, 2012; Tintiangco-Cubales, 2013).

Counternarratives

CRT values intersectionality, transformative responses, storytelling, interview, fiction, family stories, and personal narrative. Re-telling, or counter storytelling the racialized experiences of POC are central to CRT (Brown, 2018). Storytelling and counternarratives are grounded in experiences and knowledge of POC. Counternarratives is at once a research method and form of resistance, as it crosses borders and blurs boundaries to develop new theories and to better understand those on the margins (Brown, 2018). *Counter Storytelling as Analytical Framework for Education Research* by Solorzano and Yosso (2002) discussed the importance of storytelling or counternarratives as critical to CRT. Counternarratives oppose the idea of color blindness which dominates public and private discussions on race such as ideas regarding “post-racial” society and culture. Contrary to post-racial color blindness is the idea of race consciousness, which is bolstered by centering narratives of POC (Brown, 2018). Counternarratives also contradict deficit frameworks on people of color and center stories of self-definition as an important form of epistemology.

Asian Crit

CRT has left out a rich analysis on Asians in its foundational literature. Museus and Iftakar’s (2013) tenets of Asian Crit are useful in applying CRT to Filipinx Americans. Asian Critical Race Theory (Asian Crit) by Museus and Iftakar (2013) outlines seven tenets of CRT for Asians which I summarize below:

1. *Asianization*: acknowledges the endemic racism in the U.S. as well as the problematic ways that Asians have been lumped into a monolithic racial category and treated as perpetual foreigners. Racism to Asians as well as lumping them into this one category has perpetuated policies and practices that have had harmful implications for Asians.
2. *Transnational contexts*: highlights the importance that many Asian Americans have complex historical and contemporary relationships to their home countries, some of which involve displacement as a result of U.S. military and war, as well as colonial histories, and immigration policies and global economies which have resulted in the diaspora of many Asians around the world.
3. *(Re)constructive History*: emphasizes how Asian Americans have been rendered silent and invisible from dominant historical narratives. This tenet discusses the importance of revising historical narratives to shed light upon the racism that Asians have experiences in the U.S.
4. *Strategic Anti-Essentialism*: This tenet builds off of CRT anti-essentialism in that it believes in developing intricate knowledge of the diversity within racial groups and communities. The strategic element of this tenet also acknowledges the importance of some forms of categorization and unity between communities, while also dismantling ideas of Asians as a homogenous group.
5. *Intersectionality*: acknowledges that all systems of oppression and subordination intersect. This tenet also rejects that one form of oppression is more salient than the other, while Asian Crit centers on racism it also values a complex and multilayered analysis on identities, policies, environments, histories etc. facing Asian Americans.
6. *Story, Theory, and Practice*: this tenet underscores the CRT value of storytelling as well as counter-stories, how story informs theory, and how theory guides practice.
7. *Commitment to Social Justice*: highlights the importance of intersectional social justice. That while eradicating racism is central to this theory, doing this in tandem with ending sexism, capitalism, ableism, homophobia, etc. is essential to ending oppression and working towards social justice (Museus & Iftikar, 2013, pp. 23–27).

The Asian Crit tenets are useful to my research, particularly illuminating upon (Re)constructive history in problematizing Filipinx American's lack of historical consciousness about U.S. Philippine history. Transnational Contexts is another tenet useful for problematizing the conditions in which many Filipinx Americans came to be in the United States. Story, Theory, and Practice is a tenet that informs my methods as far as engaging in a critical qualitative project and leaning on counter-narratives as my main form of data.

In summary, CRT as a framework is helpful to understand ways that Filipinx American undergraduates have been rendered invisible by systemic racism and colonization. The tenets from CRT are useful guides in examining the complexity of racialized experiences for Filipinx Americans as they intersect with other identities. CRT counternarratives support me in illuminating the voices, stories and experiences of Filipinx Americans. I hope to add to the body of CRT literature and theory on Filipinx Americans.

Colonial Mentality and Decolonizing for Filipinx American Students

Colonialism negatively affected the culture, identity, historical memory, economy, education, and religion of the Philippines which produced a ‘colonial mentality’ (Strobel, 2001). Strobel (2001) defines Colonial Mentality as a “lack of critical awareness of forces of domination and oppression that shape attitudes, values, behavior of the colonized (p. 15).” She translates this to ways that Filipinxs lack political clout, lack ethnic pride, and try to make themselves “in the image of the colonizer” Strobel identifies the importance for Filipinx Americans to search for their authentic selves and states that this is how Filipinx Americans will find *Kalayaan*, or freedom, which is only possible through transformation of the inner being.

E.J. David’s (2013) *Colonial Mentality* points to various ways that colonialism has been internalized by Filipino Americans and manifests in:

1. Denigration of one’s self
2. Denigration of one’s culture
3. Discrimination against those less acculturated
4. Tolerance and acceptance of contemporary oppression of one’s ethnic group

Colonial mentality can be defined for Filipinxs as the valorization of light skin, the linguistic dominance of English, the all-for-America attitude, and perhaps more insidious, is the lack of historical self-understanding which has resulted in a distorted a sense of identity, a lack of cultural pride, and a sense of subordination (David, 2013). Because of the Philippine’s

history of Spanish colonization, their contemporary neo-colonial status with the United States, and the assimilation processes as Filipino Americans, it is no wonder that the literature and findings on Filipino racialization revolve on ethnic identity confusion, pan-ethnic identity, and colonial mentality. It is also important to understand the external forces of racism and ways that the MMS pigeon holes and perpetuates stereotypes of Asian Americans as well as further invisibilizes the unique experiences and racialization processes for Filipino Americans.

Connected to CRT are postcolonial theories. Postcolonial theories start with the premise that colonization had a damaging effect on the lives, history, and culture of people who have been colonized (Patton, 2016). In Fanon's seminal book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, he lays out the four general stages of colonization. In the first stage, the colonizer purposefully takes over a country. The second stage is when the colonizer exploits, appropriates and belittles the country's culture. The third stage substitutes the indigenous culture with the dominant culture. The fourth stage justifies colonialism in the name of nobility and uplifting 'uncivilized' people (Fanon, 2004). This model of stages of colonialism is helpful in understanding the process of colonization of the Philippines. Over 350 years of Spanish, 50 years of U.S. colonialism and Japanese occupation during World War II were debilitating.

Dr. Leny Strobel's (2001) *Coming Full Circle*, and her research on decolonizing for Filipinx Americans is an inspiration for my own framework. I consider her work to be foundational to the understanding of critical consciousness for Filipinx American undergraduates. Her work has been instrumental in defining decolonizing for Filipinx Americans and for creating an action-based model for how to support Filipinx American undergraduates in this work. Strobel (2001) provides historical context to the decolonizing movement which began after WWII when countries such as Algeria, Nigeria, and the Philippines declared their independence. She draws

upon Fanon (1963) and Memmi (1965) and examines ways that the colonialism creates a system of awards and punishments for the purpose of Indigenous people internalizing their oppression to ensure their survival. She talks about Filipinx Americans as the “silent majority,” that despite the large numbers of Filipinx Americans, the Filipinx story has yet to be heard by the American public and that the master narratives have systematically silenced this history (Strobel, 2001). Previous works have described Filipinx Americans as “invisible,” Strobel adds this idea of “silence” and the way that Filipinx Americans have been systemically unheard. Strobel’s definition and articulation of the context and history of decolonizing for Filipinx Americans set the stage for other scholars, including myself, to expand upon this.

Strobel used Participatory Research methods and engaged 8 Filipinx American undergraduate students in a year-long decolonizing project (Strobel, 2001). Strobel assigned Filipinx American texts to her students and engaged in a dialogical process where the students provided their input and interpretation, thereby creating an interactive experience for the students and fostering interpersonal relationships and knowledge. She described the initial process of decolonizing as unlearning, or coming to terms with the colonial legacy and its impacts on the psyche and imagination of Filipinxs (Strobel, 2001). Similar to Strobel, my research centers students who have engaged in decolonizing curriculum and reflective processes and examines how they make meaning of this knowledge. Much of my research focuses on a similar ‘coming-to-terms’ process with a history that has not been previously learned.

Strobel (2001) included several practices in her participatory curriculum with Filipinx American undergraduates: among them were deconstructing the role of religion and colonization, examining Filipinx languages, engaging in cultural practices and developing a critical analysis of history. Strobel implemented journaling for her students as a tool of reflection to find the

interconnection with the academic content and their personal lives. Strobel's research is anchored in the belief that a recovery of indigenous knowledge which has been repressed under colonization is foundational to decolonizing. Strobel also talked about the importance of coming to terms with the violence and racism of U.S. colonialism in the Philippines in order to make a space for healing and transformation (Strobel, 2001). She described this coming-to-terms as a painful process that involves facing psychic and epistemic violence of history and often experiencing a crisis of identity and knowing. Similarly, to Strobel, my project focuses on the transformative experience of learning painful history and making sense of this. One divergence in our studies is that mine focuses more on racialized experiences and sociopolitical identities as people of color and less on a return to indigenous knowledge. I think this divergence occurred organically, since Indigenous Psychology wasn't built into the curriculum of my own Filipinx American studies class and also, it didn't come up on its own in my interviews.

Strobel cites Filipinx scholars throughout Philippine history who have created a counter narrative of resistance to U.S. colonialism and uses this literature to share with her students. Strobel also draws largely upon the work of Virgilio Enriquez who founded the field of Filipinx Indigenous Psychology, or *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*. Enriquez (1990) identified core Indigenous values to Filipinxs such as the idea of *kapwa*—a shared sense of identity with others; *loob*—honor, equality, and human rights; *damdam*—the capacity to feel for another; and *paninindigan*—the strength of conviction (Strobel, 2001). Enriquez (1992) *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* theories embody a form of liberation psychology as well as an indigenous theology that embraces the belief in superstitions, faith healers, ghosts, enchanted places, mythological creatures, and believes that many of these practices have coexisted in tandem with Catholic rituals and conversion. Strobel also talked about the idea that some thinking structures and

mental processes of Filipinxs have remained indigenous, but that the imposition of a foreign language implied the inferiority of the Native languages (Strobel, 2001).

The findings of the Strobel (2001) study reveal generative themes in the process of decolonizing for undergraduate Filipinx Americans. There are three primary findings: a. There is a search for cognitive knowledge about Filipinx and Filipinx American history and culture; b. The importance of positive confrontation with emotion aspects of the decolonizing process; and c. A search for a new way of constructing knowledge which weaves in aspects of decolonization. Out of these core findings she found eleven generative themes, three of which stand out as most useful to my study: the first is *The Power of Naming and Telling*, which is about emerging from silence to narrate the Filipinx story and be in community; second is *Generational Responsibilities* and exploring what the relationship should be with the Philippines and the parent culture; third is *Educational Expectations* which addresses the need for Filipinx American K-12 teachers to teach language and history (Strobel, 2001).

The implications of Strobel's study point to the importance of decolonizing for Filipinx Americans as a way to reconnect with the past in order to understand the present as well as the future. Strobel (2011) also believes that central to this work is strengthening the cultural connection to Filipinx indigenous culture as a source of grounding. One of the critical questions that she asked participants of her study was, "What are the turning points in a person's life that create the need to re-create or rediscover one's ethnic roots as a Filipinx, and how do we go about meeting this need? (p. 120)". The participants unanimously talked about college ethnic studies as a turning point. This finding is critical for my own study as I interview students who have all taken an ethnic studies course about U.S. Philippine history.

Another scholar that outlines components of the process of decolonizing Patricia Halagao (2010). Ten years after Patricia Espiritu (last name is now Halagao) and Timothy Cordova's Pinoy Teach project (1996) aimed to empower college students to teach Filipinx American history to Middle School students, Halagao (2010) wrote an article titled *Liberating Filipino Americans through decolonizing curriculum*. This study examined the impacts of Pinoy Teach on the undergraduate student-teachers who taught US Philippine history lessons to youth. She found that one third of the student teachers stated that Pinoy Teach was responsible for instilling in them 1) Love and appreciation of ethnic history, culture, and identity; 2) Lasting empowerment; 3) Life-long embodiment; and 4) Confirmed their commitment to activism. Halagao (2010) found that over 50% of the student teachers pursued careers and advanced degrees in education. While Halagao stated that the original intent was not to create a decolonizing curriculum, but by virtue of including so many elements of Filipino cultural pride, critical colonial history, social justice, and giving back to community, it resulted in a decolonizing pedagogy (Halagao, 2010). Here is Halagao's (2010) outline of important components of a decolonizing curriculum for Filipinx American students:

1. Deep and critical thinking of one's history and culture within a multicultural and global context so as to see how concepts such as diversity, multiculturalism, imperialism, oppression and revolution, and racism are universal.
2. A decolonizing curriculum must be feeling-based with activities that promote love of self, empathy, perspective-taking, and stirs up anger. Mixed emotions of mourning, dreaming, confusion, struggle, excitement, passion, and empathy are natural feelings to encounter, discuss openly, and help students move forward in the decolonization process.
3. A decolonizing curriculum needs to create an academic and social space for formerly colonized people to gather, unite, and fight systems of oppression.
4. A decolonizing curriculum teaches life skills such as critical thinking, public speaking, and social interaction that enhance one personally and professionally.

5. A decolonizing curriculum must have a social-action component that develops leadership, models activism, produces empowerment, self-efficacy, and inspires carving one's own niche in giving back to the community to effect social change (Halagao, 2010).

Drawing upon both Strobel (2001) and Halagao (2004) is the decolonizing research by E.J. David, who has written about Colonial Mentality and how it impacts Filipinx Identity (E. J. R. David, 2013). David's (2013) study also draws upon the work of Nadal's (2004) Pilipino American Identity Development model as well as the Colonial Mentality Scale by David and Okazaki (2006). In David's (2013) book, *Brown Skin, White Minds, Filipino/American Postcolonial Psychology*, he also describes something called Filipino American Decolonization Experience (FADE), or "FADE-ing away our colonial mentality" (p. 179). David (2009) gathered a group of eight Filipinx Americans to engage in an experience that incorporated key decolonization and Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy components. The participants went through twenty sessions focused on Filipinx Americans developing a deeper understanding of themselves as well as lectures and discussions about Filipinx and Filipinx American history.

Similar to Strobel's (2001) study the participants in the FADE program developed feelings of anger, pain and identity confusion upon identifying some of the problematic aspects of colonial history and the ways that this had impacted their lives (David, 2013). Cognitive Behavioral Therapy tools and activities used in this program involved participants writing Colonial Mentality logs, oppression logs, mental health logs, as well as taking the Colonial Mentality Scale assessment (a 36-question assessment). In the end the participants were able to build bridges between the historical colonialism and present day oppression as well as identify their own Colonial Mentality and connect this to their mental health (David, 2013).

There are three Decolonization and Cognitive Behavioral Components (CBT) which David (2013) identifies as essential to the FADE program: 1) The Past, understanding personal and collective histories; 2) The Present, understanding contemporary experiences and using CBT logs and assessments; 3) Making Connections, understanding how the past shapes the present in which participants make connections between Colonial Mentality and oppression and mental health (David, 2013). While David's study is not specific to undergraduates, many of these components are relevant to a decolonizing process that participants in my study pursue in non-clinical settings on a college campus.

Strobel (2001), Espiritu (2001), and David (2013) all implemented a participatory intervention as part of their method of research. In Strobel's model, the students are in a year-long course focused on decolonizing Filipinx American history and cultures, in Halagao's model, undergraduates are learning Filipinx History curriculum and teaching middle schoolers, David's model spans over twenty class sessions and involves Cognitive Behavioral Therapy tools for students to make connections with problematic history to their present-day experiences of oppression and mental health. These three exemplary studies give me a lot to consider as far as models and best practices for doing decolonizing work with Filipinx American undergraduates.

Conscientization and liberatory pedagogy

Education is not a neutral venture. It has been used to 'mis-educate' the enslaved and the colonized (Woodson, 1996; Constantino, 1982). Likewise, education can also be used to liberate and decolonize when using transformative theory and practices (Freire, 2001). A pedagogy and curriculum for liberation or what Freire might call 'emancipation' is more than the acquisition of historical and cultural knowledge. Knowledge is acquired not for the sake of 'banking it' but for the purposes of empowerment, reflection and improving reality.

In *Pedagogies of difference: Rethinking education for social justice*, Trifonas et al. describe the process of developing a critical decolonizing consciousness (Trifonas, 2003). They explicitly point to the importance of attention to the history, roots and legacy manifestations of internal neocolonialism, and introduce theoretical frameworks that help to analyze their own history and examine the present. This points again to the importance of students making sense of history and reflecting on how it impacts their present life.

Similarly, Freire and hooks are important theorists that have informed pedagogies for ethnic studies. The college classroom is a complex space given the history of schooling as a tool to colonize and silence Filipinx. Freire argues that liberation is an achievement of “*conscientizazao*” that is brought about through “*praxis*.” Freire defines “conscientizacao,” or conscientization, as critical consciousness and freedom: he describes conscientization as an awakening or a “rebirth” where the oppressed become aware of their position as oppressed, to critically examine what they know as reality and to take action. Central to my research project is engaging in conscientization work with Filipinx American students and examining what happens when there is a shift in their consciousness and understanding of their history as people who have been colonized.

Another scholar who addresses liberatory educational spaces is bell hooks. hooks believes that personal experience and academic theory inform one another. She parallels the marriage of these two things as similar to Freire’s ideas of praxis, of reflection and action. She says, “when our lived experience of theorizing is fundamentally linked to processes of self-recovery, of collective liberation, no gap exists between theory and practice” (hooks, 1994, p. 61). This idea of making space for students to share their lived experiences is representative in Espiritu and

Cordova's (1996) Pinoy teach as well as in Strobel's (2001) decolonizing project with undergraduate Filipinx Americans.

Historical Consciousness

One way to engage lived experiences and new understandings of history is through historical consciousness. Historical consciousness is distinct from both historical research and historiographic research. The distinction can be seen as the study of history versus studying how people look at the past. Historical consciousness is an "awareness of the historicity of everything present and relativity of all opinions" (Seixas, 2004, p. 8). This theory brings to the forefront the problematic relationships between the modern discipline of historiography as it confronts collective memory and other modes that shape the past in the public mind. As summarized, historical consciousness is a useful lens for my research with Filipinx American undergraduates by emphasizing the study of individual and collective understandings of the past, the cognitive and cultural factors which shape those understandings, as well as the relations of historical understandings to those of the present and the future (Seixas, 2016).

Historical consciousness shapes our autobiographical accounts understanding of ourselves (Straub, 2005). This study examines how Filipinx Americans are shaped by developing this consciousness as undergraduates. The act of thinking and arguing historically has implications for how we understand our present situation and how we justify the direction of our future plans and movements, it also informs how we form social and personal identities. This lens is useful for arguing the importance of historical consciousness as necessary for positive Filipinx American identity. One historical consciousness scholar points out that, "discovering the factual truth about historical events is extremely problematic because knowledge production is relative to the values and agenda of the inquirer (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 21)." In other words, history is

not objective, but shaped by values and agendas, therefore how it's taught and who teaches history shapes our understanding and knowledge. This research identifies the erasure of Filipinx American history and the lack of historical consciousness as the core of the problem which has stunted historical knowledge development regarding U.S. and Philippine history.

Straub discusses the idea of narrative competence and the importance of the construction of the story (Straub, 2005). Narrative competence is a cognitive process by which people organize events and happenings into frames of meaning. The structure of a narrative is key here and is done by organizing plots in a story, with a beginning, middle, and end. Narrative competence recounts events and actions as real occurrences and the participants' intentional beliefs hopes and evaluations of those occurrences (Polkinghorne, 2005). The narrative is a cognitive structuring of plots that have a temporal range, criteria for a selection of events, and an order of events that unfold into a conclusion. The cognitive process involves concepts which give meaning to objects and actions by giving them a categorical identity and then clarifying or making explicit the meaning that these events have as a unified whole. This process is retrospective and gives meaning to events by identifying their role in contribution to an outcome (Polkinghorne, 2005).

Straub (2005) discusses the idea of historical narrative being transformational and having a moral to the story, embedded with values and norms which inherently changes the surface phenomena of the "permanent structure" (Straub, 2005, p. 61). The narrative is an important part of historical consciousness, in that it creates and articulates a view of the world that orients a person to whom appropriates this narrative (Straub, 2005). Straub (2005) also talks about an emotional process connected with historical consciousness, and that developing historical memory is connected to feelings and values that resonate with individuals learning history. This is noteworthy to my study in which I found that participants had a myriad of emotions that arose

while learning Filipinx American history. This understanding also resonates with the research of David (2013) who implemented logs to track emotions in reflection to Filipinx Americans learning critical colonial U.S. Philippine history and that making time for participants to reflect on emotions related to historical narrative was an important part of learning for Filipinx Americans.

Collective memory is a concept that is defined by Seixas (2004) as a distinct function of Historical Consciousness. Collective memory is defined by societal institutions and norms such as family structures, traditions, symbols, political movements as well as the unconscious and structural mechanisms that these express such as laws, language, and customs (Seixas, 2004). These collective memories bind groups of people together in a belief of a shared past, collective narratives, and collective missions. In examining collective memory we have to examine how history is told, varied, and re-explained (Seixas, 2004). In the field of critical history, there is a process of re-examining and re-defining the past to include marginalized voices and memories. The idea of tearing down the past in order to build anew is in order (Seixas, 2004). Rather than a passive listening to the past, historical consciousness is a helpful theory in re-imagining a historical narrative that includes Filipinx American history, people, and struggles and how to make meaning of a history in order for Filipinx American undergraduates to locate and understand themselves historically.

The construction of the story and who constructs the story matters in order for individuals to develop a historical consciousness. This narrative competence, or a sense of historical memory and connection to a story about the past is connected to an emotional reaction to history. For so many Filipinx Americans, learning about critical colonial history as adults has this “mind blowing” effect, which is emotional and transformative. The narrative is an important part of

historical consciousness in that it creates and articulates a view of the world that orients a person to whom appropriates this narrative (Straub, 2005).

Summary of Conceptual Framework

In closing this section, I argue that in order to address the problem of historical erasure for Filipinx American undergraduates, drawing upon several bodies of theoretical literature is essential. Critical Theories provide frameworks for centering stories for people of color as well as for examining intersections of oppression that Filipinx Americans have faced due to colonial history and racism, examining these is part of the antidote to historical erasure. As a scholar, this is also an opportunity to contribute to the field of CRT as it applies to Filipinx American undergraduates. Colonial Mentality and Decolonizing are essential frameworks to analyze the transformational changes that occur when Filipinx American undergraduates learn about their colonized histories. Historical Consciousness is also helpful to understand the process that happens when Filipinx Americans develop a relationship with history, when they re-examine the past and the present through new understandings and realize how this impacts their sense of self and racialized identities.

Chapter THREE:

Literature review

In this chapter, I will review relevant literature and build upon my conceptual framework to better situate the process of critical race theory, decolonizing, historical consciousness and Filipinx undergraduates. First, I will examine research that has used CRT to examine Filipinx Americans and other students of color in higher education contexts, next I will review broader trends for Filipinx Americans in education and ways that this data complicates Model Minority Stereotypes. I will explore other research and themes regarding Filipinx Americans in higher education, specifically examining campus climate issues. Next, I will lay out the extant research regarding Filipinx American identity development and racialization. Finally, I make the case for the importance of the Pacific Northwest as an important region to study Filipinx Americans in education and I examine three recent Filipinx American scholars of education from the University of Washington and how my work aligns and diverges with theirs.

CRT and undergraduates

There are a few scholarly articles that use CRT to address educational challenges for Filipinx Americans (Buenavista et al., 2010; Museus & Iftikar, 2013; Tumale, 2016). A foundational study is Buenavista et al. (2010) which applied tenets of CRT to Filipinx Americans in higher education to problematize the invisibility of Filipinx Americans on college campuses, as well as the liminality of Filipinx Americans, many of which have parents with college degrees from the Philippines who are unable to navigate the college choice process or relate to college experiences with them (Buenavista et al., 2010). In their study, Filipinx American participants experienced similar retention issues and marginalization to what other students of color reported:

Many had little to no grasp of college culture and had difficulties balancing family and school obligations. In addition, they were affected by the lack of ethnic and racial

diversity on the campus and the lack of university recognition for their position as students of color in need of academic support. Consequently, Pilipino issues in higher education were virtually unknown by those in the institution, with the exception of the students themselves, who felt the impact of invisibility. The belief that there was a lack of institutional support directed toward the community fostered students' perceptions of a negative campus racial climate for Pilipinos and affected students' persistence and attitudes toward higher education. Thus, students felt an overall lack of attention to and support for their educational wellbeing (Buenavista et al., 2010, p. 76).

Tumale's (2016) thesis titled, *Challenging the Stigmas: A Critical Race Theory Analysis of Filipino American Community College Students* echoes something similar to Buenavista et al (2010) in that they both problematize that lack of visibility or knowledge regarding how Filipinx American students are doing in higher education. In Tumale's (2016) study, CRT was used to examine experiences of Filipinx American Community College Students in Southern California. In her findings, Tumale (2016) found that Filipinx American community college students were experiencing microaggressions as well as deficit framing both at interpersonal and institutional levels. These microaggressions had impacts on students sense of difference as well as being racialized as unintelligent and reporting a sense of racial confusion (Tumale, 2016). Tumale (2016) discussed how CRT perpetuated the Model Minority Stereotype (MMS) by mostly excluding Asians and focusing on low rates of educational attainment for Latinxs, American Indians, and African Americans, while stating high rates for Asian (Tumale, 2016). Tumale's (2016) study is an important example of examining educational struggles that contradict Model Minority Stereotypes for Filipinx American students and to also critique Critical Race Theory in being complicit in perpetuating ideas that enforce MMS for Asians.

While CRT has been helpful in these examples in examining struggles and challenges unique to Filipinx American students, it's also important to examine Filipinx American resilience and strength. Yosso et al's (2005) research on Cultural Wealth is helpful as a model for challenging

dominant ideologies. The concept of Cultural Wealth shifted the lens from deficit models, where students of color are seen as bereft of social capital, and offers an alternative framework outlining the many ways students of color bring Cultural Wealth to educational spaces (Yosso, 2005). Yosso et al (2005) also highlight the contradictory nature of education; that it has been used to oppress people of color and reinforce social hierarchies and inequities, but also points to the liberatory potential of schooling. Viewing students of color in a strengths-based model is essential to seeing how Filipinx American undergraduates, despite how educational indoctrinations have oppressed and invisibilized them, can use the site of a college campus as a place of transformation and empowerment.

Yosso's (2009) study also made important critiques to dominant narratives regarding student development in higher education. Yosso et al (2009) critiqued Tinto's (1987) model, a foundational theory for student development in higher education which outlined several stages; 1) Separation, 2) Transition, and 3) Incorporation. In Tinto's (1987) "separation" stage students come to college and separate from their previous life and home. In contrast to this, Latinx students found that resilience depends upon staying connected to their families and home culture and drawing on cultural skills and knowledge helped them navigate the daily microaggressions they experience at predominantly White institutions (Yosso et al, 2009). These findings have implications for institutions of education, which are coming to grips with demands made by people of color and the need for institutional changes (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Ladson-Billings (1998) critiques multicultural education, referring to it as a reform movement in education, where assimilation of students of color is the primary goal rather than institutional change. Yosso et. al (2009) expand on Ladson-Billings critique of multicultural education, by examining ways that diversity efforts on college campuses are disingenuous, and put in place to service White

students to make them more racially tolerant and prepared for multicultural workplace (T. Yosso et al., 2009). My study is centered in how Filipinx American undergraduates seek to learn their history but has implications for how institutions of higher education create structures and systems to better support Filipinx Americans.

Filipinx Americans and Education

One critical book addressing issues in education for Filipinx Americans is Maramba and Bonus' (2013), *The Other Students: Filipino Americans, Education and Power*. This book is a contemporary resource that gathers together many Filipinx American scholars of education who share a myriad of research that illustrates unique issues facing Filipinx Americans in education today. The book is organized into four major themes; the first addressing historical coordinates which problematizes U.S. colonial schooling; the second addressing issues of Filipinx American racial identity development as well as racial categorization; the third discussing Filipino American studies exploring barriers in the K-16 educational pipeline as well as possibilities for dynamic ethnic studies curriculum; finally, the book closes by examining policies in education for Filipinx Americans that limit access and resources for Filipinx Americans in education (Maramba & Bonus, 2013).

In one study by Ong and Viernes (2012) they examined these census numbers and after controlling for age, sex, region of birth, race and ethnicity; found that the relationship between race and educational attainment needed to be re-examined for Filipinos in the United States. After the 2010 census data was released, Pew Research (2012) released an article titled, "The Rise of the Asian Americans," which stated that Asians are the best educated racial group in the nation and painted a picture of positive socioeconomic success. Ong and Viernes (2012) analyze this phenomenon by looking at selective immigration policies that were put in place in 1965 and

which favored highly skilled and college educated immigrants. This process of favoring the upper classes has become known as “creaming.” Filipinos have a markedly lower college completion than their immigrant parents. Such intergenerational discrepancy has not been found in other Asian American groups (Nadal, 2013). One hypothesis is that racial and ethnic discrimination creates barriers for Filipino Americans getting into college. The opposite seems to be the case for other Asian American groups in which there is upward intergenerational mobility (Ong & Viernes, 2012).

