University of Washington

Abstract

Being, Belonging, and Connecting: Filipino Youths’ Narratives of Place(s) and Wellbeing in Hawai’i

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Background: Environmental climate change is an urgent concern for Pacific Islanders with significant impact on place along with bio-psycho-social-cultural-spiritual influences likely to affect communities’ wellbeing. Future generations will bear the burden. Indigenous scholars have begun to address climate-based place changes; however, immigrant Pacific Islander populations have been ignored. Although Filipinos are one of the fastest growing U.S. populations, the second largest immigrant group, and second largest ethnic group in Hawai’i, lack of understanding regarding their physical health and mental wellbeing remains, especially among youth. This dissertation addresses these gaps. In response to Kemp’s (2011) and Jack’s (2010, 2015) impassioned calls for the social work profession to advance place research among vulnerable populations, this qualitative study examined Filipino youths’ (15-23) experiences of place(s) and geographic environment(s) in Hawai’i. Drawing on Indigenous worldviews, this study examined how youth narrate their sense of place, place attachments, ethnic/cultural identity/ies, belonging, connectedness to ancestral (Philippines) and contemporary homelands (Hawai’i), virtual environment(s), and how these places connect to wellbeing.
**Methods:** Innovative, multiple, triangulated methods were employed to investigate primary research questions. Indigenous Methodologies (IMs), Filipino IMs, community participatory research, and feminist narrative inquiry offered culturally robust and grounded understandings of youths’ narratives. In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with 12 Filipino youth/young people. Feminist narrative methods (i.e., Gilligan’s Listening Guide) were adapted; “I” and “We” Poems enhanced findings to purposefully underscore individual and collective worldviews.

**Findings:** Three overarching themes emerged: 1) *Places as sites of wellbeing;* 2) *People make place;* and 3) *Spatial connections are associated with special places.* Also salient were reciprocal, relational interconnectedness and interdependence between humans and nature, and Filipino cultural values: kapwa (*shared identity*), respect, gratitude (*utang na loob*), and responsibility to give back to ancestors and forward to future generations. Mentoring, socializing, and socialization processes were also significant.

**Conclusions/Implications:** Findings from this inter-, transdisciplinary study will contribute to: 1) place and geographies of wellbeing literature among Island-dwelling populations; 2) development of culturally grounded positive youth development, environmental, and place-based health interventions for Filipino youth; and 3) policy development to better meet needs of increasing numbers of Filipinos and other Island-based Indigenous and immigrant communities with similar experiences.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter 1: Introduction</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background, Statement of Problem and Purpose of Study</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter 2: Literature Review</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background and Significance</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino Youth</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos History and Migration</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of Place Across Worldviews and Disciplines</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter 3: Research Methodologies And Methods</strong></td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodologies</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situating Myself in the Project</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Methods</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter 4: Constructing Identities in Places and Across Generations</strong></td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of Demographic Data</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in School or Community Activities</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative Transcripts</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The LG Findings: Introducing the Participants</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to Narrative Findings</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situating Narrative Findings by Ecological Level</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological Level 1: Nature, 'Aina, Land and Wellbeing</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological Level II: Homeland and Wellbeing</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological Level III: Community Wellbeing</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological Level IV: Home, Ohana (Family), and Wellbeing</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological Level V: Self-In-Relation to Places and Ancestors</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of Chapter 4</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5: Discussion and Implications</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational Wellbeing</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Overarching Themes</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-D Ecological Model of Filipino Youth, Places and Wellbeing</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications for Social Work Practice</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Implications</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications for Research</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications for Methods</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications for Social Work Practice and Education</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendices</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A. University of Washington Youth Consent Information Statement</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B. Youth Assent Information Statement</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C. University of Washington Parent/Guardian Consent Information Statement</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D. Demographic Survey</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E. Qualitative In-Depth Interview Guide: Listening to and Examining Filipino Youths’ Experiences of Place</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix F. Participants’ “I” and “We” Poems</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


## LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure Number</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1: Ecological Model of Native Hawaiian Wellbeing</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2. 4-D Model of Filipino Youth’s Wellbeing in Places (Hawai’i)</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

Table Number .................................................. Page

Table 1a. Waipahu School Complex –
Demographics by School Community and State ............................................. 40
Table 1b. Waipahu High School Student Profile ................................................. 40
Table 1c. Waipahu High School: Community Educational Attainment................. 41
Table 2a. Farrington School Complex –
Demographics by School Community and State ............................................. 45
Table 2b. Farrington High School Student Profile ................................................. 46
Table 2c. Farrington High School Community Educational Attainment............... 46
Table 3. Household Composition.......................................................................... 134
Table 4. Primary Languages.................................................................................. 135
Table 5. Participation in School or Community Activities ...................................... 137
Table 6. Time Spent on Social Media................................................................. 138
Table 7. Participants’ Backgrounds...................................................................... 141
Table 8. Ecological Levels in English and Tagalog .................................................. 273
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DEDICATION

To my parents, Salvador and Marina Gran, with love and gratitude

With special thanks to my husband, partner, best friend and cheerleader, Andrew, your love and unconditional support will forever be cherished.
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Background, Statement of Problem and Purpose of Study

By 2050, 92% of Honolulu’s shoreline will be under 20 feet of water (Anderson, Fletcher, Barbee, Frazer, & Romine, 2015). Climate change is imminent for Pacific Islander populations, and the impact of these changes on the significance of place along with the bio-psycho-social-cultural-spiritual impact is likely to affect the communities’ health and wellbeing. The youth of today will bear the brunt of these changes. The importance of hearing youths’ voices regarding the significance of place and how this links to their sense of wellbeing inspired this project. I have chosen Hawai‘i because it is a land with which I am familiar; it’s where my father first entered the country as a sakada\(^1\) and toiled as a plantation worker in the late 1940s, where my parents first settled as migrants to the United States, where three of my six siblings and I were born, and where we spent the first few years of our lives. It is also a place where I experienced a strong sense of belonging and connection with my ethnic/cultural community. As a second generation\(^2\) immigrant Filipina woman and as a descendant of Indigenous tribal peoples from the Cordillera, Northern Luzon region in the Philippines, land and place hold special meaning in my heart. The Filipino population is the second largest racial/ethnic group in Hawai‘i and shares a common history of plantation struggles with Native Hawaiians (Native Hawaiians are hereafter referred to as Kānaka Māoli or KM),

\(^1\) [derived from the Ilocano phrase “sakasakada amin,” meaning barefoot workers/laborers struggling to make a living.] Filipino term that has come to be applied to workers recruited from the Philippines, primarily Ilocos region, to work in Hawaiian sugar plantations between 1906 and 1946. Source: Hawai‘i Labor History Glossary www.hawaii.edu/uhwo/clear/home/HawaiiLHGlossary.html

\(^2\) According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the first generation is defined as those who are foreign-born. The second generation refers to those with at least one foreign-born parent. The third-or-higher generation refers includes those with two U.S. native parents. Source: U.S. Census Bureau online: https://www.census.gov/population/foreign/about/faq.html#Q4
and indeed, many have intermarried. Hawai‘i has the largest multiracial population, almost one in four (24%) identify as multiracial, with the Asian and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander heritage distinguishing it from the nation’s multiracial population (Pew Research Institute, 2015). The impact of climate-based place changes will likely affect many Filipinos, and Indigenous scholars have begun to look at Indigenous health impact already; however, immigrant island populations of the Pacific have been ignored. This dissertation addresses this gap.

**Study Aims and Research Questions**

In response to Kemp’s (2011) and Jack’s (2010) impassioned calls for the social work profession to develop research on place-based studies with an emphasis on addressing contemporary environmental changes among vulnerable populations and youth, this inter-, trans-disciplinary qualitative dissertation study examines Filipino youths’ experiences of place(s) and geographic environments in Hawai‘i. Drawing on Indigenous worldviews, this dissertation aims to investigate Filipino youths’ (ages 15-23) relational experiences to place and environment, including their relationship with their ancestral (Philippine Islands) and contemporary homelands (Hawaiian Islands). Moreover, this qualitative study will examine how youth narrate their sense of place, place attachments, and geographic and virtual environment(s), and how these places are connected to their physical health and mental wellbeing (hereafter noted as wellbeing), their ethnic and cultural identity/ies, sense of belonging, and connectedness.

Drawing primarily on Native Hawaiian (e.g., KM; Kana'iaupuni & Malone, 2006; Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005) and Filipino Indigenous (FI) frameworks (e.g., Carino, 2012; Molintas, 2004) related to place and environment, this study builds on their common premise that place is central to the cultural survival and identity of a People as
well as their physical and mental health (hereafter noted as health). Place, therefore, is critical to shaping identity and health among Native Hawaiian and Filipino communities in Hawai‘i. Furthermore, although KM and FI frameworks have grown out of different cultural cosmologies, they share common core holistic and relational understandings of the interconnectedness of ancestors, humans, nature, and all that is found in the geographic environment. Although many constructs of place in Hawai‘i are generally tied directly to KM customs and teachings, along with ancestral obligations, these KM-specific teachings have influenced worldviews of non-KM populations residing in Hawai‘i (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005; Kana'iaupuni & Malone, 2006).

As Kana'iaupuni and Malone note:

*For people of any racial or ethnic group, the characteristics of place its location, social and ethnic composition, physical features, and historical significance to a people can have profound symbolic and practical effects on identity and identification processes. Living or growing up in Hawai‘i is certainly a notable experience that affects the identity processes of all its diverse residents.* (p. 291-292; italics/bold added)

Moreover, although parallel frameworks of place and land have been drawn for KM and Pacific Islander communities in Hawai‘i (e.g., Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005) and Indigenous Filipinos living in the Philippines, no studies to date has focused on Filipino populations residing in Hawai‘i or on youth perspectives. This dissertation will fill this gap by examining the perceptions, meanings, and experiences of place(s) and environment(s) among Filipino youth living in Hawai‘i. I posit that interpersonal relationships — in places — interwoven with relationships to geographical environment(s) are integral components of place attachment, sense of belonging, and connectedness for Filipino youth. Ultimately, these are significant elements that promote the positive health and wellbeing of Filipino youth.
The specific aims of the study were to:

**Aim 1:** \[**Listen to and examine how Filipino youth narrate their meanings and experiences of place and geographic environments that promote their sense of wellbeing and health.**\]

1 a. How do Filipino youth conceptualize place and geographic environments that contribute to their sense of wellbeing and health?

1 b. What places and geographical environments are seen as important, meaningful or positive elements in Filipino youths’ lives? How do these environments give the youth a sense of wellbeing?

**Aim 2:** \[**Listen to and examine how Filipino youth narrate their sense of belonging and connectedness to place across geographic, community, and virtual environments.**\]

2 a. How do Filipino youth perceive their sense of belonging and connectedness to place across geographic, community, and virtual environments?

2c. How do Filipino youth “connect” and “build” places with other youth in geographic, community, and virtual worlds? (Social media, cyberspace[s], places to “hang out”)

**Aim 3.** \[**Explore how place and geographic environments promote positive identity(ies) and cultural connectedness.**\]

3a. How do place and geographic environments inform Filipino youths’ sense of ethnic and racial identity/ies and cultural connectedness?
3b. How do Filipino youth experience ancestral and homeland connectedness?

How do ancestral and homeland connectedness shape their current relationships to place?

Findings from this study have the potential to add to the development of the construct of “place,” especially how social relationships, meanings, belonging, and connectedness provide a link to wellbeing among Island-based populations, particularly Filipino youth. Here I refer to Tuan’s (1977) humanistic definition of place - as space or location - created or given meaning by human experience whether real or imagined. Places can range from a special chair in a room or bedroom to a neighborhood or community, therefore, places are diverse with multiple dimensions or scale. I also acknowledge Creswell’s (2004) definition that “place is... a way of seeing, knowing, and understanding the world... attachments and connections between people and place... meanings and experience” (p.11). Geographic environments, in contrast, I consider a subgroup of physical places, namely, nature or natural environments including land, earth, and water which humans interact with, oversee, or attempt to control.

Additionally, findings from this dissertation will contribute to the growing place, environment, and geographies of wellbeing literature among Island dwelling populations. The study’s findings could also be utilized to develop future culturally grounded positive youth development programs, environmental, and place-based health interventions for Filipino youth. Findings from this research will also inform policy development to better meet the needs of increasing numbers of Filipino immigrant youth and other island-based Indigenous and immigrant communities with similar experiences.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Background and Significance

Filipino youth and those who identify as part Filipino represent a significant demographic group in Hawai‘i where Filipinos constitute the second largest ethnic group after whites/Caucasians (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) and comprise 25% of the state’s population, with 70% of them residing on the island of O‘ahu (Look, Trask-Batti, Agres, Mau, & Kaholokula, 2013; U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). In the United States, the Filipino population totals 3.4 million, comprising the second largest immigrant group after Mexicans, and the second largest Asian ethnic subgroup, after Chinese (Look et al., 2013; U.S. Census Bureau, 2013).

The growth of the Filipino population in Hawai‘i during the decade before the last Census has been attributed to the increasing number of new immigrants from the Philippine Islands, and this trend is expected to continue. Immigration from Southeast Asia and East Asia, including the Philippines, is projected to persist and account for a significant portion of foreign-born growth in the U.S. population. The Asian American (AA) population is estimated to more than double in the next 50 years, from 15.9 million (5.1%) in 2012 to 34.4 million (8.2%) of the total U.S. population in 2060 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Between 1990 and 2013, the number and percentage of immigrant children arriving in Hawai‘i reflected this trajectory, increasing from 66,000 (82.5%) of overall child immigrants to 82,000 (85.1%) (Child Trends Data Bank, Oct. 2014). The reception of Filipino immigrants to the Hawaiian Islands is unique, because Asians and
Pacific Islanders represent the largest populations on the Hawaiian Islands, whereas they are approximately 5% of the entire U.S. population.

The following literature review is structured into three major sections: Filipino Youth, Filipino History and Migration, and the Significance of Place.

**Filipino Youth**

**Immigrant Youth**

Immigrants across all age groups contribute to our nation’s racial/ethnic diversity and prosperity. Accordingly, contemporary youth are more racially and ethnically diverse than in any prior period in our nation’s history, with immigrant youth representing the primary source of such diversity in the United States (Passel, 2011).

Immigrant children constitute one-quarter of all U.S. children and represent the fastest-growing segment of the U.S. population. Their wellbeing is significant to the health of our nation (The Annie Casey Foundation, 2009; Child Trends Data Bank, 2014; Migration Policy Institute, 2015; Passel, 2011; Tienda & Haskins, 2011). Between 1990 and 2000, the population of immigrant children age 17 and under in the United States grew by 60%, from 8.2 to 13.1 million. Between 2000 and 2013 the population grew 33% from 13.1 to 17.4 million (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Although the proportion of U.S. immigrant children has grown, the most rapid growth has been among second-generation children of immigrants (e.g., from 14-22% from 1994 to 2014; Child Trends Data Bank, 2014). In 2013, one of four youth under age 18 lived at home with at least one immigrant parent; and, of these children, 88% were second generation (15.3 million). Less than 12% (2.1 million) were children born outside of the United States to foreign-born parents.
In contrast to earlier waves of (European) immigrants and their settlement patterns in the United States, contemporary Asian and Pacific Islander (AA and PI) immigrants are increasingly diverse in their countries of origin, cultures, values, worldviews, spiritual beliefs, re-settlement patterns, and socioeconomic status. Currently, more than five million AA and PI immigrant youth reside in households of mixed legal status (i.e., where one or both parents are unauthorized to live and work in the United States).

Moreover, a large number of immigrant youth now live in communities where few foreign-born residents have previously settled (Tienda & Haskins, 2011). The latter negates the protective health effects found among immigrants residing in “ethnic enclaves” —densely populated areas of immigrants who share similar ethnic heritages, possess strong ethnic identities, and where local networks for social and economic support are vital to the community’s livelihood (Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002). As a result, many immigrant families suffer from inequities in socioeconomic status, education, political influence, and access to social, health, and human services along with living with daily experiences and encounters of racism, discrimination, microaggressions, and xenophobic acts and attitudes in their neighborhoods, communities, or places (Perriera & Orenelas, 2011; Pumariega, Rothe, & Pumariega, 2005).

Filipino youth in Hawai’i face many of the same struggles and challenges as other immigrant populations, including lack of access to culturally appropriate health and social services, economic hardship, racism, microaggressions, and xenophobia. However, on the Island of O’ahu, where the majority of Filipinos reside in Hawai’i, Filipino ethnic enclaves do indeed exist, allowing for the development of dense social
ties—with concentrated populations of both recent immigrant and “local” Filipino communities co-existing and thriving—particularly in the areas of Kalihi and Waipahu. (A more detailed description of these communities is included later in the dissertation.)

**Physical and Mental Health of Filipino Youth**

While the increase in immigrant populations enriches the diversity of our nation, the healthy development and wellbeing of immigrant youth remain fragile. Upon arrival, many foreign-born immigrant children may at first experience better health outcomes when compared to native-born peers. Yet, as length of U.S. residence increases, along with assimilation and acculturation into mainstream culture and local environments, this positive health erodes. This phenomenon has been termed the “immigrant health effect or paradox” or “epidemiological paradox” (Argeseanu Cunningham, Ruben, & Venkat Narayan, 2008; John, de Castro, Martin, Duran, & Takeuchi, 2012). However, one study challenged the paradox claim, finding a protective effect of immigrant status for some (mental) health outcomes; although the authors caution against generalizing this protective effect for all Asian Americans, noting that complex patterns, such as limited English proficiency, and other social factors are often hidden or unmeasured in research and thus may be overlooked if AA/PI populations are examined in aggregate (John et al., 2012).

Filipino and other immigrant children are also more likely than non-immigrants to describe their physical health as “poor” or only “fair” (Capps, Fix, Ost, Reardon-Anderson, & Passel, 2004; Child Trends Data Bank, 2013; Hernandez, Denton, & Maccartney, 2008; Reardon-Anderson, Capps, & Fix, 2002). Filipino health disparities—particularly with respect to chronic diseases such as hypertension, diabetes, tuberculosis (second highest rate among all immigrant populations) among other
chronic diseases—are linked to immigrant status, low socio-economic status, poor access to health care, and un-addressed health risk behaviors established in childhood (Javier, Huffman, & Mendoza, 2007). Furthermore, Javier and colleagues note that compared to other AA and PIs, Filipino children are at increased risk for contracting sexually transmitted diseases. Moreover, Filipino youth have substance use prevalence rates similar to those of white youth, particularly for inhalant, tobacco, and alcohol use. Substance abuse in Filipino youth has been associated with poor mental health (Javier, Huffman & Mendoza, 2007).

Willgerodt & Thompson’s (2006) study utilized the national Add Health data to investigate differences in depression, somatic symptoms, substance abuse, and delinquency by ethnicity and generational status among Filipinos, Chinese, and White youth. Their findings indicated that, after controlling for age, gender, and family income, Filipino identification was associated with higher levels of delinquency and depressive symptoms (e.g., mean levels of depression scores via the CES-D) compared to Chinese and White identification. Moreover, other studies found Filipino youth to be at increased risk for depression, suicide ideation, and suicidal behaviors (Nadal, 2009; Wolf, 2002).

Although the White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, originally signed by President Clinton in 1996 and re-authorized by President Obama in 2009, calls for the disaggregation of data to promote better understanding of sub-ethnic groups, research continues to group AAs with PIs. Few studies compare AAs (Anderson & Mayes, 2010) and PIs separately, and fewer yet focus solely on Filipino youth (Javier et al., 2007). AA and PI studies that included Filipino youth, identified the following risks and risk-related behaviors among immigrant youth: assimilation (Greenman &
Xie, 2008), acculturation (Eng et al., 2008), bullying, substance abuse (Nemoto, Operario, & Soma, 2002), violence and delinquent behaviors (Goebert et al., 2012; Mayeda, Hishinuma, Nishimura, Garcia-Santiago, & Mark, 2006), suicide (Else, Goebert, Bell, Carlton, & Fukuda, 2009), gang involvement (Joe & Chesney-Lind, 1995; Kim et al., 2008a), incarceration (Wolf & Hartney, 2005), teen smoking (Javier et al., 2007), teen pregnancy (Nadal, 2009), and elevated high school dropout rates (Hune & Takeuchi, 2008; Tucker, 2011). As Macintyre and colleagues (2002) report where you live matters for your health and mental health due to social (poverty, access to care) and physical properties of the environment, and, for youth, as Ding, Sallis, Kerr, Lee, and Rosenberg (2011) claimed “are more likely than adults to be influenced by the environment, directly or indirectly through parents or peers” (p. 442).

Filipino Youth in Hawai‘i: Behavioral Risk Factors

Generational status among Filipino youth was also found to predict health risk behaviors – particularly for delinquency and substance use (Willgerodt and Thompson, 2006). For example, being second-generation, compared to first-generation Filipino was associated with significantly higher levels of delinquency and substance use, with the likelihood of engaging in substance use increasing in subsequent generations. The researchers point to Szapocznik and Williams’s (2000) acculturation framework to contextualize their findings among second generation Filipino youth. They posit that members of the second generation are likely to experience a larger cultural gap between parent and child and to perceive less familial support in their home environment than the first generation experiences, thus, placing them at increased levels of vulnerability to adverse psychological outcomes and a greater likelihood for engaging in high-risk
behaviors. Additionally, the researchers note that over time, immigrants become behaviorally more similar (rather than dissimilar) to the majority culture, and this cultural adaptation becomes even more pronounced in the third generation (and beyond) and likely reflects a weakened traditional hierarchical parent-child relationship that had previously served as behavioral controls for immigrant children (Willgerodt & Thompson, 2006, quote Lin & Liu, 1993).

Finally, Willgerodt and Thompson qualify their findings noting that the instruments used may “not capture the breadth and depth of emotional distress and risk behaviors, particularly among Chinese and Filipino immigrant youth whose perceptions of psychological health may be culturally bound” and “somatic symptoms commonly and uniquely experienced by Asian Americans may not have been identified” (2006, p. 322).

Similar to Anderson and Mayes (2010), Willgerodt and Thompson (2006) concluded that grouping Asian Americans together masks differences between subgroups. As a result, Filipino health disparities may go unchecked, thwarting early prevention activities for Filipino youth in particular.

Comparatively, similar studies of Filipino and other AA and PI youth have been conducted in Hawai‘i with parallel results (Guerrero, Hishinuma, Andrade, Nishimura, & Cunanan, 2006; Edman et al., 1998; Mayeda et al., 2006). While comparisons between Filipinos and other AA and PI youths were made, a limited number of studies examined environmental or place effects on health. For example, Cunanan, Guerrero, and Minamoto (2007) conducted separate focus groups with Filipino youth, community leaders, parents, and young professionals to explore key concerns affecting the wellbeing of youth and whether they experienced the “model minority” label. Overall,
Filipino youth participants reported they did not feel part of the model minority; and, in fact struggled with several challenges, including the following: (1) negative stereotypes of Filipino Americans in Hawai‘i; (2) low Filipino ethnic pride and lack of role models; (3) a significant lack of adult supervision, as parents/guardians usually work two or more jobs; (4) acculturative pressures and breakdown of traditional cultural values; and (5) lack of available youth programs in their communities. Importantly, connections to family and Filipino culture and religion (e.g., church activities) were identified as two key protective factors that buffer against such stressors.

Aggregating AA/PI data into one homogenous group can result in misleading data and unintentionally reinforce the “model minority” myth in which sub-group differences might be suppressed when collapsing the data. The model minority myth also negates the very real struggles that Filipino youth must navigate. When data are disaggregated, risk profiles emerge as Mayeda and colleagues’ 2006 study demonstrated (e.g., high rates of delinquency, externalizing behaviors); however, these risks need to be deeply contextualized within the social-economic-and political context of Filipino youth (see discussion below).

Poverty, as it relates to poor parental supervision and oversight as well as other related economic struggles, also presents challenges in Filipino youth’s lives and impacts their likelihood of engaging in high-risk behaviors and poor mental health outcomes. Cunanan et al. referred to Costello, who suggested that lack of parental supervision is a likely mechanism by which poverty becomes a significant risk factor for mental health disorders among youth (Costello, 2003, quoted in Cunanan et al, 2006). Further, Yuen and colleagues (2000) have noted that this vulnerability may be intensified by intergenerational conflicts and breakdown in traditional Filipino values.
Microaggression distress may also contribute to Filipino youths’ stress and may have particularly pernicious effects during key identity development time periods. Microaggressions, as defined by Sue and colleagues, are “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory or negative racial slights and insults towards people of color” (2007, p. 272). These authors highlight the potentially harmful effects or psychological impact caused by microaggressions based on an individual or group’s sense of belonging to a racial or ethnic minority. In another study, Sue et al. implicated perpetrators and their lack of awareness towards these daily behaviors, which they describe as “so pervasive and automatic in interactions with racial/ethnic minorities” that they are often “dismissed and glossed over as being innocuous” (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2009, p. 72; see also Huynh, 2012; Kim et al., 2008a; Kim et al., 2008b; Nadal et al., 2012; Viernes, 2014).

As Asian and Filipino youth’s ethnic identity becomes even more salient in young adulthood, chronic microaggression distress may increase their vulnerability to health risk behaviors, including substance use (Blume, Lovato, Thyken, & Denny, 2012), suicidality (O’Keefe, Wingate, Cole, Hollingsworth, & Tucker, 2014), depressive symptoms (Huynh, 2012), and delinquency or poor anger management (Kim et al., 2008a). Researchers have found the consequences of overt racial discrimination and exposure to stressful life events to involve potential social risk factors for poor physical, mental, and psychological wellbeing, and to contribute to anger and violent behaviors amongst its victims (Baker, Hishinuma, Chang, & Nixon, 2010; Chakraborty & McKenzie, 2002; Kim et al., 2008a; Sue et al., 2009). Exposure to stressful life events and its relationship to adolescents’ emotional and behavioral problems have been
confirmed across studies (Baker et al., 2010). Although limited studies have focused specifically on Asian and Southeast Asian youth, existing findings have documented that emotional and physical victimization was related to delinquency, including serious violence perpetration (Baker, et al., 2010; Ho, 2008; Ngo & Le, 2007).

Mayeda et al. (2006) investigated the prevalence rates of violent and deviant behaviors among a sample of Filipino, Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, and Samoan high school students, the first large-scale study that included a diverse disaggregated sample of AA and PI youth. These researchers found significantly higher prevalence rates for violence, deviant behaviors, and minor delinquency among Hawaiian, Samoan, and Filipino students than among Japanese and Chinese students. Mayeda et al. (2006) also observed that “social obstacles,” including poor socio-economic status, less established communities, immigration, and related cultural conflicts were the major contributing factors to violent and delinquent behaviors for Filipino and Samoan youth. A cautionary note: it is essential to examine Filipino and other racial and ethnic minority youths’ diverse social cultural, environmental milieus as part of their development, contextualizing behaviors such as challenging authority, particularly parental authority and traditional values; these behaviors could be pathologized if typical adolescent developmental processes are not critically considered. Disentangling problematic behaviors from normal identity processes and challenges is critical in contextualizing Filipino youth health and wellbeing.

**Youth Development**

*Storm and Stress Period: Middle to Late Adolescence*

Adolescence has generally been categorized by most researchers into three developmental periods: early adolescence (between 10–13 years of age), middle
adolescence (between 14–17), and late adolescence (18 into the early twenties) (Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006). Participants in this study fall into the middle to late adolescence developmental periods.

The transition to adulthood is culturally bound. Specifically, Smetana et al. (2006) described the period of adolescence “begins in biology and ends in culture,” (p. 258) noting that the transitional biological markers of puberty are more clearly identified, but the transition to adulthood and corresponding emotional and cultural maturity are socially and culturally bound. Arnett (1999, 2000) has asserted that the psychological stages of development often do not follow a clear, linear path based on age. Arnett (2000) described “emerging adulthood” as the transitional, extended phase for contemporary young people 18 and older who do not identify as “adults” with traditional responsibilities, including living independent or semi-independent lives in their own homes. Comparatively, Smetana et al. (2006) have focused on the sociological definition of the transitional phase to adulthood, using markers of marriage and family formation, completion of education, and entrance into the labor force. Social markers of reaching “adult” status and maturity are culturally bound. For Filipinos, and other AA and PI populations, the transition to adulthood is not particularly affiliated with the value of independence (a Western cultural value) but is associated with interdependence (a non-Western cultural value of connectedness).

From a psychological perspective, the developmental period of middle-to-late adolescence is typically marked by what G.S. Hall (1904 cited by Arnett, 1999) first described as a period of “storm and stress” along with significant changes. Researchers have identified at least three common challenges faced during this period: 1) conflict with parents; 2) mood disruptions (moodiness and emotional vulnerability); and 3) risk
behaviors (Arnett, 1999). For some, the latter may include experimentation with alcohol, tobacco, illegal substances, and initiation of sexual behaviors—placing them at risk for related infections and diseases, which may complicate their development and adjustment.

Arnett (1999) acknowledged that cultural and individual differences in storm and stress exist along with individual differences exist within cultures in terms of how adolescents exhibit the range of its manifestations (Arnett, 1999). Moreover, Arnett (1999) explained that a degree of independence, based on Western values of individualism, allowed by parents or adults and expected by their adolescent children, is a key difference between traditional cultures and the predominant Western culture. For Arnett (1999) the Western cultural value of individualism assumes that adolescents should be in the process of transitioning and attaining full independence from their parents by the end of the adolescent phase. Although the transitional process for youth to gain independence in Western societies has been found to be a key factor during the period of storm and stress, in contrast, Arnett believes (1999) this may not be a leading contributor among youth and their parents in other, non-Western societies.

The “storm and stress” period is also a normative developmental process for youth in traditional or non-Western cultures and societies, although how it manifests is culturally bound. The potential for intergenerational parent-youth conflict is heightened for immigrant parents and their children as different cultural expectations for storming and stressing emerge. Specifically, the influence of Western markets, media, and consumption patterns among immigrant youth are quite profound, and, as a result, immigrant youth are more likely to adopt individualist cultural values in contrast to their parents. Adoption of individualistic values including “western” notions of
“independence” among these youth may contribute to increased turbulence in relationships with their parents during normal storm and stress developmental periods (Arnett, 1999; Hall, 2004).

While the majority of youth successfully maneuver early developmental periods, for immigrant youth, the overall adolescent period is complicated by their immigrant status, ongoing experiences of microaggressions, racism, and xenophobic attitudes from the public and sometimes from peers, differences in cultural expectations from parents and family, and other social, economic, and environmental influences. Immigrant Filipino youth, particularly first generation youth, have particular developmental challenges during storm and stress periods— including adjustments to the new country and daily survival in their neighborhoods and communities. Other factors that Filipino youth contend with in this period include potential exposure to race-based bullying, including via social media, and related consequences. Storm and stress periods of adolescent development are particularly challenging for immigrant youth when they are navigating being part of a contemporary “youth” culture while simultaneously navigating being a youth, young person, as well as familial and communal socio-cultural norms and expectations.

Adolescent Social Contexts: School and Community

Findings from studies in community, neighborhood, and youth development literature are in agreement—neighborhoods, community, and schools are critical social environments for middle-to-late adolescent development (Garcia, Coll, & Szalacha, 2004). Youth learn and develop critical skills in their neighborhoods, schools, and community clubs, including how to interact with peers, as well as learning how to “cultivate a sense of belonging.” However, healthful opportunities to engage in
community-based enrichment programs and youth-based community services are typically tied to socio-economic resources. Wealthier neighborhoods with large tax bases offer many opportunities for youth development and enrichment, including libraries and after-school programs, while fewer resources are found in low-income neighborhoods. Moreover, poor socio-economic conditions combined with oppressive environments, drug trade, and gang control in neighborhoods create particular challenges for immigrant youth to read and navigate. Middle adolescence is a critical developmental time for these youth as they navigate social position and neighborhood hierarchies, school environments, community and ethnically based youth culture, and popular media (Garcia, Coll, & Szalcha, 2004). Garcia and colleagues (2004) have found that youths’ cognitive, emotional, and behavioral development are integrally related to their social position, experience of discrimination and racism—and that neighborhood, school, and media serve as both behavioral promoting and inhibiting environments for both prosocial and anti-social behaviors. These authors acknowledged the significant roles that community context, race, and cultural factors play for youth of color, particularly immigrant youth. In particular, they noted the significant role of acculturative stress and related experiences as “newcomers” to the community setting for immigrant youth. Correspondingly, Garcia-Coll, and Szalacha (2004) described the significance of schools as the first major institution immigrant children confront outside their homes. Schools serve as the prototypical agencies of acculturation, with profound consequences for shaping immigrant children’s engagement to the academic system, motivation to learn, and future aspirations, while schools also offer opportunities for positive (and sometimes negative) connections with adults outside their homes and families. While immigrant children are initially found to enter school with positive
attitudes across early developmental periods, by middle adolescence, immigrant youth disproportionately exhibit negative attitudes toward school, teachers, and their learning environment, becoming disillusioned and disengaged, which could lead to poor academic motivation and achievement (Garcia-Coll & Szalacha, 2004).

Youth Culture: Social Media

While social media offer today’s youth a portal for entertainment and communication (O’Keeffe & Clarke-Pearson, 2011), social media networking has created a new cultural behavioral norm among contemporary youth, including immigrant youth. According to O’Keeffe and Clarke-Pearson, (2011) any website that facilitates social interaction is considered a social media site, including social networking sites (SNS) such as Facebook, Instagram, SnapChat, and Twitter; gaming sites and virtual worlds such as Second Life; video sites such as Vine and YouTube; as well as blogs. The average American child age eight years or older now spends more than seven hours a day seven days a week with screen media, including watching TV, using the computer, playing video games, and using hand-held devices (Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010). Further, as Rideout et al. (2010) stress young people’s frequency of use has intensified as they multitask on various forms of media during any point in time. Through daily instant media bombardments, children absorb and interact with messages from a wide range of popular media and culture (the Internet, movies, television, Ipods, Ipads-music lyrics and videos). By editing or limiting content, media has the power to communicate powerful messages regarding race, class, and gender, shaping youths’ views of the world and contributing to preparation for all phases of life—including academic, social, and civic life (Garcia-Coll & Szalacha, 2004). The exponential growth of these contemporary technological advances in youth culture (e.g., mobile phones, Social Media, and
Networking Sites) has provided opportunities to create important peer-based connections and instill a sense of belonging and connectedness, as well as create opportunities to perform their identities for others to see and interpret (Boyd, 2007). However, not all social media opportunities are positive—some sites nurture unhealthy environments for children and adolescents (O’Keeffe & Clarke-Pearson, 2011). In fact, if unchecked and supervised, many sites pose serious threats to adolescents’ wellbeing by promoting addictive behaviors, creating exposure to cyberbullying and/or sexting, creating access to inappropriate content, and, in some cases, creating vulnerability to stalking by adult or youth perpetrators (Goebert, Else, Matsu, Chung-Do, & Chang, 2011; O’Keeffe et al., 2011).

Unsupervised use of social media and networking sites (e.g., Instagram, SnapChat, Facebook) can create opportunities for exposure to cyberbullying—including race- or gender-based attacks. A recent study in Hawai’i conducted by Goebert, Else, Matsu, Chung-Do, and Chang (2011) examined the relationship between cyberbullying and mental health problems (anxiety, depression and number of suicide attempts in the past year) among a multiethnic sample of high school students, including Filipino, Native Hawaiian, Samoan, Caucasian, and Other (including African Americans, other Asians, and Others) youth. Surveying 677 students recruited from two high schools, the majority of whom were Filipino (46%) or Native Hawaiian (22%), the authors found that more than half of the students, 56.1% had been victims of cyberbullying in the past year. Additionally, in contrast to their peers, Filipino and Samoan youth were significantly more likely to report feeling “badly” about themselves as a result of cyberbullying. Overall, the researchers reported that cyberbullying was associated with mental health problems, including anxiety, depression, and suicide attempts. Specifically, Filipino
youth who reported more phone cyber-control and web cyber-control were more likely to report cyberbullying victimization via the web than were Native Hawaiians, Samoans, and Caucasians (Whites). Additional analyses revealed that ethnicity, gender, grade, and cyberbullying victimization were predictors of negative mental health consequences. For example, cyberbullying victimization increased the likelihood of substance use, with binge drinking and marijuana use approximately 2.5 times more likely to occur among Native Hawaiians in comparison to other racial and ethnic groups, and increased the likelihood of depression by almost 2 times and suicide attempts (more likely among Filipinos and Native Hawaiians) by 3.2 times (3.2 times for females and 4.5 times for males). Goebert et al. (2011) recommended a multifaceted approach, including school, family, and community programs to strengthen positive relationships and promote safe use of technology as promising strategies to reduce and prevent cyberbullying.

Based on their study of an ethnically diverse sample of adolescents attending an urban Southern California school (N=2300), Sun, Unger, Palmer, and colleagues (2005) found that nearly 99% of youth accessed the Internet at school and/or at home with higher SES adolescents and those of Asian ethnicity having higher frequency of Internet use. After making adjustments for selected demographic and psychosocial variables adolescents with mental health (i.e., depression) or emotion regulation concerns (e.g., hostility) tended to use the internet with greater frequency. Additionally, adolescents having more psychosocial risk factors or detrimental health behaviors were identified as more likely to use the Internet. Specifically, smoking and smoking susceptibility as well as alcohol, marijuana, and inhalant use was associated with internet use. Based on their findings, the researchers recommended further research to gain in-depth understanding
of the positive influences and negative consequences of adolescent’s Internet use (Sun et al., 2005).

**Youth Culture: Importance of Belonging**

Researchers have identified belonging and connectedness (CDC, 2009; Resnick et al., 1997) as protective factors that are critical for adolescent healthy development and wellbeing (Whitlock, 2004). Belonging to others, social institutions, environment, and self (as discussed by Hagerty, Lynch-Sauer, Patusky, Bouwsema, and Collier [1992]) is a universal human concern. Maslow (1954 cited by Resnick, 1997) identified belonging as a basic human need and ranked it number three in his hierarchy of needs.

Cuervo, Barakat, and Turnbull (2015) described the concept of belonging as offering:

> a clearer understanding of the efforts made by young people to remain connected to people, places and issues that matter to them, as well as their relationship...to stay engaged, healthy and active in the issues that matter to them ...and...to the times in which they live...It also renders visible how social change impacts on which ways of being are possible to Indigenous youth. (p. 5)

These authors have argued for an expansion of the traditional “youth-as-transition” models of belonging to one that describes a series of belonging pathways, trajectories, or routes across social relationships, health, wellbeing, place, culture, and inter-generational relations. Specifically, they argued “for an understanding of belonging as a relational and multi-dimensional concept, with its spatial, relational and temporal dimensions, interconnected and at play at a particular space and time” (2015, p. 24). To belong is to experience a type of attachment to others in place.

Citing other researchers from sociology, education, geography, and anthropology, Cuervo et al. (2015) reflected on the spatial aspect of belonging for young people and
noted that belonging implies a sense of rootedness, or form of “place” attachment that influences their everyday decisions (e.g., whether to stay or leave a peer group, community, or virtual place). Moreover, these authors described belonging as expressed or materialized in young people’s relationships to people who are significant, through (intergenerational) interactions with family, peers, and other community members that can promote their capacity to generate a bond and promote intimacy, as well as help shape their choices and decisions (Cuervo et al., 2015). These places can manifest as actual geographic-based environments, such as the natural world (e.g., beach, mountains), as well as in social worlds, such as school, community centers, clubs, athletics, and in shared spaces where place is created by virtue of the people who inhabit the relationship (e.g., friendships, home environments such as kitchens) and impart compassion, wisdom, and love—where people make place.

Attachment to peoples and to places interconnect to create the phenomenological feeling of being “at home,” therefore, at ease with oneself and one’s environment, consistent with Tuan’s (1975) humanistic views of place. From a contextual-temporal lens, Cuervo et al. (2015) highlighted how belonging can also be used to understand how young people manage to build a life in a time of rapid social and economic change.

Furthermore, Cuervo et al. noted that youth, too, is a relational concept “linked to social, economic, political, cultural and ecological currents that form the consciousness of a generation” where belonging can “act as a kind of barometer of social change” (May 2013, p. 3). This allows other researchers “to understand the continuities and changes in youth lives by identifying and understanding the ways they belong to their times and how they strive to connect and build to ‘modes of being’ ” (Probyn 1996, p. 19) through their social relationships.
Building on the analytical frameworks of Yuval-Davis (2006) and Fenster (2005), in his review, and from the field of geography, Antonsich (2010) focused his attention on two major analytical dimensions of belonging—place belonging or the “intimate, feeling of being ‘at home’ in a place,” and the politics of belonging, which he described as “a discursive resource used to construct(s), claim(s), justify(ies), or resist(s) forms of socio-spatial inclusion or exclusion” (p. 645). Antonsich clearly focused his attention on the forms of territorial belonging—the everyday notion, “I belong here” as in belonging to a particular community—such as Kalihi or Waipahu for Filipino youth.

Antonsich (2011) observed that belonging is often used synonymously with identity, specifically, national and ethnic identity. Similar to other authors, he noted that the term also encompasses the emotional dimensions of status or attachment. He acknowledged the lack of theorizing (Anthias 2006; Mee & Wright 2009) and the vague definitions (Crowley, 1999; Skrbis et al. 2007) surrounding the notion of belonging in place. Yet, in agreement with other researchers, he contended that belonging is multidimensional (Marshall & Foster, 2002; Croucher, 2004; Johnston, 2005; Yuval-Davis et al., 2005; Manzo, 2014), and he asserted that “modes of belonging,” as a concept, is often used to describe the numerous ways attachment to places, groups, cultures, neighborhoods, and environment is evoked (see also, Sicakkan & Lithman, 2005, Manzo, 2014).

Although May (2013) also acknowledged the lack of uniformity of a definition of belonging—she preferred Linn Miller’s (2003) comprehensive definition of belonging—in which “belonging is a feeling that affords ‘a sense of ease or accord with who we are in-ourselves’ and ‘a sense of accord with the various physical and social contexts in which our lives are lived out’” (Miller, 2003, p. 220, cited in May, p. 78). For May,
belonging “is a feeling that tells us something about a person’s connection to themselves and to the surrounding world of people, cultures and places” (p. 78).

Ann Game (2001), utilizing self-in-connection theory, emphasized that belonging is “inherently relational” because it requires connection to others, to the world, and openness to others.

To find our self, as we might typically say of belonging, is to find the self that is not a singular separate identity progressing through life’s stages, but a self in connection. A sense of feeling solid within ourselves comes with neither a turning in nor shutting out of the world, but with openness. (p. 228)

Based on experiences of inclusion and exclusion, Caxaj and Berman (2010) examined the sociopolitical context of belonging among immigrant youth, its impact on their health and wellbeing, and the youths’ agency and resistance in constructing a sense of belonging in their countries of resettlement (i.e., United States, United Kingdom, and Australia). While the process of resettlement is charged with many challenges and transitions related to creating belonging, Caxaj and Berman proposed that opportunities also exist for creating a sense of belonging and promoting health and wellness during the migration process to a new country. Newcomers, whom they described as individuals engaged in constructing a new “home” with a sense of belonging in a new land, face new and unfamiliar environments that can both threaten and facilitate their sense of belonging and wellbeing. Caxaj and Berman (2010) maintained that for immigrant youth in particular, creating a sense of belonging in their new environments is central to their wellbeing. Furthermore, belonging was identified as a significant resource for the health and wellbeing in newcomer youths’ lives (Caxaj and Berman, 2010).
Caxaj and Berman’s (2010) qualitative study examined the political context of belonging by analyzing online blogs in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, along with secondary analyses of transcribed interviews from a previous Canadian study. Their findings and analysis support the need to address newcomer youths’ transition processes to a new country which they found to be shaped by complex, multilayered structures of oppression, encounters with boundaries of exclusion and inclusion, as well as burdened with cultural, emotional, and political challenges and opportunities (Caxaj and Berman, 2010). Despite challenges restricting youths’ efforts to gain a sense of belonging, namely experiences of racism, unfamiliarity in their new environments, social stigmatization and economic disadvantage, the newcomers drew upon personal strengths and resiliency and actively resisted forces of marginalization (Caxaj and Berman, 2010). Youth raised awareness through speaking out in public spaces, harnessing familial, community supports, and constructing alternative worldviews to promote diversity and build community. Through these efforts, youth worked to build a sense of belonging and connectedness not only for themselves but also for society. The intersectional framework employed by researchers offered important insights and valuable understanding of how newcomer youth construct a sense of belonging including pathways towards wellbeing. This study and its findings have added to the extant literature regarding the socio-cultural -political processes as part of the context for newcomer youths’ resettlement experiences (Caxaj and Berman, 2010).

Filipino Immigrant Youth and Belonging

Pratt’s (2003) qualitative study analyzed focus group data collected as part of a process to document Filipino immigrant youths’ efforts to write a play to enact their
experiences in Vancouver, Canada. Twenty-six first- and second-generation Filipino youth, half of whom were born in Canada, participated in the study, which aimed to capture narratives or stories of dislocation and home-making (i.e., belonging) among recent immigrants. Pratt noted that the Filipino youth participants “naturally express a yearning to be at home,” yet, for these youth, “‘home’ is an ideal — a desire that leads them away from Vancouver to the Philippines” (p. 44). Further, Pratt described the youth’s home-making process “as venturing out and gathering together loose threads of biography scattered in Canada and the Philippines” with the purpose “to unify one's life story and find the resources to rebel against alienating experiences of racialization” (p. 44). Filipino second generation youth, “continue to feel displaced—not quite at home—in their country of birth” (p. 42). These youth, Pratt explained, resisted forgetting from whence they came and looked to an ideal of the Philippines in an effort to recover a sense of “home” in order to achieve a sense of belonging in Canada. While Pratt differentiated Canada from the United States, she asserted that “the forced migration of Filipinos living in Canada must be read within the same history of dislocation, uneven economic development, and political struggle” (p. 44).

Pratt (2003) also emphasized the importance of recognizing that parents’ experiences of immigration, dislocation and relocation touch the lives of their children. Filipino youths heard stories of their parents’ struggles with racism in Canada, although youth are second-generation Filipino immigrants, they lived their parents’ adjustments first-hand —through stories of the early years upon arrival as well as daily stories based on experiences of troubles and frustrations faced in their jobs. Given the above, Pratt acknowledged the burden carried by Filipino youth in attempting to balance their own
daily immigration-related struggles with their parents’ difficulties as the prior were bound by values of respect and gratitude towards their parents.

To describe the impact of parents’ memories of trauma on their children’s lives, Hirsch (1999) coined the term “postmemory” (Hirsch, 1999, cited in Pratt, 2003). Although postmemories are powerful, particular types of memories that children “remember” only as the stories and images while they grew up, due to their nature and intensity, they are found to constitute marked, independent memories “precisely because their connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through an imaginative investment and creation” (Hirsch, 1997, p. 22). As another example, Sugg (2003) extended this to children of Cuban exiles who envision postmemories or wounds attributed to a “generational legacy,” triggering children to identify intensely with these wounds and with Cuba as a homeland.

**Youth Culture: Importance of Connectedness**

Connectedness is a critical component of belonging. Drawing on AIAN spatial and relational worldviews, Indigenous scholars have recognized the “interdependency between humans and nature, the physical and spiritual worlds, the ancestors and the future generations (Walters, Mohammed, Evans-Campbell, Beltrán,, Chae, & Duran, 2011, p. 184) and that this interdependence provides the foundation for creating, among human beings, a sense of belonging as well as for fostering health and wellbeing. According to Indigenous worldviews, “environment, mind, body, and emotional health are inextricably linked to human behavior, practices, wholeness, and hence, wellness” (Walters et al., 2011, p. 184). As cited in Walters et al., in recent years, research has provided evidence for the interconnectedness of the mind, body, and place—particularly in the fields of psychoneuroimmunology (Lyons & Chamberlain, 2006), epigenetics
(Holliday, 2006), cardiovascular disease (Kuzawa & Sweet, 2009), inflammation
disorders (Jessop, Richards, & Harbuz, 2004), and neuroendocrine and immune
functions (Seeman, Dubin, & Seeman, 2003).

In the literature, belonging and connectedness are oftentimes intertwined
concepts. For example, Hagerty, Lynch-Sauer, Patusky, Bouwsema, & Collier (1992)
noted that connecting one’s self to the fabric of surrounding people and places creates a
sense of belonging. Drawing from Indigenous worldviews of interconnectedness, Hill
(2006) posited that Indigenous positive mental health is directly reflected in a “sense of
belonging as connectedness.” Similar to other Indigenous scholars, Hill (1996) has
stated that a sense of belonging is a basic human need, where connectedness is vital to
the health and stability of the individual in relation to family and community. Further,
Hill believes that a sense of belonging through these interconnections plays a significant
role in nurturing positive interpersonal relationships as well as in promoting the
wellbeing of individuals, family, and community. Further, she noted that belonging
includes the “psychosocial environment and the relationships among individuals and
their community” (p. 210).

Underlying theories and models of connectedness as a protective factor in young
people’s lives typically draw from attachment theories such as Bowlby’s (1980), as well
as positive youth development models such as the Social Development Model (Catalano
development as well as attachment theorists have all noted that health risk behavior
takes place in the contexts in which adolescents live, play, study and ultimately connect
(Bernat & Resnick, 2009).
Scholars have observed that youths’ sense of connectedness can be nurtured in critical places and environments—particularly among parents, family, schools and communities (Whitlock, 2004, Bernat & Resnick, 2009). In particular, familial and social institutions play a critical role in facilitating important connections, creating a sense of connectedness and belonging for youth in general, but even more so for youth during the resettlement process of refugee or immigrant youth (Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Sampson & Gifford, 2010).

For Whitlock (2004), who primarily examined adolescents’ connectedness to schools and school environments, “connectedness” refers to:

- a healthy, protective relationship between youth and the environments in which they grow up. It is increasingly clear that opportunities to experience a sense of place, belonging, and trust during adolescence promotes wellbeing – not just for individual youth, but also for the environments in which they live. (p. 5)

McMichael, Gifford, and Correa-Velez (2011) have highlighted interpersonal connections, particularly among loving and close familial relationships as vital to the wellbeing and healthy development of all youth. For refugee youth, they noted that, particularly for healthy and vibrant families, the family plays a key role as a force for “positive resettlement outcomes as they provide the immediate social context in which adolescents face challenges in a new country” (p. 179). Based on their review of research over the past two decades, Bernat and Resnick concluded that connections among familial and social institutions are critical to wellbeing of young people. They noted that the “connections that young people have to adults, the schools they attend, and the communities in which they live are key determinants of the health and wellbeing of adolescents” (p. 376). Further, their research demonstrated that adolescents’ sense of connectedness to others, family, and key institutions—such as schools—served as a
buffer against social stressors, was protective against a range of health risk behaviors, and was associated with positive mental health outcomes (Bernat & Resnick, 2009, p. 376).

In contrast to connectedness, the lack of connectedness, or dis-connection, was reported by the 2003 Commission on Children at Risk to be a key social determinant of high-risk behaviors and poor mental health among youth in the United States. Other scholars have supported this observation through their research, showing that social isolation and disconnection in particular are equally salient as determinants of risk behaviors as tobacco is to poor health outcomes (Bernat & Resnick, 2009; Feldstein & Cohen, 2003). The Commission and supporting evidence from research concluded that “children have a biological, primal need to connect from birth and the more likely this need is met the less likely problems will result later in life” (cited in Bernat & Resnick, 2009, p. 376).

As part of their review, Bernat and Resnick (2009) emphasized the need to address adolescents’ connectedness at all levels, including religious institutions, parents, non-parental adults, school, and the community. For these researchers, connectedness involves caring, protective relationships between youth or young people within their environments, including with other adults or individuals (within or outside their families) and those who belong to or are part of their wider social networks or environments, e.g., schools or other institutions (p. 376). These authors describe positive connectedness to healthy adults and institutions as critical points in the lives of young people, or anchors that help facilitate youth’s wellbeing and decrease the probability of poor health outcomes and their choices and engagement in high risk behaviors (Bernat and Resnick, 2009).
Filipinos History and Migration

The dual, long-term colonization of the Philippine Islands and Filipino peoples by Spain and the United States has a history of over 450 years, collectively shaping contemporary Filipino immigrants’ and their children’s lives, with ongoing consequences not only for their overall health and wellbeing but also for the health and wellbeing of future generations (Bulosan, 1973; Cordova, 1983; Espiritu, 1995, 1996; 2002; Labrador, 2002; Okamura, 1998, 2008; Takaki, 1998).

From the Philippine Islands to the Hawaiian Islands

Although the earliest recorded history of Filipino settlers in the United States can be traced to those who landed on the shores of Louisiana in the late 1800s, Filipino migration to the Hawaiian Islands (a U.S. territory), commenced a century later, in the early 1900s. Historically, Filipino immigration to Hawai‘i and the continental United states (i.e., mainland) was composed of diverse groups and tribes from various places, islands, or regions from the Philippines. Moreover, enactment of U.S. policies also controlled and accounted for the in-migration of Filipinos. Passage of the 1943 Tydings-McDuffie Act classified all Filipinos as “aliens” and was the first law to exclude and limit Filipinos entrée into the United States; it maintained a quota of 50 persons per year. Ironically, this law was enacted during the period of U.S. colonization of the Philippines (1898-1946), when Filipinos were not considered U.S. citizens. Later, the Luce-Celler Act of 1946 provided a quota of 100 Filipinos per year, along with Indians (South Asians); without passage of the Act, Filipinos would have been barred entrée into the United States due to the Philippines’ independence declared that year. After passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, a new wave of Filipino immigrants arrived in Hawai‘i driven by family reunification or family chain migration and the recruitment of skilled workers.
Since 1990, immigration from the Philippines has continued, consistently making it among the top five countries of immigrant origin. In 2013, the Philippines was number four, accounting for 4.5% of the 41.3 million immigrant population in the United States (Migration Policy Institute, July 2015). This group includes a growing professional class—primarily nurses and health professionals—who have changed the socio-economic profile of Filipinos in the United States. Yet, despite the influx of professional and managerial sectors, the Filipino population writ large remains socioeconomically challenged. Filipino immigrants bear the greatest socioeconomic burden and continue to labor in low wage markets such as janitorial and other service sectors, including many tourism related jobs in Hawai‘i (Okamura, 2008).

*Early Immigrants and Sugar Industry*

The official *first wave* of Filipino immigrants, known as “pensionados,” consisted of privileged males sent to the United States for education and grooming to return home to work in business and government. As U.S. colonial subjects, the *second wave*, composed of *manongs* (title for older men) and *sakadas* (unskilled, hardworking laborers from remote tribal villages) recruited men from the Northern Luzon region, began the initial Filipino labor diaspora in 1906. The *manongs and sakadas*, predominantly single men, were enticed and recruited for plantation labor by the Hawai‘i Sugar Planters’ Association (HSPA) with free transportation and the incentive to become wealthy and provide economic support for their families in the Philippines. The strategy to recruit Filipino laborers entailed reinforcing and sometimes replacing earlier immigrant workforces from China and Japan (Alegado, 1991; Espiritu, 1994, 1996; Labrador, 2002; Okamura, 1998, 2008, 2010). At that time, the Japanese were on strike and refused to work. The recruitment of Filipino contract workers to the Hawaiian
plantations, along with the discriminatory and racist treatment by plantation bosses and other laborers, initiated Filipinos into a socio-economic and socio-political status that has continued for generations. Filipinos were the lowest paid contract laborers, expected to work at least 12 hours per day. Alegado (1991) described this as the “proletarianization” of Filipinos, during which they were forced into the Hawaiian Island plantation’s political economy.

Starting with their initial contact with HSPA, as Alegado (1991) reports, Filipinos were under the HSPA’s control, with no choice of which island they were deployed to or the type of work they were assigned. Plantation bosses, usually White or Portugese men, isolated and restricted Filipinos’ and other ethnic group laborers’ activities – ensuring that they lived in separate housing quarters and held different work assignments so differences in pay, general living conditions could not be discussed or compared since Filipinos received the lowest wages. Further, Filipinos became totally dependent on the plantation for basic needs, including access to food, housing, medical care, and social activities. For Filipino men, many with no wives or families, the celebration of cultural events on the plantations, especially family-like celebrations, revived the social reproduction of traditional communal, cultural practices and where languages were spoken, were associated with “home” on the plantations. Observing the “life cycle” celebrations fostered artificial kinship networks, particularly among single Filipino men. For example, following the traditional practice of having multiple sponsors for baptisms and weddings, “calabash” family ties were established by single men and women who honored one another as ninongs (godfathers) and ninangs (godmothers) (Alegado, 1991). Serving as unofficial uncles and aunties, these men and women became part of extended family networks or partido in the closed plantation system. These familial
extensions of support, along with mutual aid associations (e.g., saranay), and township or tribal associations (e.g., Ilocos Norte Association), fostered homeland experiences on and off the plantations. Moreover, as home was re-constructed within the plantation, and later within communities living off-plantation, Indigenous practices and worldviews were maintained and also evolved as they interacted and incorporated Native Hawaiian worldviews (Alegado, 1991; Labrador, 2002). These traditions have been transferred intergenerationally and continue in Filipino ethnic community enclaves on O‘ahu and among extended family systems throughout Hawai‘i.

*Diversity in and Demographics of Hawai‘i*

Hawai‘i has been proclaimed the nation’s most ethnically diverse state (Salzman, 2012; U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). From 2000 to 2010, Hawai‘i’s overall population grew 12.3% to 1.36 million with the largest population residing in Honolulu County on the island of O‘ahu (953,207). Of Hawai‘i’s total population, 57.4% are of Asian descent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). As Okamura (2008) observed, similar to California, no ethnic group constitutes a numerical majority, with relatively large populations of Whites and Asians. In 2010, almost one in four Hawaiian residents reported being of mixed race, a 23% increase, distributed across all age groups, since the last Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Among those identifying as mixed race, the largest group was a combination of Asian with Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders. In general, Asians populations, including Filipinos, tend to have higher rates of outmarriage (outside their racial and ethnic group) than do other racial, ethnic minorities. Individuals identifying with three or more races totaled 113,640 people, which was 8.4% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011).
Interracial and interethnic marriage between Native Hawaiian women and European and American men was well established by the early nineteenth century, with limited social stigma associated to outmarrying (Salzman, 2012). Between 1983 and 1994, Hawai‘i’s rate of intermarriage accounted for almost half of all marriages involving at least one of Hawai‘i’s residents (Fu & Heaton, 1997, cited in Salzman, 2012). Okamura (2008) and Salzman (2012) credited Hawai‘i’s history of acceptance and high rate of intermarriage, immigration from abroad, and in-migration from the continental United States as factors contributing to individuals identifying as mixed race, along with individuals’ willingness to claim more than one racial identity. Okamura (2008) asserted that singular racial and ethnic categorical terms (such as Native Hawaiians, Japanese Americans, Filipino Americans, and Caucasians) are not useful descriptors for Hawai‘i’s contemporary populations. He argued that while these conventional categories are not false, they are misleading because they imply that racial and ethnic specific groups remain unmixed, mutually exclusive units that reproduce themselves and therefore, represent a specific percentage of the state’s population with the potential to mask the state’s multiracial, multiethnic environment (Okamura, 2008, 2010).

Filipinos represent the second largest racial/ethnic group in Hawai‘i with 24% of the population self-identifying as Filipino or as Filipino in combination with other races; 15.7% self-identify only as Filipino (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Since 1995, Filipinos are also the fastest growing ethnic minority in Hawai‘i— due in part to having the highest immigration as well as highest birth rates. Seventy percent of the Filipino population in Hawai‘i live on the Island of O‘ahu (Center for Philippine Studies, University of Hawai‘i, 2011).
Ethnic Enclaves on O’ahu

In this section a demographic and social profile of the two prominent Filipino enclaves are presented since these two locations are where the overwhelming majority of the youth and young adult participants reside. Further, historical and cultural place sites are located here for Filipino communities, e.g., the State’s Filipino Community Center and the Hawaiian Plantation Village. The latter symbolizes the plantation life and the plantation-based political economy which can be the viewed as the precursors to the first Filipino ethnic enclave (Alegado, 1991) on the island of O’ahu (English translation means “The Gathering Place”). Historically, Waipahu and Kalihi, includes Kalihi Valley, have been anecdotally referred to as Filipino towns by locals, academics, and others (Labrador, 2015).

Filipino Ethnic Enclave: Waipahu

Waipahu is located in the West side of O’ahu, approximately, 15.1 miles from downtown Honolulu, the State’s capital. Once considered the center of the Island, Waipahu is a former sugar plantation town, now a census-designated place located in the `Ewa District close to Pearl Harbor. It also served as the capital during Queen Kapiolani’s reign. Waipahu is an artesian spring whose name is derived from two Native Hawaiian words, *wai*, meaning water, and *pahū*, meaning “burst or gush forth.” Early Native Hawaiians took pleasure in the cool, clear water gushing from the ground and named this spring Waipahu. *Sakadas*, or Filipino plantation laborers, also took advantage of the spring water while toiling in the afternoon heat (Labrador, 2015).

Two notable Filipino historical community centers are located within Waipahu’s boundaries. The Hawai’i Plantation Village (formerly the Sugar Plantation Mill) which currently serves as an outdoor museum that showcases the lifestyles and experiences of
Hawai’i’s plantation workers, including plantation housing shacks for Filipinos, Japanese, and Chinese. The Island’s Filipino Community Center is also located in Waipahu, the largest outside the Philippines. This relatively new Spanish inspired Center celebrated its official opening in June 2002 (Labrador, 2015).

**Sociodemographic profile of Waipahu.** According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2010), the population of Waipahu was 38,216 residents (or 36% of the State of Hawai’i’s residents). Of Waipahu’s population, the Asian population represents 25,628 residents or 67% of all residents; Filipinos account for 21,122 residents or 82% of total residents; Native Hawaiians, Native Americans/American Indians/Alaska Natives, and other Pacific Islanders account for approximately 5,200 residents or 13.6% of total residents with two or more races totaling 5,560 or 14.5% of the total population.

According to a recent report published by Hawai’i’s State Department of Education (2015, January 9), the student enrollment for the academic year 2013-2014 at Waipahu High School was 2441. The racial/ethnic breakdown of the 2013-2014 student population was as follows: 69% Filipinos, 7.9% Native Hawaiians, 7.5% Samoans, 5.7% Micronesians, 2.3% Japanese, 2.0% Whites, 0.9% Hispanic, 0.9% Two or More Racial/Ethnic Groups, and less than 1% of Other Racial/Ethnic groups.
Table 1a.
Waipahu School Complex – Demographics by School Community and State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>School Community</th>
<th>State of Hawai`i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>60,305</td>
<td>1,360,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian alone, percentage</td>
<td>67.1%</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian and or Other PI, alone, percentage</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or more races, percentage</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born persons, percentage, 2009-2013</td>
<td>38.3%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduate or higher, percentage of persons age 25+, 2009-2013</td>
<td>81.0%</td>
<td>90.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language other than English spoken at home, percentage age 5+, 2009-2013</td>
<td>50.7%</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of population 5-19</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median age of population</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of family households</td>
<td>12,372</td>
<td>313,907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median household income</td>
<td>$75,980</td>
<td>$66,420</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010; the American Community Survey (ACS) 2006-2010 five-year estimates (centric to 2008), and the incorporation of Hawai`i’s HSC boundary areas with updated 2010 Census geography. Figures for educational attainment and median household income are sample estimates obtained from the ACS, adapted to conform to HSC geography, and should be considered rough approximations of census counts.