Another explanation for Filipino Americans having downward mobility is connected to Tracy Buenavista’s theory of Liminal Space (Buenavista, 2013). Many first and second generation Filipino American children of post 1965 Philippine immigrants have one or more college-educated parents (Buenavista, 2013). Despite this educational advantage, most college educated Filipino immigrants are underemployed in the U.S, which contradicts the benefits that one assumes children of parents with college degrees have (Okamura & Agbayani, 1997). For Filipino Americans, a college education is a means to attaining social mobility and is viewed as a responsibility for their parents’ sacrifice in coming to the U.S (Libarios, 2013). In her study Buenavista (2013) discussed the positive academic aspirations of Filipino Americans despite the underemployment of their college educated parents. Buenavista’s (2013) research describes the liminal space and sociocultural contradiction for these Filipinx American students whose parents are the main source of encouragement to go to college, but are unable to transmit knowledge regarding college choice or in some cases support for homework and other academic resources (Buenavista, 2013).

One study of Filipino Americans and higher education is based in Hawaii and has problematized the overrepresentation of Filipino Americans in community colleges as opposed

to four-year institutions. In his dissertation, Ernest Niki Libarios (2013) examined ways that Filipino Americans are socially stratified in higher education as well as in socioeconomic status and employment in Hawaii. Filipinos are 2nd largest ethnic group in Hawaii and are overrepresented as a lower socioeconomic group with a high percentage holding low-level service occupations in Hawaii (Libarios, 2013). Libarios found that Filipino Americans are overrepresented in community colleges and underrepresented at University of Hawaii Manoa. For Filipino Americans, entering a four-year university through community college decreased their chances of persisting, as well as decreased income compared to those who went directly to four-year institutions, thereby perpetuating a negative relationship between higher education and social standing for Filipino Americans in Higher Education (Libarios, 2013).

Other studies have identified institutional barriers for Filipino Americans in higher education including the limited number of Filipino American faculty as well as various forms of institutional racism (Buenavista, 2010; Okamura & Agbayani, 1997). Filipinos attend less selective colleges and are marginalized by policies that don't consider the complexity of their lives (Buenavista et al., 2010). Many urban Filipino Americans are low income and are struggling to survive economically and are frequently in overcrowded housing, are underserved, and neglected academically (Tintiango-Cubales, 2013). In addition to issues of poverty, approximately 10% of Filipinos in the United States are undocumented according to Buenavista's (2010) study. All of these barriers and more deserve to be more closely examined.

In a report by Nguyen et al. (2015) titled, *The Hidden Academic Opportunity Gaps Among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders: What Disaggregated Data Reveals in Washington State*, more closely examines the academic achievement gaps between various AAPI ethnic subgroups in Washington State (Nguyen et al., 2015). This study revealed that Filipinos

in Washington state were achieving bachelor's degrees below the statewide average, at 29.5%, making them similar to the achievement rates of Cambodians, Guamanians/Chamorro, Hmong, Laotians, Native Hawaiians, Samoans and Vietnamese. This study also revealed that Filipinos along with Southeast Asians and Samoans had high rates of suspension and disciplinary action in relationship to their proportional representation among AAPI's (Nguyen et al., 2015). There is also a gap for Filipinos in Washington between proportional representation in population and Four-year post-secondary educational enrollment. This data makes the case that Filipinos are a population experiencing lesser access to postsecondary education, and that there are barriers facing Filipinx American communities which must be mitigated in Washington state in particular.

Campus Climate for Filipinx American undergraduates

One study regarding Filipinx American undergraduates is a study on campus climate by Museus and Maramba (2010). This study examined issues of belonging and campus climate for Filipinx American undergraduates and begins by citing the problematic invisibility of Asian American Pacific Islanders (AAPI's) in post-secondary research. The article states that in a review of the top five most read peer reviewed journals of higher education, less than 1% included a focus on AAPI's (Museus & Maramba, 2010). This is a quantitative study which also points out the lack of empirical investigations that contribute to developing an understanding of the experiences of AAPI ethnic subgroups. Museus and Maramba (2010) similar to Yosso et al (2009), begin with a critique of Tinto's (1987 & 1993) Theory of College Student departure as a source of literature which has been highly referenced to make sense of the adjustment and acculturation processes of undergraduate students. Museus and Maramba problematize Tinto's (1987 & 1993) theories which involve a disassociation from pre-college

cultures in order to adopt the values and norms of the dominant campus cultures (Museus & Maramba, 2010). In contrast with this theory are important critiques specifically from Tierney (1992 & 1999) which point to the cultural bias in Tinto's theory, which Tierney claims is inadequate to explain persistence and departure amongst students of color. Tierney (1992) says that for students of color this idea of disassociation from precollege cultures is "cultural suicide," and that the disproportionate share of the burden of college adjustment falls on the shoulders of students of color. Museus and Maramba (2010) also cite studies regarding the significant role of campus environments and sense of belonging for students. One study by Johnson et al. (2007) finds that Black, Latino and Asian students have a lower sense of belonging than White peers at Predominantly White Institutions (PWI's). A study by Museus (2008) also examines the cultural dissonance and tension which results from incongruousness between students' home and campus cultures.

Museus and Maramba's (2010) study seeks to examine how cultural factors influence a sense of belonging for Filipinx American undergraduate students. Most studies that have examined campus membership, adjustment period, and sense of belonging on college campuses have focused on academic outcomes. Rather than focus on academic outcomes, Museus and Maramba (2010) seek to examine the cultural factors that contribute to or hinder racial and ethnic minority adjustment as well as membership and persistence for Filipinx Americans. Their study takes place at a large PWI, highly selective, public research institution on the West Coast. The findings of Museus and Maramba's (2010) study reveal that second generation Filipinx American students have the highest levels of pressure to commit cultural suicide, have the greatest difficulty making new friends, as well as maintaining family relationships and feeling a sense of isolation on campus (Museus & Maramba, 2010). Another finding of the study was that

there was a positive relationship between a sense of connection to cultural heritage and greater ease in adjustment to campus culture as well as sense of belonging for Filipinx American students (Museus & Maramba, 2010). Museus and Maramba (2010) state that, “institutional leaders must think about transforming the cultural fabric of their institutions to respond to increasing diverse student populations” (pg. 233).

To summarize these studies on Filipinxs and education; lower than average educational achievement, barriers to post-secondary access, and disproportionate disciplinary rates are all concerns for Filipinx Americans in Washington State. What does historical consciousness have to do with these educational barriers? This is part of my challenge as a researcher with a conceptual problem. How is the legacy of colonization and the invisibilization of Filipinx American historical consciousness contributing to these educational challenges? I argue that for Filipinx Americans, the systematic erasure of history and culture has contributed to their lack of clarity in their identities as people of color and as Filipinx Americans which is then not remedied at educational institutions which further their separation from culture more than they teach or connect students to that culture. My hope is that this research can add to the literature about critical consciousness for Filipinx American undergraduates and how this improves a sense of positive racial identity and therefore influences academic trajectories and wellbeing. Museus and Maramba’s finding of a positive relationship between connection to cultural heritage and greater sense of belonging is a helpful argument for the need for research that examines how Filipinx American undergraduates develop critical historical consciousness.

Filipino Americans: Race and Asian Complexity

There are several scholars who have grappled with issues of racial identity development for Filipino Americans as well as the impacts of racism and colonization on the Filipinx

American psyche (Bonus, 2000; Cordova, 1973; David, E.J.R 2013; David, E.J.R. & Okazaki, 2006; Lott, 1980; Nadal, 2004; Ocampo, 2016; Strobel, 2001; Revilla, 1997; Root, 1997; Espiritu & Wolf, 2001). Fred Cordova, founder of the Filipino American National Historical Society, wrote in his 1973 article titled: *The Filipino American; there's always an identity crisis*, stating that Filipino Americans “lack a sense of self definition” (Cordova, 1973). Juanita Tamayo Lott (1980) was one of the first scholars to coin the phrase “Colonial Mentality” in conjunction with Filipino Americans. Lott (1980) wrote about the lack of social organization, the regionalism and factionalism which reinforce an inferior social position for Filipino Americans in the United States (Lott, 1980).

Maria Root (1997), edited a book titled, *Filipino Americans; Transformation and Identity*, which gathered thirty contributors representing a myriad of contemporary issues of the time for Filipinx Americans. Root (1997) writes the introduction and illuminates the generational trauma that has fragmented Filipinxs. The book addresses topics through trauma survivor frameworks, ranging from mail order brides, undocumented Filipinxs, educational barriers, sexuality, and mental health (Root, 1997). Root (1997) argues that Filipinx Americans are bound by resilience and a shared colonial history in which they have survived dislocation, relocation, and exclusion. Root's (1997) overall point about Filipinx American identity is that it's complex, constantly evolving, and not bound by legality or geography, nor does it fit neatly into U.S. racial paradigms (Root, 1997).

Literature on Filipinx American racial identity development have some shared themes: ethnic identity confusion, pan-ethnic identity, and colonial mentality, to name a few (David, 2013; David & Okazaki, 2006; Nadal, 2004; Root, 1997). Several studies have noted that Filipinx Americans may feel confused about their ethnic identity (David, 2013; Nadal, 2004).

According to Nadal (2004), Filipinx have various levels of race-related stress because they may experience similar forms of discrimination as other Asian Americans, in addition to other forms of discrimination as a result of being mistaken for another group.

Because of Spanish and U.S. colonial rule, the cultural orientations of Filipino Americans are unique from other Asians. For example, as a result of centuries of Spanish rule, Catholicism is the national religion of the Philippines; unlike East Asians who are Buddhist or South Asians who are Hindu; the majority Filipino Americans are Catholic (Ocampo, 2016). In many regards, Filipino Americans share more cultural, linguistic, and familial similarities to Latino Americans than to other Asians (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001). In Anthony Ocampo's (2016) book, *Latinos of Asia: "how Filipinos break the rules of race,"* he talks about pan-ethnic and pan-colonial identities and experiences that align Filipinos and Latinos (Ocampo, 2016). Earlier research references Filipinos having more cultural alliances with Pacific Islander communities than East Asians (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001).

Another factor that sets Filipino Americans apart from other Asians is English language. Because many Filipino immigrants were taught in English throughout their schooling, they are able to communicate in English with their children, and many do not transmit their native language to the next generation upon immigrating to the United States (Buenavista, 2010; Panganiban, 2016). Therefore, Filipino Americans speak English more fluently than some other Asian Americans (Panganiban, 2016). On one hand many Filipinos have similar historical immigration experiences and discrimination as Asian Americans, on the other hand Filipinos have distinct cultural and racial experiences that set them apart from Asians. It's also important to consider the relationship between mental health and physical health; Filipino Americans suffer from high rates of cardiovascular disease; diabetes, gout, obesity, depression, as well as high

rates of high school dropout, teen pregnancy, and suicide (David, 2013; Nadal, 2013).

Understanding Nadal's stages of development can be important to higher education practitioners and scholars in knowing how to support Filipino American undergraduates in their identity as well as overall wellness.

Filipinx American Identity Development

Kevin Nadal (2004) created the Filipino American Identity Development Model to understand the unique experiences of Filipinos. This model is modified from other racial and cultural identity models as well as adapted from the Asian American Identity Model (Sue & Sue 1971). This model has six stages that are nonsequential and nonlinear:

Status One: Ethnic Awareness—Occurs in childhood where an individual understands that she/he is Filipino.

Status Two: Assimilation to Dominant Culture—the individual realizes that they are different from Whites and from the mainstream. They reject Filipinos and associate with Whites.

Status Three: Social Political Awakening—The individual develops an awareness of racism and separates from Whites and seeks connection with other People of Color.

Status Four: Pan Ethnic Asian American Consciousness – Filipino Americans adopt Asian American Identity and develop pride in being Asian.

Status Five: Ethnocentric Realization—Individual has a realization that they are marginalized within Asian Community. They develop pride in being Brown and seek more alignment with Blacks, Latinos, and Pacific Islanders.

Status Six: Introspection—Individual seeks to be part of social justice movements for Filipinos and is comfortable with Asians and finds alliances with Whites.

According to other research, many Filipino Americans do not learn much about Filipino culture nor do they cultivate friendships with other Asian Americans until they reach college. It is at this point, that they start questioning and exploring their ethnic identity (Maramba, 2008). Nadal's model has a lot of implications for Filipino American undergraduates and their mental health as well as their process of racial identity formation. Stages one and two are critical and also opposing one another, on one hand the first stage is an understanding of Filipinx American

identity, and the second is an inherent rejection of that identity as a consequence of White supremacy ideals. The goal of my research is not to circumvent this assimilation, but to acknowledge that at some point coming to terms with assimilation requires unlearning, and reconstructing new ideas, which I examine in this study. I'm specifically interested in stages 3-5 for Filipinx American undergraduate students and how college experiences and exposure to Filipinx American ethnic studies contribute to their Social Political Awakening and also how they start to make sense of their racialization and racial identities. For some second generation Filipinx American college students there is an exploration process of what it means to be "Filipinx" versus "American" and the ways the two ideologies can conflict and also align (Strobel, 2001).

Maramba (2008) completed a study that focused explicitly on Filipinx American undergraduate women and found that navigating the pressures and priorities of family life, gender roles, as well as grappling with Filipinx American identity formation, were the three major determining factors in their success and persistence in college. These themes of family balance, gender roles, and racial identity were reflected in student's identities, sense of belonging, and campus climate (Maramba, 2008). Panganiban's (2016) study focuses on retention strategies for Filipinx American sophomore students and uses the lens of student development theory to discuss specific cultural values. Her findings echo that of Maramba's (2008) study, and finds that the influence of family, as well as barriers such as campus climate, and ethnic identity can prevent success Filipinx American students in their sophomore year of college (Panganiban, 2016).

Several studies problematize the Model Minority Stereotypes for Filipinx Americans (MMS) (Museus, 2013; Panganiban, 2016; Rodriguez-Operana, 2017; Teranishi, 2010).

Connected to the MMS are studies that examine Asians in higher education and the problematic nature of the monolithic category of “Asian” as well as the importance of disaggregating the data on specific ethnic subgroups within the Asian category to better understand the nuances and challenges facing Asian American undergraduates (Teranishi, 2010; Museus, 2013). There have been important studies regarding issues of retention, campus climate, as well as the effects of Filipino American family and culture on navigating college (Buenavista, 2013; Buenavista, 2010; Y. L. Espiritu & Wolf, 2001; Buenavista, 2013; Buenavista et al., 2010; Espiritu & Wolf, 2001; Libarios, 2013; Maramba, 2003, 2008; Maramba & Bonus, 2013; Museus & Maramba, 2010; Okamura, 2013; Panganiban, 2016)

Regional Studies

Several scholars have posited the importance of regional based research of Filipino American students (Libarios, 2013). In California and Hawaii, Filipino Americans have the larger Filipino populations than other states in the U.S., yet have a lower socioeconomic status as well as political positions than other Asian groups (Ong & Viernes, 2012). In California Filipinos were one of the first ethnic groups to be removed from affirmative action protection in the 1980’s due to their overrepresentation (Buenavista, 2010; Okamura, 2013). Filipino undergraduates in California, specifically the Bay Area have high numbers of Filipino American undergraduates due to the high concentration of Filipinos in this region. In a 2009 study Filipino Americans made up 10% of the student body at San Francisco State University. In enrollment numbers, Filipino American students are more comparable to other East Asian students than to Black or Latino students who are underrepresented. On the other hand this research revealed that Filipino American students had higher push-out rates, lower levels of retention and participation than other Asian students (Okamura, 2013; Veal, 2013).

In the past two decades there have been three Filipinx American scholars who written dissertations related to Filipinx Americans and education in the Pacific Northwest; Dr. Patricia Espiritu (Halagao), Dr. Third Andresen, and most recently Dr. Leah Panganiban. I will do a deep dive into their research projects were and then discuss similarities and gaps in the following section.

Patricia Halagao

Dr. Patricia Espiritu's (2001) dissertation, *Collisions, Conjunctions, and Community: How Filipino American Students Experience a Curriculum about Self*, is a foundational dissertation as well as an example of an innovative and transformational project with Filipino American undergraduate students. Central to Espiritu's (2001) project is a curriculum rooted in both ethnic studies and multicultural education, entitled *Pinoy Teach*, which she co-authored with Timothy Cordova, in which Filipino American students are exposed to Filipino history and cultural studies. The focus of the study is to examine the outcomes of the curriculum and how they impact the students' ethnic content knowledge, ethnic identity and sense of empowerment. Espiritu (2001) draws upon multicultural curriculum theory to analyze how *Pinoy Teach* can help develop historical perspective, cultural consciousness as well as build ethnic pride for Filipinx Americans.

Espiritu cites Woodson (1933), Pang (1998), and Swartz (1992), who posit that the absence or distortion of one's ethnicity and peoples in curriculum can lead to devastating personal and social effects. Espiritu also drew upon racial identity models such as Cross (1978) and Gay (1985) to examine various stages of racial identity development in the students who participate in *Pinoy Teach* and also to make connections between culturally relevant teaching and its influence on racial identity, knowledge construction, and understanding of history. She

also drew upon literature of Au and Kawakami (1994) which theorizes improved academic outcomes for students of color who experience culturally relevant teaching. Espiritu cites Gay (2000) and talked about the importance of drawing upon students' background knowledge in order to effectively teach ethnic studies. Espiritu referenced the invisibility of Filipinx and cites Lott (1980) in addressing colonial mentality as one of the greatest barriers for Filipinx Americans. The idea that Filipinx Americans attribute everything positive and desirable to U.S. culture and Whiteness is part of what Espiritu attributed to an impoverished state of racial and ethnic identity for Filipino Americans.

Espiritu used qualitative research methods and did six in-depth interviews with Filipinx American students in her Pinoy Teach class. Her research questions looked at how Filipinx Americans' prior knowledge of Filipino American history influenced their experiences in the class; how the class influenced their intellectual sense making and emotional experience; and how the ethnic content knowledge influenced their ethnic identity and sense of empowerment. Her findings reveal that all students' previous knowledge of Filipino American history was exclusively from home and families and that none of them learned anything in formal schooling settings prior to college. She found that ethnic identities and attitudes towards other Filipinos varied greatly between the six profiles. All of them felt the greatest sense of empowerment when the Pinoy Teach curriculum involved the undergraduates leading lessons for middle school students. Also, the female students had greater levels of colonial mentality than the male students.

Her analysis reflects on Banks (1996) transformative knowledge theories and the importance of introducing concepts and paradigms that challenge mainstream academic knowledge. Espiritu also found that for her students that the sense of community that was

created amongst Filipino Americans was part of what made the class meaningful and impactful for students. Out of these findings and analysis Espiritu made several recommendations, one of them regarding the importance of valuing students' ethnic backgrounds and prior knowledge and experience. The finding regarding social action was also significant to her study, that it wasn't enough for the students to learn passively, but to be part of creating change and bringing education to youth was the greatest source of empowerment for them. This linking of ethnic history and culture to social action was important in her study (Espiritu, 2001).

Third Andresen

Dr. Third Andresen's (2013) dissertation, *Filipino American Phenomenon: Community Based Organization Influence on Ethnic Identity, Leadership Development and Community Engagement* examines the effects of the Seattle Filipino Youth Activities (FYA) on Filipino American youth's identity, civic engagement and leadership. This was a qualitative study that explored the role of a community organization in developing the ethnic identity, cultural competence, community engagement, personal efficacy, as well as critical consciousness of its participants (Andresen, 2013). Andresen interviewed 19 individuals in his study which included the founders, staff, former FYA participants as well as reviewed documents and publications from the Filipino American National Historical Society. The participants of the study spanned from people who participated in the 1960's through the 1990's (Andresen, 2013).

Andresen situated his study in Seattle and problematized the low rates of academic standards being achieved by Filipino American students in Washington State. He similarly problematized the Eurocentric curriculum in K-12 schools and the invisibility of Filipino American history in curriculum as well as the effects of this invisibility on self-confidence, as well as sense of belonging and academic achievement for Filipino American students. Filipino

American students feel that their teachers and counselors don't care about them and are denied information about college prep. In another study he noted that Filipino Americans have a higher risk for depression and suicide than other racial or ethnic groups (Andresen, 2013).

Andresen (2013) draws upon literature and conceptual frameworks from the fields of critical social capital, community-based organizations, critical pedagogy, and cultural modeling. In his findings, similar to that of Espiritu (2001), he finds that none of his participants learned Filipino history and culture from a K-12 learning context and that the majority of them credited their learning of Filipino history and culture to FYA (Andresen, 2013).

Andresen makes the case that Filipino American community organizations have a valuable role in helping provide Filipino Americans with cultural and historical education. He also cites Anthony Ogilvie (2008) who researched the existence of Filipino American community-based organizations and found widespread representation nationwide. Ogilvie (2008) also argues that without greater K-12 curriculum support, these community organizations won't be able to adequately address the gap for Filipinx American youth who are not learning Filipino American history and culture in formal learning spaces. Andresen also references a few other community organizations that are partnered with universities such as Pilipino American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE) at San Francisco State University, as well as two programs that were sponsored under FYA: the Young Filipino Peoples Far West Convention, which convened Filipino American young people at large conventions in West Coast universities between the 1970's and 80's; and Pinoy Teach, the dynamic Filipino studies curriculum referenced in Patricia Espiritu's (2001) dissertation which was a partnership between FYA and the University of Washington.

Andresen found that this case study of FYA raises significance of how future researchers may want to examine other community based cultural organizations to learn how to better serve youth of color (Andresen, 2013). Andresen talked about the importance of FYA in compensating for missing links in the construction of ethnic identity, social identity, cultural, and academic skills for Filipino American youth in Seattle, Washington. The results of FYA on all of the participants in this study were that they gained a positive sense of cultural awareness and pride.

Leah Panganiban

Dr. Leah Panganiban completed a recent study focusing on Filipinx American students in their sophomore year of college (Panganiban, 2016). Panganiban (2016) examines how Filipino American family pressures, ethnic identity development, as well as campus climate issues combined with struggles associated with the sophomore year of college affect Filipino Americans second year students' perception of their academic and social challenges (Panganiban, 2016). Panganiban's (2016) dissertation examines the research on sophomore year students, who are found to have increased levels of anxiety, depression, confusion, as well as pressure for choosing their major and career selection. These mounting pressures for sophomores compounded with financial struggles and relationship challenges have been associated with academic dissatisfaction, disengagement, and can lead to withdrawal or transfer to other institutions (Panganiban, 2016). In addition to this sophomore slump, Panganiban (2016) examined how these issues are additionally intensified for Filipino American students.

Panganiban (2016) begins her dissertation problematizing the invisibility of Filipino Americans and distinguishing Filipino Americans from other Asian Americans due to the post-colonial relationship with the United States. She argues that despite the long history of

immigration and settlement from the Philippines to the U.S. there is no extensive research on Filipino Americans and their educational trajectories in the United States. This lack of research is part of a larger institutional invisibility or historical amnesia of U.S. colonization and erasure of U.S. imperialism. She talks about the invisibility of Filipino Americans through aggregation of data and lumping them together with all other AAPI groups. Even when disaggregated, it appears that Filipino Americans have high levels of educational attainment. According to the 2009-2011 Census Bureau, 47.9% of Filipinos had attained a bachelor's degree, vs. 29.6% for Whites. This number does not distinguish between foreign born Filipinos who received bachelor's degrees in the Philippines and second-generation Filipino Americans. According to a study from 2006-2010 by American Community Survey of Public Use, foreign born Filipinos have attained bachelor's degrees at 49.6% versus second or third generation Filipino Americans who were at 36.8% (Panganiban, 2016). Furthermore, she cites David and Nadal (2013) regarding Filipino Americans born in the U.S. lagging behind other American born Asians, at 37.9% versus 53%. Despite this downward trend, Filipino Americans remain an understudied population. Other educational data on AAPI populations tend to focus on Chinese, Japanese, and Korean students and overshadows other AAPI populations including Filipinos (Panganiban, 2016).

Panganiban (2016) also provides a historical overview in her literature which includes U.S. Philippine colonial history, Filipino immigration, as well as the Model Minority Stereotype and how this is problematic for Filipinos. Her literature review is comprehensive and covers four primary areas of previous research on Filipino American undergraduates: Family and Filipino cultural constraints on Filipino American students, Filipino American identity, Retention theories, and the Sophomore Slump. She draws upon Buenavista's (2001) study regarding

“liminality” of Filipino Americans, caught in between being perpetual foreigners and colonial subjects; second generation college students without the benefits of parents who can support them in navigating the college experience. She cites Maramba (2008) and the lack of critical mass of Filipino students on campus as a negative component of campus climate for Filipino Americans. She also cites Museus (2008) regarding student ethnic organizations as places that facilitated a sense of membership and cultural adjustment for Filipino American students on campuses.

Panganiban’s (2016) conceptual framework draws from Nadal’s (2004) Pilipino American Ethnic Identity Model which mirrors that of other racial identity models but has stages specific and unique to Pilipino Americans. She also uses Yosso’s (2003) Community Cultural Wealth which re-frames deficit views of students of color and, and Yosso’s (2006) Stages of Passage which challenges colleges and universities to examine historical patterns of institutional neglect of students of color rather than view students of color as having deficits.

Panganiban’s (2016) study is qualitative and she does in depth interviews with 9 Filipino American undergraduate students as well as a focus group. She did purposeful sampling to recruit Filipino American students who represented a variety of genders as well as a variance in how they identify as Filipino Americans. Her findings reveal that parental and family influence, campus community support, and Filipino American identity were all significant factors for Filipino American students in her study. Many of her participants also discussed an unwelcoming campus climate as well as a sense of disconnection to faculty and staff. Panganiban’s research provides instructive implications for practice for faculty and staff in working with second year Filipino American undergraduates.

Summary of Literature Review

Much of literature regarding Filipinx American undergraduates have to do with barriers to access, retention, and educational success across generations as well as through the educational Pipeline. The reasons identified with these barriers have been connected to ways that Filipinx Americans are targeted by racism, and ways that family pressure and Filipinx culture is not congruent with educational requirements. While there are several studies identifying the problems with invisibility and lack of historical mention of Filipinos in text books, there is a gap in how this can be remediated in higher education contexts or looking deeper at how historical consciousness can impact Filipino American's sense of self, ethnic and racial identities, and orientation to the past, present, and future. While ethnic and racial identity development has been discussed for Filipino American students, one thing missing from these studies is attention to their socio-political development and sense of social justice in grappling with a historical understanding of colonial histories. I argue that there is a relationship between these, and that historical consciousness is connected to identity development for Filipino Americans. Importantly, positive racial identity development and sociopolitical development can also have impacts on academic success or trajectory for Filipino American students.

Chapter 4:

Methods and Analysis

Methodology: Study overview

This section overviews the rationale for using critical and qualitative research methods for this dissertation. I also provide explanation for the context and design of this study, the research setting, and a statement of my own positionality as the researcher. I describe my method of sampling, data collection, the analysis process, and attend to trustworthiness in this section.

Critical Qualitative Research

This is a critical qualitative study of Filipinx American undergraduates at The University of Washington's Seattle campus. Qualitative research studies which are informed by *critical theories* have a goal "to critique and challenge, to transform and to analyze power relations" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 59). The nature of my research questions warrants a qualitative study with a critical lens and approach, given that I am aiming to understand the phenomena of Filipinx American undergraduate students and their experience developing critical historical consciousness and reflections on their own racialized identities.

Critical Race Theories (CRT) are used as both a theoretical framework and a method in this study. CRT informs my practice of centering the voices of people of color whose experiences have been excluded from theoretic developments about racialized outcomes (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Du Bois, 1994; Solorzano, 1998, 1998; Yosso et al., 2009; Yosso, 2005). CRT posits that racism is endemic to the United States (Ladson-Billings, 1998). The tenets of CRT challenge dominant ideologies such as claims to objectivity, meritocracy, color blindness, and race neutrality.

As a methodological approach, CRT provides analytic tools to describe the historical context and systemic inequity that situate my study of Filipinx American undergraduates. This study is anchored in the stance that Filipinx Americans have been damaged by racialized and violent colonial histories, but that they don't necessarily know this. For Filipinx Americans there is an added damage of the absence of a critical colonial history. This research seeks to understand what it means to engage with a history that is null or erased and how it impacts participants to be exposed to a formal history curriculum for the first time. A core tenet of CRT that I use in this study is the notion of counternarratives, or storytelling that is placed in larger systemic patterns of occurrence (Donnor & Ladson-Billings, 2018). I draw on the voices of Filipinx American undergraduates to center their lived experiences and understandings. By sharing the stories and experiences of Filipinx Americans, this research aims to disrupt the silence of U.S. Filipinx narratives.

Qualitative methods are useful in examining my research questions which broadly inquire about the meaning of phenomena through understanding of peoples' experiences and stories. Basic qualitative research is "motivated by intellectual interest in a phenomenon and has its goal the extension of knowledge (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 3)." The primary purpose of my study is to understand more about the phenomenon of Filipinx American undergraduates and their process of developing critical historical consciousness. Centering the narratives of the participants of this study, the use of open ended semi-structured interviews, and theory driven analysis are all qualitative methods that I apply to this study in order to understand this phenomenon (Bhattacharya, 2017). I drew upon interviews as the primary data source with which to abstract categories and contexts such as how Filipinx American undergraduates interpret their experiences and what meaning they attribute to their experiences and identities

(Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). This process is richly descriptive and gives voice to Filipinx American stories that have been previously marginalized.

Research Questions:

The research questions guiding this study are as follows:

- Research Question 1: How do Filipinx American undergraduates who have engaged in critical educational experiences understand what it means to be Filipinx American?
- Research Question 2: How are Filipinx American undergraduates involved in developing historical consciousness?
- Research Question 3: What does the process of decolonization look like for Filipinx Americans undergraduates?