Table 1b.
Waipahu High School Student Profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2011-2012</th>
<th>2012-2013</th>
<th>2013-2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fall enrollment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number and percentage of students enrolled for the entire school year</td>
<td>2225/90.5%</td>
<td>2213/90.1%</td>
<td>2250/91.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number and percentage of students receiving free or reduced-cost lunch</td>
<td>1206/49.1%</td>
<td>1230/50.1%</td>
<td>1338/54.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number and percentage of students in Special Education programs</td>
<td>231/9.4%</td>
<td>231/9.4%</td>
<td>235/9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number and percentage of students with limited English proficiency</td>
<td>411/16.7%</td>
<td>390/15.9%</td>
<td>265/10.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1c.  
Waipahu High School: Community Educational Attainment  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>School Community</th>
<th>State of Hawai`i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than High School Graduate</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Accountability Section, Assessment and Accountability Branch, Office of Strategy, Innovation and Performance, Honolulu, HI: Hawai`i State Department of Education. Published January 9, 2015.

**Filipino Ethnic Enclave: Kalihi Palama and Kalihi Palama Settlement House**

Kalihi-Palama is also considered a Filipino town. This urban neighborhood is located adjacent to Kalihi and Kalihi Valley, downtown Honolulu, and Chinatown. Over 63% of Kalihi-Palama’s residents are of Asian descent, primarily Filipino, compared to 55% of Honolulu’s population. At the time of the industrial revolution when immigration and the social settlement house movement were booming on the mainland, and Filipino immigrants were pouring into Hawai‘i, the missionary movement took hold in Hawai‘i, particularly in Palama (Nishimoto, 2000). In the early 1900s, as Nishimoto (2000) recounts, the Palama Chapel was built by a Hawaiian philanthropist and offered a range of services including Sunday school services, prayer meetings, a sewing circle, choir, entertainment and kindergarten. At that time, Palama’s residential community consisted of prominent and middle-class Hawaiians and part- Hawaiian families including Queen Lili‘uokalani and members of the ruling, ali‘i class (Nishimoto, 2000).

In January 1900, five cases of bubonic plague were found among Chinatown’s residents. To eradicate the rodent infestation, the source of the plague, an urban fire was purposely set. Unexpectedly, the fire raged out of control burning down several blocks
and leaving many Chinatown residents, primarily Asian immigrants homeless. In response, the Palama Chapel was faced with an urgent mission to offer health care and related social services to their new residents. This endeavor was abandoned four years later as providers became overwhelmed with efforts to help the homeless. Palama Chapel converted into a social settlement based on Chicago’s Hull House inspired by Jane Addams’s vision and philosophy of socialized educational reform. As Nishimoto reports a social work director, Rath, and his wife were recruited from the mainland to plan and implement the settlement house’s programs.

The chapel was renamed, Palama Settlement, to more closely reflect the broader scope of its mission consistent with other settlement houses. Due to the multiethnic, multidenominational background of its residents, the settlement house implemented its work as an independent, nonsectarian institution (Nishimoto, 2000, p.177). The new social work director and his wife “settled” into the Palama community, living and raising their family on the grounds as part of the settlement-house philosophy. Their immediate efforts focused on offering safe, low-rent housing as well as services and programs based on the settlement houses’ holistic, family-centered —strengthening foci and social change approach (Nishimoto, 2000). To counter typhoid fever and other diseases in the Palama community, Rath advocated for housing improvements to alleviate the sanitation related health problems and diseases.

Nishimoto (2000) describes Rath and his family’s many accomplishments that resulted in significant changes in the Palama community including: (1) the territory of Hawai‘i’s first public health nursing department; (2) free dental and medical clinics; (3) a day-camp for children with tuberculosis; (3) a day nursery for children of working mothers; (4) a night school that offered English, American history, civics, and geography
classes, and on the North Shore of O‘ahu; and (5) a "fresh-air camp" for children and working moms.

Recreational activities – both indoor and outdoor - were also initiated: (1) an indoor swimming pool with hot showers; (2) a gymnasium and bowling alleys; and (3) a playground, tennis courts, and basketball courts. Beyond regular programs, Palama Settlement also initiated studies on tenements, infant mortality, and child welfare.

In 1925, Palama Settlement moved and expanded its services with territory-wide fundraising. The new facility and its expanded programs and services included five high-priority programs: medical/health care, public health nursing, dental service, recreation, and community camps. Medical care facilities offered clinics for STDs/IDs, family planning, women’s health care services, and the coordination of weekly child health checkups. In addition to health services, Nishimoto (2000) explains how the expansion of services also included music, arts, and vocational classes as well as recreational programs, organized sports, swimming, and socializing opportunities offered through movies and related activities.

Kalihi-Palama continues to support the local community with more than one hundred years of community service, although the settlement house’s programs and services have shifted based on consumers’ needs along with limited funding and resource constraints (Nishimoto, 2000). While some of the primary medical, dental and public health services were long incorporated into the government funded public health service system, many social services are still available to support the low-income communities offering a safe environment to promote their wellbeing.  

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Filipino Ethnic Enclave: Kalihi

Sociodemographic profile of Kalihi-Palama. Kalihi is an urban, inner city community that consists of 46,000 residents (Center on the Family, University of Hawai‘i, 2003). In general, the community mirrors the low-SES, middle class families with diverse ethnic minority backgrounds of its Farrington High School students. Kalihi is one of the oldest neighborhoods in Honolulu and considered home to many Filipino immigrants pre and post the 1965 Immigration Act. The community has the highest percentages statewide of Filipinos (46.7%) and of recent foreign-born immigrants (15.6%) with over half (54.6%) of its residents over the age five speak a language other than English at home (Hawai‘i State Department of Education, 2015, January 9). Per-capita annual income is $14,634, ranking the community in the lowest quartile in the state. Residents of these communities have higher rates of unemployment, higher use of welfare and food stamp assistance, and lower levels of home ownership than residents in all other areas of the state (Choy, McGurk, Tamashiro, Nett, & Maddock, 2008).

Governor Wallace Farrington High School enrolls one of the largest student populations (over 2500 students) in the state and serves students primarily from lower SES and ethnic minority backgrounds. The top 3 ethnic groups represented are Filipino (61.4%), Samoan (10.4%), and Native Hawai‘ian (8.9%) (Hawai‘i State Department of Education, 2015). Immigrants who require instruction in English as a second language make up a large (about 13.5%) proportion of the student population. Over 60% of students receive free or reduced-cost lunches (Hawai‘i State Department of Education, 2015, January 9). All students are required to fulfill 1.5 credits of physical education classes. However, only 24% of them participate in organized, extracurricular school sports. Physical activity levels of the remaining students are unknown. Furthermore,
over half (64.3%) of adolescents living in the Farrington area have reported living in unsafe neighborhoods (Choy et al., 2008).

Table 2a.
Farrington School Complex – Demographics by School Community and State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>School Community</th>
<th>State of Hawai`i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>49,872</td>
<td>1,360,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian alone, percentage</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian and or Other PI, alone, percentage</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or more races, percentage</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born persons, percentage, 2009-2013</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduate or higher, percentage of persons age 25+, 2009-2013</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>90.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language other than English spoken at home, percentage age 5+, 2009-2013</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of population 5-19</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median age of population</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of family households</td>
<td>9,193</td>
<td>313,907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median household income</td>
<td>$64,206</td>
<td>$66,420</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010; the American Community Survey (ACS) 2006-2010 five-year estimates (centric to 2008), and the incorporation of Hawai`i’s HSC boundary areas with updated 2010 Census geography. Figures for educational attainment and median household income are sample estimates obtained from the ACS, adapted to conform to HSC geography, and should be considered rough approximations of census counts.
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<th>2011-2012</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fall enrollment</strong></td>
<td>2483</td>
<td>2437</td>
<td>2374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number and percentage of students enrolled for the entire school year</td>
<td>2267/91.3%</td>
<td>2224/91.3%</td>
<td>2172/91.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number and percentage of students receiving free or reduced-cost lunch</td>
<td>1604/64.6%</td>
<td>1627/66.8%</td>
<td>1456/61.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number and percentage of students in Special Education programs</td>
<td>247/9.9%</td>
<td>242/9.9%</td>
<td>231/9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number and percentage of students with limited English proficiency</td>
<td>369/14.9%</td>
<td>325/13.3%</td>
<td>321/13.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Accountability Section, Assessment and Accountability Branch, Office of Strategy, Innovation and Performance, Honolulu, HI: Hawai‘i State Department of Education. Published January 9, 2015.

Table 2c.  
*Farrington High School Community Educational Attainment*

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<tr>
<td>College Graduate</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
<td>36.2%</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than High School Graduate</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Aloha Spirit of Hawai‘i*

The Hawaiian Islands are often depicted as paradise, and as a unique melting pot of cultures. The Islands’ ethnic diversity and high rates of intermarriage have resulted in Hawai‘i being promoted as a multi-cultural model characterized by tolerance, peaceful co-existence; equality of opportunity, harmonious ethnic relations, and shared local identity (Labrador, 2002, 2004; Okamura, 2008; Salzman, 2012). This mirrors the
“Aloha Spirit,” a strong, Native Hawaiian inspired norm of respect and appreciation for other ethnic groups (Labrador, 2004; Okamura, 2008). The notion of Hawai’i’s multicultural model as exemplifying peaceful coexistence and equality of opportunities among ethnic groups has been challenged by Labrador, Okamura, Salzman, and colleagues who have documented the history of blatant racism and oppression propagated by Whites and non-Whites against Filipino Americans, particularly starting prior to World War II (Okamura, 2008, cited in Salzman, 2012; Okamura, 2010) and continuing in the present.

Although Filipinos still comprise the largest immigrant group and second largest ethnic group in Hawai’i, ongoing microaggression and racism persists and equitable opportunities for economic success and wellbeing remain tenuous, with implications for future generations (Labrador, 2004; Okamura, 2008). Moreover, as noted earlier, Filipinos continue to be one of the most economically disadvantaged groups and disproportionately employed in low-paying jobs (e.g., service industry), particularly immigrant populations (Kim et al., 2008a; Kim et al., 2008b; Okamura, 2008). Due to their social status and positioning, Labrador (2002) refers to Filipinos in Hawai’i collectively as a socioeconomically and politically marginalized population similar to other racialized, ethnicized and stigmatized groups in the United States (p.288).

The demographic, socio-cultural, and socio-economic divide between “immigrant” Filipinos and those who are “local” is palpable in O’ahu (Cunanan et al., 2006; Hiramoto, 2011; Labrador, 2004; Okamura, 1980; Salzman, 2012). Place of birth is a primary contributor to the division. Those born in Hawai’i identify as “locals,” and the term “immigrants” refers to those born in the Philippines and who migrated to Hawai’i after passage of the U.S. Immigration Act in 1965 (Labrador, 2002). Enactment
of this 1965 policy reduced restrictions on immigration and promoted reunification of families. Filipino immigrant populations include Ilocanos, Visayans, and Tagalogs, who speak different dialects and come from widely separated islands and regions in the Philippines (Okamura, 2008). Among youth, this is reflected in studies by Cunanan et al., 2006; Kim et al., 2008a; and Kim et al., 2008b who described common tensions among local and immigrant Filipino youth.

Local Identity

Labrador, Okamura, Reed, and colleagues differentiate the social environmental context of the Hawaiian Islands from the lower 48 or mainland United States, particularly with respect to differences in racial, ethnic categories and corresponding ethnic and cultural identities. Specifically, Reed (2001) asserts mainland markers of discrete racialized identities and other traditional markers of singular racial or ethnic identity, black, white, and Latino are not central to identity discourses in Hawaiʻi. The high rates of intermarriage, even within “ethnic enclaves” produce identities that can be both singular-“I am Filipino” and multiracial simultaneously “I am hapa” (i.e., mixed also). Moreover, these ethnic identities are layered within “local” vs. “immigrant” identities (Reed, 2001).

As Labrador (2004) explains “local” is the most salient category for political and cultural identification in Hawaiʻi, especially among those of Asian ancestry which he attributes to their shared plantation history. Further, he asserts that Filipino migration to Hawaiʻi and the United States, while similar to other immigrant groups is dictated by the global capitalist economy. However, the mobility of Filipinos is distinct from other groups as Labrador (2002) claims, due to their deeply tied, complex histories and experiences of American oppression and colonization and their political and economic
struggles found in a multi-ethnic but predominately Asian - Pacific society (p. 288). Hawai’i’s geographical location, centrally located in the Pacific with ties to the Asia-Pacific region, renders it a prime site where “multiple intercultural exchanges and intersections transgress geographic and national boundaries” (Labrador, 2002, p.288). And, within Hawai’i’s diasporic space (Brah 1996 cited by Labrador 2002), Labrador states “the configuration and constitution of Filipino identities takes place where the politics of identity and the politics of location are already integral parts of the community” (2002, p.288).

Reed (2001) assessed the concept of “local” identity and related questions of who fits, who does not, and why. Moreover, he posited that identities are “negotiated, they are fastened by the categories that we have available and by the ways that we submit to those categories and subject others to them. Sometimes we intentionally fasten identity to create group solidarity or configure a way to belong” (p. 329).

This view regards Hawai’i as a cultural anomaly in the United States, and sees its physical distance from the U.S. mainland as a metaphor for its cultural distance. “Hawai’i is a state where everyone is a minority and there is a distinct local identity that marks insiders from outsiders” (Reed, 2001, p. 329). With lower percentages of blacks, whites and Latinos on the Islands, in comparison to the mainland, for Reed this requires a different discussion of identity based on consideration of diverse “cultural, historical, social class and linguistic variables” (p. 329). As Reed (2001) notes, the absence of an ethnic majority in Hawai’i is derived from the “legacy of colonization, the heightened awareness of ethnic and cultural difference, and the ways that diversity is managed in Hawai’i through ethnic humor and accommodation. Cultural differences in Hawai’i seem to align Asian and Pacific Islander groups in collective contrast to US mainland
values and interactive styles” (p. 328). He also contended that early work on the social context of Hawai‘i noted that Native Hawaiians were largely indifferent to race, and that it was not until after U.S. annexation that the mainland conceptions of race were partially introduced in the census practices of Hawai‘i (Lind, 1955, cited in Reed, 2001).

In addition to ethnic identities, identifying as “local” is significant for Filipinos and others raised in Hawai‘i. As Hiramoto (2011) explained the concept of local culture is based on the celebration of the cultural and ethnic diversity of people who share Hawaiian or plantation heritage, multi-ethnic ancestries, and a number of diverse cultural, ethnic practices. Adoption of Hawaiian Creole (HC) language also referred to as pidgin or pidgin English offers one example (Hiramoto, 2011; Labrador, 2004; Reed, 2001). For Labrador (2004), the Hawaiian pidgin language is the lingua franca for those who identify as locals and is often deployed as the primary indicator to identify as local (p.295). Based on their plantation heritage, Hawaiian residents’ preference for the “local” identity implies membership in more than one of Hawai‘i’s many social and ethnic communities. The early plantation days marked local identity through the socio-economic stratifications, demarcations, and standards applied to the ruling class, namely, Caucasians also known as haoles, and the majority of residents or plantation workers, i.e., Asian immigrants and Pacific Islanders (Okamura, 1994, cited in Hiramoto, 2011).

As Reed (2001) observed, the process of identity checking occurs as a subtle norm on the Islands. Usually, the initial identity check is visual: does the individual look as though s/he has ethnic roots as a Hawaiian/Polynesian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Puerto Rican or Portuguese? The next or second filter is based on the language/dialect spoken, questions asked include: “Where are you from in the
Philippines?” (under the assumption the person identifies with Filipino heritage and accordingly, prompts lead to what province, home town, barrio) or, a related question: “What school did you attend?” These seemingly simple, straight forward questions offers associations, linkages to genealogical networks, and provides opportunities for connectedness and is similar to asking, “How are we connected?”

Many Filipino Americans with Native Hawaiian (KM) ancestry have been more likely to assert Native Hawaiian than Filipino as their primary identity (Okamura, 2008). Many Filipino Americans with Hawaiian ancestry generally identify primarily as Native Hawaiian (i.e., a single ethnic category). In Hawai’i, Okamura (2008) speculated that this is because of greater pride in identifying as Native Hawaiian (KM). Additionally, a KM identity provides credibility to the ties of land and connections across generations that trumps any other immigrant narrative in Hawai’i. However, after changes in U.S. Census form offered individuals the option to identify in more than one racial category, the number of individuals who reported being Filipino American rose dramatically: an increase of 107,000+ between 1990 (168,682) and 2000 (275,728) (Center for Philippine Studies – University of Hawai‘i, 2011; Okamura, 2008). Either way, Filipino culture not only carries the stories of their Indigenous ancestors from the Philippines, but also resonates with the Indigenous stories of the people of the ‘Aina—the land in Hawai’i. Indigenous knowledges from both homelands as well as Hawai‘i have influenced Filipino culture and worldviews and continue to impact Filipino youth today.

**Indigenous, Island-Based Worldviews**

Since time immemorial, Indigenous peoples have maintained their own worldviews, knowledges, and practices regarding nature, place, land, and environment.
These key interrelated components are core to life, living, spirituality, and ways of being. These internalized knowledges, also known as Indigenous Knowledges or traditional ecological knowledge in relation to place and environment have been transferred generationally through cultural practices, such as ceremonies, traditional “schools”—wananga (Maori), and ritual and communal storytelling, among other oral, and in some cultures, written traditions (e.g., Maya). Central to Indigenous Knowledge or Indigenous “ways of being,” in tribal cultures are the collective, relational, and deeply held connections to nature, land, place—geographical and physical environments, including all living and inanimate beings.

Pacific Islanders, Oceanic peoples, Indigenous Filipinos, and other Island-based Indigenous Peoples share common worldviews with respect to the interrelated aspects of spirituality, respect for land, and valuing of family and extended kin relationships. McGregor, Morelli, Matsuoka, Rodenhurst, Kong, and Spencer (2003) noted that in Hawaiian traditions, similar to other Indigenous Knowledges, land itself is imbued with spirit and life, and that the Indigenous people of a land have responsibility to the land, similar to the responsibility one would have for a relative. They noted:

...the core of traditional Native Hawaiian spirituality is the belief that the `aina or land lives as do the `uhane, or spirits of family ancestors who cared for the ancestral lands in their lifetime. The land has provided for generations of Hawaiians, and will provide for those yet to come. (p. 107)

Genealogically, Native Hawaiians are able to trace their ancestral lineage to the lands known as Hawai`i. The land is a part of their `ohana, or family, and Hawaiians respectfully care for the land as they do other human members of their family (Kana`iaupuni & Malone, 2006; McGregor et al., 2003).
Filipino Indigenous Worldviews

For Filipinos, consistent with their Hawaiian counterparts, the land is not viewed as an object or as a commodity; land is viewed as a relative, it is imbued with a relational perspective and as a result, land is the foundation of their cultural and spiritual identity (Cariño, 2012; Molintas, 2004; Ting Jr. et al., 2008). Land is intricately tied to Indigenous Filipino Knowledges and worldviews and is part of the interrelated aspects of their Indigenous spirituality, histories, and close attachment to ancestral territories and environmental resources, including the cosmos, land, forests, rivers, ocean/water. Mercado (1994) explained that the original worldview of tribal Filipinos, which he refers to as “our original way of thinking” is based on Filipinos relationship with nature and is reflected in daily rituals as well as ceremonial cycles tied to the cosmos, place, and the environment (e.g., planting/harvesting seasons). In sum, Filipinos considered nature (kalikasan) as something to be in harmony with; in the words of Hornedo, another Filipino philosopher:

*The traditional Filipino lived with nature. The forests and the rivers were his “brothers.” Their preservation and conservation was his life. Their destruction, his description. He had lore to teach his society this fact. When he told his children the divine beings prohibited the desecration of the forest, he was speaking with the authority of life and in the name of life, not of money.* (Mercado, 1994, p. 140 quotes Hornedo, 1988)

Mercado highlights how these Original Instructions (Walters, Beltran, Huh and Evans-Campbell, 2011) are manifest in stories that demonstrate the suffering the People will endure if there is a violation of the relational responsibilities to land and environment. He recounts the tale of Maria Makiling, the goddess, who extends help to the people as long as they do not harm the mountains, forests, animals, and ecology. According to one story, when the people became unfaithful, Maria Makiling vanished. Another myth
found that when the people became greedy and lazy, a great flood, similar to the biblical story commenced. These traditional Filipino Indigenous myths and legends serve to transmit important cultural protocols on the relational responsibilities of humans and the potential consequences if these relational responsibilities to land, environment, and place go unfulfilled.

According to Mercado (1994), tribal Filipinos identify with their tribes and in relation to their tribal territory or place. Although the individual tribal stories are tribally specific as well as their obligations to land and place, across all Filipino tribal groups, there are common worldviews related to Indigenous collectivism and spatial orientations with ancestral ties and obligations, which are quite often tied to place. Mercado (1994) noted that Indigenous Filipinos’ worldviews are similar to a tree “rooted in something more than him/herself-his/her family, his/her plan, his/her ‘tribe’” (p. 139), which he explained as similar to the phenomena of marriage as the union of two groups and not of two persons alone. Taking this idea further, Mercado maintained that tribal Filipinos are not individualistic, they belong to a larger reality and do not considers themselves separate even from the departed (p. 139). As Bulatao (cited by Mercado, 1994) stated “each individual is like a tree and his consciousness is rooted in an unconscious. But the roots go beyond a personal conscious, and at the level of collective unconscious the roots of one tree intermingle with the roots of another” (p. 140).

The Indigenous Filipino orientation to nature can be described by Bulatao as “transpersonal.” In contrasting this world view to the Western world view, Bulatao noted that “the Christian model is dualistic. Dualism means the dichotomy between finite and infinite. The transpersonal world view differs from the Christian worldview in
the sense that the former admits the existence of spirits as living normal, earthly lives of their own as if they were a race of the humans, unlike the Christian view of spirit which polarizes them into the totally good and totally bad” (Mercado, 1994 cites Bulatao, p. 140). In sum, the Filipino is a part of the cosmos and the natural world, rooted in it rather than ruling over it.

For Mercado, too, this transpersonal view differs greatly from the master-over-mentality that characterizes much of Western thought. Indigenous Filipino worldviews dictate that humans are inseparable from their environment, that both are inextricably intertwined (1994). For example, a typical tribal Filipino may see a tree as inseparable from its roots and environment. In contrast, a typical Westerner would tend to isolate the tree, contrast it to other trees and focus on its being a particular species or kind of tree. Western individualism stresses the person’s uniqueness and separateness from other people and from nature itself. Mercado noted that Filipinos are diverse—ranging from those living a traditional Indigenous lifestyle concomitant with Indigenous worldviews and ways of living to the sophisticated urban dwellers who might tend to be more Westernized. However, despite urbanization and/or westernization among Filipinos, Indigenous worldviews persist. For example, Mercado described Filipino urbanites who believe in spirits and other traditional aspects of the Indigenous transpersonal world view. He pointed to Demetrio’s two volume Encyclopedia of Philippine Folk Beliefs and Customs which is replete with entries from the whole country that show the transpersonal world view as thriving. In fact, Mercado argued that:

Living in Metro Manila does not necessarily do away with the transpersonal world view. However their roots have become totally individualized and westernized in comparison to their tribal counterparts.
Those who maintain the transpersonal worldview have, in the expression of Martin Buber, an I-Thou relationship with nature. The mountains, forests, rivers are Thous. They are like St. Francis of Assisi who called the elements of nature “brothers” and “sisters,” like Brother Sun and Sister Moon. The transpersonal worldview is ecologically friendly. But when nature is depersonalized, it becomes an “It” and in consequence is exploited as a commodity. (1994, p. 142)

Indigenous Filipino Worldviews and Land

For centuries, Philippine ancestors believed in a cosmology where the Creator (known by various names such as Bathala, Apo Sandawa) was linked to other deities and spirits and created the land and everything connected to it. Because land is a gift from the Creator entrusted by Filipinos’ ancestors and Creator for all Filipinos “to harness, cultivate, sustain, and live on” (Molintas, 2004, p. 275). Indigenous Filipinos believe they are stewards of the land; they acknowledge a strong responsibility to the land, and their role is to ensure future generations will have the same or better quality of life (Ting et al., 2008).

Although the specifics of Native Hawaiian and Filipino cosmologies may differ, the values embedded in Native Hawaiian (KM) and Filipino Indigenous practices and knowledges show strong parallels.

Land is life to Indigenous peoples. It is their abode since time immemorial. It is the material basis of their collective identity and survival as Indigenous peoples. Ancestral domain to the Indigenous peoples is a holistic concept encompassing not only the land, but includes all natural resources: the rivers, forests, the flora and fauna, the minerals underneath and the air above. (Cariño, 2012, pp. 6-7)

Rooted in Indigenous Filipinos’ worldviews are the underlying beliefs and values that “land is sacred”; “land is the source of life and livelihood, as the source of food, shelter, the indispensable living space for the community, the basis of their culture, and their core existence as distinct peoples” (Penafiel 1996, p. 10, cited in Ting et al, 2008).
Land is a collective legacy to be maintained across generations; it is the domain of the tribe, and its loss is a threat to Filipinos’ existence (Cariño, 2012; Molintas, 2003). The preservation of culture and traditions of their “ethos” or “tribe” are reflected in Indigenous Filipinos’ communal views of land, cooperative work exchanges, and community rituals, including songs, dances, and folklore (Molintas, 2004). Fundamental to the preservation of culture and the relationship to land are also other interrelated factors that promote Filipino indigeneity and Filipino tribal identity. Valued characteristics of Filipino Indigenous peoples are as follows: (1) the conservation of their dialects, traditional socio-economic institutions, and cultural and religious practices; (2) self-identification as distinct societies; and (3) subsistence-oriented economies. The last two characteristics are vital to Indigenous peoples’ struggle for self-determination (Molintas, 2004).

**From Indigenous Worldviews to Indigenous Knowledges**

This dissertation study is framed within the boundaries of Indigenous worldviews and knowledges, a framework that is critical to understanding Filipino youths’ sense of place, and their meanings and understandings of place. Indigenous knowledges are also known as “folk knowledge,” “traditional knowledge,” “traditional ecological knowledge,” “local knowledge or wisdom,” “nonformal knowledge,” or “Indigenous technical knowledges” (Battiste, 2005). Citing Daes (1993), Battiste described Indigenous Knowledges as all knowledges pertaining to a particular People and their specific place or territory, which have been transmitted from generation to generation, and include scientific, agricultural, technical, and ecological knowledges, including cultivated plants, medicines, and the balanced use of flora and fauna (Daes, cited in Battiste, 2005, p. 4).
Indigenous worldviews provide the foundational values, whereas Indigenous knowledges provide the principles and protocols for enacting the worldviews and values.

Indigenous Knowledges are systemic and systematic; they cover the observable and conceptualized, and comprise the rural and urban, the settled and nomadic, original inhabitants and migrants, along with their unique languages, rules, and relationships (Batiste, 2005). Additionally, they include localized content and meanings as well as established customs required to acquire and share knowledges. As transcultural, interdisciplinary resources, Indigenous Knowledges are invaluable systems for approximately 20% of the world’s population (Battiste, 2005). Indigenous Knowledges are pertinent to the lives of Filipinos living in Hawai‘i and mainland United States because many Filipino Americans retain strong ties to their ancestral homelands and Indigenous worldviews related to these knowledges (Schiller, Basch, & Blanc, 1995). This includes, as examples, the Indigenous peoples of the Cordillera regions, Indigenous tribes and villages in the lowlands, uplands and mountainous regions of Northern and Central Luzon, and Southern Philippine Islands of Mindanao.

Batiste (2005) characterized Indigenous Knowledges as the standard for scrutinizing the limitations of Eurocentric research, its theory(ies), methodology(ies), evidence, and conclusions, its very way of knowing. Indigenous Knowledge re-centers Indigenous peoples’ resilience and self-reliance, emphasizing the significance of their own philosophies, heritages, and educational processes (Batiste, 2005). For Indigenous peoples, the mutually interactive processes inclusive of the organic relational nature of life, land, and Indigenous Knowledges are critical to any understanding of the fundamentals of our universe works (Grim, 2009). And, per Grim (2009), despite differing descriptions by diverse native peoples, Indigenous ways of knowing are not
simply about creating systems of knowledge; rather, they bring into possibility the lifeway. As Battiste (2005) and other scholars have asserted, Indigenous Knowledges have always existed, yet, have been undermined by and replaced with predominant Western, Eurocentric knowledge. Moreover, Wildcat (2009) argued that both Indigenous Knowledges and Western knowledge processes are necessary to overcome limitations of traditional Western scientific knowledge, which can be enhanced with Indigenous Knowledges in “generating life-enhancing knowledges for humankind” (p. 15). Reframing and reorienting worldviews by combining Indigenous Knowledge and complementary Western knowledge, which requires being inclusive of multiple ways of knowing, offers a rich, enhanced, transformative approach for identifying how sense of place for humans is critical to the search for future health and wellbeing of all. Wildcat’s “Red Alert” is a call for immediate action regarding climate change for “Indigenous recollection, reconstruction, and Indigenous ingenuity” (2009, p. 15). He has argued that Indigenous Knowledges should be understood broadly as collaborations beyond limitations as solely human creations. Wildcat (2009) characterized Indigenous Knowledges as customary groups of relations and relationships found in our life experiences that change as we shift through what is known by physicists as “space-time.” Central is the nature-culture nexus, i.e., “the unique interaction between a people and a place...” which “embodies the existential feature of our oldest tribal traditions and identities as people...”(p. 99). Further, Wildcat has championed the greatest value of Indigenous Knowledges as stemming from the nature-culture nexus as holistic or complex integrative thinking, which can promote problem-solving and action outside the dichotomies of Western approaches (e.g., objective versus subjective, nature versus culture). He has also argued for the necessity to draw upon “the oldest living”
Indigenous expressions, native languages, and tribal traditions which he believes are required to improve the Earth’s and our wellbeing (2009).

Within the ecological context, Indigenous Knowledges, as Battiste explained, are “also inherently tied to land, not to land in general but to particular landscapes, landforms, where ceremonies are properly held, stories properly recited, medicines properly gathered, and transfers of knowledge properly authenticated” (Battiste, 2005, “The Quandry of Defining Indigenous Knowledge,” para. 12). Maintaining the integrity of the land and ceremonies are central to accurately transmitting knowledge and passing of authority from the prior to the subsequent generation. As Wildcat (2009) eloquently surmised, the significant learnings from Indigenous Knowledges are “…grounded in the human realization that the life that surrounds us can teach us valuable lifeway lessons, if we pay attention to our relationships and interactions with the land, air, water, and other-than human living beings” (p. 74).

As part of expanding multiple ways of knowing, and liberating Indigenous scholarship and knowledge, Battiste (2005) and others (Cajete, 2000, 2001; Grim, 2001; Tauli-Corpuz, 2001; Wildcat, 2009) have called for an empowering approach to undertake a critical examination of the underlying assumptions inherent in western knowledge. Enhancing current, predominantly hegemonic Western approaches to knowledge, Indigenous Knowledges and Indigenous scholarship are needed to allow “space for Indigenous consciousness, language, and identity to flourish without ethnocentric or racist interpretation” (Battiste, 2005, “Conclusion,” para. 6). Battiste’s and other Indigenous scholars’ agendas include the dismantling of “cognitive imperialism,” a form of cognitive manipulation used to disclaim other knowledge bases and values. “[C]ognitive imperialism denies people their language and cultural integrity
by maintaining the legitimacy of only one language, one culture, and one frame of reference” (Battiste, 2005, “Conclusion,” para. 4). Dismantling cognitive imperialism, requires decolonizing western approaches to place and health; and, conceptually, this means embracing and centering Indigenous Knowledges within examinations of Filipino constructions and narrations of place. Meyer (2001) corroborated the importance of centering Indigenous worldviews and knowledges:

How one knows, indeed, what one prioritizes with regard to this knowing, ends up being the stuffing of identity, the truth that links us to our distinct cosmologies, and the essence of who we are as Oceanic people. It is a discussion of place and genealogy. It is a way to navigate the shores of what is worth knowing and it is particularly important as we enter the new millennium where information will no longer be synonymous with knowledge, but rather how that information helps us maintain our sense of community in the daily chaos of access and information overload. (p. 125)

Thus, to understand the significance of place, one must understand not only shared Western disciplines and their discourse on place, but must also prioritize Indigenous epistemologies and worldviews throughout any discussion of place. For this dissertation study, understanding traditional Filipino as well as Native Hawaiian worldviews is critical because these comingle with Western imperatives in the everyday lives of Filipino youth living in Hawai‘i.

**Significance of Place Across Worldviews and Disciplines**

Although the disciplines of geography and anthropology share a long history of interest in place and the environment, during the past two decades other fields, including biomedicine and public health, have also begun to show interest. Noticeably missing from the discourse, however, is social work. A key social work tenet has been a focus on person-in-environment. Yet, place and environment have received little or no
attention in social work research during the last three decades. Some scholars in the field, Kemp (2011), Gordon (2010, 2013, 2015), and Zapf (2008, 2010), have argued for social work to refocus its attention on place and environment. Specifically, Kemp (2011) drew attention to global climate changes and the environmental disasters that continue to impact vulnerable populations, while Gordon has emphasized the significance of place and place attachment among children in institutional settings/environments. My intent, through this study, is to continue the dialogue within the field of social work by investigating place and geographic environmental concerns among Filipino youth in Hawai’i, a unique population and place.

Here, I begin with definitions of core concepts (namely, place and sense of place) and related concepts (including place attachment, cultural place attachment and its components); discursive practices will also be discussed. Examples from Indigenous worldviews, geography, environmental psychology, sociology, and social work, based on existing literature, will be presented. The socio-cultural, humanistic perspectives and discursive contributions offered by many scholars (Low and Altman; Tuan, DiMasso, Dixon, and Durrheim; Basso; and others) highlight the intersecting and overlapping features of Indigenous and Western perspectives of place.

“Place Breathes Life, People, Culture, and Spirit”: Indigenous Place

From the Native Science perspective, place is inherently relational and spatial—constituting mutually obligatory relationships across present, past, and future generations and across space and time. For Native cultures, place is:

a living presence in the context of its mythic and spiritual meaning. The storied and living homeland of Native cultures provide a holistic foundational context for Native life and participation with the universe
and illustrates the primacy of space and place in Native cosmology. (Cajete, 1999, p. 182).

For Indigenous peoples, the relational connections across place and human activity forms the foundation and core of community—in other words, place makes community.

Relationship is the cornerstone of tribal community, and the nature of expression is the foundation of tribal identity. Through community Indian people come to understand their “personhood” and their connection to the “communal soul” of their people. The community is the place where the “warming of the heart and face” of the individual as one of the people is fully expressed; it is the context in which the person comes to know relationship, responsibility, and participation in the life of one’s people. (Cajete, 1999, p. 86)

As place makes community, community is where the “affective dimension of traditional education unfolds” and where it is taken up by a people and the place “where one comes to know what is related.” Cajete noted also that it is:

the place of sharing life and everyday acts, song, dance, story, and celebration, and of learning, making art, and sharing thoughts and feelings that each person can, metaphorically speaking, “become complete.” Community is “that place that Indian people talk about,” the place through which Indian people expressed their highest thought. (p. 86)

Kana'iaupuni and Malone’s (2006) Native Hawaiian perspective for the concept of place not only reflects understandings found throughout Pacific peoples; their conceptualization also shares commonalities with other Indigenous and aboriginal cultures (Memmott & Long, 2002). Place, in the case the home of the Känaka Maoli (KM), Hawai’i’s Indigenous people, transcends the physical environment, or realities of land. Kanahele (1986) noted that it is the honua (similar meaning to the word whenua among the Maori)—meaning the life force of the earth; in Maori, it is the same word for the earth and placenta. The word signifies nurturing relationships “spanning spiritual and kinship bonds between people, nature, and the supernatural world” (Kana’iaupuni & Liebler, 2005, p. 689). For Pacific and Oceanic peoples, as communicated by
Indigenous writers, “place...breathes life, people, culture, and spirit” (Kana'iaupuni & Malone, 2006, p. 288). And, for Kana'iaupuni and Malone, place remains a fundamental force in the interrelationship between internal and external influences on contemporary Hawaiian community and associated identity processes. Similarly, Indigenous Filipino approaches to place are tied to land, but transcend land to include relationships to ancestors—past and future—as well as shape communal identity and wellbeing (Tauli-Corpuz, 2001). For Indigenous Island-based peoples, place is the soul of the community; it is where lessons are passed on; where generations meet one another to learn, live, and play. It is the space in which community and identity is created. In contrast to Indigenous worldviews, Western approaches to place give primacy to human occupation and interests in making place legible. From this perspective “place” simply cannot exist without human beings and meaning-making. In contrast, for traditional ecological knowledge and other Indigenous approaches, place exists and is connected to all beings, all of whom have particular sets of relationships to one another—human beings are not above or below place-making; they are just part of the larger interconnections that make up the web of life in relation to space and place (Walters, Beltran, Huh, & Evans-Campbell, 2011). Place makes humans; humans don’t make place.

**Place Is the “Material Setting for Social Relations”: Western Disciplinary Perspectives**

Place is at the core of geography’s interests—including location, locale, and “sense” of place (Creswell, 2004). Creswell stated that place is not just a material location, but also includes a way of understanding the world. Citing political geographer Agnew (1987), Creswell (2004) denoted place as usually referring to a location or the “where” of place, including an absolute point in space designated by a set of specific
coordinates and measurable from other locations by distances. It is, in part the material setting for specific social relations and includes the way a place looks (e.g., buildings, streets, parks) and other visible and tangible aspects of a place, as well as how a place feels—the knowing and understanding that is tied to the place (p. 7). While Creswell centered place as a material and tangible location, he also highlighted the role of place attachments and connections between people and places and the role of meaning-making and experience in the material world. In addition, Creswell argued that place can invoke in-groups and out-groups—where individuals can decide what is important to emphasize and what is not. For example, when “our place” becomes threatened, we may decide who to exclude and who to include in place identity and formation of community identity. Further, on a related note, he contended that viewing parts of the world as different places can lead to reactionary and exclusionary xenophobia, racism, and bigotry (p. 11).

In the 1970s, geographers began to conceptualize place as a material and geographic location; and, over time, became inclusive of human meaning-making and place attachments. And Creswell later confirmed that “places are locations with meanings” (2008, p. 132). Early humanistic geographers, Relph (1976) and Tuan (1974, 1977), took a phenomenological approach, focusing on the experiential role of place, human experience, and lived space (Seamon & Sowers, 2008). In summarizing Relph’s work, Gustafson (2001) described the three components of place identified by Relph: (1) physical setting, (2) activities, and (3) meanings. For Tuan (1975):

Place is a center of meaning constructed by experience. Place is known not only through the eyes and mind but also through the more passive and direct modes of experience, which resist objectification. To know a place fully means both to understand it in an abstract way and to know it as one person knows another. (p. 152)
Building on Creswell’s notions that meanings are significant to describing places, Gordon (2010), who offers social work perspective based on work with children in places (institutions), has described place as coming “into existence only when people give meaning to the undifferentiated space in which they live” (p. 757).

Place comes into existence when people give meaning to a part of the larger, undifferentiated space in which they live. Whilst abstract knowledge about a place can be developed in a relatively short space of time, the “feel” of a place takes longer to acquire, growing out of a large number of routine activities and everyday experiences, as well as more significant life events. Long-term residence therefore strengthens place identity, facilitating local social ties, providing the time to invest places with personal meanings, and linking significant life events to place, although the quality and intensity of experiences are usually more important than simple duration. (Tuan, 1977, cited in Rowles, 1983, p. 757)

Gordon (2010) also highlighted the scalar dimension of place, noting that “places exists at different scales” and offered examples “ranging from a particular part of the house or garden in which a person lives, through streets, shops, and other landmarks of the local neighborhood or town in which they grow up, out to the broader region and nation of residence (or origin)” (p. 757). Further, he noted that any or all of these levels may be used to describe an individual’s “feelings of home,” thus, depicting the special meanings associated with different places based on one’s past experiences and memories, in addition to the physical properties of places (Gordon, 2010, p. 757; see also Tuan, 1974, 1977).

Similarly, from a sociological perspective, Gieryn (2000) posited that “place persists as a constituent element of social life and historical change” (p. 463). In his comprehensive review, he defined place through three “necessary and sufficient
features: (1) geographic location (a unique spot in the universe); (2) material form (place is “stuff”); and (3) investment with meaning and value (places have identities, i.e., they are named; doubly constructed; built and also narrated, interpreted, felt, understood, and imagined)” (p. 465). Gieryn also offered the converse, what places are not: (1) “place is not space (filled with people, practices, objects and representations distinguishes place from space) and (2) place is not just a setting, backdrop, stage, or context for something else that becomes the focus of sociological attention, nor is it a proxy for demographic, structural, economic, or behavior variables” (p. 465). Further, he argued that everything studied by sociologists is emplaced, occurring somewhere and involving material form or stuff; therefore, for Gieryn, place is “a force with detectable and independent effects on social life” (p. 465).

**Sense of Place**

Environmental scholars considered the people-place-in-environment relationship almost a century before the conceptual development of “sense of place” in the research literature (Kudryavtsev, Stedman, & Krasny, 2012). Most notably, during the early 1900s, Bailey noted the salience of the disconnect between people and their ecological environments—people’s lack of place attachments or consideration for people-place-in-environment relationships. By the early 1940s, Leopold (1940), an environmental conservation scientist, and others introduced the notion that landscapes—as ecological places—comprise multiple characteristics, including ecological, esthetic, economic, and ethical ones. Nature was noted as critical for humans, particularly nature as composed of places that could be ethical, esthetic, economic, and ecological. By the 1960s, the role of ecology, environmental places, and wellbeing had become a significant focus of place-based health and wellness studies.
Simultaneously, the development of critical consciousness of human impact on the environment was also salient in popular media and research to examine the effects of humans and, in particular, corporate impacts on ecological and environmental health.

President Roosevelt’s establishment of the United States Forest Services (USFS) in the early 1900s serves as an example of the Western approach to nature conservancy with the underlying aim to protect wildlife and public lands, thus preserving and sustaining these resources. Passage of the 1906 American Antiquities Act resulted in the creation of the USFS, 150 national forests, 51 federal bird reserves, 4 national game preserves, 5 national parks, and 18 national monuments. While this Act was viewed as notable in preserving “special places” and environmental conservancy, this policy was also responsible for eroding the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples by forcibly removing them from their home lands which included the “crown jewels” of the U.S. park system: Yellowstone, Yosemite, Glacier, and the Grand Canyon (Craig, Yung, & Borrie, 2012). Moreover, Indigenous peoples were “prohibited access to park resources that historically provided material, cultural, and spiritual sustenance” (Spence 1999; Burnham 2000, cited in Craig, Yung, & Borrie, 2012, p. 232). As Craig, Yung and Borrie observed, displacing Native Americans was fueled by several motivators: (1) the desire for the parks to conform and promote Western values of “pristine wilderness,” i.e., no signs of human touch, use, or habitation; (2) to assimilate Indigenous peoples into mainstream American culture by severing their ties to historical subsistence and cultural practices; and (3) to “protect” tourists from exposure to the “violent Native American Indian,” as Indigenous peoples were stereotyped by mainstream white Americans. Furthermore, it conflicted with its original aims to protect wildlife and
public lands, as contemporary controversy has fueled debates among farmers, landowners, and environmentalists.

Implications of the Act conflicted with Indigenous Knowledges, which notes that humans have a responsibility to interact with environments – we are part of the environmental world, it is where we fish, hunt, gather – we are not separate from nature. The underlying Western assumption of this American Antiquities Act is that the natural world is pure until humans interrupt the pristine qualities of nature, whereas Indigenous Knowledges state that when humans are in balance and observe relational responsibilities, then the environment and all that encompasses it are in balance. A good example is the Buffalo; they played a critical part in flowering the prairie and managing the ecosystem, just as human beings played a part in managing buffalo runs/hunts that helped to maintain that balance.

Environmental psychology has played a critical theoretical and empirical role in examining “sense of place,” “place attachment,” and related concepts for human beings meaning-making of place. Despite such achievements, environmental psychology’s approach has been fraught with conflicting terminology and theoretical concepts as well as a lack of agreement on the constructs of sense of place and place attachment. I highlight below the main points of agreement and disagreement across disciplines.

Sense of place, among environmental and place-based scholars can be summarized as “the more nebulous — individual or shared — meanings associated with a place, the feelings and emotions a place evokes” (Creswell, 2007, p. 7-8; see also Creswell, 2008; Gieryn, 2000). Gieryn (2000) argued that an individual’s as well as a group’s meanings assigned to places are usually rooted in historical and shared cultural understandings of the geographic terrain. In Gieryn’s sociological review of place, he
noted that “places are endlessly made...even when ordinary people extract from continuous and abstract space a bounded, identified, meaningful, named and significant place” (p. 471). Citing Massey (1994), Hopkins (2010) described sense of place as the direct result of the significance of a place to its residents (p. 16).

A critical feminist geographer, Massey (1991, 1994), has called for a *progressive sense of place or global sense of place* to account for changes in the geography of social relations—in other words, the links between people, based on differing experiences of time-space compression. As part of global-local places, Massey acknowledged the realities of and changes in economic, political, and social cultural relations across space, describing these factors as “each full of power and with internal structures of domination and subordination” (1991, p. 28). Underlying her alternative interpretation of place, she argued that places are not static when conceptualized in terms of the social interactions that tie them together. These interactions are dynamic; therefore, places are processes. Further, for Massey, places are not bounded; they do not have a single, unique identity. She has asserted that places are full of internal conflicts, involving conflicts that occurred in the past (defining its heritage), present conflicts, or conflicts for what could occur in its future. Lastly, for Massey, the uniqueness of place – its specificity – continues to be reproduced and derives from the fact that each place is the focus of a distinct mixture of broader, global, as well as more local, social relations, with associated power and privilege struggles (1991, 1994).

For Hopkins, who has examined youth experiences of place and identity, the sense of place is defined as “a unique location that is connected to other places but also self-contained and distinctive” (2010, p. 11). The main theme of his book, *Young People, Place, and Identity*, is that geography matters for young people: “place is used,
inhabited and associated with young people” (2013, p. 11). Moreover, he concurred with Massey that place(s) are open and have permeable boundaries, versus fixed, and are “shaped by complex webs of local, national and global influences and different social and cultural flows and processes” (p. 11). Furthermore, Hopkins (2010) conceptualizes and reinforces other scholars’ views that place(s) are “subjective, relational, and as something that can be created and promoted” (p. 11).

Memmott and Long (2002) have also promoted a theoretical position that place is made and takes on meaning through a mutually interactive process between people and their environments. For these authors, places and their cultural meanings are created through one or a combination of three types of people-place interactions. 1) People altering the physical characteristics of the environment or a piece of the environment (e.g., clearing debris from the ground for a dance). 2) People enacting special types of behavior at a particular piece of their environment where the behavior becomes associated with that place (e.g., territorial relations are a special form of place behavior and can include establishing new environments and creating boundaries they are willing to defend. This type of behavior may be linked to cultural survival mechanisms). 3) People associating knowledge of properties such as past events, legends, names, ideals, or memories to places (Memmott & Long, 2002). The existence of places is created through people-environment activity. Properties of place are transmitted socially and tend to remain culturally consistent across generations (Memmott & Long, 2002).

The following definitions derive from Kudryavtsev and colleague’s (2012) background review of sense of place and related concepts for their study regarding environmental education for urban youth. While the majority of researchers have
described sense of place as “a combination of two principal and complementary concepts: place attachment and place meaning” (Kudryavtsev et al., 2012, p. 230), others have shared similar understandings using different terms. For example, for Malpas “sense of place refers to sense of belonging to places and the character of places, resembling place attachment and place meaning” (2010, cited in Kudryavtsev et al., 2012, p. 230).

**Place Attachment, Dependence, and Identity**

While *sense of place* reflects the mostly sensory embodiment aspects of place, place attachment, dependence and ultimately identity, infer the affective bonding to place, the ties that bind to place (e.g., dependence), and the identity that emerges from place attachments. Kudryavtsev, Stedman and Krasny (2012) and colleagues (Altman and Low, 1992; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Stedman 2003) describe the concept of *place attachment* as “the bond between people and places or the degree to which a place is important to people” (p. 231). For many this implies a positive bond, yet, Manzo (2005) maintained that this requires further exploration because individuals can have ambivalent or negative associations with places as well as positive ones; bonding does not simply imply a positive effect associated with place. Some researchers have separated the concept of place attachment into *place dependence* and *place identity* (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). As part of their review, Kudryavtsev et al. (2012) defined place dependence as “the potential of a place to satisfy an individual’s needs by providing settings for his/her preferred activities (p. 231; see also Vaske & Kobrin, 2001),” whereas they described place identity as “the extent to which a place becomes part of personal identity or embodied in the definition of self” (p. 231; see also Korpela, 1989; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff 1983; Vaske
& Kobrin, 2001). As a multidimensional construct, place meaning represents the symbolic meanings that people ascribe to places, which may reflect the physical, natural, social interactions, cultural, familial, political, and economic, as well as the sensory, cognitive, embodied or historical aspects of places. Individuals may have different place meanings for the same location. These authors also noted that as people gravitate strongly towards places, place attachment occurs, with people ascribing meaning to places to justify place attachment (Kudryavtsev et al., 2012).

Scholars who view place from a socio-cultural perspective recognize more readily the constructed nature of place and view it in a more dynamic, processual manner. Congruent with transactional perspectives (Altman & Rogoff, 1987), contextual list orientations (Stokols, 1987), phenomenological approaches (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974, 1977), and other holistic philosophical views, Altman and Low (1992) defined place attachment as “a complex phenomenon that incorporates several aspects of people-place bonding” as it has “…many inseparable, integral, and mutually defining features, qualities, or properties; it is not composed of separate or independent parts, components, dimensions or factors” (p. 3). Further, these authors acknowledged the affective bonding and the relational, social aspects --interpersonal, community, and cultural relationships --of place attachment. Altman and Low described the assumptions underlying their analysis of place attachment: (1) place attachment is an integrating concept comprising interrelated and inseparable aspects; (2) its origins are varied and complex; and (3) place attachment contributes to individual, group, and cultural self-definition and integrity.

Low (1992) defined cultural place attachment as a transformative experience of a space or piece of land into a culturally meaningful shared symbol, or place. Although the
transformative experience between the relationship of space, land, and the group is not a necessity, “it is the symbolic relationship between the individual or collective group and the place, that evokes the culturally valued experience, but may just as well derive meaning from other sociopolitical, historical, and cultural sources meaning from other sociopolitical, historical, and cultural sources” (p. 165).

Derived from a process of qualitative analysis of cultural aspects of the built environment and urban public space, Low (1992) has offered a proposed typology of cultural place attachment or processes of place attachment composed of six kinds of symbolic linkages of people and land: (1) genealogical linkage to the land through history or family lineage; (2) linkage through loss of land or destruction of community; (3) economic linkage to land through ownership, inheritance, and politics; (4) cosmological linkage through religious, spiritual, or mythological relationship; (5) linkage through both religious and secular pilgrimage and celebratory, cultural events; (6) narrative linkage through storytelling and place naming. As Low (1992) explained these are general categories that may contain subsets or subtypes of attachments, further, she noted that cultures of places “do not neatly fall into any one type or category, are not mutually exclusive and often overlap in content” (p. 166).

There are several ways in which place attachment is manifest, transmitted, and reinforced including the types of place attachment strategies discussed below: genealogical, place dislocation or disconnection, economic, cosmological, pilgrimage or ceremonial/cultural, and narrative approaches. Descriptions and examples of each follow.

*Genealogical place attachment* is the process of attachment created through the experience of living or being in a location over generations. One example is being born
into a tribe or village where an individual spends the majority of their life, where they marry, raise children, and retain strong familial and social ties to people and place— in other words, a place where they are “maintained, strengthened, or stay in a location for a period of time” (Low, 1992, p. 167).

*Place dis-location or dis-connection is experienced when place attachment is severed through loss or destruction.* The process of losing significant places can trigger healing attempts to cognitively, and if possible, materially, recollect or recreate memories of place that was destroyed, uninhabitable or inaccessible. Fullilove’s (2004) book, *Root Shock*, offers narrative examples of place disconnection based on individual interviews conducted with residents who once lived in thriving cities and neighborhoods in Virginia and Pennsylvania. Socio-political and economic conditions were drivers in transforming the neighborhoods, cities where these residents once lived. Fullilove narrates stories of loss of once inhabitable neighborhoods through individuals’ eyes while focusing on the mental health effects of their displacement (Fullilove, 2004).

The process of *economic place attachment* “begins with the purchase or exchange of a place… but is strengthened and reinforced when a person works in place or with the resources of a place, thus becoming the means of the person’s or group’s economic survival” (Low, 1992, p. 170). Examples of economic place attachment include elderly individuals who have limited income or savings to pay for long-term care, yet, retain financial resources tied to the equity in their homes.

*Cosmological place attachment* is maintained through the process of beliefs/believing and spiritual or religious practice facilitates attachment between the individual or group and the religiously or spiritually significant place. The *Hajj*, the annual religious pilgrimage to mecca by Muslims is one example.
Similarly, *pilgrimage and celebratory cultural events* create place attachment through beliefs and the process of going to a place or participating in an event, either in actuality or and fantasy. But a person can develop an attachment to a place simply by wanting to visit, without being able to fulfill the desire. Many examples exist including community cultural events to celebrate one’s history or culture, the Flores de Mayo celebration celebrated by many Filipinos across the United States offers one example. Also, for some transnational second-generation immigrant youth the thought or dream of traveling to one’s “home” country, country of birth or heritage offers another example.

*Narrative place attachment* is the process of “talking about a place” through storytelling or naming; the linguistic act of narrating is the process by which attachment occurs. Keith Basso’s (1986) seminal book, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, offers an example of narrative place attachment. As an anthropologist, Basso worked for over 30 years with the Apache tribe in New Mexico. His unique partnerships with tribal chiefs and members serving as cultural consultants for the mapping project resulted in Basso learning the significance of “place-naming” among Apaches. Over time, Basso was able to cultivate relationships, including enduring friendships, and trust with tribal leaders as well as members. His narrative accounts are about the geographical mapping project and experiences working with tribal members from whom he learned the history, including the history of the relationships between the Apaches and their land, their place; everyday tribal life and living; Apache language, including correct pronunciation of words, and their meanings; and the development of respectful and trusting relationships and collaborative partnerships. Dixon and Durrheim’s interviews with
South African blacks in post-apartheid South Africa offers another example of cultural place attachments through processes of both loss and narratives (2014).

**Place and Health**

Over the past two decades, scholars across disciplines have contributed to an expanding body of empirical evidence investigating the influence of the social context, environment, and *place effects* on the health of individuals, groups, and communities. Health disparities and inequalities literature has focused primarily on adult racial, ethnic minorities along with place or neighborhood effects and its association across a range of outcomes, including but not limited to cancer, cardiovascular disease and related risk factors, chronic disease morbidity and mortality, infant health and birth outcomes, violence, depression, and suicidality (Diez-Roux, 2007, 2008, 2010; Judd, Cooper, Fraser and Davis, 2006; Riva, Gauvin, & Barnett, 2007; Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004; Yen & Syme, 1999). Dannenburg, Frumkin, and Jackson (2011) focus on how the built environment influences the health and wellbeing of communities and larger society. These authors present schools as unique environments where students spend the majority of their time outside their homes, daily occupancy by students, faculty, and staff on average is equivalent to prisons, airplanes and typically higher than the average workplace, and where daily safety and health risks threaten all occupants due to deferred maintenance, inadequate heating and cooling, structural and chemical hazards (p. 217). Despite the breadth and depth of the literature, the research is rife with inconsistent theoretical, conceptual, and methodological definitions of place and uses of these definitions across disciplines, along with related issues, including contradictory disciplinary assumptions. Differing key (or lack of) theoretical orientation(s), perspectives, and corresponding research designs have all contributed to
inconsistent and limited findings. Moreover, there is a paucity of health disparities data with respect to the determinants of poor health outcomes and inequities (Thomas, Temple, Perez, & Rupp, 2011), particularly those faced by specific ethnic and cultural populations of youth, including Filipino immigrant youth (Huffman, & Mendoza, 2007). No studies to date have examined the relationships among environment, places, and health among Filipino youth.

Historically, the disciplines of anthropology and geography dominated space and place research. Place, for the most part, has focused on the spatial dimensions such as characteristics of neighborhoods and residential areas. Recently, public health scholars have argued that the spatial facets of place in public health or biomedical research often miss the social connections, meanings, and experiences that influence individuals’ health (Bolam, Murphy, & Gleeson, 2006; Macintyre, Ellaway, & Cummins, 2002; Smyth, 2007). Yet, competing and unresolved differences in the field and across disciplines remain, including identification of specific pathways and mechanisms of place in health research. Further, these missing elements of place, as they are linked to health, are particularly lacking in studies of adolescent health.

Across disciplines, research regarding the concepts of place and sense of place and their relationships to health and wellbeing has proliferated, often resulting in diverse meanings, applications, and approaches, and thus varying results (Brady & Weitzman, 2007; Kudryavtsev, Stedman, & Krasny, 2012; Manzo, 2003). The geography of urban and rural places for youth provide a case in point. Specifically, Brady and Weitzman (2007) reported diverse findings among suburban versus urban youth at risk for smoking and alcohol use: one study found that suburban 12th graders were more at risk than their urban counterparts for cigarette smoking or alcohol use, whereas a
second study found no statistically significant differences in smoking or alcohol use across urban, suburban, and rural youth. Lastly, a third study found rural youth to have similar or higher rates of cigarette smoking and alcohol use to those of urban youth (p. 562).

Gordon (2010) has acknowledged the gap in social work literature as well. Although social work research prioritizes the importance for children’s development and wellbeing in their attachments to people, Gordon confirmed the limitations and lack of consideration of the role that is also played by children’s (and youths’) attachments to place. Gordon examined the significance of place attachment for children’s identity development, security, and sense of belonging as it relates to children in care systems in the U.K. He drew upon research from human geography, environmental psychology, and other sources to consider the meaning of place for individuals, and the role that attachment to place plays in the development of children’s identity.

For Gordon (2010), sense of belonging to a particular place is a fundamental component for an individual’s understanding of who they are, their identity(ies), and how their identities reflect or connect to their wellbeing. Youth have “special places” that likely form essential components of their identity, including a sense of security and belonging related to these places: for example, their country of origin, town, or village in which they were raised; houses in which they lived; and schools they attended. Further, citing Hay (1998), Gordon argued that despite mobility and changes in life, as well as locations, “strong bonds with particular places endure” (2010, p. 756). Similar to geographers, Gordon (2010) believes places come into existence when people give meaning to the space(s) in which they live. The role and importance of time spent in places also matters. While limited, abstract knowledge about a place can be developed in
a short period, “feelings” regarding a place take longer to imprint because time is required to accumulate feelings built upon routine daily activities and experiences, as well as significant life events. Long-term residence in place(s) strengthens place identity, facilitating social ties, providing time to ascribe places with meanings, and linking significant life events to place, although the quality and intensity of experiences requires more than simple existence and duration (Gordon, 2010, citing Tuan, 1977; Rowles, 1983).

Gordon (2010) has also argued for the consideration of childhood development to fully understand the importance of place attachments. Place attachments arise from person-environment interactions. Consistent with aspects of child development, direct and repeated experiences combine with meanings attached by children and others (such as parents, teachers, and peers) to foster children’s attachment to places (Gordon, 2010, citing Proshansky & Fabian, 1987; Matthews, 1992). Gordon believes that from a very young age, children develop (unconsciously at first) positive and negative feelings about their environments. For place attachment to occur, children need to develop clusters of positive cognitions linked to specific places and their meanings. Although ideal, positive attachment to places do not always occur since children may also have negative experiences with places, e.g., negative or ambivalent social interactions or life events. Conversely, poor environments can be associated with positive experiences and memories. Negative environmental experiences do not always challenge a child or children’s development; some are resilient and capable of transforming their experiences into positive cognitions (Gordon, 2010, citing Proshansky et al., 1983, see also Newman, 2004).
Prior to attending formal elementary education, at the age of four or five years, the home is children’s primary source of place attachment. During the elementary school years, children normally develop understanding of their (geographical) place in the wider world, experienced through exploring parts of their neighborhood, either independently or in the company of adults, siblings, and peers (Gordon, 2010, citing Siegel & White, 1975; Matthews, 1992). In adolescence, teens develop a more conscious attachment to their places, which becomes clear through a growing identification with their local environments, and for some, includes the desire to continue to reside in this place till adulthood. Moreover, youth develop strong feelings of belonging when they perceive they have been fully included and accepted in their local community(ies) or develop close ties with adults and elders (Gordon, 2010).

**Place and Identities: Individual and Group Identity**

According to Phinney and Ong (2007) ethnic identity is multi-faceted and dynamic; it changes over time and context, must be considered with reference to its formation and variations (Phinney, 2003), and derives from a sense of peoplehood within a group, a culture, and, is typically tied to particular setting or place (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Phinney and Ong (2007) asserted that any attempt to understand ethnic identity must be based on an examination of current social, psychological, and developmental theories and perspectives along with supporting evidence. Knowledge and understanding of one’s in-group affiliations is an integral component, along with related insights and comprehension. Per Phinney and Ong (2007), experience is significant in achieving a secure ethnic identity, but experience is not sufficient to produce it. Because one’s ethnic identity is constructed over time, an individual’s actions and choices are essential to the process. Ethnic identity is distinct in some ways from
other group identities, such as racial identity, but also shares aspects of both personal and group identities. Based on their efforts, Phinney and Ong expanded ethnic identity theory by developing measures, e.g., the multi group ethnic identity measure (MEIM).

In comparison to traditional identity research, Phinney and Ong (2007) acknowledged the work of social psychologists, such as Tajfel and Turner (1986), in the study of group identity and recognized their contributions to research on ethnic identity. Phinney and Ong (2007) described “ethnic identity is an aspect of social identity,” and as defined by Tajfel, it is “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from [his] knowledge of [his] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). Based on their review of the literature, Phinney and Ong (2007) also identified major components of ethnic (social) identity: self-categorization, commitment and attachment, exploration, behavioral involvement, in-group attitudes (private regard), ethnic values and beliefs, importance or salience of group membership, and ethnic identity in relation to national identity. They found commitment, or sense of belonging (i.e., strong attachment and personal investment in a group), to be the most important component of ethnic identity. Although their work has been highly influential regarding ethnic identity and adolescents, it does not specifically attend to the role place has in forming or shaping ethnic identity processes.