Research Setting: University of Washington Seattle

I have chosen The University of Washington Seattle Campus as the site of research for a variety of reasons. There is a need for more regionally based studies for Filipinx Americans in post-secondary education (Libarios, 2013). By situating my study in Seattle, which has a long and rich history of Filipinx American migration, I am contributing to knowledge and scholarship specific to Filipinx Americans in the Pacific Northwest. Much of the Pacific Northwest scholarship on Filipinx Americans has focused on migration and labor movements of the 1920's-1950's (Bulosan, 1973; Chew, 2012; Domingo, 2010; Fujita-Rony, 2003). While this earlier regional literature on Filipinx Americans in the Pacific Northwest is rich, there is a smaller body of literature situating Filipinx Americans in higher education in this region. Recent scholars such as Patricia Halagao, Third Andresen, and Leah Panganiban, have illuminated the need for scholarship on Filipinx Americans in education and in the Pacific Northwest (Andresen, 2013; P. Espiritu, 2001; Panganiban, 2016). The University of Washington has a significant-sized

population of Filipino American students from which study participants could be selected and recruited.

Research Design Context

This research project has evolved over time, beginning with my master's thesis in 2015 which investigated Filipinx American Civil Rights Movement and Campus Protests at The University of Washington. The thesis used archival research as well as oral history interviews of Filipinx American student activists who were part of The University of Washington campus protests in the late 1960's. One of my findings from this study was that the Filipinx American voices were largely absent from Civil Rights movement literature.

The desire for this history to be more accessible inspired me to create an undergraduate course, which I implemented in Winter 2016. This was a one-quarter class which had an emphasis on Filipinx American Civil Rights Movement in Seattle and at the University of Washington. The following year in 2017, I partnered with another Filipinx American scholar and we co-facilitated a class called Miseducation of the Filipinx, which spanned winter-spring quarter 2017 and spring quarter of 2018. We designed the class for students to learn about various moments of Philippine-U.S. Colonial history, and to interrogate ways that colonization shaped systems of schooling, diaspora and labor, as well as racialization. In 2017 I conducted a pilot study interviewing students who took the first offering of my Filipinx American studies class in 2016, I conducted in depth interviews and began preliminary analysis of this data with the support of a Qualitative Methods in Education course. In spring of 2019 I interviewed students who had taken the 2017-2018 classes.

Positionality

As the daughter of a Filipinx immigrant who arrived in Seattle in 1964 I am uniquely positioned to this research topic. My father is a storyteller and has passed on to me a love of history and is in many ways my inspiration for this research. I grew up hearing stories of his childhood in the Philippines as well as his experiences as newly arrived Filipinx laborer. Zinn (1979) noted that researchers who are members of marginalized groups may have an “insider” advantage in obtaining more candid responses and picking up subtleties or nuances of the culture (Zinn, 1979). There are ways that this topic is self-exploratory and dialectical. Like many participants in this study, I grew up in a mostly white community where I never learned anything about Filipinx Americans in school and never felt reflected or visible as a Filipinx American. There are also many ways that my story is different than the participants of my study. I am a multiracial Filipinx American, do not speak a Filipinx dialect, and my mother is a refugee from Egypt and raised my sibling and I with strong Sephardic Jewish traditions. This intersection of identities has complicated my relationship and sense of belonging to all of these racial, ethnic, and religious groups.

When I started researching Filipinx Americans and the Civil Rights Movement in Seattle in my Masters of Education program (2013-2015), this was the first time that I delved into details of Filipinx American history. Teaching this a Filipinx American studies course in the first year of my PhD in 2016 positioned me to be a co-learner with my students. Each week we asked students to help create a classroom altar which honored their ancestors and/or their connection to being Filipinx American. This allowed for storytelling, sharing family photos, and building vulnerability and trust. The relationship built between myself and students throughout these classes made for a level of rapport and a familiar reunion when I invited them to interview one to two years following the class. There were things to catch up on with them, as some of

them had graduated and started careers, and others had taken academic pivots and were in the final stages of completing their degrees. The interviews were emotional, students shared stories about their family struggles and diaspora, most of them cried. They aren't random research participants, they are people that I care for and respect. I was not a random researcher, but we had shared this class together and knew some things about one another. For a study that is centered on stories and critical colonial history, this context is important.

Purposeful Sampling

I used purposeful sampling to recruit participants for this study. Purposeful sampling is important for naming criteria and crucial attributes of the research participants (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 96). The purpose of this approach is to choose a small selection of participants and to have opportunities for observing the participants in a natural setting and having more regular and intense contact with them (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 18). The most important criteria for this project was to interview students with exposure to Filipinx American history curriculum, who can speak to how gaining an understanding of Filipinx American history has impacted other areas of their racial identity and experience as undergraduates. The three Filipinx American decolonizing courses that I taught in 2016, 2017, and 2018 put me in contact with Filipinx American undergraduates who met these criteria. Because this is a critical qualitative study, part of disrupting the invisibility of Filipinx American history was action oriented and involved designing a curriculum to expose undergraduate students to Filipinx American history. The decolonizing class was a dynamic place of learning and of making sense of history collectively.

As a scholar who has been involved in longitudinal Design Based Research projects, I value the role of being a researcher-participant in community-based projects where having strong

rapport with participants is inherent to the work of an equitable research design. This experience influenced my decision to interview students who had taken my classes. I knew from experience teaching these classes and from my pilot study that asking Filipinx American students about identity, family, and decolonizing often touches upon vulnerable emotions, personal experiences, and traumas. I had already laid the groundwork for these conversations with students who had taken my classes.

Decolonizing Class Curriculum Context

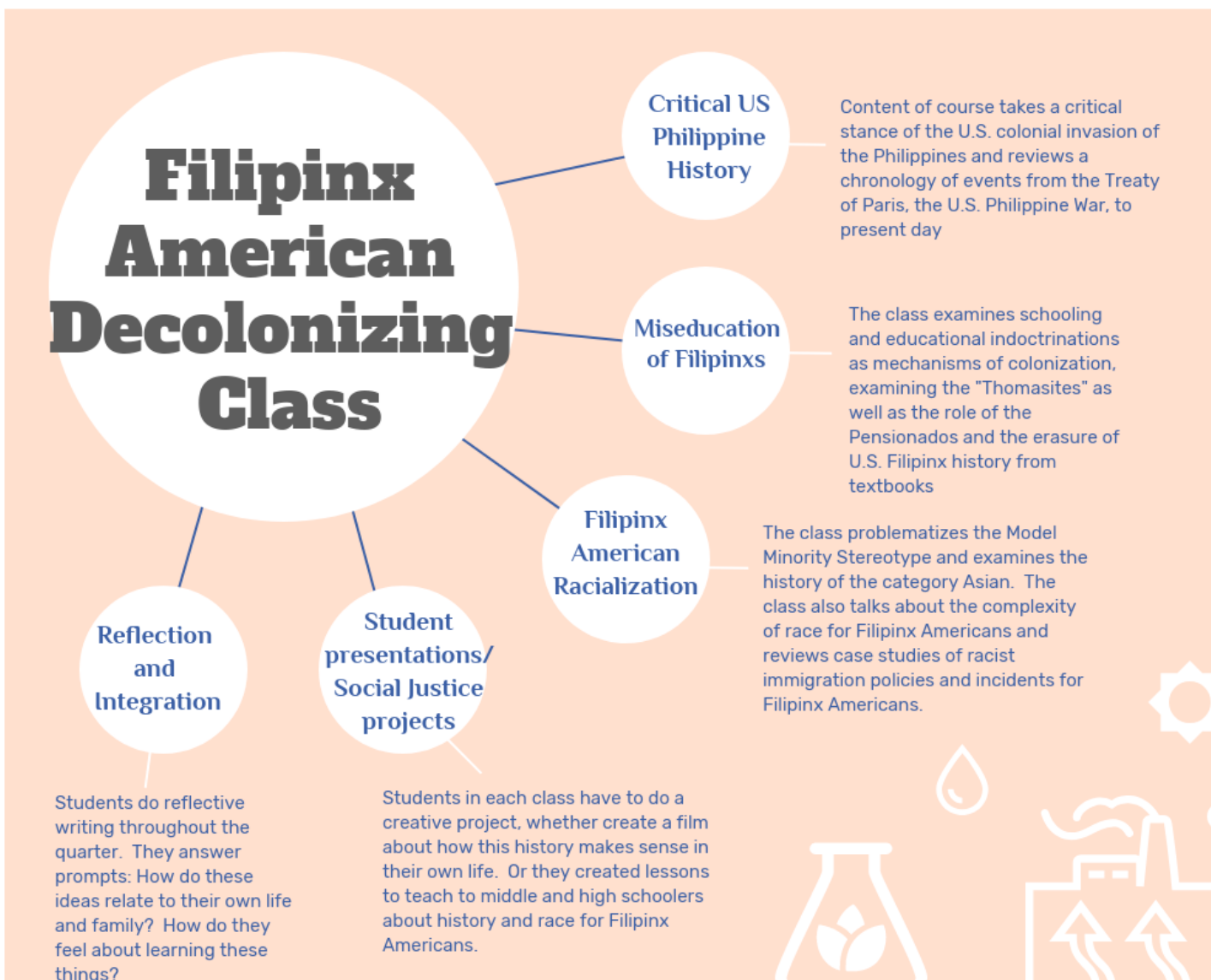
The term “Decolonizing,” for Filipinxs has been defined by several scholars, but dates back to a movement that began after WWII when countries such as Algeria, Nigeria, and the Philippines declared their independence (Strobel, 2001). Seminal works by Fanon (1963) and Memmi (1965) examined ways that the colonialism created a system of awards and punishments and that the Indigenous people internalized their oppression in order to ensure their survival. Strobel (2001) describes the contemporary movement for Filipinx Americans as challenging the silence and invisibility that master narratives imposed upon Filipinx Americans and their history (Strobel, 2001). While the Miseducation of the Filipinx class itself is not the unit of analysis of this study, it’s important to note that the class was intended to expose undergraduate students to Filipinx American history and engage in a decolonizing epistemology from absence to visibility of US Philippine history. The sense-making process of the impacts of colonization on contemporary life and identity were key components of these classes.

In Figure 3 below I conceptualize some of the stages of the decolonizing class. The class begins with the study of Critical U.S. Philippine colonial history from the turn of the 20th century to the turn of the 21st century; moving into reflective activities and problem posing how this history bridges to contemporary and personal issues for Filipinx American undergraduates; next

examining how these issues impact Filipinx American Racialization and experiences of racism; then shifting into social justice projects in which students create workshops or lessons or help plan a community event; and finally returning to reflection and sense making as well as asking questions such as relationship to the parent country of the Philippines. The Miseducation of the Filipinx class was a dynamic place of learning and of making sense of history collectively.

While these themes carried over to each class, the content evolved for each cohort. For cohort 1 the emphasis was on Filipinx Americans and the Civil Rights Movement, for cohort 2 the emphasis was on the Miseducation of the Filipinx and interrogating ways that schooling was used during U.S. colonization, and for cohort 3 the emphasis was on recreating Filipinx American narratives and storytelling through photovoice, a creative photography process.

Figure 3: Decolonizing Curriculum for Filipinx American undergraduates



In the pilot study conducted in Winter of 2017, I interviewed 6 out of the 7 Filipinx American undergraduate students who took the winter 2016 Filipinx American Civil Rights class the previous year. For the winter and spring 2017 class there were 11 total students and I interviewed 8 of them. For the spring class of 2018, there were 21 students and I interviewed 7 of them. Table 1 below provides the pseudonyms and basic demographic information about the students in this study. I have organized it based on which cohort the students took the course based on additional probes or questions based on different content in the class.

Table 1: Pseudonym and demographic chart of participant

COHORT 1: Winter 2016				
Name/Pseudonym	Generational status	Gender Identity	Filipinx parentage	Major if known
Venus	1.5 generation	Woman	Both parents Filipinx	Business
Luna	3 rd generation	Woman	Both parents Filipinx American, Mom is mixed with Native American	Medical Anthropology
Maya	2 nd generation	Woman	Both parents Filipinx	Political Science
Honey	2 nd generation	Woman	Both parents Filipinx	Early Childhood Education
Bing	1.5 generation	Woman	Both parents Filipinx	Unknown
Katkat	1.5 generation	Woman	Filipinx American	Unknown
COHORT 2: Winter and Spring 2017				
Name/Pseudonym	Generational status of Filipinx immigration	Gender Identity	Filipinx parentage	Major if known
Amalia	3 rd generation	Woman	Mom is Filipinx Dad is White American	Unknown
Baba-G	2 nd generation	Woman	Both parents Filipinx	Unknown
Baby	2 nd generation	Gender Nonconforming	Mom is Filipinx Dad is White American	Social Work
Bunso	2 nd generation	Woman	Both parents Filipinx	Unknown
Janoboy	2 nd generation	Man	Both parents Filipinx	Communications
June	1.5 generation	Man	Both parents Filipinx	Unknown
Little Fish	3 rd generation	Woman	Mom is Filipinx	Biology

Malaya	2 nd generation	Woman	Dad is White American Both parents Filipinx	Environmental Science
Cohort 3: spring 2018				
Name/Pseudonym	Generational status of Filipinx immigration	Gender Identity	Filipinx Parentage	Major if known
Ade	2 nd generation	Woman	Both parents Filipinx	Social Work
Anding	1.5 generation	Woman	Both parents Filipinx	Unknown
Jay	2 nd generation	Nonbinary	Both parents Filipinx	Public Health
Mena	2 nd generation	Woman	Mom Filipinx Dad White	Comparative History
Nonoy	2 nd generation	Man	Mom Filipinx Dad White	Marketing
Tala	2 nd generation	Woman	Both parents Filipinx	Unknown
Yana	2 nd generation	Woman	Both parents Filipinx	Visual Arts

Data Collection: Interviews with Filipinx American Students

I interviewed a total of 21 Filipinx American undergraduate students, all of whom had taken a course with me in critical U.S.-Philippine colonial history and racialization between 2016-18. The primary source of data across the three cohorts are semi-structured interviews with Filipinx American students, as there is specific information desired of the participants regarding their process of gaining critical historical consciousness, and how this has impacted their sense of racialization. I created a protocol with semi structured open-ended questions (See Appendix A). All of these interviews started with questions about where peoples' families are from in the Philippines and what they knew about their immigration and diaspora story. This question was an anchor point to sharing stories about parents and grandparents and their experiences of struggle and resilience. They were stories most of them were familiar with and were also sharply

juxtaposed with the lack of exposure or education about Filipinx Americans they received in schooling spaces.

I crafted questions that touched on conceptual themes from my theoretical framework; for example, regarding racialization and identity, I asked questions such as:

- What does it mean to you to be Filipinx American?
- Have you ever struggled with your racial/ethnic identity? Can you describe this?
- What ways do you draw strength from being Filipinx?
- What is your sense of belonging to Filipinx Community?
- How has your racial identity changed since you've been at PNU?

For content about historical consciousness, I asked participants questions such as:

- Can you describe what you know about the historic relationship between the United States and the Philippines?
 - How did you learn about this?
 - What do you think about this history?
 - What feelings does this bring up for you?
 - How has your awareness of history impacted you?
- What did you learn about the history of the Philippines in K-12 school settings?
 - Was there a specific time that Filipino history was discussed that was memorable in you K-12 schooling?
 - If not at all. How did this impact you?

I used the same interview protocol for each interview, but also allowed for students to veer from the questions and to tell stories and offer new ideas and meanings and probed on subjects that seemed more relevant to the participant (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). These were 45-60-minute audio recorded interviews which were subsequently all listened to and transcribed.

Interviews with Faculty Members

As I learned from the findings of the 2017 pilot study, Filipinx American undergraduates are participating in decolonizing processes in several classroom and campus social settings. The interviews with Filipinx American undergraduates revealed the names of several faculty whose classes and teachings were instrumental in their process of developing historical consciousness

and learning about Filipinx American studies. Their pseudonyms: Professor Torres, Professor Santos, and Professor Alupay are the three whose names recurred throughout the student's interviews. I interviewed each of them regarding their experiences on the teaching side of these classes, and what they observed from their vantage point as educators.

I used a protocol to ask the faculty questions specific to the content of their classes as well as their views on the importance of critical historical consciousness development for Filipinx American undergraduates. These were approximately 60-minute audio recorded semi-structured interviews (See Appendix B for Faculty Protocol.) I weave in excerpts from these faculty interviews into the findings, to support and triangulate findings from the students.

Analysis

Once I gathered all 21 of the student interviews and the 3 faculty interviews, I began a process of formal analysis of the entire corpus of data. I started by revisiting my research questions and reminding myself of what I really wanted to know from this data. I started with the student interviews and then analyzed the faculty interviews. This was an inductive process, in other words, I didn't start with a pre-established testable hypotheses, but instead started my analysis from the ground up, by reading interview transcripts and looking for emerging trends, themes, or ideas that stood out in the data (Bhattacharya, 2017, p. 150). Glaser and Strauss (1967) introduced the concept of Grounded Theory or inductive approaches to research: this is a method of analysis that allows for a holistic interpretation of the data (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). The first round of analysis drew upon grounded theory with an open coding process to examine categories, themes, and phenomena that appeared in the data. I identified recurring patterns as well as significant moments or quotes. I looked both within and across the transcripts to find patterns and themes.

Once I had read through all of the transcripts, I created a set of codes based on these themes and categories that came from the data as well as topics that mapped onto the theoretical concepts and literature for this project. A few themes emerged immediately. All participants had an abundance of knowledge and stories about their family migration and diaspora. When contrasted with what they had learned about U.S. Philippine history in gradeschool some of them had one word, “nothing.” I knew this contrast of familial knowledge vs. academic knowledge was an emerging theme. Also, almost all participants identify as Pacific Islander and had a lot to say about this when it came to making sense of racial categories.

The next phase in analysis involved creating a codebook with concepts from both the themes that emerged from the open coding process as well as themes from the conceptual framework and literature, especially drawing upon ideas of Decolonizing, Historical Consciousness, and Critical Race theory. I clustered the topical themes and methodological ideas into broader analytical units, or parent codes, based on meaning and theoretical constructs, critical incidents, patterns, and literature (Bhattacharya, 2017). For codes regarding decolonizing, I examined ways that the participants defined this idea for themselves and actions that they described related to it, such as pursuing healing, making art and creativity, and facing the emotions that come with reckoning with ways they had previously accepted a sense of inferiority or internalized racism. Codes for historical consciousness had to do with ways that students made sense of history, whether by reflecting on their own family histories, or also mapping on new historical understandings to their lived experience, and for some altering their personal or academic trajectories based on this new knowledge. CRT codes were weaved throughout regarding racialized experiences described by the participants. As I found themes or unique

findings, I kept a spreadsheet of excerpts that stood out as exemplary of the codes I was using and wrote analytical memos about these findings. See Figure 4 below for code book:

Figure 4: Filipinx American Critical Historical Consciousness Codebook

 <p>Filipinx American Critical Historical Consciousness Codebook</p>	
<p>1. Change in trajectory</p> <p>When learning about Filipinx American history, identity, colonization changed the direction in what students wanted to do in the future.</p>	<p>2. Colonial Mentality</p> <p>Love of White American savior ideals Accepting of status quo without questioning it.</p> <p>Subcode</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Internalized Racism: Ways that colonial mentality has led to a desire to lighten skin or other self hatred, self harm, degrading thoughts related to race.
<p>3. Decolonizing</p> <p>How students define the process of decolonizing. May entail emotions that are felt during this process or conditions required in order to decolonize.</p> <p>Subcodes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Creativity: Connecting with art and creativity as a way to decolonize Culturally Sustaining Pedagogies: Students resonating with and/or seeking learning spaces that are aligned with Filipinx American cultural values. Healing: Describing what healing from decolonizing looks like. Mental health counseling, etc. 	<p>4. Family Diaspora</p> <p>Stories, counter narratives, and rich descriptions of struggle and going to lengths in an immigration process/contrasts with lack of history taught about Filipinx Americans in school context</p> <p>Subcodes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assimilation: Code switching and adapting to American/Whiteness. Trying to belong and fit in. Family Trauma: Making sense of legacies of violence, displacement, separation, addiction, abandonment, poverty, mental health, etc. Loss of Language: The process of losing Filipinx language and messages about language
<p>5. Filipinx Invisibility</p> <p>Describing absence of Filipinx American history or content</p>	<p>6. Historical Consciousness</p> <p>Describes how are participants engage in reconstructing history and re-remembering. Describes how they make sense of learning history to help them locate their sense of self and redefine the present.</p>
<p>7. Home and Place</p> <p>Describes how Filipinx Americans grapple with the concept of home, their connection to the Philippines and sense of place</p>	<p>8. Racism</p> <p>Experiences of racism and/or microaggressions towards Filipinx Americans and/or messages about racism to other groups.</p>
<p>9. Racialization</p> <p>This is how participants make sense of how they've been racialized and what it means to be Filipinx American.</p> <p>Subcodes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Asianization: Either aligning with or problematizing the category of Asian to describe their race Intersectionality: Racialized experiences intersecting with other identities such as gender and sexual orientation Mixed Race Experience: Students who are multiracial/ Filipinx American and other race and what that experience is like Pacific Islander: Aligning with Pacific Islander identity and or problematizing it for Filipinx Americans Racial Ambiguity: Feeling lost, not knowing what race they are. Confusion about race. 	<p>10. Sociopolitical Transformation</p> <p>How students got woke and embarked on a journey of self awareness around identity, power, and being Filipinx American.</p> <p>Subcodes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Activism: This is about a desire to make change and be in a movement for activism and justice. Finding Community: This is about students finding Filipinx American community/FASA etc Sense of Belonging: Expressing feeling like an insider or outsider. A sense of belonging or of not fitting.

I used Dedoose to apply codes to each transcript. As shown in Figure 4, the parent codes on the left are connected to predominant themes in the data as well as in the conceptual framework. The subcodes, on the right are nested under the parent codes as specific ways that these phenomena occur for different participants. For each transcript I highlighted excerpts that were cases and examples of these themes and coded them accordingly. This made it possible to see when there were themes both within and across interviews.

Trustworthiness

I attended to validity by using triangulation and several sources of data, interviews with 21 students and interviews with 3 faculty. I participated in peer examination, in which colleagues and members of my supervisory committee read my work and provided feedback and critique. Throughout the data analysis stage, I discussed my data and theories with other people, thereby providing me with other interpretations and analyses I had not considered. I used Miles and Huberman's (1994) idea of the critical friend (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Miles and Huberman proclaim, 'Without reflection it is easy to get lost in a welter of detail' (1994, p. 51). To further support the concept of a critical friend, Preskill and Torres' (1999) book about evaluative inquiry states, "Reflection, in conjunction with one or more other individuals has been known to prompt changes in self-concept or in perception of an event or a person...When done through a collaborative dialogue reflection can enable participants to explore their values, beliefs, assumptions, and knowledge, and thus gain perspective...(Preskill & Torres, 1999, p. 58)." Kriya Velasco, a fellow PhD student, was my co-instructor for the Miseducation of the Filipinx classes and met with me regularly to dialogue and reflect on the conceptual frameworks of this project. Additional critical friends were Aditi Rajendran, Tory Brundage, Christian Love, Emily Affolter, Ester Love, Carlyn Mueller, Elba Moise, Jenny Gawronski, Jeehah Yu, Chelsea

Fezick, and Brian Creeley. All of these people proof read initial drafts of my research proposal and attended a critical friend feedback session to provide me insight and resources on my rationale, methods, and conceptual frameworks. They challenged me and asked critical questions to help clarify the purpose and logic of my study.

Summary of Methods

In summary this section overviews my rationale for using critical qualitative research methods. Grounding my study in critical race theory approaches paired with qualitative methods set up the design of this study. This study takes place at the University of Washington Seattle Campus, a large research institution with a large number of Filipinx American students in attendance and a long history as a port city for Filipinx American migration, labor, and resistance (Andresen, 2013; Fujita-Rony, 2003; Panganiban, 2016; Perez, 2015). In this section I discussed my positionality and personal agenda for this research in alignment with critical race values of centering voices and epistemologies of people of color (Solórzano et al., 2002). I provided rationale for purposeful sampling strategies and recruiting students who had previously been enrolled in my critical Filipinx American history undergraduate classes; I also provided context and curriculum content from the course to further illustrate why the students who took this class are ideal participants for this study. I outlined my data collection processes with students as well as Filipinx American studies faculty members and finally attended to trustworthiness.

Chapter 5

Findings Part I:

The Space in Between:

Liminality, Dual Consciousness & Anti Essentialism for Filipinx Americans

This chapter responds to the first research question, *how do Filipinx American undergraduates who have engaged in critical educational experiences understand what it means to be Filipinx American?* This first question is answered by four themes that emerged from the interview data, which are all addressed in this chapter. The first theme is regarding liminality and dual consciousness. The interviews with Filipinx Americans revealed that they were constantly navigating between different cultural worlds and contradicting identities. The main example of this liminal space is how students expressed their challenges with the idea of home being neither in the Philippines nor in the U.S.

The second theme in this section addresses the importance of family relationships, but also the code switching, tensions, and navigating cultural and generational clashes between participants and their parents. The findings in this section demonstrate ways that Filipinx Americans navigate assimilation to dominant culture, but also work to preserve their home cultures, another example that liminal space and dual consciousness show up. Participants who have engaged in Filipinx American studies talked about contradictions that arose with their parents while learning critical colonial history. This new consciousness and postcolonial framework sometimes put them at odds with values or politics that their parents espouse.

The third theme in this section is focused on racism and racialized experiences for Filipinx Americans. In answering this question about what it means to be Filipinx American for

students who have studied critical Filipinx American history, a powerful awareness of race, of racialized moments, and of internalized racism was acute for all participants in this study.

Grappling between racial categories is the fourth theme in this section, specifically choosing between Asian and Pacific Islander. Filipinx Americans in this study grapple with binary categories and feeling like they both and neither are completely right for them. Most of the participants talked at length about identifying as Pacific Islander and grappling with the racial category Asian. This concept was discussed at length in every interview for this project. Despite Filipinx not being categorized as one of the ethnic groups under the Pacific Islander category, the majority of the participants in this study identify as such and contend with the complexity of that identification.

Liminality: home is between two worlds

The theme of liminality showed up across the majority of the interviews, where participants felt a sense of being in-between two worlds and two homes, the Philippines and the U.S. The participants also felt a sense of ambiguity about their racial and ethnic identity as something that was amorphous and hard to define. For all of the participants, understanding what it means to be Filipinx American is closely connected with understanding where home and place is, even if they've never been to the Philippines. Liminality, "the literal and figurative position of being between two states," relates to the experiences of Filipinx American undergraduates who are historically positioned as between many spaces: as second generation college students without parents who understand the US college context, as foreigners and colonial subjects, and as racialized people of color who are simultaneously often marginalized by other people of color (Buena Vista et al., 2009, p. 75).

This theme of liminality came up across multiple interviews regarding a sense of home. Almost all participants brought up a connection to the Philippines as an ancestral homeland, but many expressed a sense of not feeling at home there after having assimilated to U.S. culture, simultaneously most of them also expressed not feeling like the U.S. was home either.

For example, June, a 1.5 immigrant, shared about how his parents decided when they were pregnant with him, their youngest of three children, that something needed to change economically for their family to have a better life. His dad made the decision to join the U.S. Navy as a path to U.S. citizenship for their family. It took his dad 10 years of service before he was able to get citizenship and bring the family to the U.S. and be reunited. For June, he experienced directly some of the sacrifice of being separated and missing his father as young boy. He also has a unique vantage point of having lived two halves of his life in two different countries and socioeconomic realities.

I think to be Filipino American you... I think that I am... Like super unique. I mean especially be someone like, I was raised, born and raised in the Philippines for ten years and then being in American for 14, I'm 24 now. Having those two very, those two experiences..... It makes me feel like I have two world perspectives that I carry every day.... Back in the Philippines we didn't have much. I walked miles to go to school, and sometimes we didn't have a lot of food. I really missed my dad, I missed my dad a lot. There were times where I needed to work with my mom to sell stuff in the streets of the Philippines just to make ends meet. Having that experience, and then having this experience in America where I live comfortably, and I live with privilege. I live in a really nice house, and that I'm educated, that I have a great job. To be honest I feel like, I don't know if it's the correct term, but it haunts me because those are very two different experiences. We each have our own unique story, but for some reason I like to think that mine is super, super unique. That's what I kind of like about myself I guess in a sense how I've grown to love myself is knowing that I have these two experiences that I'm carrying with me....and that kind of seeps through how I carry myself and how I see the world around me.—June

June's description of living two different realities, one of his first ten years of life in the Philippines, and the other is his adolescence and emerging adulthood in the U.S. is a very literal example of a participant in this study who has two different home country experiences in his

lifetime to make sense of. Many of the participants talked about trips to the Philippines as young adults and how that experience impacted them. For some this was a very emotional experience. For Yana, who had just returned from her first trip to the Philippines days prior to this interview, and described the rush of emotion seeing her grandma for the first time, but also the distance felt between them:

Arriving to the Philippines, it was a very emotional moment. My grandma cried a lot, too. I think also just traveling to somewhere different, the new environment, you're just so shocked. It's so different to see how everything is, and also adjusting to the climate was kind of difficult at first. But I'd say because my parents ... I don't think they purposely raised us to be more westernized, I think it just so happened because of how little family we have, and how ... Our family, we're very small, I guess our personalities are just more on the quieter side. So, I think for the majority of the trip, because I don't speak Tagalog, it was very difficult. I think just because it was my first time there, ... I think just that big gap of my life, of not seeing this side of my family, was very difficult.—Yana

Several students talked about an awareness of US privilege that they felt after traveling to the Philippines. Tala talked about a trip with her mother back to the Philippines and recognizing the privilege she has and also the duality of being inherently part of and not part of either world. Unlike June's story, Tala hadn't grown up in the Philippines, so rather than grappling with two lived realities of home, she grappled with an idea of home in the Philippines that she never actually lived in.