Environmental psychologists, Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983) were the first to coin the term place-identity in environmental psychology as “a pot-pourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas and related feelings about specific physical settings as well as types of settings” (p. 60; see also Dixon & Durheim, 2000).
Gordon, however, specifically linked place attachment to an individual’s sense of identity, which consists of the memories, feelings, beliefs, and meanings associated with their physical environment (2010; see also Proshansky et al., 1983). From a psychoanalytic theoretical view, thoughts regarding places become integrated as part of an individual’s identity, creating internalized resources that can be drawn upon as sources of security during times of stress or isolation (Gordon, 2010, p. 757). Moreover, places filled with personal, social, and cultural meaning offer a framework for creating personal identity(ies) (Gordon, 2010, p. 757, citing Cuba & Hummon, 1993, and Hay, 1998).

Social psychologists, Dixon and Durheim (2000) have raised three important limitations of prior identity research with respect to place. They noted that the literature (1) largely ignores the rhetorical traditions through which places, and the identities they embody and circumscribe, are imbued with meaning; (2) disregards how place-identity constructions, as deployed within everyday discourse, are used to accomplish discursive actions, including the justification of certain kinds of person-in-place relations; and (3) most importantly, continues to marginalize the political dimension of one’s representations of place and of how one locates oneself and others.

More recently, Dixon, Durheim, and Di Masso (2014) not only critiqued the lack of clarity in the conceptualization of place-identity, they also identified the need to consider the impact of environmental change on identity processes, particularly with respect to dis-placement and loss of self. Referencing Fried (1963) and Fullilove (1996), Dixon and Durheim (2004) described “the emotionally charged interconnection between self and place” and how under certain conditions, such as unexpected environmental change(s), or displacement, loss of place can evoke intense responses of
loss of self and related feelings of disorientation and nostalgia for the lost environment. They noted that dis-placement can lead to a sense of alienation of the individual, disequilibrium and a deep sense of loss to the place of original significance.

These researchers argued for a discursive approach to overcome the problematics surrounding the definition of place-identity as “a specific kind of phenomenon: individualistic, mentalistic, uncontested and apolitical” (Dixon & Durheim, 2000, p. 31). The benefits of the discursive approach may promote a re-conceptualization of the person-place relationship and offer a critical, collectivistic and action-oriented view of place-identity. Through dialogue, place-identity is reconstituted as something people create together to make sense of their connections to place and guide actions accordingly. Moreover, Dixon and Durheim (2000) described how this process “acknowledges the relevance of places to their collective sense of self, it also highlights the collective practices through which specific place identities are formed, reproduced and modified.... Language becomes the force that binds people to places (Tuan, 1991.). It is through language that everyday experiences of self-in-place form and mutate; moreover, it is through language that places themselves are imaginatively constituted in ways that carry implications for ‘who we are’ (or ‘who we can claim to be’)” (p. 32), as opposed to “who I am.” This collectivistic orientation departs from the individual-oriented place-identity literature and is more in sync with collectivist orientation of Filipino cultures.

Informed by Proshansky and colleagues’ (1983) individualistic construction and Sarpin’s (1983) behavioral model of place-identity, Korpela (1989) takes a narrower definition of place-identity as a psychological structure resulting from an individual’s active self-regulation, which is inclusive of a person’s place-identity to home and its
surroundings and other physical environments and objects that play a role in an individual’s self-regulation (see also Dixon, Durheim, & DiMasso, 2014). Emotional attachment or a sense of belonging is fundamental to the psychological structure, for “place-belongingness is not only one aspect of place-identity, but a necessary basis for it. Around this core, social, cultural and biological definitions and cognitions of place which become part of the person’s place-identity are built” (Korpela, 1989, p. 246; see also Dixon, Durheim, & DiMasso, 2014). Tuan (1980) and Cuba and Hummon (1993), as cited in Dixon, Durheim, and DiMasso (2014), confirmed the significance of belonging as a central feature of place-identity processes. However, Dixon and colleagues focused on individual development as opposed to the individual-in relation-to the collective and how the collective identity informs both self- and group-identity processes.

Indigenous scholars such Memmott and Long (2002), other scholars such as Setha Low (1992) and Lynn Manzo (2003), as well as other environmental psychologists, have argued for community-level attachments and conceptualizations of place-identity relations that move beyond individual identity to include the identities of social groups. Specifically, Memmott and Long (2002) observed that “[b]onds between individuals (or social groups) and palaces constitute part of the personal identity of those individuals (or the identity of the social group)” (p. 40). Consistently, these authors have focused on the relational dimensions, what they term “mutual interaction processes” between people-place(s) and the interdependent nature. “Thus people can be seen to be dependent upon the concept of place for their self-identity (and social-identity), just as places are dependent upon people for their identity people–environment relations” (Memmott & Long, 2002, p. 40, citing Memmott, 1979, p. 493–
Thus self-identity is but one aspect of collective identity construction within the context and bonds of place making and place-based relationships.

For Indigenous scholars, the concepts of place and identity and the interrelatedness of place-identity processes are fundamental to their core beliefs and values, spirituality, self-determination, linking past to present. Place identity includes, “...the consciousness of land, sea, and all that place entails—is fundamental to Indigenous identity processes” (Battiste, 2000, p. 282; see also Kana’iaupuni & Liebler, 2005; Memmott & Long, 2002; Meyer, 2003). Noting characteristics of Indigenous identity processes for Native Hawaiians, Kana’iaupuni and Liebler (2005) and Kana’iaupuni and Malone (2006) also asserted the complexity and intimacy of how place is intertwined with their identity and self-determination:

At once the binding glue that holds Native Hawaiians together and links them to a shared past, place is also a primary agent that has been used against them to fragment and alienate. Yet, place, in all of its multiple levels of meaning, is one light that many Hawaiians share in their spiritual way-finding to a Hawaiian identity, one that is greatly significant to their existence as a people and culture, both past and present. (p. 287)

Further, as Liebler (2010) observed, “in addition to relationships among people, relationships to culturally meaningful physical places – or ‘homelands’ – can be integral to the development and maintenance of identity as an individual, as a member of a community, and as a member of a race or ethnic group” (p. 596).

Drawing on Indigenous perspectives of place and identity that interweave the spiritual and the physical with sociocultural traditions and practices Kana’iaupuni and Malone (2006) maintained that Indigenous knowledge and beliefs include ancestral heroes with special powers who help to shape land and marine systems. The latter, in turn, is represented through human rituals, song, dance, or other actions performed in
specific places. And, “between places and people occurs a sharing of being: Places carry the energies of people, history, and cultural significance; in turn, people carry the energy of places as some part of their being” (Memmott & Long, 2002, p. 43).

In a study published in 2006, Kana‘iaupuni and Malone, analyzed the relationship between place and identity for Native Hawaiians, and they noted the relevance to other Indigenous groups or cultures whose members are highly intermarried and mobile, whose language is endangered, and whose culture is known more widely in its commercial tourist, rather than authentic forms (e.g., Filipino immigrants).

**Children and Youths’ Geographies, Places, and Identities**

Evans (2008) offered an overview of children’s, youths’ and young people’s geographies, noting that since the 1990s, geographers have made significant contributions to the field through studies of the spatialities of children and young people’s lives. Further, she argued that youths’ geographies need to be separated from children’s geographies because of age and developmental differences associated with each age group and that research is needed to address gaps specifically for youth and young people. As Evans (2008) noted, central to children’s geographies research is the assertion that children and young people are important social actors whose experiences of spaces and places may be unique and thus vary from adults’ experiences. Therefore, recent research involving children and young people has sought to address gaps and concerns about children and young people’s absence in geography, social science research, and public policy. These populations have been “described as ‘being nothing,’ defined as ‘not adults,’ and/or viewed as entirely dependent on adults; ‘having nothing to do’ – missing from the agendas of service providers; and having ‘nowhere to go’ –
young people’s presence outside the home is seen as problematic, which led to the absence of young people’s consideration in the design and planning of places and public spaces” (Evans, 2008, p. 1659).

Research with children and young people has repeatedly shown that place, identity and wellbeing are often closely intertwined (Gordon, 2010, citing Rowles, 1980, 1983; Chawla, 1992; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996; Day, 2007; Green & White, 2007; Irwin et al., 2007). Hopkins (2010) described three approaches to understanding and appreciating youth and place as socially constructed categories and forms of identification, along with the relationship between the two concepts: (1) individuals have different access to and experiences of place based on their age; (2) places have their own aged identities, which have implications for those who use them; and (3) youth may actively create and resist particular age identities through their use of place(s).

1. **Different access to and experiences of place based on age.** For youth, their experiences of place(s) will vary according to their age, and therefore, they are granted access to particular places and refused entry to others. Referencing S. Smith (1999), Hopkins (2010) described spatial patterns as a reflection of social relations, class divisions, and inequities, and vice versa.

2. **Spaces have their own aged identities along with implications for those who use them.** Boys and Girls Clubs and other community youth-serving agencies, university campuses, and nightclubs are locations that have strong associations with youth and will influence those who choose to frequent these places and their senses of belonging, or not, to them. This exemplifies how spatial
organization is mediated by social and political constructions (Hopkins, 2010, citing S. Smith, 1999).

3. Individuals may actively create and resist particular age identities through their use of place. Youth may actively seek to challenge or resist their exclusion from or dis-association with particular places by using place(s) and articulating their age in a particular manner. This act of resistance allows for a re-imagining and a redefining of what the world is like, where youth are able to reclaim marginalized spaces and create their own new places (Hopkins, 2010, citing S. Smith, 1999).

Youth, Place, and Identity

One of the central issues in studying young people, place, and identity relates to addressing the circumstances around how social identities and differences are recognized and critiqued, and in identifying how power relations are included (Hopkins, 2010). For Hopkins, research needs to address how (1) young people actively communicate their identity, (2) how it is interpreted by others, and (3) how it is variously negotiated or (4) how it is represented or performed (Hopkins, 2010).

Hopkins noted that youths’ identities influence and are influenced by particular places; and, the specific places in which youth congregate also act as an important marker of identity (2010). Specific places for youth, are constructed in ways that establish connections or disconnections with other places, and provide critical social networks, and social routes for youth communication, identity, and sense of belonging sometimes even in contradictory ways.
Social processes also connect to places, such as those associated with the media or neighborhood rumors, and these processes can actively work to stereotype particular places – and the people living in these communities – in negative or positive ways. To identify as belonging to particular places (similar to identifying with specific social groups) or to dis-identify or dis-associate with certain places and disavow certain identities involves complex processes, relationalities, and intersections associated with place identity. Therefore, just as age, gender, and race are identities, so too are locality and place for youth (Hopkins, 2010). Often, people are identified according to the particular racial or ethnic group they affiliate with, the neighborhood or street they live in, or the school they attend. Hopkins (2010) has argued that similar to other identities, those associated with place and localities are better understood by appreciating the processes, relationalities, and intersections associated with them.

**Wellbeing, Geographies of Wellbeing, and Indigenous Perspectives**

While differences among researchers exist regarding the concept of place, sense of place, related definitions, and applications, Lewicka (2008) found that the majority of researchers do agree on some specifics:

> development of emotional bonds with places is a prerequisite for psychological balance and good adjustment, that it helps to overcome identity crises and gives people the sense of stability they need in the ever changing world, that it may facilitate involvement in local activities, and that no matter how mobile a person may be, some form of attachment to places is always present in our life. (p. 211)

Western psychological concepts, including wellbeing, have been criticized by Indigenous peoples as narrow because of their presumptions of universality, lack of cultural or tribal specificity, and preoccupation with the individual self (Cram, 2014). Atkinson, Fuller, and Painter (2012) traced the historical roots of individual wellbeing to the Greek
classics and the competing philosophies of wellbeing—from Aristippus’ hedonic, or happiness and pleasure-based approach, to Aristotle’s eudaimonic wellbeing, with a sense of purpose and fulfillment. Contemporary psychologists, most notably, Diener and Seligman working within the hedonic tradition — or subjective wellbeing — have contributed to high-profile and policy-relevant research (Diener, 2000) and the more personalized approaches to happiness and wellbeing (Seligman, 2004). Other psychologists extended Aristotle’s eudaimonic concept of wellbeing, focusing on the dynamic processes that enable a sense of autonomy, self-determination, self-fulfillment, competence, meaning, and purpose (Ryan & Deci, 2001). Ryff’s (1989) list of six characteristics of psychological wellbeing (self-acceptance, autonomy, personal growth, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and positive relationships with others) provides another influential example of this approach.

Overall, contemporary research in the field of wellbeing has been dominated by psychologists, and as Atkinson et al. (2012) reported, by the significance of two distinct features. First, a components approach to research definitions breaks down the abstract concept into principal dimensions. Second, the common understanding of wellbeing primarily focuses on it as an individual quality. From their viewpoint, the scope of wellbeing “may range from an inner balance between positive and negative affect through to a breadth of components and it may be influenced by factors and processes from proximal personal interactions through to global scale processes. Wellbeing may be assessed objectively or subjectively, as a snap-shot of a current state, longitudinally across time or as a projection into the future, but in all these diverse scenarios, the central concept of wellbeing is itself individual in scale” (p. 5). According to these authors, wellbeing was not always conceived of as an individual quality; earlier
conceptualizations “addressed collective aspects of the good life in terms of the economic wellbeing of the nation (Sointu 2005) or the moral landscapes that may inform or confront social and environmental injustice (Smith 2000)” (p. 5). The collective aspects have been positioned as contextual influences with community or population measures of wellbeing becoming aggregates of individual measures.

Regardless of definition or approach, whether individualistic or collectivistic, as Atkinson and colleagues (2012) stated:

Wellbeing, can have no form, expression or enhancement without consideration of place....The processes of well-being or becoming, of fulfilling potential and expressing autonomy or of mobilizing a range of material, social and psychological resources, are essentially and necessarily emergent in place. (p. 3)

Wellbeing and its engagements with the concepts of place (sense of place) have been the focus of a rich field of debate and contestation between quantitative, policy relevant approaches “that treat place as little more than a static backdrop or a container against within which social interactions occur” (Atkinson, et al., 2012, p. 3) and other approaches, particularly those of human geographers, who for example “have problematized this apparently common-sense approach to position place as inherently relational in both its production and its influence” (Atkinson et al., 2012, p. 3; see also, Creswell, 2004).

Human geographers have also been active contributors to the geographies of wellbeing. This interdisciplinary venture encompasses human geography, medical geography, and biomedical sciences, including public health and behavioral sciences. In a complementary fashion, geography has contributed to mapping spatial variations of disease and contributed to efforts in epidemiology and public health to identify and model the spatial distribution and dynamics of different diseases and health
interventions (Panelli & Tipa, 2007). Geographers, including Curtis (2004), Gesler (1992), Williams (1999), Cutchin (2007), and Panelli and Tipa (2007) have contributed to this research, thus shaping this interdisciplinary arena. Recent efforts by Cutchin (2007) revealed important linkages between wider political and economic contexts and place—specifically, daily life and experiences of wellbeing.

To guide understanding of wellbeing among Maori people, Panelli and Tipa (2007) reviewed “geographies of wellbeing” in Indigenous contexts. They critiqued existing measures of wellbeing based on predominantly Western hegemonic and psychological views and found the concept of wellbeing to be culturally tied and culturally specific. They posited that “where one lives and the sociocultural and environmental contexts of that life will vary across populations and produce different experiences of wellbeing” (p. 448). Most notable for these authors are studies linking Indigenous peoples to environment and highlighting the significance of these reciprocal relationships for social, cultural, and spiritual wellbeing. Among four Indigenous studies of geographies of wellbeing they identified “…common threads [and] that reaffirm [that] Indigenous conceptualizations of wellbeing are influenced by lived experiences within their natural, social, spiritual, and cultural worlds” (p. 447).

McGregor, Morelli, Matsuoka, Rodenhurst, Kong, and Spencer’s (2003) ecological model of Native Hawaiian wellbeing has offered an example of one of the studies identified. Their model depicts five systemic and interdependent relationships—particularly the areas in which humans work, live, and interact: `aina or land and natural resources, nation, community, and `ohana or extended family, and individual. Each system of the model (see Figure 1 below) represents a layer, or level, where
advocacy, planning, prevention, and intervention programs and services can offer support and enhance the wellbeing of Native Hawaiian people.
McGregor et al. (2003) described the underlying assumptions of the model:

1. Native Hawaiian *extended families or `ohana* form the basic social units of the Native Hawaiian nation;

2. Native Hawaiian wellbeing is integrally linked to the vitality and abundance of *natural resources* relied upon for subsistence and cultural practices;
3. Many Native Hawaiians continue to reside on *ancestral lands or homelands* in urban and rural settings; and

4. The healthy and functional `ohana are the foundation for economically stable *communities*, which contribute to the development of a strong nation (p. 106).

Panelli and Tipa (2007) have argued for a place-sensitive approach to understanding wellbeing, informed by Indigenous scholars and studies focused on the new health, geographies of wellbeing. They highlighted four dimensions of “a place-focused sense of wellbeing”: 1) studying wellbeing in place(s) can facilitate an analysis of personal and collective livelihoods as they occur in different locations—demonstrating variation both within and between places; 2) attending to place enables an appreciation of how place-particular relations and structures affect wellbeing and are affected by wider social norms and infrastructures; 3) considering places that support the various cultural beliefs and practices are embedded in contrasting locations; and, 4) conducting place-specific research of wellbeing can highlight the significance of human-environment specificity, where particular relations with, and understandings of, environments affect people's sense of wellbeing. Panelli and Tipa (2007) underscored that the above four dimensions are not discrete, but rather mutually constitute the lives and wellbeing of populations in diverse places.
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES AND METHODS

Introduction

The focus of my project is to explore how Filipino youth living in Hawai‘i narrate (1) their meanings and experiences of place and environments that promote their sense of wellbeing and health; (2) their sense of belonging and connectedness to various geographic, community, and virtual places; and (3) how geographic environments and places promote positive identity and cultural connectedness.

Methodologically, I drew from principles of Indigenous methodologies (IMs) and Filipino Indigenous methodologies (FIMs), and integrated community-based participatory research (CBPR) approaches, as well as from feminist relational narrative inquiry. This qualitative study employed a multiple methods — also known as triangulated methods approach — in which multiple methodologies were combined (e.g., Indigenous Methodologies, Filipino Indigenous Methodologies) in order to provide a culturally robust and culturally grounded understanding of Filipino youth narratives relative to place and wellbeing. Additionally, in-depth semi-structured interviews were employed to investigate the primary research questions with the purpose of obtaining “rich data” that captured participants’ stories and meanings (Gilligan et al., 2003; Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kovach, 2010). Accordingly, (critical) IMs and methods, voice-centered relational methods, and community-engaged participatory frameworks were key to the study and aligned with and reflected social work as well as my own cultural values, practices, and ethics. This chapter summarizes the research design and the various methodologies and methods employed in the study.
Methodologies

Indigenous Methodologies

The research methodologies employed in this study provide the underlying principles (IMs, FIMs, narrative inquiry) that guide the qualitative research methods used (e.g., Narrative-Listening Guide).

Indigenous methodologies employ both decolonizing methodologies and indigenizing methodologies. Decolonizing methodologies were developed by Indigenous researchers and formulated to respond to imperialism, colonialism, and oppression as manifest in research practices; with the purpose of re-centering indigenous concerns and worldviews and promoting theory and research from indigenous perspectives (Smith, 1999; Louis, 2007). Moreover, Indigenizing methodologies build on decolonizing methodologies by focusing on building research theory, protocols, and practices from ancient teachings, also known as Original Instructions, and Indigenous epistemologies (Smith, 1999; Walters et al., 2011). Foundational to critical indigenous research are efforts to balance decolonizing mainstream research while simultaneously indigenizing the research approach by and for Indigenous Peoples (Louis, 2007). Through this process, Indigenous Peoples are empowered to protect themselves, gain control of the research process, take control of their cultural identities, emancipate their voices, realize Indigenous realities, and prevent “further misrepresentation, misinterpretation, fragmentation, mystification, commodification, and simplification of Indigenous knowledges” (Louis, 2007). Smith (1999) states that the process of interrogating the settler-Indigenous social relationships “enables a form of praxis that seeks out Indigenous voice and representation with research that has historically
marginalized and silenced Indigenous peoples” (Smith, 1999, p. 29; see also Kovach, 2009).


IMs also aim to ensure that research is informed by Indigenous issues with an Indigenous perspective and accomplished in a sympathetic, respectful, and ethically correct manner (Louis, 2007). Further, Louis (2007) has described the “overwhelming commonalities” in Indigenous literature on IMs and research agendas which include “four unwavering principles:”

(1) *Relational accountability*—which describes Indigenous peoples interdependence and interrelationship with all of their environments. Implied in this principle is the importance of recognizing the relationship between all components of the research process, from inspiration to end, and the importance of nurturing and maintaining respect for all components, all people—including participants, their communities, and their ancestors—“all our relations.”

(2) *Respectful representation*—which requires the researcher to consider representation of self, research, events, and phenomena being researched. While being respectful is implicit, this mode also involves listening to others’ ideas and being open to and not insisting your ideas prevail (Steinhauer,
2002, p. 73). It requires characteristics of humility, generosity, and patience with the process and respectfully accepting decisions made by Indigenous people with regard to treatment of knowledge shared.

(3) Reciprocal appropriation—which is N. Scott Momaday’s metaphor that describes Native Americans’ attitudes to the environment as an “appropriation in which man (sic) invests himself in the landscape; and at the same time incorporates the landscape into his own most fundamental experience” (1976, p. 80). By this recognition, “all research is appropriation” (Rundstrom & Deur, 1999, p. 239), which acknowledges the importance of making explicit the mutual benefits for both Indigenous participants and the researcher.

(4) Rights and regulation—which demands that the entire research process be a collaborative process, shared with and endorsed by the Indigenous community, with their explicit goals incorporated and their implications attended to throughout the research process (Smith, 1999).

Moreover, Louis (2007) acknowledged a spiritual aspect to IMs. Specifically, she noted that the search for knowledge from an Indigenous perspective is considered to be a spiritual journey “accessed through ceremony, prayer, and dreams where relational experiences between the spiritual and human worlds interact to produce a foundation from which to develop the research process, protocols, and methods” (p. 134). This relational worldview—highlighting the spiritual, human, and natural realms from which knowledge is passed and knowledge is generated, provides a key principle foundational to IMs approaches: i.e., knowledge is attained through quoting “living in a sea of relationships. In each place they lived, they learned the subtle, but all important,
language of relationship” (Cajete, 2000, p. 178). Louis (2007) highlighted results of these observed beliefs, which are nurtured across generations, and foster an intimacy with each place, its natural (plants, animals, wildlife) and geographic environment. Many Indigenous scholars believe that through intimacy with place or places the spiritual realm, the spatial realm (ancestral relationships across generations, time and space), and the human being realm interact to produce and pass on Indigenous knowledges, principles, and protocols. Thus, the spiritual aspects of IMs recognize the interdependency across space and time of relational knowledges and value intuitive as well as observed knowledges as they arise in the research process.

Finally, IMs maintain that “the most welcomed researcher is already a part of the community...understand[s] the history, needs, and sensibilities of the community...focuses on solutions, and understands that research is a lifelong process” (Crazy Bull, 1997, p. 19). IMs approaches explicitly value research by and for Indigenous communities, noting that the local researcher has obligatory relational responsibilities already in place and that these relational obligations provide for community accountability well beyond the project’s dedicated timeline.

In summary, IMs recognize that the research process is a holistic endeavor bringing mind, body, spirit, researcher and community together with a collaborative mission to uplift Indigenous voices, counter settler discourses, and empower the community. Moreover, as noted earlier, IMs contain the expectation that research protocols and data production should be in line with cultural protocols and must be relevant to the communities studied (Wilson, 2008). Additionally, research efforts undertaken in communities go well beyond grant timelines to always include future concerns for the wellbeing of the community as a whole.
This study builds on the IM principles noted above by:

(1) incorporating Indigenous Filipino worldviews, language, values, and proverbs throughout the study, particularly during the data analyses and interpretation phases of the study;

(2) employing relational accountability to the present community, future ancestors, and past generations in how the research is engaged, interpreted, and disseminated while upholding strong standards of science and knowledge production;

(3) incorporating respectful representation via self-reflective processes and verifiability checks with community leaders; and

(4) engaging the rights and respect for the community by the inclusion of a community advisory board as well as community consultants throughout data analytic and dissemination phases.

Filipino Indigenous Methodologies

Situating Philippine Indigenous methods and methodologies, Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino (2000) noted parallel characteristics with IMs’ guiding principles and values that highlight the relational aspects of conducting Indigenous research with Filipinos. These include the level of interaction or relationship between the researcher and participant(s)—most notably, respectful treatment of participants as equals (not subjects) with ongoing attention paid to the welfare of the research participants; appropriateness of chosen methods (i.e., ability to adapt to cultural norms); value in the research process over data; sharing knowledge throughout the process; and attention to research ethics. Moreover, using the “language of the people should be the language of research at all times” (p. 60); if that is not possible, local researchers or consultants
should be tapped for assistance (Pe-Pua & Marcelino, 2000). As Pe-Pua and Marcelino and others believe, “It is in their own mother tongue that a person can truly express their innermost sentiments, ideas, perceptions, and attitudes” (p. 60).

In addition to aligning FIMs with IMs, FIMs includes culturally specific principles for social relationships in the methodological process such as: pakikiramdam which is described as:

a special kind of sensitivity to [social and cultural] cues which will guide them in their interaction with group members, especially with Filipinos who are used to indirect and non-verbal manners of communicating and expressing thoughts, attitudes, feelings and emotions. It is through pakikiramdam that a researcher will know when to ask personal questions and when not to pursue them; when it is time to leave; or how to interpret a “yes” or “no.” (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000, p. 60)

Other culturally specific principles of FIMs include pakikipagkapwa—the ability to treat others with respect as kapwa or fellow human being; and, “Pagtatanong-tanong (which means “asking questions”)—the ability to ask questions and weave the answers, the ability to talk story-spending time exchanging questions and ideas; and the ability to talk story with respect to culturally sensitive topics (e.g., domestic violence). Pe-Pua (1989, 2006) elaborated on pagtatanong-tanong, describing four major characteristics of this principle: (1) it is participatory in nature, where the participant defines its direction and time management; (2) power is shared equally between the researcher and participant, where both parties are equally engaged, with no one dominating time in terms of questions (and responses); (3) it is appropriate and adaptive to the participants, individual or group, conforming to cultural norms; and (4) it is integrated with other indigenous research methods (Pe-Pua, 1989, pp. 150-152).

Throughout this present study, I have integrated both IMs and FIMs methodologies, with specific emphases on the following FIM principles:
(1) *pakikairamdan*—reading verbal and non-verbal cultural cues and tailoring the interview in response to these cues;

(2) *pakikipagkapwa*—giving respect to all youth participants by tailoring the interview to their developmental needs and responding to their needs (e.g., knowing when to shift topics or stop probing); and,

(3) *pagtatanong-tanong*—talking story sensitively and with shared power, i.e., allowing youth to set the pace for their story and to share their stories only when it is culturally and developmentally appropriate to do so—thus by sharing power—through talking story—we could forge a conversational alliance in discussing sensitive topics (mental health, for example).

**An IMs Approach to Community-Based Participatory Research (IM-CBPR)**

Appropriately engaging communities using indigenous, and community-based participatory research (CBPR) was central to this study. My prior experience working on projects that employed CBPR principles and guidelines was helpful, in tandem with integrating Indigenous methods, as previously mentioned. Efforts to enhance partnerships with the study’s community stakeholders and incorporate new innovative approaches to decolonizing and indigenizing CBPR as offered by Walters and colleagues (2009) were complementary (see below). Building on IMs, Walters et al. (2009) have described CBPR (hereafter referred to as IM-CBPR) as an “alternative paradigm” integrating education and social action to improve community health and reduce health disparities. CBPR’s primary aim is the development of “mutually beneficial research partnerships...with goals of societal and communal transformation...rather than a specified set of methods or techniques” (Walters et al., 2009, citing Wallerstein & Duran, 2006, p. 313).
According to Walters and colleagues (2009), CBPR’s generally accepted principles include recognizing the community as a unit of identity and/or analysis; building on the community’s assets and resiliency; facilitating co-learning, co-partnering, and community-capacity building throughout all phases of research, including dissemination; attempting to strike a balance between research and action; emphasizing locally relevant, ecological, and historical contexts that contribute to multiple determinants; generating systems of growth through cyclical and iterative processes; and involving long-term commitment to process and community.

Walters et al. (2009) noted that tribes have added the following to CBPR principles: “recognizing the sovereignty of the tribe or indigenous community to be self-determining; that power and authority rest with the community or tribal entity; and that the process of knowledge exchange is reciprocal and always attentive to the best interests of the indigenous community, the ancestors, and future generations” (Walters et al., 2009, p. 152).

In efforts to enhance and “further co-exploration of decolonizing and indigenizing approaches in partnerships with indigenous communities” (p. 154), Walters et al. (2009) offered the following eight principles: reflection, respect, relevance, resilience, reciprocity, responsibility, retraditionalization, and revolution. The authors acknowledge Tuhiwai Smith (2005) and incorporated her work “to build indigenous research capacity” and also explained that the guidelines are not meant to be exhaustive and “should be appropriately tailored” to the community.

Following are descriptions of the eight principles:

**Reflection**: True partnerships begin with reflection upon the privileged statuses from which most partners operate and the emotionally difficult
task of acknowledging the pain of Native communities and developing empathy.

*Respect:* Research partners must value and prioritize indigenous epistemologies, knowledge, cultural protocols, and healing practices.

*Relevance:* The community should contribute to defining research problems and strategies, which should respond to their own self-identified needs and concerns.

*Resilience:* All aspects of the research must acknowledge the community’s strengths and resilience.

*Reciprocity:* The partnership should be collaborative and mutually respectful with knowledge exchanged in both directions.

*Responsibility:* Research partners are obliged to enhance community capacity to conduct Indigenous and Western research, disseminate research findings in culturally meaningful ways, and anticipate the implications.

*Retraditionalization:* Traditional knowledge and methods must be actively integrated into the formulation of the research questions and the process of scientific inquiry.

*Revolution:* Research partners and community members must actively seek to decolonize and indigenize the research process to transform science as well as themselves, their communities, and the larger society for the betterment of all. (Walters et al., 2009, p. 154).

While some unique differences were found, commonalities underlying the various indigenous methodologies, methods, and frameworks proposed by Louis (2007), Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino (2000), and Walters et al. (2009) were pertinent and relevant to the methodological approaches to this study. Overall, IMs, FIMs, and IM-based CBPR influenced my vision and approach to conducting community-engaged research with Filipino youth and young people and enhancing partnerships with stakeholders in Honolulu. While these principles and guidelines are significant, putting them into action required additional thought and reflection regarding my positionality as a researcher, which will be discussed in the next section.
Situating Myself in the Project

Am I an “Insider” or “Outsider”?

With long-term familial attachments and connectedness to my place of birth, being welcomed as *kamaʻaina* (literal translation “child of the land” regardless of racial or ethnic background, someone native to Hawaiʻi who has lived on the mainland and returns “home”) upon my return(s) to the Islands situates me as an insider. Yet, other aspects of my personal life position me as an outsider. As a second-generation Filipina born in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, to immigrant parents, and raised in my early years in the Kalihi Valley, in conducting this research, I was aware of my power and privilege as a light-skinned co-ethnic, “elder,” raised and educated in Seattle (mainland), who speaks “proper” English, is highly educated, middle class, and in an interracial marriage (i.e., married to a Caucasian man or hoale), with the economic capacity to travel to conduct research. As a daughter of the land, as a daughter of Kalihi community, and as an “aunty/elder,” I have many insider privileges; yet as one who now lives as a well-educated woman, residing on mainland, and with socioeconomic privilege and a researcher status, I can simultaneously be perceived as an “outsider.” As Tuhiwai Smith (1999) explained, “Most research methodologies assume that the researcher is an outsider able to observe without being implicated in the scene. This is related to positivism and notions of objectivity and neutrality” (p. 137). She added that, “Indigenous research approaches problematize this insider model in different ways because there are multiple ways of being both insider and outsider [simultaneously] in indigenous contexts” (p. 137).

Managing multiple roles (as family, kamaʻaina, aunty/elder, researcher, etc.) allowed me to venture into multiple spaces and places to gather personal stories, where
other researchers may not be welcomed or accepted, along with the implications of this access. I also recognized the possibilities of being excluded in many ways. Although I could perceive these as burdens, my preference was to accept them as part of my ongoing responsibilities and commitments in partnering to conduct community research in an ethnical manner within my own ethnic community. Further, Tuhiwai Smith (1999) has noted that insider researchers “…have to be skilled at defining clear research goals and ‘lines of relating’ which are specific to the project and somewhat different from their own family networks. Insider researchers also need to find closure and have the skills to say ‘no’ and the skills to say ‘continue’…” (Smith, 1999, p. 137).

Thus, it was critical that I remained attentive to power dynamics, maintained engagement that was respectful of/for, reflective, reflexive, responsible and accountable to participants, community stakeholders, and the research process. Throughout the study, assessing my role as an insider, *kama’aina*, or outsider has not always been easy. Although my ties to the Islands remain strong through family/kinship relationships with ongoing visits “home,” I do not always fit the “local’ prototype and am sometimes not perceived as local.

**Researcher Self-Reflection and Reflexivity**

Although I am equipped with over 12 years of experience partnering and working with youth and communities of color, including other foreign-born Asians and Africans, which has provided many insights and perspectives, working with my own ethnic community presents unique challenges, particularly with respect to maintaining awareness of my social status, gender, age, and the switchability of my insider/outsider positionality in any given moment or in any given context while out in the field (Louis, 2007). Reflecting on other researchers’ arguments that one can never be unbiased or an
impartial observer (e.g., Morawski, 2001) required being actively and consciously aware
of my power and positionality moment to moment, from design, through data collection
and dissemination. This required attentiveness to simultaneous roles—as an elder and
as a researcher—along with my personal responses and emotions to each participant
(and Community Advisory Board [CAB] member), their statements, expressions, and
the interview process itself. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) maintained that “the critical
issue with insider research is a constant need for reflexivity” (p. 137).

As a qualitative researcher, regular note-taking, memoing, and inserting my voice
when appropriate to express my thoughts, questions, concerns, and experiences
throughout the study assisted the processes of self-reflection, reflexivity, along with my
ethical responsibilities and accountabilities. Tuhiwai Smith (1999) has aptly identified
the challenges to insider researchers:

...insider researchers have to have ways of thinking critically about their
processes, their relationships and the quality and richness of their data
and analysis. So do outsiders, but the major difference is that insiders have
to live with the consequences of the processes on a day-to-day basis
forevermore, and so do their families and communities. For this reason
insider researchers need to build particular sorts of research-based
support systems and relationships with their communities. (p. 137)

Moreover, thoroughly reviewing my roles and responsibilities as a researcher
prior to interviews with youth participants offered one example of practicing self-
reflection in action to ensure healthful boundaries and awareness between myself and
the youth I was interviewing that day. Additionally, seeking guidance from stakeholders
throughout the process to identify appropriate participants and incentives offered
additional examples. Regular debriefs with stakeholders post interviews along with
debriefs with my Chair also offered necessary supports and guidance to reflect upon the
research processes and my insider/outsider experiences. This is consistent with my
Research Methods

To better understand the relational aspects of the person-environment connection, and how these connections shape Filipino youths’ narratives and understandings of “place” and “wellness,” I employed interpretive methods, specifically, narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990, 2000) and Gilligan’s (2003) voice-centered relational method, referred to as the Listening Guide.

Narrative Methods and the Listening Guide

Riessman and Quinney (2005) acknowledged narrative research “as cross-disciplinary, drawing on diverse epistemologies, theories, and methods” (p. 406). According to Clandinin and Connelly (2000), “Narrative inquiry is a way of understanding and inquiring into experience through collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus” (p. 20). These authors noted three commonplaces of narrative inquiry — temporality, sociality, and place. Further, Clandinin and Connelly assert these commonplaces specify the dimensions of the inquiry and also serve as the conceptual framework rendering narrative inquiry to be distinct from other methodologies and methods. Clandinin and Huber (2010) assert the need for narrative researchers to attend to the conceptual framework in order to assess the intricacies of the social structures embedded within people’s lived experiences both internal and external to the inquiry itself as well as to the imagined future possibilities of participants’ lives.
For Gubrium and Holstein (2008), narratives go beyond experience: “Narratives are not simply reflections of experience.... Rather, narratives comprise the interplay between experience, storying practices, descriptive resources, purposes at hand, audiences, and the environments that condition storytelling” (p. 250). Gubrium and Holstein (2008) concurred with Clandinin and Connelly (2000) that places, settings, or narrative environment, are core components of narrativity, which “requires that we give serious attention to the possibility that narrative environments and their occasions have preferred stories” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008, p. 250). Thus, given the focus of this research on place and wellbeing, and the incorporation, per the respondents’ choosing of identifying significant places as well as visiting those places as part of the interview (when the youth wanted to do so), a narrative inquiry approach fits well with the design of the intent of the project, the research aims, and the interview guide.

Moreover, narrative inquiry is a qualitative method that focuses on the process of gathering information from participants for the purpose of research through storytelling (in Hawai‘i, “talking story”) in sharing their individual and collective thoughts, experiences, perceptions, and storied lives. “[T]he study of narrative is the study of the ways humans experience the world” (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2).

Narrative inquiry as a methodological approach for the current study is particularly relevant given the focus on Filipino youth (i.e., developmentally appropriate) and the approach to talking story (i.e., culturally appropriate) about their lived experiences in relation to significant places that impact their wellbeing.
The Listening Guide: A Voice-Centered Relational Narrative
Qualitative Method

Complementary to narrative inquiry and methods is Carol Gilligan’s Listening Guide (LG), a voice-centered relational research methodology. As a feminist methodology and method, the LG offers specific techniques for narrative inquiry and analysis. The narrative methodological approach and qualitative research method was designed to address the need to bolster the voices that long have been ignored or silenced by dominant cultural agendas and to actively incorporate the research-participant relationship as well as the researcher’s own subjectivity into the process. The LG, as Gilligan Spencer, Weinberg and Bertsch (2003) noted is responsive and attuned to voice, tone, timbre, and relationship as points of access into the human psyche. Its purpose is to initiate the process for discovery when discovery centers on beginning to understand the intimate world of another. As a relational method, the LG is composed of a series of four steps, known as “listenings,” with methods associated with each step (details of the listening step procedures are in the data analyses section). The LG method highlights the unique “voice” and communication style of individuals, thus breaking the silence and making the unspoken, spoken, and the invisible inner world present, clear, and visible to another (Gilligan et al., 2003). Finally, the LG method includes the ability to create “I” poems (via the second listening), a unique signature of the participant. Given the collective nature of Filipino culture and integrating IMs and FIMs methodologies, in consultation with my Chair, we decided to also develop “We” poems as well, to allow an opening for the collective “We” voice embedded in Filipino participants’ narratives. Both “I” and “We” poems were constructed per the Listening Guide instructions and were utilized in devising themes across participants’ narratives.
Moreover, offering and giving back participants’ copies of their individual “I” and “We” poems (each individual will receive only their own poems), post dissertation, as partial remuneration for participating in the study are planned. All “I” and “We” poems were edited to redact any identifying information of the participants.

**Instruments: The Demographic Questionnaire and the Interview Guide**

Data collected for this study included short demographic surveys and transcripts from the audiotaped individual interviews.

*Demographic Questionnaire*

After consent was obtained and participants’ preliminary questions were addressed, I administered, via pen and paper, a short demographic questionnaire with 12 items to all participants prior to the in-depth interview (see Appendix D). The purpose of the demographic questionnaire was for sample description purposes only and to protect the identity of the participants, all demographic data is presented in aggregate. Participants filled out the demographic questionnaire on their own.

The demographic questions in the questionnaire elicited age, place of birth, parent’s place of birth or origin, language(s) spoken at home, educational status, participation in school or community activities, and on the Internet and Social Media (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, YouTube). While youth completed the survey, I addressed any questions that arose. Upon completion of the survey, I quickly reviewed the items to ensure all questions were answered in some format (inclusive of refusals). These steps were completed prior to initiating the face-to-face in-depth qualitative interviews. I also continued to emphasize that participants could ask questions at any time, that the
process would be halted if they chose at any time, and that they had the right to refuse to answer any of the demographic and interview questions.

_Narrative Interview: In-Depth Interview Guide_

The semi-structured interview guide consisted of 8 open-ended topic areas followed by probes, if needed (See Appendix E). The study’s aims and related questions informed specific topics to be covered in the semi-structured interview guide: Filipino youths’ (1) experiences of places that they considered “special” or that held “special” meaning, also places that promoted their wellbeing and positive health; (2) belonging and connectedness to places, including schools, community, or cultural activities or events; (3) belonging and connectedness to other youth/peers, their families, communities, and to their ancestral homes or homelands; and (4) belonging and connectedness via the Internet and Social Media.

The interview guide followed guidelines for qualitative, interpretive methods, specifically, narrative inquiry and methods. Consistent with narrative inquiry, questions were designed to elicit personal stories and the storying process (Gubrium & Holstein, 1998, 2008) and to capture Filipino young people’s experiences of places and environments that were meaningful to them and how their respective experiences in environments influence their wellbeing and health. Utilizing this approach, in concert with Gubrium and Holstein’s (2008) recommendations, was essential when considering who produces particular kinds of stories; and, how, after the 4 step listenings, I took into account the youths’ preferred tellings and considered the contexts or places in which those storyings took place.
All interviews were audiotape recorded with the participants’ permission and then transcribed in preparation for coding. Note taking was also employed during the interview.

**Data Analytic Plan**

*Demographic Data*

The short demographic questionnaire responses were analyzed using SPSS and organized into appropriate tables. The demographic data (detailed in Chapter 4) provides demographic characteristics of the sample.

*Listening Method: Four Listenings*

Carol Gilligan’s (2003, 2006) LG serves as the data analytic framework for data analyses. The LG has been used for a variety of research projects, including analyzing adolescent girls’ and boys’ friendships and interpreting U.S. Supreme Court decisions. As Gilligan and colleagues (2006) noted, the underlying premise(s) and assumptions include the relational aspects of human development, and based on this, our sense of self as inseparable from our relationships and within our cultures. Further, the LG method attends to the multiple voices and tones of the interviewee’s expressed experience(s) and highlights the importance of following the lead of the interviewee aligned with social work practices. Reflecting feminists’ concerns, Gilligan et al (2003, 2006) highlighted the significance of the latter raising researchers’ caution and awareness with regards to the potential for a participant’s voice to be dominated by the researcher and not “listened” to, thus disregarding, further marginalizing the individual and disregarding the potential relationship by voicing over or silencing the participant’s truth. This type of careless inattention, stands in contrast to Gilligan and colleagues’
emphasis of the critical importance of being deeply respectful and intentional in the listening process.

The LG was originally developed to allow for multiple codings of the same text by more than one coder—as opposed to singular coding or categorical placement of data—thus enhancing the richness of the data. Per the LG guidelines, I developed a data-coding team- consisting of myself and a community consultant, who coded all transcripts, and my Chair, who reviewed half of the transcripts and reviewed and supervised final coding of the data and of the “I” and “We” poems. For the most part, the LG method was followed step-by-step for analysis; however, a few adaptations were made and a few steps were slightly altered, to attend to and emphasize unique characteristics of this study (e.g., creation of “We” poems). These adaptations did not detract in any way from the original step(s); they were used to enhance additional details of participants’ stories.

The Listenings
A series of four, sequential steps or listenings, are included in the LG. Each step or listening has a purpose with a unique role as part of the analysis. Throughout the four steps, the transcripts were read multiple times with each Listener (each member of the data analysis team) color coding the data and offering independent input based on their interpretations, post the listenings. After the data analysis team coded the data, I carefully merged the data codes, reviewing the overlap in color codings and interpretations, and the divergences. Then I created initial meta codes and reviewed the listenings again for refined codes, which were cross-checked with the data team. The following describes each listening.
**First Listening (Participant Plot).** The initial, first listening, was composed of two distinct components: (1) analysts listened for the plot and (2) they paid attention to the listener’s (interviewer’s) responses. Listening for the plot entailed focusing on “what was happening or what stories were being told,” along with repeated themes, images, and metaphors any contradictions or absences, or what was not expressed, similar to the characteristics of traditional qualitative analyses (e.g., Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The landscape, the multiple contexts, within which stories were embedded were also central in establishing the who, what, where, with whom, when, and why of stories being told. Further, the larger social context within which the stories were experienced also played a role, as one of the three commonplace dimensions per Clandinin and Connelly (2000), as did the social and cultural contexts in which I met with the participant for the interview.

To account for researcher reflexivity, during this listening process, I was attentive to my personal responses—I recognized and made explicit my own thoughts and feelings about, and associations with and of, the interview I analyzed. I summarized my comments and noted them separately from the interview transcript, as did my fellow community analyst. We shared our comments and met to discuss them and to also discuss the process for integrating them into overall analysis. I also sought guidance from my Chair, as well, during this initial listening.

**Second Listening (“I” and “We” Voices).** The second listening involves the creation of “I-poems,” where the first-person pronoun or “I” was prioritized. During this listening, the focus was to identify each time “I” was used to ensure that the participant’s voice was central. This step had a twofold purpose: (1) to listen to the participant’s first-person voice, thus, acknowledging its distinctive cadences and rhythms, and (2) observe
the participants’ self-descriptions through their stories. This is where a slight departure (adaptation) was made to also highlight the “we” voices. These were also captured and recorded as “We” poems for each participant and are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 and presented in the Appendices (See Appendix F). As part of regular consultations with my Chair, we discussed and decided that highlighting and including the “we” voices would enhance this *listening* and also offer a nuanced approach for the internalized collective voice, thus highlighting the relational nature of the person-in-relation to key themes emerging from the “We” data, corresponding to the Filipino worldview. Per Mercado (1974), Filipinos’ worldviews are not individualistic in focus because they belong to a larger reality and maintain collective values; their core relational connections are ground in their tribes, places, and nature. While Gilligan et al. (2003, 2006) emphasize the “I” pronoun, they also describe capturing the “me” and “we” voices, but only as a way to understand transitions between the pronouns rather than giving centrality to the collective voice of the participant.

Overall, this step is critical to the relational method. It required tuning into another person’s voice and listening carefully to what that person knows about/of her/himself before discussing her/him, as a way of connecting and forging a relationship, which is counter to the distancing approach from the first-person objectifying manner in traditional quantitative research (Gilligan et al., 2003). Finally, this step allows for a creative listening of the voice/s of the participant, thus providing a nuanced sense of the relational priorities of the participant.

**Third Listening (Contrapuntal Voices: Stories within Stories).** The two previous steps prepared me for the *third listening*, or Listening for Contrapuntal Voices. This *listening* was shaped by the research questions or theoretical framework.
Using music as a metaphor, this listening followed the musical form. With each additional *listening*, following Gilligan’s guidelines, I listened for the “counterpoint,” the individual story within the multiple stories, or the one voice of the participant’s expression of her/his experience(s) within the text I was analyzing. Per Gilligan et al. (2003, 2006) during this listening, specific attention was given to identifying one voice at a time and listening for that specific voice. Further, with each additional reading, I listened for multiple meanings from the contrapuntal voice or voices. This process entailed listening for the relationship between the first person voice, or “I” and the contrapuntal voice to identify when it began to surface and became apparent. I also listened for the “we” voices. As Gilligan notes the contrapuntal voices need not be in opposition to one another, they may be complementary, therefore, listening for each contrapuntal voice, its uniqueness and relationships is supposed to allow the analyst to identify the possibility of the multiplicity of a participant’s voices that may be in harmony, in opposition or contradictory.

**Fourth Listening (Synthesizing Listening and Themes).** As a consequence of the above *listenings*, the aim of the *fourth and final listening* was to produce a synthesis of the analysis. This represented an overall interpretation of the interview—the compilation of everything learned throughout the interview process about each participant, in relation to specific research question(s). During this listening, I re-reviewed all the coding from the first three listenings (based on my coding and the community consultant coding) and then created fourth listening level codes (meta and specific themes) in relation to the original specific aims. Independently, during this phase my Chair reviewed half the transcripts and all of the I and We poems to identify initial meta themes relative to the specific aims and to corroborate theme
generation. I met with the community consultant and my Chair to refine the final themes and to identify relevant quotes and poems to illustrate the themes.

**Assessing Trustworthiness and Relevance of Findings**

*Evaluating Trustworthiness of Findings*

In contrast to experimental, survey, or other quantitative approaches, which rely on evaluative criteria of reliability, validity, and generalizability, the qualitative method used for this study draws from Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) approach to ensuring the trustworthiness of the findings. Lincoln and Guba have posited that trustworthiness of a research study is important to evaluating its worth.

In particular, I focused on establishing the *credibility* of the findings, to ensure confidence in the “truth” of the findings as well as the *confirmability* of the findings, which involved taking steps to ensure that the findings are shaped by the participants’ voices and not researcher bias. Lincoln and Guba (1985) described a series of techniques that can be used to achieve these criteria.

To achieve credibility, I triangulated my memos, notes, and journaling with the community consultant’s interpretation of findings (i.e., member checking) as well as utilized peer debriefing techniques—i.e., meeting with a small group of the participants post interview to review the findings and solicit their feedback and input relative to their own interviews.

For confirmability, I engaged one other community consultant who independently reviewed half of the transcripts, coded them according to the LG method, and then provided initial thematic sorting before meeting with me and assisting with my prior codings to determine final sorting of thematic components. Moreover, my dissertation Chair independently reviewed all the “I” and “We” poems for thematic
sorting and thematic meta themes, which corresponded with the initial sorting categories independently identified by myself and the community consultant. Based on these initial sortings, final thematic themes emerged and were verified by the community consultant and CAB members.

Community Advisory Board

Consistent with critical indigenous methodologies and methods, and the CBPR framework, I recruited a CAB to serve in an advisory role and offer community input throughout the research process. Moreover, the CAB provided important confirmability of the data findings and identified important dissemination outlets through which to share the study findings.

Although I followed the IM-CBPR guidelines noted by Walters et al. (2009), I implemented them in an informal manner, appropriate in working with the Filipino community in Honolulu, my community. In the early phases of the study, I wanted to let the community in Honolulu know of the intentions of the study and to seek preliminary feedback from community leaders and stakeholders in the design and focus of the study. From these initial solicitations and community outreach, I solicited community leaders for voluntary participation in the formation of the CAB for the study.

Specifically, I initiated virtual meetings via email with community stakeholders in Hawai‘i; these occurred weekly for the first three months, then biweekly to share information about my project, and to assess their interests and solidify their roles in the research process (e.g., recruiter, reviewer). Once interest and availability were confirmed, specific roles and responsibilities were identified for each member based on their time commitments and their ability to do at least one of the following: assist with outreach, identify and recruit eligible participants, disseminate flyers, and assist in
providing direct feedback on the design, analysis, and interpretation, as well as dissemination of the findings.

The distance (living on mainland while CAB members lived in Hawai‘i) and the time difference (Hawai‘i is 3 hours behind PST), as well as CAB member schedules necessitated the development of a virtual CAB. To facilitate communication and input, the CAB did not meet as a group; rather, I met with each of them virtually or in-person to solicit their input based on their area of interest and expertise (e.g., youth outreach or survey design). To ensure ongoing input and easy access between CAB members and myself and among CAB members, I created and maintained an email listserv. Additionally, I connected individually with stakeholders and CAB members via phone, including phone calls and text messaging, which offered appropriate lines for communication. Due to time difference and personal obligations, I found this format to be effective as well as respectful of my colleagues. Additionally, I also met with Filipino community leaders who live in the Seattle area who maintain ties and connections in Honolulu. These Seattle-based stakeholders were critical in providing Honolulu-based contacts who could assist with identification and recruitment of participants and they also provided input into the design and development of the study. The final Community Advisory Board consisted of twelve community leaders. Nine were from Honolulu, Hawai‘i and three from Seattle, WA.

Regular communication and consultations with CAB members offered opportunities for input and feedback throughout the research process, consistent with community-engaged, participatory research. For example, I solicited input from stakeholders via email regarding incentives for the youth. I received multiple responses, which included gathering input from the age group of interest. Their input, along with
the youth’s input, were helpful to identify that cash incentives were the most desirable and allowed youth options, including financial contributions to their families. After arriving in Honolulu, I continued to communicate regularly with the CAB members to assist with recruitment and identify convenient locations to conduct interviews. Results from this process allowed me to meet and provide an orientation about my project with a small group of high school youth.

Finally, one community member who lives in the Seattle area offered to assist with analysis. I met with her in person several times to discuss the project, provide training in the LG data analytic method, and review/discuss our combined analyses. I also remained available to her throughout the study to address questions that arose for her in the data analytic approach. After the initial meeting and training session, we continued discussions and exchanges of information via email, in person, when convenient, or via the phone. This was consistent with Gilligan and colleagues’ (2003, 2006) suggestions for multiple listeners as a team-based approach to enhance analysis, not with a focus on agreement, but to encourage bringing together different, distinct, and diverse listenings to the analytical process.

**Research Ethics and Human Subjects**

The University of Washington’s Human Subjects Department (HSD) was contacted to provide administrative guidance, i.e., assessment, review, and approval of my study. Per communication with HSD’s research coordinator and based on assessment, my study was found to be exempt. Although I was not obligated to solicit parental consent and youth assent (for those under 18) and youth consent (for those over 18), I still followed research protocols and methods described in my research proposal and IRB application (see Appendices A-C). As a social work researcher
following the NASW Code of Ethics professional and my personal ethics and responsibilities, I believe it was critical to take the time to provide participants and their parents, a thorough background regarding the study along with related risks and benefits, and to also inform Filipino youth, and their parents, of the youths’ role as voluntary participants. This process was consistent with my beliefs and values, and indigenous and CBPR approaches to developing and maintaining trusting relationships.

Sample, Sampling Strategy, and Recruitment

Sample and Eligibility

Narrative, in-depth individual interviews were conducted with 12 Filipino youth who identified as Filipino/a, Filipino/a American, or mixed heritage with Filipino ancestry, and who reside in Honolulu, HI. Generational status was not an eligibility criteria although the ability to speak/converse in the English language, be between the ages of 15 and 23 years old, and be actively involved in their school or local Filipino or other community/ies activities were eligibility criteria. Given the focus of the study, it was anticipated that saturation would be reached within 12 interviews. Due to the narrative inquiry process, a small number of respondents (less than 10) are usually sufficient per guidelines, in comparison to other qualitative, interpretive studies that require larger samples to reach saturation.

Recruitment

Youth were recruited through Filipino and other adult key informants, and local public and private schools in the Honolulu and Waipahu areas, and youth-serving agencies and organizations, including Filipino youth-serving agencies (e.g., The F.O.B. Project), and via word of mouth, from other youth participants and stakeholders or parents. Flyers were posted at schools and agencies, and via appropriate email listservs
on the Internet. Additionally, I posted flyers at local community centers, youth Centers, sport programs, and cultural programs in Honolulu with assistance from CAB members.

**Sampling Strategy**

Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were employed to ensure sufficient numbers of youth by gender, age (ages 15-23 years old), and English speaking status. Snowball sampling involved asking interviewees to refer/recommend their peers or members of their networks (Weiss, 1994). Per Atkinson and Flint (2001), the advantages of snowball sampling, as an informal sampling strategy, has increased access to previously “hidden populations” who may be stigmatized, as well as an economical, efficient, and effective approach in prior studies. This technique usually results in a sufficient number of respondents because individuals are more receptive to the researcher to whom they have been referral or recommendation by a trustworthy friend (Small, 2009).

I traveled to Hawai‘i three times. The first to make face-to-face contact with community organizations, individual CAB members, and general community members; and, to solicit support for the study and to identify recruitment strategies. I provided stakeholders, including representatives of community agencies with flyers and a phone number for the study (my personal cell), and I also asked community members to nominate individuals for participation and encouraged them to give my number to potential nominees. CAB members solicited names and numbers of potential youth who expressed interest in learning more about the study. With permission from the youth, the CAB member forwarded their phone numbers to me. I then followed-up with calls and emails to the youth to describe the study and assess their interests and eligibility to participate. If eligibility was determined, we scheduled a specific time and convenient
place to meet for the interview; and if under the age of 18, I also spoke with at least one
parent or guardian to obtain consent for their child (sometimes written), or I solicited
verbal assent and consent (and formal written) upon meeting with each participant and
at least one parent. I then flew to Hawai‘i two times to conduct the interviews.

**Research Procedures**

*In-depth Individual Interviews*

Individual, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 12 youth at their home or
at a selected convenient community location, e.g., school. A semi-structured interview
guide was used to guide the narrative inquiry (See Appendix E).

*Data and Materials*

With participants’ consent, interviews were digitally audio-recorded. All
participants agreed to be recorded. I transcribed the recordings verbatim which I
reviewed at least twice by listening to them to identify transcription errors or other
inaccuracies. One CAB member offered to review and analyze 4 of the 12 transcripts
prior to final data interpretation. All transcripts were given an identification code and
have no linked identifiers on the materials. After analysis and completion of my
dissertation, transcripts will be shared with participants along with framed copies of
their “I” and “We-Poems.”

*Stipends/Remuneration*

To acknowledge participants for their time and participation, in accordance with
community-engaged research practices, youth were given $20 in cash. Based on CAB
input, it was decided that this was a fair compensation and cash allowed youth multiple
options, including providing financial support to their families, versus gift cards.
Additionally, youth were also promised a framed “I” Poem and “We” Poem (see LG)
based on their transcripts. In accordance with Indigenous methods and CBPR, upon my visits to Hawai‘i for recruitment and data collection, CAB members were compensated for their time over a meal at a convenient time and location. Further, based on indigenous methods, community agencies were offered my donated time to assist with grantwriting, evaluation of community projects, or resource development based on identified needs.

Participant Reviews, Checks, and Debriefs

To ensure accurate representation of youths’ voices and stories, participants were actively involved during the interview process. I initiated steps to allow for questions throughout the process, including post-interview debriefs that allowed the opportunity to gather input regarding the questions, the flow, and other aspects. This resulted in the first interviewee adding a significant question concerning Filipino identity to the semi-structured interview guide. After receiving her comments, I posed the question directly to her for a response, and also asked the remaining participants to answer the question. I actively followed Gilligan’s LG methods and related approaches to ensure quality of data collected throughout the interview process. Probes, summaries, and check-ins were conducted per interview protocols and also upon closing the interview. I queried participants regarding any colloquial terms or areas of interpretive concerns and also asked if I could contact them in the future with additional questions. The overwhelming majority agreed. One participant mentioned that her mother asked for no future contact.
Consultations with Community Advisory Board Members

Based on initial reviews and analysis of transcripts, I noted specific terms or terminology that arose consistently and followed up with CAB members as needed to debrief, clarify, and gain additional understanding. This was helpful and these community stakeholders were valuable in the consultation process. They provided insight and understanding of colloquial language, phrases, and terms I was not familiar with.

Plans for Dissemination

Per Tuhawai Smith (1999), Louis (2007), Walters et al., (2009) and other indigenous scholars, sharing knowledge is an essential component that distinguishes indigenous research from traditional Western research approaches. I have promised to share and disseminate findings from my study with participants and community members; initial steps are actively in the planning stage to disseminate during celebration of National Filipino American Heritage/History Month in Honolulu and locally, in Seattle. Additionally, during one trip to Hawai‘i, I met with community participants to share with them the initial themes identified, share their poems, and to solicit their input before the final writing of the dissertation. Their input not only provides credibility and confirmability of the findings, but also respects their efforts to share their experiences. In terms of disseminating the findings, I will provide a summary report for the CAB and for community members in Hawai‘i. Moreover, I will ensure that materials are written appropriately for both community, lay, and academic audiences, and at a grade level commensurate with general community needs. Moreover, traditional dissemination vehicles will also be pursued to co-present with participants and share findings/results from the study with the community, CAB
members, and other audiences such as researchers/academics, practitioners, and others interested in adolescent and place research, indigenous place and health research, and the promotion of wellbeing among Filipino youth.
CHAPTER 4: CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES IN PLACES AND ACROSS GENERATIONS TO PROMOTE WELLBEING

Overview

This chapter begins with summaries of participants’ demographic data, followed by brief descriptions of the participants per the voice-centered relational Listening Guide (LG) method. The qualitative, interpretive findings are labeled and categorized by the study’s three primary Aims, sub-questions, and accompanying themes as noted below. Salient quotes from participants’ interviews are included to illustrate the specific themes that arose through the listenings.

As noted in the prior Chapter, the LG’s four listenings were adapted in response to participants and Indigenous worldviews employed in this study. Thus, a sample of both “I” and “We” Poems from the participants’ interviews accompany each section to purposefully underscore participants’ individual and collective worldviews (see Appendix F for the complete set of twelve “I” and “We” Poems for all participants). Additionally, shortened versions of participants’ quotes as well as Filipino proverbs are used as headers and subtitles for each of the sections. As part of traditional Filipino customs and beliefs, Filipino proverbs or salawikain or sawikain in Tagalog or sarsarita in Ilocano serve as teachings passed from one generation to the next offering wisdom and guidance, with differences based on region. Proverbs are an active part of Filipino life and they are invoked in this dissertation to support findings where appropriate.

Out of respect for each individual’s privacy and to protect confidentiality and anonymity, pseudonyms have been used and names of specific schools or places associated with the youth or young people have been altered.
While the twelve in-depth individual interviews yielded unique stories and experiences, featured in respondents’ quotes as well as the “I” and “We” Poems, for analytic purposes, after completing the first three listenings, I returned to each Aim in the fourth listening. During this listening, I specifically focused on each Aim and listened for themes and narrative linkages (Gubrium & Holstein, 1998). As a result of the fourth listening as well as the focus on identifying narrative linkages and crosscutting themes, three major themes emerged:

(1) **Places (sites) of Wellbeing**: the interrelated process of significant sites and promotion of health, healing, and wellbeing;

(2) **People make Places—Relationality Makes Place Meaningful**: Belonging and connectedness are shaped by people and places—co-creating place significance. Relationships within places that provide mentorship as well as socializing and socialization functions promote belonging, connectedness, as well as acceptance to/within significant places;

(3) **Places of Spatial Connections—Ancestral Relationships in and to Places**: Spatial connections to ancestors across time and places influences identity construction and cultural values, including responsibilities to future generations and the value of “giving back” to others.

The narrative findings are presented and divided into the five dimensions of the ecological model based on McGregor et al.’s (2003) model for Native Hawaiian Wellbeing (more on this below). Within each of the ecological dimensions, the three analytic thematic findings are included along with further sub-themes within each main thematic finding.
Summary of Demographic Data

Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected for this study. All 12 participants voluntarily completed a 16-item background survey using pen and paper. Instructions and opportunities to ask and have questions answered were provided. Responses from these surveys follow.

Gender, Age, and Place of Residence

Of the 12 participants, 7 were female and 5 male. Participants’ ages ranged from 15 to 23 years old. Five are between the ages of 15 and 17, four between 18 and 20, and the remaining three between 21 and 23. The mean age was 18.5. Zip codes were used to identify place or community of residence. Based on zip codes, four of the youth live in Waipahu; two reside in Pearl City; one lives in Mililani; three reside in Kalihi, Kalihi-Palama communities; and two live in Manoa Valley. Kalihi, Kalihi-Palama, and Manoa Valley are considered urban neighborhoods because they are located adjacent to the city of Honolulu, the state’s capital and largest city. The largest concentration of the Filipino populations reside in Waipahu, Kalihi, Kalihi-Palama in urban Honolulu, and the greater Pearl City area. While Waipahu located on the West, or the leeward side of the Island, was once considered a rural area, it is now urbanized and is recognized as one of the state’s five largest cities, home to the largest Filipino population on the Island (ACS, 2010-2014). Pearl City, a Honolulu suburb, and Mililani, a growing suburban neighborhood, are both located in the center of the Island of O’ahu.