It was interesting to see my mom's really humble beginnings of how she started out and I think just how differently my life would have been. Then just seeing how, it was just a lot of experience of loss. Loss of culture, and also feeling like I am, nationality-wise, Filipina, and racialized as this brown body, but how do I, it was kind of like, how do I search for that home that I along with my other family members were either displaced from or actively chose to come here because they didn't see a future for what was once home to them. It's kind of that mentality that you go to the US for a better life. You send money back home to your relatives that can't come over here...Then you are living your life in different time zones but never fully finding that home, because you feel like you have to adapt and stuff, so it's kind of like, what does home look like for you? Is home within me?—Tala

One student, Little Fish, talks about a connection to the ocean as part of her Filipinx-ness. “What being Filipinx American means to me..it gives me a really strong connection to the natural world. My dad used to call me his little fish because I used to love swimming so much. To me, it really connects me and grounds me to the ocean.” Little Fish also talked about the devastation of learning that her ancestral lands in the Philippines are a site of environmental ruin.

When I went to the Philippines I was trying to figure out where my grandparents were from cause I really wanted to go to those places. I remember very clearly the night that I looked up the place my grandma was born and Googled it...I found out it's the largest mining disaster in the world, is where she grew up, and basically how that whole entire area is suffering from severe high mercury levels and poisoning. People are just dying there.—Little Fish

For Little Fish, the idea of what it means to be Filipinx American is interconnected to a sense of connection to her love of nature. Despite the devastation in the place where her ancestors were from, she felt this understanding of gave her a sense of purpose as an environmental studies major and clarified her identity as Filipinx American. For most participants, locating a sense of home was a process of making sense of physical locations that held different levels of importance, of relationships that were in both the Philippines and the U.S. and sometimes feeling like neither space was home.

Little Fish has connected her relationship with her ancestral homeland with a sense of purpose in her academic trajectory as an environmental studies major. Her love of the ocean and nature is attributed to her Filipinx roots. Rather than a connection to a specific place in the Philippines that is identified as home, Little Fish has identified something more abstract regarding a sense of purpose. Similarly, Tala talked about an idea that for Filipinx Americans, home is something cultivated inside oneself; she concluded that home is not necessarily a country or a physical place, but an internal experience.

Yeah. I'd say for me I've come to believe that home is something that's more cultivated internally through various processes like remembering or feeling and decolonization. At the end of the day it's you that was present in all of those spaces. I view home as just a remembrance of your roots, where you came from, and carrying that with you despite whatever pain or struggle that may bring to you. Just carrying that remembrance and honor with you in whatever space you occupy. I think that's more so what, not so much a physical or geographical place, but just kind of your own history, your own lineage, and the different moments of your life that contributed to where you are.--Tala

This idea of home was similar and different across participants. For June as well as other 1.5 generation students who immigrated as kids or teenagers, there was a grappling between a relationship of two very real places that had been home, the Philippines and the U.S. and how to make sense of the relationship and the duality of both of those homes. For Yana and Tala, they were both second generation, born in the U.S. but with immigrant parents and a lot of extended family in the Philippines. Both Yana and Tala visited the Philippines as undergraduates with their family members and grappled with strong emotions of returning to their parents' homeland yet feeling acutely aware that they didn't belong there and that they had access to socioeconomic privilege and fluency in English that set them apart from their family. Still this relationship to a place that could have been their home was palpable for them and the emotions of seeing grandparents and beloved family members that they had lived apart from was intense. Finally, Little Fish is an interesting story of a mixed race 3rd generation Filipinx with a more distant connection to the Philippines. Regardless of the generational distance, she describes a connection to a love of nature that she attributes to being Filipinx American. Despite the environmental ruin that occurred in her family hometown that she has never visited. All of these stories grapple with the liminal ideas of home being both and neither in the U.S. and the Philippines.

Dual Consciousness: Filipinx and American, two cultures at odds with each other

Similar to liminal space, some participants describe a duality of consciousness regarding being bicultural as Filipinx Americans and moving between two worlds. This idea of dual consciousness to navigate racialized experiences was first coined by WEB Dubois (1903) referring, originally, to a source of inward “twoness” putatively experienced by African-Americans because of their racialized oppression in a white-dominated society (Du Bois, 1994). This concept of twoness and being between two worlds can be applied to these findings. Both of these ideas of dual consciousness and what it means to be between two things in liminal space were central to these findings about what it means to be Filipinx American.

For some participants, there was a sense of acceptance around this duality of consciousness, of embracing a journey of defining what it means to be Filipinx American without a binary answer or arrival. For Maya, she describes going between two cultures that are at odds with one another. She had embraced a sense of biculturalism that she described as inherent to being Filipinx American; that going between both cultures and mindsets is a skill and an asset.

Being Filipina American means that I have the fluidity to move between two different cultures, while I may not be fluent in both, I have the ability to flourish in both because I'm simultaneously Filipina and American, but I'm also neither of those things. It is code switching between two cultures and customs and it's a clash between a community mindset and an independent mindset. –Maya

For Luna, she talked about the sense of loss that she feels after generations of colonization and assimilation to U.S. culture. Despite her fluency with American culture she never feels at home in America. This dual consciousness for her means she has learned to survive in White America at the cost of losing a sense of authenticity and indigeneity as a Filipinx. Also key for Luna finding a sense of authenticity about her identity is the support of family and community.

What does it mean? What are authentic Filipino religious beliefs? What are traditional ways of living? So much of it has been lost and we feel like we can't get it back. We don't know what to go back to. I'm still figuring it out, I think it's a lot to process. I don't think I'll ever really figure it out, but we work towards it with the help of other people, family and community. Being here in America, you never feel like you're really home, it's just definitely difficult Being Filipino means to remain conscious of my history and trying to search for what that really means.—Luna

Similar to Luna, Jay described a “void” with this identity, feeling neither Filipinx or American. Jay also talked about a sense of identity as being a process of seeking, reclaiming, and redefining. He named this process as the antidote to a sense of ambiguity of being Filipinx and American. Jay talks about an internal process as “something you do yourself,” regarding the journey to clarifying his ambiguous Filipinx American identity, this contrasts subtly to Luna’s theory about dual consciousness being relational

The thing about being Filipino-American is like you feel so separated from all these cultures that you claim you're a part of. You say that you're a Filipino-American, you say you're Filipino, you say you're American but at sometimes, it's like you're not ... There's cases where you feel like you're not enough to be either. So, it's like you're lost because you lack that sense of identity.... I think being Filipino-American is just really finding out what it means for yourself.... It's something that you have to do yourself, you have to search and discover and reclaim, you have to redefine it in ways that work for you and ways that reflect your own values.—Jay

Almost all participants had an acceptance that to understand what it means to be Filipinx American meant navigating a dual consciousness between Filipinx and American identities. Sometimes not feeling clear whether they were enough of either of those identities to claim them. The greatest examples of navigating this dual consciousness came out in tensions and contradictions that participants had with their parents and grandparents. Participants talked extensively about navigating the duality of cultural norms and values at home versus at school.

Generational divides and Contradictions

For most of the participants in this study, learning critical history prompted them to reflect on their family diasporas and on their relationships with their parents. Several scholars have examined tensions and contradictions for Filipinx American undergraduates and their parents (Buena Vista, 2013; Maramba, 2003; Panganiban, 2016). Something new that arose in my study was regarding ways that students developed new or opposing sociopolitical frameworks from their parents upon learning critical Filipinx American history. This is a new form of generational contradiction that I'll substantiate below. This finding reminded me that through their critical studies students developed a newfound historical consciousness and narratives of the past. These newfound critical narratives often reorient people in a way that shifts their sense of moral development (Straub, 2005). In the case of the participants of this study it also meant cultivating a new moral standing on history and the narrative of the past also touched upon deeply sensitive divides with parents.

Examples of the tension related to assimilation were found in the ways the participants navigated between Filipinx and U.S. culture. The contradictions between family expectations and U.S. culture were often at odds. Another theme that came up for several participants was regarding a loss of Filipinx language and how this has severed lines of communication with their family and community. A conflict that several participants had with their families was upon gaining new or different historical understandings in college that positioned them in different ways politically with their parents.

Generational divides were illustrated by stories of sacrifice that participant's parents or grandparents made in order to immigrate to the United States. For several participants it involved years of separation between their parents, but for all of the participants there was an acknowledgment of separation from extended family members, grandparents, aunts and uncles,

and family being dispersed around the globe. For most second-generation participants, there were stories of their immigrant parent's exhaustion from navigating a new country, demanding work, learning English language, and adjusting to new cultural norms. All participants talked about witnessing their parents' challenges and grappled with a sense of gratitude and indebtedness that exacerbated tensions in their relationship.

For Anding, this interview was emotional as she recounted the struggles her parents faced and how she kept her own struggles to herself to not burden her parents who were already having difficulties.

For my mom and dad, it was a lot harder to reconfigure themselves to a new culture. They knew English, but it wasn't very good. A lot of times I had to translate for them....I had to do things for myself a lot because my mom was raising my little brother. It was a lot easier for me. I can only imagine how my parents transitioned themselves. So, I knew I couldn't really complain. That I needed to help my family because I was more adaptable. Because I was a kid and could learn things easier than my parents.—Anding

For Anding, the code switching between American friends and home culture was a source of tension. Her parents would say to her, "why do you have an attitude of an American?" To which she would answer, "because my friends were all American." And she asked herself, "if I have an American attitude, what does that mean? Like I'm not Filipino?" Along these lines, other students shared this feeling of being pulled in different cultural directions that were misaligned. Another participant, Ney, describes this tension between U.S. and Filipinx cultures,

I guess for me initially it was definitely more rooted in feeling separated and split between the two identities and that tension causing a lot of grief in my life, in my parents having all these expectations culturally, but then living in a society where they're not actually aligned, living in a more individual society. So I always struggled between them wanting me to take care of them, taking care of my sisters, but then having the expectation to succeed individually, and so I always resented that and I was always frustrated by it.—Ney

As students learn about Filipinx American history, many of them opened up new conversations that they never had with their parents. These conversations often revealed complexities and differences between participants and their families. For some students, learning about critical colonial history meant critiquing ideas they were taught about the “American Dream,” but having these conversations with their immigrant parents who sacrificed so much for this dream is sensitive and challenging. Expressing critiques of these things provoked hard conversations.

For Bunso, she spent years participating in FASA and taking classes where she learned concepts regarding colonial mentality and decolonizing. These concepts made her question ideas and political values that had potential to put her at odds with her parents. For her, the thought of having painful difference with her parents wasn’t worth it for all they sacrificed for her, so she has kept up a “curtain” to keep her beliefs and knowledge separate from her parents.

It makes me wonder, it's just this weird thing...Because here I am doing all this work, but my parents lived this life. But it's a weird divide, I'm not able to ask my parents all this stuff. But on this side of the curtain, you see me doing all that learning. I haven't found the moment yet where I want to shed that curtain away and have those two worlds collide. Because I think it's very painful for them to, if I were to do that. And we also have, when we try to crack it open a bit, we have very different opinions. Yeah. I think it's sensitive. There is more of a divide, a diaspora on my mom's side. She was the one who sacrificed a lot. She probably left her family when she was in her late 20s. So that is probably a very painful thing for my mom.—Bunso

Another example of this was regarding a shift in family relationships after exposure to sociopolitical curriculum. Anding was one of the few students who learned about critical history in high school through means of an independent project. Anding described a high school project she did on Ferdinand Marcos, a former president and dictator of the Philippines from 1965-1986

who ruled under martial law. Her school assignment pushed her to decide whether Marcos was a “good or bad” leader.

I was in a high school class called Leadership and each week you had to identify a leader that was good, bad, or ugly. We'd call it GBU. I didn't know anything about Marcos in high school. All I knew is that he was a Philippine president, but I didn't know what that meant and what his policies were and how he affected the people. When I asked my leadership teacher, she's a white female, when I asked her she was like yea, it was a dictatorship. When I went home and told my parents what I learned...Marcos is kind of bad. My mom and dad were like.. What? No. He wanted to save the Philippines from America. He wanted liberation from America. And I was like why would you want to not be in America? Cause they mentioned that we would have been another state. Can you imagine? Another state for America? And I said what's wrong with that? I thought it was interesting that my teacher thought he was a dictator and my parents thought of him as a savior. My parents didn't say anything about martial law until I looked in Wikipedia...I shared opposing views. I put him in the bad section. But how can you argue against him wanting to disassociate us from America. –Anding

This example illustrates some concepts from historical consciousness regarding developing historical literacy and morality (Seixas, 2004). Anding had the opportunity to explore a historical figure from the Philippines who is extremely controversial and known for his brutality and corruption. She (with support from her white history teacher) determined that Marcos ruling under martial law put him in a “bad” category. As a high school student who hadn't learned about critical colonial history, Anding didn't understand her parent's positive opinion of Marcos' resistance to American imperialism. Anding realized later, after taking U.S. Philippine studies classes, that these issues are far from binary. While Marcos may have been a “bad” and brutal dictator, she saw her parent's perception of Marcos' critique of the U.S. in a new light. Her parents wanted sovereignty for the Philippines. She remained resolute that Marcos' rule was dictatorial, but her understanding of historic morality was opened by seeing the complexity of a colonial past and how difficult it has been for the Philippines to gain freedom

from U.S. control. Her historical literacy helped her break out of a binary (good, bad, ugly) way of understanding historical morality about Marcos and about her parents' viewpoints.

For all participants, part of understanding their experience as Filipinx American was a reverence and respect for the sacrifices made by their parents and grandparents in the diaspora and search for them to have a better life. Navigating these differences in beliefs and values upon learning Filipinx American post-colonial history meant challenging ideas that their parents had taught them while still respecting all their parents had given up in order for them to have more opportunities in the U.S. In Bunso's case, holding a dual consciousness around critical colonialism and respecting her parent's more conservative ideas is part of her liminal space.

Loss of Language

Another tension for participants in this study and their parents was regarding Filipinx language. Language is complex for Filipinx Americans and sets them apart from other Asian immigrant groups because of the legacy of English-only curriculum that was implemented with U.S. colonial schooling at the turn of the 20th century. English curriculum in the Philippines persists to this day. The legacy of English-only curriculum has resulted in a break in passing on native language to the next generation for many Filipino Americans (Constantino, 1982; Rafael, 2016; Strobel, 2001). Many participants of this study talked about a severing of learning Filipinx language or a loss of language after immigrating. Some loss of language was encouraged by families as in Amalia's case, "my grandparents encouraged everyone to not speak Tagalog, like at all... They spoke in Tagalog, but would encourage the kids to reply in English so that they wouldn't have an accent or wouldn't get picked on in school, wouldn't stick out." All participants that didn't speak a Filipinx language expressed regret or sadness about it.

For Anding, she immigrated from the Philippines at age 5, but has lost most of her language due to assimilation in the United States and the pressure to fit in. “Being Filipinx American means being resilient. I was born there. I spoke the language, but over the years I found myself in situations where there weren’t any Filipinos. And I wanted to fit in, so I started losing my language.” The loss of language became apparent when Anding would try to speak with her grandmother and found herself wrestling with questions around her identity.

I would forget a word or forget how to phrase things in Tagalog. Why am I losing this side of me, when this is where I come from? I had to fit in, how do I adapt to this situation, to these people, so I can thrive? –Anding

Not speaking a Filipinx language for some was a source of not belonging in Filipinx spaces. For one participant hearing students at FASA speaking in Filipinx made her feel like an imposter and like she wasn’t Filipinx enough. For June, who immigrated at age 10, he remembers asking his parents to only speak to him in English. After being teased at school for not speaking English and for his ethnic lunches he made it his goal to perfect English and lose his Filipino accent.

I remember one day coming home I said hi to my mom. I was like mom, like “stop packing me lunches, stop packing me Filipino food. I want to just talk in English from now on, don't speak to me in Filipino.” I remember my older brother laughing at me. He was like, “hah yeah you should just speak English because the only words you know are ‘oh my god.’” I was like, even from my own family there was that... so not only in school, and not only the community that I lived in, but even in my own family, it was difficult for me just because I didn't know English very well. So, from that point on I was like, I'm not speaking Filipino anymore. I'd just speak English. I'm going to be better than my older brother so I can laugh at him. I'm not going to have an accent. That is the goal. And I'm going to surprise everybody. Like that was my goal..—June

Both Anding and June articulate something interesting in this study, which is that as 1.5 generation immigrants they were fluent in Filipinx languages as children but worked to lose their

Filipinx language and accents and as a result forgot or lost their Filipinx language. It was intentional on some level: they both talk about making a decision and an effort to stop speaking Filipinx language, and in June's case he asked his parents to stop speaking to him in Filipinx. Every participant of this study brought up language as part of their identity as Filipinx American and as an indicator of feeling more or less Filipinx. Speaking Filipinx language was something that made them feel a sense of belonging in Filipinx community or like outsiders in their own family. It was also a barrier to connecting with family in the Philippines if they didn't speak their language.

Racialized: What does Filipinx American mean?

Filipinx American undergraduates in the process of learning critical history, began to reflect on experiences of racism that had pervaded their lives and shaped their understandings of being racialized as Filipinx Americans. This section describes a few themes that came up in relationship to racialized experiences, making sense of racism, others were processing racial tensions in their families as multiracial Filipinx Americans, and finally there was the theme of making sense of their racialized experiences in relationship to other identities and intersectional movements.

Some students shared experiences with racism as part of their journey to understanding what it means to be Filipinx American. Linlin describes a racialized moment getting into a taxi: "I had experienced my first encounters of very pointed racism that were targeted to my Filipina identity. I got into a cab with my mom and they automatically asked if we were nurses and then followed by nurses, they asked if we were maids." Another student, Luna, mentioned getting passed over for a job opportunity that she attributed to being because she was Filipinx American. Many students, especially those that identified as girls and women talked about the messages

they got about their skin color and shaming them for being darker or encouraging them to stay out of the sun. The impacts of those statements resulted in internalized beliefs of being less attractive or beautiful because of their skin color.

Maya talked about daily micro and macroaggressions about her race. She gave examples of her dad telling her she should be glad she doesn't look like a typical Filipinx, being asked repeatedly if she was Chinese while studying abroad in Europe, and also being told she's not a "Real Filipinx" by other Filipinxs because of being born in the US. One person asked her if she was Vietnamese and when she replied, "No, I'm Filipino," they answered with, "Oh you're Filipino, but you look pretty." Maya's analysis of a colonial past and diaspora helped give her a framework to view these racialized experiences. She also found the practice of writing and performing spoken word as a platform for healing and empowerment about experiences of racism as a Filipinx American.

Filipino appearance is so multifaceted. It's just a huge mixture of the different diasporas and the result of colonialism.... I do a lot of spoken word and one of my pieces I say, 'My Filipino skin, my Chinese eyes, my Spanish nose, my American tongue,' and I continue to talk about how all that could be Filipino, how it couldn't be Filipino, how it is and is not simultaneously. Who is to dictate who I am and who I am not?—Maya

By gaining critical historical understandings Maya was able to complicate the mestiza heritage of Filipinx Americans which results in a complex and varied racial appearance and phenotype. This knowledge and acceptance of race being multifaceted is yet another example of ways Filipinx American undergraduates navigate liminal space. Rather than internalizing derogatory racial messages about whether Maya looks Filipinx or not, Maya's stance shifted into empowerment, "who is to dictate who I am and who I am not?"

Just as the students reported, faculty had also experienced their own understandings of Filipinx American invisibility. At a large university with approximately 2,600 faculty, there are

only a few full professors teaching Filipinx American or Philippine studies. Professor Torres teaches Filipinx American studies at The University of Washington. We discussed his reasons for wanting to teach Filipinx Studies. Part of it was the absence of people doing research on Filipinx Americans. As Torres says, “I was interested because no one else was doing it and because I thought it was important.” Torres also talks about his vantage point regarding Filipinx American racialization and the sense of being misunderstood to others and themselves.

Filipino students are definitely non-white, for sure. They're definitely always misunderstood. I think for the most part the majority of students don't know what to think about Filipinos. I think they know that category, but they don't really know what it is. I don't think they can locate it in a map, the home country, the home nation of these students. I think many of our Filipino students can't do that too, right? And so it's part of their racialized presence as Filipinx Americans that they don't know their role. I think they're frequently misunderstood. I think people have a hard time categorizing Filipinos. You know, that whole Asian thing, right? And then Spanish sounding surnames. And then not being what to them would be a stereotypical Asian look, right? Conversant in English. I mean, all these things. Catholic, right? Or Muslim. And so I think they've fallen to spaces between unknown all the way to misunderstood. It's hard because our skin color has a wide range, right? Just like any other group. Mexicans, they're the same, right? And so I think there's a lot. That's how racialized they are. I think they're also perceived sometimes as the model minority. They were removed from the affirmative action list way back in the 1990s and so a lot of people think they're well represented. They're not.—Professor Torres

Impostership for Multiracial Filipinx Americans

Most of the multi-racial students in this study were Filipinx and White, with one person who was Filipinx and Native. While all participants in this study grappled with dual consciousness as Filipinx Americans, the multi-racial participants had a more pronounced sense of liminality with their racial identities and struggles with a sense of belonging. Issues of passing as White and sense of not belonging were salient for most of the mixed-race Filipinx American participants in this study. In several cases, participants talked about a feeling of not belonging in

their own families. In the case of Amalia, a mixed race Filipinx with a white parent, she struggled with ambiguous racial identity.

My dad being White changed my experience because people never assumed that I was Filipino off the bat, so there was never that sort of connection, or I was never made to feel foreign. And so, I did not register for a long time that I was actually not white. Like, I didn't consider myself White, but I didn't think of myself as not White.—Amalia

In Mena's case, her dad is White, and her mom is Filipinx, but she has always identified more as Filipinx. Her mom took her home to the Philippines for months at a time, and she also grew up in a Filipinx church and has maintained fluency in Tagalog. Despite her immersion in Filipinx spaces, she always got a lot of attention for having different physical features, to the point where she sometimes felt like she didn't belong in her Filipinx community.

I've always identified more with my Filipino side than with being White. And then also as a kid being half-white I always stood out in the Philippines, especially with my family, like always pointing out that I'm half white or like my nose. And I remember asking my mom why is everyone always pinching my nose and telling me they like my nose? And the she's like, "cause you have an American nose."—Mena

While Mena identifies as more Filipinx than White, she has a lot of awareness about her Whiteness when with other people of color, especially in classroom settings. "I feel like when there's people of color in a class...I feel like I have a lot of white privilege too even though I'm brown, I still have a lot of white privilege...Sometimes I feel like I am too white to say stuff..." Mena's awareness of positionality and colorism also complicates ways we examine race with Filipinx American undergraduates. For Mena, it was important to re-examine ways that her family elevated her Whiteness, to the point of making her feel a lack of belonging in her family. Complicating this case is that once Mena understood this, she also embraced learning about her own privilege compared to other racial and ethnic groups.

For Nonoy, even though he was taken care of by his Filipinx grandparents, his light features set him apart from his Filipino family members and has made him question his belonging or right to claim that identity. “But when it comes to being Filipino-American I like ... I feel just very ambiguous. Like if I say that I'm Filipino people are gonna be like, ‘Are you full? Are you half?’ And I feel like judgment comes with that. Even if people don't mean that, they're just being inquisitive about it, it feels like something that is like ... it's like okay you're half because your mom.” He goes on to talk about feeling like an imposter in his own family.

Yeah I think when it comes to connecting it to race, I think for me it felt like imposter syndrome the entire time. Like when I'd go to family gatherings, I didn't understand, references were thrown around that I didn't get, there was a sense of like family connection that all of my cousins had with the other aunts and uncles that I feel like I didn't have, and I think overall I've just been very ambiguous of who I was, like what was my identity. I never really had this idea of like I know exactly who I am, and this is who I am.—Nonoy

While all Filipinx Americans in this study struggled with feelings of racial ambiguity, the students who were mixed race expressed having more struggle in finding a sense of community on campus with other Filipinx Americans and their process of understanding what it means to be Filipinx American was distinct from those with two parents of Filipinx descent. Racial identity for mixed race Filipinx Americans was characterized by feelings of impostership and a lack of belonging in Filipinx American communities. Many of the Multi-racial students struggled to feel a connection to FASA. For Tala, having a single mom, not speaking Filipinx, were things that brought up feelings of fear to join FASA. For Ney, similarly, she didn't feel “Filipino enough” to join FASA. While FASA was a space for most participants to make sense of their Filipinx American identities, it wasn't a match for any of the mixed-race participants of this study, who found their path to critical Filipinx American history primarily through seeking ethnic studies

courses. For these students having academic classes that made space for their sense of identity was a key opportunity for them to find a sense of belonging with other Filipinx Americans that they might not connect with in a social club such as FASA.

Asian or Pacific Islander: Our positionality throws off everyone's disparity

Another theme related to racialization is about racial categories and the majority of participants in this study who grappled with whether they fit in the Asian or Pacific Islander category in this interview. Part of this study was to ask Filipinx American undergraduates about how they make sense of their race after learning critical colonial history. All of the participants in this interview had been exposed to critique of the Model Minority Stereotype and ways that the monolithic Asian category has been used to perpetuate invisibility for Filipinx Americans (Museus, 2013, 2014; Teranishi, 2010). Also all of the students in this interview had read parts of Ocampo's (2016) *Latinos of Asia*, which proposes the idea that in many ways Filipinx Americans have more pan colonial commonalities with the Latinx world than with East Asia (Ocampo, 2016). In some ways this grappling between Asian and Pacific Islander is another example of liminal space, where Filipinx Americans express feeling in-between racial categories that don't entirely fit them.

Torres talked about his views on the alliances and tensions regarding Filipinx Americans identifying as Pacific Islander at PNU. He attributes this alliance to one that's regional and also that a lot of his students are the kids of Filipino and Pacific Island parental unions.

I think on this campus it's a very organic ... historical organic sort of connection between Pacific Islander and Filipinos, yeah. Ever since I got hired here I saw that already, immediately. When I was first hired here on my second day at work two Pacific Islanders came to my office and gave me a hug, said welcome. "Welcome to the University of Washington. We are Pacific Islanders and you are a Pacific Islander," they said, "And you are our first Pacific Islander professor." I was floored. Growing up I had a lot of

friends who were Samoans and Tongans... And I sometimes would feel some kind of identification, but not a very sure and steady one, right? Would come in and out, right? But here I was thoroughly amazed. I mean, the ways in which they'd done the work in terms of connecting with Filipinos, it's amazing.

Torres acknowledged the care that needs to go into this alliance and the disadvantages that non-Filipinx Pacific islanders face with Filipinx American numbers potentially overpowering Pacific Islander representation. He also talked about ways that the administration has conflated the two groups in ways that make the university look more or less represented in Pacific Islander numbers. Overall, he said that this alliance must be carefully thought out, done with a lot of respect, and for the purpose of building solidarity and not for the university's goals.

The majority of participants in this study identified as Pacific Islander, but all of them also complicated it by saying that it's not always an appropriate or entirely fitting racial category for them. One student described the confusion between Asian and Pacific Islander as a "tangled ball of yarn". For a few participants who grew up in Hawaii or Guam this confusion about racial categorization was contextualized between their relationship with growing up in the islands versus the racialized landscape of the Pacific Northwest. For Bunso, she describes growing up in Hawaii with a large representation of Filipinx Americans and the sharp contrast when she came to the Pacific Northwest at the age of six and moved into a predominantly White community.

In Hawaii there were so many Filipinos and brown people around me, so I thought I was more islander than American, being connected that way. But when I moved here, and I didn't see as many Filipino people or brown people, I think that challenged my identity a lot more on what Filipino actually is, is it Islander? People are calling me Asian. I would consider myself more Islander, because I was born in Hawaii. When I moved here, I didn't know what Asian American really was. That's the constant confusion of being Pacific Islander and Asian American. And then it just got so much more confusing when I saw different kinds of Asians here, and different kinds of islanders here too. But I know if I were to go over to the Philippines, I would be considered American.—Bunso

Similarly, for Linlin, growing up Filipinx on Guam also complicated her feelings about being American. Even though she considers herself a 2nd generation U.S. citizen, she has grappled with what this means as residents of Guam are restricted from certain citizenship rights.

I am Filipina-Guamanian. I had never said American. I only say American now, but I was very adamant. I was like "I'm not American." And then I feel like a lot of that came from I wasn't allowed to vote for president and that was a very stressful election. That was Trump. And so, I was just like "I'm not American because I'm not treated as an American." --Linlin

Bunso, who moved from Hawaii, also talked about moving into a community with a large Korean and Vietnamese American population and how she didn't feel like she fit under the same banner of Asian in this context.

When I moved to Washington and I had to categorize myself as Asian American, I think for the standardized tests, you had to pick what race you were, and I was told that I was Asian...But it was awkward because I was so much more brown than Asian people around me. The culture is so much different, because even the kinds of food we'd bring to school. Yeah, the Asian kids. If they did bring ethnic food, could eat it with chopsticks, it wouldn't be as stinky. The sour Filipino food is ambiguous, and nobody knows what Filipino food is honestly.--Bunso

Another student, Jay, talked about growing up in a predominantly White community and being questioned by peers as a kid who asked him, "Why are you brown and not yellow if you're Asian?" For Jay, Identifying as Pacific Islander is also a rejection of an Asian Model Minority Stereotype that doesn't apply to their experience.