Ethnic Identity

Eight participants identified as Filipino only; three identified as mixed Filipino and Chinese; and one youth participant identified as Filipino and “local.”
Place of Birth, Parent’s Place of Birth, and Immigrant Generational Status

Seven of the youth/young people were born in Honolulu, Hawai‘i; while two specifically stated they were born in Waipahu, Hawai‘i. The three remaining youth participants were born in the Philippines, one in Manila and two are from the Northern Ilocos Region on the Island of Luzon. Nine of the participants’ mothers and fathers were born in the Philippines and two sets of parents were born in the United States (Honolulu, HI). Two participants did not know the birth place of their mother (1) or father (1). The generational status of youth participants was the following: two are third generation; seven (7) are second generation; and one young person was first generation, two are 1.5 and 1.75 generation, respectively.

Household Composition

Three of the youth live with both parents, three with both parents and at least one sibling and three live with their mothers only. Two participants describe their residence as living with their mothers and at least one sibling while one lives in a different type of residence, i.e., with no family in the household.
### Table 3. Household Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mother's Place of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filipino Only</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino/Chinese</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino and Local</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino Only</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino/Chinese</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino and Local</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Father's Place of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hon, HI</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waipahu, HI</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigrant Generation</th>
<th>Who Resides with Youth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Generation</td>
<td>Both Parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Generation</td>
<td>Both Parents and Sibs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.75 Generation</td>
<td>Mother Only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Generation</td>
<td>Mother and Sibs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Generation</td>
<td>Father Only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Youth’s Primary Language and Primary Language Spoken at Home

Eight of the youth and young people stated English was their primary language. Two described Tagalog and one Ilocano as their primary languages. One youth described his primary languages as English and “broken” English or pidgin. English was also the primary language spoken at home for seven young people. Multiple languages were spoken in the homes of five participants. More specifically, two mentioned English and Tagalog as primary languages spoken in their household, while two youth described English and Ilocano as languages spoken in their home. English, Ilocano, and Tagalog are the primary languages spoken in one participant’s household.

Table 4. Primary Languages

| Youth’s Primary Language | Number | Primary Language(s) Spoken at Home |  
|-------------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|---
| English Only            | 8      | English Only                      | 7  
| English/Broken English  | 1      | English and Ilocano               | 2  
| Ilocano                 | 1      | English and Tagalog               | 1  
| Tagalog                 | 2      | English, Ilocano, and Tagalog     | 2  
| Total                   | 12     |                                   | 12 |

Grade in School and Participation in ELL or Bilingual Education

At the time of the interview (May, end of the school year), all 12 youth were registered or attending school with 8 of them in high school. Three were in the 12th grade (high school seniors), two in the 11th grade (high school juniors), two in the 10th grade (sophomores in high school), and one in 9th grade (freshman). Four described
themselves as high school graduates, in college, and pursuing higher education. Only two of the twelve participants stated they participated in ELL or Bilingual Education programs, the remaining 10 did not.

**Participation in School or Community Activities**

All youth participants were actively involved in one or more of their schools’ or communities’ projects or programs. Schools or community clubs/agencies/organizations were the most commonly cited by six participants. Five youth were actively involved in band, dance, or music groups, and four attended or participated in religious or spiritual activities. Involvement in sports/athletics/physical activities was cited by three youth, while three youth also described their involvement in Filipino clubs, groups, or activities. Of the 12 participants, 8 were involved in activities three or more times per week, while one youth shared that his/her involvement in school or community activities occurred at least two times per week. Three described their involvement in outside activities as being once per week.
Table 5. Participation in School or Community Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation in School or Community Activities by Type of Activity</th>
<th>Number*</th>
<th>Participation in School/Community Activities: Number of Times/Week</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sports/Athletics/Physical (1)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>At least once/week</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band, Dance, Music (2)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 times/week</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian Clubs, Groups or Associations/Agencies (3)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 or more times/week</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School or Community Clubs/Agencies/Organizations (YMCA or other types of community agencies) (4)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious/Spiritual (5)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political or Community Advocacy/Advisory (6)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino Community Clubs, Groups or Associations/Agencies (7)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (8)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The numbers total more than 12 as youth were allowed to check as many types of activities per their involvement.

**Connecting with Friends: Type of Social Media (SM) or Social Network Site (SNS) Used**

Of the 12 youth participants, 8 connected with friends a minimum of 7 to 8 hours daily using their cell phones or computers on SM or SNS. Five of the 8 were on the Internet, SM, or SNS at least 7 or 8 hours per day. Two of the 12 participants spent more than 10 hours per day connecting with friends on SM or SNS, while another two spent 1 or 2 hours per day. On average the youth spent 7-8 hours a day on social media.
Table 6.
*Time Spent on Social Media*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connecting with Friends</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Hrs/Day on Cell/Internet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2 hrs/day (1)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4 hrs/day (2)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6 hrs/day (3)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8 hrs/day (4)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10 hrs/day (5)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10+ hrs/day (6)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which SM or SNS do you use daily?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flickr</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Google+</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instagram</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skype</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snapchat</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumblr</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WhatsApp</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YikYak</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YouTube</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BuzzFeed</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Narrative Transcripts**

The 12 youth and young people volunteered to participate after meeting the eligibility criteria as described on the project’s flyers, which included 1) between 15 and 23 years old, 2) ethnic identity/ies of Filipino descent or mixed Filipino and other heritage, 3) English speaker (and possibly other languages), 4) residence in Honolulu.
and surrounding area, and 5) interest in discussing place, land, and environment and their connections to Filipino youths’ wellbeing.4

Interviews were held in convenient locations identified by and agreed upon by both the participant, their parent/s or guardian/s, and myself. Waipahu and nearby Waikele were chosen as the sites for seven interviews and Kalihi was the agreed upon location for five interviews. Of the five held in Kalihi, four took place at a local public high school after school hours, which was convenient for participants who attended the school. Six interviews were held in participants’ homes or the home of a close relative.

Prior to starting the interviews, especially those held in participants’ homes, time was always set aside “to talk story” or informal chatting over beverages or meals, consistent with Filipino customs and hospitality and Filipino Indigenous methods. After fulfilling these cultural protocols, I would proceed to inform them about the study and address initial questions. I also explained their role as a volunteer and solicited consent or assent, including from a parent or guardian if the youth was under 18 years of age, and again, encouraged their questions throughout the process. Each interview began with an icebreaker, i.e., what three words would you use to describe yourself? And, what three words would your friends or family use to describe you? The purpose was to encourage and facilitate a mutually respectful environment, where youth would be open to telling their stories.

4 Note: Change in place of birth criteria—Originally, I was only interested in interviewing Filipino youth and young people born in Hawai’i regardless of immigrant generation, e.g., 2nd or 3rd generation. After discussions held with my Chair, I decided it was beneficial to keep the place of birth criteria open and interview Filipino youth and young people regardless of place of birth, i.e., US-born or born in the Philippines or another country.
The LG Findings: Introducing the Participants

As noted in the previous chapter, following the LG method, I worked with an interpretive community, including my colleague, one of the community stakeholders from Seattle, who volunteered to assist with analysis, and also the Chair of my dissertation committee. Individually, and as a team, we adhered to the LG method and the four listenings outlined by Gilligan and colleagues (2006) and Mauthner & Doucet (1998). This served multiple analytic purposes, including investigator triangulation, confirmation of findings from different, diverse perspectives, adding breadth to examining the various concepts and components of place among Filipino youth, and ensuring analysis is rich, robust, and comprehensive. Table 7 introducing the youth and young people who volunteered for the study is derived from our first listenings with the purpose of offering a brief descriptive background of each participant. Participants’ “I and “We” Poems along with the short passages from the interviews are included. These are used to illustrate the second listenings. According to the LG method, the poems emphasize how the participant sees, talks, and views him/herself (I poems) and him/herself in relation to their communal and ethnic referents (We poems). This is a dynamic process that changes as part of the relational nature of the interview process itself. Combined, these two listenings, “amplify” one another and present views into the relational dimensions of the interviews with a specific focus on how and when the participant decides to reveal aspects of their self and group identities.5

5 Note: I purposefully chose to limit writing myself into the narrative; instead, I used Filipino proverbs and related quotes as an added strategy for interpretive self-expression.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant by Pseudonym(s)</th>
<th>First Listening: Background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ava</td>
<td>Ava is a 15-year-old, 3rd generation Filipina. She was born in Hawai‘i and lives with both parents and two younger sisters in an urban neighborhood adjacent to Honolulu. She attends an elite private school where she is actively involved in athletic programs and extracurricular activities. She shares a strong bond with her teammates, “sisters.” Her future goals include attending college and majoring in the sciences or engineering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaden</td>
<td>Jaden is 18 years old and recently graduated from an elite private high school where he was actively involved in athletic programs. He was born in Honolulu and is 3rd generation. He is an only child who lives with his mom and stepdad in a city in Central O‘ahu approximately 30 minutes from Honolulu. Jaden is planning to attend college on the mainland in the near future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayla</td>
<td>Kayla is a 16-year-old sophomore, 2nd generation Filipina who lives with her mom and sister. They recently moved from an urban Honolulu area and now live approximately 20 minutes outside the city. Although she has moved, Kayla still attends the same urban public high school. She enjoys dancing and is also actively involved in school and a Filipino community youth project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin</td>
<td>Benjamin is a 23-year-old, first generation immigrant born in the Philippines. He lives with roommates outside the city. Benjamin works fulltime and also attends the University, where he is working towards a graduate degree. He recently disclosed his sexual preference to his close friends and also did so during the interview. Benjamin is actively involved in the Filipino communities’ cultural programs and events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miya</td>
<td>Miya is a 17-year-old high school student who attends an urban public high school. She is a 2nd generation Filipina, born in Honolulu, and raised by immigrant parents and grandparents. Miya currently lives with her parents and two sisters. She is a young community activist and community organizer who is engaging Filipino youth/young people and the broader Filipino community to gain broader awareness and build public support to address challenges faced by Filipino youth/communities and promote access to programs and services.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lea is a 21-year-old, 2nd generation Filipina who lives with her mom and two sisters in an urban neighborhood. She works full-time and attends the university, where she will soon earn her undergraduate degree. Afterward, she plans to pursue a graduate degree with the goal to serve and “give back to her community.” Lea is actively involved in a wide range of community organizations and activities and also volunteers her time to promote clean, safe, and healthier environments.

Brayden is a 22-year-old, 2nd generation Filipino who lives with his mom, dad, and extended family in an urban neighborhood adjacent to Honolulu. He recently graduated from a college program in business management. Brayden works full-time and volunteers at a local community youth center. He mentors youth through martial arts and after school educational programs “to get them off the streets.”

Pua is a 21-year-old, 1.75 generation; she was born in the Philippines and moved with her parents to Honolulu when she was 3 years old. Pua lives with both parents and two siblings in an urban area close to Honolulu. She attended and graduated from a private college. Pua majored in environmental sciences and plans to return to school to pursue a graduate degree in the same discipline. Pua is an environmentalist and community activist. She also tutors students part-time.

Jessica is an 18-year-old, 2nd generation Filipina immigrant. She was born in Hawai‘i and lives with her mom and two brothers approximately 30 minutes outside Honolulu. Jessica recently graduated from a local public high school with one of the largest Filipino populations on the Island of O‘ahu. Jessica was involved in a wide range of student clubs and programs while in high school. She plans to attend college this Fall to study nursing or pharmacy.

Jacob is a 17-year-old, 2nd generation Filipino immigrant. He was born in Hawai‘i and lives with his mom, sister, and a younger sibling outside the city of Honolulu. Jacob attends and is involved in his church. He attends the local public high school and will be entering his senior year.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant by Pseudonym(s)</th>
<th>First Listening: Background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>Grace is an 18-year-old, 1.5 generation Filipina immigrant. She was born in the Philippines and moved to Hawai‘i with her family when she was 8 years old. She has strong ties to her family and friends in her homeland. Grace will be attending a local private Catholic college on the Island, where she plans to pursue a degree in education. Grace is actively involved with her church, Filipino community activities for youth/young people, and school activities including dancing, which is her passion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominic</td>
<td>Dominic is a 16-year-old, 2nd generation Filipino immigrant, born in Hawai‘i. He lives with both parents and siblings in a neighborhood approximately 30 minutes outside Honolulu. He is actively involved in sports/athletic programs at the public high school he attends.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Introduction to Narrative Findings**

In using the LG method, I considered three multi-layered, analytic frames that might be invoked during the listenings. These included listening for *Indigenous Knowledges*, which serve as the primary underlying framework for the study, combined with Clandinin and Connelly’s (2000) *three dimensional narrative inquiry space*, and McGregor et al.’s (2003) *Ecological Model of Native Hawaiian Wellbeing* (see Figure 1 on page 95). Each rendered a unique application to the narratives and provided greater analytical depth. Specifically, utilizing Clandinin and Connelly’s analytical framework I listened for three dimensions embedded in the narratives: *temporality* (*past, present, and future* or what the authors refer to as continuity), *personal and social interactions*, and *place* (what they refer to as situation/al) (p. 50-51). Finally, I drew on McGregor et al.’s ecological model to listen for wellbeing narratives particularly as they related to ’āina (land), community, ohana (family), and individual wellbeing, particularly during the fourth listening.
After analyzing the all four listenings, the results (noted below) supported using McGregor et al.’s ecological levels to frame the findings with specific attention to the following domains: 1) nature/natural environment, 2) communities, inclusive of schools, churches, and community agencies and organizations; and 3) home (family or “ohana” or extended family). To properly contextualize the findings and provide coherence to the results, each of the research aims are subsumed under each of these ecological levels in the reporting of the findings.

Situating Narrative Findings by Ecological Level

“Well-being is in happiness and not in prosperity.”

[Ang kaginhawaan ay nasa kasiyahan, at wala sa kasaganahan.]

Filipino Proverb

Presentation of the Findings: Adaptation of McGregor’s Ecological Model

Consistent with McGregor’s *Ecological Model for Native Hawaiian Wellbeing*, each dimension of the model depicts places within which wellbeing is practiced and experienced. Although the results are presented within each of the ecological levels (i.e., homeland/national, community, and home/ohana (family) levels), these levels should not be construed as representing discrete or orthogonal processes. Rather, according to the model and consistent with the narratives, each of the levels are interdependent upon the environment/places in which these processes are experienced—particularly with respect to the ‘aina (land) and other environmental place-based resources that promote physical, mental, social, and emotional wellbeing (McGregor et al., 2003). Moreover, given the corresponding relational nature of the model and the dynamism of the levels, I

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6 Note: Filipino proverbs are translated into English from Tagalog, acknowledged as the main dialect spoken in urban areas in the Philippines. The Tagalog version follows the translation.
anticipated that themes might overlap across levels. To address this, I attempted to highlight the primary themes for a given level, with the caveat that some of these themes, although not as pronounced, were found across levels. Additionally, given that place(s) are dynamic and not static (Levitt, 2009), I present the results starting with the most (distal) outer layer of the model—nature, `aina (land)—and work my way progressively towards the proximal layers, ending with the “individual” (“self”-in-relation to places and ancestors). Given the complexity of the findings and the interrelated aspects of the levels and findings, I chose not to present findings according to each aim; rather, I highlight findings pertinent to a given theme within each level. For example, when presenting findings for Ecological Level 1: Nature/`Aina—thematically, most of the narratives relevant to the first theme (Places (sites) of Wellbeing) emerged within this level and are presented primarily in this section; whereas the third thematic finding (Places of Spatial Connections – Ancestral Relationships in and to Places) emerged heavily in Ecological Level 2, Homeland/Nation, and are primarily presented in that section as well, and so on for the other ecological levels. Thus, the majority of the thematic findings are prioritized within a primary ecological level. In a few instances, themes emerged consistently across two or more levels. In these rare instances, thematic findings and corresponding quotes are highlighted across both levels. For example, elements of third thematic finding are found at the “Individual” level and are noted as such (ancestral teachings), but the core of the narratives that support this theme are found at the “Homeland/Nation” level.
“Health is wealth.”
[Ang kalusugan ay kayamanan.]
*Health is one of the most valuable possessions. Treasure and protect it.*
—Filipino Proverb

**Theme #1: Places of Wellbeing: Nature and ’Aina**

Nature and the corresponding natural environment represents the most distal layer where ’aina comprises the land and Hawai’i’s natural resources and is viewed as part of the ecosystem, and thus, respected, treasured, praised, and honored as part of life, all living and inanimate things (McGregor et al., 2003). For Native Hawaiians and other Indigenous communities, including Filipinos, the ’aina (or land) represents the foundation of traditional cultural, spiritual customs, beliefs, and practices (Mercado, 1974).

Filipino youth described the land, hereafter referred to as ’aina, and water as therapeutic places to heal, to maintain health, to engage healthful practices, to relieve stress and re-center, and to [re]balance, to simply relax and create lasting memories—sensory, visual, and visceral. They also described ’aina and water/ocean as places in which they felt “free” to be themselves, where they could truly engage in self-expression, exploration, and actualization. Filipino youths’ and young people’s attachments to places, i.e., to ’aina, land, waters, and nature are illustrated in this section.

**Places for Healing and Maintaining Health**

...when I’m in the waters it soothes me...or like small swims, just relaxes me so when my asthma usually bothers me I seek the waters.
—Benjamin

The healing role of nature and the natural environment contributed to promoting youths’ health and wellbeing. Water was frequently invoked as having curative,
restorative, and healing properties for spiritual, emotional, mental, and bodily wellbeing. The combination and intersecting forces of Catholicism and Filipinos’ indigenous spiritual healing beliefs regarding water, implicitly or explicitly, strongly influence young people’s views and experiences. Approximately, 65% of Filipinos in the United States have identified as Catholics (Pew Research Center, 2012). Catholicism was first introduced in the Philippines by early Spanish colonists during the 1500s. Priests who accompanied the Spaniards propelled mass conversions and baptisms of Filipinos. Holy water and its symbolism as cleansing and purifying left a mark as part of this sacramental ritual. Further, blessings by priests to transform the water along with solemn prayers are used “to beg God’s blessing on those who use it, and protection from the powers of darkness” (Gripaldo, 2009, p. 129). Lay Filipinos often use holy water when performing healing rites by sprinkling it on those who are ill. Moreover, these lay practices are quite often infused with indigenous approaches to purification and healing with the ocean waters.

For example, water—or Wai Ola—means Water of Life and represents for the Kanaka Maoli, the essence of life. Maka’ala (2014) writes that the “land like the human body is dependent on the health of the river of life.” According to Maka’ala (2014):

There are two kinds of water in the Hawaiian language, wai (rain or land water) and kai (sea or salt water)...Of the many water ceremonies used in pre-western contact Hawai’i, the two most notable were kapu kai and pikai. Kapu kai is the ceremonial bathing of one’s self in the sea or salt water if on land. This ceremony was done to purify the body and spirit of the individual, especially when an imbalance was present. This type of ritual was usually done in private however; it was not uncommon for a group of villagers or family members to perform kapu kai to bring harmony and peace into their ahupua‘a and ultimately the world. (“Water of Life,” para. 2, 3)
The curative properties of place, particularly the healing powers of water are reflected in the following passages from participant interviews.

Benjamin: The ocean...because I have asthma, it’s really severe...but when I’m in the waters it soothes me...and...just the dive...or just like sitting on the shore...or like small swims, just relaxes me so when my asthma usually bothers me I seek the waters.

SG: How do these environments give you a sense of wellbeing?

Benjamin: You know when the environment is...really serene you know...when you’re out there in the waters, there’s no troubles. The waves are relaxing and the sun in the light you know when you’re just looking up...

Dominic: Well, you know...it’s nice beach, of course, the beach, right? You sprinkle sand on your feet, it’s nice... The water can actually help your skin, you know, because it’s saltwater, and it can heal your own skin if you have any rashes or your pimply face, if you got any pimples, or something like that...yeah.

During her interview, Ava presented herself as a confident, physically strong young woman despite her petite stature. She revealed that she had had health problems early in life; yet, she did not allow this to limit her future activities. Ava’s early life challenges and lessons have transferred into high expectations as a competitive athlete, student, and older sister. Ava’s “I” Poem below provides another example of the healing properties of place, particularly with respect to the ‘aina of the beach and the healing waters of the ocean. For many participants, the healing experiences tended to be experienced in solitude or described as individualized but transformative.

Ava’s “I” Poem

I remember having the flu.
I was 12 or something.
I remember going to the beach and staying there for the entire day and coming home totally fine. So, it was like the experience of the beach healing me.
I am able to go back and use that.
Places to Relax, Relieve Stress, and Re-center

The ocean is a great place for me where I go to feel more relaxed and pure and happy.
—Ava

In addition to the healing properties of the ocean and land, many of the participants noted how these natural places also invoked opportunities to play, relax, relieve stress, and re-center. In their research with immigrant and refugee youth, Sampson and Gifford (2010) argued that therapeutic healing places – places that youth seek and value to promote healing and recovery – are essential to promoting positive connections to place, wellbeing, and to contributing to feeling at home in their “new” country, regardless of generational status.

The beach as a calming, relaxing place was emphasized across interviews. Below, Kayla also acknowledges specific properties she associates with nature and the beach along with their physiological, calming affects “on her nerves.”

Umm...maybe the beach...because I like nature and it’s very calming. The seabreeze it feels like it takes away your nerves. The smell of the sea air...it just relaxes me, I guess.

Kayla also relays her sensory experiences, “the smell of the sea air.” Many participant narratives note these types of sensory experiences of place and how these embodied sensory experiences are linked to wellbeing. Consistent with the findings of Tuan (1975), these embodied sensory experiences not only shape how the Filipino youth learn about the world but also influence how they come to know healthful places. Youth identified their process of coming to know healthful places by identifying these sensory experiences.
SG: During times when you are troubled, stressed out, or ill have you sought out a place or environment to help you get through?

Benjamin: You know when the environment is...really serene you know ...when you’re out there in the waters, there’s no troubles. The waves are relaxing and the sun in the light you know when you’re just looking up... Do I appreciate life that much?

Dominic: I take a walk and breathe in the fresh air in the morning and that really relieves stress. It does actually work for most people.

In agreement, Dominic renders the beach as a place to decrease stress and for relaxation and socialization not only for himself, with friends, or for families, and the broader community.

Dominic And when you mean place, I would mostly go to...Waikiki Beach. I take the bus by myself and go for a nice walk by the beach and smell that nice fresh saltwater, you know, it decreases my stress, and stuff like that...the beach...Ko’olina that’s where my friends would always go to relax, have relaxation time. Might as well go beach because it’s mostly empty...most of the time. Not during the weekend times...but after school we would take bus to the beach, it’s empty and...so we have the beach. [Laughs] well, the beach is the beach...people go there to have their relaxation time and have fun with their friends and family.

Below Benjamin shares his observations of his Filipino peers who enjoy nature, the beach, water, and outdoors.

SG: What type of places are meaningful or relevant for other Filipino youth or young people?

Benjamin: I think people...who were born here...value the water so much that every week they are out at the beach swimming, things like that. I know my friends of Filipino ancestry love to go hiking and fishing...

Others explore their quiet natural surroundings on hikes or while driving their car around the Island, using this time to relax and experience nature. For some, including Pua, this was purposefully done alone.

Pua I suppose...like my favorite places tend to be areas of isolation...um.... Even when I go hiking with groups... I like to...branch off from the
rest and hike alone by myself for a while. I think it’s because I really enjoy…nature, in general. I tend to always stop and look at the plants…um…try to know what they are, what species they are, what danger for the environment…and… I suppose it’s, it’s just relaxing for me.

As a young person with more independence and access to a car, Benjamin found driving around the Island and enjoying the experiences and scenic views to be a means for relaxation.

Benjamin ...sometimes I also enjoy relaxing through driving around the island. ...there are scenic points along the way so...I am able to experience a lot of things, a lot of sceneries which like relaxes me...and takes me away from the regular sight of papers, books, work, thinking about family problems and stuff like that so...when I’m driving I’m just with the road and with my friends...and if you’re out driving around the island, it is as if you’re not in Honolulu. Just escape from reality. [Laughter]. ...it’s very calming for me...Sunsets at the leeward coast is really, really relaxing.

Places to Promote Self-Actualization/Subjective Wellbeing and Happiness

Similar to Abbott-Chapman’s (2006) findings from her study with youth in Tasmania regarding their favorite places, Filipino youth in Hawai‘i expressed the need to escape, relax, and enjoy their natural environments. Complimentary to youth in Tasmania, the primary reasons offered for choices of favorite places, as idealized environments, centered on feelings of happiness, joy or enjoyment, peace, relaxation, calm, and opportunity to “be myself.” These activities were either conducted alone or with close friends at the beach, a place with opportunities for impromptu relaxation and recreation, rather than with parents or other adult supervision or surveillance. Several of the youth described their feelings about outdoor spaces, recreational places, and opportunities to enjoy, escape, disconnect, and be happy:

Dominic: [Waikiki Beach] it’s a place of...joy. It brings joy to my heart...
Dominic’s “I” Poem
I say it’s enjoyable.
I enjoy it.
I enjoy going to the beach a lot!
I just enjoy it!

Pua describes hiking in particular places as a way to de-stress and promote her own health and wellbeing.

Pua’s “I” Poem
I...tend to choose mountain areas.
I go hiking. So, Manoa Valley, so it’s really close to where...
I live.
[So] I tend to go there.
I go hiking.
I particularly like hikes that reach the summit.
[Stressed out...] I like to go hiking...it’s more of an escape for me...makes me feel better.
[So] I...
I really feel that it’s really important. That people should really experience it.
I myself...
I try to go hiking at least once every two weeks because of it.
[Yeah] I love it!

In this interview, Pua explains her appreciation for the term biophilia [which Merriam Webster defines as “a hypothetical human tendency to interact or bond with other forms of life in nature”7 (n.d., para. 1)] and its significance for someone such as herself who is studying environmental sciences. Pua’s invocation of biophilia runs parallel to Tuan’s notion of topophilia, “love of place,” or affective bond between people and places.

Additionally, many of the youth expressed the need to experience these places alone, or on their own, even if others whom they don’t know are present.

Benjamin: Um, I think because Hawai‘i has a lot of places where you can be alone like secluded beaches, the mountains where you can hike, sometimes when I really, really need the time for myself I just disconnect from the world and go elsewhere...where there’s not that much people, where I could just be myself or think about things without...like...the problems being connected to your work email...or the problems in the family...

SG: Any places where you can be yourself, feel relaxed or comfortable? Is that one of the places where you feel relaxed and comfortable?

Benjamin: So, I think...um...anywhere in Hawai‘i...like the beaches...waters here in Hawai‘i...where I can be myself. Other people don’t really mind what you do there...especially they don’t know you. So, that’s where I think would be the most relaxing place for me.

Many of the youth narratives conveyed an affective bond to places in nature, particularly as these places create lasting memories of important connections to the place itself or in relation to peers or family. Below, Jaden and Benjamin express the significance places have in creating lasting memories with their peers:

Jaden: The beach is important to me because I am able to spend time with my friends...and um...we usually stay out until sunset. So, being able to stay out and watch the sunset, hang out with them bbqing...is pretty meaningful to me... I’m just able to socialize with them. Create more memories with them before I go off to college.

Benjamin: Leeward. The West side of O‘ahu. Like Ko‘ Olina or in Waiane. The environment is very natural...and the sunset is...it is! And you know the very small, five minutes, or two minutes when the sun sets there’s a lot of memories as the sun sinks...
Theme #2 & 3: People Make Place-Belonging and Spatial Responsibilities: Nature and `Aina

As Mercado and other indigenous scholars have argued land is sacred. Connection to the land is central to Indigenous communities’ daily lives and livelihoods. Any type of disconnection can facilitate, damage, and destroy their close ties to the environment (Pilgrim, Samson, & Pretty, 2010). The potential result is impairment to the individual or community’s physical and mental health, i.e., wellbeing. As Pilgrim, Samson, and Pretty assert “…a broken connection can lead to a broken community” (p. 237). Maka’ala (2014) notes that ancient Kanaka Maoli recognized that each person has responsibilities that contribute to the wellbeing or the “demise of the community” and, by extension, to the rest of the world; this relational responsibility is characterized in the concept of ahupua’a. According to Maka’ala (2014):

The original intent of the ahupua’a system was the non-verbal agreement among the inhabitants to protect, preserve and sustain a particular area of land and water that flowed from the mountains to the ocean. The outcome of each responsible action determined the outcome for the individual and ultimately, the people within that community. (“Ahupua’a,” para. 4)

A core value among Kanaka Maoli is the concept of Malama `Aina—to care for the land. Ancient Hawaiian practices involved careful attention to the land, water, and plant relationships, because the land and vegetation produced rain and food. The concept of caring for the land is present among Kanaka Maoli today and is part of the sovereignty movement in Hawai`i. Many Filipinos who, based on their own island experiences in the homeland, likewise deeply appreciate this value and love for the land. Any disruptions in these precious relationships can lead to disruptions in wellbeing for all.
Disconnections to Land, ‘Aina

Although the majority of the youth focused on the wellbeing aspects of the relationship to natural places, many also described the dis-connection to ‘aina as being a problem for maintaining wellbeing for self and community. For example, Pua invokes the ideal of “natural” relationships among the land-water relationships and balance to maintain healthful places. Pua specifically identifies how development of the land not only displaces people (who are required to be custodians of the land-water relationship and system) per ahupua’a, but generates imbalance in the land-water-human relationship.

Pua: For me it’s really sad to see a lot of the development, especially in areas like Kapolei where it used to be barren before…but…they’re displacing or moving a lot of people on that side... They have to divert so much water on that side, too...and in an area that used to be so dry. So, it takes away from the watersheds or the aquifers from other areas of the island. It’s just unnatural, I’d say.

Ecological Level II: Homeland and Wellbeing

“A person who does not remember where he/she came from will never reach his/her destination.”

[Ang hindi marunong lumingon sa pinanggalingan, ‘di makakarating sa paroroonan.]

José Rizal, National Filipino Proverb

Theme #3: Places of Spatial Connections and Identity – The Homeland

The National Filipino Proverb above, handed down from one generation to the next, conveys the significance of Filipinos’ knowledge of their past, place of origin, inclusive of ancestors and identity, and its centrality in directing Filipinos toward a positive future. This proverb returns us to KM and FI frameworks as foundational
principles for this study. Given KM’s and FI’s shared holistic and relational beliefs and understandings regarding the interconnectedness of all living and inanimate beings found in the geographic environment, place, therefore, becomes critical to shaping identity, health, and wellbeing among Filipino and Native Hawaiian communities in Hawai‘i. Awareness of Filipino customs and teachings, along with ancestral values and obligations, are also tied to place and its many constructs for KM and FI communities. Findings in this section exemplify these spatial relationships – across time, space, and generation; Filipino youth consistently invoked the linkages among ancestors, homeland, Hawai‘i, and their wellbeing. Here, Grace reflects on her senior project, where she discusses the importance of knowing and embracing her ancestor’s stories, homeland, culture, language, and history.

Grace: ...Because to like, to know the past helps you understand the present, like where you are now and who you are, and knowing that helps you move on toward the future. So like a quote that I had from my essay...it’s not knowing the native land, native culture or language and the values...it’s to preserve it but also to help us like...to know our history, our ancestors’ stories so that we know our stories so we understand that it helps us to move on to the future and it helps...

Ancestors tell you how you relate to place(s) and how relationships shape connections to place(s). Filipinos hold deep respect and responsibility in giving back, a debt or utang na loob (gratitude) to ancestors. Here, application of the ecological model exemplifies how ancestral relationships foster connections across the environment: from nature to homeland to their social worlds, communities, and among kin. Although the majority of youth and young people were second generation, their connections to the Philippines, their homeland, were attributed to relationships held with grandparents or ancestors. Dominic and Jessica share where and how they make connections with their ancestors:
Can you tell me about places where you feel connected to your ancestors?

For my ancestors, I got to be in the Philippines for that. That’s where they’re all at right now. They’re not here at the moment, of course, I got to feel that they’re with us, because that’s where their homeland is.

Well, if you have a grandma or grandpa you can ask them...and also connecting with your people...back at their home, like from the Philippines...learning what they have gone through...and going back to the Philippines to experience what it’s like there...

*Homeland Connections for the First Generation*

The first generation or the parents of Filipino immigrant youth, obviously, retain a different relationship or connection to their homeland from that of subsequent generations, through memories and experiences, of what was lost or left behind and through the process of migrating with its turmoil, disruptions, and feelings of displacement (Werbner, 2013). Scholars recognize that migrants have always and continue to maintain ties to their countries of origin, or homeland, while also becoming established in their new countries, orienting to a new environment, forming new social networks, and learning to negotiate new economic, cultural, and political realities (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011; Werbner, 2013). The progression of immigrant incorporation into the new society while maintaining enduring ties to their homelands, Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) argued is not one of conflicting components but rather simultaneous processes that reciprocally inform each other.

Where is home? Home and homeland are often used synonymously for migrants who are part of the transnational diaspora. A transnational approach, for Wolf (2002, p. 459), recognizes multiple sites as “home,” sites that exist geographically as well as ideologically and emotionally, in addition to a number of cultural systems, symbols, and practices that transcend the nation state. The concept of transnationalism extends the
concept of assimilation and its assumption of linearity. Wolf coined the phrase “emotional transnationalism” to describe second generation Filipino youths’ experiences—both real and imagined—that differ inter-generationally and spatially (or by location—as points of reference) between their parents’, their grandparents' or extended families’, and their own views and perceptions (Wolf, 2002).

Homeland ties and remembrances were shared by Grace. She narrates her experiences and fondness for the rainy city she grew up in, Baguio, her first home, and the feeling of comfort she receives when it rains in Hawai’i, her new home.

Grace’s “I” Poem

I was born in Baguio city. It’s really rainy there, it’s always rainy.  
I was growing up as a child.  
I was fond of it because...  
I was always surrounded by it so that’s the one place...  
I feel the most comfortable. And in Hawai’i, it’s very hot, it’s always sunny, and so when it rains...  
I feel appreciative of that.

Okamura and others recognize Filipinos as part of the diaspora due to their ongoing connections with, visits to, and returns from their homelands. The term balikbayan (balik means to “return” and bayan means “home” in Tagalog), which means to return home after living in another country for a period of time, was coined to refer to Filipino returnees. The term is also formally used by the Philippine government’s customs and immigration authorities with several definitions including the “Balikbayan Privilege”8 granted to foreign family members as they enter the country with a relative holding a Filipino passport. Financial or cash remittances, the sending of

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goods home through balikbayan boxes, and virtual communication via skype, Facebook, and SNSs are examples of how diasporic Filipinos maintain their ties. (Youths’ connections through the Internet, Social Media, and SNS will be discussed in detail in a later section).

Following are examples of Pua’s and Benjamin’s first generation Filipino young people’s accounts of “home” recalled by Pua as “a beautiful area” to “my home town,” which Benjamin portrays as “a narrow-minded place.” Yet, for both Pua and Benjamin, these are places they would return to or plan to return to. Additionally, for Pua, I found it significant that she expressed her desire to contribute something to her home, the area she remembers, or to the Philippines, in general.

Pua:  Even though I haven’t been to the Philippines since I was in third grade, I still think of it as such a beautiful area, and my home. So I would definitely return one day, and I definitely plan to. I could contribute to the area or to the country; that would be really great, too.

SG:  Can you tell me about any special places or environments that are important or meaningful to you?

Benjamin:  At first I think...my home town in the Philippines, Bacarra. That’s where I spent my childhood. Like all my years I’ve been there before I moved here in Hawai‘i...And there’s where most of my family is...was...friends...that’s where I went to high school. And...if I had a chance to go back on vacation I would choose that place still. That place is very narrow-minded but, that’s where I grew up.

Similar to others, Pua as a first generation immigrant also retains connections to the Philippines through her parents’ lifestyle and practices. Here, she recalls special celebrations, Filipino Fiestas, she attended as a young girl that were also attended by other Philippine immigrants and the places in which these cultural practices were maintained.
SG: What places or environments help you feel connected to your ancestors?

Pua: The Filipino consulate...um...my dad used to work there. As a little girl I would go there after school. That’s how I typically how I stayed connected to the Philippines at an early age. It’s a great place for Fiestas. I think they had a couple of parties relating to several of the Filipino groups, the Quezonians – I think I pronounced that wrong, but they’re the people from Quezon City or people that relate themselves to Quezon City...and they meet up there. So other Filipino groups meet there regularly too.

Homeland Connections: Religious Ties

Newcomers and their children often use religious and cultural institutions to make a place for themselves in a new land and to maintain homeland ties at the same time (Carnes & Yang, 2004; Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2002; Fresto, 2004; Guest, 2003; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Menjívar, 2002). Their past experiences of these places made them memorable (Manzo, 2005). As Manzo (2005) reports, the significance of these places represent bridges to the past that are helpful in providing continuity in individual’s lives in the new homeland. Thus, identification of significant new places, serve as reminders of the home places, and help build emotional and psychological “bridges” offering linkages to past places, events, and people that facilitate the creation and maintenance of a sense of continuity and completeness in people’s lives (Manzo, 2005). Many of the youth identified church or church communities as places of significance that invoked emotional and psychological bridges to culture, ancestors, and homeland.

Benjamin describes how the church in Waipahu serves as a reminder, an emotional and psychological bridge to past experiences and people in the Philippines:

SG: Where or what places or environments do help you feel connected to your ancestors?

Benjamin: I think St. Joseph Church in Waipahu. I think my hometown um... I live a couple blocks away from the church. In the Philippines the Catholic Church is like the superstar of the community. So whenever
I go there…Waipahu is a big, strong Filipino community. So the church reminds me of back home and my family…even though my family is not too religious it reminds me of…the religious…practices that we do have… The practices of the church remind me of the things I saw when I was growing up and the people I grew up with.

*Homeland Connections for the Second Generation*

Researchers remain uncertain about the patterns surrounding transnational ties to their ancestral homelands for the second generation in comparison to their parents, or first generation (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Somerville, 2008). Some scholars contend ties diminish for the second generation, while others argue that this generation maintains some knowledge of their parents’ native language and conducts some travel back and forth to their parents’ country of origin, but the magnitude and frequency remains unclear (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011; Somerville, 2008). Despite the inconsistent findings, as part of immigrant families, youth are socialized and enculturated in homes and participate in social, cultural, and religious organizations where they experience the exchange of resources (people, goods, money), ideas, and practices. This socialization and enculturation into the rules and institutions of both countries occurs as a process of their multi-sited connections, namely their home countries and their ancestral country of origin. Through these experiences youth are able to gain skills and social contacts (primarily, relatives and others) that are beneficial in both environments (Levitt, 2009). For the youth, fitting together these experiences can be quite puzzling. In fact, Kayla notes: “There’s a lot of people involved with one life. It’s like a puzzle…” Through the use of the metaphor, “It’s like a puzzle,” Kayla recognizes and appreciates the many ancestors who touched her life. Kayla shares how she stays connected with her grandparents in the Philippines and also expresses a deep
sense of responsibility to her homeland relatives, “I should be there,” along with acknowledgment of where she derives her new homeland culture and ethnicity:

SG: Where or what places or environments help you feel connected to your ancestors?

Kayla: Um...the Philippines in general because that’s where they’re from. I get to see all this farm work my grandpas and grandmas [do]...so like I should be there...that’s where I should be from and that’s where my culture and ethnicity is. It makes me feel good to know where I’m from and where my parents are from. To me, it means I had the opportunities to go through things. There was sacrifices made for me. Being Filipino to me...it means there’s been so much work done to where I am today. There’s so much stuff going on...There’s a lot of people involved with one life. It’s like a puzzle ...I don’t know how to explain it.

With her statement, “there’s a lot of people involved in one life,” Kayla expresses her description of the Filipino concept of shared identity—kapwa, the “unity of self with the other” (Guevara, 2005, p. 10). Kapwa is a core Filipino value noted by Virgilio Enriquez (1986), Filipino philosopher. The typical translation of kapwa means “others,” in Tagalog (the national Filipino language) and also includes the concept of “self,” which represents the notion of a shared identity embodying the notions of “self” and “others,” consistent with the Indigenous relational worldview. In contrast, in English the word “others” implies opposite to “self” or external to “self” and views the concept of “self” as a separate identity (Enriquez, 1986, p. 11).

SG: How do you stay connected to them?

Kayla: Well, I usually stay connected to them by...I contact them. If I can’t contact them I just think about them.

Lea shares her experiences of when she visited the Philippines, specifically, in the province, which evoked memories of daily activities carried out by her ancestors,
pumping water from the well, which also served as reminders of her ancestral connections.

Lea: I also visited the Philippines a few times and just being there in the province, pumping water from the well and so that kind of gives me that (ancestral) connection.

Leaving My Homeland and Finding a New “Home”

While some youth were born in the Philippines, the majority were not. A number of youth declared yearning to go to the Philippines to connect with their ancestors and experiencing life, “what it’s like,” in the Philippines. This feeling was not shared by all. For Benjamin, who was raised in the Philippines and did not migrate till early adulthood (after high school), his experiences in his homeland were not positive. His story resonated with the traditional immigrant – longing for a new “homeland,” a place to create new memories and where he felt he would find a new place to belong, feel connection to others, and be accepted.

Benjamin’s “I” Poem

I moved to Hawai′i...
I became independent.
I was finally on my own.
I was able to explore things...
I wasn′t able to explore
I was still in the Philippines.
[there are a lot of decisions] I had to make for myself...
I feel more...
I have a sense of success here...
I′ve navigated the Island.
I am more open with my preferences...and everything.
I am able to...express myself [Laughs]
[the things that] I know...
[the people] I know is because of my own effort.
I moved here with my dad.
I moved here it was a total adjustment until he decided he would move back to the Philippines.
I’m on my own again. So…the environment here...
I’m claiming my own because...
I’m writing my own story here.
[The decisions] I make are my own without any judgement from other people...
I am more open with my preferences...and everything.
I am able to...express myself [Laughs].

The Immigrant Story: Finding Acceptance in a New Place

From the Philippines to Hawai‘i, Filipino immigrant youth found opportunities to create new memories in new “places”; however, sometimes looming were within-group microaggressions and prejudice.

Fresh Off the Boat vs. Being Local.

Dominic: Well, I think of myself as “local” since I’m born here. Um, uh because people, Filipinos that are born here are much different from Filipinos that are born in the Philippines because they act different, they talk different. Like me I speak pidgin right now...because I got used to speaking pidgin. Oh, yeah, that’s how we talk here in Hawai‘i, most of the time.

SG: Okay. What story or stories does place or environment tell you? Can you share a story about place or land that is culturally important to you?

Benjamin: So my home town... I think...I cannot say one is more important than the other...the experiences are important to me. Because when I was in the Philippines, Bacarra people were very narrow-minded and when I moved here people are like more independent and more accepting. Like people there are very judgmental because it’s like a very strong Catholic community. People here in Hawai‘i... The...systems are more... People in Hawai‘i—acculturated more American culture – we are more free to do other things that we want. Yeah, express your ideas...do whatever you want without your family or other people telling or dictating what you should be doing.

Benjamin’s “I” Poem
I’m typically...
I’m typically the antonym of the typical Filipino in his 20s.
I tell people my story.
I’m challenging the stereotype.
I feel like...
I am shaking the ground.
I’m an English teacher who just came from the Philippines...they make jokes like they import the Filipinos to teach English [laughter]
I feel like those...identities and what else...and gender, sexual preferences.
I said Hawai‘i is...safer place and the Philippines is a more narrow-minded place to be in and to be who you are.

*Filipino LGBTQ Experience and Belonging*

Benjamin is a 23-year-old gay Filipino man who describes himself as independent, resilient, and ambitious. Although he was raised in a “broken home” in the Philippines with little parental oversight, he learned to survive. With mixed feelings about the Philippines and what he termed the “narrow-minded attitudes” embedded within the culture, Benjamin identified his hometown of Bacarra as a special place, where he grew up, earned a bachelor’s degree, and found support from extended family. Upon settling in his new home, Benjamin learned to navigate Hawai‘i’s local communities and became comfortable as a gay Filipino immigrant, with his multiple identities. Despite recently coming out, solely to close friends, he is still searching for belonging and connection within his ethnic community, and shared places, where he can express all parts of his identities — to be himself and be accepted.

Despite the unaccepting, unwelcoming environment within the conservative Filipino immigrant community in Hawai‘i, Benjamin identified friends and allies with whom he was comfortable sharing his identities, a welcoming community with whom he shares a sense of belonging and connection.

Benjamin’s “I” Poem

I’ve only been here about three years.
I don’t own much of that experience yet.
I could say ...
I am comfortable in the environment.
I just came out. Not to everybody but...
[so] I just came out...
I mean not to everybody.
I’m more comfortable about it. But, now...
I have a good group of other Filipinos who also share the same identity.
But, because the Filipino community is not able to accept it yet. So, we try to venture
into other communities. Like there’s no LGBT community for Filipinos here.
I actually have a friend...he’s more active in the LGBT community.
I’m more comfortable, the environment is just becoming better for me.
I mean it’s more welcoming. The community is more welcoming if you let yourself in.
I belong.

Benjamin’s experiences reflect similar experiences held by LGBT Filipino
participants in Nadal and Corpus’ (2013) study. These researchers examined the
experiences of LGBT Filipinos in New York and California and found family, religion
and religious values associated with being a Catholic, and gender role expectations to
strongly influence acceptance of their gender, sexuality, sexual orientation, and multiple
identities, as Filipino/a and as LGBT individuals. Further, the latter process of balancing
and negotiating multiple identities, in addition to racism and racist acts from members
within the LGBTQ community and homophobia within their families (hiding their
identities from their families) and from their own ethnic communities were found to
contribute to psychological stressors, depression, anger, and frustration (Nadal &
Corpus, 2013).

Research in the Philippines—while limited, it has outnumbered similar research
conducted in the United States—has addressed traditional Filipino concepts and culture,
adding to the complexity and confusion for LGBT individuals and society, in general
(Nadal & Corpus, 2013). For example, in terminology, “tomboy” and “bakla” are
commonly used descriptors for lesbians and gay men, respectively, and sometimes used synonymously for transgender, hermaphrodites, cross-dressers, and individuals viewed as effeminate (Nadal & Corpus, 2013). Conflicting with Western views of same-sex sexual acts, Filipino culture does not strictly relate behavior with sexual orientation; rather, sexuality is based on gendered behavior or sexual role (Manalansan, 2003, cited by Nadal & Corpus, 2013).

**Ecological Level III: Community Wellbeing**

“The Bayanihan or Community Spirit”

“One volunteer is worth two who is pressed into service”

18th Century Filipino Proverb

The *Bayanihan Spirit* refers to the Filipino’s spirit of communal unity, work, and cooperation to achieve a specific goal for the benefit of the community. Nothing is expected in return (Yumul, 2013). This custom is of historical significance to Filipinos. Originally, as Yumul (2013) described, the concept of *Bayanihan* can be traced back to the Filipino tradition in rural areas, where the town’s people were asked to assist a family moving to a new location. Not only did the townspeople assist in moving the family’s personal belongings, but, most significantly, the relocation resulted in the townspeople physically transferring the family’s entire house or *bahay kubo* (traditional Filipino house or native style hut made of indigenous materials such as bamboo and nipa/anahaw leaves). After everyone assisted and the dwelling was successfully moved, the family traditionally sponsored a feast, or celebration in gratitude to the community (Yumul, 2013). While the movement of houses or huts is no longer a regular request,
Filipinos, in the spirit of *Bayanihan*, continue to lend a hand to aid a local family, church, or community project. Such meaningful acts demonstrate the Filipino community spirit and this custom or tradition continues.

Similarly, among KM, the process of bringing together individual strengths for the benefit of the collective and to find solutions is called *kūkulu kumuhana* in Hawaiian. This emphasis on communal collaboration is exemplified in many KM proverbs including “*E ala! E alu! E kuilima! Up! Together! Join hands!*” (Pukui, 1983). Moreover, the determination to generate collective solutions is expressed in the KM proverb: “*A `ohe pu `u ki `eki `e ke ho `ā `o `ia e pi `i. No cliff is so tall that it cannot be scaled. No problem is too great when one tries hard to solve it*” (Pukui, 1983). Central to the integrity of Native Hawaiian communities was their dependability and sustainability of communal relationships with their surrounding ancestral environs that contributed to their wellbeing. The relocation of Native Hawaiians to urban centers led to the development of non-traditional community structures, which sustained and reinforced their cultural identities.

For Indigenous groups, McCubbin et al. (2013) have underscored the role of community as a fundamental element of relational wellbeing and an integral component of having and cultivating a sense of place. This connection with a sense of place necessitates continuity, intergenerational sharing of beliefs and values, and fosters community leadership, and cultural and spiritual practices, thus promoting a sense of security, predictability, and meaning in life. As a result, *community* fosters spiritual energy and establishes an environment for learning, practicing cultural values and beliefs, and the transmission of traditional ecological knowledge. Underlying and significant are the Indigenous teachings (as noted in the proverbs above), system of
rules, expectations, and norms related to roles, responsibilities, and behaviors that offer guidelines for the community (McCubbin et al., 2013).

**Theme #1: Places of Wellbeing—Community**

Following McGregor et al.’s ecological model for Native Hawaiian wellbeing, at the community-level, youth identified significant places such as churches to enhance their spiritual wellbeing, schools and programs at community-based organizations where they actively participated in healthful practices, as well as places to heal, find balance, relieve stress, and relax. These included schools, churches, and dance studios. As Garcia-Coll and Szalacha (2004) mentioned, youth spend the majority of their time outside their homes in schools (and in their communities); these social settings are connected to young people’s development, physical and mental health, and wellbeing, which was confirmed by the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Abbott-Chapman & Robertson, 1999). Thus, communities, schools, churches, neighborhoods, families, and friends play a significant role in youths’ lives and also influence their self-esteem and behavioral choices that are likely to affect their physical and mental health as well as their future (Blum & Rinehart, 1997).

**Places that Promote Communal Wellbeing and Individual Wellbeing**

In the spirit of *bayanihan* or community spirit, many youth identified places in the community that nurtured a sense of connectedness to the collective community. These places, such as cultural clubs, churches, or schools, functioned as vehicles to impart collective community values. For example, note Jessica’s response to a question concerning community.
SG: How does the Filipino community, Filipino associations, or Filipino groups you belong to or participate in help encourage healthy behaviors for you or other Filipino youth?

Jessica: Well...they always encourage [you]...and...like...showing more of happiness side to yourself and showing a positive attitude and also...trying to adapt more within the people...around your community... And also show your individuality but not too much like show off...and to be more respectful to other persons...

These communal spaces were frequently cited as places in which “talking story” could occur –where opportunities are made to nurture connectedness to community and simultaneously nurture wellbeing for them as individuals. Youth identified these community places as spaces in which community is made and wellbeing is nurtured.

SG: Okay. Um... How can the Filipino community or community groups you belong to or participate in encourage healthy behaviors for you?

Benjamin: Hm... So, the UBCH, the United Bacarras...most of the members are like nurses or retired nurses so we usually bring healthy foods and stuffs but it also contributes to taking away the stress because you know the stories when we talk stories after rehearsals... So I'm looking forward to every Thursday going there...because of the dance, the cultures going on, the food...and just those small laughter, stories going on...

Places that Promote Healthful Behaviors

Athletic Centers/Dance Studios. In contrast, community-based athletic or artistic spaces provided opportunity for the youth to maintain health practices, but were not designated as unique community-spaces. For example, Kayla identified the dance studio as a place where she can maintain her health and wellbeing. As she describes below, these places support her in being herself, obtaining physical and emotional cleansing, “taking out anything negative” as well as keeping her physically active.

SG: How does the dance studio influence your health and wellbeing?

Kayla: Um...wellbeing, I’ll say...it lets me...be myself and lets me take out anything negative, anything going on with me. And, for my health, it cleanses my body, it keeps me physically active.
Kayla also identifies dance studio as a place to express herself.

Kayla: The dance studio.  
SG: The dance studio. Do you dance a lot?  
Kayla: Whenever I can.  
SG: What about the dance studio makes you feel comfortable?  
Kayla: It lets me express who I am and how I’m feeling...and lets me show off my character a little bit.  

Brayden refers to the gym as a place for being alone and relieving stress.  

Brayden’s “I” Poem  
I think the center or the gym um...  
I just want to be alone.  
I had the key  
I just could go in and punch the bag and let off some steam or have nice and quiet do my workout and what not um...  
I always go to  
I need to find some peace and calm, peace and calm, besides my room.  
I go.  

For Ava, the weight room at her school offered her a place for self-expression.

Ava: We’re able to express ourselves and be ourselves without judgement or restriction.  

Schools. Some of the youth identified school-based groups as important places to enhance their wellbeing. Quite often, in these narratives, wellbeing was represented by physical health, physical activity, and wellbeing.  

Grace: Well the school has sports so that helps. But I’m not part of the sports. We have like dance club so like that promotes physical wellbeing and helps me stay in shape.
Youth also described accessing important counseling spaces within schools to address their stress and identified those places creating opportunities to connect with others struggling with similar concerns.

Ava: Um we have a class...like a counseling class and...it’s a very close class where we share feelings and what we’re going through and I’ve gone to those people in my class to seek comfort and I’ve gone to my deans to just talk about things that are happening in life and just to relieve all that stress.

SG: How do they promote a sense of wellbeing?

Ava: They promote being able to express yourself and not like having to hold it in and that everyone is going through it and they help us counsel one another and knowing that it’s OK to make mistakes and that there will be someone to help you, there’s another chance.

Community Organizations. Community organizations offered opportunities to participate in healthful practices, which youth enjoyed. Sariling Gawa, a Filipino youth-based camp focused on enhancing and embracing cultural heritage, and the dance studio were offered as specific examples. The camp offered additional supports from peers:

Grace: ...emotionally and mentally, would be like my friends from...Sariling Gawa.

I guess like...like the Sariling Gawa...like you were only able to see each other for three days and two nights and then after that you kind of go on into your own world so then, but being able to have that other social website like it kind of, it helps me to stay connected and even though like you guys are far away you know that they’ll be there if you just like, they’re just like a chat away. Just like... It’s helpful to have that.

Grace’s “We” Poem: Sariling Gawa Camp

We’re like put into different groups.
We like are able to share our stories.
We get to know each other.
[after the camp is over] We still connect with them after
it’s amazing how the camp brings the Filipino community together it creates this whole other set of family that you like you never knew you had. We think about how it relates to our culture. We had to do like a scavenger hunt this one station talked about the different regions of the Philippines and then there was another area where they talked about dance and where they dance came from in the Philippines. What else do we do? They talk a lot about our history and our culture and why it’s important.

Church. Consistent with observations from Cunanan et al.’s (2007) qualitative study and its findings, family support and participation in religious activities through church were found to aid youth’s wellbeing. The church was recognized as being a central place for connection to the Filipino culture.

Benjamin: Yeah...the church...it’s what binds the culture...most of the Filipino cultures that were brought to Hawai‘i because of the church.

Grace: As for like, spiritually, I would say the church it helps me...[my] spiritual...wellbeing. The church.

Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2004) recognized the lack of inclusion of religion and sacred spaces within the place attachment literature. Their research confirmed that religion fosters place attachment; people develop attachment to sacred cities, structures, in addition to the natural environment. For Filipino youth, the church offered opportunities to enhance spiritual wellbeing, provided a safe environment, and promoted positive, healthful practices and behaviors. The importance of religion to Filipino youth in Hawai‘i was evident across interviews.

Kayla: I’d say the church cause that’s pretty much...I just feel a little bit safer there, a little more trusted.

Neighborhood Hangouts. Neighborhood hangouts such as parks and community centers were identified by the youth as places to help them relax, relieve stress, connect with peers, and promote a sense of happiness and wellbeing. Jacob notes:
(Neighborhood) Parks... I guess to make them relax, relieve the stress and take it away from them. and just play ball would make it more because you sweat it out you sweat out the stress and that’s what would really close it down.

When youth were asked to identify how these neighborhood hangouts provide a positive climate to support their wellbeing, they described how the community staffing prioritized the youth, and created an environment that nurtured positive thoughts and behaviors.

Dominic: Oh..., their main priority... I guess the main priority is to keep you happy, you know, they don’t really want sad faces, uh...uh, angry, and stuff like that or negative... they want to see you smiling and happy, and stuff like that, that’s what they’re happy with.

Neighborhood places were also described in relation to the natural environment. For example, Jacob observed how the sunset creates a mood or sensory experience of these neighborhood places that promotes wellbeing.

Jacob: The view over there is like mostly street but once there’s a sunset... It’s... When you see the back it’s pretty nice. It’s probably, to me... is one of having a good place to hang out and just chill... and also just to enjoy whatever happens there.

Places that Promote Personal Growth and Wellbeing

While numerous theoretical, conceptual, and measurement debates about wellbeing have spanned the literature, many proponents have focused on the individual, namely, psychological or eudaimonic and hedonic or subjective wellbeing (SWB), happiness. Psychological wellbeing specifies that individuals live in accordance with their true self (Ryan & Deci, 2001). This concept of wellbeing derives from the eudaimonic tradition that promotes the fulfilment of human potential as essential for positive psychological functioning and health (Ryff, 1989). Ryff and Keyes (1995) offered a multidimensional approach to measuring psychological wellbeing with a focus on six key dimensions considered as fundamental to optimal psychological health: 1)
self-acceptance, 2) positive relationships, 3) life purpose, 4) autonomy, 5) mastery, and 6) personal growth (Ryff, 1989; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff & Keyes, 1995; Keyes et al., 2002).

In contrast, Diener (2000) and colleagues (Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2003) are strong proponents of hedonic or SWB, often labeled as “happiness.” Diener (2000) refers to SWB as people’s evaluations, affective and cognitive, of their lives. While acknowledging additional features of a valuable life and (positive) mental health exist, SWB focuses on one’s evaluation of his/her/their life, e.g., high levels of SWB are achieved based on one’s feelings of many pleasant and few unpleasant emotions, one’s experiences of many pleasures and few pains, and one’s satisfaction with their lives (Diener, 2000).

Dominic describes the priorities, counseling and support services offered at the Filipino Community Center.

They will help you with your problems...personally if you want help from them for your personal problems...just tell them and they’ll help you...cuz they will talk to you privately so no one else will know...Yeah, counselors are there to help you.

Indigenous and others scholars have challenged the individual focus and its roots in Western, Eurocentric values and beliefs. McCubbin et al. (2013) disputed the applicability of SWB for racial and ethnic populations in general and more specifically, for immigrants and indigenous populations. These authors promote the concept of relational wellbeing based on indigenous worldviews reflected in the ecological model of nature and human ecology and informed by the work of McGregor et al. (2003), in which the individual, home and the family system, community and neighborhood, homeland, society, and the world are regarded as interdependent and relational.
Further in the indigenous worldview, the community is a key site and element of relational wellbeing embracing and nurturing a sense of place (McCubbin et al., 2013).

Brayden identified the Youth Center as a place that promoted opportunities to nurture personal growth and where he was also able to share what he learned by mentoring others.

Brayden’s “I” Poem
I work part-time at the Youth Center.
I do mixed martial arts with young people.
I learn life philosophies and skills.
I practice my philosophies and mentor younger kids.
I think the Center.
I don’t find too many people...males in particular, that are really into ballroom or Latin ballroom
I will never be bored.
I described like the Lodge, dancing, and the Center...
I wouldn’t have known...
[who] I am now.

Places that Promote Growth Through Mentorship
“If you plant, you harvest.”
[Kung may tinanim, may aanihin.]
Filipino Proverb
“We like...look up to him and go to him for advice, so it helps”
Ava

Places provided opportunities for youth to receive mentoring and also be mentors to others. This corresponds to Filipino values of responsibility, giving back or utang na loob, and the bayanihan spirit, the spirit of being a community member. Below, Brayden describes his experiences at various community programs where he sought opportunities for healthy living, wellbeing, but also provided services, mentoring, and
opportunities for personal growth to younger children. Brayden explains the types of support and wisdom he renders from his experiences with elders at the Masonic Lodge:

A sense of support, in general, I have to go back to the Lodge... it provides support in terms of life messages, wisdom, for wisdom and guidance. A place to keep me healthy is the Center and the Dance studio. I’m staying active. So, I think the overall wellbeing would be the Lodge. And, personal growth would be at the Lodge or if I have any problems... Like I can’t deal with my coworker and she’s actually like complaining, blah, blah, this and that... and it’s bringing down the mood and it’s not getting anywhere I’ll complain to one of my brothers who probably might have already gone through it and he can tell me what he did or suggest to me what might be better. If I don’t like his answer I’ll go to another brother [laughs] and, again if I wanted to stay fit and healthy, the Center, or the gym, or the dance studio.

Like others, Brayden goes on to identify the importance of having places, such as the Lodge, that have positive role models who embody and demonstrate through their actions their values and skills that can be passed on to the youth. Relatedly, a Filipino proverb also highlights this value for action in role modeling, not just words: “A man that talks too much accomplishes little” [Maraming salita, kulang sa gawa].

Brayden: One of them [mentors at the Lodge]...he taught me the value of my work...um...dignity... if you say something, for example, like I will meet you here at 12 o’clock, you better be there by 12 o’clock. It builds your reputation and build your trust um... it’s a reflection of how people see you so... respect. That’s how you gain respect.

The role of mentors is made explicit with this Filipino proverb: “Emulate what is good; ignore what is bad” [Pulutin ang mabuti, ang masama ay iwaksi]. Mentorship is a core value of Filipino culture and the transmission of values, particularly with respect to hard work, dedication, perseverance, acceptance of criticism, and openness to learning; all are represented through various proverbs. Specifically, for youth, Brayden shares the types of prosocial youth activities and programs, including mentorship, that he and other staff at the Community Center can offer to engage youth and young people.
Brayden: …for the youth I think the (Community) Center that’s where we’re at right now is mainly what our goal is to mainly just get the kids off the streets and it can be a total stress reliever or what’s that word... A place for them to blow off some steam and everything whenever they get angry...also to help them with their attendance and we can help mold these kids into something better and the philosophy we use, we teach them also to help them in life...you can also adapt it to life itself. So, things that we teach them.

Some people’s time is not now but planting the seed...and one day it might just bloom and they will ask you some questions...

*Mentorship Is a Process of Planting Seeds.* Frequently, youth cited key turning points through mentorship experiences in community spaces as critical to their wellbeing and maturity into young adulthood. Brayden’s use of the planting seeds metaphor “...like planting what Daniel did to me, planting, planting little seeds at a time...just planting seeds and then it creates interest...,” similar to the Parable of the Sower (growing seed) in the Bible, follows what Trimbeza describes as the utilization of a metaphor to share one’s philosophy of life. In this case, Brayden illustrates his story (in more detail below) by sharing hardships he’s faced during his high school years and his personal growth. The life-changing encounter with Daniel, his mentor, and his mentor’s “planting little seeds” was a turning point for Brayden. He currently uses this same metaphorical approach—planting seeds with his youth mentees. Powerfully, Brayden engages these mentorship processes within community places—similar to his mentor. Likewise, he recognizes that the youth he mentors will take up these seeds/lessons when the time is right, when the youth mentee is ready to accept the lesson.

In addressing the ecological context, the interrelationship between people and the natural environment are significant not only in the United States but also in youths’ homelands. Parallel to Brayden’s rice metaphor and process, there have been challenges
and contemporary market force changes for planting rice seedlings in the Philippines, a difficult endeavor. Rice has been the sustenance of the Filipino people for centuries, and the famous Banaue rice terraces in Luzon (north of Manila) are a visual testament to its historical, architectural significance. Yet, for some, Filipinos rice remains a luxury; rice imports into the Philippines exceeds its exports (Javier, 2015; UNESCO, 2011). The famous Filipino song or chant, “planting rice,” which has been passed down through oral traditions for many generations, communicates through its lyrics the struggles of this agricultural product or commodity. This cyclical metaphor of “planting rice” returns us to Brayden’s story:

Some people’s time is not now but planting the seed...and one day it might just bloom and they will ask you some questions, why you’re always like this? Or, how are you so respected? ...What got me into it—they need to find a mentor or a mentor needs to find them—that’s what we’re doing with the kids at the Center...like planting what Daniel did to me, planting, planting little seeds at a time. I wasn’t doing anything in high school I didn’t know what life is. I was always complaining, I was always mad. Daniel said try this...like planting a seed. He said Brayden you can have anything you want...you just need to learn universal thought, try this experiment, grab a cup of water and fill it all the way to the top when it’s almost ready to spill and if you put your mind to the water, you say don’t spill, don’t spill and you walk across the room what’s going to happen is you’re going to spill because you put it out there, spill, it’s a really trick word. But, if you go over there and change that word to steady, steady, something more positive. That will explain the cup is higher...stuff like that planting seeds and showing them examples and little seeds you want to turn this around and put this manifestation into I’m going to make $1 million in the next year or to make it realistic in the next 5 years or making it even more realistic having a beautiful family and someone respectful to me. With that mentorship or the little seeds, you want to listen more and oh, you’re right that did work or actually I got it, or I’m not stressed anymore...I don’t know how it’s going to work for everyone, or how it’s going to work for some people. You can’t change...people...they need to want to change. So, the best way to do is psychology...if you want to make it more scientific, just planting seeds and then it creates interest.
Build Mentorship and Character in Places. Church as Jacob describes is a place that “builds” you up and makes you a better person. Many youth identified mentor role models in the Church community. Additionally, they identified Church as a place where communal standards of respect are expected and reinforced.

Jacob: Oh, um… I’d say church. Because if it’s usually respect or I respect and whenever I’m there I’m just respectful to others. I’m just hoping that I won’t I really won’t do anything bad or messy and to keep me calm.

Jacob continues his discussion identifying church as a place “that builds people up:”

that’s where they build, they build up from people there ...when they go to church also I’d say that it’ll make them a better person.

In the following “I” Poem, Brayden reflects on places, the Community Center, dance studio, and Lodge, and mentorship opportunities he received or provided from the perspectives of a mentor and mentee along with his experiences that led to his personal growth and accomplishments.

Brayden’s “I” Poem
I’m there [at the Lodge].
I feel like.
I’m…away from work.
I finally get to be with people who.
I can call my “brothers” and they can help.
I have some life issues or if.
I’m seeking wisdom or guidance.
I...these are older people who can tell me about their past history and pass their knowledge down to me. So it’s a good place for me to have my personal growth.
I think.
I didn’t have the Center, um my uncle, or the Lodge or the dance [studio] or the mixed martial arts.
I think.
I would have been a lot more selfish, uh, stressed.
I would not be that sociable.
I would have been the same person.
I was when.
I was in the middle of my senior year in high school.
I wouldn’t be able to.
I wouldn’t be able to communicate with…a mix of ages.
I have to deal with younger kids.
I’m coaching.
[at the Lodge] I have to deal with older gentleman.
I can communicate.
I don’t have the experience in years.
I can communicate with them.
I’m talking.
[even though] I’m not at the same level as them as to someone in their 60s.

Places that Promote Growth and Filipino Enculturation

Many of the youth identified the role of the Filipino community and organizations as supporting the development of a positive cultural identity and providing opportunities to enculturate into Filipino values, worldviews, and culture. Many also spoke about the importance of community in generating pride in their culture and the community itself.

Pua: To me, it’s really about community...which I really noticed, we’re very pridedful which...I really respect how uh...we tend to take pride in all of our accomplishments. And I do that as an individual and I suppose I get it from my ethnicity, my culture as well...

As Nadal (2009) and del Prado and Church (2010) noted, Filipino values, beliefs, and ways of being are distinct from those of other Asian ethnic subgroups. Over four and half centuries of colonization by Spaniards and the United States, along with ongoing colonization by the latter, strongly influenced Filipino cultural values, languages or dialects, traditions, and practices.

Food and the Marketplace. Food markets and marketplaces were identified as critical community places where culture is nurtured, stories are shared, and community
networks are established. Many of the youth identified particular cultural markets that
cater to Filipino or Pacific communities as important places for sharing culture and
passing on knowledge across generations.

Jacob: Culturally important to me...um...that would probably be the
markets...I think of the sugar plantation...because to the Filipinos
around here...that’s really important to their culture.

Moreover, ethnic-specific markets served as “bridges” to the homeland, where sensory
experiences through food, language, and culture were practiced in entering these places.

Pua: As a Filipino, I choose...whenever we go (food) shopping for
ingredients...we’d end up in Waipahu. We primarily go to Pacific
Market Place. And, for me, it was really interesting because my
parents would continuously point to a product and say, ‘I remember
having this as a young kid’ or they’d buy it for us to make us try it.
They tried to help us experience what their childhood was
like...through imports.

Cultural Camps. Youth also identified cultural camps as being important places
in which enculturation activities took place. These places were identified by the youth as
representing an approximation to the homeland—a place to connect with others and
remember where they came from.

Grace: Place means...I think one thing...this is the closest to Baguio City
environment and it was at Camp Erdman and that’s where we had
Sariling Gawa camp, that’s where it was held at. It was always up in
the north shore where it’s always foggy and rainy and had mountains
like the Philippines. Every time we go there for the camp I always like
it because it reminds me...feels like I’m back home. It makes me feel
like a place where I can relax.

Places of the Heart. Finally, Benjamin, through his “I” poem demonstrates the
importance of recognizing the complexity of navigating multiple cultural identities as a
Filipino gay man. His poem illustrates how place and ethnic identity are intertwined and
are expressed through dance and community groups. He also highlights how ethnic
identity involves strategic positioning (e.g., understanding the need to acculturate)
without losing one's ethnic pride and how, ethnic pride also involves the embracing of multiple identities.

Benjamin’s “I” Poem

I still practice Filipino culture.
I’m very active in the Filipino community.
I like...the American culture because of the things.
I mentioned earlier.
I still value my Filipino culture.
I meet up with this Filipino folk dance group.
I dance.
I join my relatives to do some Filipino stuff.
I have a strong equilibrium between my Filipino roots.
I understand the need to acculturate myself...to the environment...which is American.
I’m typically the antonym of the typical Filipino in his 20s.
I tell people my story.
I’m working as a teacher.
I’m challenging the stereotype.
I feel like.
I am shaking the ground.

Theme #2: People Make Places-Relationships and Places that Promote Belonging and Connectedness: Community Level

“We’re pretty spirited in the Waipahu community.” —Grace

To belong is to experience a type of attachment to others in unique places and at specific moments in time. Belonging is critical for Filipino immigrant youth living in Hawai‘i. While Maslow (1954 cited by Resnick, 1997) identified belonging as one of the primary human needs, this was supported by Caxaj and Berman (2010) who found belonging to be a central resource for health and wellbeing in the lives of newcomer youth and that creating a sense of belonging was significant for immigrant youth’s wellbeing. Probyn’s (1996) emphasis on the affective dimension of belonging—moving
beyond just *be-ing*, to longing or yearning—was found relevant by Pratt for Filipino immigrant youth in Canada. Pratt described the second generation Filipino youth as longing for an ideal “home” (homeland) and continuing to feel “displaced, not quite at home” (2003).

The following describes participants’ testimonies of places as points of connection to help create belonging. For some youth, places that nurtured a sense of belonging were easily identified, while other youth experienced difficulties in identifying particular places that promote a sense of belonging. Upon closer examination of the narratives, it became clear that this discrepancy became irrelevant once I realized that the theme that was emerging among the belonging narrative was that it is *people who make place and when people make place, a sense of belonging happens*. Once we identified that it was people who make place and belonging, the listenings produced themes that included the various socializing and socialization functions of people in places—including strategies to connect in virtual spaces through SM and SNS; barriers to belonging and connectedness; internalized oppression as tied to the sense of belonging or not belonging (immigrant and “FOB” identities and related oppression); and finally, the importance of acceptance in creating sense of belonging (communities, schools, home).

*Communities that Nurture Identity and Sense of Belonging*

Jessica: Well, place is like a relationship among others...like building a strong community...and also...helping out others. It’s a place where you can feel comfort and...be respected and...show your individual self.

Places of connection that create belonging for Filipino youth include their community, neighborhood, church, school, and home. These places promoted youths’ ethnic identities and enculturation (as noted earlier) and, as a result, increased youth’s
sense of connectedness and belonging to the Filipino community as well as to their ancestors/ancestral homelands. Additionally, the youth identified specific places that invoked a sense of peoplehood and shared collective ethnic identity as well as strong sense of Filipino family and home.

Waipahu: “A Special Place.” Filipinos from the early 1900s settled and established themselves in Waipahu and Kalihi. Kalihi, Kalihi Valley, and Kalihi-Palama are located within a few miles of urban Honolulu. Waipahu was originally considered a rural area that has since developed and continues to develop into a large suburb. Geographically, Waipahu is located approximately 15 miles West of Honolulu and Waikiki. Over time, these communities or places grew into Filipino ethnic enclaves. Immigrant Filipinos were attracted to the areas by family members and social networks from their home towns, who were already resettled in those areas. As these communities grew with Filipino ohanas (families), local restaurants, stores, and infrastructure launched their businesses to cater to their needs. As such, Waipahu has a distinct Filipino identity, and the youths’ narratives referenced Waipahu as a “special place,” a “Filipino city,” a place of strong attachment.

Dominic: Well...what’s meaningful to me...is my own...city, which is Waipahu. I grew up here and I’m not really comfortable in other cities...that’s why I really don’t go out in the City. I always stay here in Waipahu and chill with my friends and stuff like that. Yeah, and, that’s all. Yeah, I’m relaxed and comfortable. I get all my friends and I guess I’m set for now during my teenage life... Oh, okay. Well, you could say this...Waipahu is a Filipino city because...Waipahu is the place that has the most Filipinos. Yeah, you don’t realize it until later on until you lived here for a long time. And, um...uh...there’s a lot of stuff happening here in Waipahu.

Waipahu is identified as the place to go, to connect or be seen by other Filipinos. It is a place that not only promotes a sense of connectedness and invokes strong place
attachment, but also was identified as an ethnic enclave or sanctuary in which families stay for generations.

Jacob: What makes Waipahu special? ...I was born and raised here...and I appreciate everything that I have...Waipahu is like very special to me ...it’s where I live, where all my friends live and... It’s where the Filipino community live(s)... The Filipinos are always around Waipahu, everywhere I go in Waipahu. I would never really leave Waipahu unless...it’s a special occasion or I have to leave.

Many of the participants discussed how Waipahu was a place that promoted their sense of belonging. At times, words failed to describe how Waipahu as a place, promoted this sense of belonging; as Grace notes, “But there’s just something about Waipahu.” Jessica and Jacob both noted that despite Waipahu’s large geographic area (“big place”), they still experienced it as a type of neighborhood where as Filipinos, wherever they went, whether they knew anyone or not-they felt they belonged.

Jessica: Well...in Waipahu...generally mostly because Waipahu is like a big place but...it’s a bunch of small parts that...different...people no matter where they’re going...and also seeing them and seeing more of them...

Jacob: ...I belong in Waipahu because there are a lot of friends that I’m always with compared to ...my friends and relatives who live in other areas. It’s just that over here is common to me...and there’s just a lot of us [Filipinos].

This sense of belonging was felt even in walking in areas of Waipahu where immediate family were not present, but other Filipinos were, thus creating a sense of belonging. Participants also described how when they were not in Filipino places, they felt like they were not themselves.

Jessica describes numerous places throughout Waipahu where she sees and experiences her ethnic identity. The sensory experiences –both visual and olfactory—reinforce a sense of culture, ethnic identity, and sense of belonging.
SG: How does Waipahu facilitate your sense of ethnic identity?

Jessica: ...Like supermarkets that [are] based on Filipinos’ foods and also there’s...other Filipinos like down in the plantations...and they go banquet halls...somewhere in Waipahu...and you just get to know your culture more and...about the people related to you and how...they spread throughout this place.

Again, the sensory experiences—culturally and ethnically based visual and olfactory experiences of Filipino community—created sense of belonging and sense of “self” for these youth. They described the embodiment of these feelings as feeling more relaxed and less stressed in these settings. In contrast, when in non-Filipino enclaves, they described themselves as being more stressed and not feeling like they could relax and be themselves.

Jacob: Just because there’s a lot of Filipino houses and there’s a lot of Filipino families and where I’ve been was...at my friend’s house and I would always stroll around his neighborhood and how much, how much of us, Filipinos are there. And it’s pretty big, there’s a lot in Waipahu and...and my family we’re just left alone because there are others that are like us...There’s some areas that don’t really have [Filipinos]...but it’s just like over there I don’t feel...and I don’t feel myself...

Waipahu and the Significance of the Filipino Value: Respect. Many of the participants noted that culturally based social protocols are present in their ethnic enclaves. One of the key values that tend to be promoted in the community is that of respect. The narratives of the youth demonstrated that the shared awareness of the cultural values and everyday behaviors associated with those values created a sense of belonging and connectedness. As can be seen by Dominic’s quote, shared stories, shared values were social signs that you belonged, and, in turn, reinforced sense of belonging as these values were practiced in the cultural and social setting.

Dominic: Uh, we all have our parts, you know. We show respect to others, we have some care and consideration...and all that. And that’s number
one is respect here in Waipahu and we don’t get respect back if you don’t show respect. That’s really serious, especially in the Philippines and if you don’t show respect there, they really gonna go after you. It’s really serious, Filipinos. We take it seriously.

For Filipino youth who demonstrated knowledge of these values through their everyday practices, the sense of belonging to Waipahu (whether they lived there or not) was stronger for youth who were either further removed from their cultural practices and knowledge through assimilation. Additionally, even when other ethnic enclaves were mentioned, such as Kalihi, Waipahu continued to be narrated as a type of homeland or place that captured the essence of Filipino community and belongingness.

Grace: I don’t know like...I think Kalihi, the Filipinos tend to be...act kind of, I don’t know if it’s just from my point of view but they seem to be little bit more rowdier, to me. They weren’t as approachable, from my experience. They were nice people, like there were some nice people. But there’s just something about Waipahu.

In her “We” Poem, Grace shares her strong beliefs about her “community” and the strengths and abilities to work together, collaborate, connect through shared stories, and resources the people can collectively draw upon for the future.

Grace’s “We” Poem
We need to show everybody that as a community.
We can do things together.
We know our stories.
We understand that it helps us to move on to the future and it helps.

Kalihi: “A Special Place.” Like Waipahu, for the participants who grew up in Kalihi, Kalihi was likewise described as a “special place.” Kalihi is a historical community due to the long-term presence of the Palama Settlement House from the former plantation days. Historically, it functioned as the central “home” area where Filipino plantation workers could reunite with family, express culture, and be
“themselves,” a place of refuge in the colonial plantation enterprise. In many ways, the youth from Kalihi noted the importance of this history and how it continues to be a place of refuge, of shared identity, and of cultural support and growth, where shared cultural values of resistance and resilience continue to permeate everyday life.

SG: What makes you feel like you belong or are connected to Kalihi-Palama?

Lea: I would say Kalihi, Kalihi-Palama - you know where Liliha is right? Kalihi is important to me because I know that a lot of people look down on that area. People strive, we try hard to make ourselves better. In Kalihi-Palama there’s a [Palama] settlement there and I actually volunteer there and there’s a lot of activities there for the people who couldn’t afford anything. So I feel that as much as I can... It really means a lot...although people look down... It’s where I grew up... You know where I went to school. Where my family raised me and where all my friends are.

A number of participants remarked how being from Kalihi is a source of ethnic and community pride. As Lea notes above, it is a place where one belongs despite the outsider social pressures and racism that youth confront when non-Filipinos identify Kalihi as a “poor” community. Moreover, despite living apart from Kalihi, many of the youth identified it as a true “home.”

Kayla: It's Kalihi itself because...I grew up here. Basically, it feels a little bit like home. I know a lot of people in Kalihi than any other place that’s why it makes it feel like home than any other places.

Miya’s “I” Poem
I was born and raised here in Kalihi.
I have been really blessed to be part of a lot of cultural aspects (in my life).
I do like to share that with my friends.
I’m really involved with my community as well as the school community.

Lea shares her story about growing up in Kalihi. She reflects on the values passed down from her mom and experiences she had at the Kalihi-Palama Settlement that offered
opportunities for involvement and personal growth. Lea also reflects on how this has shaped her motivation “to give back to my community…”

Lea’s “I” Poem

I was always looked down upon and.
I never felt like.
I was going to succeed. Because my mom didn’t go to school. She didn’t graduate from high school either. So, everyone would think.
I would just be like my mom, you know...like she’s never going to succeed in life. She’s always going to fail in life.
[Then] I went to Palama Settlement and they had free activities...my family couldn’t afford kickboxing, karate, whatever and.
[so] I went there...it kind of gave me a new outlook on life and.
I would succeed one day.
[Seeing all of that made me see Filipinos being treated that way because they couldn’t speak very good English or not as smart. It kind of gave me that drive in life and made me want to give back to my community.]
[So, throughout middle school and high school] I told myself.
I was going to work really, really hard so.
I could get there one day.
I’m getting good grades and.
I’m going to college now but.
I always thought of my mom and.
[where] I came from. And, that’s where.
I got really active with the Filipino community.
I help out with the Filipino Fiesta and the fashion shows and a lot of community services.
I met Emily and.
I met Nathan through Filipino Youth Project and it’s something.
I believe in.

Despite the socio-economic hardships in living in communities that endure racial and economic oppression, many of the youth describe their communities as being culturally rich with strong families and shared sense of community, worldviews, and everyday behaviors, thus creating a wealth of family, friends, and social networks that are deeply embedded in cultural values and worldviews.
Institutional Places that Nurture Identity and Belonging: School and Church

Citing prior research, Chung-Do, Goebert, Hamagani, Chang, and Hishinuma (2015) observed consistent findings across studies that school connectedness is a critical protective factor in the healthy development of youth. High levels of school connectedness are associated with positive physical and mental health and increased emotional wellbeing, including reduced levels of substance abuse, decreased levels of suicidal ideation, reduced depressive symptoms, lowered risk of violent or deviant behavior, and reduced risk for teen pregnancy (Daly, Buchanan, Dasch, Eichen & Lenhart, 2010). Further, school connectedness is a multidimensional construct that consists of several common indicators: 1) positive and prosocial connections to peers, teachers, and staff; 2) perceived sense of belonging, closeness, and commitment to school; 3) active engagement in school activities; 4) positive feelings, sense of enjoyment, and liking of school; and, 5) beliefs that school is important (Daly et al., 2010; Chung-Do et al., 2015). Youth who retain strong connections are found to be less likely to engage in interpersonal violence in/away from the school setting (Borrowsky, Ireland, & Resnick, 2002; Catalano et al., 2004; Johnson, 2009; Resnick et al., 1997 cited by Daly et al., 2010).

School and Belonging. Many of the youth in the present study identified school as a place that created a sense of belonging and also identified school connectedness as a critical aspect of their resiliency in dealing with everyday stressors. Grace in her “I” poem shares how her experience of school helped her reflect on the importance of her culture, particularly as she made non-Filipino friends. This opportunity to reflect in the school environment helped to increase her awareness of the importance of her culture to
her identity, sense of connectedness to school and community, and her overall wellbeing.

Grace’s “I” Poem

I guess the school.
I spent four of my years.
I made a lot of friends there.
I made memories there and.
I learned there.
I was also able to find myself, as a Filipino, in that school.
I was into...being Filipino.
I thought like.  
I'm already living my culture.
I guess after that.
I wanted to be more involved with my culture because.
I thought.
I knew everything about my culture.
I had to as a Filipino but after that.
I realized.
I didn’t know that much about my history or my native land.
I was with my culture and being able to do that and made me feel more connected.

Likewise, Pua noted how school helped her reflect on her culture and identity.

Pua’s “I” Poem

I’ve learned in school, the different cultures.
I learned in school and just growing up in that area.
I belong with these types of people.
I should be surrounded by other cultures.
I should be...more grateful than.
I am.

In Feliciano’s (2001) study of Asian and Latino immigrant youth, she observed the importance of being bicultural for students and also noted the protective aspects of
immigrant culture (measured by language ability, household language, and presence of foreign-born family in the household), which served as cultural buffers—buffering the impact of socio-cultural-racial stressors on school attachment and educational success, and serving as a protector against students’ dropping out. Similarly, Guerrero et al. (2006) noticed that among Filipino students, knowing their language/dialect and genealogy served as buffers against substance abuse and poor school performance. Although none of the youth discussed substance use involvement, they did discuss how being Filipino and their Filipino identity was protective and helped them deal with everyday stressors found in school environments. More importantly, the school environments frequently reinforced a positive ethnic identity as the youth drew on their cultural values and worldviews as well as strategies to succeed that they attributed to their culture and family.

Feliciano (2001) also found bicultural youths’ educational success was the result of their ability to draw upon resources from both the immigrant community and mainstream society. She also found youth who lived in bilingual immigrant households and spoke English very well were least likely to drop out of school. This, she attributed to youth who achieved some level of integration and acculturation and were also able to maintain their ethnic identity.

Ava: I feel I belong to the private school community...

SG: Okay. How do these communities facilitate your sense of belonging or connectedness?

Ava: With private school, at first…it’s really big and just a sea of students, so I learned ...that the only way to like find your place is just to be yourself and try not to do what everybody else is doing, because you’ll just get lost, and no one will ever really see or gets to know you.
Further, Feliciano (2001) discovered that immigrant influences aided many Asian groups to surpass the educational attainment of native-born whites, but Asian dropout rates converged with white dropout rates once immigrant culture was considered. She hypothesized this to be the result of strong “immigrant ethics” or values characterized by high aspirations, appreciation for educational and related opportunities in America in comparison to their homeland, along with beliefs that rewards will be granted based on efforts, and respect for authority (Feliciano, 2001). Many of the youth noted that their cultural values related to respect for authority and effort helped them to succeed in school. The Filipino proverb, “A quitter never wins; a winner never quits” [Ang umaayaw ay di nagwawagi, ang nagwawagi ay di umaayaw], provides an excellent example of the youths’ determination to be resilient in challenging school environments. As the quote states, to be successful, you must strive until you reach your goal.

Filipino youth recruited for this study were actively involved in school and community activities. Finding a “place” within school settings increased youths’ sense of belonging and school connectedness. Researchers have discovered that students who participate in meaningfully school-based or extracurricular activities were found to have an improved likelihood of positive, healthy development and higher levels of school connectedness (Pittman et al., 2007 cited by Daly et al., 2010). Participation in extracurricular activities for these youth offered opportunities for participation in formalized experiences within school and the community. These school activities included options such as sports, fine arts, academics, clubs, and student government, while out-of-school or after school activities included boys and girls clubs’ programming, youth groups, community service, and religious activities. Here Jacob
describes his involvement in the Skills USA club followed by Grace who illustrates her special connections to her church youth group and to God.

Jacob’s “I” Poem

I say clubs.
I’m part of the Skills USA.
I’m like one of the best in there.
I guess or recognized in that club.
I always just have fun.
I just know.
I’m in there.
I do my best to socialize with...all the members in the club.
I say.
I belong in there.
I really have some fun and it’s also a stress reliever.

Kayla: People that accept you...the common interests between everyone...the activities in school it makes you feel like there’s more than just you here.”

SG: Where?
Kayla: At school.

SG: What about school makes you feel comfortable?
Kayla: People around who accept me for who I am, mostly.

SG: Are there people at your high school who help you stay strong healthy or happy?
Kayla: Friendship helps keep me strong and that’s it.

SG: How do your friends or other Filipino youth how do they help you stay strong, healthy or happy?
Kayla: They make sure I’m alright. And, make sure I’m accepted.

Church and Belonging. The Catholic Church continues to play a strong role in Filipino youth and young people’s lives. Church as a place of creating belonging and a
sense of shared identity and community was a common theme among the youth. Grace describes her strong connectedness to the Church. Through the youth ministry activities and retreats she found a “second family” who shared similar beliefs and values.

SG: Can you please describe which communities you belong to or feel connected to?

Grace: It’s a youth ministry at our church and...um... I guess I started being involved...around 10th grade and since I had to go to a class...after that...it became...like a whole second family...we all have...the same purpose for being there and that’s like being Filipino and God. We love him and serve him and I like belong to the community because...we’re all connected because of the retreats we’ve been through together and it made us know each other’s stories and just knowing that we both believe in that one God makes me feel connected to them.

Similarly, Grace’s “We” poem illustrates the collective identity that Church belonging creates for the community and for her. While other social and cultural institutions were identified as promoting emotional wellbeing (feeling able to be oneself), bodily wellbeing (feeling relaxed), and psychological wellbeing (feeling strong sense of self and identity), the Church provides the place to nurture spiritual wellbeing. Moreover, it creates a sense of communal identity and a shared collectivity in spiritual wellbeing that permeates family and community.

Grace’s “We” Poem

We had to get confirmed by the church.
We’d go on retreats.
We would do something together.
We would have rituals like Bible studies.
We have a praise and worship on June 4th.
We all have one.
We have the same purpose for being there and that’s like being Filipino and God.
We love him and serve him.
We all.
We’re all connected because of the retreats.
We’ve been through together and it made us know each other’s stories
and just knowing that.
We both believe in that one God makes me feel connected to them.
[So the ministry, like most of us are Filipino but] We’re open to other
ethnicities to.

People Make Place: The Socializing Function of Community Places
“A broom is sturdy because its strands are tightly bound.”

[Matibay ang walis, palibhasa’y magkabigkis.]

People gain strength by standing together.
- Filipino Proverb

Belonging occurs in social places as part of our social worlds. Participants raised
a unique aspect of place in terms of their socializing function where forms of social
cohesion, interdependence, and strong social ties helped shape their development,
behaviors, feelings of belonging, connectedness, and acceptance. Aligned with the
overarching ecological model, these places manifest as actual geographic-based
environments, such as the natural world (e.g., beach, mountains), as well as in social
worlds, such as school, community centers, clubs, athletics, and in shared spaces where
place is created by virtue of the people who inhabit the relationship (e.g., friendships,
home environments such as kitchens) and impart compassion, wisdom, and love—
where people make place. Below, Brayden describes the feelings of belonging and
acceptance in his accomplishments, “I really put my mark on the table,” when
responding to a community elder’s request for aid at the Lodge. Brayden’s example
illustrates how mentorship and other socializing processes prepare youth to adopt
community responsibilities and embrace cultural values. Moreover, the socializing
function of mentorships and social relationships create a sense of acceptance and
belonging.
Brayden: The fact that the Freemasons...they’re giving me such responsibility for example ...yesterday...um...one of my older brothers asked me to do a huge favor for him and it’s a big responsibility. The fact that he’s trusting me to take on this role...pretty much asked me to do a favor, do his job, because he has to go take care of family things because someone’s in the hospital and somebody wasn’t around and the fact that he didn’t go to him, him or him somebody who’s been around in the fraternity much longer or somebody he knew much longer. He chose me instead. The fact that he’s trusting me makes me feel like I’m accepted or I really feel like I accomplished something or I really put my mark on the table.

Just as individual mentors can play key roles in socializing youth development, key cultural groups and gatherings serve an important social function in allowing youth to develop cultural connectedness and create “family.”

SG: Okay. How about Sariling Gawa—what makes you feel like you belong or are connected to Sariling Gawa?

Grace: Well, because it’s like a three day two night camp [Sariling Gawa] and in that little span of time you’re able to like meet new people and from different communities and you’re able to connect with them like in a the level like you’ve known each other for a long time already even though you just met a few days ago. We’re like put into different groups and we like are able to share our stories and from there we get to know each other and like even after the camp is over we still connect with them after and it’s amazing how the camp brings the Filipino community together and it creates this whole other set of family that you like you never knew you had.

Many of these group gatherings serve to initiate youth into cultural worldviews and values, as well as provide important social network linkages. These networks function a socializing and socialization function for the youth and are critical people places in the development of social belonging and ethnic identity for the youth.

Grace: What makes me feel connected? Um, So they helped me a lot...like knowing...to help me find who I am and my place in my community and doing my project that I did like I posted it on my Facebook page, they actually helped me like find resources and find like mentors for my hip hop dance project which was like a tinikling like dance thing... So knowing that they’re always going to be there no matter how busy their schedule is makes me feel like they’re my family.
Benjamin’s “I” and “We” poems illustrate his sense of individual and collective belonging through various Filipino cultural community groups such as United Bacarranians of Hawai‘i, including (FOB) youth projects.

Benjamin’s “I” Poem
I think...we have common goals.
I think that’s important...with Bacarra we have the goal there is to show their culture.
I mean they have Filipino dances and parties and perform at different hotels at different locations. So the goal of sharing our culture binds us together.
I belong because of that. And, with FOB, the goal about discriminating against immigrants...um...we’re connecting the youth to their home culture that.
I think makes me feel like.
I belong to that group. So, even though there’s diversity everywhere.
I value the goal of the group.
I join or belong to because it’s the driving force.

Benjamin’s “We” Poem
We perform in the annual Filipino Fiesta.
We are invited to perform.
We do a lot of things like.
We’re actually traveling to Vegas over the summer.
We celebrate birthdays every month.
We do a lot of like...family things...and the environment is really good.
[The rapport that] We share with each other is really, really good.
We share a lot of...similarities but there’s also a diversity in the group which actually makes it really, really good.
We usually meet in one of the members’ houses here in Kalihi because it’s like the central location where everybody can meet easily.
We get invited to perform at different places.
We may try to make our dances really, really authentic.
We need other younger people but...it’s really difficult to find younger people who are into cultural things...like dance.
We try to venture into other communities.
We have common goals.
We have the goal there is to show their cultures.
And, with FOB, the goal about discrimination...and discriminating against immigrants...um...
We’re connecting the youth to their home culture.
And with the United Bacarranians.
We...set aside...like.
We meet every Thursdays.
We...make sure.
We celebrate one thing so that brings us closer, too.

Youth also recognized and spoke about the socialization process that occurred for them in their communities, at specific organizations or from the general Filipino community.

Jessica shares what she’s learned and how she’s been encouraged by the broader Filipino community.

Jessica: Well...they always encourage [you]...showing more of happiness side to yourself and showing a positive attitude and also...trying to adapt more within the people...around your community...and show your individuality but not too much like show off...and to be more respectful to other persons... And also show your individuality but not too much like show off...and to be more respectful to other persons...

Likewise, youth identified the socializing function of these places.

Benjamin: But, I think the common denominator for all Filipinos here...the Saturday parties where everybody gathers to talk stories and...just like a mini reunion every Saturday because we have a lot of that. So, if I meet like local born Filipinos they mostly talk about those type of parties. Yes, it's usually thrown by the immigrant person in the family, or the parents or grandparents...where everybody joins every Saturday. It's kind of like birthday parties and then it becomes routine...for a family to go somewhere on a Saturday and meet up with their families and stuff like that.

Benjamin’s “We” Poem
We celebrate birthdays every month.
We do a lot of like...family things...and the environment is really good. The rapport that...
We share with each other is really, really good and...
We share a lot of...similarities but there’s also a diversity in the group which actually makes it really, really good.

[So] We usually meet in one of the members’ houses here in Kalihi because it’s like the central location where everybody can meet easily.

Youth also identified how culturally based dance/social groups not only provide an opportunity to reinforce ethnic identity for the individual, but also serve as a socialization function for other community members who do not have as much cultural exposure. Moreover, these groups, as places, then reinforce ethnic pride for the youth participants as well.

Benjamin: ...so meeting in Kalihi is really, really good. The neighborhood is majority of Filipinos and majority from Bacarra and they actually named the town as the Balikbayan town of the Philippines. So, it’s actually...this is back in the 70s...but I think it’s been going...actually the biggest immigrant feeder to Hawai’i...next to...not next to Makaha city because it’s larger next to Manila and so it’s good because people know us here. And also, in terms of cultural identity... We get invited to perform at different places which I think is very important for us. Because there’s really few people here who are...the Filipino culture...the age of the members, too because most of them are...like 50 something...or 40. So, the problem of the group though is like...um...recruiting younger people who could do...more things in terms of dancing because the form of dancing is really, really complex and we need other younger people but...it’s really difficult to find younger people who are into cultural things...like dance... Some of them are into the Filipino community but...there’s a limited number of those people who really enjoy showing the culture...like...in the form of arts.

Benjamin goes on to note that cultural connectedness is reinforced through sharing common goals of upholding culture, dance, and language. The socializing and socialization function of cultural group “places” reinforces the youth participant’s identity and also serves an important process in nurturing cultural cohesion for the community.
SG: What makes you feel like you belong or you feel connected to specific ethnic or cultural groups like to the Bacarra Filipino group or your cultural identity group?

Benjamin: So, I think...we have common goals... So I think that’s important...with Bacarra we have the goal there is to show their culture...because I mean they have Filipino dances and parties and perform at different hotels at different locations. So the goal of sharing our culture binds us together and I belong because of that.

*Featuring Grace’s Story: Socialization at the Plantation Village.* Grace recaps her experiences at the Hawaiian Plantation Village, located in Waipahu. This historic site is dedicated to and in remembrance of the plantation laborers. Her story offers a detailed description of a cultural project she participated in and which offered opportunities to create, share cultural connectedness with a Filipina elder, receive mentorship, and learn more about the power of language and cultural connections.

SG: What have you learned about being at Hawai‘i Plantation Village?

Grace: I only went there like...a couple of times to do like this project with something Reyukai America and that was tied in with the letter to my parents. They are an organization that like is based on family... They focus on like...and...your wellbeing and to make you better as a person. And I went there to do like arts and crafts with one of the people from the organization...and then we had to work with Deanna Aspinas, too. And she’s also part of the Filipino community. I think she’s a historian...so we would talk about our...ourselves. And she talked about herself... I guess this is one story... She’s talking about how she was born here...but she never learned the Filipino language and her parents never taught it to her because her parents didn’t want her growing up with an accent and that was one thing they didn’t want to be humiliated for...And so she grew up not knowing the language but after she realized like I want to learn the culture and the language. It was kind of too late because she was kind of too old already and it was hard for her. It’s hard for you to learn another language when you’re older, I guess. And so she kind of regretted that she did not do that because she had to work around Filipinos and she couldn’t really like speak the language. And that was one thing that she told me and...her story made me like...again realize again how important it is to speak the language because it helps you connect with the people.
Grace spoke to the power and significance of language for her along with the opportunities to connect with other Filipinos. This is raised in the following quote by José Rizal: “He who does not love his mother tongue is worse than a rotten fish,” with its intended meaning to: “Honor your origins and the language of your ancestors.” [in Tagalog: Ang hindi marunong magmahal sa sariling wika, ay mahigit pa sa mabaho at malansang isda.] (Jose Rizal.Ph website, n.d., para.4). Here, the recurring value of honor and respect for one’s origins and language is reinforced by one of its celebrated national heroes, Dr. José Rizal. Although educated as a medical physician, Dr. José Rizal, is distinguished as Philippine’s national hero and martyr whose death launched the Philippine Revolution against Spain in the late 1800s. Rizal studied in Spain for many years, was influenced by many renaissance intellectuals, was bicultural and multilingual (spoke more than 15 languages), and was known for his two legendary novels, *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibustirismo* (both written in Spanish). These efforts inspired Filipinos to revolt, seek freedom, and re-awaken them from colonial oppression faced from their oppressors, the Spaniards. Rizal’s writings along with the Filipino value of education contribute to the Ilocano proverb, “Knowledge is wealth that can’t be stolen” [in Ilocano: Awán kas iti sursúro a sanikuá, ta daytá awán makatákaw kenká]

*Power of Peers, Teachers, and Neighbors.* Most notable in youth’s stories were the significant relationships they made in places, specifically with supportive peers in schools, their neighborhoods, and community settings. This is aligned with developmental features during the periods of adolescence, youth, and young adulthood. Daly et al. (2010) clarified the significance of peer relationships and their critical role in student’s connectedness towards their school, teachers, and staff. Schools, along with neighborhood, church, and community programs, have the opportunity to foster and
encourage the development of prosocial friendships among adolescents by supporting and facilitating positive interactions among them. Youth who stated they had numerous positive and prosocial friendships also mentioned higher levels of engagement in school and related feelings of belonging.

Ava: I feel like with friends, it’s a lot, they keep me strong because a lot of my friends, they, we all look happy every single day but we all come from different like backgrounds and stories and we all have our understanding of each other and that creates a feeling of being strong with each other.”

As noted in Ava’s example, diversity of friends also contributes to her sense of wellbeing and social connectedness. Many of the youth identified their appreciation of their peers’ diverse background, which in turn, led many of them to reflect positively on their own ethnic identity and strengths of Filipino culture. Kayla notes:

We all have the same story but different cultures. You come together combining those stories

Youth also discussed the importance of having people they can turn to for support, guidance, and comfort.

Ava’s “I” Poem

I feel like with friends.
I can follow.
I’ve gone to those people in my class to seek comfort.
I’ve gone to my deans to just talk about things that are happening in life and just to relieve all that stress.

Feelings of safety and comfort among peers were also highlighted by Miya, who in turn, was able to “open up” and be herself.

Miya: I’ll just say where ever my friends are because if I’m alone anywhere I don’t feel like I can connect with other people and I don’t feel that sense of security. Basically, it just gives me that sense of comfort and
safety that I need, as a person... And that allows me to open up and
just let me be myself.”

Others noted that Filipino peers also play a powerful role in creating a sense of
belonging. Frequently, the narratives wove both the importance of culturally based
connections via Filipino peers to create sense of belonging, while highlighting non-
Filipino peers and administrators that also created sense of belonging and contributed
to creating a safer school environment for the youth.

Jessica: Well in school...I have some...Filipino friends and they share their
experiences and they always make me laugh and that makes me
belong...and be more open...the teachers, especially teachers that will
help you with your education and some advice and building stronger
relationships with them.

Pua’s “We” Poem
We don’t really tend to choose our friends based on our ethnicity.
We’re friends.
We learn about each other’s ethnicities.
We actually learn about each other’s cultures.
We have Filipino Festivals, Korean Festivals, Japanese Festivals.
We have that opportunity.
We’re given a chance to go to parades and festivals that are related to
our culture.

Jadens “I” Poem
I find strength in my friends.
[when] I’m down.
I talk to them.
I feel better.
I tell them everything.
I ask them for advice, they give me advice.
I tell them.
I need to get out of the house.

School: Power of Peers and Teachers/School Administrators. Social support
from school teachers, counselors, and administrators provide a powerful motivator for
increasing school connectedness, particularly among minority students in urban schools (Daly et al., 2010). Researchers observed social support offered by teachers to Latino middle-school students to be a strong predictor of student engagement; youth who perceived more positive attitudes and behaviors from teachers confirmed higher school engagement scores (Garcia-Reid et al., 2005 cited by Daly et al., 2010).

Correspondingly, a similar study found teacher warmth to be most salient for Latino students; in comparison, academic validation was found to be more significant for non-Latino white students (Hudley et al., 2003, cited by Daly et al., 2010). Similarly, in the present study, youth consistently mentioned the power of school teachers, counselors, and administrators in promoting school connectedness and safety—particularly when the youth felt stressed or troubled.

Ava: Um...we have a class called ICP, it’s like a counseling class and we...it’s a very close class where we share feelings and what we’re going through and I’ve gone to those people in my class to seek comfort and I’ve gone to my deans to just talk about things that are happening in life and just to relieve all that stress.

Ava goes on to note that they promoted her sense of wellbeing by creating a safe environment to explore feelings and make mistakes.

Ava: They promote being able to express yourself and not like having to hold it in and that everyone is going through it and they help us counsel one another and knowing that it’s OK to make mistakes and that there will be someone to help you, there’s another chance.

The power of teachers to create high expectations was consistently identified by the youth as creating an environment for their personal success.

Pua’s “I” Poem
I got rather close to my teachers and they helped push me to reach my limits, to work my hardest in education because education is really important to me.
I’m associated with really push people to do our best, push them out of our comfort zones.

The power of community groups and school clubs played a vital role in nurturing cultural and social connectedness.

Grace: Being Filipino I thought like I’m already living my culture ... I thought I knew everything about my culture...but after I realized I didn’t know that much about my history or my native land. So, doing that project really made me realize how...not connected that I was with my culture and being able to do that [project]...made me feel more connected.

**Neighborhood: Power of Neighbors.** Some of the youth noted the power of the neighbors to create a sense of belonging in the neighborhood as well as create a network of individuals to help the youth through tough times. The relationships developed in her neighborhood and with neighbors were especially significant for Jessica who speaks about her experiences indirectly, in the second person, although these are based on personal experiences of social, emotional comfort and support she received during “tough times.”

Jessica: ...in your neighborhood if you get really close to them (neighbors), they will really, really help you get through... Also like any troubles that you have gone through such as death or you gonna graduate or experienced tough times, they will see you... It’s like a neighbor bonding and they will come and just walk by to see how you’re doing, feeling and also ask questions and try to support you through what you’re going through.... Well...it’s like individuals...like how the individual carry themselves...and I’ll be friends with them and also show respect...and courtesy to others that’s how we see each other.

The power of peers, teachers, school administrators, and neighbors served as an ongoing resource of support and helped create a sense of belonging in the daily lives of these Filipino youth. As Jessica states, “I’ll be friends with them...show respect...and courtesy,” in response, according to this Filipino Proverb, “You will know a true friend
in time of need," since “a true friend will stand by you even when you have nothing to offer him or her.” [Ang matapat na kaibigan, tunay na maaasahan.]

Social Media Strategies to Build and Support Community Connectedness

Youth spend an average of 8 hours per day on the Internet and Social Media. Researchers have identified several benefits for their use: enhanced communication, social connection, and technical skills, additionally, Facebook and other social media sites offer multiple daily opportunities for connecting with friends, classmates, and those who share similar interests (O’Keeffe, Clarke-Pearson, & the Council on Communications and Media, 2011). Yet, concerns have also been raised about adolescents’ limited capacity for self-regulation and susceptibility to peer pressure, placing youth at potential risk for offline behaviors, such as bullying, clique-forming, and sexual experimentation, and associated problems: cyberbullying, privacy issues, and “sexting” (O’Keeffe, et al. 2011). Additional problems for young people include Internet addiction and concurrent sleep deprivation.

A recent survey revealed that 22% of youth logged on to their favorite social media site (SMS) more than 10 times a day, and more than half of adolescents logged on to an SMS more than once a day (O’Keeffe, et al. 2011). Approximately 75% or more of teens own cell phones, 25% use them to access social media, 54% for texting, and 24% for instant messaging (IM) (O’Keeffe, et al. 2011). As pediatricians, media and marketing specialists, and researchers have discovered, a large part of this generation’s social and emotional development is occurring while they are on the Internet and cell phones (O’Keeffe, et al. 2011).

Filipino youth in this study were also found to spend an average of 4-5 hours per day and up to 8-10 hours per day on the Internet, social media sites, or cell phones.
Ava: I feel connected to the world cuz I’m able to see like people from Germany and what they do...um...there’s a sense of belonging where you can, you can find what you want and there’s no one’s going to kick you off, or anything like that, so...I feel like teenagers do—are very connected to the Internet and virtual communities. (2015)

All the youth belonged to or were connected on at least one SNS. Many were actively engaged online or via their cell phones on Facebook, Instagram or other favorite sites.

Dominic shares the range of his online involvement:

Dominic: Well, I have lots of social media apps on my phone right now, I have Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, Facebook, etc.... I get involved, I get a lot of them.

When asked how do you build communities online?

Ava: Online, um. become friends with other people. follow their stories. You watch what they do every single day. And...community wise, I feel like the people you’re following are the people that follow you. It’s like the community is your own.

Kayla: I choose friends online...people I have certain interests with eventually start to know one another. Expand our interests.

Due to the Internet’s and SMS’s global reach, Kayla connects with friends in the Philippines, California, and Nevada because:

Kayla: It’s [the Internet and SMS] basically anywhere.

SG: So, geographically? Anywhere?

Kayla: I don’t know. There’s Filipinos everywhere (!).

For immigrants, Facebook and other SNS platforms offer opportunities to (re-)connect with family and friends in their home countries and overseas, different countries and places, and to help them overcome their loneliness and isolation. The Internet and SNS also offer a virtual place for immigrants to maintain their identities through communications with family members and friends in their home places.
SG: How do virtual communities facilitate a sense of belonging and connectedness for you?

Benjamin: So, when I don’t have much association with the community yet and I don’t have much friends here, Facebook has really been helpful for me coping with the challenges of being alone here in Hawai’i because most of my friends are in the Philippines and some of my cousins are in the mainland. So...the app...is very user-friendly and it’s almost real-time. Because you can send voice, you can send video, you can video chat from Facebook, that is a plus.

Miya concurs with Benjamin’s response noting the relevance of SNS for Filipinos who want to connect to family or friends in the Philippines:

Miya: I would say other social media sites would be Facebook because that is a way for them to connect to their relatives in the Philippines or their relatives in other parts of the world. There isn’t one prominent place...

SG: How do you build communities online? And how do you feel virtual communities facilitate a sense of belonging and connectedness for you?

For all who use the Internet and SNS, reaching and connecting with your networks is a primary aim. Miya and Grace are both able to conduct their outreach, and for Miya, this facilitates a “sense of belonging and that shows a lot of sense of pride.” Grace uses SNS to serve her community, solicit/obtain social support, and share resources.

Technological advances not only facilitate cultural connections to the homeland, they allow the youth to create service and Filipino activist opportunities globally to locally.

Miya: I post a lot [on Facebook] about the Filipino community... I know that there’s that one person who wants to show their pride and they don’t want to shy away from it. So, that makes me proud. I can also get to a lot of Filipinos...when I post something I have a huge support from the Filipino community...a couple weeks ago we had a Filipina Fiesta and a lot of my followers showed up and there’s that whole sense of belonging and that shows a lot of sense of pride.

Grace: It goes back again to serving our communities...we have a Facebook group page where we like our folks updated with something like Filipino family if you have like any problems or if you need help with
anything you can post it there and... It helped me a lot with my project because a lot of them commented back and then we also have the Instagram page for Sariling Gawa so whenever we have, we had camp we would use that to post pictures and then YouTube helped me cuz...when I had went to search for my product, or ideas, I was able to find like searches for like the tinikling dance group.

SG: Okay. How do in Instagram or Snapshot, and stuff like that, how do they facilitate like you feel like you belong and connected to others?

Dominic: you also get connected by starting like a group chat, for example, when we talk to each other, we talk stories or something like that, or when we’re away from each other um, yeah, that’s how we talk nowadays, when we’re not around, yeah.

SG: Okay. So, how do you or what’s your role in building communities online? Through Instagram or Facebook or?

Many of the youth noted that they have a place, a role, in sharing Filipino culture and social activism across social media. This not only reinforce ethnic identity and pride for the youth; it also fulfills a cultural mandate of service to the world.

Dominic: Spread the word, you know. Spread the word.

SG: What’s the message you want to share?

Dominic: The message is to like...it’s mostly...show respect to others. That’s the number one thing right now, you gotta show respect.

Dominic’s mission to “spread the word,” the message, and the Filipino value to “show respect” are closely connected to youths’ general feelings and desire to contribute meaningfully to the world on behalf of their culture, thus, fulfilling the following Filipino proverb, “If you plant, you harvest.” [Kung may tinanim, may aanihin.]
Microaggressions: Shared Oppression = Shared Identity + Shared Connection

“The pain of the little finger is felt by the whole body.”
—Filipino Proverb

[Ang sakit ng kalingkigan, sakit ng buong katawan.]

The world is connected—an injustice or disservice to one person impacts more than just that person.

Acknowledging prior research, Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, and Torino (2009) stressed the implications of racism and its contributions to stress, depression, and anger, and its relationship to declines in physical and mental health, and wellbeing among its recipients. Microaggressions, the covert, subtle forms of everyday racism and discrimination, directly contribute to and facilitate racial/ethnic disparities and inequities for Filipinos and communities of color. Sue et al. (2009) have also noted that microaggressions are not limited to human encounters but are also linked to the environment, e.g., exposure in an office setting that unintentionally assails one’s racial/ethnic identity. Based on their study with Filipinos adults, Nadal, Escobar, Prado, and Haynes (2012) asserted that Filipinos, although part of the Asian American model minority, face unique microaggressions that differ from those of their Asian and Southeast Asian counterparts. Nadal et al. (2012) shared the example of Filipinos who are often perceived or mistaken as racial and ethnic others, Latinos, Blacks, Native Americans, multi-racial people, and other non-Asians, and consequentially, become recipients of microaggressions.

Regardless of their model minority status, Sue et al. (2009) identified eight themes related to microaggressions faced by Asian Americans: (1) alien in own land, (2) ascription of intelligence, (3) exoticization of Asian women, (4) invalidation of interethnic differences, (5) denial of racial reality, (6) pathologizing cultural
values/communication styles, (7) second class citizenship, and (8) invisibility. Among Filipinos, Nadal noted similar microaggressions, but identified 4 unique microaggressions that Filipinos encounter: (1) mistaken identity, (2) assumption of inferior status or intellect, (3) assumption of criminality or deviance, and (4) exclusion from the Asian American community. Phenotype and colonial history were identified as possible factors that influenced the types of microaggressions Filipinos endure (David, 2008, 2010; David & Okazaki, 2006). Second, because of this colonial history and the influence of Catholicism, Filipino Americans may develop a unique set of cultural values and express emotions differently than other Asian American groups do, which may in turn “mark” them for microaggressive experiences that are different from those of other Asian populations (Kim, Yang, Atkinson, Wolfe, & Hong, 2001; Nadal, 2004; Okamura & Agbayani, 1991).

In the present study, youth narratives provided rich data regarding numerous microaggression experiences. Although the youth did not identify them as “microaggressions,” they easily qualify as microaggressive events per the literature noted above. Nadal et al. (2012) found that a number of Filipino participants in their study were excluded from identifying as part of the “Asian American community” and were treated as “second-class” Asians. One participant who self-identified as Asian, remarked she was corrected by a non-Filipino Asian who stated “Filipinos aren’t Asian” and who also informed her that Filipinos were similar to “the Indians or others.” Nadal and colleagues found this othering, being referred to as a “second-class” Asian status was consistent with prior research on microaggressions experienced by Filipinos and inflicted by other Asian subethnic populations.
Although the majority of the microaggression literature focuses on dominant group microaggressive encounters, most of the youth in this study identified experiences related to within-group microaggressions—whether it was a non-Filipino Asian perpetrating the microaggression or another Filipino who had internalized the microaggression message. Internalized microaggressions can be played out in youth culture through invoking negative stereotypes, such as being called “Fresh off the Boat [FOB]” or being made fun of for having a thick accent by other Filipino “local” youth.

SG: Are there any other stories or experiences that you want to share before we close? Is there anything else you want to share about your culture, identity, being Filipina?

Grace: I think...I guess that one particularly in Kalihi too, like growing up...Like growing up...like, just as an immigrant, like we’re kind of ignorant to the things...and it was kind of hard for like my mom and my sister because at that time it was just me and my mom and my sister. So, like we would be discriminated. And, I guess that’s why I saw Kalihi as not as a good place... It kind of like had this bad atmosphere for me, like we would get like yelled at at times but (not) yelled at because you don’t know when... Like when you don’t know a certain way of doing something they yell at you for being ignorant. Like I would see my mom get in trouble, it kind of made me sad and whenever we got in trouble, too. I think at school um I was in second grade and we had to count off into groups and then I guess I would say the number 20 differently from everybody, they started laughing and that’s one thing I recall.

Navigating Microaggressions and Place: Resilience and Resistance. Many of the youths identified ways to navigate microaggressive distress within school and community settings.

Lea: It’s actually very funny, I’m from Kalihi but I didn’t go to Farrington [High School]. I actually went to St. Theresa and got into Mauna Loa High School, it was like the top high school here. I can say identify myself there and it was really hard though because there wasn’t a lot of Filipinos who went there. It was majority Japanese, Korean, and Chinese and very little Filipinos. I went to school there and it made me want to thrive everyone looked down at Farrington blah blah blah
like it’s not a good school...Being Mauna Loa, a top school, I worked really hard to get good grades and I tried to identify myself as well.

Many of the youth identified internalized oppression as a potential barrier to success in school settings.

Miya: A lot of the students here feel ashamed of our culture because of the way they talk or the way they look. Coming from the Philippines you do have the “p’s” instead of the “b’s” and all of that going on and so when you talk and try to say certain words, you can’t speak as others and you can’t type as well. And, when someone reads your work and calls you “FOB” you feel crappy – excuse my language – but you really feel like you’re really nothing, you feel worthless...

Despite having internalized shame about immigration status or language, many of the youth identified ways to combat this shame. For example, participants dealt with microaggressive distress through anticipatory action strategies. For example, Lea as noted above, actively countered stereotypes by “working hard” and “making a name for herself.” Miya, who discussed the feelings of worthlessness that these encounters bring up, addressed this distress by embracing the derogatory terms “Fresh Off the Boat” and empowering herself through this reclaiming. Miya notes:

I am very connected to because coming into my freshman year. I noticed that a lot of my classmates weren’t in touch with their roots [Filipino roots] and to me that was odd because. I grew up in a very cultured family. [So, when] I started to hear that they were ashamed to be part of the FOB project um...that kind of led me to thinking how I can change FOB, the derogatory term, into something that means a lot more than just being “Fresh Off the Boat.” I want that to be a proud symbolism. I can say that my parents are FOB. I have no problem with that. That doesn’t define who you are or what you come from because you can always change your life you can always do what you want in order for a better life.

Miya’s “I” Poem

I grew up.
I was born and raised in Honolulu but when my parents talked to me as a young child they talked to me in Filipino and so did my grandparents. I came to school that kind of transferred into my work. I got called a “FOB.” I felt like. I was nothing. I felt worthless. I felt like. I could not be anything. I wanted to be. I had such high aspirations and my hopes that it just all shattered. I was labeled. I was labeled as a FOB. I kind of just grew into it. I found my pride in my culture. I do hear FOB being used. I can stand up. I’m a FOB and not feel guilty.

Community Bonds—Shared Culture/Shared Oppression. Some youth identified barriers in attempting to create a sense of belonging or belong to a specific place or places. Their identities, as Filipinos or Filipino immigrants, became central to their related experiences of marginalization and oppression, which hindered their attempts to belong.

Lea discusses her feelings of embarrassment in identifying as a Filipino/a, and how, in social contexts, she would “code switch” between her Chinese and Filipino/a identities. She notes however, that this code switching was less about fitting in, but reflected more her struggle with internalized oppression. As she matured, Lea accepted and embraced her identity as a Filipino/a.

Lea: Actually, I’ll admit there were times I felt kind of embarrassed to be Filipino just because we’re so looked down on and like back then I’d hang out with my friends at Mauna Loa High School and I’m more
Chinese than I am Filipino. So, like at one point in my life I felt like I had to switch on and off...from my life. As I got older, I loved being Filipino and it’s something I shouldn’t be ashamed of and wherever I go I identify as a Filipino...

Pua notes that microaggressions also include assumptions that Filipinos only belong in certain geographical communities. She highlights how these microaggressions serve to create notions of authenticity, i.e., where “Filipinos” come from on the Island. Pua also observes separation and disconnectedness due to geographical boundaries on the Island. Further, she acknowledges people’s assumptions of where Filipinos live or should live on the Island.

Pua: From what I’ve noticed in Hawai‘i...lots of the ethnicities are separated by geographical boundaries and umm... I really think that separates people. Growing up in...from where I was...and telling others that I live in Honolulu they found it kind of funny that I’m Filipino but I didn’t live...in Waipahu or Kalihi, because that’s typically where Filipinos come from. Even, even the Filipinos I went to school with...they were from Kalihi. So...geographical boundaries were really influential in how we grew up or where each ethnicity...was typically from.

Within Filipino communities, youth identified social pressure to not identify with recent immigrant Filipino youth. Internalized microaggressions influence how Filipino local and immigrant youth interact and also serve a socializing function of creating “in groups” and “out groups” among Filipino youth. Many of the youth questioned this internalized message and struggled to find ways to challenge marginalization from other Filipino peers.

Grace: ...I noticed how it was little [Filipino] history was in our schools and students really didn’t take involvement in the cultures and I noticed that it was kind of hard for local Filipinos to mingle with the Filipinos from the Philippines, they kind of like strayed away from Filipino activities that I would I ask them “why don’t you join this or that?” and like we have the Sariling Gawa, the camp. And I would ask “why don’t you come with me” and they kind of like, they kind of said “only FOBs would go there...”
Language Disconnection

Although Ava admits to not being able to identify with the Filipino culture because she doesn’t speak the language and has never been to the Philippines, she finds a way to negotiate her identity with family, friends, and peers who have.

Ava’s “I” Poem
I feel like.
I can’t really identify so much.
I don’t speak the language.
I have never been to the Philippines.
I have grown up with people who have.
I can identify that way.

Brayden: Because with this particular group or within groups, I usually hang out with it’s heavy into Filipino so that I feel like it’s uh, I feel more Filipino especially when sometimes I don’t understand what they’re saying because I don’t understand how to speak Filipino...like in... I can tease and have the accent... I feel like more Filipino whenever I’m with [my mentors]...

Jacob: There are clubs in school that have ethnic identity but I’m not a part of it because usually there’s the Filipino side or the Samoan side and they usually would talk their language. And I don’t really, really, really know the language until my mom actually helps me with it.

Building Community

Throughout the narratives related to community, all of the youth described the ways in which they actively sought to build community—whether it was in a church, school, club, virtual world, or another setting. Building community is akin to building family. For McGregor et al. (2013), traditional Hawaiian communities can be conceptualized as aggregates of family or 'ohana systems, which have a long history of residing in one locale. The term wahi noholike I ka po'e is a Hawaiian term for community that translates into “the place where people live together.” The term suggests that social and environmental factors have shaped the character and values of
residents over a long evolutionary course. Further, communal and cultural identity is formed by lengthy exposure to a set of physical attributes and the transmission of place-based behaviors and mores. A sense of place, which has spiritual and psychological meaning, is derived over time from a reliance on the natural resources within a prescribed locale. Social structures and systems emerged from the local economy, and cultural beliefs and spirituality supported and promoted human wellbeing.

Communities are habitats that have critical effects on human behavior. Native Hawaiian communities are not merely places for co-existence, they are places for social interaction, organizational activity, and the development of a collective identity.

Community building, fostering collective ethnic identities, was a serious responsibility thoughtfully assumed by many youth. Like Grace, many youth encouraged their peers to join them in cultural activities and community building experiences in hopes that, “One finds a way, or finds a reason to do something.” [Kung gusto may paraan, kung ayaw may dahilan.] - Filipino proverb.

Grace’s “I” Poem
How do I build a stronger community?
I try to like with the Sariling Gawa, the youth group.
I feel like if you’re Filipino.
I think you should like experience what you have.
I try to...try to bring most of my friends there.
I’m hoping that my sister can make it one day, too.
I guess it’s just the money, it’s kind of hard.
Ecological Level IV: Home, Ohana (Family), and Wellbeing

“The tomato plant doesn't grow mangos.” —Filipino Proverb
[Ti kamátis, di aḡúnga ti manggá.]
A good person doesn't come from a bad family.

“I would say for everyone home is of course a meaningful place…”
—Miya, 2015

Family and home are central to the lives of Filipinos. In the home, specific roles and responsibilities are assigned based on birth order, age, and gender. Respect for elders in the home, including parents, grandparents, elder siblings, is recognized by formal titles (e.g., manong for elder males and manang for elder females). For second generation Filipino-Canadian youth, as Pratt observed “...home is an ideal — a desire that leads them away from Vancouver to the Philippines” (2003/04, p. 44). Yet, Filipino youth in Canada and Hawai‘i – regardless of immigrant generation status – must negotiate their surroundings based on language, cultural and spiritual values, and customs and traditions learned in their homes. These are instilled by being raised in a transnational household and socialized in its norms and values. The economic, political, and religious life of their ancestral homelands is transmitted through daily interactions and influences by family, extended family or kin, objects, and practices. Through their daily interactions they learn how to negotiate its institutions and become part of strong, social networks. Regardless of the second generation’s willingness to access these resources, they retain the social skills and competencies to employ them, pending their choices and decisions. Furthermore, they are able to master several social and cultural repertoires they can deploy in response to opportunities and challenges faced, which can
be sparked and enacted upon at any time throughout their lives, based on social or developmental circumstances (Levitt, 2009).

**Theme #1: Places of Wellbeing: Home as Place of Wellbeing**

Findings from the US National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health designed to measure the social settings of adolescent lives revealed that the social environments in which adolescents live are strongly connected to their physical and mental health. The influence of schools, neighborhoods, families, and friends influence adolescents’ self-esteem as well as behavioral choices that can affect their physical and mental health and their future lives (Abbott-Chapman & Robertson, 1999). Given the Indigenous relational worldviews and relationships held by Filipinos, youths’ actions and related consequences not only affect the youth themselves, but also affect their families and households, peers, friends, and significant social and community networks.

Sense of “home” is tied to place, particularly geographic places among the youth participants. It has become the new “homeland” for many of the youth.

Lea: I would say at home which is here in Kalihi. (2015)

Dominic: Waipahu, O‘ahu, right. It is...the most important because... I don’t want to leave. It’s my home, my homeland and...like...if I were to go somewhere else like to the mainland... I would be paid to come back here that’s how important I think this place is. Like I got everything over here, all my friends, I get most of my family members here they don’t want to move out um... So, all my fun is here. That’s it.

Youth clearly articulated the importance of their home, or special places within their homes, and relationships with their families as people and environments fundamental to their wellbeing. This next section demonstrates how home is a significant place for youth wellbeing, particularly as a place of refuge, a place of relaxation, and a place of destressing and healing.
Home Places for Relaxing, Destressing, and Re-centering

Youth described various places in and around their homes as places for relaxing and re-centering. Some youth described sitting outdoors on their porch while others described interacting with pets in their home as a way to relax.

Jessica:

Well, I stay in the porch…yeah, I stare at the sky…sitting and relaxing…”

…and watching my dogs…and keeping myself occupied with um...my pets relaxes me…and shows me some happiness and encouragement…

Youth in the present study described home as a place that gives them a sense of wellbeing, it is their compass and place to re-gain their strength, find their center and create space to problem solve or simply re-center. In describing how these places, such as the porch, help facilitate their wellbeing, Jessica noted:

Well... Just seeing what’s around me and just listening to all the noises it’s just... Just going to comfort me because this is where I’m used to and lived most of my life at...and I just find myself thinking about...what should I do next.