Some argue that Filipinos aren't Asian or Pacific Islander, we even say like Filipinos are more Latino than anything. And of course that's because of colonial history. I say Pacific Islander just because ... I think it's just after realizing that in some, at least for me, I felt more Pacific Islander because I can never be like the Asian stereotype.--Jay

Further complicating this identity is a sense of solidarity with Pacific Islander based on phenotype for Filipinx Americans that look darker and less stereotypically Asian. In addition,

there are historical alliances with Filipinx American and Pacific Islander communities in the Pacific Northwest. For Luna, she grew up doing Tahitian dancing in the Pacific Northwest and her Filipinx American and Pacific Islander friendships and communities are intermingled.

I personally identify more with being Pacific Islander. I think it has to do culturally. I just see certain cultural traditions but also histories, like colonial histories that are very similar with us and other Pacific Islanders...Also the treatment we get because of the color of our skin. I think we are more aligned with Pacific Islanders, based on our perceived race, than with what people would consider Asian.—Luna

For Maya she complicates the Pacific Islander identity by revealing her understanding of the racial hierarchy within Asian and Pacific Islander communities. She sees Filipinx as being in the “middle” of those two racial categories.

There’s a racial hierarchy within API’s and Filipinos are at a cross section of both of those...From what I’m observing, East Asians are at the top and Southeast Asians are at the bottom. That’s because of world economies, the color of skin, the types of jobs that we get in East Asian countries and the types of jobs that Southeast Asians get in settler countries. But looking at a Pacific Islander hierarchy I would say Filipinos are at the top because we have the highest visibility. That’s why I’m hesitant sometimes about considering myself Pacific Islander because Filipinos have a lot higher access than folks from Micronesia and Polynesia. I think a lot of the confusion is I want to fit into being Asian and I want to fit into being Pacific Islander but we fit neither of those molds because our positionality throws off everyone’s disparity. So I don’t even know how to navigate that.—Maya (2nd gen)

For many of the participants of this study, checking the box for Asian doesn’t always feel right. So Pacific Islander feels like a closer fit, albeit not perfect. As students gain more historical literacy they also aligned themselves with Pacific Islander, understanding that there was shared indigenous and colonial histories.

I identify as Filipino. It’s hard to say that when you check a box for Asian. But maybe I’m not Asian? maybe the Philippines belongs somewhere else? If it were a spectrum, I would honestly identify more with Pacific Islander, and judging from the history I learned we were more closely in contact with Indonesia and other Pacific Islands. I’m more comfortable talking with Pacific Islanders and being myself around them than Asians.—Anding

For another student, Little Fish, describing her race as “Southeast Asian-Pacific Islander” was important to distinguish herself in the STEM field and also to make sense of her own struggles in STEM and break free of stereotypes cast upon Asians. This touches on something important about identification, on one hand it’s about feeling like you belong in one particular category, but on the other the way you define yourself and are defined by others has real impact on how participants are seen in the world.

In STEM, Asians get bracketed as the monolith, it’s like, “Asians are doing great in STEM,” so I will end up calling out that I’m Southeast Asian-Pacific Islander...I feel like I’m identifying that I’m not East Asian. They cut me into these pieces and I kind of feel like I have to code-switch, depending on the room I’m in. –Little Fish

Another angle of the impact of racial categories is regarding how institutions use them and how this influences what students choose to identify as. For one student, choosing Pacific Islander was about strategic advantage. Linlin was encouraged by her Chamorro high school counselor in Guam to check the Pacific Islander box when she applied to college as strategy for upping her chances of getting accepted. She recalls other times that it’s more convenient to check Asian. Now she just claims Filipino as her race.

I say Filipino 'cause I like to say that we are the ambiguous child that no one wants and that's harsh to say but it's very much I feel that groups only accept us as Asian or accept us as Pacific Islander when our numbers are useful. That's how I've always felt. And it's in the sense of it's not necessarily useful as good or bad, it's just useful to accomplish a specific thing.--Linlin

The majority of students grappled with which racial category they belonged in as Filipinx Americans. The reasons for the majority of students identifying as Pacific Islander were varied. Some were about shared alliances and communities, for others it was about shared cultural and

ethnic experiences, pan-coloniality and similar racial experiences, for others it was about a rejection of Asian categorization and separating themselves from a Model Minority Stereotype that they didn't belong in. For all of them, choosing Pacific Islander as their race was not easy. It was done with acknowledgement that other non-Filipinx Pacific Islanders are often underrepresented, and that when it's an option, choosing "Filipinx" as their race is their first preference since it doesn't completely fit in either Asian or Pacific Islander.

Intersectional identities and movements

Several students spoke to various forms of intersectional identities, multiracial realities, and horizontal racism between the Filipinx community and other communities of color. One student pointed to the percentage of Filipinx Americans who voted for Trump and the ways that the Model Minority Stereotype (MMS) operates to divide Filipinos from solidarity with other people of color.

It's so devastating. I'm at odds with one fourth of my community. Well about 20% (of Filipino Americans) voted for Trump and I'm really struggling with that. My life and my work, personally and professionally is for my community. But when my community doesn't realize that what they're supporting is hurting them I'm not sure what to do exactly...I think the worst part is, my interaction with Trump supporters is that I think a lot of Filipinos are maybe benefiting from the model minority myth that well, "We're immigrants we did this why can't Black and Latino folks do it too?" And you know this model minority myth is just driving us apart from other people of color, preventing the solidarity that needs to occur.—Maya

Political solidarity with other racial groups showed up in several interviews. One of the interviews pointed out the importance for her in being part of decolonizing movements here in the U.S. to support Native Americans and tribal sovereignty. This participant also talked about the importance of indigenous rights that need support in the Philippines, and to not lose sight of these movements as Filipinx Americans who are working on decolonizing. For another student, Maya's journey into embracing her Filipinx American identity has been centered in activism and

solidarity with anti-racism movements. She talked about her work with Black Lives Matter movement as a priority for her.

*To be in solidarity with the Black Lives Matter movement is to also recognize the Anti-blackness in the Filipino community, because you know without their liberation we're not going to be liberated either. I feel upset and bad for all the Filipinos who still have colonized minds and aspire to Whiteness who don't realize that will never happen. I think, you know the process of decolonization is itself is a movement and that's where I've been most active is trying to help folks be liberated from that colonial mindset--
Maya*

For another student, grappling with queer identity is also intermixed with grappling with White LGBTQIA+ definitions of sexuality and coming out. For her, the way that queer sexuality is defined in the U.S. is centered in Whiteness and she is seeking ways to understand a different framework for her queer identity that are more centered in a Filipinx framework.

I find myself, I'm still currently in a state of questioning my sexuality....I think oftentimes queer identities are also very white-centric, on the white experience of what it means to be queer, that again there's under representation of queer folks of color. That's why it's kind of difficult..because that's another degree of representation that isn't prominently around. People have to create those spaces because they're not readily available to tap into or to be a part of. I read somewhere that it's oftentimes called coming out, but I heard that more like coming into yourself. Which is something that I'm really thinking about.... this facet of my identity. It's coming into myself, whatever that looks like, however that shows up. Honoring that.--Tala

Another student talked about being a non-binary person and the toxic masculinity that exists in amongst Filipinx American men. They talked about how being non-binary and Filipinx American were identities that are hard to coexist together.

Let me talk about toxic masculinity because that's something I have to think about a lot for being a non-binary Filipino. It's that like, I think that affects my own view on masculinity a lot especially since there's a lot of the talks of someone's masculinity within the Filipino culture as well. So, for me hanging out with a bunch of Filipino guys has always been a little bit scary sometimes, and I always feel like I have to like transition in some other different person so be as masculine as them. And it pains me because that

feels like I'm being a different person sometimes and so, I'm like non-binary and it's kind of hard being, trying to be Filipino and non-binary at the same time—Jay

The findings around intersectional identities were important to many of the students in this study who were able to make sense of their Filipinx American identity by also understanding their positionalities in other identities and how this informed what it means to be Filipinx. For some of them this was about political positions and racialized positions with other communities and in the case of Maya, understanding that there is a lot of work to be done in Filipinx American community regarding Anti-Black racism. For Tala it was about coming out as queer but finding a sense of isolation in how Whiteness was informing LGBTQIA+ spaces and trying to make sense of herself as a Queer Filipinx person. For Jay this was about grappling with being non-binary and the expectations regarding masculinity that are expected of them in Filipinx community. All of these experiences are important in shaping participants' understandings of their Filipinx American identities.

Summary of Findings Part I

How do Filipinx American undergraduates who have engaged in critical educational experiences understand what it means to be Filipinx American?

To answer this first research question, participants grappled with what it means to be Filipinx American by exploring ideas and experiences of liminal space. From code switching and navigating hybrid spaces between their ideas of home in Philippines and the U.S., between Filipinx and American cultural values, racial categories and experiences, all participants had ways of making meaning of being Filipinx American. All participants talked about their processes of assimilation as a means to survival and how they navigated their relationships with home while trying to belong in U.S. American culture. Their processes of how to maintain respect and sensitivity to their home culture while grappling with new understandings of

sociopolitical histories and challenging colonial ideas were pervasive across the interviews.

Finally, grappling with racial categories and liminal spaces between Asian and Pacific Islander was a finding across the majority of the interviews. Experiences of racism and making sense of their racialized positions in relation to other identities and intersectionalities was also critical for most students.

Chapter 6

Findings Part II:

Critical Historical Consciousness: Facing the painful past and decolonizing

For the second findings chapter, I focus on research questions two and three which encompass concepts from historical consciousness and understandings of decolonizing. In answer to research question two: *How are Filipinx American undergraduates involved in developing historical consciousness?* The findings for this question have three overarching themes 1) Collective transformation; 2) (Re)constructive history 3) Understanding Colonial Mentality.

The first theme of collective transformation is in regard to almost every participant mentioning the Filipino American Student Association or a Filipinx American class with a critical mass of Filipinx American students as a gateway to their exposure to critical historical ideas and a shift in sociopolitical awareness. For most participants, being in a collective Filipinx American space of peers happened for the first time as undergraduates. For almost all of the students it was serendipitous, they talked about someone suggesting they go to FASA, but most of them weren't actively seeking Filipinx American community, other students were excited to make a few new friends in FASA and found very deep bonds that were unexpected. Finding peers with shared experiences, identities, and with new developing frameworks to describe their stories was pivotal for many students. This section describes what happened in those collective spaces that supported students in developing a new historical consciousness.

(Re)constructive history is a term from Asian Crit that I use to build on previous ideas from Filipinx American decolonizing scholars such as Strobel (2001) and Espiritu (1996) which discuss the importance of deconstructing ideas, thoughts, and practices that were imposed upon Filipinx Americans through colonization (Museus & Iftikar, 2013). The framework of historical

consciousness offers us an idea regarding the importance of a construction of historical narrative, that the narrative story carries important moral messages that reshape our ideas of the past, present, and future (Straub, 2005). As Filipinx American students learn critical history, they engage in a process of questioning everything, as I reference in the findings. As they construct new historical narratives after never learning history, they are simultaneously deconstructing old ideas. This simultaneous process is cyclical, and I refer to it as (Re)constructive history.

Finally, this section delves into Colonial Mentality. As defined in the conceptual framework section, colonial mentality is summarized as the valorization of light skin, the linguistic dominance of English, the all-for-America attitude, and the lack of historical self-understanding which has resulted in a distorted a sense of identity, a lack of cultural pride, and a sense of subordination (David, 2013). Most participants in this study talk about a shift in their perceptions upon learning this concept. They share metaphors for what how learning this idea impacted them, “it was like a punch in the gut,” “it was like song lyrics I’ve been trying to remember my whole life,” or like one faculty said, “it’s like a double-edged sword.” For all participants, facing this idea of colonial mentality had a profound effect on their lens for examining and questioning their lives and seeking to learn their history as Filipinx Americans.

Collective Transformation: Getting woke happens in community

All students in this study learned critical Filipinx American studies for the first time in college. For most of them their introduction to critical history began in the Filipino American Student Association (FASA), where workshops on colonial mentality and Filipinx American identity sparked new ideas. Most students talked about a serendipity or even a reluctance to attend a FASA event. Jay had a family member alum who highly recommend that they get involved, to which Jay responded:

Why would I want to go to FASA? Why would I wanna hang out with a bunch of Filipino- Americans? I do when I go home. So my relative was just like, "You should just check out and see it." My original interest was not because I was interested in Filipino-American culture, I think what I heard was like, "Oh, FASA... They can help you with tests and they can help study and stuff like that." So I was like, "Okay, sure. I need to get better grades, maybe I'll try FASA." It was completely just pure academics, I just wanted to go there because I need to pass my class but then I didn't realize when I walked in the first FASA event ever, it was like this new member social and it was two alumni there and they were talking about colonial mentality and this feeling of... Once they said colonial mentality, things just clicked. It's like, oh, that's what was on my mind for the last 18 years of my life, just that feeling of not being able to love myself and provide self-care for myself. And also, just that feeling of being lost because that's part of colonial mentality too. At that moment I was just like maybe what's here isn't just academics. It instantly clicked in my heart and my soul and my mind that this was something ... It's that feeling of finding a sense of home.--Jay

Jay went to FASA with the intention of getting academic support and ended up finding a sense of home. Similar to Jay, other students describe similar moments of “things just clicked,” when they gained critical awareness about history, race, and power. For most participants, these moments happened when they entered collective Filipinx American spaces, where they develop relationships with other Filipinx Americans connecting about critical colonial history. For other students such as Amalia, learning about critical Filipinx American history was described as turbulent and overwhelming, rather than clicking.

To meet other people that are like really aware and conscious about race and take all these classes which aggressively brought all of this information in your face, and you just have this massive explosion in your brain....it's very turbulent, to go from a kind of silence...not thinking about it...to having something constantly in the air. It goes from ignorance and apathy to active education and activism—Amalia

All participants of this study talked about ethnic studies as a key component to developing a consciousness of history and critical coloniality and also a sense of empowerment and reflection in the academy. Other students echoed Amalia’s sentiments about this process of learning a politicized history being shocking. For Maya the juxtaposition of being one of the

only Filipinx Americans in a predominantly White community to finding FASA was jarring, but hugely positive and transformative. Taking a Filipinx American studies class and then a Philippine study abroad class were catalysts to her finding a shift from invisibility around her Asian identity, to racial pride.

I was the only API woman in my graduating class and a lot of my identity was informed through the White gaze and what it meant to satisfy that. That implied rejecting my Asian-ness and pretending that I wasn't Brown and Yellow in a sea of White. That was really toxic. But I didn't realize it until I came to the University of Washington and realized that through other Asian people here. I realized it's okay to be Asian and that it's something I can be proud of. It was only two years ago that I claimed my identity, which is very recent. I'm fortunate that I had the opportunity to do that. Not only through FASA but through Professor Alupay's study abroad program in the Philippines, which had a fantastic decolonial and social justice lens and that's really what catalyzed my journey to everything I'm doing now."—Maya

For June, like others, his journey of learning about decolonizing started in FASA, which led to him pursuing academic Filipinx American studies classes. He said that it was a space where he found a couple other 1.5 generation friends and that this unlocked a common experience and bond about immigration and assimilation. He talked about the importance of finding people that he could speak honestly about some of the trauma that had gone unaddressed regarding his parent's immigration struggles and colonial histories that he didn't previously understand. FASA was a gateway for him taking every Asian Ethnic Studies class he could take.

Just being part of that community, it really makes you feel like you're not alone. It empowers you to live. It makes you feel very good to think that you're not alone and that you're actually the same experience. You have people like them to lean on. So, for me that was what FASA was like. FASA was like home away from home and FASA was like community. FASA was you know all the things you can muster, but I think to me and a lot of people it ran deep.--June

June talked about facing painful feelings when he learned about colonization, but that being part of a community of people in FASA experiencing similar realizations is what made it

possible to walk through the arduous learning about colonization and its impacts on him and his family.

It was a space where you're able to... It was a space where you can feel your traumatic experiences. It was a space where you were able to discuss about those traumatic experiences, and it's a space where you can help each other with those traumatic experiences.—June

For some students, FASA and finding other people who had also suppressed their Filipino identities, was an important breaking of isolation, and realizing that this suppression came out of a place of survival. Anding talked about immigrating to the U.S. as a kid and moving to the South where she had to quickly figure out how to belong and to assimilate and shed some of her Filipinx ways in order to fit in. Anding wasn't alone in this experience and finding FASA was an opportunity for most participants to find a common bond and to describe the Filipinx American experience and to politicize them around assimilation and racism.

When I found FASA, I found I wasn't alone in the struggles that others faced. I realized I really suppressed the Filipino side of me to fit in as a young person. That's so unfair to myself because that's me and my story. I cut it off to survive...but I guess it was kind of necessary because the South isn't necessarily the place to be different. So when I joined FASA I learned it's not only me, it's everybody, which was really comforting.—Anding

For most participants, college was their first experience of forming Filipinx American community outside of their family. Anding talked in her interview about choosing the University of Washington because she hoped to find more Filipinx American community in Seattle than where her family immigrated to in the South. She joined FASA in hopes of finding some new friends and found so much more.

The gateway to me claiming my identity was FASA. I was just expecting going to meetings and maybe get a few more friends from that community because I had other friends. But I never had the same connection with them as I did with my FASA friends... We had the same struggles of finding ourselves and who we are, and I definitely connected more with them, because of that. I thought it was just... it's part of the

immigrant story... I didn't really find myself comfortable with talking about it with my other friends. So, as I formed more connections with FASA, I realized the importance of shared history and the resilience of Filipino community. —Anding

This idea that Anding shares about having a shared struggle of “finding ourselves,” resonates with the other interviews. Even for those that sought out FASA, the friendships made had a bond that was different than other friendships. Another student Bunso talked about joining FASA events as a high schooler because she had an older sibling at the University of Washington. She talked about a FASA event called Fil Night, an annual student-led production and performance as her first experience being with so many Filipinx Americans in one room who were sharing pride in their ethnic and racial heritage and that she knew “this is who I wanted to be.” Bunso’s realization of how she wanted to reframe her Filipinx American identity as a teenager, is interesting evidence that earlier exposure to critical knowledge can have positive impacts on racial pride and positive identity formation.

Yeah. So my sister would talk when she came back home, "I'm involved in this Filipino club," and I'd be like, cool. When I went to Fil Night, I was like, whoa. I've never seen, first of all, so many Filipinos in one room before. And also, Filipino people being authentically proud of being who they are. So that opened a little door to what exploring this part of me could look like. I consecutively went, I was still in high school, I went to Fil Night every year after that. Yeah, I think it became so important to me. I started getting connected with my sibling's friends who were Filipino. Then when I got into college, I knew that would be a community that was there for me. So, I got involved pretty quickly. There was comfort, knowing that was there for me to explore and be a part of when I went there. And I didn't know that would be such a huge, huge part of my personal development but also just my college experience in general. —Bunso

The importance of processing shared experiences with other Filipinx Americans with similar identities was a central component to breaking the silence of the previously null historical space and having others share and relate to this turbulent new information. Having historical content, chronology and sociopolitical narratives shared with them in ethnic studies courses as

well as in their Filipinx American student group spaces was a dramatic juxtaposition to the absence of any historical curriculum previously reviewed with them in schooling spaces. The opportunity to connect deeply about shared identities and face painful historical truths as a collective is part of what prompted and supported students to seek ethnic studies courses and critical Filipinx American history.

(Re)constructive History

As described above, all of the participants shared that engaging in a collective learning space with other Filipinx Americans was crucial to their development of a sense of community and empowerment. Having a community of people to process this newfound knowledge was critical to integrating this information into their new sense of reality and lineage. This idea of reconstructive history meant that students were making sense of a history that was previously nonexistent and putting together a chronology of events and concepts that painted a new story about the past. The faculty teaching these classes were important storytellers and keepers of memory and history that most participants had no previous exposure to.

The interviews with Filipinx American ethnic studies faculty at the University of Washington described the foundational ideas and concepts around which they centered their courses. This section starts with some pedagogical and curricular decisions that Filipinx American studies faculty make in order to support students in learning U.S. Philippine history. While Professor Torres continues to add new materials and approaches to his Filipinx American studies classes, he says that he keeps a few foundational concepts in place: the history of colonization in the Philippines; understanding labor and migration; and reading Carlos Bulosan are a few of the pillars in his evolving curriculum. Perhaps most important is Torres' pedagogical practices to connect this history to student's personal lives. A practice of journaling

is part of this curriculum as well as reflective discussions in his classes that support an integration from intellectual understanding to one's identity development. The rationale for the content of his class are as follows:

One is colonization history. That's very important, I think, to lay it out there. Pre-Spanish rule is also important. Breaking down the narrative of the immigration history narrative I think I is important. Thinking about Filipinos used as labor for the US empire instead of imagining them merely as people who were searching for milk and honey. Colonization is first because it questions critically narratives of history. And then Carlos Bulosan is always a staple because I think that that's an important period and that's an important set of ideas about how to understand Filipino-American communities today. I think these are important. I think these are materials to build on or sustain a kind of identity formation, right?—Professor Torres

Torres' interest in Filipinx American invisibility is built into his class. He talks about this as a catch-22 situation. With the dilemma being that part of facing history that's been erased is facing trauma, and while it's necessary to understand this as part of a colonial past, it's also something that no one really wants to remember.

And it's part of an understanding of the basic foundational items about why invisibility and why are certain histories erased, right? And what are the consequences of erasing one's history. And what can we do in terms of moving forward with it, right? And what are the dilemmas about moving forward, you know? How do you want to forget something that ... How do you want to forget ... Okay, if it's trauma, right? You don't want to remember it, right? But you have to remember what you're trying to forget, so it's like a paradox in a sense because trying to remember what one wants to forget is like a catch 22 situation, right? —Professor Torres

The students in the study describe a process of un-learning as critical to their decolonizing process. The participants defined this unlearning as questioning previously held beliefs and ways they had internalized colonial mentality and white supremacist ideals. This returns to ideas regarding ways that Filipinx and people of color have been mis-educated and therefore have to deconstruct or unlearn previous teachings (Constantino, 1982; Woodson, 1933). Most participants talked about painful emotions involved in learning about colonial

history between the US and the Philippines, but ultimately finding a sense of relief or anchoring in an understanding of this previously untold history. Grappling head on with historical erasure provoked a feeling of anger for most students, because, as Honey wondered, “why wasn’t I told this before? Don’t I have a right to know about my people?”

Professor Santos’ interview talked about Filipinxs as a product of multiple movements across the globe. In our interview he talked about the turbulence in Southeast Asia in the aftermath of WWII. He put the Philippines’ years of martial law in context with the Indonesian Revolution, the Vietnam War, the genocides in Cambodia. He talked about overlapping colonial periods across and the decades of decolonization in Southeast Asia in the aftermath of WWII and the mass emigration to the United States. He also talks about the precarious position of Filipinxs gaining independence but losing their status as U.S. nationals and the years of restrictive immigration policies. He talked at length about U.S. military bases in the Philippines and how Filipinxs were recruited to the navy and racialized in the Vietnam war. These events are part of the content that Filipinx Americans learn, most of them for the first time as undergraduates and suddenly the void and absence of any historical content is replaced with the reality that the Philippines and Filipinx Americans are deeply integrated in a global history of war, diaspora, and international politics.

For most students there was an interchange of learning technical, chronological, cognitive details of Filipinx American history and then bringing this back to what they previously knew or believed. For all of the students in this study learning about ways that Filipinx Americans had been historically oppressed challenged previously held ideas about American saviorism and also about ways they had internalized a sense of subordination. This interchange of learning and

integrating harkens to ideas of conscientization; when people realize they have been oppressed, it is at once painful, but an opportunity for liberation and for rebirthing themselves into a new identity (Freire, 2001). Identity transformations were had by all participants in this study upon learning about Filipinx American history. They all describe a reconstructed view of Filipinx Americans, their lives, their family, and their identity based on this new information. As Bunso says,

Learning about colonialism has made me understand that I am very much a direct result of that. It's a constant unpacking that we have to do. Since I became aware of colonialism, it's a lens that is permanently there when I think of the context of my communities, my surroundings, so it opened almost this new way of thinking for myself and my family histories too. --Bunso

The majority of participants describe a complete absence of Filipinx American history taught to them in their K-12 schooling experience and feelings of not being cared for or reflected in the curriculum. With the exception of one student who did an independent project researching the controversial rule of Ferdinand Marcos, the rest of the students talked about an omission of history about Filipinx Americans. As Maya says, “Where I’m from, they don’t give a fuck about me. They don’t care that I’m brown. They’re gonna treat me like I’m a White person and they’re not going to change their curricula to address my need.” Another student talks about the weight of being responsible for seeking your own history, a theme throughout these interviews, which points to the question of who should be responsible to teach Filipinx American critical history? As students realize the history that’s been kept silent for them in schooling spaces it raises feelings of anger and structural oppression in educational spaces.

I think I've always been very hyper aware of the things that I didn't learn in school. I was fortunate in that I learned a lot of it from my family and my community, but it just feels, I mean, oppressive. All of it feels very oppressive. It wasn't until college that you really have the freedom to pursue your own curriculum. I think it's something that a lot of

Filipinos and just a lot of people who are minoritized feel, is that you just are obviously not a priority in the US educational system. It makes me feel viscerally angry, but more inspired to be part of that reform in our education and our consciousness as Filipinos. It makes me feel like we are forced to be responsible for our own education. That is a big responsibility. It's difficult sometimes it feels like an uphill battle to me.—Luna

For participants who immigrated from the Philippines, their recollection of history lessons in the Philippines were centered in U.S. frameworks and colonial ideologies. Venus, who immigrated to the U.S. at the age of 12 remembers learning about U.S. Philippine history in the Philippines from the perspective of the U.S. being saviors. These were ideas that students talked about unlearning, ideas that the U.S. saved Filipinxs were deeply engrained for most participants.

What I learned in the Philippines...they framed in such a way where the Americans came and they gave us free education, gave us freedom and...they taught us how to read and write in English and now we are so much civilized and so much more advanced and we have a competitive edge in the world now because of the Americans. -- Venus

Similarly, June grew up in the Philippines remembers learning about “The 50 states and about George Washington and current U.S. politics.” He talked about the idea that Filipinxs don’t have a history.

You know what's really funny to me. In the beginning for some reason. I must admit this, like this is super embarrassing, not embarrassing, because it is what it was, but I thought that for some reason we don't have a history. Which is really funny to say because like what do you mean. Is it not kind of silly that you don't have a past. You know, I don't... to me I don't think was as silly as that sounds. I think that's real—June

This phenomenon came up repeatedly, that the dominant narrative is that Filipinxs have no history, or a null history. Part of the unlearning for students was making a shift from a narrative that the only history is U.S. centric. This idea that Filipinxs have no history is then shifted when student learned that this history is robust, complicated, painful, and full of

resilience. When June finally took a Filipino studies class as a college student, he talked about how at first, he wanted to reject this new version of history, this is noteworthy as a part of June's process, that for him learning this history was not easy to accept. June reflected that without learning this history he would have been left "insecure," so despite critical history being challenging to face, that his newfound consciousness was more valuable than not knowing about the past.

When the professor talked about colonization and American occupation and then all of that. I was like, dude this is not... For some reason part of me wanted to reject it. Just because it was like... I was like wow, what in the world. This is a real thing, but then I was like, I was kind of learning more about it. It just made me really thankful. What would have happened if I didn't go FASA and what would have happened if didn't learn about any of this? From this Filipinx history class or from your class. I don't know, life would definitely be different. I would've been insecure if I didn't learn about the history that has been so hidden from me.--June

Several students also talk about how learning Filipinx American history and ethnic studies helped them fit into a new context in the world, they made sense of their family struggles, their past, and their future trajectories with a new lens. While the participants in this study were in cross disciplinary majors all of them reported that taking Filipinx American studies supported their respective academic pathways and careers. One student said:

Learning about Filipinx American history impacted me...It was understanding how I fit in society and where I fit in my family, where I fit in my social group. Where I fit in my professional group and just understanding the world around me, and how it related to me. --Janoboy

Amalia talked about a "simultaneousness," that learning Filipinx American history made her feel a sense of connection to people who overcame hardship and who survived a colonial past. It made her feel "responsible" and "liberated" at the same time.

Learning about all of these different things related to Filipino history makes me feel responsible and also like very liberating at the same time, it's like a simultaneousness.

All of these people did these things for you so that you could have what you have now, and look at that history we've overcome, you should really play a part in helping build a better future. –Amalia

In Mena's case learning about Filipinx American history was an unexpected focus of her undergraduate career. For Mena, she had always planned on going into a Bachelor of Nursing program but when she didn't get into the nursing program she decided to explore interdisciplinary courses and found herself in a critical Filipinx American history class in her first quarter as a transfer student. This serendipitous change of events took Mena on an alternative academic and career trajectory.

My undergrad thesis I focused on colonial connections to mental health.... but I wanted to really dig deeper and find out about the laws and policies...all the foundational ones...They are all made on racist pretenses and I wanted to make connections on how that affects health disparities....that's how I got into a master's program for Health Law ... I also saw how big differences in health disparities among black folks and decided to focus my graduate research on black women and mortality rates, specifically maternal mortality rates—Mena.

For Mena this learning detour into Filipinx American history opened new scholarly directions and critical colonial lens on healthcare that she isn't sure she would have had if she went directly into a nursing program. For another student, Linlin, the process of decolonizing meant required her to shift her perception of what knowledge or academic path was valuable.