A number of youth observed their parents provide significant supervision and oversight on their mobility outside or near the home. Many described how their parents actively discouraged them from going “outside” of the home and venturing into the neighborhood.

This type of supervision bodes well for the participant youths’ wellbeing. Cunanan et al. identified several risk factors impeding Filipino youth’s wellbeing during focus groups conducted with Filipino parents and community members. This included lack of parental/adult supervision, contact with their children, and structure in their home. Given the high cost of living in Hawai‘i, familial, social, and economic hardships and responsibilities faced by parents/guardians, this translates into multiple jobs held
by one or both parents with adolescents or children left alone or with extended family, usually with grandparent(s). In contrast, most of the youth in the study recalled how their parents emphasized the value and importance of staying nearby, and in many cases oversaw their whereabouts—in home and in the neighborhood. From their study of youth, place and wellbeing in Tasmania, Abbott-Chapman and Robertson identified the similar theme of, “not going out.” This is expressed by Benjamin below:

I’m not usually an outdoor person. I usually don’t go out. So, I would say that I’m more of a home body. I only go out if I need to.

Below Jacob describes how parents don’t want their children to engage in “outside” activities. Further, he discusses the availability of parks in his community which he believes offers opportunities for youth to relieve stress. Yet, Jacob identifies strategies like walking and playing ball to relieve stress.

Jacob: Um…I would say kind of...parents nowadays don’t want us to go out...and at the same time we can just...walk, I guess, to relieve the stress...and just play ball...because you sweat it out, I guess...you sweat out the stress and that’s what would really close it down.

...there’s like lots of parks in Waipahu and there’s always a lot of Filipino youths, that always go over there and just play, play basketball or whether there’s a game or not they would still be able to enjoy what’s going on. Um... It’s [a place] for them to be active and...I guess to make them relax, relieve the stress and take it away from them.

*Home Place as Safe Place*

Not coincidentally, parent watchfulness and expressions of staying close to home or literally, inside the home, helped to create home place as a place of safety and refuge. As Miya remarked:

...home is of course a meaningful place... Where you feel safe, where you feel protected, and basically, where you can be open and yourself.
The notion that home is a safe place is consistent with other studies, particularly for recent immigrant youth (Sampson’s & Gifford, 2010). Kayla and Jessica offer confirmation and share the significance of family as part of feeling safe and comfortable.

Kayla: Well, home...because I feel safe there. And, it’s where my mom is and that’s where home is... Usually it’s my bedroom cuz I don’t go out that much... It’s just someplace quiet and where my stuff is. And, it’s safe because it’s at home.

Jessica: I feel more comfortable at home...because I feel more open with my family...

The youth equated feeling safe with places that are “comfortable” and familiar. Moreover, they are places where the youth feel they can be themselves and be “open.” And, for Dominic, he feels most comfortable in his own city, Waipahu, where his friends are, never straying far from its borders.

Dominic: Well...what’s meaningful to me...is my own...city, which is Waipahu, I grew up here and I’m not really comfortable in other cities...that’s why I really don’t go out in the City. I always stay here in Waipahu and chill with my friends and stuff like that. Yeah, and, that’s all.

Jacob: Home. Home is the place to be...because I have everything at the home. And I can enjoy inside and outside.

Home Places that Create Lasting Memories
“...my room because it’s my sanctuary and the rooftop...
I like to look at the stars too...”
—Grace

In her home, Grace found the rooftop and her room, which she identified as her sanctuary, her special place that helped create lasting memories.

Grace: Sometimes like when I’m sad at night I would go to the roof top...

SG: Go to the roof?
Grace: ...in my room because it’s my sanctuary and the rooftop thing, cuz like I like to look at the stars too. It sounds kind of corny but... [Laughter.] It makes me feel like there’s someone out there too, looking up and feeling the same way I am.

SG: Okay. So there’s like shared emotions, shared feelings, yeah. Can you tell me a little bit more about your room as a sanctuary?

Grace: Um...it’s where I sleep and do most of my school work and where all my like pictures are posted on the wall...which reminds you that there’s people there for you.

Featured below Ava’s “I” Poem illustrates her strong connection to her grandmother’s house, a special place, where she “grew up,” found comfort and support. Her grandmother’s house, as she explains, was full of memories and experiences that were foundational to her wellbeing and sense of self, identity.

Ava’s “I” Poem

I was growing up.
I spent a lot of time at my grandma’s house.
I grew up.
I pretty much grew up there.
I had my surgery.
I was there.
I stayed there.
I just remember most of my childhood being at her house.
I wouldn’t say like it was relaxed, but it was very homey.
I knew that was the place.
I can be myself.
I was able to learn in that environment...everyone was family.

The house, known as bahay kubo in Tagalog, is derived from the word bayan, which means community or town and represents a shared spirit in which any difficulty can be addressed through strength, cooperation, and solidarity of the family. In many ways, for the youth, a house as a place, becomes a home as it represents a community of shared spirit and strength. Not coincidentally, the word Bayanihan signifies an ancient
Filipino tradition of “working together for the common good, giving each other unsolicited assistance out of a sense of closeness and camaraderie, especially during difficult times and without expecting recognition or personal gain.” (Mercado, 1994). The home is a site of shared experience among the present generation as well as across generations.

**Theme 2: People Make Place—Relationality Makes Places Meaningful**

Home places are sites where relationships take on critical meaning. Positive home relationships with siblings, family and extended kin networks were highlighted by youth as making a house a “home.” Jacob notes:

> I would say mostly where they live, like their homes because it’s mainly where they’re supposed to be and that’s where they build, they build up from people there, like their parents... I’d say that it’ll make them a better person.”

**Places that Create Lasting Memories**

Places are meaningful and anchored in specific times, people, family, friends, ohana, community, and places in our past. According to Cooper Marcus, places, as anchors, are vital to our emotional wellbeing as “they allow us to weather the swells and storms of change that are components to a greater or lesser extent of every life path” (p. 89). For most people, Cooper Marcus writes physical places, like the house you grew up in, possess the strongest, most powerful memories (p. 87). Further, she describes the links between self-identity, people and settings of our past, particularly places where we left our imprint, a stamp of our unique identity in the material world. During periods of childhood and adolescence, Cooper Marcus found gaining control over a meaningful space was necessary to feel a positive sense of self-identity. Further, she explained the opportunity to decorate and transform a personal space, along with the opportunities to
own, appropriate the space, based on representation of our unique identities or personal wellbeing ensures a sense of control in accordance with past experiences in significant places, thus “being able to reproduce the essence of a significant past environment.” Cooper Marcus provides the following examples of how adolescents appropriate and create ownership of their personal place by: mounting posters, pictures, or creative artwork in the bedroom; choosing a wild décor; or purposefully generating disorder to reveal “an emerging sense of self-identity,” separate from parents or siblings, and ownership, this is my bedroom, my place.

For immigrant youth, memories of home offer comfort and support their wellbeing. Additionally, in creating a new home, youth look to the past as Cooper Marcus addressed above. Additionally, she states how adolescents appropriate space during this period to claim a private place where it can be regulated, to search for nurturance in the natural world; to experience a sense of pride in creating their own place; and to emulate adult behavior (p. 89). For adolescents during the developmental period, Cooper Marcus found that having a personal niche to read, think, be creative or behave as an adult is often critical amidst the world of perplexing constellations of adulthood, family or school tensions.

Home Places of Belonging and Acceptance. Many of the youth spoke to the home being a place of belonging and acceptance. Home incorporated the neighborhood in which the house is located as well. Kayla notes how Kalihi represents a home:

It’s Kalihi itself because I grew up here. Basically, it feels a little bit like home....[I’m] Kind of use to where everything is and how everyone is and I know a lot of people in Kalihi than any other place that’s why it makes it feel like home than any other places.
Acceptance for the youth meant being in places and having key relationships where people fully accept you “no matter what.” Unconditional acceptance was a core relational value upon which youth identified as places of acceptance. Not surprisingly, this value was attributed most to home places and relationships tied to immediate and extended ohana.

Ava: ...And, with my grandparents, I learned that there’s a place for everyone in my family and no matter what you’ll always be...accepted.

Miya: ...home is of course a meaningful place... Where you feel safe, where you feel protected, and basically, where you can be open and yourself.

I would say for everyone home is of course a meaningful place... Where you feel safe, where you feel protected, and basically, where you can be open and yourself. So, I would say that is the number one place where you should feel safe and should be meaningful. I would say the second place would be school because it is another place to learn and to grow in and to make connections with people that you’re not related to but you don’t see on a daily basis. And, I would say the third-place would be our Filipino Community Center in Waipahu. There’s a lot of cultural events going on there and you can learn a lot and of course there is different types of activities you can join at the Fil-Com Center where you can learn a lot more. And of course we have um...they kind of have a choir there, that’s based around Filipino instruments and songs. So, I would say those top three.

**Theme#3: Spatial Relationships that Promote Community Identities**

*Spatial Relationships (Across Generations) Shape Connections to Place*

Ancestors tell you how you relate to place(s) and how relationships shape connections to place(s). Filipinos hold deep gratitude and responsibility in giving back, a debt or *utang na loob* (gratitude), to ancestors. Here, application of the ecological model exemplifies how these relationships across time and place foster connections across the environment: from nature to home, “homeland,” in their social worlds, communities, and among people. As Levitt, Lucken and Barnett (2011) observed women often assume
the primary role and responsibility to nurture cultural values and traditions and ensure
transmission to their children. Ancestral connections were invoked by youth as these
spatial relationships were tied to geographic community. For example, Dominic notes
how he feels connected to his ancestors and especially grateful to his grandmother:

    Yeah, um, my grandma’s side, my dad’s mom, the parents uh...came
here to work, to work in the sugarcane, pineapple fields and they
gave birth to my grandmother here in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi. And, I feel
connected here because my grandmother brought everyone here, she
brought the whole family here. If she wasn’t born here we would have
been somewhere else, you know, the family’s here especially uh,
relatives and family.

Ancestral teachings happen in home places as Lea notes:

    I would say one is where I live, my mom, she’s the prime person who
teaches me about the Filipino culture, firsthand and she always
reminds me of the past and that kind of gives me my connection to
my ancestors.

    Likewise, Brayden notes that home is a place where ancestral traditions are
passed on and how these spatial relationships create a sense of shared Filipino identity
in home places.

    Brayden:  It pretty much has to be my mom and dad. Pretty much home. It’s
home...yeah...keeping close to my ancestors with my family,
especially my parents, because you know the house that we live in is a
typically looking Filipino house...

    ...and the food, especially the food, is one of those things I think I
forgot, forgot to mention, is another way I stay close to or help me
feel close to my ancestors, and who cooks the food is my parents
[laughs].

    Spatial relationships across generations were also noted as meaningful to create a
sense of familial connectedness. Ava notes:

    I feel really connected to my grandparents’ home...because I’m able
to like go over there whenever or I’m able to like call them up when
I’m like having troubles, um. My grandparents also come over to our
Grace wrote a letter to her grandfather and identified how her grandfather and ancestors shaped who she is today. She notes how language is essential to Filipino identity and the significance of language to retain pride in being Filipino and keep people remembering who they are as Filipinos.

Grace: We had to write a letter to our parents or one of our guardians and we just had to... I guess...how they shaped us today. I wrote my grandpa and... One of the things I stressed about was the Filipino culture too, because he would like... He would get mad at my sister and I at home because we don’t speak it as fluently, we don’t speak the Filipino language as much. We just talk English. We understand but it’s hard for us to try and communicate and so he would like scold us, like saying that we need to keep the language because we have to be proud to be a Filipino and you can’t lose it because you’re going to forget who you are and I just... In my letter I thanked him for taking care of me and for guiding me, so, yeah.

Not surprisingly, home places were seen as key sites for promoting Filipino values, particularly for hard work and educational achievement.

Lea: My mom, she’s from the Philippines, she’s an immigrant and she’s infused a lot of Filipino aspects into (our) life and me. To be hard working, to be courteous. My mom taught me to do that...that’s true for Filipino culture and that’s helped with my wellbeing. I’m going to school...and education...I know that education in the Philippines is very hard to obtain. I know that when I’m going to school I feel like I have a future and something I’m working towards too.

Home Places that Promote Identity/ies: At the Kitchen Table. The youth identified the kitchen and table as places within homes were socialization and socialization to Filipino identity, culture, and values take place. Jessica notes that talking story is one of the main functions of home places as these are sites of sharing and promoting familial and ancestral values.

Jessica: Well...at home just talking stories with my relatives.
Jacob: I can invite my friends to come in and just talk story or also to socialize with my family at home.

Talking story, particularly around food sharing was a major sub-theme throughout the youth narratives. Eating dinner together is critical to youth’s connection to their family, ancestors, culture, and identity. Benjamin notes that these connections in home places literally become “absorbed” in his body.

Benjamin: ...I think my auntie’s house in Waikele, too. Because you know like Filipino families are really, really extended and everybody lives in the same house? So, she owns a townhouse in Waikele...two bedroom, there’s four of them - my auntie, her husband, my cousin, and my grandaunt...so, it’s really small...but when they throw parties the two bedrooms can accommodate like 20 people which reminds me about everything...the experiences I grew up with family in the Philippines. I grew up in a house with my dad and two of his siblings and with five cousins living in the house. So, that the experience. The things that are happening in the townhouse are like what’s happening in the Philippines. So, like we talk to each other in the big group. We eat dinner...together in a small table and... I’m learning a lot about my family there... So that is why I’m trying... I’m absorbing so much from my side of the family in that townhouse.

Food/nurturance. Food nurtures the spirit and social connectedness among Filipinos, particularly in home environments. For the Filipino, food is a celebration of life, a symbol of memories, an expression of relationships with nature, with others, with the world (Fernandez, 1986). As Enriquez (1986) asserts the Filipino worldview becomes evident in their choice of food. The types of foods Filipinos choose to consume, its source, preparation, and its service are indicators of “the relationship between man [sic] and nature as intimate as it is practical” (Enriquez, 1986, p. 2). Consuming food is not only a biological necessity for Filipinos, it is also considered a social requirement, obligation, and a socially defined phenomenon where the sharing of food is a symbol of nurturance, goodwill, and friendship. Through the process of sharing of food, the
relationship involves either the *ibang-tao* (outsider) or *hindi ibang-tao* (one of us) category, underlying both categories is the sole concept of *kapwa* (Enriquez, 1986, p. 2).

Brayden: ...and the food, especially the food, is one of those things I think I forgot, forgot to mention, is another way I stay close to or helps me feel close to my ancestors and who cooks the food is my parents [laughs].

Brayden’s I Poem

I have a strong stomach [laughs].
I would always say like...
I notice how we eat
I like those anyways.
I like it.
I'll be bringing some of the food my mom cooked.
I brought from leftovers.
I just call it chocolate meat.
I guess some white brothers.
I’m eating.
I think the food, too...
I think.
I can chow down.

*Food, Family, and Filipino Enculturation.* Filipinos’ indigenous cuisine, native food prior to the colonization by Spain and the United States, reveals a historical, intimate knowledge, connection to, and sustainable use of the natural environment. The local cuisine draws directly from nature and *biyaya ng lupa* (blessings of the land) – with nature thoroughly considered and imaginatively sourced. The topography and geography of the Philippines as a tropical island climate, offers three main sources of food from: the waters, seas, rivers, brooks, estuaries, and rice paddies; plant life in the fields and forests; and animal life on land and in the waters (Fernandez, 1986, p. 22). Traditionally, fish and seafood are sourced for Filipinos’ daily cuisine as ancestors typically settled near water sources, rivers, and along coastal lands. Most local fish and
seafood are consumed with almost nothing rejected. Plant life serves as the second most bountiful source of food from the vines, the shrubs, plants, grasses, and trees are enjoyed all year round. Filipinos delight in a seemingly endless variety of roots, delicate leaves, tendrils, fruits, seeds, and even flowers and utilize what others may call weeds, stalks and shoots, pulp, peel and seed. Spices, herbs, and flavorings also derive from the local plant environment. Rice and coconut serve as the two most fundamental “gifts” from the environment. The coconut is harvested and used during all its life stages, from birth to maturity. Every part of the coconut serves is utilized. The leaves serve a decorative purposes, palaspas, on Palm Sunday; the husks scrub floors; the trunks bridge our creeks; and the shells serve as kitchen tools (scoops, moulds, ladles).

*Home and Mom: Cooking Rituals.* Socialization regarding culture, identity, and values occurred through home-based food rituals, whether it was dining at the table, or cooking with a parent in the kitchen.

**Lea:** I talked about being in home...I would say...like talk to your family learn about the traditions and listen to your mom and cook meals with her...listen to her and learn the language because a lot of us aren’t from the Philippines.

Filipino food itself is an extension Filipino identity and pride.

**Lea:** With my mom, I kind of keep saying my mom and food...I look for my mom she always cooks pinukbet, it’ Ilocano, it’s my favorite ...it has lots of vegetables in it. Every Wednesday my mom would always cook and I would look forward to it...And, every year she’ll teach me what I should add to my cooking...like when I cook soup...what kind of broth and how much meat and what kind of vegetables...and it’s an ongoing thing. Like two days ago we had pinukbet and we actually talk and had a meal together because I’m always busy ...Culturally, I learn more about my mom and I learn how to cook Filipino foods...which I believe is important.
Identities in Places

“Life is like a wheel, sometimes [you’re] at the top, sometimes at the bottom.”
—Filipino Proverb

[Ang buhay ay parang gulong, minsang nasa ibabaw, minsang nasa ilalim.]
You will have good times and bad times.

Ethnic identity is inextricably tied to place-based processes as noted above. Ethnic identity formation, socialization, and values transmission reinforces the meaningful places (e.g., kitchen) while at the same time, these places promote identity expression. Experiences of identity/ies varies across place(s). These experiences can be challenging during the development years of adolescence and young adulthood as belonging and acceptance are critical as discussed in the prior section (Aim #2). Ethnic identity has been defined from multiple perspectives and its salience for immigrant youth has also been described. Kiang and Fuligni (2009) defined relational ethnic identity as individuals’ ethnic exploration and belonging while interacting with others in different relational environments. These authors emphasize the significance of studying ethnic identity as a dynamic construct that can vary across relationships and settings. They also point to mounting research that ethnic identity varies as individual’s feelings and expressions of themselves differ across diverse social contexts. In their study an ethnically diverse sample of young adults, including Filipino Americans, they found average levels of ethnic identity varied significantly across different relational contexts. Young adults, regardless of ethnicity, were found to report highest levels of ethnic exploration and belonging first, with parents, followed by same-ethnic peers, and lastly, with different-ethnic peers.

Identity through Metaphor: Bamboo Metaphor. While proverbs are common in the Philippines, use of metaphors as Trimbeza affirms is complementary to the Filipino
Symbolisms inclusive in proverbs such as bamboo, wind, river and a storm are employed to reflect a naturalistic worldview, which for Trimbeza, underscores the balance, “spirit of harmony between man [sic] and nature” (Trimbeza, 1999:7 cited by Tiangco, 2005, p. 64). For him, this supports Mercado’s (Filipino) principle of non-dualism and philosophy of life. Metaphorically, the wind, river, and storm represent challenges encountered by Filipinos, and on a deeper level, they shape part of the natural processes of the environment and advocate the acceptance of nature.

Benjamin uses his own version of the bamboo metaphor to describe personal challenges he’s faced along with challenges faced by other Filipino immigrants. Yet, despite these challenges he recognizes and characterizes the strength and resiliency of Filipinos in Hawai’i.

Benjamin: For me, being Filipino is like how the people have compared us to bamboo – very flexible, very pliant like it doesn’t matter how hard the wind blows or, how strong typhoon...where it hits...it still stands, where it stands. It might sway or hit the ground and sways back but [it’s still] grounded in roots...there’s still challenges...There’s still a lot of challenges Filipinos here in Hawai’i are facing. When they move to Hawai’i they are forced to face these challenges because they have to go out and work. Other things, the Filipino students the support of the family is not there. I know a lot of the Filipino youth, their guardians are their auntsies or brothers and sisters and that so, um...coming to the new environment and experiencing those challenges makes me feel like being in Hawai’i is really.... stronger than being a Filipino in some other parts of the world.

Body as Place Identity: Blood and Recognition. Many of the youth identified the body as place, where bloodlines and being recognized by ancestors, community, and family are sources of pride.

Jacob: Being Filipino to me is just...a bloodline that runs through...
Jessica: Filipino means...means that it’s in my blood and I have to respect
that and show where I came from and what blood that came from the
origins of my family through the grandfathers and grandmothers that
came before me.

Being legible to other Filipinos, particularly in the Phillipines is important to a number
of youth. Being recognized by local Filipinos is important as well, particularly if youth
felt they would not be “recognized” in the Philippines. Being “read” as Filipino either in
the US or abroad provides individual and familial cultural credibility for the youth.

Jacob: ...And also that I am important to my family and...the Philippines
and...over here it’s usually that I don’t really get recognized but in the
Philippines I would get recognized but if I was there.

SG: Okay. Tell me how you identify ethnically and culturally. If somebody asked
you what’s your race or ethnicity or your culture what would you say?

Dominic: I would say I’m Filipino, of course. I’m a full-blooded Filipino, that’s
what I would say.

Jessica’s “I” Poem

I don’t think so because...
I just prefer...
I’d be what
I am.
I’m quiet. It’s just the person that...
I am.
_I have this blood in me_...but it doesn’t really affect other social
groups because...
I can connect with them more.

Spatial Relationships and Ethnic Pride

“Pinoy pride!” —Ava

Based on prior studies, Kiang & Fuligni (2009) found, in general, relational
ethnic belonging was based on an individual’s ethnic pride felt during interactions with
people according to relationships with them (e.g., parents or peers). Varying levels of
ethnic identity were found across relational domains pending the type of relationship, or otherwise they may seem more stable regardless the relationship. Examples excerpted from youth’s interviews follow.

**Ava:** I identify very like Filipino...Pinoy pride!...like I really I identify with that...when the Mayweather – Paquio fight was on I was totally putting myself out there and everything. I feel like whenever I was a kid I was always showing everybody I was Filipino.

**Miya:** am proud to be full Filipino! Plain and simple, I am Filipino. I have grown up with Filipino ways, eating adobo and going to church...so, yeah.

*Miya’s “I” Poem*

I am proud to be full Filipino! Plain and simple...
I am Filipino.
I have grown up with Filipino ways, eating adobo and going to church...so, yeah.
I mean like my mom and my grandma and...that just started to lead a path for us.

Women are often primarily responsible to nurture cultural values and traditions and transmitting them to their children (Levitt, Lucken, & Barnett, 2011).

*Miya’s “We” Poem*

We are.
We’re here most or all of the time.
We are Filipinos.
We are a large minority.
We should have a say in what goes on here.
We’re not trying to hide or be less than anyone else.
We should just be able to be proud.
We are.
We want.
We want this.
We want the new generation to reach into their roots and ancestry and not be ashamed of it.
We came to be.
We need.
We want to address the problems
We have.
We can fix it.

*Ethnic Identity: Place Contexts for Code Switching.* Many youth identified how they code switched identities, emphasizing and de-emphasizing their Filipino identity depending on the social context. In some cases, it was employed as a peer survival strategy (de-emphasizing Filipinoness) to fit in with non-Filipino peers. Lea expresses the options she has in choosing her ethnic identity, she is able to switch on/switch off her Filipinoness while in specific contexts and with specific people.

 Actually, I’ll admit there were times I felt kind of embarrassed to be Filipino just because we’re so looked down on and like back then I’d hang out with my friends at Mauna Loa High School and I’m more Chinese than I am Filipino. So, like at one point in my life I felt like I had to switch on and off...from my life. As I got older, I loved being Filipino and it’s something I shouldn’t be ashamed of and wherever I go I identify as a Filipino, as a student.”

In contrast to Lea, Brayden explains he has no choice or option in choosing his ethnic identity which is often perceived by outsiders as being other than Filipino due to the darkness of his skin:

I just put Asian, it’s just the go to...it’s the only option (no choice).

Kiang’s and Takeuchi’s (2009) study examined links between phenotypes (skin tone) and outcomes including income, physical health, and psychological distress. Among Filipinos in Hawai’i and San Francisco, they found (after controlling for age, marital status, and education) darker skin to be associated with lower income and lower physical health among females and males. These authors highlight the general preference for light skin, Eurocentric features across diverse racial, ethnic groups and the ongoing, cumulative effects from these often “appearance-related biases” are often
damaging for an individual’s development and mental health. Further, they assert that this “phenotypicality bias” may be central to and an underlying factor in racism and discrimination. [See Nadal and further discussions below regarding microaggressions.]

Brayden: For me, some people think I’m Spanish and some people think I’m Filipino or um. Or uh, or Chinese or Hawaiian especially if I go to the mainland if I say I’m from Hawai‘i they automatically think I’m Hawaiian because I’m dark skinned, not Filipino... So I don’t know really know how to describe me.

SG: So if you were filling out like a job form or...

Brayden: I just put Asian.


Brayden: It’s just the go to...[laughs] it’s the only option, too.

SG: Here in Hawai‘i they don’t have a Filipino option or boxes [to check]?

Brayden: Some I noticed they have but the majority of applications I sign, it’s all Asian.

Identity: Ethnic Pride and Resistance. Whether the youth used code switching to survive peer pressure and manage anticipated microaggression distress, all of the youth reported feelings of pride. In some cases, youth actively resisted code switching. For example, Miya notes:

SG: Ok. Um...does your identity change when you’re in a different social or geographic environment? Or when you’re around other social...in other social situations? Or contexts?

Miya: I do not change at all. Because when I’m asked to perform...I do dance Benasuan to show my cultural pride. So, I don’t want to stray away from it because I am proud of my culture. I want to show it as much as possible because I know that the Filipino culture is beautiful. And, it has a lot of stories and meanings behind it. So, I do not shy away from my cultural identity.

Grace notes that she is proud of her Filipino heritage “no matter what group” she is affiliating with.
Grace: Identity? I would think I’ll always be proud to be Filipino no matter what group I’m in. It just how I socialize might be different because when... in Sariling Gawa I may be talking like Filipino to them or talk about the Philippines to them in a group where I would normally talk English so I don’t think there would be any changes in the way I feel about my culture.

Ecological Level V: Self-In-Relation to Places and Ancestors

“A place to me could be anywhere you feel happy.” — Kayla

Theme #1: Places of Wellbeing: Self-in-Relation to the Whole

Sites of Restorative Justice: Ancestral Relationships to ‘Aina and Water

“I feel like giving back to the ocean... I would remind people it’s there as a gift and not to take and use at their disposal.” — Ava

Many of the youth acknowledged their ancestral responsibilities as stewards for significant environmental places such as the ocean, beaches, waterways, mountains and land.

Dominic: ...it’s nature you know and when it comes to nature, uh... it’s like a gift, you know, which I say God, God gave me that gift... Well... I have a lot of... goals... continue Waikiki Beach and attend a lot of activities to talk about people loitering or abusing the beach or to stop them, and stuff like that...

Many of the youth talked about these significant environmental places as “gifts” to be respected. Ava reveals strategies to protect the ocean along with reminders for others:

Ava: I actually did junior lifeguard training when I was in 7th grade and being a lifeguard was an option for me when I was younger and I feel like giving back to the ocean, going out to surf or to paddle, and protecting it, I would remind people it’s there as a gift and not to take and use at their disposal.

Youth identified the importance of being with nature and how that inculcates important relationships to the natural environment, the ancestors, and activism for the continued health of these places.
Pua: ...To be with nature and that’s why I chose environmental sciences as my major because... I understand that it’s a really big issue here, in Hawai‘i, in general. The environmental group or environmental community is huge, it’s flourishing. There’s so many people that really care for...the environmental degradation or all of the development and...

Pua’s “We” Poem

We’ve lived here over 100 years.
We prided and have respect for the land and the culture...and the word ‘aina is really important.
We’re 2000 miles minimum from the furthest land mass.
We’re...in terms of biodiversity...
We’re really unique. Lots of people they don’t understand that.
They don’t understand how important...
We are.
We’re doing this not just because it’s a Hawaiian thing to do...but this is the right thing to do.

In Pua’s “We” Poem, we listen to her powerful testimony as she eloquently captures, summarizes, and returns us to the underlying premise of my dissertation. Through her poem, she narrates Filipinos’ cultural respect for the land and incorporates the uniqueness of Filipinos located in this place, Hawai‘i, along with its significance for biodiversity. Finally, her telling or sharing raises the value and uniqueness of being Filipino and taking action on behalf of social and environmental justice as Filipinos and not “because it’s a Hawaiian thing to do.”

Places that Promote Self-actualization through Self Expression

Many of the youth talked about place as being a site and process that allows for freedom of self-expression and liberation.

Kayla: Place to me is where you could be free.

Youth identified place as important to self-development as places allow one to explore new things, encounter new ideas, and as sites for promoting “adventures.”
Kayla: ...where you could experience many adventures...you can learn not only what your interests are and the interests of others and...

When expressing what an “ideal” place would be, Benjamin highlights the importance of place providing opportunities for independence; whereas for Ava, place is a site where identity can be openly expressed.

Benjamin: For me, a place...like an ideal place for me, would be where I can just be independent...

Ava: The athlete or the person I am in the water or on the court is something that I really identify with. They say like when you’re on the court your true identity comes out so that’s something I like to show off or make very...

*Strategic Use of Self in New Places*

Some of the youth identified the importance of being strategic in expressing oneself in new places. Brayden notes:

First if I go to a new location...like I don’t show the full me yet. I kind of like creep up to it... I’m like an observer first, really quiet. If someone comes to me I’ll talk to them...maybe after like my first month slowly, I see how everyone is and I’m not afraid...so I kind of adapt to it, adapt to how everyone else acts... I’m going to act differently...because I am going to put my own personality...so it usually, it’s...like depending on how the flow goes I adapt to how the circle reacts.

Other youth noted that they sought quiet places to contemplate, problem solve and come to a resolution.

*Kayla’s “I” Poem*

I usually go someplace quiet and then think about it myself.
I usually find a way myself to figure it out.
I like the feeling of doing it by myself.
Theme 2—People Make Places: Connectedness with Peers and Wellbeing

Many of the youth highlighted how social connections are formed through embracing the diversity of experiences and backgrounds that peer culture brings in Hawai‘i. The relationships formed in peer circles, both with Filipino and non-Filipino peers, were measured as healthful when youth discussed how being free to be themselves in these peer groups reinforced group solidarity and social connectedness.

Ava: ...we all come from different like backgrounds and stories and we all have our understanding of each other and that creates a feeling of being strong with each other.

Although youth identified particular sites for social connectedness, the relationships made within those places played a greater role in promoting youth wellbeing and contentment.

Jayden: I go to the beach with my friends it’s not necessarily the place. For me, personally, it’s the relationships, the relationships to people that matter. For some people it’s the place that matters.

Jayden’s “We” Poem

We usually stay out until sunset
We don’t actually look like beach goers.
We’re not the type of group to go to big parties, big events that have more than 100 kids plus or more.
We’re a group that sticks together and don’t really branch out.
We had the same interest in going to the gym or just like hanging out at somebody’s house
We really share the same interest
We’re not at the beach
We’re at the gym
We do regulate ourselves but it really depends on the people who you hang out with.

Miya notes that place is wherever her friends are and that these connections are a central feature of making places of safety, comfort, and wellbeing.
Miya’s “I” Poem
I’ll just say where ever my friends are...
I can connect with other people.
I’m with friends or family
I have a feeling of content than any place could be meaningful.
[Basically, it just gives me that sense of comfort and safety that] I need, as a person... And that allows me to open up and just let me be myself.

Miya: I’ve been saying that this entire time but that really means something to me...being open allows you to be yourself and it allows you to connect with others without having that barrier and feeling scared that you’re not good enough or you’re not the best or the most smartest. So, being open and safe [is probably the most]...

Dominic also notes that people make the place. Without meaningful relationships in place, place doesn’t matter.

Dominic Um, well, it really doesn’t matter about place. Um, it really matters about who you are and you gotta go with the Filipino culture, cultural way. We have our own ways, how we eat our food here, we use our hands and stuff like that, and we do a lot of festivals where we dance and we have to respect that because that’s how it was in the old days when my great, great grandmother was alive. We have to follow their paths, you know. So, it really doesn’t matter about place in Waipahu. Waipahu is where most Filipinos are and uh...

Theme 3: Spatial Relationships Develop Special People
Youth identified the importance of carrying their ancestors with them wherever they go- they talked about their ancestors being inside of them and all around them.

SG: Is there a special place where you feel like you remember your grandma?

Dominic: Everywhere!... You got to think they’re with you all the time, you know. They watch over you and keep you safe and stuff like that, you got to just think that way.

Ancestral Teaching and Experience Matters
Many of the youth identified the sakada generation as having a powerful influence in their everyday lives. This generation stands as a reminder of the importance
of cultural survival and as teachers for everyday commitments to ancestors and to the community.

Miya: Being Filipino means to me being proud of our culture like the sakadas who showed strength, showed courage to leave their families and try to get a better life. Even though when they came here it wasn’t at all that they expected. Having for them to harvest sugarcane and being in the hot sun and wanting to give up every single day they always found another reason to get up in the morning and just go back to work because they know that their families depended on them. So, to me, the sakadas are really important to me. Also, because my grandfather is a sakada and he was the very first one who brought all of us here. So, I mean like my mom and my grandma and...that just started to lead a path for us. So, we just didn’t want to just stay in one level of education. We were brought up to know that education was really important. And that no matter how poor we were or no matter how much poverty we were stuck in that we could always depends on education to pull us out. And, I’m proud to say that my older sister is in medical school...and also, my middle sister just graduated from college. And I myself am...planning to go to an elite college for two engineering majors.

These intergenerational connections helped to stimulate responsibilities to succeed in the present generation. They also served as reminders of important cultural values such as hard work and educational achievement.

Miya: My grandfather being a sakada has made me realize how blessed I am. For him to come to an unknown place to be alone and not know who he’s with, to wake up every morning and not be with your family, to know I’m just here to work, chopping away at sugarcane and carrying these heavy sticks, I’d say that really instilled the hard work in me. Because education is really important to me at a young age that education will make you successful and that hard work and education are two things that I have learned from my grandfather’s sakada experience.

Youth also commented on the importance of values and respect across generations. Dominic explains that following ancestral traditions and teachings not only demonstrates respect but is an obligation for Filipino youth.
Dominic: We have to respect that because that’s how it was in the old days when my great, great grandmother was alive. We have to follow their paths, you know.

Spatial Responsibilities: Self-in-Relation to Future Generations

“History has determined our lives, and we must work hard for what we believe to be the right thing...life is something we borrow and must give back richer when the time comes.”
—Carlos Bulosan, Asian American writer

Many of the youth looked to future generations to carry on the work of their own generation and past generations. Thus a spatial connection from ancestral to future generations was important to the youth. Here Lea expresses her wishes for the next future:


The youth expressed hope for a future that is free of oppression and bigotry. Lea notes:

Lea: I hope that in time...I know we’re a minority right now but I hope that people won’t look at them as people that can’t thrive. I hope one day that Farrington isn’t where it is right now and it gets better...and you know...sorry, I feel really redundant...I just feel that I hope that there’s a new life for Filipinos, young Filipinos.

Other youth noted that their generation has the responsibility to step up and out to remove “bad influences” on Filipino community lives. Developing positive Filipino youth leadership was discussed by a few to be one way to change future Filipino lives and experiences of oppression.

Pua: I believe we can...really try to push for youth leadership and responsibility and by your age you’ll be given responsibility to do a task. And we’ll trust you in completing the task, for following through...but other ways would be to just remove bad influences.
The Importance of Giving Back and Passing It Forward

Many youth noted that by taking action in the here and now, they not only give back to the ancestors, but they are also paving a way for future generations (passing it forward). Miya comments:

I would like them [Filipino youth] to speak up and say it means something to them and that there’s a story behind what that place means to them.

Miya notes that Filipino youth have an opportunity to grow Filipino voice in the multicultural society of Hawai‘i. She states:

Being in the FOB project is already close to my heart because I am Filipino. And, I do want to share that experience with other cultures and races...because being in Hawai‘i you have a very large presence of Hawaiian pride, Samoan pride, Micronesian pride but there’s that very small Filipino voice. And, part of the reason why is because us youth don’t want to speak up and we don’t want to take a stand in today’s society.

...I would like to see a bigger stand from Filipino youth and for them to create more change and more places for Fil-Am youth to reach out to....I would like then to speak up and say it means something to them and that there’s a story behind what that place means to them.

In identifying goals for future Filipino youth, some of the participants identified the importance of nurturing future Filipino youth leadership.

Grace: Well, like after high school I’m going to college. I want to be like an elementary teacher, so I’m hoping after I become an elementary teacher I would be able to promote the importance of culture for my students, it doesn’t have to be Filipino it can be any other ethnicity, but as for the Filipino community, I was hoping to be more involved and take on like possibly a leader role so I could encourage more students to come to the Camp, too. And, maybe I can start a dance group, too." [Laughs.]

Brayden’s “I” Poem

I also think of how...
I guess for the young ones.
I think it’s just...
I can’t really say anything about that.
I can’t really recruit them.
I can explain to them what they did for me.
I can say it doesn’t have to be a Free Mason.
I was talking about earlier, you got to get them busy and find them a group that they’ll enjoy.
I’m in.
I’m in...whatever it is that makes them happy.

Other youth noted the importance of addressing Filipino history in educational programming not only to create greater visibility for Filipinos in the history of Hawai‘i but also as a teaching tool specifically for Filipino youth in promoting ethnic and cultural pride.

Miya: ...incorporate Filipino history in our Hawaiian Studies program because we do need to take a Hawaiian history class and since Filipinos and their history combine with the sakadas and the plantation days that would help a lot with combining both of our cultures as well as teaching the Fil-Am youth what our culture is and how we came to be.

Youth also noted the importance of advocating for protection of community and places that are meaningful for transmission of culture, lifeways, and values. These shared inner values reflect the Filipino value of *pakiramdam*: Shared inner perceptions. Filipinos use *damdam*, or the inner perception of others' emotions, as a basic tool to guide his dealings with other people.

Kayla: I kind of want them to be more outgoing and responsive in the community and for myself, I kind of want to help doing that. Like the FOB Project I would kind of like to do anything else...like participating in the Filipino Fiesta.

SG: How would you help facilitate that? When you’re doing these activities in the community - what can Filipino youth do to protect special places or environments?

Kayla: *Just encourage it. And, then once they encourage it, they learn to respect it more and, like it more so that they like it more...they tend*
to expand more and a lot more people can get involved in it. And, that way it can last and be protected for a long time.

The youth advocate for other youth to “take a stand” in making the environmental and political changes necessary to promote Filipino wellbeing.

Miyas “I” Poem
I would say that...
I would like to see a bigger stand from Filipino youth and for them to create more change and more places for Fil-Am youth to reach out to. I would like then to speak up and say it means something to them and that there’s a story behind what that place means to them.

Just as youth feel an obligation to future generations through developing leadership and educational programming, many of the youth also identified the desire for developing mentorship programs for Filipino youth. Many of the youth expressed a core Filipino value of Kagandahang-Loob: Shared humanity. This refers to being able to help other people in dire need due to a perception of being together as a part of one Filipino humanity.

Brayden’s “I” Poem
I always say that they’re going to be the future.
I say lead by example.
I mean.
I tell them respect their parents or you got to respect your elders...pretty much the golden rule, do unto others as you want to do to yourself.
I didn’t have to buy new shoes.
I didn’t have to pay for dinner or something like that.
I preach to kids or my peers or sometimes older people...
I also do it.
I lead by example.

SG: What could these resources (school athletics programs, counseling, support groups/classes) do to further encourage a healthy
environments or place for you? How can they help support you in building a healthy place for you? other Filipino youth?

Ava: It can help me by like setting an example where I can follow and for other people, it can be a way of looking back, and also giving back, so we can help create a better community for those after you (future generations) or for yourself.

Brayden’s “We” poem below explicitly addresses core collective values of passing on values and modeling for other youth healthful behaviors. The modeling does not “tell” youth how to think, act, or do, but stresses through mentorship and modeling how to live in balance. **Values are not objective in- they are relational and embodied in person-value-types** (ideal moral persons) (Filipino Values Blog).

### Brayden’s “We” Poem

We’re at right now is mainly what our goal is to mainly just get the kids off the streets and it can be a total stress reliever. We can help mold these kids into something better. [the philosophy] We use... We teach them also to help them in life. We teach them Jeet Kun Do, Bruce Lee’s art, it’s very philosophical, it’s not only martial arts but you can also adapt it to life itself. We teach them. We can, especially for the young, help the younger generation, the Filipinos. We mold them, they will. We’re working on, at the Kalihi Center. We’re trying to do is get kids off their butts and off the computer and do something. We’re not telling them to do go out and be a UFC fighter. We’re just saying keep a balance.

### Summary of Chapter 4

Three major themes emerged from the dissertation findings and cut across all levels of MacGregor’s model:
(1) *Places as sites of wellbeing* (i.e., actual sites promote wellbeing);

(2) *People make place* (i.e., relationality makes places meaningful, promoting belonging and connectedness); and,

(3) *Places of Spatial Connections-Ancestral Relationships in and to Places* (i.e., ancestral ties across past and future generations invoke cultural identity, values, and obligations).

First, youth narratives spoke to *specific places or sites that promote wellbeing* across all levels of MacGregor’s ecological model. Within each level, specific significant places were identified. For example, at the ‘aina level, the mountains, beaches, and particularly water were identified as key places in which the youth sought to find solace, relaxation, and healing. At the community level, significant places tied to wellbeing included *geographical* boundaries such as towns, Kalihi-Palama Settlement House, Native Hawaiian Village, parks, and neighborhoods; *institutional* places such as church, school, clubs, athletic and artistic studios; *communal* places—such as marketplaces and open air markets; and *virtual* places such as the internet and social media.

All of the community-identified places were significant sites that facilitated important social connections—including opportunities to be mentored and mentor others, to learn more about culture and promote positive Filipino identities, and to create deep connections that promote wellbeing and important social and cultural connectedness. Similarly at the Ohana/Family levels, home and home-related areas (e.g., backyard or porch) were identified as key sites that promoted self-expression, relaxation, and self-centering. All contributed to the youths’ sense of belonging and acceptance in their homes and communities.
Despite these positive feelings, challenges to youths' positive wellbeing occurred when confronted with racist, microaggressive, and xenophobic attitudes and acts in places such as schools and within their local communities and neighborhoods. Being a newly arrived immigrant and having difficulty speaking the English language, their second or third language, or reaching out to share their culture with others were found to contribute to interethnic group tensions even within their own ethnic group. Youth also received close parental monitoring and supervision in and around their homes, but the young people were not bothered by this and some actually felt more comfortable being at home.

An important finding across narratives was the narration of embodied experiences of place. For example, places were identified as being significant as they were experienced across emotional, psychological, physical, and spiritual domains for all three themes. For example, cultural institutions were identified as promoting emotional wellbeing (feeling able to be oneself), bodily wellbeing (feeling relaxed), and psychological wellbeing (feeling a strong sense of self and identity), and spiritual wellbeing (being at peace with God).

Additionally, the distinction between narratives promoting specific sites as healing or healthful was important and consistent with the literature. However, the youth at times had difficulty or even rejected identifying meaningful places in absence of meaningful relationships within place. The idea that people make place was a consistent theme throughout the narratives. Just as place at times held its own unique and specific meaning for wellbeing as a site, it too had spatial and relational meaning as the meaning of the place was not significant without a relational tie—whether by culture (e.g.,
teachings of the significance of the place) or through the relationships that are enacted and tied to the places themselves (e.g., kitchen or community).

Finally, ancestral obligations—both to past ancestors and future ones were invoked throughout the narratives—including key cultural values of relational worldviews, ancestral obligations, and other cultural values such as kapwa and the bayanihan spirit. As Mercado (1974) explains, “The Filipino wants to harmonize the object and the subject, while at the same time holding both as distinct” (Mercado, 1974, p. 191). Filipino values are transmitted generationally and reveal the relational worldviews of its people and their respect for the land, seas, and natural environment. Overall, their guiding purpose reflects the relational perspectives of the Indigenous people and culture with the objectives to foster group solidarity and mutual dependence. The cultural values of kapwa, acknowledgment of the relationship between self and others; to pay or show respect, especially for elders or those of higher status (education, rank, or perceived wealth); the responsibility and obligation to pay a debt, utang na loob; and to earn and maintain the respect of others, amor-propio (Spanish for “loving oneself”) are highly regarded. For the individual, hiya or a sense of shame is a significant internalized guiding code that inhibits one from breaching social norms. The negative effect of unaccepted social behaviors not only damages the reputation of the individual but also their immediate and sometimes extended family. Therefore, individuals attempt to uphold the Filipino value of amor-propio (Spanish for “loving oneself”) earning and maintaining the respect of others.
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Findings based on Filipino youths’ narratives in Chapter 4 revealed three overarching themes across all ecological levels: 1) Places as sites of wellbeing; 2) People make place; and 3) Spatial connections are associated with special places. Fundamental throughout the meta- and sub-themes is the foundation and centering of Indigenous worldviews and knowledges, which offered a unique orientation to the overall study and its findings.

Across ecological levels, wellbeing occurred and was associated with specific sites (e.g., ocean/land), people-place relationships within sites, and youth built identities within and to special places. Specifically, these relational aspects — across people-places and wellbeing—intersected with youths’ identities (cultures, values, traditions), meaningful social relationships (with families, extended family, peers, and ancestors), and processes of belonging—(dis-)connectedness throughout the spatial and temporal dimensions. An overview of relational wellbeing will be used to frame this final chapter, followed by a discussion of three main overarching themes, as well as a presentation and discussion of a 4-D Ecological Model of Filipino Youth, Places and Wellbeing adapted from McGregor et al.’s (2003) model. I conclude the chapter with an overview of the implications, limitations, and summary.

Relational Wellbeing

As McCubbin, McCubbin, Zhang, Kehl, and Strom (2013) have argued, wellbeing reflects Western values of individualism, self-affirmation, aggressiveness, and achievement as indicators for life-satisfaction, and has been challenged with regards to its appropriateness for studying wellbeing with ethnic populations overall, particularly
with immigrants and Indigenous populations (Horton & Shweder, 2004 as cited in McCubbin et al., 2013). These authors refer to Cross (1997) and L. McCubbin’s (2006) definition of wellbeing as a relational construct as illustrated in McGregor et al.’s (2003) Ecological Model of Native Hawaiian Wellbeing (refer back to Figure 1).

According to Cross (1997) the Indigenous, relational worldview, is intuitive, fluid, and non-time-oriented—and represents the underlying feature of wellbeing. The latter is an expression of the balance and harmony found between the complex, multiple interacting forces, including spirit, body, mind, and emotions (Cross, 1997). As part of the Indigenous worldview, the interdependence and interrelationships between these forces combine to offer context for human behavior in relation to people and places. Combined, Cross (1998) and McGregor et al. (2003) view relational wellbeing as encompassing all dimensions of the human ecology (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994, as cited in McCubbin et al., 2013), inclusive of the family unit, ancestors, the physical and natural environment, extended and adopted family, community, society, culture, and the world (McCubbin et al., 2013). Community plays a critical role in wellbeing and is regarded as fostering a sense of place. Specifically, community-connectedness nurtures and reinforces relational experience within and to place. McCubbin et al. (2013) and Manzo (2005) both assert that connectedness with place protects continuity of community over generations. Manzo (2005) specifically notes that this connectedness creates bridging of shared beliefs, practices, values, and traditions across generations, the transmission of knowledge. Key to the community is its internal set of rules, expectations, and norms associated with roles, responsibilities, and behaviors (McCubbin et al., 2013).
Further, these authors posited that multigenerational relationships, ancestors, and ancestral history, along with a deep sense of rootedness—are core tenets of an Indigenous and relational worldview, which is essential for the balance and harmony in individual, family, and communities’ lives (Manzo, 2005; McGregor et al., 2003 as cited in McCubbin et al., 2013), hence, for wellbeing. As part of these intergenerational connections across time and place, an individual’s and family’s identity or schema “are defined by their ethnic origins, values, beliefs, expectations, and traditions” (McCubbin & McCubbin, 2005 cited by McCubbin et al., 2013, p. 356),

Three Overarching Themes

1. Places as sites of wellbeing.

Among Filipino youth participants, wellbeing occurred in special places across all levels of the multi-layered ecological model—from the `aina, land, ocean, or nature to home sites. Youth identified these public and private geographic places, as well as indoor (e.g., clubs) and outdoor spaces (e.g., parks), as significant, meaningful, and nurturing for their wellbeing. From the ocean and its cultural healing properties to homes and porches—as sites that promoted relaxation and relieved stress—to school where they could “be their self,” and be accepted.

Places that Filipino youth found to promote or enhance their wellbeing included 1) at the `aina (bayan or daga)/nature/natural environment level: the ocean (karagatan or bay bay) or beach as a place to heal, relax, find balance and re-center, and relieve stress; 2) at the community (komunidad) level: the church and school were identified as meaningful sites to practice, enhance their spiritual wellbeing; and 3) at the home (bayan or ili) level or in/around their homes, neighborhood and parks. These public,
private places, and green spaces were complementary to prior research of youth and their special places as noted by other research on Filipino, refugee, and immigrant, and youth in general (Chawla, 1992; Abbott-Chapman, 2006; Sampson & Gifford, 2010). However, this study identified unique aspects of site-based experiences among Filipino youth that was not yet identified for this population in previous literature. Specifically, although geographic sites were relationally significant, promoting wellbeing, relaxation and place to be “self,” other people-made sites, such as homes, were sites where people in their relationships to significant others, whether peers, parents, or teachers made the places significant. Other unique features identified through the narratives included how identities, cultural values, and worldviews were transmitted within these sites, including the processes and practices of socializing among peers, and socialization of worldviews and values across generations made actual places significant.

Additionally, in their home as place, parental supervision and support were acknowledged by some of the participants, as parents kept a watchful eye monitoring their activities. Yet, youth did not view their parents’ behaviors as controlling. This finding contrasts with what Cunanan and colleagues (2007) reported among Filipino youth, where lack of parental supervision by Filipino parents served as a risk factor for youths’ deviant behaviors.

Finally, across all sites (nature/geography to home), youth describe a visceral experience of place – an experience of place that was taken up and into their sensory experience and bodies. Embodiment of places was another unique finding captured within youths’ narratives. While other social and cultural institutions were identified as promoting emotional wellbeing (feeling able to be oneself), bodily wellbeing (feeling relaxed), and psychological wellbeing (feeling strong sense of self and identity), and
spiritual wellbeing (the Church), many youth expressed this through narratives of embodied sensory experiences tied to places.

*Embodyment*

Throughout youths’ narratives, the visceral embodiment of wellbeing across mind, body, spirit, and emotions held many benefits for the young people: to relieve stress, relax, heal the body, and create connections. Examples of embodiment based on feelings, sensory experiences, and physical bodily functions or sensations included the sense of smell and how it was found to promote relaxation and relieve stress, physical activities, such as dance and playing ball, offered opportunities to release tensions, “took out anything negative” and “sweat it out, sweat out the stress,” along with the healing properties of saltwater, which was believed to relieve skin irritations or soothe the spirit.

Originating from ecosocial theory, the construct of embodiment as described by Krieger (1999, 2005) and Krieger and Davies Smith (2004) as a process, reality, and multilevel phenomenon that reflects the interactions between our bodies and our ecological context, and the historical, physical or material and social worlds we live in throughout our lives. Embodiment also reveals our stories and histories that we carry in our bodies across time – whether the youth are consciously aware of these histories or not. Embodiment can also be a physical, mental, and emotional expression of social inequalities and disparities (Krieger, 2005, p. 352).

Walters and colleagues (2011) elucidate the connection between historical trauma and embodiment utilizing a broad view of the Indigenous health frameworks including the Indigenist stress-coping model (Walters & Simoni, 2002) among American Indians and Alaska Natives (AIANs). Aligned with Indigenous spatial and relational worldviews, the concept of embodiment assessed by Walters et al. (2011b) acknowledges the
reciprocity between humans and the natural environment, the physical and spiritual worlds, the ancestors and future generations. Further, linkages between these worldviews and human behaviors, practices, and wholeness promote Indigenous peoples’ wellbeing (Walters et al., 2011b). For AIANs, Walters et al. (2011b) posit that contemporary health and health risk behaviors are partially linked to the embodiment of historical trauma (HT) for individuals and across generations; yet, while some pathways are evident, others remain difficult to discern. Historical trauma has been conceptualized by Walters et al. (2011b) as:

> “an event or set of events that impacts a significant portion of a community who share a specific tribal, ethnic or religious identity, e.g., American Indians and Alaska Natives (AIAN), with genocidal or ethnocidal intent... Individually, each event is profoundly traumatic; taken together they constitute a history of sustained cultural disruption and destruction directed at AIAN tribal communities. The resulting trauma is often conceptualized as collective, in that it impacts a significant portion of a community, and compounding, as multiple historically traumatic events occurring over generations join in an overarching legacy of assaults. For AIANs, cumulative HT events are coupled with high rates of contemporary lifetime trauma and interpersonal violence, as well as high rates of chronic stressors such as microaggressions and daily discriminatory (Chae and Walters, 2009 cited in Walters et al., 2011). Together, these historical and contemporary events undermine the communities’ physical, spiritual, and psychological health and well-being in complex and multifaceted ways” (p. 181).

Although the youth did not identify historical trauma through their narratives, they did identify sensory and embodied experiences of language loss over generations as well as the impact of plantation experiences on contemporary wellbeing.

2. People make place.

While place/s were found to be significant for youth, the people-place relationships—or relationships youth had with/in places—were most meaningful in creating and sustaining intergenerational wellbeing. Youths’ relational ways of being in key sites were critical to identifying places as significant. Relationships within places
that nurtured opportunities for youth to mentor and be mentored, to socialize and be socialized by significant others created a sense of belonging, acceptance, and also promoted social and cultural connectedness within significant places – thus people make place. These relational ways of being created lasting memories and nurtured relationships to places themselves and ultimately promoted Filipino youths’ wellbeing.

Unique for the Filipino youth in this study was an unexpected finding, “it’s not the place that matters, it’s the people,” or people make place, a sentiment expressed by Jaden and others. Lucero’s article titled “It’s not about place, it’s what inside” resonated as a complementary study offering Indigenous perspectives on cultural identity and cultural connectedness. The findings are similar to Lucero (2014) among American Indian women. Specifically, participants in Lucero’s study focused on relational aspects of their cultural identity and cultural connectedness. Lucero (2014) examined how urban American Indian women from families with multigenerational residence in urban environments expressed their knowledge of cultural identity and cultural connectedness. From the stories the women shared, Lucero found these two constructs (cultural identity and cultural connectedness) to be related but separate and distinct from one another (Lucero, 2014). The participants posited cultural identity as a secure understanding of self as “an American Indian that is not dependent upon geographical location” (Lucero, 2014, p. 9). According to Lucero, Native women viewed cultural connectedness as shaped by three interrelated components: “relatedness to, and social interactions with, other Native people; active cultural involvement (dance, arts, singing); and cultural knowledge” Lucero (2014, p. 9).

Among Filipino youth in this study, their cultural or ethnic identities were in transition due to their age and where they stood in terms of their developmental
progress and process. For some, this entailed questioning their identities, e.g.,
Benjamin’s recent process of coming out as a gay young man to a selective group of
friends. For others, including Lea, they were struggling with their identities or multiple
identities as Filipino (a) and also as a first-generation immigrant related to ongoing or
prior histories as recipients of bullying, xenophobic or microaggressive acts, and racism.

In the present study, across ecological levels, people-place relationships were
found to be significant and related processes were found to be reciprocal. People make
place(s) through socializing and socialization processes. Responses from Filipino youth
participants indicated that the relationships they formed in place(s) contributed to
making places meaningful. Accordingly, specific subthemes emerged and were
significant for youth: as Braden noted formal and informal mentorship they received
cultivated belonging and cultural connectedness to elders and other adults at school and
in their communities; as Ava and Miya expressed, mentoring younger adolescents as
part of their stewardship or responsibility to give back to their community; nearly all
noted using social media as a tool to connect to peers and for others, like Benjamin a
sense of connectedness across oceania to family in the Philippines reduced loneliness
and social isolation. Moreover, the reciprocal and relational aspects of being mentored
and mentoring others was viewed by Filipino youth as a core cultural obligation and
responsibility (utang na loob, a cultural value).

Overall, youth expressed belonging and connectedness to people (family, peers,
mentors, teachers) and special places (‘aina, land, water, and the natural environment),
which influenced their wellbeing. Through these relational and reciprocal processes of
connection, Filipino youth found meaning in their identities, cultural values, and
ultimately their own “place” to mentor and be mentored, to socialize and be socialized
within the significant relationships they formed with peers and across generations. All youth described the importance of creating mentoring opportunities for both mentor and mentee within places across geographic/nature (e.g., parks), community (clubs), and institutional (e.g., schools) sites. Mentorship was seen as a key socialization mechanism to impart cultural worldviews, values, and strategies for navigating a complex and potentially stressful world. Moreover, types of mentorship (cultural vs. strategic) varied according to place. For example, mentoring relationships within cultural venues were seen as promoting identity-based wellbeing whereas mentoring relationships within school-based settings were seen as promoting strategies that initiated or sustained academic success.

*Youth Mentoring Programs*

DuBois, Portillo, Rhodes, Silverthorn, and Valentine’s (2011) conducted a meta-analytic review of 73 independent evaluations of mentoring programs across the country. These authors found evidence for ongoing support of youth mentoring programs, especially as a robust intervention strategy to address and promote multiple developmental outcomes among youth and young people, and also as a useful approach to support positive youth development based on their flexibility and broad applicability (DuBois et al., 2011). Further, their findings revealed the positive benefits of mentoring programs as an effective intervention serving promotion and prevention with improvements across multiple outcomes, individually as well as simultaneously, including: social, emotional, behavioral, and academic domains. The latter, improvements in academic achievement test scores, was notable for its policy implications. A common pattern emerged as mentored youth exhibited positive gains or improvements on outcome measures in comparison to non-mentored youth who
exhibited declines. Developmentally, the literature notes that mentoring programs were found to provide benefits across the age range from early childhood through adolescence. While youth mentoring programs were traditionally based on the premise of forming nurturing relationships or matches between one adult volunteer and an individual youth or young person, however, the study’s authors found mentors as older peers or using a group mentoring format resulted in similar levels of effectiveness (DuBois et al., 2011).

Although the above findings are positive and provide support for youth mentoring programs, DuBois et al. (2011) highlighted areas for concern. First, only modest gains for outcome measures for the typical young person were found and while equivalent to the observed range for other types of youth interventions, these did not reflect noticeable improvements from the prior generation of youth mentoring programs (DuBois, Holloway, Valentine, & Cooper, 2002 cited in DuBois, et al., 2011). Additionally, the evaluations were not confirmatory of sustained benefits at later points in youths’ development, they failed to assess several policy concerns (obesity prevention, juvenile offense), and revealed variability in program effectiveness (DuBois et al., 2011).

In contrast, the narratives of the youth in the present study indicated that mentoring relationships include a high value on both respected adult (i.e., teacher, elder, ancestral teachings) to youth relationship; but, also included the importance of peer-to-peer as well as youth-to-younger peer mentorship processes. Additionally, the continuity of transmission of cultural values, knowledge, and strategic problem-solving were tied to specific places – such as schools, cultural groups, and nature. Nature-based sites were seen specifically to provide cultural continuity of transmission of ancestral knowledges during the mentee-mentor relationship. Culture-based sites (clubs, dance
groups) were seen to provide continuity of cultural-based teachings and worldviews. Institutional-based sites, whether Church or school were viewed as providing continuity of culture-based teachings as well as problem-solving strategies to survive in the world. Continuity then was achieved across sites, across generations, and reinforced as the youth mentee evolved into a youth mentor. Finally, in contrast to other studies, the present study demonstrated how the youth felt a responsibility to the transmission of cultural and problem-solving knowledge to future generations and they described, through their activities, how they were engaged in creating and sustaining relationships to others – through socializing and socialization activities as well as through mentorship activities – and, how these processes served to reinforce places of importance and ensure the transmission of important knowledge to future generations.

**Belonging and Connectedness**

Filipino youth identified specific places where they “belonged,” where they felt “accepted,” and “connected.” Not surprisingly places of belonging and connectedness were made significant by the close or nurture close relationships with family, kin, and peers across ecological site levels (nature to home). Notable places were in their homes, friends or relatives’ homes, community and dance clubs, schools and church. As Kayla, Brandon, and others mentioned, community and dance clubs served as places for relaxation and socialization. Ava found comfort at her grandmothers’ home, a place where “I grew up, I pretty much grew up there. I spent most of my days there.”

Online places, Social Media and Social Networking Sites such as Facebook or Instagram were identified as places where youth found connections with others, as one youth expressed, “there’s Filipinos everywhere.” Socialization in places to support or enhance youths’ ethnic identities and promote their (sense of) belonging was a related
sub theme that also emerged. Miya conveyed her strong ethnic identity and cultural pride when she danced at different cultural events; “I dance Benasuan to show my cultural pride. I am proud of my culture. I want to show it as much as possible because I know that the Filipino culture is beautiful. And, it has a lot of stories and meanings behind it.”

Miya’s example supports Hill’s (2006) theory regarding the relationships between belonging, health, and wellbeing for Indigenous communities. As Hill (2006) noted, from a cultural worldview, sense of relatedness/belonging are strongly influenced and expressed in traditional practices, spirituality, self-concept, culture, community, and family values and beliefs, with significant implications for Indigenous peoples’ health and wellbeing. Further, Hill defines sense of belonging as an element of relatedness and connectedness and that “sense of belonging as connectedness is significant to the individual, family and community” (2006, p. 212). She links this to connection as conceptualized by Lowe and Struthers (2001 cited by Hill, 2006) as a relational dimension and basis for elements of building, healing, risk taking, creating togetherness, cohesiveness, interrelating and transforming. Citing Ray (1994, Hill, 2006), Hill reflects on the nature of human experience as inclusive, not isolated, and its centrality to the “unity of meaning of belongingness and interconnectedness to the whole human condition historically and universally...” (p. 212). For Hill, Turton (1997 cited by Hill, 2006) and others, culturally shared ways of knowing, or Indigenous knowledges, offers insights into a culture’s views regarding health, wellbeing, and illness.
Spatial connections were associated with (wellbeing in) special places.

In this present study, spatial connections (across time and space) nurtured and sustained a sense of special places (e.g., homeland). These spatial connections to special places were facilitated through the transmission of cultural values, traditions, and significant social relationships with ancestors, families, and kin. For Filipino youth and young people, ancestral and social relationships with kin near and far away—real, imagined, and longed for (as Pratt discussed, 2003)—across time and place nurtured cultural identity, enculturation of Filipino values (giving back), and responsibility to future generations (forward giving). Spatial relationships to homeland and ancestral connections came across as a dominant, recurring theme tied to youths’ identities and cultural values.

Experiences of ancestral spatial connections enriched youths’ cultural connections. Visiting the Hawaiian Plantation Village (in Waipahu) and interacting with a Filipina elder, informed Grace’s thoughts regarding Filipino history in Hawai‘i and the sakada generation. The toil and struggles of the latter under the hot sun, labor in the fields, and daily experiences of racism, microaggressive and xenophobic acts and attitudes from predominantly white (haole) supervisors and other Asian ethnic groups were expressed throughout Grace’s narratives. Miya also spoke about hearing similar tales firsthand from her grandfather and his experiences as a sakada. Miya, Grace, and Dominic reflected upon their ancestors’ experiences and what it meant for them, highlighting their sense of obligation (gratuity or utang na loob) in response. The Filipino core value of kapwa (shared identity) was central to spatial relationships with ancestors across time and borders.
Antonio Ingles (2010) identifies two core ancestral Filipino values that permeate contemporary Filipino life and social relations: (1) *pakikipagkapwa* (the principle of Filipino relationality) and (2) *kapwa* (the underlying feature of the Filipino identity or shared identity). He also recognized that the *bayanihan* (community) spirit embodies these core Filipino principles and replicates the travels of ancient Filipinos who sailed together as one balangay/barangay (boat), which metaphorically symbolizes the process of ancient Filipinos adventuring together in a cosmic journey, moving forward in life, the future, and beyond.

Ancestral relationships and connectedness across generations also inspired Filipino participants in this present study to not only look backward to past generations but also look forward to future generations led to their advocacy and promotion for future youth leadership development. Accordingly, youth expressed responsibility in acknowledging future generations and the importance of their own role modeling, providing leadership to support youths’ future efforts to serve, advocate for, and create a better future for the Filipino community. Taking this step to think beyond themselves, the youth considered their ancestral obligations in their everyday interactions and goals. Their narratives about their commitment to future generations speaks to their positive outlook for the future, and their hopes and dreams for future generations to become actively involved in social and environmental change. Miya articulates her hopes well: “I would say that I would like to see a bigger stand from Filipino youth and for them to create more change and more places for Fil-Am youth to reach out to. I would like them to speak up and say it means something to them and that there’s a story behind what that place means to them.”
Relational Wellbeing: Humans and the Environment

Indigenous worldviews and knowledges framed youths’ narratives where actual places and processes made places significant. For example, youth spoke about returning to nature, water, `aina or land, for healing and healthful practices. Manzo (2005) refers to this process as “bridging” where places serve as bridges or linkages to the past; knowingly or unknowingly, building emotional and psychological bridges, and providing continuity and completeness in their lives. This bridging between places—includes for this youth both past and present. Moreover, this spatial bridging is manifest through contemporary youths’ uptake and expression of Filipino myths, urban legends, and folklore and reflects the significance of the Filipino worldview, the interdependent, reciprocal relationship between humans, nature or the natural environment, and spirits or deities.

Filipino creation stories and legends, including urban, transmitted from generation to generation incorporate symbols—of the land, flora, fauna, and bodies of water surrounding the Philippines—essential to the sustenance of Filipinos’ lives and livelihoods. Supernatural beings (spirits, deities, giants), animals, and plants also play significant roles and given anthropomorphic human characteristics. As Tremlett (2013, p. 118) recounts indigenous connectedness with nature, other species, humans, the land and waters (latter, is my add) is found in two Filipino practices: 1) *buhay ay lupa at lupa ay buhay* or “life is earth and earth is life” and 2) *inang kalikasan* or “mother nature.” Further, Tremlett explains the meaning of *buhay ay lupa at lupa ay buhay* as that which “…posits an essential connectivity between human life and well-being and

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9 In Tagalog (national language of the Philippines) “*Buhay*” means life and “*lupa*” means land, earth, soil, ground, or country
the natural environment in which the well-being of humans and the environment is constituted *reciprocally* and *relationally*” (2013, p. 118). Nature for Filipinos, as Tremlett (2013) illustrates, represents the source of authentic sustenance of its peoples. For the youth in this sample, their narratives expressed this spatial/ancestral orientation, particularly with respect to nature/environment spaces and places.

**Wellbeing of the Earth and Responsibility to Ancestors**

Although many researchers might assume that urban youth may be disconnected from spatial relationships to earth, land and place, Filipino youth’s narratives demonstrated how earth is part of their sustenance and embodied wellbeing. According to Tremlett (2013), images of the countryside continue to have powerful influence in the lives of Filipinos and as some youth in the present study described the barrio or province as the dwelling place of the real or true Filipino [*tunay na Pilipino*], consistent with Tremlett. Furthermore, the earth’s wellbeing is framed as an ethic of “stewardship” or responsibility in Filipino culture and practiced by the indigenous peoples - and was evident throughout the youth narratives, particularly with respect to the land and water. Acknowledgement of ancestral obligations is a core element of Filipinos’ Indigenous worldviews. Accordingly, the belief that the natural environment, the landscape, its trees, rivers, mountains, and oceans are inherently sacred is the foundation for this notion of “stewardship.”

As Gariguez conveys, “the ancestral domain consists of the relational interactions among “the landscapes of human community, nature ecosystems and the living spirits of the land, which also include the spirits of their ancestors” (2008, p. 212 as cited by Tremlett, 2013). The ancestors’ presence in the environment indicates a temporal dimension which extends backwards and forwards in time. In the backward extension,
responsibility is situated with those living to preserve the dwelling places of the ancestors, the same environs, land, forests, mountains, rivers, and oceans that are now endangered as targets for resource mining and environmental degradation. The forward extension of the stewardship tradition includes future generations as custodians of ancestral dwelling places, including land and oceans. Although the youth are displaced from their ancestral homeland, many of the youth identified the ocean as a place of connection to ancestral responsibilities in their new/present places or environments. The care and maintenance of the ocean is a spatial tie to their ancestral waters abroad and the care for the water is then caring not only for all of humanity, but also serves to allow the youth to fulfill their ancestral obligations to their homeland.

**4-D Ecological Model of Filipino Youth, Places and Wellbeing**

The following model (Figure 2) was adapted from McGregor et al.’s (2003) Ecological Model for Native Hawaiian Wellbeing (Figure 1). While it retains the ecological background, adaptations were made to reflect and incorporate findings from this study. Detailed description of the model follows.
Figure 2. 4-D Model of Filipino Youth’s Wellbeing in Places (Hawai‘i).
Underlying Assumptions and Components of the 4-D Filipino Youth Ecological Model

Based on the discussion in the previous section, the 4-D Filipino Youth Ecological model is built on the framework of Indigenous Worldviews and Knowledges in which four underlying assumptions center the model:

1. Relational wellbeing is ever present. A continuum of relational wellbeing exists with a natural balance, i.e., harmony achieved based on interactions with others and other elements, as noted by Hill (2006).

2. Experiences and interactions across time and places matter. Incorporation of Clandinin and Connelly’s (2000, p. 50) experiential, three dimensional narrative inquiry space where interactions (personal and social) and continuity (past, present, and future) are combined with places (sites of relationships). Furthermore, for Memmott and Long’s (2002) places are made through people-environment interaction processes that are mutually beneficial. These conceptualizations are inclusive of the social, cultural and temporal dimensions of places, the social behaviors enacted in places; the role of humans in defining places; the cultural transmission of properties of places; and the notion that identities of people and places are interdependent.

3. Place is dynamic (Levitt, 2009). As Levitt (2009) explains for diasporic peoples, the fluidity of places is reflected in their embeddedness in more than one social context, their homeland and new “home,” place. These new arenas she describes are “multilayered and multi-sited,” inclusive of homelands, new homes, and other sites globally where connectedness to relatives and co-ethnics occur.
4. Place is meaningful and understood by people who give it meaning.

Incorporating Tuan’s humanistic perspectives (1979), place is “a unique entity...” filled with “history and meaning...” incorporating “the experiences and aspirations of a people...” and “...a reality to be clarified and understood from the perspectives of the people who have given it meaning” (p. 387).

Since a detailed discussion of the ecological levels were formally presented, for each revised ecological level the titles in English and Tagalog (followed by Ilocano dialect) appears below. Next, a description of the four axes follows along with labels for processes and internal quadrants.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Cosmos/Daigdig (or Sanlibútan):</strong></th>
<th>Foundation of cultural beliefs, legends, myths translated from generation to generation.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>Aina, Land, and Water: Lupa (Daga) &amp; Karagatan (Bay bay):</code></td>
<td>Significance of nature, natural environment for youth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Homeland/Bayang sinilangan (Ili daga nakainyankan)</strong> Community/Komunidad:</td>
<td>Spatial connections to ancestors Community as central to relational wellbeing (McCubbin et al., 2013) where cultural practices, traditions, and relationships are formed and maintained.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Home/Bahay (Ili):</strong></td>
<td>Cultural significance of home for Filipinos and Filipino youth where enculturation and transmission of values occur.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The four axes or dimensions of the model include:

1. **x-axis = Time:** past, present, and future

2. **y-axis = Five Ecological Levels/Places** (described above)

3. **z-axis = Relationships/Interactions/Experiences** (processes)

4. **c = Cosmos/Spirits/Spiritual Deities** (per Filipino folklore, myths, legends)

Throughout youths’ narratives, relational processes made places significant.

Examples such as socialization and socializing behaviors as processes were previously discussed. Additional processes related to youths’ wellbeing are reflected as part of the model. Processes surrounding the top and bottom of the model represent buffers or promoters of wellbeing (top) and stressors for Filipino youths’ wellbeing (bottom). Buffers for Filipino youths’ wellbeing included ethnic or cultural identity; cultural
values, practices, and traditions; and belonging and cultural connectedness with ancestors, family, kin and peers. Note the buffers were found across all levels.

Stressors or risks for Filipino youth and young people included experiences of racism, xenophobia/ic, microaggressive acts, attitudes and behaviors from other ethnic groups and from within their ethnic group, other Filipinos; and feelings of disconnectedness either due to language, culture, or sometimes in places.

Internal to the model, nested in the quadrants, are cultural/ethnic identity and cultural values that represents their location throughout time, places, and in processes.

**Implications for Social Work Practice**

**PYD, Outdoor, Mentoring, and Youth Leadership Programs**

Youth Development, Positive Youth Development (PYD), and outdoor/wilderness cultural education programs for Filipino youth and young people in Hawai‘i are recommended as appropriate in response to the study’s findings. These types of youth programming and settings-based interventions are found to be complementary and responsive to Filipino youth participants’ narratives that elucidate the importance of building social relationships, including enhancing cultural connectedness with key community members—elders, teachers, community leaders, and other adults mentors or role models in their community. Further, PYD programs can be especially helpful for Filipino youth when they are experiencing stress or stressors.

Furthermore, youth and young adult programming that promotes responsibility to future generations through youth-action in their communities are also endorsed. Activities involving social, environmental justice, and sustainability are examples of community action programs for youth and young people in Hawai‘i. Layering, blending
and integrating Filipino history, not only in the Philippines but local history in Hawai‘i, language and cultural values, traditions, practices, and promotion of ethnic, cultural identity throughout youth programming (mentioned above) were also recommended by youth and will also be beneficial for all Filipino youth and young people, from newly arrived immigrants to second-, third- and later generations.

Culturally grounded education programs consistent with youth’s descriptions of Sariling Gawa (youth/young person-driven three day outdoor/wilderness cultural education and youth leadership camp for Filipino youth and young adults founded by Filipino young people at the UH Manoa over 20+ years ago) and The FOB Project (promotion of cultural heritage through sailboat making and sailing experiences for high school youth) provide examples of opportunities for prosocial youth involvement and activities that promote ethnic pride and identity and raise cultural awareness. Of the two programs, a formative evaluation of Sariling Gawa’s youth empowerment and leadership program was conducted and found Sariling Gawa’s model as a community-, youth-driven leadership program for Filipinos helped create “a strong foundation for ongoing social change towards improving the living conditions for the whole [Filipino] community” (Luluquisen, Trinidad, & Ghosh, 2006, p. 68).

The F.O.B. Project, Reclaiming Our Roots, a fairly new, currently in its third year of implementation was initiated by a Filipino faculty member at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa in partnership with a local public high school located in the Kalihi area with over 62% of its registered student body identifying as Filipino (immigrants and local). Through education, the project hopes to reframe the term F.O.B. or “fresh off the boat,” usually symbolic of a derogatory insult to immigrants, into a symbol of empowerment, hope, and cultural pride for the Filipino community (Clariza, n.d.).
Youth are actively involved in learning about the process of sailboat building and sailing a custom built indigenous Filipino canoe. In conjunction, implementation of the first Filipino history and cultural curriculum in one of Hawai‘i’s Public Schools represents a significant feature. This curriculum hopes to inspire Filipino youths’ knowledge and understanding of their history, cultural knowledge in efforts to promote their pride and empowerment. Lack of this content was found to create divisions between youths’ homes and school culture. Additionally, these resources support Hawai‘i’s Public School administrators and instructors’ professional development, to gain understanding of Filipino students and their backgrounds, and develop culturally relevant strategies for instruction.

**Background for Social Work Practice**

Kemp (2011) and Jack (2010, 2015) underscore the need for the social work profession to shift its emphasis and return to its person-in-environment roots; both scholars affirm the significance of place and how it affects peoples’ lives, their identities, sense of security, belonging, with consequences for health and mental health disparities, inequities, wellbeing, and social justice. Jack also asserts that regardless of mobility in contemporary life with the global diaspora and changes in residence, people still form strong bonds with particular places (Hay, 1998 as cited in Jack, 2010) and based on existing research that acknowledges people’s identification with and attachment to place, place still maintains an important role in most people’s lives (Jack, 2015).

Both authors lament social work’s inattentiveness to places and environments—social relationships in places, identities formed in places, and children’s and young people’s development—which they strongly believe should be of disciplinary concern and which has led to a proliferation of literature in other disciplines, namely, geography
and environmental psychology. Through their efforts, Kemp (2011) and Jack (2010, 2015) offer strategies for the social work profession to improve its position and take appropriate actions in practice, research, and education. I draw from their examples as starting points for implications and then expand, offering specific examples and details where relevant to this study and future plans.

Kemp (2011) calls for social work “to articulate a stance on environmental issues consistent with its humanistic commitments and social justice mission, and to map out its particular areas of contribution” (p. 1201). A related step she outlines entails thoughtful consideration of “the connections between social work, sustainability, human rights, and social justice” (Hawkins, 2010, p. 68 cited by Kemp, 2011, p. 1201). Further, she states the necessity of a strong base for environmentally centered social work research and practice informed by ecological, eco-social theories and frameworks with utility for person-in-environment direct practice and interventions. Kemp also promotes partnerships with scholars from environmentally related disciplines, and others, a transdisciplinary approach, to help advance and broaden knowledge and scholarship in the profession.

Directly related to my project is acknowledgment of a transdisciplinary approach and perspective for this study (and future efforts) along with the promotion of “holistic, ‘ecosocial’ frameworks focused on ‘mutually enriching and sustainable human/Earth relationships, consistent with ...eco-social perspectives, and indigenous eco-spiritual frameworks, which emphasize the spiritual connection of people with the Earth, the fundamental interdependence of living and physical systems, and the value of indigenous ecological knowledges” (Kemp, 2011, p. 1201).
Integrating eco-social frameworks was a primary consideration for my study, future use in the design and development of youth development and mentoring programs for Filipino youth and young people using a culturally grounded approach per Okamoto and colleagues (2014) also aligns with Kemp’s positions.

Based on the discussion above, the following section describes positive youth development, mentoring, and outdoor environmental education programs that offer opportunities for Filipino youth and young people in Hawai‘i using a culturally grounded approach. Okamoto, Helm, Pel, and McClain (2014) described this approach as driven by “the values, beliefs, and worldviews of youth who are the intended recipients, consumers of the program” (p. 9), which contrasts with traditional efforts and their focus on adapting preventive interventions to fit the norms of different ethnic, cultural youth and communities.

**Positive Youth Development Programs**

Since their inception in the late 1900s, the purpose of adolescent and youth programs were to provide after-school opportunities for recreation and learning while parents are at work. While after-school programs remain and continue to address academic enrichment and achievement, changes have also occurred in youth programming. Through the years, many youth programs have converted to prevention and intervention programs based on society’s views of youth and young people as potential delinquents—idle, wandering, unproductive, with no place to go or be, and generally up to no good—and such programs are tailored to engage youth labeled as “troubled” or with problem behaviors and to address their “risk” related behaviors. Due to their focus on “at risk” youth and their behaviors, this approach was termed the deficit model for youth programming, which became the norm for prevention
researchers during the 1990s. Specifically, for Filipino youth in Hawai‘i, the focus for young males was to address their violent behaviors, drug use, juvenile delinquency, and high rates of incarceration and gang involvement; for young females, the focus was to reduce or prevent teen smoking and pregnancy.

In contrast to prior characterizations of youth and young people with behavioral problems, and the deficit model to address antisocial, delinquent behaviors, the Positive Youth Development (PYD) approach focuses on youth as assets to foster the healthy development of youth and young people. In his article, What is Positive Youth Development?, Damon (2004) described PYD programs based on the presupposition that “Every child has talents, strengths, and interests that offer the child the potential for a bright future” (p. 13).

Heck and Subramaniam (2009) presented five underlying frameworks for PYD programs: (1) Targeting Life Skills (P. Hendricks) focused on life skills development; (2) Assets Model (The Search Institute of Minnesota) emphasizing youths’ assets or strengths, including internal as well as external supports (close relationships with caring adults); (3) The Four Essential Elements model—developed by the national 4-H YD Program; (4) The Five (or 6) C’s: (Bowers, Li, Kiely, Brittian, Lerner,& Lerner, 2010), framed by the developmental systems theories, specifically, the plasticity of development.

Blum (2003) also identified four elements he found to be critical to successful youth interventions: people, contributions, activities, and place. Successful programs, Blum found, are built on positive adult-youth relationships (People); include active involvement of youth in giving back to their family, school, and community (Contribution); offer productive and recreational opportunities for youth (Activities);
and provide a safe environment free from drugs and violence with adult supervision (Place) (Blum, 2003 cited by Lerner et al., 2015, p. 627).

Informed by colleagues’ efforts, Brook-Gunn (2003) and others, Lerner (2004 cited by Lerner et al., 2013), maintained that three effective characteristics of PYD programs need to be simultaneously and integratively present.

1. Positive and sustained adult-youth relations between a young person and an adult (mentor, coach, teacher) who is competent, caring, and continually available for a minimum of one year.

2. Life-skill building activities: enhancing skills pertinent to the selection, optimization, and compensation skills.

3. Opportunities for youth participation in and leadership within the family, school, and communities (Lerner, 2004, cited by Lerner et al., 2013).

Catalano and colleagues (2004) conducted the first comprehensive literature review of PYD programs, the PYD Evaluation Project, aiming to generate an operational definition of PYD programs and identify characteristics of effective programs. Fifteen program characteristics were identified and 12 of the 15 were considered program “goals,” which included the following: bonding, competence (social, cognitive, emotional, behavioral, moral), belief in the future, self-efficacy, clear and positive identity, prosocial norms, spirituality, and self-determination. Recognition for positive behavior and opportunities for prosocial involvement were two characteristics that were not part of the program goals. The PYD Evaluation Project found that 19 of the 25 programs assessed significantly increased positive youth behaviors and only one significantly decreased problem behaviors. Other elements of effective PYD programs
included a structured curriculum with outcomes measuring reductions in problem behaviors, increases in positive behavior, or, preferably, both outcomes. Programs were delivered over a minimum of 9 months and were implemented with quality, consistency and fidelity to the established standards of the program’s model (Catalano et al., 2004).

While Damon and others defined PYD, a critique in the field and highlighted by Gavin, Catalano, David-Ferdon, Gloppen, and Markham (2010) is the apparent lack of a consistent definition and related lack of agreement regarding program characteristics, activities, and atmosphere. Based on their systematic review, Gavin et al. (2010) sought to identify and describe characteristics of PYD programs aimed at improving adolescent sexual and reproductive health. Overall, their findings were positive and these authors concluded that tested, effective PYD programs should be combined with sexual health education as part of a comprehensive approach for promoting adolescent health.

Campbell, Trzesniewski, Nathaniel, Enfield, and Erbstein (2013) described common characteristics among PYD programs they found to be effective to aid youth in developing competencies across multiple domains of their lives, including social connections (access to people, institutions, networks), personal character, confidence and the ability to care and contribute to society. Moreover, six developmental competencies common to all PYD programs were identified by Heck and Subramaniam (2009, cited by Campbell et al., 2013): 1) Mastery and competence; 2) Independence and confidence; 3) Generosity, caring and compassion; 4) Initiative and purpose; 5) Involvement and contribution; and 6) Belonging and connections. Increased involvement in a 4-H program was found to increase youths’ sense of belonging (Hensley et al., 2007 cited by Campbell et al., 2013).
Youth Mentoring Programs

In their 2014 report, MENTOR: The National Mentoring Partnership stated that since its inception more than 20 years ago, the number of mentored partnerships has increased from 300,000 to over 4.5 million. In The National Mentoring Programs’ research (the first nationally representative sample of youths’ perspectives on mentoring), they advertised the need and desire for mentoring by young people who they found viewed mentoring as helpful towards a pathway of achievements from high school graduation to college, and leading to future opportunities for a productive life as an adult (A Report MENTOR: The National Mentoring Partnership, 2014). These represent and reflect traditional Western values and therefore, are not representative and attractive to undeserved youth and communities, including youth of color, immigrant and LGBTQ youth (further discussion regarding this topic follows).

The history of youth mentoring programs parallels youth prevention efforts with a focus on children and adolescents who are viewed to be “at risk” for poor outcomes in academics, risk behaviors, or health, primarily, low-income youth, youth of color, and youth with no formal or informal adult role models. Consequently, complementary preventive interventions are directed at policy arenas such as education, juvenile justice, and public health (DuBois, Portillo, Rhodes, Silverthorn, & Valentine, 2011). The 2014 Report for MENTOR: The National Mentoring Program estimates close to 16 million youth never had any type of adult mentor, formal (structured) or informal (“naturally occurring”). Out of this population, an estimated nine million “at-risk” youth are expected to reach age 19 without ever having a mentor. These authors concluded that this group is less likely to graduate high school, pursue college education, and therefore, lead healthy and productive lives. Another survey finding the report revealed, which the
authors claimed to be “a difficult paradox,” is that youth with more risk factors are less likely to have a naturally occurring mentor (A Report for MENTOR: The National Mentoring Program, 2014).

While mentoring programs attract widespread enthusiasm and support, DuBois et al. (2011) suggested caution is warranted. These authors conducted a meta-analytic review and found “a potential for some youth to experience negative impacts” (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002 cited by DuBois et al., 2011, p. 59). Further, DuBois and colleagues have stressed that results rarely, if ever, offer credible evidence of the kinds of “transformative effects” on youth and young people that are commonly stated to justify the investment in mentoring programs as an intervention strategy (Rhodes & DuBois, 2006 cited in DuBois et al., 2011). Across Ages, a mentoring program, reached the status of “model program” on Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration’s (SAMHSA) Registry of Evidence-Based Programs and Practices (NREPP), an online registry of independently reviewed and rated interventions. Difficulties arose when replication of the program’s findings based on its initial evaluation yielded mixed results. Not one single benefit of the program at the end of the school year was sustained at the beginning of the following school year (Aseltine, Dupre, & Lamlein, 2000 cited by DuBois et al., 2011). Big Brothers Big Sisters of America (BBBSA) also received listing on NREPP as an “effective program.” DuBois et al. (2011, p.59) reported that findings from the BBBSA program evaluation favored youth in the mentored group by only a fairly small margin.

**PYD and Mentoring Programs for Filipino Youth and Young People**

While more than 5,000+ PYD and mentoring programs exist nationwide, such as Big Brothers, Big Sisters of America, Boys and Girls Clubs, and 4-H Clubs, these
traditional programs are generally found to be not applicable or accessible for youth of color, immigrant and LGBTQ youth (Campbell et al., 2013; Russell & Van Campen, 2011).

Although youth and young people share many commonalities, based on youth culture and interests, Outley and Witt (2006) argued that every youth and young person is unique. However, these authors commented on the field’s inclination to view youth as a homogenous group, with direct (and indirect) consequences for youth programming and service provision. Potentially, these consequences are high and oftentimes lead to the exclusion and alienation of youth and young people of color or from different cultural orientations or backgrounds, including LGBTQ youth. Further, these groups of youth and young people have been traditionally underserved or inappropriately served by publicly funded social service systems (social services, health, and education), private services, and the nonprofit sector (YMCA and Boys and Girls Clubs). Outley and Witt (2006) found that across programs, providers have rarely and inadequately addressed culturally based views and behaviors, including values orientation, ethnic, and other identities; social supports (caring adults or peers who serve as positive role models); bi- or multi-cultural issues, such language, acculturation, and religious or spiritual beliefs; and diverse family structure(s). Strategies to address these follow.

Russell and Van Campen (2011 cited by Campbell et al., 2013) argued many existing mainstream youth programs (Boy Scouts and YMCA) are more effective in offering connections for middle-class youth from traditional families and dominant cultural groups than they are in reaching more marginal populations such as immigrant youth, young people growing up in low-income households, or LGBT youth. Building upon youth and young people’s ethnic and cultural networks and community knowledge
is one strategy proposed by researchers who believed this would be useful to increasing belonging and connections for a greater diversity of young people (Burciaga & Erbstein 2010; Yosso 2005 cited in Campbell et al., 2013).

**Environmental Education Programs**

In response to the above and noting the lack of PYD for indigenous Native Hawaiian youth, Hishinuma, Chang, Sy, Greaney, Morris, Scronce, Rehuher, & Nishimura (2009) describe their evaluation of the HUI Mālama O Ke Kai: (HMK or “The Caring Group from the Ocean”) a grassroots driven, prevention-based environmental PYD program based on Native Hawaiian, Indigenous culture, values, and activities. The authors noted the significance of social and health disparities among Indigenous populations, ethnic minority youth, and others, and posit attention toward PYD programs to address related inequities and promote Indigenous youth and communities’ health and wellbeing. HMK focuses on fifth and sixth grade students living in Waimānalo, a rural community on the island of Oahu. The program’s central mission is to develop community pride and foster youth leadership through the teaching of Native Hawaiian culture and values. The community’s natural resources (mountains, ocean, land) play a central role. Throughout HMK’s after school PYD activities, integration of Native Hawaiian cultural values of connectedness to family (ohana), land (‘aina) and spirituality are core components of the experiential learning. Youth learn to (re-) connect, develop, and increase their cultural values, pride, and skills through environmental awareness, community involvement, character development, and knowledge of healthy choices (Sy, 2009 cited by Hishinuma et al, 2009). A parental component of the program was also implemented. The authors’ study was based on the first evaluation of HMK’s programs with positive outcomes. Findings revealed significant increases in youths’ knowledge
and practice of Native Hawaiian cultural values and parents’ perception of their child’s knowledge and practice of cultural values in Year 1. The authors anticipated this finding as it addressed one of the primary outcomes. “Results also indicated that a culturally based, after-school program may promote knowledge, understanding, and practice of culture among Native Hawaiian youths, who until this generation, have experienced historical cultural loss and devaluing of their heritage” (Hishinuma et al., 2009, p. 1002).

During Year 1, positive gains were also found among youth - as the authors’ noted - potentially due to HMK program’s broader emphasis on PYD development across several significant domains, including self-esteem, antidrug use, violence prevention strategies, and healthy lifestyle. In the second year, positive gains were found among youth for family cohesion, school success, and violence prevention strategies. Correspondingly, for parents, positive gains during Year 1 were found for family cohesion and school success, and in Year 2, violence prevention strategies (Hishinuma et al., 2009).

Overall, findings support and demonstrate Hui Mālama O Ke Kai’s effectiveness as a culturally based, PYD prevention program that may successfully reach ethnic minority communities and youths who continue to experience disparities in health and educational outcomes. Culturally-based, environmental education, PYD programs were viewed by researchers as an “enlightening” strategy to support Indigenous youth and communities’ health and wellbeing, especially given the dearth of PYD programs for Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, and other Indigenous youths (Hishinuma et al., 2009).
Policy Implications

President Obama’s reauthorization of the White House Initiative on Asian American and Pacific Islanders (Executive Order 13515) on October 14, 2009, “to improve the quality of life for AAPIs through increased access to federal programs in which they may be underserved” was recognized within the AA and PI communities as hopeful in addressing social, health, education, and other disparities and inequities. The launch of data.gov/AAPI, a government-wide data hub of AAPI data and related efforts for disaggregation of data as part of the Affordable Care Act (ACA) are essential components and this administration’s position and actions show promise to reduce health disparities.

The aims of my study and its findings are complementary with this reauthorization and efforts to eliminate health disparities and inequities and to promote the health of AA and PI communities, specifically, Filipino youth, young adults, communities, and other communities with similar experiences. My future research plans are also aligned with the White House Initiative on AA and PIs, as I will continue to expand and enhance this study’s findings, i.e., addressing the wellbeing of Filipino youth and young people identified in Hawai’i and other places with large concentrations of Filipinos, starting on the West Coast (Seattle, Los Angeles, the Bay Area and Central California).

Implications for Research

Although the efficacy of PYD and mentoring programs has been found to be mixed with inconclusive results across programs (Gavin et al., 2010, DuBois et al., 2011), widespread support for these programs continues and is encouraging. The utility
of the PYD philosophy—its frameworks, youth mentoring and outdoor/ wilderness educational programs for Filipino youth and those who are struggling because of bullying, facing microaggressions and xenophobic acts and attitudes—remains promising. Especially promising are Indigenous culturally-based environmental education programs that integrate traditional cultural values (connections to land, ‘aina, and family or ohana), as described by Hishinuma et al. (2009).

Future place- and settings-based research will be conceptualized to address and advance current limitations in social work’s efforts regarding the person-in-environment framework. This is complementary and responsive to Kemp’s (2011) and Jack’s (2010, 2015) requests and also to Social Work’s Grand Challenges Initiative. Design and development of research will respond to a number of the Grand Challenges identified: 1) Ensure the healthy development of all youth; 2) Close the health gap; 3) Create social responses to a changing environment; and 4) Achieve equal opportunity and justice.

To address the latter, Walters and colleagues’ (2016) paper *Health Equity: Eradicating Health Inequalities for Future Generations* encourages social work researchers and practitioners, first, to incorporate a social-determinants approach and second, to promote community-wide changes with a settings-focused agenda. An emphasis on the second approach supports the health equity goal and acknowledges that health inequities and related suffering due to social determinants are systemic; this not only effects individuals but their family members and communities. Qualitative, quantitative, and multi-method research will be used to advance this settings-, place-based agenda as part of my future research plans.
Creating social responses to a changing environment is another Grand Challenge that is also significant for my future research plans, social work and public health practice, and as an educator. As Kemp and colleagues (2015) state in their paper, *Strengthening the Social Response to the Human Impacts of Environmental Change*, “Environmental inequities are also social inequities, with significant social justice implications” (p. 1). Moreover, these authors highlight the role the social work profession can play “in developing and implementing innovative strategies to anticipate, mitigate, and respond to the social and human dimensions of environmental challenges” (p.1). Specifically, they appeal to social work leaders to address: (1) local, national, and international disaster preparedness and response; (2) assistance to dislocated populations; (3) collaborative capacity building to mobilize and strengthen place-based, community-level resilience, assets, and action; and (4) advocacy to elevate public and policy attention to the social and human dimensions of environmental change. Kemp and colleagues’ (2015) also raise awareness and draw attention to the significance and integration of Indigenous, local experiences and knowledges with global knowledge to address current and future environment challenges. Transdisciplinary, collaborative partnerships are crucial. I will address related implications below.

Currently, the Filipino population represents the second largest ethnic group on the Islands. Their numbers continue to increase with ongoing migration of first generation immigrants to Hawai‘i as part of the global diaspora. These include Filipino youth and young adults, whose numbers are also increasing due to second, third, and later generations living in Hawai‘i. While traditional youth programs exist, improvements or enhancements to these programs and programming are warranted.
Additionally, the design and development of settings-based interventions to promote population health and wellbeing for Filipino youth and communities are necessary as a number of health disparities, hypertension, diabetes, cancer, heart disease, and related inequities are found among Filipino adults. Research studies focused on identifying and exploring cultural constructs and concepts, including the importance of wellbeing, relational ways of being, belonging and connecting/connectedness, and other community strengths and buffers found in this study are needed. Examination of stressors youth identified including microaggressions experienced during encounters with other Asians, Pacific Islanders, and ethnic group members and also from other Filipino youth are required. Further, conceptualization and development of related constructs and improved measures will follow. Related measures will need to incorporate and reflect Filipino cultural values, increasing their cultural specificity and significance. These improved measures will offer utility for integration into youth programs and program development.

As part of addressing Social Work’s 12 Grand Challenges, Walters et al. (2016) comment on how research in the United States is not keeping pace with international research that emphasizes the social and economic determinants of health. Walters et al. (2016) call for refocusing our research efforts and strongly recommend shifting focus and priorities away from individual level behavioral change and interventions to center on upstream determinants and to intervene in the settings, environments where health is produced and maintained.

In response, as part of my research, I plan to design and develop studies that build on the literature of YD, PYD, mentoring, and outdoor environmental education programs. Identifying significant outcomes for Filipino youth and young people based
on the development of culturally grounded programs is essential. Also, important will be ongoing assessments of the processes, outcomes, and impacts of these types of YD, PYD, mentoring and outdoor programs/interventions for Filipino youth and their communities, their alignment with strategic outcomes of policy interest, and the measurement and tracking of outcomes at different points throughout youth’s development. Formative evaluations will also assist with programmatic enhancements.

These types of programs as mentioned above offer opportunities for Filipino youth and young people to be actively involved in their local communities and advocate for social, environmental, and economic changes.

Based on my findings, these types of programs will not only strengthen Filipino youth and young people’s healthy development but also provide opportunities for involvement, leadership development, being mentored and mentoring others, and enhancing their ethnic/cultural pride and identities. Further, strategies identified by Filipino youth and young people to support and mentor future generations with related plans to educate their younger counterparts (parents, peers, and community elders) on social, community, economic, and environmental actions will be incorporated.

Opportunities to be outdoors in nature, `aina, bayan (or daga), or the ocean, karagatan (or bay bay) year round is a true asset for living in the land of Paradise. Overwhelmingly, all youth spoke about being outdoors and identified special, meaningful places in the natural environment where they relaxed, enjoyed nature, found balance and restoration, and relieved stress. Designing and testing culturally grounded place-based interventions based on the PYD and environmental education program models or frameworks inclusive of measures based on Filipino culture will be incorporated into future research plans. Overall, this is complementary to Walters et al.’s (2016) invitation to attend to
culturally grounded prevention efforts and social innovation in order to achieve health equity goals.

Further, site-based or culturally grounded youth programs were found to demonstrate promising approaches for Native Hawaiians and other adolescents and young people in Hawai‘i (Hishinuma et al., 2009; Okamoto et al., 2014; Thomas, Teel, & Bruyere, 2014).

**Implications for Collaborative Research**

Foundational to my future studies is the ongoing incorporation of inter-, transdisciplinary approaches and community-based or engaged participatory research (CBPR or CEnR) frameworks. Engaging communities and incorporating their voice is also complementary to and addresses one of Social Work’s 12 Grand Challenges: Achieve equal opportunity and justice. Walters et al. (2016) raise the significance “of incorporating community vision and voice” as part of social workers’ response towards achieving the health-equity priorities. My inter-, transdisciplinary approach to research grounded in the disciplines of social work and public health offers opportunities to launch research with the CBPR or CEnR frameworks. Further, as evidenced from this present study, Walters’ et al. (2009) Indigenist collaborative research approach, a decolonized, indigenized approach to community-based participatory research (CBPR) along with its eight principles are powerful tools when partnering with indigenous communities for research purposes. Consideration of the eight principles—*reflection, respect, relevance, resilience, reciprocity, responsibility, retraditionalization,* and *revolution*—helped guide my research in partnership with the Filipino community, especially, during the interviews with the youth and young people in Honolulu, and also with academic and non-academic research partners representative of diverse disciplines.
and ethnic communities in Seattle and Honolulu. This collaborative process was a significant resource and enriched opportunities for achieving mutually beneficial research partnerships. I count on using this approach in research, education, and community practice.

**Implications for Methods**

While the Listening Guide’s voice-centered relational (VCR) nature is complementary to social work’s values, practices, and perspectives, I found limitations with its individual-level focus. Similar to Mauthner and Doucet (1998) adaptations were made to reflect the social, cultural context of participants and the project. One of the adaptations I found fruitful was adapting and expanding the second listening for the “I” Poems. For Filipino youth and communities, it was important to acknowledge their collective voice or “We,” the first person plural pronoun. This led to creation of “We” Poems per recommendations from my Chair. The “We” Poems offered another voice and another offering to truly listen to youth and their stories. As a social worker, the intensity of listening as part of research should be natural. I found that it was challenging but having a team of listeners involved, a partnership approach along with extending beyond the “I” or personal voice to the collective “We” voice not only deepened understanding but enhanced the collaborative, research process but the findings as well. I will continue to adapt the listening guide with this supplemental feature.

Gilligan, Spencer, & Bertsch (2003) efforts also focus on “embodiment” as part of the listening guide method. This was a key resource for consideration and reflection from my perspective as the researcher and the primary listener. It not only compelled
me to be more attentive to youth participants’ body language in conjunction with their story telling, it also made me attentive to my own. I plan to incorporate this reflective skill into future research, practice, and teaching.

**Implications for Social Work Practice and Education**

Infusing a site-based agenda into research alone would be neglectful of implications for teaching and practice. Integrating place and environmental scholarship in macro practice courses and in my own practice acknowledges issues raised by Kemp, Jack, and Walters. Similarly, integrating Indiginezed, decolonized community-based research principles to enhance social work and public health practice and teach related skills in the classroom will also be included as part of future academic plans.

While the Filipino population continues to grow, currently the second largest Asian ethnic group after Chinese and second largest immigrant group after Latinos in the United States, they remain an “invisible” community. Not much is known about their history, culture, and stories. Opportunities to inform others about Filipino youth and young people in Hawai‘i and their experiences, challenges, and special places and wellbeing are significant and relevant to share, especially with social work students who will probably encounter members of this community during their career. Investing more time and integrating articles, literature, and other resources to educate students through coursework regarding immigrants, communities of color or youth are also planned. Lastly, raising awareness and integrating other types of Knowledges, including Indigenous Knowledges, as part of coursework, research, and practice remains a significant goal and commitment for my future academic career.
Limitations

Similar to other qualitative, interpretive studies, findings from this study are limited with respect to sample size, sampling strategies, and related features characteristic of interpretive studies. Therefore, it is inappropriate to consider generalizing the study’s findings to all Filipino youth and young people beyond the study’s participants in Honolulu, Hawai‘i.

Jack (2010) identified very few studies, only a couple of examples, with a focus on spaces and child protection work. Further, Jack states “there is virtually no consideration in the social work literature, or in practice, of the meanings of place to children and adults, and its influences on their behaviour and well-being” (Jack 2013, p. 2). The aim of this inter-, transdisciplinary study and its contributions to the literature are unique, as this is the first study to examine Filipino youth and young people’s meanings of places and its influence on their wellbeing. While I have been honored with the many stories that have been shared, I look forward to future opportunities to disseminate this knowledge in collaboration with youth, academic, and community partners.


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APPENDICES

Appendix A. University of Washington Youth Consent Information Statement

Appendix B. Youth Assent Information Statement

Appendix C. University of Washington Parent/Guardian Consent Information Statement

Appendix D. Demographic Survey

Appendix E. Qualitative In-Depth Interview Guide Listening to and Examining Filipino Youths’ Experiences of Place

Appendix F. Participant “I” and “We” Poems
Appendix A.
University of Washington Youth Consent Information Statement

Listening to and Examining Filipino Youths’ Experiences of Place

Researchers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>School of Social Work</th>
<th>Email</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stella Gran-O’Donnell, Ph.C., MSW, MPH</td>
<td>Principal Investigator</td>
<td>4101 – 15th Ave. N.E. Seattle, WA. 98195</td>
<td><a href="mailto:sgran@uw.edu">sgran@uw.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karina Walters, Ph.D.</td>
<td>Chair, Co-Investigator</td>
<td>4101 – 15th Ave. N.E. Seattle, WA. 98195</td>
<td><a href="mailto:kw5@uw.edu">kw5@uw.edu</a></td>
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</tbody>
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RESEARCHER’S STATEMENT

We are asking you to be in a research study. The purpose of this form is to give you information you will need to help you decide whether or not to be in the study. I will read this form along with you. You may ask questions about the research, what you will be asked to do, and anything else about the study at any time. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to participate or not.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to learn about Filipino youth’s experiences of place(s) in Hawai’i. We hope to learn about your experiences and understanding of place(s) and community(ies) as a Filipino youth navigating through relationships with peers, family and how places are related to your health and wellbeing. Our goal is to listen and learn from Filipino youth about the types of places, e.g., geographic, environment(s) that are important and meaningful; how you belong and connect to place(s), e.g., community groups and virtual places; and how your identities, culture, and ancestry are linked to place(s). We are also interested in learning your views on what aspects of place(s) or community(ies) might influence your health and wellbeing and offer support or change to help you.

PROCEDURES

The research project has two phases, we will ask you to: 1) complete a short 5-minute demographic questionnaire using a pencil or pen and 2) participate in a face-to-face individual interview. Completion of both phases is expected to last approximately 60 – 90 minutes. There is no right or wrong answer. The short demographic questionnaire includes the following types of questions: How old are you? Where were you born? Do you participate in any community groups or activities?

After you complete the questionnaire, I will begin the interview. With your permission, I will audiotape the interview. If you are not comfortable being audio-taped, please let me know and I will take notes. Examples of interview questions including more sensitive or personal questions include: What is your ethnic or cultural identity(ies)? What is your favorite or special place(s)? How does belonging to communities (e.g., groups, agencies or associations) make you feel healthy or happy? If you do not want to answer a particular question or talk about a topic, please let me know and we will move on. You have the right to refuse to answer any question or stop the interview at any time. If you have questions, please let me know.
RISK, STRESS OR DISCOMFORT

We believe there are few risks for participants although you may experience stress or discomfort. Some of the questions may be considered personal and might be uncomfortable to answer. And, remember, you do not have to answer any questions you don’t want to.

If you feel stress, discomfort, invasion of privacy, or related feelings, please let me know as soon as possible. As the interviewer, I will do my best to make you as comfortable as possible. I am a trained social worker and experienced working with youth from diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. I am skilled and competent to discuss your feelings and minimize any stress or discomfort. In the case of an emergency, I will contact local Emergency provider, or County Mental Health providers, as appropriate. At the end of the interview, I will provide a handout with a list of local resources for health, mental health, or social service professionals for your information. If you have questions or require additional resources, please feel free to call/contact me at any time.

BENEFITS

As part of the study, you will learn about your peers’ experiences of place(s) along with information about community resources to assist you and your family. Additionally, your responses and your peers’ responses will help researchers and service providers learn how place(s) and community(ies), including geographic, local and virtual, influence Filipino youths’ health and wellbeing. Being involved may also give you useful or new ideas about you, your peers, family, and community. For others, including researchers, social work practitioners, and broader society, findings from the study has the potential to identify how social relationships, meanings, and connectedness to environment provide a link to the health and wellbeing among Island-based populations, particularly Filipino youth. Findings could also be used to inform, develop or enhance culturally grounded-positive youth development programs, environmental programs, and place-based interventions for Filipino youth as well as other Island youth.

OTHER INFORMATION

Your participation is completely voluntary. All the information you share is completely confidential. If you choose to share any plans to hurt or injure yourself, we will need to report it. Also, if you choose to tell us about any on-going abuse or neglect, we will need to report it. Child abuse means to hurt or injure a child on purpose physically, mentally, or sexually. Neglect means to not take care of a child, e.g., not feeding them.

Your name will not be connected to any information you share, e.g., data forms or transcripts. Only the PI, Community Advisory Board (CAB) members, and Dissertation Committee members will have access to the transcripts for coding and analysis. All of the questionnaire, interview data, audio tapes and transcripts, will be stored in locked file cabinets in the PI’s office. All data will be destroyed five years after the end of the study.

Please let me know if you would like to be contacted in the future to receive copies of your transcripts or learn more about community presentations regarding the project’s findings.

If you don’t want to be in the study, not to participate, or withdraw at any time, there will be no penalties or consequences. Remember, being in this study is up to you and no one will be upset if you don’t want to participate or even if you change your mind later and want to stop.

You will receive a $20 gift card for your participation in the study.
You can ask any questions about the study at any time. If you have a question later you can call me at: 206.335.5079 or contact Dr. Karina Walters at: 206.543.5647. You may also contact the University of Washington’s Human Subjects Division (HSD) at: 206.543.0098

__________________________________________

Researcher’s signature ____________ Date ____________

PARTICIPANT’S STATEMENT:

The research study has been explained to me and I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have additional questions, I can contact the researchers.

If you agree to participate in this study, please place a check mark (✓) in the “I accept” box below:

☐ I accept.
☐ I do not accept.

Future Contact

Are you interested in future contact(s) to receive a copy of your transcripts or learn more about community presentations regarding the project’s findings.

☐ Yes, I would like to be contacted in the future. Following is my name and the best way to reach me.

Name: ________________________________________________________________

Address: _____________________________________________________________

City/State/Zip Code: ___________________________________________________

Phone Number: __________________________

☐ No, I do not wish to be contacted.
Appendix B.
Youth Assent Information Statement

Listening to and Examining Filipino Youths’ Experiences of Place

Researchers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
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<tr>
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<td>School of Social Work 4101 – 15th Ave. N.E. Seattle, WA. 98195</td>
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<td><a href="mailto:kw5@uw.edu">kw5@uw.edu</a></td>
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RESEARCHER’S STATEMENT

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PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to learn about Filipino youth’s experiences of place(s) in Hawai‘i. We hope to learn about your experiences and understanding of place(s) and community(ies) as a Filipino youth navigating through relationships with peers, family and how places are related to your health and wellbeing. Our goal is to listen and learn from Filipino youth about the types of places, e.g., geographic, environment(s) that are important and meaningful; how you belong and connect to place(s), e.g., community groups and virtual places; and how your identities, culture, and ancestry are linked to place(s). We are also interested in learning your views on what aspects of place(s) or community(ies) might influence your health and wellbeing and offer support or change to help you.

PROCEDURES

We will ask your parent(s)/guardian(s) if it is okay for you to participate in the study. Please talk this over with your parent(s)/guardian(s) before you decide whether or not to do this. But even if your parent(s)/guardian(s) say “yes,” you can still decide not to participate. If you agree, we will ask you to: 1) complete a short 5-minute demographic questionnaire using a pencil or pen and 2) participate in a face-to-face individual interview. Completion of both phases is expected to last approximately 60 – 90 minutes. There is no right or wrong answer. The short demographic questionnaire includes the following types of questions: How old are you? Where were you born? Do you participate in any community groups or activities?

After you complete the questionnaire, I will begin the interview. With your permission, I will audiotape the interview. If you are not comfortable being audio-taped, please let me know and I will take notes. Examples of interview questions including more sensitive or personal questions include: What is your ethnic or cultural identity(ies)? What is your favorite or special place(s)? How does belonging to communities (e.g., groups, agencies or associations) make you feel healthy or happy? If you do not want to answer a particular question or talk about a topic, please let me know and we will move on. You have the right to refuse to answer any question or stop the interview at any time. If you have questions, please let me know.
RISK, STRESS OR DISCOMFORT

We believe there are few risks as a participant in the research study. You may experience stress or discomfort. Some of the questions may be considered personal and might be uncomfortable to answer. And, remember, you do not have to answer any questions you don’t want to.

If you feel stress, discomfort, invasion of privacy, or related feelings, please let me know as soon as possible. As the interviewer, I will do my best to make you as comfortable as possible. I am a trained social worker and experienced working with youth from diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. I am skilled and competent to discuss your feelings and minimize any stress or discomfort. In the case of an emergency, I will contact local Emergency provider, or County Mental Health providers, as appropriate. At the end of the interview, I will provide a handout with a list of local resources for health, mental health, or social service professionals for your information. If you have questions or require additional resources, please feel free to call/contact me at any time.

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Name: ________________________________________________________________

Address: ____________________________________________________________

City/State/Zip Code: __________________________________________________

Phone Number: _______________________________________________________

☐ No, I do not wish to be contacted.
Appendix C.

University of Washington Parent/Guardian Consent Information Statement

Listening to and Examining Filipino Youths’ Experiences of Place

Researchers:

<table>
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RESEARCHER’S STATEMENT

We are asking your child ___________________________ (PLEASE PRINT CHILD’S NAME) to be in a research study. The purpose of this form is to give you information you will need to help you decide whether or not you want your child to participate in the study. You may ask questions about the research, what we will ask your child to do, and anything else about the study at any time. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want your child to participate or not.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to learn about Filipino youth’s experiences of place(s) in Hawai‘i. We hope to learn about your child’s experiences and understanding of place(s) and community(ies) as a Filipino youth navigating through relationships with peers, family and how places are related to your health and wellbeing. Our goal is to listen and learn from Filipino youth about the types of places, e.g., geographic, environment(s) that are important and meaningful; how you belong and connect to place(s), e.g., community groups and virtual places; and how your identities, culture, and ancestry are linked to place(s). We are also interested in learning your child’s views on what aspects of place(s) or community(ies) might influence their health and wellbeing and offer support or change to help your child and family.

PROCEDURES

We will also ask your child if they are interested and would like to participate. Yet, they will not be allowed to participate without your permission. If you and your child agrees, we will ask your child to: 1) complete a short 5-minute demographic questionnaire using a pencil or pen and 2) participate in a face-to-face individual interview. Completion of both phases is expected to last approximately 60 – 90 minutes. There are no right or wrong answers. The short demographic questionnaire includes the following types of questions: How old are you? Where were you born? Do you participate in any community groups or activities?

After your child completes the questionnaire, I will begin the interview. With your and your child’s permission, I will audiotape the interview. If your child is not comfortable being audio-taped, I will request they let me know and I will take notes. Examples of interview questions including more sensitive or personal questions include: What is your ethnic or cultural identity(ies)? What is your favorite or special place(s)? How does belonging to communities (e.g., groups, agencies or associations) make you feel healthy or happy? If your child does not want to answer a particular question or talk about a topic, I will ask them to tell me so we can continue. At any time during the process, your child has the right to
refuse to answer any question or stop the interview. If they have questions, they will be requested to inform me so I can answer.

RISK, STRESS OR DISCOMFORT

We believe there are few risks for your child and other youth participants although they may experience stress or discomfort. Some of the questions may be considered personal and might be uncomfortable to answer. And, remember, your child does not have to answer any questions they don’t want to.

If your child feels stress, discomfort, invasion of privacy, or related feelings, they will be requested to inform me as soon as possible. As the interviewer, I will do my best to make your child feel as comfortable as possible. I am a trained social worker and experienced working with youth from diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. I am skilled and competent to discuss your child’s feelings and minimize any stress or discomfort. In case of an emergency, I will contact local Emergency provider, or County Mental Health providers, as appropriate. At the end of the interview, I will provide a handout with a list of local resources for health, mental health, or social service professionals for you and your child’s information. If your child has questions or requires additional resources, they can call/contact me at any time.

BENEFITS

As part of the study, your child will learn about their peers’ experiences of place(s) along with information about community resources to assist your child and family. Additionally, your child’s responses and their peers’ responses will help researchers and service providers learn how place(s) and community(ies), including geographic, local and virtual, influence Filipino youths’ health and wellbeing. Being involved may also give your child useful or new ideas about themselves, their peers, family, and community. For others, including researchers, social work practitioners, and broader society, findings from the study have the potential to identify how social relationships, meanings, and connectedness to environment provide a link to the health and wellbeing among Island-based populations, particularly Filipino youth. Findings could also be used to inform, develop or enhance culturally grounded-positive youth development programs, environmental programs, and place-based interventions for Filipino youth as well as other Island youth.

OTHER INFORMATION

Your child’s participation is completely voluntary. All the information they share is completely confidential. If your child chooses to share any plans to hurt or injure themselves, we will need to report it.

Your child’s name will not be connected to any information they share, including data forms or transcripts. Only the PI, Community Advisory Board (CAB) members, and Dissertation Committee members will have access to the transcripts for coding and analysis. All of the questionnaire, interview data, audio tapes and transcripts, will be stored in locked file cabinets in the PI’s office. All data will be destroyed five years after the end of the study.

You will receive a copy of this form upon after signed and completed. Please let me know if you or your child wishes to be contacted in the future to receive copies of their personal transcript or learn more about community presentations regarding the project’s findings.
If you don’t want your child to be in the study, not to participate, or withdraw at any time, there will be no penalties or consequences. Remember, being in this study is up to you and your child, no one will be upset if they don’t want to participate or even if your child changes their mind later or want to stop.

Your child will receive a $20 gift card for their participation in the study.

You and your child can ask any questions about the study at any time. If you or your child has questions later they can call me at: 206.335.5079 or contact Dr. Karina Walters at: 206.543.5647. You or your child may also contact the University of Washington’s Human Subjects Division (HSD) at: 206.543.0098

Researcher’s signature _____________________________ Date _____________________________

PARENT’S STATEMENT:
The research study has been explained to me and I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have additional questions, I can contact the researchers.

Do you give permission for your child to participate in this study? If you agree, please place a check mark (✓) in the “Yes” box below:

☐ Yes, I give my child permission to participate in the research study.
☐ No, I do not give permission for my child to participate in the research study.

Future Contact
Do you give permission for your child to be contacted in the future to receive a copy of their transcripts or learn more about community presentations regarding the project’s findings.

☐ Yes, I give permission for my child to be contacted in the future. Following is my child’s name and the best way to reach them.

Name: ____________________________________________________________

Address: ___________________________________________________________

City/State/Zip Code: _________________________________________________

Phone Number:_____________________________________________________

☐ No, I do not give permission for my child to be contacted in the future.

___________________________________________________________ Date: _____________________________

Parent/Guardian’s signature _____________________________

Copies of Form to:
☐ Parent/Guardian
☐ File
Appendix D
Demographic Survey

FILIPINO YOUTHS’ MEANINGS AND EXPERIENCES OF PLACE

This survey has been developed so you can provide information about who participated in this dissertation project. The information you provide will be used for research purposes only.

DO NOT write your name on this survey. The answers you give will be kept private. No one will know what you write. Answer each question as best as you can.

Completing the survey is voluntary. If you are not comfortable answering a question, please let me know or leave it blank. The information will not be used to find out your name. No names will ever be reported.

Make sure to read every question. When you are finished, please let me know.

Thank you very much for your help!

INSTRUCTIONS:
✓ Please place a check mark (√) next to the best response, in the box, or fill in the response as requested.
✓ If you change your answer, cross out your old answer completely.
✓ Please feel free to ask questions if you need assistance.

1. How old are you? (AGE) ____________
   ___ 15 – 17 years old
   ___ 18 – 20 years old
   ___ 21 – 23 years old

2. What is your gender?
   ___ Female
   ___ Male
   ___ Other (please describe): __________________________

3. In what city/state were you born? ______________________, ______ (City/State)

4. How long have you lived in above city/state?
   ___ number of years

5. With whom do you live? If parents, see Question #6.
   ___ Both Parents
   ___ Mother - mostly (and siblings?)
   ___ Father - mostly (and siblings?)
   ___ Other: please describe _______________________________

6. Where or what country were your parents born?
   Please list Mother’s Country of Birth: ______________________________
   Please list Father’s Country of Birth: ______________________________

Source: Excerpted from: CDC 2011 State and Local - Youth Risk Behavior Survey
7. What is your primary racial or ethnic background? Please check (✓) all that apply.

- [ ] Chinese
- [ ] Filipino
- [ ] Japanese
- [ ] Korean
- [ ] Thai
- [ ] Vietnamese
- [ ] Cambodian

___ Other: Please describe: ________________________________

8. What is your primary (first) language?

- [ ] English
- [ ] Chamorro
- [ ] Hmong
- [ ] Ilocano
- [ ] Micronesia
- [ ] Lao
- [ ] Tagalog
- [ ] Native Hawaiian
- [ ] Korean
- [ ] Visayan
- [ ] Samoan
- [ ] Vietnamese
- [ ] Chinese
- [ ] Tongan
- [ ] Khmer
- [ ] Japanese
- [ ] Spanish
- [ ] Other Asian/SE Asian (describe below)

___ Other: Please describe: ________________________________

9. What is the primary language spoken in your household (home)?

- [ ] English
- [ ] Chamorro
- [ ] Hmong
- [ ] Ilocano
- [ ] Micronesia
- [ ] Lao
- [ ] Tagalog
- [ ] Native Hawaiian
- [ ] Korean
- [ ] Visayan
- [ ] Samoan
- [ ] Vietnamese
- [ ] Chinese
- [ ] Tongan
- [ ] Khmer
- [ ] Japanese
- [ ] Spanish
- [ ] Other Filipino Dialect (please describe below)

___ Other: Please describe: ________________________________

If more than one, please describe/list languages are spoken in your home: __________ and __________

10. What is your zip code? ________________________________

11. What grade are you in?
- [ ] 9th grade
- [ ] 10th grade
11th grade
12th grade
Higher Education: Community College, College/University, or Technical/Vocational School
Not in school
Other – please describe: ____________________________________________

12. Have you participated in English Language Learner (ELL) or bilingual education programs?
   YES
   NO

13. What school or community activities do you participate in?
   Sports/Athletics/Physical Activities
   Band, Music, or Dance
   Native Hawaiian clubs or activities (e.g., music or dance groups)
   Community Clubs/Centers or agencies (example: YMCA or YWCA, Boys and Girls Clubs, or Youth Center)
   Religious/spiritual activities (church, temple, etc.)
   Political or community advocacy (examples: rallies, demonstrations, Filipino, Asian or Pacific Islander American Legislative Day)
   Filipino community agencies or organizations, e.g., Saraling Gawa; The F.O.B. Project
   Other: please describe ____________________________________________

14. How often do you participate in school or community activities?
   Once a week
   2 - 3 times/week
   4 or more times/week

15. On average, how many hours do you spend on your cell/mobile phone or Internet connecting to friends? Please check all that apply:
   1 - 2 hours/day
   3 - 4 hours/day
   5 - 6 hours/day
   7 - 8 hours/day
   8 - 9 hours/day
   10 or more hours/day

Please check all the social network sites you use daily:

- Facebook
- Instagram
- Twitter
- WhatsApp
- Flickr
- Skype
- Tumblr
- YikYak
- Google+
- Snapchat
- Vine
- YouTube
- Other(s) please describe: ____________________________________________

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS SURVEY!!!
Appendix E.
Qualitative In-Depth Interview Guide
Listening to and Examining Filipino Youths’ Experiences of Place

Introductions
Thank you for taking the time today to “talk story” - about your experiences as a Filipino youth living in Honolulu, HI. I will be talking to you and approximately 12 other Filipino youth. The interviews are expected to last approximately 60-90 minutes. Through these interviews, we hope to learn about your experiences and understandings of place and community and your everyday experiences as a Filipino youth navigating through relationships and family. There are no right or wrong answers. What you tell me is valuable as I/we hope to learn as much as I/we can from you and other Filipino youth.

QUESTIONS AND PROBES

1. YOUR STORY
1a. Could you tell me a little bit about yourself?

2. PLACE MEANING AND GENERAL PLACE QUESTIONS
2a. In your own words, can you please tell me what “place” means to you? (PROBE: environment, land)
2b. Tell me about your special places or environments – places that are important or meaningful to you - where you can be yourself, feel relaxed and comfortable? Can you give me specific examples?
2c. What place or environment makes you feel happy, whole, and healthy? Please describe.
2d. What types of places do you believe are meaningful (or relevant) for other Filipino youth?
2e. What story or stories does place or environment tell? Can you share a story about place or land that is culturally important to you?
2 f. Please take a moment to close your eyes, relax and take a few deep breaths. Please listen carefully...
   The land has a story...
   The forest has a story...
   The ocean has a story...
   The sea has a story...
   The mountains have a story...
   Your place has a story...
   What’s your story???

Take time to think for a few minutes before you open your eyes. Please tell me what places means to you.

3. IDENTITIES: UNDERSTANDING ASPECTS OF SELF
3a. Tell me a bit about how you identify– ethnically and culturally?
3b. How do geographic environments facilitate your sense of cultural or ethnic identity? And sense of belonging and connectedness?

3c. Does your identification change when you are in different social or geographic/environmental contexts? If yes, can you please share any stories or examples?

4. PLACE- AND COMMUNITY- BELONGING AND -CONNECTEDNESS
4a. Can you please describe which community/ies you belong or are connected to?
4b. What makes you feel like you belong or connected to these place(s), environments, or communities? Please describe or tell me more.
4c. What online, virtual communities – do you belong to?

5. PLACE, ENVIRONMENTAL EXPERIENCES AND ANCESTRAL CONNECTIONS
5a. Where or what places or environments help you feel connected to your ancestors? Please describe.

6. RESILIENCE, SUPPORTS, GOALS, AND THE FUTURE
6a. Although some people face great challenges, many overcome these challenges. What do you think are (re-)sources - including places or environments - of resiliency or strength that help you stay strong? Healthy? Happy? How about your friends or other Filipino youth?
6b. When you have had times when you were troubled, stressed out, or ill, have you sought out a place or environment to help you get through? If so, please describe.
6c. What goals do you have for your future, the future of other Filipino youth or young people in Hawai‘i in protecting these special places or environments?

7. CLOSING EXPERIENCES OR OTHER STORIES RESPONDENTS MAY HAVE
Would you like to share anything else, other stories or experiences before closing?
Appendix F.
Participants’ “I” and “We” Poems

PARTICIPANT #1: AVA’S “I” POEMS

HOME
I was growing up.
I spent a lot of time at my grandma’s house.
I grew up.
I pretty much grew up there.
I had my surgery.
I was there.
I stayed there.
I just remember most of my childhood being at her house.
I wouldn’t say like it was relaxed, but it was very homey.
I knew that was the place.
I can be myself.
I was able to learn in that environment... everyone was family.

NATURE AND HEALING
I remember having the flu.
I was 12 or something.
I remember going to the beach and staying there for the entire day and coming home totally fine.
I am able to like go and use that.

GEOGRAPHY DOESN’T MEAN A LOT...IT’S NOT ABOUT PLACE
I think about all the memories and lessons.
I learned.
I usually think of the people and the stories that go along with it.
I’m trying to say like specific geography doesn’t mean a lot to me.

IDENTITY AND ETHNIC PRIDE
I identify very like Filipino, Pinoy pride!
I really.
I identify with that...when the Mayweather – Paquio fight was on.
I was totally putting myself out there and everything.
I feel like whenever.
I was a kid.
I always showed everyone that.
I was Filipino.
IDENTITY - DISCONNECT

I feel like.
I can’t really identify so much.
I don’t speak the language.
I have never been to the Philippines.
I have grown up with people who have.
I can identify that way.

COMMUNITY - BELONGING

I feel...
I belong to the Punahou community of my school.
I also belong to the Deep Valley Kalihi community.
I belong to their (grandparents’) community as well.
I learned that the only way to like find your place is just to be yourself.
I learned that there’s a place for everyone in my family.