I was expected to go into STEM. I was supposed to go to STEM because I'm one of the smartest kids of my class. I'm supposed to be in STEM and go back and bring STEM back to Guam, right? And so that mindset and then just looking back at what I was actually interested in studying like research papers on colonization and immigration and all these things that I would do on the side....I think there was a part of me that always looked down on social sciences... I think that's the aspect of myself that has been decolonized the most, the looking down on social sciences and humanities focus. I was like "I'm not going to study psychology" and now I'm basically studying psychology. If anything, psychology's more scientific than what I study now. And so, it's very interesting how much I've shifted because of what people expected of me and also what I was interested in. --Linlin

For Linlin decolonizing meant switching out of a STEM major and into social sciences and evaluating what academic pathways were of value and interest and why. She realized her motivation for going into STEM was externally motivated by family and community expectations that were shrouded colonial values as well as the model minority myth.

In response to this idea of how learning Filipinx American history provides a new anchor or context for students. Filipinx American studies “Professor Santos,” who teaches Southeast Asian studies, Philippine history, and philosophy talked about the importance of learning Filipinx American history to combat a sense of “rootlessness” for most Filipinx Americans. When I asked him what it feels like to teach about “your own history or culture” he focused on defining what does “your own” mean.

*As you know, the tradition of being Filipino American is that you're not sure what your own is because you're not sure what you own. What do you own? Because marginalized, individualized, discriminated against, you feel like you have no entitlement to anything or if you do have entitlement to anything, it's only because you have to assume the guise, the mask as it were of the dominant other. And so it doesn't feel like your thing, it doesn't feel authentic, it's not something you feel like you're rooted in, right? So you lead this life of rootlessness, looking for something that feels like your own and I think that's another reason why people take Filipino history is because they want something that they can call their own. They want something that they can sink their roots in and say, "This is where I'm from" or As Audrey Audre Lorde used to say, "This is the door I came in."—
Professor Santos*

For Filipinx American students who take Professor Santos’ classes he said that their sense of purpose is often to gain a sense of clarity.

So for the Filipino Americans I think a lot of them take my classes because they want some clarity. They want some stability....they want some narrative to explain, "How did I get here? What am I doing here? Why am I different? How am I different? What do I do with that difference?" And hopefully the classes like mine and classes like Professor Torres can help to address those questions or at least set them on a path to try and figure out what to say about these issues.—Professor Santos

For many students learning about U.S. Philippine history had a transformative effect on their understanding of the world, the past, and for some of them influenced a change of direction in their academic and career pathway. Some students started their learning journey in FASA, a social student space, that implemented critical history programming into their activities. For the participants who took Filipinx American studies, these academic spaces also became sites of identity transformation. Even if participants were in unrelated majors, gaining cognitive knowledge about a previously unheard history was a pivotal experience to them understanding how their identities as Filipinx Americans carried deep meaning. For many participants, gaining this knowledge supported them in fostering a new framework for understanding how they fit in the grand scheme of a historicized present.

Understanding Colonial Mentality: questioning everything

A common theme that students shared was that joining FASA and taking Ethnic Studies classes opened them to an understanding of the concept of Colonial Mentality. When asked what this meant to them, many participants had had epiphanies regarding ways they had learned racialized self-hatred growing up. One student, Janoboy, defined colonial mentality as, “not asking any questions...just accepting everything.” For most students this concept was pivotal to them critically questioning and thinking about history, race, and identity.

Maya learned about the concept of colonial mentality on a study abroad trip to the Philippines. The whole experience was intensified by seeing ways U.S. military presence and colonial values are evidenced in the country. She described this feeling of being “punched in the chest” when she learned the idea of Colonial Mentality. It was a theoretical framework that put words to her lived experience.

When I finished reading David and Okazaki's piece on Colonial Mentality it verified, it validated everything I felt since I was born. I didn't know there was a name for what I

was experiencing and to see it in academia and to realize that all my experiences were valid, it kind of just punched me in the chest, in a really amazing and scary and beautiful way. I started seeing it everywhere in the world. It's all I thought about. It made me critical and it made me angry, but it made me productive—Maya

The study abroad that Maya attended was created by Professor Alupay and was referenced by several students as one of the most transformative learning experiences they had regarding Filipinx American history and identity. Alupay centered his curriculum on Filipinx American history in the Philippines. His early foundations in Filipinx American studies were grounded in the seminal work of Doctors Fred and Dorothy Cordova and their pictorial history book, *Filipinos, Forgotten Asian Americans*. When I asked him about his program he said:

I created the study abroad program with Filipino American students in mind, because, when I was an undergrad, there wasn't an opportunity to go to the Philippines and learn about Filipino American identity and how it connects to the Motherland. There was none of that. You can take a Filipino American history class, but for me, I want to have some kind of application. I want to make the Philippines a classroom to learn and connect our diaspora. Why are we even here? What are the factors that got us here?—Professor Alupay

Alupay talks about his ideas regarding colonial mentality and empire. He flips the script on some of the ideas of how this is framed.

When people say, "When did you guys come to the United States?" I would always say, "When did the United States come to us?" We didn't land on Plymouth Rock, Plymouth Rock landed on us. That's what exactly happened, and the more I think about the immigrant narrative, the more I don't think this is an immigrant narrative anymore, because a lot of us didn't choose to be here. We were occupied. We had no choice. John Ogbu states that there are two types of immigration, one voluntary, and one involuntary. Voluntary is mainly the European narrative. Everybody got here, and everybody's an immigrant, and involuntary is where, if your community is part of that group that's been enslaved, land has been taken, colonized, you're part of that involuntary immigration, so to me, I don't really call Filipino movement immigration movement, because we are, a lot of us didn't choose to be where we're at.—Professor Alupay

Alupay's sense of purpose for leading the Philippine study abroad program is rooted in raising up Filipinx American leaders and activists in the community. He focuses a lot of his curriculum on understanding ideas of Colonial Mentality and how these concepts were embedded into the Philippine education system. He sees this work as being part of the movement for social justice.

I'm a small piece of the movement, and being that small piece... I'm seeing a lot of these things as survival. Surviving is planting seeds within the youth, and the new students. I'm not here to change the world. I'm gonna provide a spark that ignites the minds of the people... That's my angle with this whole study abroad program. This ain't about me. This is for the future generation, this is for my kids, this is for your kids, this is for your grand, kids' kids.—Professor Alupay

A major theme that arose regarding colonial mentality was regarding the messages Filipinx Americans received about race and appearance. As referenced in the previous findings chapter most participants in this study expressed having faced various forms of racism. Daily messages and transgressions about their bodies and skin color were common across the interviews. Several participants shared about internalizing the idea that being lighter or whiter is more beautiful and how they believed that darker skin was less attractive. Papaya soap, a skin whitening product is pervasive and common in the Philippines and in many Filipinx households. Many students learned early on about the desire to have lighter skin and grew up using whitening soaps and products. Almost all students had stories about comments their parents or family members made to them about avoiding the sun, derogatory comments about dark skin, and comments about what makes a desirable nose shape. Venus shared more about physical devices for changing a nose shape.

When I went home (to the Philippines) recently too, my cousin actually bought a thing that he would clamp on his nose...They would usually just use clothes pins, but now they actually have a device you can buy that you put on your nose. Little things like that I thought were totally normal...finding out that it's a type of self-oppression. —Venus

For Linlin, she remembers getting accepted to The University of Washington and one of her first thoughts was regarding a decision to never date a Filipinx. She reflected about boasting to her mom that she was going to find a White boyfriend and her desire to have children that would be lighter.

I came out here from Guam and I was like "I'm going to get a light boyfriend." That was a conscious goal.. Yeah. That's really bad. I was like "I'm never going to date a Filipino." I used to tease my mom like "I'm going to give you pretty grandkids" and it's so bad. And I was like "In two generations, they'll have blue eyes possibly." —Linlin

Linlin was able to acknowledge things that she had said out-loud to her mom, that reinforced ideas of colonial mentality. That for her it was about finding a White boyfriend or husband and having lighter children that would be “pretty.” For Linlin, understanding colonial mentality meant reflecting and acknowledging that she had these ideas that were rooted in internalized racism.

For all of these participants colonial mentality touched upon intimate ways that students learned to believe dominant narratives and to view themselves as inferior, unattractive, and to dislike their skin color and bodies. These messages are reinforced by society and passed on through generations among families. Colonial mentality was the basis for the silence and invisibility of Filipinxs and perpetuated the beliefs that they are a people without a history, without importance, or power.

Decolonizing for Filipinx American Undergraduates

Building on the previous section, this part of the chapter seeks to answer the third research question: *What does the process of decolonization look like for Filipinx Americans undergraduates?* These findings follow up with what students do once they develop historical

consciousness. Above, I described how students discuss a transformation when they learned the term Colonial Mentality and were able to reflect on racist messages and ways they had internalized those ideas and now had a critical lens in which to view those moments. In this next section, I focus especially on how these undergraduates narrated a focus on health and healing in relation to their developing historical consciousness and critical analysis of colonial mentality. The process of decolonizing is emphasized by actions and decisions that students make about their post-colonial realizations. This section has two themes: 1) Roots of trauma and mental health and 2) Healing and Creativity.

Roots of trauma and mental health was a theme across several interviews. Participants in this study talk about learning critical colonial history and mapping this onto a history of trauma that has been erased, suppressed, or unspoken in their families of origin. Interwoven in this were mental health struggles that were also stigmatized or treated shamefully. For several students facing a critical colonial Filipinx American history for the first time meant also grappling with deep painful family dynamics, patterns and struggles that they started to name in the process of their learning journeys.

Understanding how colonization had a traumatic impact on the lives of the participants and their families and ways it continues to operate and enforce historical silence, internalized racism, and inferiority is part of the key for students to start a healing process. This healing looks different for everyone, many students talk about finding creative outlets and art while others talk about seeking mental health counseling.

It's been really painful to learn the colonial history of the US and Philippines, but also good at the same time, just because it helps knowing the history 'cause that's part of the trauma, at least for me, the trauma that I face today when it comes to just like self-doubt and colonial mentality... Once you know the context of why these things may be happening then you can learn to work on it.--Jay

Professor Santos talked about the way Filipinx Americans are invisible in history and how this is a form of violence. He talks about his realizations on this through teaching history and the feelings that are evoked in his students.

I had a hard time understanding this emotional response to Filipino American history until I started to realize that what history is. History provides a narrative framework for dealing with your trauma. Students come to class, and the coursework stirs up a trauma of having been discriminated, being cut off, the trauma of not just misrecognition but non-recognition. That's very traumatic. And so history provides them with a way of addressing that. It is a kind of therapy in some ways. Filipino Studies is a kind of therapy for students who want to find their place in the world but at the same time find that they're not being represented, they're not being recognized, they're invisible. Because to be invisible is to be the recipient of a certain kind of violence. So what do you do if you've been violated? Well the first thing you want to do is you want to be able to tell a story about what happened, why it happened and then what you can do to move on. That's why I think it gets very emotional.—Professor Santos

For several students learning postcolonial history of Philippines created a framework to examine roots of trauma in their own families. Several participants shared about painful dynamics in their families, including abuse, abandonment, and addiction that they now examined through a new lens of critical historical consciousness. Some of these struggles were connected with contemporary challenges of immigration, financial hardships, isolation, and the strain these had on people's families. For others their family dysfunctions had been passed down through generations and normalized, but as participants learned the history of occupation and colonization they began to understand their own family experiences differently. Anding reflected about restrictions she grappled with as a teenager with her parents. She was restricted from going out after dark which she later learned was influenced by her parent's own fears and experiences of living through Marcos' years of martial law, which entailed violence and curfews. "My mom and dad grew up during the Marcos period and martial law, so they'd reinforce the rule...don't be out when it's dark. Or 'you better stay home.' Learning Filipino American

history made me understand why my family made these decisions.” These kinds of sense making moments reoccurred for the participants in the study. Upon learning U.S. and Philippine history, many students would realize how this had a direct impact on their own life or family dynamics.

For Ney, she traced her colonial history back to Spanish occupation of the Philippines and her great grandparents who were Spanish and who, according to family history, were murdered for the amount of land and wealth they accumulated. Understanding this helped her connect dots how this trauma manifested over several generations in her family. This is one example of how a participant in this study (re)constructed history on a micro, or personal level to make sense of their family.

My grandpa was an alcoholic and was really abusive, smoked a lot and so I think the trauma from his parents being murdered carried on...And he grew up poor because of that because they lost everything they had, and so for my dad, it was very normalized to yell and to hit and to be mad and all of that, like in his mind, there's nothing wrong with it at all. And so for me, I trace it back to colonization with the Spanish being around and just with the trauma from that and just really unhealthy traits being carried on intergenerationally. --Ney

For Ney coming to terms with pain in her family is part of her process of decolonizing. Also important to her process is learning to reframe some of the painful stories into stories of resilience and beauty.

I think something I struggle with though is in figuring out how to tell those stories, because I don't know how to tell those stories without the pain. I'm trying to think of what stories to give you examples of, a lot of them are rooted in pain, and very negative and so I think that's also something I have to be able to reframe, really figure out like, because there's so many beautiful and positive things to also being Filipino, but so much of it right now is just covered in colonialism and the trauma that's created. I want to be able to tell my future children stories, but I have to figure out, I have to work through all of that to be able to do that. So, I want to tell my children stories, because it's like pulling teeth when I try to get information from my parents. --Ney

Another student talked about the importance of having a space to be vulnerable and let feelings come up about the history of colonization for Filipinx Americans. She recalls this as an important memory from our time in class together. Someone in class had shared that the journey of decolonizing was long and imperfect, kind of like smashing a glass and then trying to put thousands of shards back together, it might take a lifetime.

I remember the class sessions when we would talk about decolonization. Just 'cause we would go through each student and what it meant to us, like what decolonization meant and that's like a space of vulnerability. I feel like those kinds of feelings and emotions stick with you. I still remember that analogy of the picking up the glasses putting it together, and then I remember the feelings of when people did get emotional in class. Those things are what stuck to me, what people said and how it stirred me in the moment during class session. –Baba-g

After learning critical history, many students reflected on how colonization mapped onto trauma and struggle in their own lives. As students made these connections between the history and the present, a lot of them talked about the need for healing. Many students expressed that doing this psychic and epistemological work to understand colonization brought up the need for resources and support in navigating the emotions that arose after a lifetime of silence and invisibility for these histories to be told.

Mental Health: let's talk about it

When I asked participants how they thought colonization impacted their own lives, mental health struggles were brought up by many of them. While mental health was not a focus of my research questions, it was a significant theme that came up across many of the student interviews and was a phenomenon that students grappled with simultaneously with learning about critical colonial history. Facing painful historical narratives mapped onto pain in their own lives and many of them shared these examples of facing mental health in themselves and their

families as critical to this process. For many of them this meant breaking silence around mental health that occurred synonymously as they broke silence regarding previously untold historic narratives. For Tala, her mother had serious mental health struggles and was not able to acknowledge that she needed help.

She had various episodes and trying to get her the resources that she needed, having her stay with various family members, to no avail, and she didn't believe in medication and she didn't believe that she was sick. She only believed in the physical well-being of her body. She never wanted to commit. I think she viewed what she was encountering mental health-wise as weakness, sickness, and she always had to be the strong one to raise all of my siblings and I so I think that she never allowed herself to break in that sense, but I feel like it came at the cost of breaking her spirit, or being really in touch with it.--Tala

The theme of parent's denial or dissonance of mental health was prevalent in this study. Even in the face of family members acting violently, addiction and gambling issues, in one case a cousin not speaking for over a year after a traumatic incident, and other extreme behaviors, there were ways that family members tried to ignore it or normalize these crises rather than name it as a mental health struggle. Students talked about ways that this denial of mental health struggles was damaging and also created contradictions in their families when they were trying to put on a veneer of happiness in the midst of painful dynamics. As Ney says,

My dad the other day, or just like a week or two ago was saying in the Philippines they never talked about mental health, that they didn't have those conversations because they were just happy with what they had, and I'm like, "You weren't happy with what you had, and you're living in denial, because my grandpa tried to kill himself at one point too." – Ney

For Jay, talking with their family about anxiety was particularly hard regarding gender and expectations regarding masculinity and patriarchy. This was an added layer into an already hard dynamic most students had in talking to their parents about mental health.

The Philippines itself it's like really patriarchal, and you can blame Catholicism and you can blame other thingsI mostly say that too because my family structure is kinda patriarchal in ways. My Mom is more submissive, my Dad is the one like taking charge, the one that's also like the man of the family and stuff like that. Like being like male as well as like having anxiety... When I tried to share about anxiety with my parents. My Dad he said, "You need to man up".—Jay

For some participants there was also an expectation from their parents that the sacrifices they made were supposed to ensure a lack of mental health struggles for their children. Bunso discusses her family's unwillingness to acknowledge mental health issues:

It has to do with their background of working so hard until you get it. So that work ethic of, first of all, what success looked like for them. And the very personal sacrifices they've had to make for themselves. That seems way more big and personal than the sacrifices me and my sisters have to make in the day to day. So it's like, "what do you have to sacrifice? We gave you everything. You have no excuse to have mental health struggles. Yeah. You just have to get good grades and go to college. We set it up for you to do. And then get the job."--Bunso

Several students talked about their own journeys seeking therapy and counseling. For Tala, it was important to overcome the stigma of acknowledging a need for mental health support. She describes grappling with survivor's guilt or with a sense that her pain was real or mattered, since she wasn't the one that immigrated, and she wasn't the one who was directly abused. The messages to just be grateful that she was in university and privileged, and to just exercise and eat healthy were part of what suppressed her struggles.

I've been seeing a therapist, and I'm currently seeing one. It wasn't until after graduation that I was diagnosed with depression. I was like, that makes so much sense. I went on a trial period for an extensive amount of time trying different antidepressants to see what would work. I know big pharma, and all of that, I know all of that side to it too but at the same time I felt like I needed that chemical stability, chemical balance in my brain in order to just get through my day. It felt really liberating to put a name to what I was experiencing and how, that my siblings have it, my mom has it, the likelihood of me having it and the stressful life environments I was exposed to in the womb and also as a child, even indirectly, how that contributes to how my thought processes and depression today. It was just so important for me to understand that and how common it is.—Tala

For other Filipinx American participants part of the barrier to seeking mental health support was regarding a lack of cultural competence among therapists. For one student who was facing significant academic and mental health struggles, her healing path involved taking a two year leave from STEM studies and seeking an alternative path to healing through cultural studies.

I think STEM hasn't been taught in a culturally relevant way. ... The way you're being taught is a very white supremacist-oriented space. The history of the people they put on the screen, the ideologies, theories, everything...and when you're not doing well, it starts to eat you. I really hated myself. I broke when I got here because it was just too much. I stomached it for so long til I actually got really sick. I got help through mental health services cause I was really depressed and also into self-harm and I wasn't happy.—Little Fish

During her leave from her major Little Fish sought out ways to recover and repair her life. “I went on this path of trying to find my own healing, if you will. Finding community spaces and circles that I wasn't finding in western psychiatry....The few practitioners I was seeing weren't able to give me culturally relevant service.” Little Fish took a decolonizing history class with myself and my co-instructor, she also did a Philippine study abroad and was invited to join an annual ritual of Coast Salish tribes who do traditional canoe journeys with a shared destination.

Through that process and the Decolonizing Filipinx class during 2017, I got off my last vices I'd been holding onto for self-medication. I've been clean and sober since then. Haven't relapsed on any drugs for a couple of years.—Little Fish

Little Fish went on to graduate just weeks after we completed this interview. She returned to STEM, but with a completely different analysis. “When people ask me what I'm interested in as a biologist, I say I'm a biocultural scientist. I really believe that all those things are connected and necessary in order for biodiversity to thrive.”

A recurring theme regarding the topic of mental health was the struggle to name it openly and to challenge the stigma, shame, and cultural misalignment between Filipinx and Western beliefs about it. Many participants described this as a resistance from parents and families to acknowledge or understand mental health struggles. A few participants pointed out that western psychology often lacks cultural relevance or cognizance for Filipinx Americans. The stigma of acknowledging mental health struggles was such an obstacle for some participants' families that in some cases they would overlook what was happening or find alternative explanations rather than acknowledge a need for mental health support.

More than one way to Decolonize

When I asked students what decolonizing meant to them, there were a lot of different answers, but many of them were action based. Several students talked about the connection between learning Filipinx American history and ethnic studies as simultaneous with a creative or artistic outlet that allowed them to express and explore their Filipinx American identities. Forms of creativity and art came up so prevalently in this study as a way that students (re)constructed meaning and also became a space for resistance and a way to process all that they were learning. For one student the medium is through writing and storytelling, for another their medium is photography, and for others this was joining the Filipinx folkloric dance group on campus.

Janoboy talks about an embodied experience of learning dances of his ancestors.

Learning Filipino dances is one of the best things that ever happened to me in terms of finding my identity. The music, the motions. It just connected to me spiritually on what it meant to be Filipino. I guess you can call it that history through music. If I just closed my eyes, did the dance, listened to the music...I was in my ancestor's bodies in the Philippines, experiencing what it really was to be Filipino. –Janoboy

Tala also discovered photography and art as a medium for expression. Shortly after I met Tala she did a photography shoot of Filipinx femmes and submitted her artwork from this shoot to a

Pinay Power conference and presented about it. Her photography broadly centers people of color and has themes about visibility and resilience.

Photography is a huge part of my healing. It's just sharing how I see the world, or how I'd like to envision the world. For once, giving power and validation to people's experiences that often go underrepresented or are overlooked. For me it's powerful to contribute to a cultural shift where I feel like my images, my voice matters. ...I think that's what gives me hope, I kind of have access to this microphone and I'm giving it to somebody else, like, what would you like to say to the world? Here's the microphone. How can I amplify your voice in a way that you would like it to be heard?—Tala

Ney, who shared about generational trauma in her family, talked later about the importance of the indigenous Filipinx concept of Kapwa as inspiration for healing. The word kapwa means family and also togetherness. Despite some of her family pain and dysfunction that was passed down, Ney can see that there are core values of love and care that have also persevered.

My first thought about kapwa is togetherness or being one, which I think really encapsulated for me what my parents wanted, or what they instilled in us about taking care of others. Part of me is hesitant in fully engaging with the word because I think there's also some unhealthy parts to that idea and that boundaries are really important. And I've never been taught how to say no, or like how to make those boundaries exist, and so I think it's more an idea. Because I think it's such an important value, like understanding that connectedness that we have to others and that we were born to not live in isolation and to take care of each other. --Ney

For June, his healing path involved taking an extensive backpacking trip across Asia after graduating from college and returning to the Philippines for the first time since he immigrated to the U.S. Our interview was a video call during his travels while he was in Southeast Asia. We opened our interview with him sharing some of his experiences on the trip, one of which was the incredible spirit of welcome he received from people in Asia when he shared he was Filipinx, to which they said, “you’re one of us.” Despite the term Asian being used as a monolithic racial term in the U.S., a term that most students in this study struggled with, there was a sense of

shared peoplehood and welcome for a Filipinx American as part of an Asian community in Southeast Asia.

To me this is more of an excavation like a deep reflection. Honestly, it's really so weird that you e-mailed me while I was on my trip. I was like wow that's crazy because this whole thing was sort of, not that this trip was going to solve colonization for me, but hopefully it can act as a catalyst. Because I'm thinking now that time is so precious.. I want so much time. I lost time learning English .. I've lost so many years of not talking to my family in the Philippines. Not improving my Tagalog, not learning more about my culture and my dad. I've missed so many years and to me this is me reclaiming my time. This is me finally able to take care of myself and do this for myself. This is, oh my god I'm getting emotional. I feel like I've been waiting for this my whole life. It's really nice and I'm really excited to go back to the Philippines..—June

For Maya her healing path involved a lot of community spaces, but also finding a creative outlet in her writing. Her practice of writing was generative and led to performance and public speaking, which also led her to a graduate program in public policy and leadership. For her having a creative outlet to process and decolonize, led her to a clarified sense of who she is.

Being with friends. Attending conferences, workshops, knowing I had the solidarity and the room and space to explore, that was celebrated and valued, taking Tagalog class, taking your class, seeing myself in academia when I never had that before....I started writing a lot, I write like two hours a day now, I write all the time. I've just started producing as a way of coping and processing what these new identities implied for my new life. Because that's what it felt like, I had a new life. So I wrote, which turned into poetry, which turned into spoken word, which turned into acting, which lead to public speaking, and then tutoring and competing around the core issue for me, which is my racial identity.—Maya

Another student made the realization that that part of decolonizing is not only developing awareness of the history of colonization and the many internalized and systemic oppressions, but that there's not one right way to be a woke Filipinx American. This was expressed by a few other participants as well, that in the arc of their identity development process there was a sense of being the most decolonized and woke Filipinx American, and that part of a centering stage for some students was letting go of that pressure.

It's like, here's the reason why things are the way they are and now I get to choose, it's like that freedom of choice is that decolonization versus not understanding what things are, like not even knowing that the system being forced upon us, not even knowing that they exist is kind of on the far end of just beginning to understand what decolonization is....But I've come to the realization that I don't have to make all of the really woke Filipino choices just because I'm Filipino. I don't have to prove to people that I'm extra Filipino or something, which I felt like I had to for a long time. –Amalia

Other participants pointed out that decolonizing is not an arrival point. That it's an ongoing life process. For some students it began with this intellectual, psychic, and emotional process of shifting their orientation to life. For others this began to grow into other thoughts about colonial systems, about change in governance, and about a lifelong process.

Decolonizing is a lifelong process. It's not something that's easily done overnight, because, this almost ties back to hyper-visible but invisible. We are operating out of colonial systems, even colonial mentalities. Yeah. It's kind of like, how does my individual effort build momentum in two environments that are in conflict with one another, because to truly decolonize is to not have the presence of those colonial systems or mentalities. I don't know what that looks like, but how I'm starting to view it is just more storytelling, more representation. More vulnerability, authenticity, and just the willingness to talk about what we're most afraid to talk about. Is how I view decolonization. I think if you can't have those conversations with yourself and really sit with yourself in those uncomfortable moments, then that basis for healing and continuing decolonization won't have stable ground.--Tala

Whether students joined social justice movements, shifted their majors, or took an epic quest around Asia, they were all deeply impacted by the process of gaining critical historical consciousness, by finding Filipinx American community, by learning ideas of colonial mentality, by facing trauma and pain, and by decolonizing in their own life. For most students in this study decolonizing was both an internal process, a shift in intellectual, psychic, and emotional orientations. It was about transforming an internal belief system and developing clarity about their identity as Filipinx Americans. For other students decolonizing was about action and

(Re)construction, about creating art, writing, and visible artifacts that told narratives and stories that had previously been absent or null.

Chapter 7

Discussion | Implications | Conclusion

This Section revisits the literature review and conceptual frameworks and analyzes how the findings of my study expand upon previous research regarding Filipinx American undergraduates. I highlight a few key findings to contrast and build upon previous research. The three findings I discuss are:

1. Critical colonial history and Filipinx American identity
 - a. Contributions to Filipinx American Identity Development
 - b. Pacific Islander identities, pan colonialism and pan indigeneity

2. The importance of building narrative competence of Filipinx American history alongside emotional and community support
 - a. “Becoming woke” and the importance of courses/community spaces in college to push back on the invisibility
 - b. (Re)constructing & Unlearning

3. The perpetuation of Filipinx American invisibility and challenging master narratives
 - a. Where is home?
 - b. Assimilation and generational divides
 - c. Theories: liminality and dual consciousness

The first set of findings that I highlight is related to critical colonial history and Filipinx American Identity. The findings related to ways that Filipinx Americans describe transformative identity shifts upon learning critical colonial history is the most significant finding in this study. All participants describe ways that they shifted in their consciousness or had pivotal life trajectory moments upon learning critical colonial histories. I will put these findings in conversation with the literature and theoretical frameworks. First, I will review each stage of Nadal’s (2004) Pilipino Identity Development and talk about ways my research diverges from and contributes to his model. Next, I will discuss regarding identity is the alignment with Pacific

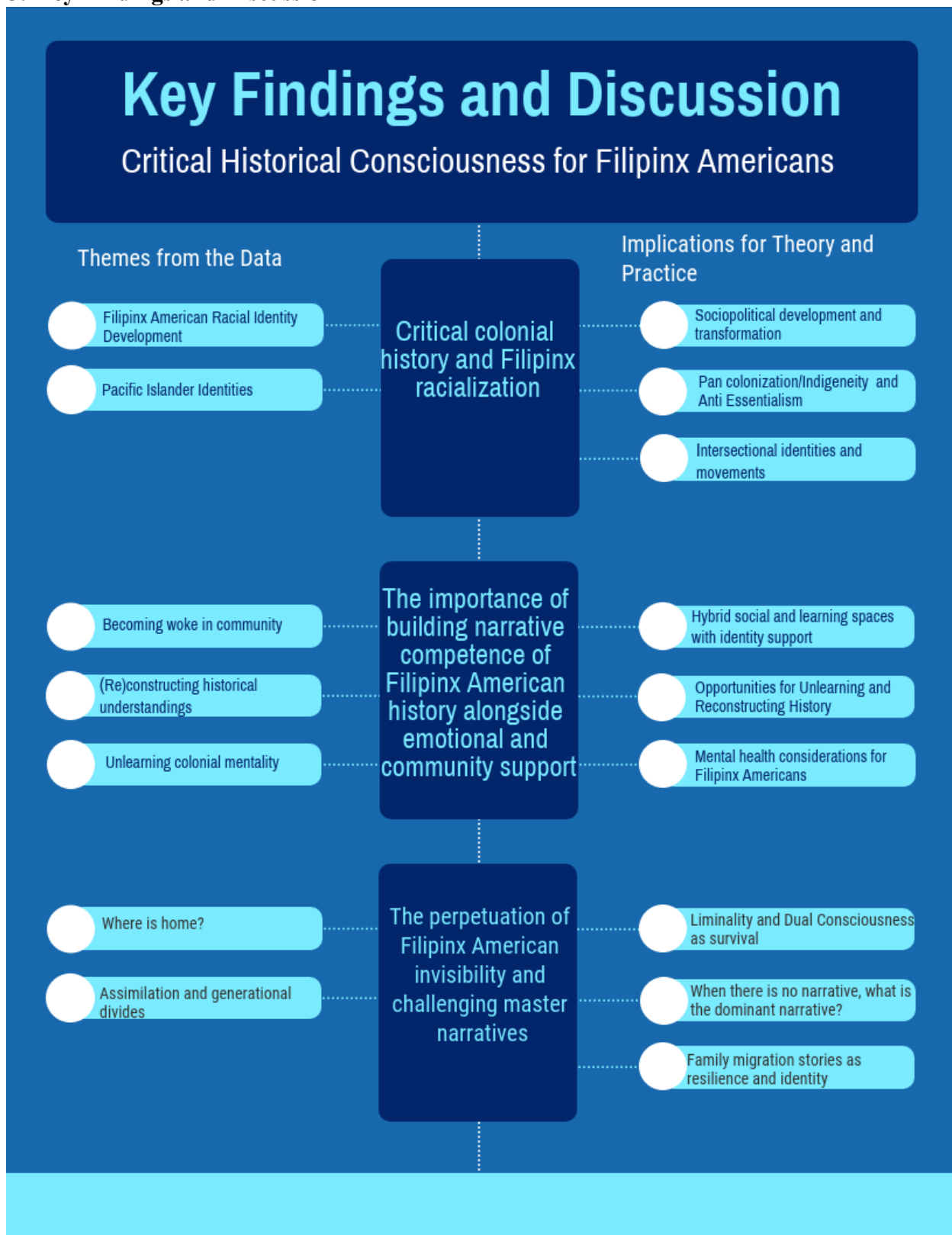
Islander identity. I draw upon Anthony Ocampo's (2016) book, *Filipinos The Latinos of Asia*, where he explores a similar overlap in identities for Filipinx Americans and Latinxs in California, which he calls pan-colonial identities. I will also explore Strobel's (2001) coming full circle and discuss the possibilities of pan-indigenous identities.

The second set of findings is related to building narrative competence of Filipinx American history alongside emotional and community support. Narrative competence is an idea that comes from the theory of historical consciousness and is about the process of learning history, the construction of the story, and the student's ability to place themselves in context with this narrative and understand their own relationship to it (Straub, 2005). The findings talk about how this learning occurred in community spaces that also had built in support, reflection, and space for feelings. This brings up the next finding in this section regarding "becoming woke" and the importance of courses and community spaces in college to push back on invisibility. All students talked about having space with other Filipinx Americans who had shared identities and were processing their feelings and thoughts about learning critical Filipinx American history as key to a shift in their historical consciousness. (Re)constructing history is one of the tenets of *Asian Crit* and emphasizes how Asian Americans have been rendered silent and invisible from dominant historical narratives. This tenet discusses the importance of revising historical narratives to shed light upon the racism that Asians have experiences in the U.S. (Museus and Iftikar 2013). One way that I build upon Museus and Iftikar's (2013) concept of (Re)constructing history for Asians, also includes the need to unlearning and unpack colonial mentality and ideas.

The third set of findings I discuss is the perpetuation of Filipinx American invisibility and challenging master narratives. Critical Race Theory challenges dominant narratives that are used

to denigrate people of color and sustain White supremacy (Donnor & Ladson - Billings, 2018; Solorzano & Bernal, 2001). The perpetuation of invisibility is an important concept to explore when it's not clear what the dominant narrative is. What is the narrative when most people don't know anything about Filipinx Americans or their history? Despite the absence of a dominant narrative Filipinx Americans talked extensively about their identity related to liminal spaces of home and family. I drew from Buenavista et al (2010) concept of liminal space that came out of another CRT research study of Filipinx Americans in higher education. While my data and examples were different, the concept of being in-between spaces translated to several themes for students in my study. I close with ideas for further research and considerations for other scholars. To put my findings in conversation with the literature and frameworks I developed a diagram in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5: Key Findings and Discussion



Critical colonial history and Filipinx American identity

This is the first time a study has been done using Historical Consciousness as a lens to examine Filipinx American undergraduates. Historical Consciousness has been similarly used to examine ways that Jews and working class-poor histories have gone unacknowledged in certain historical accounts (Seixas, 2016). Historical Consciousness can be summarized as a process of learning history to locate the past, present, and future, and in this case, examine a sense of racial identity. Historical consciousness is an examination of how people look at the past and an “awareness of the historicity of everything” (Seixas, 2004, p. 8). For all of the participants of this study, the shift in understanding critical colonial history was transformative and profoundly life changing in that it shifted their autobiographical understandings, their interpretation of family experiences, their sociopolitical values, their racial identities, and for some their trajectories. As Amalia put it, learning critical colonial history made her feel a “simultaneousness,” of how this history reverberated in all parts of her life.

The lens of Historical Consciousness shaped the analysis of this study in some important ways. Primarily it puts knowledge production into perspective as a subjective process (Polkinghorne, 2005). The realization that history is not objective calls into question the absence of Filipinx American history in textbooks and the message or meaning that this conveys. For some students they felt “uncared for,” for others they describe a “responsibility,” to seek this history themselves and that the absence from textbooks was “obviously oppressive.” Without a narrative and cognitive understanding of U.S. colonization in the Philippines there is a perpetuation of silence that is damaging to Filipinx Americans who make it to college and beyond with a belief that they are a people with no history.

The participants of this study expressed the importance of gaining historical consciousness and the ways it gave them clarity in their identities. As June said, without this history he would have been left, “insecure.” Learning stories, events, and individuals that gave voice to Filipinx American colonization, diaspora, and resilience were in sharp contrast to the previous absence of a narrative. The way that students were able to process historical events and reflect upon their own lives shifted their understanding of reality. One scholar discussed the idea that for marginalized communities who hadn’t learned their history that the idea of tearing down the past in order to build anew is in order (Seixas, 2004). For Filipinx Americans this idea of (Re)constructing is critical, one student called it “a constant unpacking,” that in order to build new historical narrative, they had to take apart previous ideas.

Another useful concept from historical consciousness is ‘collective memory,’ which is defined by societal institutions and norms such as family structures, traditions, symbols, political movements as well as the unconscious and structural mechanisms that these express such as laws, language, and customs (Seixas, 2004). I argue that in order to disrupt historical invisibility, we must examine the unconscious messages of as Maramba and Bonus (2013) call it, the “amnesia” of Filipinx American history and name the cultural structures that have kept this erasure in place. The importance of developing collective memories of colonial historical narrative is an opportunity for justice and reconciliation for the oppressive legacy of the U.S. occupation in the Philippines and the subsequent diaspora of Filipinx Americans. This study demonstrates that developing historical consciousness for Filipinx Americans is crucial to reckoning with the past and creating opportunities for reconstructing historical narratives and building collective memory that support Filipinx Americans in reckoning with a colonial past, that preserve a sense of resilience, and that foster Filipinx American racial pride.

Contributions to Filipinx American Identity Development

In this section, I use Nadal's (2004) Pilipino American Identity Development Model as a conceptual anchor for the dearth of data that participants described to me regarding their identity developments and transformations upon learning Filipinx American critical colonial history. This model is foundational to Filipinx Americans and also the only identity development model specific to Filipinx Americans. My findings reveal that learning Filipinx American history is transformative for identity. I hope to contribute to this scholarship and building on Nadal's (2004) model.

In Status One, 'Ethnic Awareness' occurs in childhood where an individual understands that she/he is Filipino (Nadal, 2004). When asked what it means to be Filipinx American the majority of participants in my study talked about complex relationships to home and family bonds. They also had detailed knowledge of their family's immigration stories, as well as knowledge about the region in the Philippines where their ancestors were from. To add to Nadal's first stage of Ethnic Awareness, I would add that familial wealth and navigating liminal spaces are part of the foundational process of developing an ethnic awareness for Filipinx Americans in this study.

Status Two is the 'Assimilation to Dominant Culture' where the individual realizes that they are different from Whites and from the mainstream and subsequently reject Filipinos and associate with Whites (Nadal, 2004). Findings from my study complicate this stage of assimilation by adding the complex set of negotiations about which things they can reject from Filipinx culture at varying moments in order to function in a dualistic reality of Filipinx family systems and U.S. White American systems. Some students called this process a necessary way they had to suppress their Filipinx identity in order to survive.

Status Three is ‘Social Political Awakening’ whereby the individual develops an awareness of racism and separates from Whites and seeks connection with other People of Color (Nadal, 2004). In my interviews with Filipinx American undergraduates, I would say that this stage in their development was catalyzed by being in community with other Filipinx Americans and by being introduced to critical colonial concepts. Another component to their social political awakening involved being introduced to the concept of Colonial Mentality and or taking a Filipinx American studies class where they learned about colonization, labor, migration, or racial inequity for Filipinx Americans in a formal classroom setting for the first time. This process typically involved developing a sense of their own racialization as Filipinx Americans and ways that racism had damaged them or their families. This process was also characterized by experiencing feelings of anger regarding how history had been withheld from them until this point.

Status Four is ‘Pan Ethnic Asian American Consciousness’ where Filipino Americans adopt Asian American Identity and develop pride in being Asian (Nadal, 2004). Asian political unity and Anti-Orientalism was important to the Civil Rights Movement as well as to many contributions made to American Ethnic Studies and Asian American Studies. On the other hand, this racial categorization it has been used to make vast sweeping assumptions and invisibilize a highly heterogeneous group of people with over 48 sub populations into one monolithic group, and also pit Asian American Pacific Islanders against other communities of color (Teranishi, 2010). In terms of Asian racialization, many Filipino Americans experience the “perpetual foreigner” stereotype common to other Asians. They are questioned about their American status and/or told that they “speak good English (Teranishi, 2010).” This was true for many participants of this study. An Asian identity for most participants of the study has been imposed

upon them as the racial category that they belong in as Filipinx Americans. Some participants of my study talked about being impacted by the Model Minority Stereotypes whereby they have been assumed to be academically gifted in STEM because they are Asian, some of them benefited from this and others didn't. For some participants, claiming Asian identity and pride is part of their sociopolitical awakening and has felt like it gives them clarity and visibility about their racial identity. Experiences and identities regarding being Asian are complex and ranged across the participants. For many participants in this study, there is a lot of confusion about what Asian means and whether they belong in this category. Pan Ethnic Asian American Consciousness stage is complicated for the participants of my study.

Status Five, 'Ethnocentric Realization' is when an individual has a realization that they are marginalized within Asian Community. They develop pride in being Brown and seek more alignment with Blacks, Latinos, and Pacific Islanders (Nadal, 2004). For some participants in my study they have gotten messages that they are browner than most Asians and don't look Asian and for some Filipinx they feel at the "bottom of the Asian hierarchy." Others also talk about having less in common with other Asian ethnic groups and less overlap in shared community spaces or student club alliances. Several participants in this study talked about a racial liminality regarding a sense of being both and neither Asian and Pacific Islander. One student said that this space is like a ven diagram with two overlapping circles, and that Filipinx Americans are in the overlapping space between Asian and Pacific Islander. When it came to choose one racial category, most of them said they felt more Pacific Islander than Asian, but all of them understood that this was a complicated identity for them to assume, so "Filipino" was the preference for most on race.

The final stage in Nadal's model is Status Six is 'Introspection'—Individual seeks to be part of social justice movements for Filipinos and is comfortable with Asians and finds alliances with Whites (Nadal, 2004). Several students in this study describe this kind of commitment to social justice movements as essential to their process. Several participants of this study were able to name colorism and Anti-Black racism in Filipinx communities as a major problem. One student spoke expressly about the importance of Filipinx American involvement in Black Lives Matter movement. Another student talked about the importance of recognizing that as Filipinx Americans engaged in decolonizing work that we have a responsibility to understand that we are settlers on indigenous land in the United States. This student also talked about the importance of supporting efforts for sovereignty for indigenous peoples in the Philippines.

Nadal's (2004) model has been groundbreaking for our understanding of Filipinx Americans. I hope that my scholarship can shed additional light on how these identity phases can be complexified further and applied to different frameworks, in this case the importance of critical colonial history for Filipinx American undergraduates and the ways this impacts and moves them along in several of these stages of ethnic and racial development.

Pacific Islander identities, pan colonialism and pan indigeneity

One of the biggest consistencies in this study was how many students identify as Pacific Islander. This finding is compelling since Filipinxs are not technically racially categorized as Pacific Islander. In considering the research of Anthony Ocampo (2016) regarding an alignment of identities between Filipinxs and Latinxs in California where they share overlapping communities, cultural values, Catholicism, and similar linguistic and colonial histories, I draw some similar but different conclusions about Filipinxs and Pacific Islander overlap in the Pacific

Northwest. While Latinx is not a racial category for Filipinxs, Ocampo's (2016) study, based in California, found that Filipinxs and Latinxs are in a lot of shared spaces and have alignment in cultural similarities. Their shared history of Spanish Colonization, Catholicism, and linguistic and family structure and values have a lot of overlap which he calls pan-colonial identities (Ocampo, 2016). I argue that similarly at the University of Washington in Seattle, Filipinx American students and Pacific Islander Students are sharing organizing spaces and also finding overlapping cultural, pan colonial, and racialized similarities.

One idea to build upon Ocampo's (2016) pan-colonial identities is to consider Strobel's (2001) research which is anchored in the belief that decolonizing is a process of recovery of indigenous knowledge which has been repressed under colonization. The Filipinx Student organization does a lot of collaborative events with the Pacific Islander groups and several study participants talk about significant shared leadership roles, shared values, and collaboration between their student groups. Strobel (2001) draws upon Enriquez (1990) identified core Indigenous values to Filipinxs such as the idea of *kapwa*—a shared sense of identity with others; *loob*—honor, equality, and human rights; *damdam*—the capacity to feel for another; and *paninindigan*—the strength of conviction (Strobel, 2001). One possibility is that in addition to pan-colonial overlaps that Filipinx Americans and Pacific Islanders have shared processes of decolonizing and are finding pan-indigenous identities across Oceanic indigenous roots. That being said all participants recognized that there was tension in claiming Pacific Islander as their racial identity.

Museus and Ifakar's (2013) Asian Crit also sheds light on this phenomenon of Pacific Islander Identity. One of the tenets of Asian Crit is 'Transnational Contexts' which highlights the importance that many Asian Americans have complex historical and contemporary

relationships to their home countries, some of which involve displacement as a result of U.S. military, as well as colonial histories, immigration policies and global economies which have resulted in the diaspora of many Asians around the world (Museus & Iftikar, 2013). Several students in this study talked about identifying as Pacific Islander because they grew up in Guam or Hawaii and had a geographic relationship and identity from those places while also acknowledging the distinctions and tensions that exist between Filipinx and Native Hawaiians and Chamorros. Another useful tenet from Asian Crit is *Strategic Anti-Essentialism* which builds off of CRT anti-essentialism and promotes solidarity and the dismantling of Asian as a homogenous group, while also acknowledging when categorization is useful.

I think this alignment for Filipinx Americans identifying as Pacific Islander identity is a result of all of these ideas and phenomena: Pan-Colonial histories from both the Spanish and U.S. occupations; Pan-Indigenous identities as both groups engage in critical history and sociopolitical identity work in college; ‘Transnational Contexts’ and the large Filipinx American diaspora and populations in the Pacific Islands; Strategic Anti-Essentialism and a critique of Asian homogenous categorization. I assert that all of these theories bolster the findings of my research and show that at the University of Washington there is a careful, complex, and nuanced alignment between Filipinx Americans and Pacific Islander identities.

Narrative competence for Filipinx American Undergraduates

Narrative competence is a process that is part of the theory of historical consciousness. It is a cognitive process that is primarily defined by narrative psychology by which people organize events and happenings into frames of meaning (Polkinghorne, 2005). The structure of a narrative is done by organizing plots in a story, with a beginning, middle, and end. The narrative is a cognitive structuring of plots that have a temporal range, a criteria for a selection of events,

and an order of events that unfold into a conclusion (Polkinghorne, 2005). The cognitive process involves concepts which give meaning to objects and actions by giving them a categorical identity and then clarifying or making explicit the meaning that these events have as a unified whole. For the faculty interviewed in this study, the crafting of the plots to Filipinx American critical history was important. Whether it was pillars of content such as Professor Torres including history of colonization in the Philippines; understanding labor and migration; and reading Carlos Bulosan; or pedagogical practices to connect this history to student's personal lives; the process of narrative competence is one of knowledge production and requires giving meaning to concepts, objects, and actions and giving them a categorical identity (Polkinghorne, 2005).

This process is important to consider as one that often begins in childhood for those developing historical consciousness through unconscious mechanisms such as collective memory, societal structures, and cultural stories. The Filipinx Americans in this study didn't have much cognitive narrative or content about Filipinx American history prior to college. The process to gain narrative competence was painstaking and involved plotting out chronological events and then reflecting about how this impacted their hometowns, their families, and themselves. It also involved most students considering why they hadn't previously learned this history, ultimately asking the question, how did we get erased from history? Polkinghorne (2005) describes the process of developing narrative competence as retrospective whereby one gives meaning to events by identifying their role in contribution to an outcome.

Straub discusses the idea of historical narrative being transformational and having a moral to the story, embedded with values and norms which inherently changes the surface phenomena of the "permanent structure" (Straub, 2005, p. 61). The narrative is an important part

of historical consciousness, in that it creates and articulates a view of the world that orients a person to whom appropriates this narrative (Jurgen Straub, 2005b). The participants in this study describe a transformation in their identity upon learning critical historical consciousness. Most of them describe it as new lens for viewing the world, their families, and their racialized experiences.

“Becoming woke” and the importance of courses/community spaces in Higher Education

College campuses are not neutral ground for Filipinx Americans. Institutions of higher education in the United States have been complicit in the process of colonization of Filipinx Americans from the outset of the colonial project (Posadas, 2013). As Posada’s (2013) research pointed, the goal of U.S. higher education was to educate elite Filipinx so that they could return and govern the Philippines with American ideals. These early scholars, referred to as Pensionados, were at the University of Washington as early as 1919, according to the Tyee with the first image of a Filipinx American student group (*University of Washington Tyee 1919*, 1919). It’s important that I acknowledge U.S. higher education played a problematic role in the colonial subjugation of Filipinx Americans. My hope is that this research can help inform transformational practices and that college campuses can be a place of restorative justice and liberation for Filipinx Americans, rather than replicating dominant narratives that have erased Filipinx American history and reinforced colonial and racist ideas.

The importance of community and relationships with other Filipinx Americans was central to developing historical consciousness. Most participants describe the Filipino American Student Association as the starting point for making sense of concepts regarding decolonizing and colonial mentality. For the first time students can put a chronology and history on the map of their own life and migration stories and share common identities and ideas with other Filipinx

Americans. The findings revealed that part of learning cognitive history involved processing emotions and grappling with trauma. For some this process involved an examination of mental health struggles and finding healing and creativity as outlets and mediums to make sense of this process. Having support was a crucial part of students engaging in the process of gaining historical consciousness.

To triangulate this data were findings from interviews with Filipinx American faculty and the intentional decisions and pedagogies they draw upon to anchor historical content. All three of the faculty use a critical colonial approach and talk about this history in context with what was happening nationally and globally. Community support and reflection was also part of the construction of the Filipinx American studies classes at The University of Washington. In the findings several students recalled a particular activity, a historical timeline that I had created that included the year of beginning of the US Philippine war, the year of the Japanese invasion into the Philippines, years of Martial Law, years of significant US immigration reform that either restricted or opened immigration to Filipinxs, and many other dates that impacted the diaspora of Filipinxs. Having a timeline and chronology was an anchoring activity for several participants and also made them realize how they knew a little bit about some of these historic events, but shaping it into a timeline created a narrative for them. Taking a critical colonial stance on U.S. Philippine colonial history is an important framework to apply to the construction of the story of history. Critical colonization means addressing the trauma and devastation left in the wake of conquest in the Philippines. Understanding this in cognitive ways means that there will also be emotions to process for Filipinx Americans whose families are likely to be very personally impacted by this history. It also means addressing the erasure and invisibility of the years and generations that have not learned this history. The narrative is an important part of historical

consciousness in that it creates and articulates a view of the world that orients a person to whom appropriates this narrative (Straub, 2005)

(Re)constructing and Unlearning

Asian Crit by Museus and Ifkar supports the concept of a (Re)constructive History, which emphasizes how Asian Americans have been rendered silent and invisible from dominant historical narratives. This concept highlights the importance of revising historical narratives to shed light upon the racism that Asians have experiences in the U.S. and compliments the idea from historical consciousness which illuminates groups that have gone unacknowledged historically. The participants of my study described their understandings of colonial mentality and decolonizing as a critical part of their journey and identity process. Several of them talked about their relief in having a term to describe this phenomenon, one of them offered the metaphor of having a song he wanted to sing and finally remembering the lyrics. This “song” is at once troubling and denial-breaking, and students described emotions of grief as well as joy at having words for it.

David and Okazaki’s (2006) Colonial Mentality points to various ways that colonialism has been internalized by Filipino Americans and can be conceptualized as a “perception of ethnic or cultural inferiority that is...a specific consequence of centuries of colonization under Spain and the U.S. and that it “...involved an automatic and uncritical rejection of anything Filipino and an automatic and uncritical preference for anything American (p. 241).” All of the participants in the study describe a process of questioning and retrospection of the ways that they had been taught to glorify White American phenotypes, products, ideas, etc. From superficial moments such as their parents warning them from getting too dark in the sun, to parents

encouraging them not to speak Filipinx language, to feelings of internalized inferiority and not feeling physically beautiful because of their Filipinx features.

All of the participants in this study were exposed to the concept of “colonial mentality” and “decolonizing” from FASA or a Filipinx American studies class. They all describe a shift from passive acceptance of learning and internalizing colonial mentality to a posture of critically questioning everything and reclaiming their Filipinx-ness. Students describe the process of learning these concepts as part of “getting woke.” For most of them, grappling with these concepts, meant committing to an emotional process of identifying ways they had experienced oppression and trauma. It also engaged them in challenging conversations and processes with their parents and family members questioning the role of religion, the role of the military, and different socio-political beliefs that emerged based on these conversations. I argue that in order for Filipinx Americans to achieve wellness and cultural pride, that it’s imperative to face ways they have internalized racism and colonial mentality. The impact of Colonial Mentality is cited as a major factor for a lack of societal presence, political clout, and social unity for Filipinx Americans (David, 2013). This lack of cultural pride and historical knowledge has been found to negatively influence the psychological experiences and mental health of Filipinxs and Filipinx Americans (David, 2013).

The perpetuation of Filipinx American invisibility and challenging master narratives

Evidence of Filipinx American historical erasure was present across all of the interviews, when I asked students what they had learned about Filipinx American history growing up most of them said, “nothing.” With the exception of one participant who did an independent learning project on Marcos in high school, all participants stated that there was a complete absence of Filipinx American history content or curriculum in their K-12 experiences. There were a few

students who recalled a paragraph in a textbook, but that it was fleeting and framed around the Treaty of Paris and the U.S. purchasing the Philippines or the U.S. framed as saviors of the Filipinx. This made for a challenging concept to analyze. Participants had thoughts and reflections about this void in history retrospectively, but there wasn't a lot of narrative in the interviews about the silence and invisibility regarding and absence of historical content. There was a silent pause in every interview while I waited for them to respond to, the question, What did you learn in K-12 schools about U.S. Philippine history?

What is the master narrative when there is no narrative? A common statement from participants was a belief that they had no history at all. The de facto narrative in the absence of explicit curriculum or content, is that Filipinx Americans don't have historical significance nor anything noteworthy for a historical textbook. Scholars who have explored the topic of "forgotten" and invisible Filipinx Americans have confronted the damaging impacts this absent history has on identity (Bacho, 1997; Cordova, 1973; Root, 1997; Sintos Coloma, 2013).

To counter this silence and absence is a rich visibility of Filipinx American undergraduates who articulate their complex ideas of liminal space and cultural fluidity as they navigate in-between worlds. Their complex relationships with home and with family were central stories for every participant that anchored them to a sense of knowing who they were and to their Filipinx American identity. Noteworthy is that across all of their experiences with home and family is a common theme of liminality and dual consciousness.

Liminality and Dual Consciousness as resilience and survival

I drew upon a few studies that used CRT to address educational challenges for Filipinx Americans (Buena Vista et al., 2010; Museus & Iftikar, 2013; Tumale, 2016). When it comes to racialization and Filipinx Americans in this study there are a few themes that characterize it,

several of them overarching with the idea of liminality. Buenavista et al. (2010) applied CRT to Filipinx Americans in higher education and discussed the concept of liminality of Filipinx American undergraduates, many of which have parents with college degrees from the Philippines who are unable to navigate the college choice process or relate to college experiences with them (Buenavista et al., 2010). While my study doesn't focus on retention issues or delve into campus climate, Buenavista's (2010) concept of liminality coming out of a CRT study on Filipinx Americans is resonant with many of my findings. Here are a few prominent liminality themes: 1. Liminality regarding home, assimilation, and family 2. Liminality of racial categories and feeling both and neither Pacific Islander or Asian

Despite an absence of historical consciousness in K-12. Filipinx Americans were busy making sense of their complex experiences as Filipinx Americans in other ways. Many of them shared stories of liminality and existing in-between cultures, from their sense of home, their navigation between Filipinx and American cultural values, their racial identities, and even their processes developing critical historical consciousness. What I found in my data analysis is that juxtaposed to the vacuum of content regarding what students learned about Filipinx American history in K-12 contexts is that students had robust and detailed knowledge of their family migration stories and were able to describe complex navigation of their grappling with being between different worlds. Navigating hybrid spaces between a sense of home in Philippines and the U.S. was central to the experiences of all of the participants. This concept of liminality is defined by Buenavista et al (2009) regarding the in between status that Filipinx Americans occupy as "foreigners and colonial subjects (p. 75)." Based on my data analysis, I propose that this idea of liminal space is part of Filipinx American resilience and survival across multiple facets of their identity.

For many of the students cultivating an internal sense of home rather than a physical place was part of their process. As Tala said, “Home is not so much a physical or geographical place, but just kind of your own history, your own lineage, and the different moments of your life that contributed to where you are.” Every participant described feeling like they belonged in both and neither the Philippines or the U.S. This hybrid space regarding home was something most participants reflected upon, struggled with, and or accepted their whole lives and they all had a lot to say about it. For the 1.5 generation students, some of them had a literal lived experience of home in both the Philippines and the U.S. For students who were 2nd and 3rd generation, despite being born and growing up in the U.S. there was shared sentiment across most of the interviews that the U.S. would not ever feel completely like home, and yet, neither would the Philippines.

It is noteworthy that articulating a liminal space regarding home was robust. For Filipinx Americans, being able to articulate where you are from and what home is, is central to their identity. Talking about where home is, is not a straight forward or binary topic and the participants of this study are versed at describing a home that is both and neither the U.S. or the Philippines. I argue that the in-between space experience is a central part of the story that needs to be retold for Filipinx Americans.

Familial Wealth and Cultural fluidity

Many students talked about code switching between Filipinx and American cultures with their home and school communities and moving between cultural worlds. As Maya described it, “Being Filipina American means that I have the fluidity to move between two different cultures, while I may not be fluent in both, I have the ability to flourish in both because I’m simultaneously Filipina and American, but I’m also neither of those things.” Maya’s statement is evidence that this fluidity between cultural worlds is part of a survival and resilience for Filipinx

Americans. Yosso et al's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth outlines several forms of cultural wealth for communities of color and one of them is regarding code switching and the ability to move between languages and, cultures, and adapt.

While Maya talks about flourishing in both cultures, many participants also talked about tensions and challenges related to assimilation and decisions they made to shut down parts of their Filipinx American identity and culture in order to belong in U.S. spaces. One form of assimilation that came up across many interviews was regarding the loss of language. This was a noteworthy finding in that it was pervasive in the data and demonstrated a literal way that students describe losing a line of communication between themselves and other family members. A lot of students talked about a sense of loss and regret about this loss of language and that this limited ways they could connect with elders and with family members in the Philippines. Many of them also talk about intentional decisions made by themselves or other family members to stop speaking their native Filipinx languages in order to better fit in or belong. Despite feelings of regret and sadness over a loss of language, almost all students understood that repressing certain ethnic characteristics were part of their survival in predominantly White school and community settings. The loss of language was a double-edged sword, that at once severed their native tongue, but also helped them to assimilate to U.S. culture to survive white dominant spaces. English-only curriculum and values has a long history in the Philippines dating back to the Thomasites and exist in contemporary schooling practices and have been critiqued as one of the most damaging parts of colonization (Constantino, 1982).

Another complexity for Filipinx Americans who were learning critical colonial histories was that it challenged certain ideas and values held by their parents. This brought up opportunities for generative conversations between some students and their parents, but also

became a source of tension for others who felt that it would show a lack of respect to the sacrifices parents had made by immigrating if they talked to them about colonial mentality or pushed back on values that perpetuated U.S. White dominance. While most students described a sense of liberation in learning and naming ways that their lives had been impacted by colonization, others felt that it created a barrier between them and their parents. CRT encourages storytelling and centering voices of people of color to disrupt master narratives (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Du Bois, 1994; Solorzano, 1998, 1998; Yosso et al., 2009; Yosso, 2005). In the absence of narratives about Filipinx Americans it's ever important to highlight their voices and experiences. Filipinx American stories about navigating across conflicting cultures and brokering their identities with their families and home were central to this research.

Implications & Conclusion

Higher education has a responsibility to continue supporting, illuminating and funding ethnic studies courses on U.S Philippine post-colonial studies, supporting Filipinx American student organizations, supporting the creation of Filipinx American Centers, and on partnering with educational policies and projects that encourage textbook reform and curriculum development in K-12 contexts. One center that opened during my process of doing this study was the Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies at UC Davis. Here's what the center says on its website:

“This Initiative would establish the first-ever University of California-linked Center for Filipino Studies. Indeed, it would be the first-ever university-linked center devoted to the study of Filipinos in the U.S. and the diaspora in the nation. Though Filipinos have one of the longest histories of settlement in the state of California and continues to be one of its largest Asian ethnic groups, we fail to be adequately represented as students and faculty in the University of California, one of the most prestigious public research university systems in the entire country, if not the world. Knowledge production and education on the Filipino diasporic experience, particularly from a community-engaged perspective, while expanding is still insufficient for addressing our needs. ...The Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies Initiative aims to change that (Snow, 2019).”

The continual invisibility, silence, and amnesia around the U.S. Philippine war and colonial past is damaging to Filipinx Americans. Based on the findings in my study Filipinx Americans are able to have more positive self-regard and more clarity around their understanding of Filipinx American identity. It is crucial that we create systems and practices that support Filipinx Americans in their historical consciousness, racial identities, and wellbeing.

The time has come for text books in K-12 contexts to include more robust information about Filipinx Americans. Filipinx Americans are the 2nd largest Asian ethnic group in the United States, and the history of migration and labor is directly tied to U.S. colonization, yet U.S text books have less than 1% of space dedicated to discussing this history (Sintos Coloma 2013). In his research on US textbooks and Filipinx American content, Sintos Coloma concluded that it's as though Filipinx have histories that are deemed unimportant or are "a people with no history at all." What exists in the textbooks is a truncated and false narrative of US liberation rather than a critical colonial history of war, militarization, labor, and exploitation. Filipinx Americans deserve to understand this at an earlier age to make sense of their identity, social position, and get support for the generational trauma that they live with.

In the process of writing this dissertation the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) Seattle Chapter, passed legislation signed by Governor Jay Inslee in 2019 for October to be recognized as Filipino American History month in the state of Washington. K-12 Curriculum is currently being developed for K-12 schools for Filipino American History month.

"The legislature finds that the writings and teachings of American history have often overlooked the role of people of color, among them the history of Filipino Americans, whose heritage spans a colonial, political, economic, and cultural relationship with the United States. The legislature also finds that the earliest documented proof of Filipino presence in the continental United States was on October 18, 1587, when the first "Luzones Indios" set foot in Morro Bay, California. The Filipino American national

historical society recognizes the year of 1763 as the date of the first permanent Filipino settlement in the United States in St. Malo Parrish, Louisiana. Subsequent waves of migration followed, and today Filipino Americans continue to make a lasting impact on the history and heritage of Washington state and the United States. In recognition of the critical economic, cultural, social, and other notable contributions by Filipino Americans to Washington state and the United States, the legislature has proclaimed October as Filipino American history month (*Washington State Legislature*, n.d.).”

Continuing to challenge dominant narrative notions that Filipinx Americans are people without a history is work that needs transformation across all sectors, from the educational pipeline through popular media, culture, so that a new shared historical consciousness can be understood regarding the post-colonial relationship between the US and the Philippines which continues to have impacts on the lives of Filipinx Americans today. Continued work to disaggregate data on Asian Americans and to challenge the model minority myth is crucial in order to recognize a history of problematic racialization and to have meaningful cross racial solidarity amongst Asian American communities. Future research should happen between Filipinx Americans and Pacific Islanders at the University of Washington and in the Pacific Northwest broadly. I think there’s an interesting case study of cross racial solidarity, pan-colonial alignment, and anti-essentialism.

Filipinx Americans have been resilient and survived hundreds of years of colonization, but their survival meant finding ways to adapt to dominant regimes and cultures and sometimes abandoning practices and ethnic distinctions that make them Filipinx. This liminal space that Filipinx Americans occupy has a duality that both makes them feel undefined and sometimes lost but is also distinctly part of being Filipinx American. Whether being in between the U.S. and the Philippines as homelands, between Asian and Pacific Islander as racial categories, or the myriad of ways that they feel in-between, navigating this liminal space in many ways is what defines Filipinx Americans.

References

- Andresen, T. (2013). Knowledge Construction, Transformative Academic Knowledge, And Filipino American Identity Experience. In D. C. Maramba & R. Bonus (Eds.), *The “other” students: Filipino Americans, education, and power*.
- Andresen, T. H. (2013). *Filipino American Phenomenon: Community-Based Organization Influence on Ethnic Identity, Leadership Development, and Community Engagement* [Thesis (PhD)]. <https://digital.lib.washington.edu:443/researchworks/handle/1773/23628>
- Asian American Movement 40th Anniversary collection from the archives of the Asian Community Center. (2008, January 17). Third World Student Strikes at SFSU & UCB 1968-1969 “On strike, shut it down!” [Blogspot]. *Asian American Movement 1968*. <http://aam1968.blogspot.com>
- Bacho, P. (1997). The Tragic Sense of Filipino History. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Filipino Americans Transformation and Identity*. SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Banks, J. A. (2010). Introduction. In *Asians in the Ivory Tower: Dilemmas of Racial Inequality in American Higher Education. Multicultural Education Series*.
- Bellwood, P., Fox, J. J., & Tryon, D. (Eds.). (2006). *The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. ANU Press.
- <http://www.jstor.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/stable/j.ctt2jbjx1>
- Bensimon, E. M. (2005). Closing the achievement gap in higher education: An organizational learning perspective. *New Directions for Higher Education*, 2005(131), 99–111.
- <https://doi.org/10.1002/he.190>

- Berehulak, D. (2016, December 7). 'They Are Slaughtering Us Like Animals.' *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/12/07/world/asia/rodrigo-duterte-philippines-drugs-killings.html>
- Bhattacharya, K. (2017). *Fundamentals of Qualitative Research* (1 edition). Routledge.
- Bogardus, E. S. (1930). *Anti Filipino Race Riots*. Ingram Institute of Social Science, University of Southern California.
- Bonus, R. (2000). *Locating Filipino Americans: Ethnicity and the Cultural Politics of Space*. Temple University Press.
- Buenavista, T. L. (2013). Pilipinos in the Middle. In *The "Other" Students: Filipino Americans, Education, and Power* (pp. 259–279). Information Age Publishing Inc.
- Buenavista, T. L., Jayakumar, U., & Misa-Escalante, K. (2010). Issues Affecting U.S. Filipino Student Access to Postsecondary Education: A Critical Race Theory Perspective. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk (JESPAR)*, 15(1–2), 114–126.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10824661003635093>
- Bulosan, C. (1973). *America is in the heart: A personal history*. University of Washington Press.
- Catapusan, B. (1941). Problems of Filipino students in America. *Sociology and Social Research*, 26, 146–153.
- Chew, R. (2012). *Remembering Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes: The legacy of Filipino American labor activism*. Alaskero Foundation : University of Washington Press.
- Cho, H. (2011). *The relationship of model minority stereotype, Asian cultural values, and acculturation to goal orientation, academic self-efficacy, and academic achievement in Asian American college students* [Dissertation, University of Southern California].
<https://search-proquest-com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/docview/884340803>

- Coloma, R. S. (2004). *Empire and education: Filipino schooling under United States rule, 1900-1910* [The Ohio State University].
https://etd.ohiolink.edu/pg_10?0::NO:10:P10_ACCESSION_NUM:osu1086209087
- Constantino, R. (1982). *The miseducation of the Filipino*. Foundation for Nationalist Studies.
- Cordova, F. (1973). The Filipino American: There's always an identity crisis. In S. Sue & N. Wagner (Eds.), *Asian-Americans: Psychological perspectives*. Science and Behavior Books.
- Cordova, F., Cordova, D. L., & Acena, A. A. (1983). *Filipinos, forgotten Asian Americans: A pictorial essay, 1763-circa 1963*. Kendall/Hunt Pub. Co.
- Coronel, S. (2016, September 20). "I Will Kill All the Drug Lords." *The Atlantic*.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/09/rodrigo-duterte-philippines-manila-drugs-davao/500756/>
- David, E. J., & Okazaki, S. (2006). Colonial mentality: A review and recommendation for Filipino American psychology. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 12*(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.12.1.1>
- David, E. J. R. (2013). *Brown skin, white minds: Filipino-/American postcolonial psychology (with commentaries) = Kayumanggi balat, puti isip*. Information Age Publishing Inc.
- David, E. J. R., & Okazaki, S. (2006). The Colonial Mentality Scale (CMS) for Filipino Americans: Scale Construction and Psychological Implications. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 53*(2), 241.
- Delgado, & Stefancic, J. (2017). Critical Race Theory: An Introduction. [Review of *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction.*, by A. Harris]. *Journal of Pan African Studies, 10*(1), 408.

- Domingo, L. R. (2010). Building a Movement: Filipino American Union and Community Organizing in Seattle in the 1970s. *EScholarship*.
<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/3t92p4n4>
- Donnor, J. K., & Ladson - Billings, G. (2018). Critical Race Theory and the Postracial Imagination. In *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (5th ed.).
- Du Bois, W. E. B. W. E. B. (1994). *The souls of Black folk*. Dover.
- Espiritu, P. (2001). *Collisions, Conjunctions, and Community: How Filipino American Students Experience a Curriculum about Self* [University of Washington]. <https://search-proquest-com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/docview/250806030>
- Espiritu, Y. L., & Wolf, D. L. (2001). The Paradox of Assimilation: Children of Filipino Immigrants in San Diego. In *Ethnicities*.
- Fanon, F. (2004). *The wretched of the earth*. Grove Press.
- Freire, P. (2001). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Continuum.
- Fujita-Rony, D. (2003). *American workers, colonial power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West, 1919-1941*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (2009). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Transaction Publishers.
- Halagao, P. E. (2010). Liberating Filipino Americans through decolonizing curriculum. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 13(4), 495–512. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2010.492132>
- hooks, bell. (1994). *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. Routledge.
- Hsu, F. (2013). Colonial Lessons; Racial Politics of Comparison and the Development of American Education Policy in the Philippines. In D. C. Maramba & R. Bonus (Eds.), *The “other” students: Filipino Americans, education, and power*.

- Hutchcroft, P. D. (1998). *Booty Capitalism: The Politics of Banking in the Philippines*. Cornell University Press.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education? *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11(1), 7–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/095183998236863>
- Larkin, J. A. (1982). Philippine History Reconsidered: A Socioeconomic Perspective. *The American Historical Review*, 87(3), 595–628. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1864158>
- Leonardo, Z., & Matias, C. (2013). Betwixt And Between Colonial And Postcolonial Mentality; The Critical Education of Filipino Americans. In D. C. Maramba & R. Bonus (Eds.), *The Other Students: Filipino Americans, Education, and Power*. Information Age Publishing.
- Libarios, E. (2013). *Social stratification and higher education outcomes: The case of Filipinos in Hawai'i* [ProQuest Dissertations Publishing]. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1468460394/>
- Lomawaima, K. T. (1994). *They called it prairie light: The story of Chilocco Indian School*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Lott, J. T. (1980). Migration of a Mentality: The Pilipino Community. In R. Endo, S. Sue, & N. Wagner (Eds.), *Asian Americans: Social and psychological perspectives* (Vol. 2, pp. 132–140). Science and Behavior Books.
- Maramba, D. C. (2003). *Negotiating structures of higher education and bicultural identity through the voices of Filipino /a -American college students* [ProQuest Dissertations Publishing]. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/305254102/>
- Maramba, D. C. (2008). Immigrant Families and the College Experience: Perspectives of Filipina Americans. *Journal of College Student Development*, 49(4), 336–350.

- Maramba, D. C., & Bonus, R. (2013). *The “other” students: Filipino Americans, education, and power*.
- Mariano, H. (1933). *The Filipino immigrants in the United States* [Thesis (M.A.)]. University of Oregon.
- Merriam, S. B., & Tisdell, E. J. (2015). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation* (4 edition). Jossey-Bass.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Min, P. G. (1995). Asian Americans: Contemporary trends and issues. *Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 174*.
- Museum, S. D. (2013). *The misrepresented minority; new insights on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and the implications for higher education*. (D. Maramba & R. T. Teranishi, Eds.). Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing.
- Museum, S. D. (2014). *Asian American Students in Higher Education*. Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203753002>
- Museum, S. D., & Iftikar, J. (2013). *An Asian Critical Theory (AsianCrit) Framework*.
https://works.bepress.com/samuel_museum/91/
- Museum, S. D., & Maramba, D. C. (2010). The Impact of Culture on Filipino American Students’ Sense of Belonging. *The Review of Higher Education, 34*(2), 231–258.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2010.0022>
- Nadal, K. L. (2004). Pilipino American Identity Development Model. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 32*(1), 45–62. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2004.tb00360.x>

- Nadal, K. L. (2013). Counseling Filipino American College Students; Promoting Identity Development, Optimal Mental Health, and Academic Success. In D. C. Maramba & R. Bonus (Eds.), *The "Other" Students: Filipino Americans, Education and Power*. Information Age Publishing.
- Nguyen, B. M. D., Nguyen, M. H., Teranishi, R. T., & Hune, S. (2015). *The Hidden Academic Opportunity Gaps Among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders: What Disaggregated Data Reveals in Washington State*. Educational Testing Service.
- Ocampo, A. (2016). *The Latinos of Asia: How Filipino Americans Break the Rules of Race*. Stanford University Press.
- Okamura, J. (2013). Filipino American Access to Public Higher Education in California and Hawai'i. In D. C. Maramba & R. Bonus (Eds.), *The "Other" Students: Filipino Americans, Education and Power*. Information Age Publishing.
- Okamura, J., & Agbayani, A. (1997). Pamantasan; Filipino American Higher Education. In M. P. Root (Ed.), *Filipino Americans; Transformation and Identity*. SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Ong, P., & Viernes, K. (2012). Filipino Americans and Educational Downward Mobility. *Asian American Policy Review*, 23, 21-39,94.
- Panganiban, L. L. (2016). *Easing the sophomore slump: The effect of family, ethnic identity, and campus climate on Filipino American students' experiences during their second year of college*. University of Washington. <http://hdl.handle.net/1773/35567>
- Patton, L. (2016). *Student development in college: Theory, research, and practice* (Third edition.). Jossey-Bass, A Wiley Brand.
- Perez, D. (2015). *Filipino Student Activism at The University of Washington: Transforming the University As Well As The Community* [Masters Thesis]. The University of Washington.

- Polkinghorne, D. (2005). Narrative Psychology and Historical Consciousness, Relationships and Perspectives. In Jürgen Straub (Ed.), *Narration, Identity, and Historical Consciousness* (1st ed.). Berghahn Books; JSTOR. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1btbw85>
- Posadas, B. M. (2013). Transnationalism and Higher Education: Four Filipino Chicago Case Studies. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 32(2), 7–37.
<https://doi.org/10.5406/jamerethnhist.32.2.0007>
- Preskill, H., & Torres, R. T. (1999). *Evaluative Inquiry for Learning in Organizations*. SAGE.
- Racelis, M. and J. C. I. (2001). *Bearers of benevolence: The Thomasites and public education in the Philippines*. Published and exclusively distributed by Anvil Pub.
- Rafael, V. L. (2016). *Motherless Tongues*.
- Revilla, L. (1997). Filipino American Identity; Transcending the Crisis. In M. Root (Ed.), *Filipino Americans Transformation and Identity* (pp. 95–111). SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Rodriguez-Operana, V. C. (2017). Disentangling the Myth: Social Relationships and Filipino American Adolescents' Experiences of the Model Minority Stereotype. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 8(1), 56.
- Root, M. P. P. (1997). *Filipino Americans: Transformation and identity*. Sage Publications.
- Sayles, J. (2010). *Amigo*.
- Schock, K. (1999). People Power and Political Opportunities: Social Movement Mobilization and Outcomes in the Philippines and Burma. *Social Problems*, 46(3), 355–375.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3097105>
- Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project*. (n.d.). <http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/cwflu.htm>
- Seixas, P. (2016). Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness [University of British Columbia]. *Definition of Historical Consciousness*.

- Seixas, P. C. (Ed.). (2004). *Theorizing Historical Consciousness* (Reprinted in paperback). Univ. of Toronto Press.
- Sintos Coloma, R. (2013). Invisible Subjects; Filipinos/as in Secondary History Text Books. In *The “Other” Students: Filipinos, Education, and Power* (pp. 165–182). Information Age Publishing.
- Snow, H. (2019, January 8). *Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies*. ASA.
<https://asa.ucdavis.edu/bulosan-center-filipino-studies>
- Solorzano, D. G. (1998). Critical race theory, race and gender microaggressions, and the experience of Chicana and Chicano scholars. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11(1), 121–136. <https://doi.org/10.1080/095183998236926>
- Solorzano, D. G., & Bernal, D. D. (2001). Examining Transformational Resistance Through a Critical Race and Latcrit Theory Framework: Chicana and Chicano Students in an Urban Context. *Urban Education*, 36(3), 308–342. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085901363002>
- Solórzano, D. G., Yosso, T. J., Solórzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2002). *Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research*.
- Straub, J. (2005a). *Narration, identity, and historical consciousness*.
- Straub, Jurgen. (2005b). Telling Stories, Making History; Toward a Narrative Psychology of the Historical Construction of Meaning. In *Narration, Identity, and Historical Consciousness*. Berghahn Books.
- Strobel, L. M. (2001). *Coming full circle: The process of decolonization among post-1965 Filipino Americans*. Giraffe Books.

- Tamayo Lott, J. (1997). Demographic Changes Transforming the Filipino American Community. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Filipino Americans Transformation and Identity*. SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Tatum, B. (1992). Talking About Race, Learning About Racism: The Application of Racial Identity Development Theory in the Classroom. *Harvard Educational Review*, 62(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.62.1.146k5v980r703023>
- Taylor, Q., & Rice, N. (1994). *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle's Central District from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era* (First Edition edition). University of Washington Press.
- Teranishi, R. T. (2010). *Asians in the Ivory Tower: Dilemmas of Racial Inequality in American Higher Education. Multicultural Education Series* (J. A. Banks, Ed.). Teachers College Press.
- Tintiango-Cubales, A. (2013). Struggling To Survive; Poverty, Violence, and Invisibility in the Lives of Urban Filipina/o American Youth. In *The "Other" Students: Filipino Americans Education, and Power* (pp. 123–143). Information Age Publishing Inc.
- Trifonas, P. P. (2003). *Pedagogies of difference: Rethinking education for social change*. RoutledgeFalmer.
- Tumale, E. (2016). *Challenging the Stigmas: A Critical Race Theory Analysis of Filipino American Community College Students* [ProQuest Dissertations Publishing]. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1807958506/>
- Uba, L. (2003). *Asian Americans: Personality Patterns, Identity, and Mental Health* (1 edition). The Guilford Press.
- University of Washington Tyee 1919*. (1919). University of Washington Special Collections.

- Veal, B. B. (2013). Disaggregating the College Experiences of Filipino Americans; From the Aggregate Asian American/Pacific Islander Experience. In *The “Other” Students: Filipino Americans, Education and Power*. Information Age Publishing.
- Vergara, B. (2013). “The Real Filipino People”; Filipino Nationhood and Encounters with the Native Other. In D. C. Maramba & R. Bonus (Eds.), *The “other” students: Filipino Americans, education, and power*.
- Washington State Legislature. (n.d.). Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://app.leg.wa.gov/billsummary?BillNumber=5865&Year=2019&fbclid=IwAR3Y9x4dQYFUZrYboKQ0SzML6LGchgAc8bfZf-XDPfgECdIVW88R0yEyVqQ>
- Woodson, C. G. (1933). *The Miseducation of the Negro*. Candace Press.
- Wunder, J. (1994). What’s Old about the New Western History: Race and Gender, Part 1. *Pacnorwestq The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 85(2), 50–58.
- Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8(1), 69–91.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000341006>
- Yosso, T., Smith, W., Ceja, M., & Solórzano, D. (2009). Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate for Latina/o Undergraduates. *Harvard Educational Review*, 79(4), 659–691.
<https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.79.4.m6867014157m7071>

Appendix A: Protocol for Filipinx American Undergraduate Students

Research Questions:

- RQ1: How do Filipinx American undergraduates who have engaged in critical educational experiences understand what it means to be Filipinx American?
- RQ2: How are Filipinx American undergraduates involved in developing historical consciousness?
- RQ3: What does the process of decolonization look like for Filipinx Americans undergraduates?

Preamble

Preamble: As you know, I am a doctoral student at UW and have been looking at how Filipinx American undergraduates gain historical consciousness, engage in decolonizing, and what the impacts of this are on your identity. It would be really helpful if you could talk for about 45-60 minutes about this topic, in the context of your experience. I'd appreciate it if I can record our conversation. Is that okay with you? At any point if you want me to stop the recorder, just let me know.

Also, to protect your anonymity I will replace your name or any other names of family or friends with pseudonyms.

Context and Background/historical consciousness:

1. Where is your family from in the Philippines?
 - a. When did you and/or your family immigrate to the United States?
 - b. What brought you and/or your family to Seattle?

Identity

1. What does it mean to you to be Filipinx American?
2. Have you ever struggled with your racial/ethnic identity? Can you describe this?
3. Do you speak Filipinx?
4. What ways do you draw strength from being Filipinx?
5. What is your sense of belonging to Filipino Community?
6. What does colonial mentality mean to you?
7. Can you describe what you know about the historic relationship between the United States and the Philippines?
 - a. How did you learn about this?
 - b. What do you think about this history?
 - c. What feelings does this bring up for you?
 - d. How has your awareness of history impacted you?
8. What did you learn about the history of the Philippines in K-12 school settings?

- a. Was there a specific time that Filipino history was discussed that was memorable in you K-12 schooling?
- b. If not at all. How did this impact you?

Racial Identity Development/Filipinx history in college:

1. What is your racial identity?
2. How has your racial identity changed since you've been at UW?
3. What do you think about Filipinos being categorized as Asian?
 - a. How does this resonate with your own identity? And if not, why?
 - b. What other racial/ethnic groups do you resonate with the most?
4. What do you think about Filipinos being categorized as Pacific Islanders?
5. What have you learned about Filipinx culture and identity at the University of Washington?
 - a. What contexts did you learn about this history?
 - b. What has it been like to learn about Filipinx history or culture in college?
 - c. How has that impacted you?
6. What does decolonizing mean to you as a Filipinx American?
 - a. What does the process of Decolonizing yourself look like?
7. What experiences have been the most supportive to your identity and growth as a Filipinx American?
 - a. Can you describe impactful classroom activities, assignments, or professors?
 - b. Have you been to the Philippines?
 - c. FASA: what has your experience been like?
 - d. Philippines travel?
8. What were the highlights or significant learning points for you from the EDUC 401 Class?
9. Is there anything I haven't asked that you think I should have / Is there anything else on your mind that feels relevant to what we've been talking about?

Appendix B: Protocol for Filipinx American Studies Faculty

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

- RQ1: How do Filipinx American undergraduates who have engaged in critical educational experiences understand what it means to be Filipinx American?
- RQ2: How are Filipinx American undergraduates involved in developing historical consciousness?
- RQ3: What does the process of decolonization look like for Filipinx Americans undergraduates?

Preamble

Preamble: (As you know) I am a doctoral student at UW and am beginning to develop ideas for research studies. I have a particular interest in the process by which undergraduate Filipinx American students develop consciousness about colonial history. I'm at a very early stage in this process—just figuring out the lay of the land, how to think about the topic. It would be really helpful if you could talk for about 45 minutes about this topic, in the context of your experience. I'd appreciate it if I can record our conversation. Is that okay with you? At any point if you want me to stop the recorder, just let me know.

Also, to protect your anonymity I will replace your name or any other names of family or friends with pseudonyms.

1. What inspired you to teach about Filipino American studies?
2. As a Filipino educator, how does it feel to teach about your own culture and history?
3. Can you tell me more about what you teach?
4. What inspired you to teach this course?
5. What is the importance of the content you teach?
6. How do you think this academic experience impacts your students?
7. What are the goals or learning outcomes for your classes?
8. What do you see as the most important concepts for students to understand about Filipino American history?
9. How do you teach students about colonial mentality?
10. How does colonial mentality impact your students sense of self?
11. What kinds of developmental changes happen to your students in this course?
12. In what ways do you consider student identity development when you shape your classes? (racial, gender, etc.)
13. How would you describe the level of exposure that your students have had to Filipinx American studies prior to taking your class?
14. What are the impacts of this exposure or lack of?
15. For the Filipinx American students who take your class, what do you think are the most important lessons they learn?
16. What does “decolonizing” mean to you as an educator?

17. What pedagogies do you use for teaching your classes?
18. For Filipinx American students, what are some identity issues that you see come up for them as they learn things about their history and lineage?
19. What is the importance of Filipinx American students learning about Filipino American history?
20. In what ways does your class challenge students ideologies or understandings of the world?
21. What ways do you veer from traditional teaching methods in your class? Why?
22. What challenges do you think Filipinx American undergraduates face at the University of Washington?
23. How does the University of Washington support Filipinx American undergraduate students?

Appendix C: Informed Consent

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Historical Consciousness & Decolonizing for Filipinx American Undergraduates

Investigator: Dalya Perez, dalyap@uw.edu, 360.888.8544

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Joe Lott, jlott1@uw.edu, 206 685-9204

Investigator's Statement

I am asking you to be in a research study. The purpose of this consent form is to give you all the information you will need to help you decide whether or not to be in the study. Please read the form carefully. You may ask questions about the purpose of the research, what I would ask you to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called “informed consent.” I will give you a copy of this form for your records.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to examine ways that Filipinx Americans have been rendered invisible in U.S. history and to examine the impacts of this for Filipinx American Undergraduate students at the University of Washington. I seek to understand what the process is for undergraduate Filipinx Americans to understand their invisibilized history and how this transforms their sense of identity as well as actions. I will also examine how professors, the college classroom, and other Filipinx American collective spaces on campus can be a place of decolonizing and liberation. This project is for my Doctoral Dissertation research project, but I hope to publish additional articles and works with data collected from this study.

PROCEDURES

If you choose to be in this study, I would like to conduct a 60 minute interview with you. I will ask you various questions about your experiences and identity as a Filipinx American and your understanding of colonization, Filipinx history, and U.S./Philippine history. Here are some examples of questions I will ask:

- What is your understanding of Filipinx American history?
- In what ways have you developed a consciousness of this history?
- How has learning about Filipinx American history changed your perceptions of yourself?

With your permission, I would like to audio tape your interview so that I can have an accurate record of our conversation. I will transcribe this recording without identifiable information and destroy the recording after the study is over. Only I will have access to the recording, which will

be kept in a secure location. If you would like a copy of the transcript of the interview, I will gladly provide you with one.

For former students of the EDUC401 classes: I would like to use quotes from some of your reflection papers as well as photovoice assignments regarding your responses and reactions to our readings and discussions of Filipinx American history and identity. Identifying information will be left out of anything I write.

RISKS, STRESS, OR DISCOMFORT

Some people feel that providing information for research is an invasion of privacy. I have addressed concerns for your privacy in the section below. Some people feel self-conscious when notes are taken or interviews are recorded. Risks may involve sharing about your racial and ethnic identity or ways that your history as Filipinx Americans has been invisibilized, this may also touch on feelings of pain or struggle with feeling a sense of racial pride, a sense of belonging in community, or other vulnerable feelings.

BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

You may not directly benefit from taking part in this research study. One benefit of this study is that your voice and experiences will be used to further research and visibility of Filipinx American students in Higher Education, racial identity, and historical consciousness. There is a lack of literature about Filipinx in higher education and you will be part of furthering this research.

USING YOUR DATA IN FUTURE RESEARCH

The information that we obtain from you for this study might be used for future studies. We may remove anything that might identify you from the information. If we do so, that information may then be used for future research studies or shared with more investigators without getting additional permission from you. It is also possible that in the future we may want to use or share study information that might identify you. If we do, a review board will decide whether or not we need to get additional permission from you.

Data for future research, will be stored in a private google documents folder that is password protected, the data will have identifying information, and will be saved for the purposes of future opportunities for further analysis and research.

OTHER INFORMATION

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate and you are free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Information about you is confidential. I will assign you a pseudonym and code the study information. I will keep the link between your name and the pseudonym code in a separate, secured location until the study is complete. Then I will destroy the information linking your information to the pseudonym. If the results of this study are published or presented, I will not use your name, or any other identifying information.

Government or university staff sometimes review studies such as this one to make sure they are being done safely and legally. If a review of this study takes place, your records may be

examined. The reviewers will protect your privacy. The study records will not be used to put you at legal risk of harm.

I may want to re-contact you for future related studies. Please indicate below whether you give me permission to re-contact you. Giving me permission to re-contact you does not obligate you in any way.

If you have any questions about this research study, please contact Dalya Perez at the telephone number or email listed at the top of this form. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact the Human Subjects Division at (206) 543-0098.

Signature of investigator	Printed Name	Date
---------------------------	--------------	------

Participant's statement

This study has been explained to me. I volunteer to take part in this research. I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have questions later on about the research, or if I have been harmed by participating in this study, I can ask the investigator listed above. If I have questions about my rights as a research subject, I can call the Human Subjects Division at (206) 543-0098. I will receive a copy of this consent form.

I give permission for this researcher to audiotape my interview.

I do NOT give my permission for the researcher to audiotape my interview.

I give permission for the researcher to re-contact me to clarify information.

I do NOT give permission for the researcher to re-contact me to clarify information.

Signature of participant	Printed Name	Date
--------------------------	--------------	------

Copies to: Investigators' file
 Participant