LOCAL IDENTITY

I feel like.
I’m with like white people.
I tend...
I tend to be more like Filipino and be more “native.”
I act more like local.
I feel like when...
I’m with my fellow Filipinos.
I act more like natural.
I’m not trying to put up a show.

GRANDPARENT’S HOME AND CONNECTEDNESS

I feel really connected to my grandparents’ home.
I’m able to like go over there.
I’m able to like call them up.
I’m like having troubles.

SOCIAL MEDIA & CONNECTEDNESS

I am on Instagram, Snapchat, Buzzfeed and Youtube.
I feel like the people you’re following are the people that follow you.
I feel connected to the world!
I’m able to see like people from Germany and what they do.
I feel like teenagers do - are very connected to the Internet and virtual communities.
I don’t really know.
RESILIENCE

I had surgery.
I was one.
I could’ve been taller.
I wouldn’t have certain allergies or stuff.
I play sports.
I like to prove that it’s not something that will hold me back.
I’m able to push myself and push my limits.
I’m not going to let that surgery define me.

POWER OF PEERS

I feel like with friends.
I can follow.
I’ve gone to those people in my class to seek comfort.
I’ve gone to my deans to just talk about things that are happening in life and just to relieve all that stress.

FUTURE PLANS AND HOPES FOR SIBLINGS

I want to play waterpolo in college.
I don’t know.
I don’t know right now.
I really want my sisters to excel in what they’re doing and take advantage of resources they’ve been given.
I want them to be proud of themselves
I want them to be proud and respect themselves

(PROTECTING) NATURE AND RESPONSIBILITY

I actually did junior lifeguard training.
I was in 7th grade and being a lifeguard was an option for me.
I was younger.
I feel like giving back to the ocean.
I’m going out to surf.
I’m going to paddle.
I’m protecting it.
I would remind people it’s there as a gift and not to take and use at their disposal.
CONNECTIONS/CONNECTEDNESS TO GRANDPARENTS

We’re...even though.
We live on the opposite sides of the island...
We’re still connected.

POWER OF PEERS

We all look happy every single day.
We all come from different like backgrounds and stories.
We all have our understanding of each other and that creates a feeling of being strong with each other.

POWER OF PEERS - SCHOOL

We have a class called ICP, it’s like a counseling class.
We... it’s a very close class.
We share feelings.
[What] We’re going through.
PARTICIPANT #2: JADEN’S “I” POEMS

CREATING MEMORIES
I’m able to build my relationships more.
[Create more memories] I can look back on.
I’m with people.
I know.
[people] I feel comfortable with.
[my friends] I hang out with are pretty diverse group.

FINDING CONNECTEDNESS
I’ve been going to Mid-Pac 4 years now.
I started hanging out with them this year.
I would hang out with my soccer, my soccer friends.
I never really did hang out with them outside of school.
I never felt like.
I really wanted to hang out with anyone outside of school.
I finally found this group.
[That’s where] I really felt comfortable.
I feel like.
I can be myself.

POWER OF PEERS
I find strength in my friends.
[when] I’m down.
I talk to them.
I feel better.
I tell them everything.
I ask them for advice, they give me advice.
I tell them.
I need to get out of the house.

POWER OF PEERS: GIRLFRIEND
I’m always with her 24/7.
I just go to my girlfriend for support.
[when] I’m feeling stressed.
PARTICIPANT #2: JADEN’S “WE” POEM

POWER OF PEERS

We usually stay out until sunset.
We don’t actually look like beach goers.
We’re not the type of group to go to big parties, big events that have more than 100 kids plus or more.

We’re a group that sticks together and don’t really branch out.
We had the same interest in going to the gym or just like hanging out at somebody’s house.
We really share the same interest
We’re not at the beach.
We’re at the gym.
We do regulate ourselves but it really depends on the people who you hang out with.
 PARTICIPANT #3: “I” Poem

KALIHI – FEELS LIKE HOME

It’s Kalihi itself because...
I grew up here. Basically, it feels a little bit like home.
I know a lot of people in Kalihi than any other place that’s why it makes it feel like home than any other places.

P#3: SOCIAL MEDIA

I don’t really belong to...
I have my personal account not a group kind of thing.
I choose friends online.
[people] I have certain interests with eventually start to know one another.
I don’t – just whoever comes...
[Yeah] I do.
I don’t know. There’s Filipinos everywhere!

POWER OF PEERS

[They make sure] I’m alright.
[And, make sure] I’m accepted.
I have.
[All] I need from my peers is friendship and trust.

SELF-ADVOCACY

I usually go someplace quiet and then think about it myself.
I usually find a way myself to figure it out.
I like the feeling of doing it by myself.
PARTICIPANT #4: BENJAMIN’S “I” POEMS

HOMELAND
I think... my home town in the Philippines, Bacarra. 
I spent my childhood. 
I’ve been there. 
I would choose that place still...that’s where I grew up.

IMMIGRANT STORY
I moved to Hawaiʻi. 
I became independent. 
[So, when] I was finally on my own. 
I was able to explore things. 
I wasn’t able to explore. 
[when] I was still in the Philippines. 
[And, there are a lot of decisions] I had to make for myself...
I mean... these decisions were affected by the relatives. 
I was living with. 
[the moment] I moved to Hawaiʻi everything was just... on me. 
I feel more... 
I have a sense of success here. 
I’ve navigated the Island. 
I know the people. 
I know is because of my own effort. 
I said... 
I became independent. 
I technically grew up on my own [although there were people who took care of me now here in Hawaiʻi] 
I moved here with my dad. 
I moved here it was a total adjustment. 
I’m on my own again. 
I’m claiming my own 
I’m writing my own story here. 
[The decisions] I make are my own without any judgement from other people, or without influences from others. 
I am more open with my preferences...and everything. 
I am able to... express myself [Laughs].
BELONGING – CULTURAL ATTACHMENT

I still practice Filipino culture and everything.
I’m very active in the Filipino community.
I like...um the American culture because of the things that...
I mentioned earlier.
I still.
I value my Filipino culture.
[So, every Thursday] I meet up with this Filipino folk dance group.
I dance with.
I join my relatives to do some Filipino stuff.
I have a strong equilibrium between my Filipino roots...
I understand the need to acculturate myself to the target environment, which is Hawai‘i, which is American.

MY STORY

I’m typically...
I’m typically the antonym of the typical Filipino in his 20s.
[if] I tell people my story.
I’m working as a teacher and this and that...
I’m challenging the stereotype.
I feel like.
I am shaking the ground because it’s funny when people find out.
I’m an English teacher who just came from the Philippines.

IDENTITIES AND BELONGING

I feel like those...identities.
I think it’s twofold that’s who.
I associate myself with.
I feel a sense of belongingness there because most of the members are older.
I don’t have that side when.
I go there.
I feel like that is an extended family for me, too.
I’d say we share a lot of similarities but it’s also a diversity...which actually makes it really, really good.
I think it’s been going...actually the biggest immigrant feeder to Hawai‘i.
I think is very important for us.
LGBTQ EXPERIENCES

I’ve only been here about three years.
I don’t own much of that experience yet.
I could say.
I am.
I am comfortable in the environment.
I just came out.
So, I just came out.
I mean not to everybody.
I’m more comfortable about it.
I know other people are aware of it.
I just got here.
I was trying to conceal it.
I have a good group of other Filipinos who are...who also share the same identity.
I actually have a friend.
I’m more comfortable, the environment is just becoming better for me.
I mean it’s more welcoming. The community is more welcoming if you let yourself in.
I belong.

SOCIALIZING – SHARING CULTURE

I think.
I think that’s important.
I mean they have Filipino dances and parties and perform at different hotels at different locations. So the goal of sharing our culture binds us together.
I belong because of that.
[And, with FOB, the goal about discrimination... and discriminating against immigrants...um... that] I think makes me feel like.
I belong to that group.
[So, even though there’s diversity everywhere but...] I value the goal of the group.
I join or belong to because it’s the driving force.
SOCIAL MEDIA

I have a Facebook account.
I have Instagram.
I have Youtube, Skype, Snapchat and Whatsapp.
[With Facebook] I use that for my friends in the Philippines, my family in the United States, and like community events.
And, then Whatsapp I use for free texting.
I have friends in Guam, too.
I mean it’s another American territory but they still charge international costs.
I don’t have much association with the community yet and...
I don’t have much friends here, Facebook has really been helpful for me coping with the challenges of being alone here in Hawai‘i.

CHURCH AND REMEMBERING HOMETOWN

I think St. Joseph Church in Waipahu.
I think my hometown.
I live a couple blocks away from the church. In the Philippines the Catholic Church is like the superstar of the community.
[So whenever] I go there...
I saw when...
I was growing up
[the people] I grew up with.

FAMILY, EXTENDED FAMILY

I think my auntie’s house in Waikele, too. Because you know like Filipino families are really, really extended and everybody lives in the same house?
I grew up with family in the Philippines.
I grew up in a house with my dad and two of his siblings and with five cousins living in the house. So, that the experience. The thing that are happening in the townhouse are like what’s happening in the Philippines.
I’m learning a lot about my family here.
I grew up with my dad’s side.
I’m trying...
I’m absorbing so much from my side of the family in that townhouse.
NATURE AND RELAXATION

I am able to experience a lot of things, a lot of sceneries which like relaxes me... and takes me away from the regular sight of papers, books, work, thinking about family problems and stuff like that.

I’m driving.
I’m just with the road and with my friends.
I’m out.
I’m driving with my friends. Just like the beauty of nature ...and if you’re out driving around the island it is as if you’re not in Honolulu. Just escape from reality. [Laughter]
I also love going to Tantalus Drive.
I usually go there at night.
PARTICIPANT #4: BENJAMIN’S “WE” POEMS

FILIPINO CULTURAL CONNECTIONS/SOCIALIZING/ENCULTURATION

We meet every Thursdays.
We perform in the annual Filipino Fiesta.
We are invited to perform.
We do a lot of things like.
We're actually traveling to Vegas over the summer.
We celebrate birthdays every month.
We do a lot of like...family things... and the environment is really good.
[The rapport that] We share with each other is really, really good.
We share a lot of...similarities but there’s also a diversity in the group which actually makes it really, really good.
We usually meet in one of the members’ houses here in Kalihi because it’s like the central location where everybody can meet easily.
We get invited to perform at different places.
We need other younger people but... it’s really difficult to find younger people who are into cultural things...

We try to venture into other communities.
We have common goals.
We have the goal there is to show their culture.
We’re connecting the youth to their home culture.
[And with the United Bacarranians] We...set aside.
We meet every Thursdays...
We meet...one Thursday of the month.
We celebrate birthdays.
We...make sure.
We celebrate one thing so that brings us closer, too.
[most of the practices that] We do have...has some kind of religious nature.

TALK STORY

We talk to each other in the big group.
We eat dinner... together in a small table...
[Max’s of Manila... that’s where] we meet every time.
We usually bring healthy foods and stuffs but it also contributes to taking away the stress.
We talk stories after rehearsals...
PARTICIPANT #5: MIYA’S “I” POEMS

MY BACKGROUND, MY STORY

I was born and raised here in Kalihi. I have been really blessed to be part of a lot of cultural aspects (in my life). I do like to share that with my friends. I’m really involved with my community as well as the school community.

MEANINGFUL PLACES

I would say for everyone home is of course a meaningful place... Where you feel safe, where you feel protected, and basically, where you can be open and yourself. I would say that is the number one place where you should feel safe and should be meaningful. I would say the second place would be school because it is another place to learn and to grow in and to make connections with people that you’re not related to but you don’t see on a daily basis. I would say the third-place would be our Filipino Community Center in Waipahu. There’s a lot of cultural events going on there and you can learn a lot and of course there is different types of activities you can join at the Fil-Com Center where you can learn a lot more. I would say those top three.

I’ll just say where ever my friends are. I can connect with other people. I’m with friends or family. I have a feeling of content than any place could be meaningful. [Basically, it just gives me that sense of comfort and safety that] I need, as a person... And that allows me to open up and just let me be myself.

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND PRIDE

I am proud to be full Filipino! Plain and simple, I am Filipino. I have grown up with Filipino ways, eating adobo and going to church...so, yeah. I mean like my mom and my grandma and... that just started to lead a path for us.
COMMUNITY CONNECTEDNESS, ETHNIC AND CULTURAL PRIDE

[The FOB Project is one group that] I am very connected to.
I noticed that a lot of my classmates weren’t in touch with their roots [Filipino roots].
I grew up in a very cultured family.
I started to hear that they were ashamed to be part of the FOB project.
[that kind of led me to thinking how] I can change FOB, the derogatory term, into something
that means a lot more than just being “Fresh Off the Boat.”
I want that to be a proud symbolism.
I can say that my parents are FOB
I have no problem with that. That doesn’t define who you are or what you come from because
you can always change your life you can always do what you want in order for a better life.
[Being in the FOB project is already close to my heart because] I am Filipino.

SOCIAL MEDIA

I post a lot [on Facebook] about the Filipino community.
I always get questions.
I know that there’s that one person who wants to show their pride and they don’t want to shy
away from it.
I can also get to a lot of Filipinos.
I have such a wide range of followers.
I can get out there.
[When] I post something.
I have a huge support from the Filipino community.
I would say other Social Media sites would be Facebook because that is a way for them to
connect to their relatives in the Philippines or their relatives in other parts of the world.
“FOB,” MICROAGGRESSIONS, RESISTANCE, AND RESILIENCY

I grew up.
I was born and raised in Honolulu but when my parents talked to me as a young child they talked to me in Filipino and so did my grandparents.
[so when] I came to school that kind of transferred into my work.
I got called a “FOB.”
I felt like.
I was nothing.
I felt worthless.
I felt like.
I could not be anything.
I wanted to be.
I had such high aspirations and my hopes that it just all shattered.
[Because] I was labeled.
I was labeled as a FOB.
I kind of just grew into it.
I found my pride in my culture. It doesn’t bother me as of now.
[But when] I do hear FOB being used.
I can stand up.
I’m a FOB and not feel guilty about it, there’s nothing to be guilty about, you should be proud.

FUTURE GENERATIONS

I would say that.
I would like to see a bigger stand from Filipino youth and for them to create more change and more places for Fil-Am youth to reach out to.
I would like then to speak up and say it means something to them and that there’s a story behind what that place means to them.

SAKADA GENERATION

[My grandfather being a sakada has made me realize how blessed] I am.
I’m just here to work.
I have learned from my grandfather’s sakada experience.
[No] I do not believe so.
[when] I do say my grandfather is a sakada
I get the question what is a sakada? And a lot of them don’t know what certain things mean or what certain elements of our Filipino life mean.
PARTICIPANT #5: MIYA’S “WE” POEMS

CULTURAL SHARING
We share our cultures
We just take each culture into consideration.
[There’s no one dominant culture so] We all just share our experiences and our love for our culture.
We can talk about.

VALUE OF EDUCATION
We just didn’t want to just stay in one level of education.
We were brought up to know that education was really important.
[And that no matter how poor] We were.
[or no matter how much poverty] We were stuck in.
We could always depend on education to pull us out.

WE ARE...FILIPINOS
We are.
We don’t want to take a stand in today’s society.
We have... a lot of the youth here do not know where to go for the resources for being in the Filipino community and or being in the organizations
We have available for them.
We’re here most or all of the time.
We are Filipinos.
We are a large minority.
We should have a say in what goes on here.
We’re not trying to hide or be less than anyone else.

Fil-Am youth could support change, by being the change.
We should just be able to be proud of you...
We are.
[stand up for what] We want.
[have that voice and say] We want this.
We want the new generation to reach into their roots and ancestry and not be ashamed of it.
We came to be.
[What] We’re doing here for all of us to come together.
We want to address the problems.
We have.
We can fix it.
PARTICIPANT #6: LEA’S “I” POEM

WHERE’S HOME?

I would say Kalihi, Kalihi-Palama.
[Kalihi is important to me because] I know that a lot of people look down on that area.
[In Kalihi-Palama there’s a [Palama] settlement there and] I actually volunteer there and there’s
a lot of activities there for the people who couldn’t afford anything.
I feel that as much as...
I can... It really means a lot... although people look down...
[It’s where] I grew up...
[You know where] I went to school. Where my family raised me and where all my friends are.

I would say at home which is here in Kalihi.
[Yeah] I would say my home. [Laughs]
I would say.
I know.
I keep saying home.

VALUE OF EDUCATION

I am a firm believer in education.
I believe school is very important and where you can grow.
I’m going to school.
I know that education in the Philippines is very hard to obtain.
I know that when.
I’m going to school.
I feel like I have a future.
[Something] I’m working towards too.

MOM, FOOD, TRANSMISSION OF CULTURAL VALUES

I kind of keep saying my mom and food.
I look for my mom she always cooks pinukbet, it’ Ilocano, it’s my favorite ...it has lots of
vegetables in it.
I would look forward to it.
I should add to my cooking.
I cook soup.
I’m always busy.
[Culturally] I learn more about my mom.
I learn how to cook Filipino foods.
I believe is important.
MICROAGGRESSIONS, COMMUNITY SUPPORT AND RESILIENCE

[living in Kalihi] I was always looked down upon. I never felt like. I was going to succeed. I went to Palama Settlement and they had free activities...my family couldn’t afford kickboxing, karate, whatever. I went there...it kind of gave me a new outlook on life. I would succeed one day. [Seeing all of that made me see Filipinos being treated that way because they couldn’t speak very good English or not as smart. It kind of gave me that drive in life and made me want to give back to my community. So, throughout middle school and high school...]

I told myself. I was going to work really, really hard so. I could get there one day. I’m getting good grades. I’m going to college now. I always thought of my mom. [where] I came from.

COMMUNITY CONNECTEDNESS

I got really active in with the Filipino community. I help out with the Filipino Fiesta and the fashion shows and a lot of community services like washing cars or waking up early in the morning and volunteering to pick up trash in the Kalihi-Palama area and with the Filipino community.

I met Elena. I met Norman through FOB Project. [it’s something] I believe in because Elena she’s trying to build a boat to perpetuate Filipino culture. I’m part of the Filipino Junior Chamber of Commerce. I feel like that gave me drive to. I want to better the area. I’m living in... I really want to represent the minority community...that’s Filipino!
ETHNIC IDENTITIES

I’m Filipino.
I’m 25% Chinese because of my dad.
I’m like...
I’m Filipino.
I don’t look Filipino at all.
I identify myself as Filipino.
I forget.
I’m Chinese.
I don’t have my dad.
I’m sad, too.

VALUE OF EDUCATION, STUDENT IDENTITY, MICROAGGRESSIONS, AND RESILIENCY

I feel being a student is important identity because education is important to me
I feel like it’s how our culture is.
I’m from Kalihi
I didn’t go to Farrington [High School].
I actually went to St. Theresa and got into Mauna Loa High School, it was like the top high school here.
I can say identify myself there and it was really hard though because there wasn’t a lot of Filipinos who went there.
I went to school there and it made me want to thrive everyone looked down at Farrington blah blah like it’s not a good school...
I worked really hard to get good grades.
I tried to identify myself as well
I feel that a sense of belonging.
I’m representing my culture the right way and it just makes me feel better about myself.
I feel that
I know that
I’m bettering myself
I’m being a good example for the youth. [laughs]

KALIHI-PALAMA – PLACE ATTACHMENT

I’d say the thing...
I feel like Kalihi-Palama is like where it thrives and where.
I have this motivation to.
[Where] I’m originally from.
I have a sense of motivation.
[wherever] I go on this Island to volunteer it’s in Waipahu, it’s in Kalihi,
I don’t work in Kalihi either.
[it’s wherever] I go...yeah.
ETHNIC IDENTITIES, SHAME AND CODE-SWITCHING

Actually, I'll admit there were times.
I felt kind of embarrassed to be Filipino.
I’d hang out with my friends at Mauna Loa High School.
I’m more Chinese.
I am Filipino.
[So, like at one point in my life] I felt like.
I had to switch on and off... from my life.
I got older.
I loved being Filipino and it's something.
I shouldn’t be ashamed of.
[wherever] I go
I identify as a Filipino, as a student.

BEING FILIPINO AND SENSE OF BELONGING

I can connect with my family more on that level and besides like my friends and significant other, you know.
I know it probably sounds kind of generic... but being Filipino gives me a sense of belonging in all areas.
I live in Kalihi, too.
I've seen how rough it is...
I feel like that it gives me that kind of connection.

FUTURE PLANS AND GIVING BACK

I guess like...
I don’t know...
What I do now?
I feel like all the volunteer work.
I do now just brings people together and makes people aware of what’s happening.
I feel like me thriving to want to go to law school and become a public defender is one thing.
I know.
I won’t make a lot of money and it’s really a hard job.
I still want to do it.
I want to give back to that type of area.
I’m doing, volunteering.
I guess.
I feel like that... getting a sense of support.
I would say the Filipino Junior Chamber
I also feel like school as well as they have the Fil-Am Club because it perpetuates culture.
FILIPINO ENCULTURATION – CONNECTION TO ANCESTORS

I would say where I live, my mom, she’s the prime person who teaches me about the Filipino culture, firsthand and she always reminds me of the past and that kind of gives me my connection to my ancestors.
I also visited the Philippines a few times and just being there in the province, pumping water from the well and so that kind of gives me that connection.

KALIHI – RESPONSIBILITY AND GIVING BACK

I…it’s more so...um...self-confidence in yourself.
I can be a better person.
I want to make Kalihi a better place.
I want to represent Kalihi in a good way.
I believe the motivation comes from. That’s Filipino!

PIER AND REFLECTION

I would say like this pier.
I go to once in a while
I go to reflect...it’s not in Kalihi though it’s in Kaneohe...

FUTURE PLANS

I really want to get into law school.
I would really like to be a public defender for my first 10 years of my legal career and open up an immigration and other legal services for those who can’t afford it.
I hope to run for Miss Hawai’i Filipina next year if my schedule dies down and represent the Filipino community in a different way.
I hope to be President of the Filipino Junior Chamber of Commerce in a couple of years.

HOPE FOR THE FUTURE GENERATIONS – OVERCOME MICROAGGRESSIONS

I hope that in time...
I know we’re a minority right now
I hope that people won’t look at them as people that can’t thrive.
I hope one day that Farrington isn’t where it is right now and it gets better...
I feel really redundant...
I just feel...
I hope that there’s a new life for Filipinos, young Filipinos.
I talked about being in home.
I would say... like talk to your family learn about the traditions and listen to your mom and cook meals with her... listen to her and learn the language because a lot of us aren’t from the Philippines
VOLUNTEERING

I help clean-up that area, too.
I help with volunteering there, too.
I help with trash pickups, Island clean ups.
PARTICIPANT #6: LEA’S “WE” POEMS

[People strive] We try to make ourselves better.

MOM, FOOD AND CONNECTEDNESS

[Like 2 days ago] We had pinukbet. We actually talk and had a meal together

BELONGING

We’re all Filipino and it’s something that...it’s not like our main, main focus but it something that brings us together.

MICROAGGRESSIONS

We’re so looked down on.

DIVERSITY AND CONNECTEDNESS

We have different ethnicities and there’s Chinese, Japanese. We share our culture and ethnicity.
PARTICIPANT #7: BRADEN’S “I” POEMS

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES
I work part-time at the Youth Center.
I do mixed martial arts with young people.
I would go crazy.
I learn life philosophies and skills.
I practice my philosophies and mentor younger kids.
I think the Center.
I don’t find too many people.
I will never be bored.
I’m not doing.
I’ll be lazy and bored and sitting at home and watch TV.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES: PERSONAL GROWTH
I described like the Lodge, dancing, and the Center.
I wouldn’t have known.
[who] I am now.
I wouldn’t know all these people.
I did or do, it will pretty much put them on the right path.
I can also practice those philosophies.
I also mentor.
I’m there.

GROWTH THROUGH MENTORSHIP
I feel like.
I’m... away from work.
I finally get to be with people.
I can call my “brothers.”
I have some life issues.
if I’m seeking wisdom or guidance.
I, I... these are older people who can tell me about their past history and pass their knowledge down to me. So it’s a good place for me to have my personal growth.
GROWTH, MENTORSHIP AND VALUES

I'll take with me is he taught me the value of my work.
I will meet you here at 12 o'clock.
I think that.
I didn't have the Center.
I think.
I would have been a lot more selfish, uh, stressed.
I think.
I would not be that sociable.
I would have been the same person.
I was when.
I was in the middle of my senior year in high school wouldn't be able to.
I wouldn't be able to communicate with.
I have to deal with younger kids especially.
I'm coaching.

COMMUNICATION AND CONNECTEDNESS

I have to deal with older gentleman.
I can communicate even though.
I don't have the experience in years.
I can communicate with them.
I'm talking about.
I'm not at the same level as them.

ETHNIC IDENTITIES

I think in Hawai‘i it’s a little bit hard well from my view because.
I'm Spanish.
I'm Filipino.
I go to the mainland.
I say.
I'm from Hawai‘i they automatically think.
I’m Hawaiian because.
I'm dark skinned, not Filipino...
I don't know really know how to describe me.
I just put Asian.
I noticed they have but the majority of applications.
I sign, it’s all Asian.
I just put down Asian.
BEING FILIPINO AND FOOD

I have a strong stomach [laughs].
I would always say like.
I notice how we eat.
I like those anyways.
I like it.
I’ll be bringing some of the food my mom cooked.
I brought from leftovers.
I just call it chocolate meat.
I guess some white brothers.
I’m eating.
I think the food, too.
I think.
I can chow down.

COMMUNITY CONNECTEDNESS, IDENTITY AND GIVING BACK

I feel strongly connected to the Free Masons.
I am.
I feel like someone will always have my back.
I may be like not even in Hawai‘i.
I’m in Hong Kong or let’s just say Hong Kong.
I don’t know anybody there.
I have a flat tire.
I’m lost.
I got to do is find a lodge or call somebody.
I feel safe with them or see either like.
I since was the youngest one there.
I used to be.
I feel like all over the world.
I have big brothers that will always help me out.

FINDING A PLACE FOR PEACE AND CALM

I think the center or the gym um.
I just want to be alone.
I could.
I had the key.
I just could go in and punch the bag and let off some steam or have nice and quiet do my workout and what not um...
I always go to.
I need to find some peace and calm, peace and calm, besides my room.
I go.
LANGUAGE AND DISCONNECTIONS

I usually hang out with it’s heavy into Filipino so that.
I feel like it’s uh.
I feel more Filipino especially when.
I don’t understand what they’re saying because.
I don’t understand how to speak Filipino.
I can tease and have the accent.
I feel like more Filipino.
I’m with the older gentlemen.
I think one is scolding me but he’s just talking loud especially with the Filipino accent [laughs].

BECOMING COMFORTABLE IN NEW PLACES

I go to a new location...
I’m still like kind of...
I don’t show the full me yet.
I kind of like creep up to it...
I’m like an observer
If someone comes to me I’ll talk to them um...
I first got into dancing
I told everyone
I never danced before.
I always wanted to in high school
I just couldn’t find a place to go.
I was doing my thing and only one or two people like was coming up to me and chatting a little bit
I haven’t been able to go with the whole group
I see how everyone is
I’m not afraid to grab their shoulder
I kind of like um, adapt to it, adapt to how everyone else acts
I’m going to act differently.
I am going to put my own personality into it
I adapt to how the circle reacts.
FUTURE GENERATIONS

I always say that they’re going to be the future
I say lead by example
I mean
I tell them respect their parents or you got to respect your elders... pretty much the golden rule,
   do unto others as you want to do to yourself.
I didn’t have to buy new shoes
I didn’t have to pay for dinner or something like that.
I preach to kids or my peers or sometimes older people
I also do it.
I hate the most is hypocrites preaching one thing and doing the opposite it just kills me.
I lead by example
I lead...
I think that... that one might be easier because you have no...it’s different from face-to-face.
I think the best way to describe it

SOCIAL MEDIA

I’m always usually on Facebook...
I think that’s how...
I build community right there.
I think that’s how it goes.
I think Facebook might be like um...
I think the best way to build community
I think for me Facebook or any social network is a good way to keep that thin line of connection
   without fully cutting it off.
I’m assuming other Filipinos are online as well.

PLACES WHERE YOUTH HANG OUT

I think a lot [of youth] in Hawai’i...
I think a lot of them it’s either the mall or the beach.
I’m just basing it off like what...
I’ve been hearing
I’ve been invited to
I think they just want to...
I normally hang out with
I’m not hanging out with family it’s either from the mainland or not Filipino [laughs], most of
   the guys are not Filipino unless they’re older
I think
ANCESTRAL CONNECTEDNESS – FOOD AND PARENTS

I forgot, forgot to mention, is another way...
I stay close to or help me feel close to my ancestors, and who cooks the food is my parents
[laughs].

COMMUNITY CONNECTEDNESS – WISDOM AND GUIDANCE

I have to go back to the Lodge...it provides support in terms of life messages, wisdom, for wisdom and guidance.

WELLBEING IN PLACES

I’m staying active.
I think the overall wellbeing would be the Lodge.
I can’t deal with my coworker
I’ll complain to one of my brothers who probably might have already gone through it and he can tell me what he did or suggest to me what might be better.
I don’t like his answer
I’ll go to another brother [laughs]
I wanted to stay fit and healthy, the Center, or the gym, or the dance studio.
I feel very comfortable.
I think how the community can help is to....

MENTORSHIP, PERSONAL GROWTH AND ACCEPTANCE

I seek guidance
I’m having life issues or problems with somebody like right now.
I don’t literally go to the Lodge but there’s a brother there who.
I’m close with which right now he’s the sitting master.
I going to deal with this guy over here he’s making me do all the work.
I do.
I’ll clarify it, what do you want me to do.
I have problems they give me solutions.
I try it and if it doesn’t work.
I go back and find another solution again.
I’m accepted.
I really feel like.
I accomplished something.
I really put my mark on the table.
STEWARDSHIP AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

I can do is financially and my time.
I get to become the manager.
I’ll get more financially stable.
I get more financially stable.
I can help get more resources to help the Center.
I can hopefully help there, too.
I can help out.

HOPE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

I’m old and done already.
I also think of how.
I guess for the young ones.
I think it’s just.
I can’t really say anything about that.
I can’t really recruit them.
I can explain to them what they did for me.
I can’t recruit them though.
I can say it doesn’t have to be a Free Mason.
I was talking about earlier, you got to get them busy and find them a group that they’ll enjoy.
I’m in.
I’m in…whatever it is that makes them happy.
PARTICIPANT #7: BRAYDEN’S “WE” POEMS

SOCIALIZATION PROCESSES: MENTORING

We’re at right now is mainly what our goal is to mainly just get the kids off the streets and it can be a total stress reliever.
We can help mold these kids into something better.
[the philosophy] We use.
We teach them also to help them in life.
We teach them Jeet Kun Do, Bruce Lee’s art, it’s very philosophical, it’s not only martial arts but you can also adapt it to life itself.
We teach them.
We can, especially for the young, help the younger generation, the Filipinos’

We mold them, they will.
We're working on, at the Kalihi Center.
We’re trying to do is get kids off their butts and off the computer and do something.
We’re not telling them to do go out and be a UFC fighter.
We're just saying keep a balance.

COMMUNITY CENTER

We got our room setup.
We can finally get a study hall going for kids before they can start class they can finish their homework.
We can find some volunteers and they can do free tutoring or whatnot.
We’re looking for more than just fitness.
We’re also looking for more education.
We can get that going too.
PARTICIPANT #8: PUA “I” POEMS

MY STORY
I grew up more on... general Asian upbringing surrounded by Korean people, by Japanese people, by many others.
I was immersed in different cultures, basically, not too much on the Filipino side.

I...
I went to elementary... middle school, and high school with in the same area and the same general vicinity.
I went to college in Hawai’i Pacific University.
I graduated in environmental science, with a Bachelor of Science... and most of my community service projects or... the focus of my community service projects throughout high school was relating to the environment, as well as other humanitarian...
I’d like to think of myself as educated.
I...
I really like plants so that relates to the environment.

I’m thinking of good things
I’d probably say.
I’m smart, they ask me a lot of questions.
I tutor.
I live with my family.

PLACES FOR RELAXATION
I... tend to choose mountain areas.
I go hiking.
I live.
I tend to go there
I go hiking
I particularly like hikes that reach the summit.
I’d hike several miles just to reach that one area and not many people reach that area.

SPECIAL PLACES
I choose Lyon Arboretum.
I interned there for a summer.
I know the area pretty well...
I still visit sometimes...
I haven’t been able to...
I was still in school.
SPECIAL PLACES

[As a Filipino] I chose.  
I went to Kaholawee...so, it’s a restricted island.  
I went there for another internship.  
I guess what was really special about it.  
I guess for me it was.  
I immersed myself in such a unique culture.  
I found it really uh...enlightening.

FAVORITE PLACES, GEOGRAPHIC/LAND DISCONNECTIONS, ENVIRONMENT, ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

I suppose... like my favorite places tend to be areas of isolation.  
I go hiking with groups.  
I like to... branch off from the rest and hike alone by myself for a while.  
I think it’s because.  
I really enjoy... nature, in general.  
I tend to always stop and look at the plants.  
I suppose it’s, it’s just relaxing for me.  
To be with nature and that’s why.  
I chose environmental sciences as my major because.  
I...  
I understand that it’s a really big issue here, in Hawaiʻi, in general. The environmental group or environmental community is huge, it’s flourishing.  
[It’s just unnatural] I’d say.  
I believe so... it’s really nice but at the same time... it’s all conventional.  
I feel like they’re here for the environment...

ETHNIC IDENTITY

I was definitely raised as Filipino  
I mostly associate my Filipino side to just my family.  
I guess.  
I was a little different growing up in Honolulu rather than those areas.  
I really noticed.  
I really respect.  
I do that as an individual.  
I suppose.  
I get it from my ethnicity, my culture as well.
HOMELAND
I haven’t been to the Philippines.
I was in third grade.
I still think of it as such a beautiful area and my home.
I would definitely return one day.
I definitely plan to.
I could contribute to the area or to the country that would be really great, too.

ETHNIC IDENTITIES, DISCONNECTIONS, AND DIVERSITY
I’m full Filipino.
I don’t have any other ethnicities to really go by.
I do eat a lot of Korean and Japanese foods or if in the area.
I grew up.
I went to Roosevelt, you know Roosevelt high school?
I’d say... the Makiki area.
I do go to Kalihi or Waikiki(?), I still feel out of place.
I’m Filipino... such as a majority of the people there.
I tend to associate myself with other Asian religions.
I mean ethnicities.
I’ve learned in school, the different cultures.
I learned in school and just growing up in that area.
I belong with these types of people.
I should be surrounded by other cultures.
I should be... more grateful than/
I am.

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS IN PLACES
I’ve caught up with that.
I’ve noticed in Hawai‘i... lots of the ethnicities are separated by geographical boundaries and
umm. I really think that separates people.
I was... and telling others that.
I live in Honolulu they found it kind of funny that.
I’m Filipino.
I didn’t live... in Waipahu or Kalihi, because that’s typically where Filipinos come from.
[Even, even the Filipinos] I went to school with... they were from Kalihi.
I feel.
I do feel more culturally connected to my Filipino side.
I find myself actually speaking Tagalog.
I don’t usually.

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS
I don’t actually speak much Tagalog at home even though it was my first language.
I’m more comfortable because.
I’m within that culture.
I grew up in those areas.
I was within that area...
I just associate with.
I’d say...
I meet a lot of people through my parents or a lot of Filipino friends through my parents...with
the other cultural groups...it’s just because.
I grew up with them.
I’ve introduced a lot of my Korean and Japanese friends to Filipino foods and, likewise, they’ve
done the same for me... regarding their culture and their dishes.

SOCIAL MEDIA
I only go on Facebook... and that’s pretty much it.
I suppose...it’s a collective interest.
I suppose...where... from my personal observations.
I suppose Instagram... is pretty big. Facebook.
I think it’s a really good way.
I’m terrible with social media.
I don’t post anything on Instagram or Facebook. [Giggles]
I am.
I message people but.
I don’t... myself post anything.

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY CONNECTEDNESS
I really think it’s dependent on your ethnicity.
I do believe you should respect other cultures and learn more about them and it’s a really good
thing if you connect to your own culture.
I don’t really follow that...
I wish
I did.
I wish.
I went to more Filipino Festivals, learned more about Filipino history.

COMMUNITY DISCONNECTIONS
I don’t want to say Waipahu or Kalihi because that’s where they usually are.
I feel like they should branch out...
I guess.
I’d say Honolulu, in general.

ANCESTRAL CONNECTIONS AND PLACE
I would go there after school.
I typically how.
I stayed connected to the Philippines at an early age.
I think they had a couple of parties relating to several of the Filipino groups, the Quezonians – I think.
I pronounced that wrong, but they're the people from Quezon City or people that relate themselves to Quezon City... and they meet up there. So other Filipino groups meet there regularly too.

VALUE OF EDUCATION AND MOTIVATION
I got rather close to my teachers and they helped push me to reach my limits, to work my hardest in education because education is really important to me... regarding the environment.
I'd say my family, too.
I'm associated with really push people to do our best, push them out of our comfort zones, into areas that...

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES AND CONNECTEDNESS
I guess it’s a really good way to educate yourself or other’s about your culture.
I am a member of the International Order of the Rainbow for Girls.
I know Jocelyn.
I’ve actually noticed is most of the Masons in Hawai‘i are Filipino.
I think because it’s a really good place to build community.
I believe.

PLACE, ACTIVITIES, AND ESCAPE
I like to go hiking... it’s more of an escape for me...
I...
I really feel that it’s really important.
I myself...
I try to go hiking at least once every two weeks because of it.
I love it!
FUTURE GENERATION, ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

I’d really like more of the public schools and private schools in general to educate young children on the environment so they.
I wasn’t really into hiking.
I was going to college.
I was often asked.
I took an Environmental Law and Policy class.
I’d really like to see public schools implementing the... environmental education into their curriculum...
I feel like...it would encourage children to look out of classrooms, look out of video games or their own rooms, unfortunately, clubs or so... to see that even though...
I feel like they tend to don’t advertise to a lot of people.

ENVIRONMENT AND COMMUNITY DISCONNECTION

I think people need to understand the general idea.
I do feel like there’s a disconnect between the Filipino community and um...
I mean they have the typical fruit trees or so.
I would tell my parents’ friends or my parents, in general that.
I wanted to go into school for environmental sciences they didn’t really see it as important or to have a myopia that...
PARTICIPANT #8: PUA “WE” POEMS

INTERNSHIP AND ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVITIES
We weeded.
We cut down trees.
We learned various aspects of environmental jobs such as worked in the seed lab, learned how to manage the area, learned... what you would do if you were an arborist or an ethnobotanist or horticulturist.

WAIPAHU AND CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS
We go (food) shopping for ingredients.
We’d end up in Waipahu.
We primarily go to Pacific Market Place.

FILIPINO PRIDE, CULTURE, COLLECTIVE IDENTITY
We’re very prideful which.
We tend to take pride in all of our accomplishments.

EDUCATION, DIVERSITY, AND CULTURAL APPRECIATION
We were raised to learn Japanese.
We had to learn Hawaiian, we had to learn Japanese.
We actually do celebrate Chinese New Year’s and several of the small Japanese holidays, Girl’s Day or Boy’s Day, and for me, that’s really normal.
We typically respect women more...which should be an everyday thing but... [laughs]
We eat special foods.
We mostly...
We eat chi chi dango, which is also a special type of mochi.
We fly koi fish kites.
We grew up or where each ethnicity... was typically from.

CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS
We’re in Waipahu or Kalihi for parties or just for grocery shopping
We’re surrounded by the language or the... just culture itself.
We were here.
POWERS OF PEERS/FRIENDS AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

We don’t really tend to choose our friends based on our ethnicity.
We’re friends.
We learn about each other’s ethnicities.
We actually learn about each other’s cultures.
We have Filipino Festivals, Korean Festivals, Japanese Festivals.
We have that opportunity.
We’re given a chance to go to parades and festivals that are related to our culture.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES AND PROMOTING YOUTH LEADERSHIP

We don’t like to do... public speaking...
We’ll try to encourage that for other people.
We also work with other cultures but it’s typically Caucasians and Filipinos.
We can continue to teach them the organization’s beliefs so.
We really try to push for youth leadership and responsibility and by your age you’ll be given responsibility to do a task.
We’ll trust you in completing the task, for following through... but other ways would be to just remove bad influences.

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

We’ve lived here over 100 years (ago)... We prided and have respect for the land and the culture that... the word ‘aina is really important.
We’re 2000 miles minimum from the furthest land mass.
We’re distant...and in terms of biodiversity.
We’re really unique.
[They don’t understand how important] We are.
We’re doing this not just because this is a Hawaiian thing to do... but this is the right thing to do.
PARTICIPANT #9: JESSICA’S “I” POEMS

MY STORY

I won an award for an art contest in Hawai‘i.
I was in 11th grade.
I got an art show in Waipahu in the public library which they chose the top 10 head sculptures.
I joined the Korean club which was important to my other classmates.
I always like to do origami which surprises people.
I do origami.
I built triangles and hook them up together.
I always give them to my best friend.
I kept the paper.
I made two types.
I showed it to my other classmates and they were wow.
I also draw for them in class which they always praise me about.
I am very active like...
I always not stick to one thing at home.
[I] play sports such as table tennis, basketball, um volleyball, soccer and tennis and badminton...
I also um…love fish and dogs.

FUTURE PLANS

I’m going to go to UH of West O‘ahu.
I’m going to take like biology, science classes.
I will go to UH Manoa.

I have two brothers.
I feel more comfortable at home.
I feel more open with my family.

I’m a shy student.
I go with my brother’s friends
I just stay outside and run around with my dogs.
I seen some people that.

ANCESTRAL CONNECTIONS

I...
I have to respect.
I came from and what blood that came from the origins of my family through the grandfathers and grandmothers that came before me.
I have some.

BE MYSELF

I don’t think so because.
I just prefer.
I'd be what.
I am.
I'm quiet.
I am.

ANCESTRAL CONNECTEDNESS, RESPECT AND FRIENDS

I have this blood in me.
I can connect with them more.
I'll be friends with them and also show respect.

SOCIAL MEDIA

[On YouTube] I just watch.
I can connect socially...

HOME

I stay in the porch...
I stare at the sky...
I’m used to and lived most of my life at...
I just find myself thinking about...
I do next.
I got interested in what they have done.
PARTICIPANT #9: JESSICA’S “WE” POEMS

CULTURAL SHARING
We put that in the Ziploc.
We barbecue.

THE PARK, CULTURAL DIVERSITY, AND EXPERIENCES
We always have like... kids um... play days sometimes in the park... and there’s also other ethnicities that come down from... the places around here.
We experience more being with other ethnicities.
We see each other.
PARTICIPANT #10: JACOB’S “I” POEMS

I’m in school as a Junior.
I’m just a student...went to Waipahu High School.

I can get what...
I want but not as always as expected.

I like over there hanging with my friends and also just the people running with the dog and...
I don’t know just enjoy being there.

HOME
I have everything at the home.
I can enjoy inside and outside
I can just play right there
I can invite my friends to come in and just talk story or also to socialize with my family at home.

(PARK) PLACES TO RELIEVE STRESS AND RELAX
I guess to make them relax, relieve the stress and take it away from them.
I would say kind of.
I guess, to relieve the stress and just play ball would make it more because you sweat it out.
I guess you sweat out the stress and that’s what would really close it down.
I play with them because it just makes you want to socialize more and more than usual.

PLACES AND CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS
I think or the sugar plantation that’s around here. Because to the Filipinos around here...
I guess.
I’m not really sure that, 100% sure that, they do... That’s really important to their culture.
I don’t really care about the cultural places I explore them.
I won’t say.
I explore them.

WAIPAHU
I live
I go in Waipahu.
I would never really leave Waipahu unless... it’s a special occasion.
I have to leave.
I would say.
ETHNIC IDENTITY AND PLACE (WAIPAHU)

I’m a Filipino but also local.
I was born here.
But a Filipino is what I would usually say.
I look to them compared to all the other ethnicities.

HOMELAND

I am important to my family and...the Philippines and.
I don’t really get recognized but in the Philippines/
I would get recognized.
I was there.

TROUBLE, GANGS AND ALL THAT “MESS”

I just really don’t want to be a big person because there’s always going to be trouble hanging around.
I don’t really want to spread.
I don’t know it’s just like.
I guess there would be... Like gangs that would target me.
I just don’t really want to be a part of that at all because.
I think that there’s no point in me trying to be a big person.
I just don’t really want to deal with all the.
I guess so much mess.
I don’t want to be a part of the mess.
I guess.

SCHOOL ACTIVITIES, SOCIALIZING, BELONGING, AND ACCEPTANCE

I say clubs.
I’m part of the Skills USA.
I’m like one of the best in there.
I guess or recognized in that club.
I always just have fun.
I just know.
I’m in there.
I do my best to socialize with all the... all the members in the club.
I say.
I belong in there.
I really have some fun and it’s also a stress reliever.
I... the club is...

DISCONNECTIONS - LANGUAGE

I guess it... It’s really not about ethnicity...
I’d say it’s about like... to deal with after high school.
I’m not a part of it because usually there’s the Filipino side or the Samoan side and they usually would talk their language.
I don’t really, really, really know the language until my mom actually helps me with it.

PLACES AND FILIPINOS/CULTURAL CONNECTIONS
I’ve been… at my friend’s house.
I would always stroll around his neighborhood and see how much, how much of us, Filipinos are there. And it’s pretty big, there’s a lot in Waipahu and...there’s some areas that don’t really have [Filipinos].
I don’t feel us.
I don’t feel myself... and my family.

WAIPAHU AND BELONGING
I was born and raised here since day one, I guess and I appreciate everything that.
I have but...
I just want to stay here.
I belong in Waipahu because there are a lot of friends.
I’m always with compared to my friends in other...my friends and relatives who live in other areas. It’s just that over here is common to me... And there’s just a lot of us.

`OHANA/FAMILY SUPPORT
I’ve been in, which is in Waipahu.
I draw support.
I guess mainly, family, mostly family.
I’ve grown close.

CHURCH AND HEALTHFUL PRACTICES
I guess their church, their own church where they go to and they would always have...
I’d say church.
I respect.
I’m there.
I’m just respectful to others.
I’m just hoping.
I won’t.
I really won’t do anything bad or messy and to keep me calm.
I would say mostly where they live, like their homes because it’s mainly where they’re supposed to be and that’s where they build, they build up from people there, like their parents or like when they go to church
I’d say that it’ll make them a better person.
DRIVING AROUND WAIPAHU, EXPLORING AND RELAXING

I’d say just going around Waipahu, just driving around Waipahu. I’d say what just be careful. I can explore. I have to. I guess. I would just enjoy. I would relax. I would stop or like. I’d say.

SAFETY AND FUTURE GENERATIONS

I hate seeing gangs around. I just. I just want them to be gone and that’s my goal is just to try and stay away from that. I don’t. I would help them just and try to take away from that and just tell them, try and tell them. I guess up to them it’s usually up to them whether they want to do. I guess it’s like some school, there’s afterschool programs that could always be interested in.
PARTICIPANT #10: JACOB’S “WE” POEMS

SOCIALIZING: POWER OF PEERS

We all come together.
We talk.
We talk about it
We're just left alone because there are others that are like us.

SOCIAL MEDIA & CONNECTEDNESS – BREAKING ISOLATION

We're doing.
We're not with them you can always contact them...
We're doing.
We're all separated.
We can.
PARTICIPANT #11: GRACE’S “I” POEMS

MY STORY

[where] I was born...
I was born in the Philippines.
I was raised there for about eight years.
I think.
I moved here [Honolulu].
I was actually in Kalihi
I moved to Waipahu in fourth-grade.
I've been going to Waipahu (HS).
I'm graduating from Waipahu High School as a senior.

SCHOOL PROJECT: FILIPINO CULTURE

I focused my study on Filipino culture.
And so I.
I chose that because.
I noticed how little [Filipino] history was [taught] in our schools and students really didn’t take
involvement in the cultures.

“FOBS” AND MICROAGGRESSIONS

I noticed that it was kind of hard for local Filipinos to mingle with the Filipinos from the
Philippines, they kind of like strayed away from Filipino activities.
I would.
I ask them “why don’t you join this or that?”
I would ask “why don’t you come with me?” and they kind of like, they kind of said “only FOBs
would go there.”
It gave FOBs a bad image and I wanted to see why, why they have a bad image.

I researched like books
I discovered that like back then ... it was because the plantation workers the ones that came from
the Philippines they had like this accent and the way they dressed... They would get laughed
about, and people would laugh about it and so instead of Filipinos facing they’re identity, the
fact that there were stereotypes that went along with.
I um noticed...
I found how valuable culture was and how important it is to keep it, to observe it.
I shared it with the president of Sariling Gawa and the Council.
I didn’t share like to a lot of people.
I shared it to the people that interviewed me at the school for the senior project.
I guess.
I guess... if graduating with honors counts.
I guess... how they shaped us today.
ANCESTRAL CONNECTION

I wrote my grandpa.
I stressed about was the Filipino culture too.
He would get mad at my sister and I at home because.
I just...
In my letter I thanked him for taking care of me and for guiding me, so, yeah.
I live with my mom and my dad, and my sister.

HOMELAND CONNECTION

I was born in Baguio city.
I was growing up as a child.
I was fond of it because.
I was always surrounded by it.
I feel the most comfortable in.
I feel appreciative of that.
I guess anywhere knowing that our ancestors were there because that’s where the plantation
workers would stay at... so knowing that... It kind of makes you feel connected to your people
here.

CREATING MEMORIES AT SCHOOL

I guess the school, Waipahu High School.
I spent four of my years.
I made a lot of friends there.
I made memories there.
I learned there.
I was also able to find myself, as a Filipino, in that school. Like after doing the senior project and
everything it made me want to be more involved in the Filipino community and it made me
want to take part in...

ETHNIC IDENTITY

I wasn’t... into... being Filipino.
I thought like.
I’m already living my culture.
I guess after that.
I wanted to like... be more involved with my culture.
I thought I knew everything about my culture.
I had to as a Filipino but after that.
I realized.
I didn’t know that much about my history or my native land.
I was with my culture and being able to do that and made me feel more connected.
COMMUNITY CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS

I’ve encountered.
I only went there like... a couple of times to do like this project with something Reyukai America and that was tied in with the letter to my parents. They are an organization that like is based on family.
I guess your wellbeing and to make you better as a person.
I went there to do like arts and crafts with one of the people from the organization.
I think she’s a historian.
I guess.
I guess this is one story
I’m saying a story but she um... She’s talking about how she came here to Hawai‘i and... like she actually didn’t come here her parents came here and she was born here. But she never learned the Filipino language and her parents never taught it to her because her parents didn’t want her growing up with an accent and that was one thing they didn’t want to be humiliated for
I guess.
I want to learn the culture and the language it was kind of too late.
I guess.
I guess again realize again how important it is to speak the language because it helps you connect with the people.

PLACE MEANS...

Place means... I think one thing... this is the closest to Baguio City environment and it was at Camp Erdman.
I always like it because it reminds me...
I’m back home.
It makes me feel like a place where...
I can relax.

HOME

Where is home for me? I think it’s like...not just another place; home is like being surrounded by my mom, my dad and my sister.

ETHNIC IDENTITY – WHAT DOES FILIPINO MEAN TO YOU?

I would say Filipino.
I guess being born or being from the Philippines.
I guess you don’t have to be born or raised there as long as you embrace the culture and you take on the Filipino values, like respect, being hard-working.
I guess when you like eat Filipino foods and... just knowing the history.
CHURCH AND COMMUNITY CONNECTEDNESS
I guess.
I started being involved in that around 10th grade.
I had to go to a class, like confirmation.
I made like a whole second family.
I guess like
I like belong to the community

ANCESTRAL CONNECTEDNESS, MOTIVATION, HOPES FOR THE FUTURE
I guess we talked about how.
I think he was senator.
I guess he was one of the leaders of the Filipino community.
I had from my essay was it’s not knowing the native land, native culture or language and the values.
There’s a lot of successful Filipinos and knowing that helps me and makes me motivated as a Filipino immigrant that I can do things.
I can’t be the president of the United States.
I can still be successful in my own ways and it just keeps you motivated just knowing that your ancestors or your parents too went through so much sacrifice so much for you to have like better opportunity.

FILIPINO PRIDE, CAMP AND CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS
I’ll always be proud to be Filipino!
I’m in. It’s just how.
I socialize might be different because when...in Sariling Gawa.
I may be talking like Filipino to them or talk about the Philippines to them in a group.
I would normally talk English.
I don’t think there would be any changes.
I feel about my culture.
[to help me find who] I am and my place in my community and doing my project.

SOCIAL MEDIA, DANCING
I did like.
I posted it on my Facebook page, they actually helped me like find resources and find like mentors for my hip hop dance project which was like a tinikling like dance thing.
I am passionate about dancing.
I’ve always loved dancing
I took that aspect of the Filipino culture and took like the modern day hip-hop dance.
I incorporated it into the traditional tinikling, Filipino folk dance.
I created like the unit, like five minute or 10 minute dance piece.
I mixed the two types of dances together.
I didn’t perform it.
COMMUNITY DISCONNECTIONS

I couldn’t really connect like.
I could in Waipahu because Waipahu, it’s just different. Everybody is just more friendlier and like in our school...
I guess there’s a lot of Filipinos who you can connect with and say the same stories like you do to you like you have and like where they came from to, you can connect to them through their stories.
I don’t know.
I think Kalihi, the Filipinos tend to be... act kind of.
I don’t know if it’s just from my point of view but they seem to be little bit more rowdier, to me.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES – CAMP & SOCIAL CONNECTEDNESS

How do I build a stronger community?
I try to like with the Sariling Gawa, the youth group.
I feel like if you’re Filipino.
I think you should like experience what you have.
I try to...try to bring most of my friends there.
I’m hoping that my sister can make it one day, too.
I guess it’s just the money, it’s kind of hard.
I think now
I think it’s $140. But if you are like, if you’re a student at UH Manoa, it’s free.

SOCIAL MEDIA

I had went to search for my product or ideas.
I was able to find like searches for like the tinikling dance group.
I don’t have a twitter (account).
I think - a lot of the Filipino youths have that or use that.
I think everybody has Facebook but they barely go on it now.
PLACES TO BALANCE AND RE-ENERGIZE: LIBRARY, ROOM AND ROOF TOP

I think cuz like for me...
[when] I’m sad.
I tend to like read books. So, the library... and in my room.
[when] I’m sad at night.
I would go to the roof.
I think being in the library.
[whenever] I’m sad.
I like to read books and be surrounded by all the books and it kind of keeps my mind off of things.
I read.
[And in my room because it’s my sanctuary and the rooftop thing, cuz like]
I like to look at the stars too. It sounds kind of corny but... [Laughter.]
It makes me feel like there’s someone out there too, looking up and feeling the same way.
I am.
I sleep and do most of my school work and where all my like pictures are posted on the wall...which reminds you that there's people there for you.

FUTURE PLANS

I’m going to college.
I want to be like an elementary teacher.
I’m hoping after.
I become an elementary teacher.
I would be able to promote the importance of culture for my students, it doesn’t have to be Filipino it can be any other ethnicity, but as for the Filipino community...
I was hoping to be more involved and take on like possibly a leader role/

KALIHI AND MICROAGGRESSIONS

I guess that one particularly in Kalihi too, like growing up...
I guess that’s why...
I saw Kalihi as not as a good place...
I would see my mom get in trouble, it kind of made me sad.
I think at school.
I was in second grade.
I guess.
I would say the number 20 differently from everybody, they started laughing and that’s one thing...
I recall.
Before I started going to it...
I wasn’t as proud to be Filipino.
I am now...
I just saw it as a culture but after going through the camp it made me stronger in my sense of identity and in the Filipino community.
PARTICIPANT #11: GRACE’S “WE” POEMS

ANCESTRAL DIS-CONNECTIONS - LANGUAGE

We had to write a letter to our parents or one of our guardians.
We just had to.
We don't speak it as fluently.
We don't speak the Filipino language as much.
We just talk English.
We understand but it's hard for us to try and communicate and so he would like scold us, like saying that.
We need to keep the language because.
We have to be proud to be a Filipino and you can't lose it because you're going to forget who you are.

CHURCH AND COMMUNITY CONNECTEDNESS

We had to get confirmed by the church...
We'd go on retreats.
We would do something together...
We would have rituals like Bible studies
We have a praise and worship on June 4th.
We all have one.
We have the same purpose for being there and that’s like being Filipino and God.
We love him and serve him.
We all.
We're all connected because of the retreats.
We've been through together and it made us know each other's stories and just knowing that We both believe in that one God makes me feel connected to them.
[So the ministry, like most of us are Filipino but] We're open to other ethnicities to.
We mostly meet at church.
We have Bible study on Friday there's also classes on Saturday and mass on Sunday.

CAMP AND CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS

We're like put into different groups.
We like are able to share our stories.
We get to know each other.
[after the camp is over] We still connect with them after and it's amazing how the camp brings the Filipino community together and it creates this whole other set of family that you like you never knew you had.
We think about how it relates to our culture.
We had to do like a scavenger hunt this one station talked about the different regions of the Philippines and then there was another area where they talked about dance and where they dance came from in the Philippines.
What else do we do? They talk a lot about our history and our culture and why it's important.
FILIPINO COMMUNITY AND CONNECTEDNESS

We need to show everybody that as a community
We can do things together.
We know our stories,
We understand that it helps us to move on to the future and it helps.

SOCIAL MEDIA AND CONNECTEDNESS

We have.
We have a Facebook group page.
We keep our folks updated with something like Filipino family.
We also have the Instagram page for Sariling Gawa.
We have.
We had camp.
We would use that to post pictures and then YouTube helped me.
PARTICIPANT #12: DOMINIC’S “I” – POEMS

MY STORY

I’m born here in O‘ahu.
I’m not sure about that exact time.
I grew up here.
I really didn’t have that much friends.
I would always be shy.
I met this one friend.
I gained more comfort.

I went to Waipahu High School.
I play football
I’m a... slot receiver and a... cornerback
I will in the future.
I play football.
I’m going to work.
I’m working on my paperwork.
I can get into a job.
I’m just 15 years old.

WAIPAHU

I live with my family.
I live around Waipahu.
I grew up here.
I’m not really comfortable in other cities.
I really don’t go out.
I always stay here in Waipahu.
I’m relaxed and comfortable.
I get all my friends.
I guess.
I’m set for now during my teenage life.

I don’t like staying -at-home.
I get... a lot of chores.
I get really lazy.
I might as well stay at school.
I’m just happy.
I get all my close friends.

I’m having a hard time
I got into a fight
I don’t really want to talk about it.
WAIPAHU

I’m stuck in this place
I don’t want to leave.
[If] I were to go somewhere.
I would be paid.
I think this place is.
I got everything over here.
I get most of my family.

FILIPINO ETHNIC AND LOCAL IDENTITIES

I would say.
I’m Filipino, of course.
I’m a full-blooded Filipino.
I would say.
I think of it like.
I think of myself as “local.”
I’m born here.
I speak pidgin.
I got used to speaking pidgin.
I feel being connected to the Filipino community.

WAIPAHU = HOME

I said Waipahu is my home place.
I said it’s assuming like mostly Filipinos here.
I don’t really want to say white people.
I guess.
I don’t really want to say.
I like go out to Pearl City.
I go Kapolei.
I don’t know why.
I don’t really want to talk about it.
I’m not really close to it.
I mostly share.
I share with everyone.

WAIPAHU AND COMMUNITY CONNECTEDNESS

I said.
I grew up in Waipahu.
I got connected
I don’t really know
I grew up in Waipahu
SOCIAL MEDIA
I have lots of social media apps.
I have Twitter.
I get involved.
I get a lot of them.
I don’t really know.

ANCESTRAL AND HOMELAND CONNECTIONS
I got to be in the Philippines.
I got to feel that they’re with us.
I feel connected here.

WELLBEING
I think is whatever.
I want to do.
I want to do anything it makes me happy.
I’m being me, it makes me happy.
I guess the main priority.

PLACES TO RELIEVE STRESS AND HEAL
I take a walk and breathe in the fresh air in the morning and that really relieves stress.
I would mostly go to.
I forgot that place, oh... Waikiki Beach.
I take the bus by myself and go for a nice walk by the beach and smell that nice fresh saltwater,
    you know, it decreases my stress, and stuff like that.

GIFT OF NATURE
I say God, God gave me that gift.
I say it’s enjoyable.
I enjoy it.
I enjoy going to the beach a lot.
I just enjoy it.
FUTURE PLANS
I have a lot.
I have goals.
I want to go college.
I’m interested.
I have to plan.
I’m not really interested.
I guess.
I’ll try my best.
I’m getting there.
I’m taking a health class.

COMMUNITY RESOURCES AND SAFETY
I went to the Filipino Community Center.
I went to talk.
I feel safe.

WAIPAHU AND BEYOND
I’m comfortable in Waipahu.
I was born.
I didn’t know.
I grew up.
I went to some places.
I didn’t go to.
I grew up some more.
I went to most of the places.
I went to every place.
I’m getting tired now.
I want to go traveling around the world.
I never did that.
I want to go there.
I know O’ahu.
I’m comfortable.
I want to know the whole world.
PARTICIPANT #12: DOMINIC’S “WE” POEMS

THE BEACH

We would take bus to the beach, it’s empty.
We have the beach.

FILIPINOS AND ISLAND LIVING

We hear a lot of chickens in the morning.
[that’s how] We talk here in Hawaiʻi, most of the time.
We have our own ways.
We eat our food here.
We use our hands and stuff like that.
We do a lot of festivals.
We dance.

ANCESTRAL CONNECTEDNESS AND RESPECT

We have to respect that because that’s how it was in the old days when my great, great grandmother was alive.
We have to follow their paths, you know.

CULTURAL VALUE: RESPECT

We’re so different.
We all have our parts, you know.
We show respect to others.
We have some care and consideration... and all that. And that’s number one is respect here in Waipahu
We don’t get respect back if you don’t show respect.
We take it seriously.

SOCIAL MEDIA

We use our phones, online... Instagram.
We talk to each other.
We talk stories or something like that.
[When] we’re away from each other.
[that’s how] We talk nowadays.
We’re not around.
COMMUNITY SAFETY

We care.
We tell someone...like the police officers to watch over Waipahu because they’re the only ones that can.
We take our guns and shoot those guys whose staying in Waipahu.
We still got to go to jail anyways, got to tell the police.
We’re still at risk.
Curriculum Vitae

Stella M. Gran-O’Donnell

University of Washington School of Social Work
4101 15th Ave. NE
Seattle, WA 98105-6299

sgran@uw.edu

EDUCATION

Doctorate of Philosophy - Social Welfare, University of Washington 2016
Dissertation: Being, Belonging, and Connecting: Filipino Youths’ Narratives of Places and Wellbeing in Hawai’i

Master of Public Health*, University of Washington 1998
Department/Track: Health Services/Community Medicine
Thesis: A Qualitative Study of Smoking among Samoan Youth in Seattle: A Focus Group Approach

Master of Social Work*, University of Washington 1996
Concentration: Health
*Concurrent MSW/MPH Program

Bachelor of Arts Business Administration, Seattle University 1993
Major: Business Management/International Business

FELLOWSHIPS & AWARDS

TRAINEESHIPS/FELLOWSHIPS

Council on Social Work Education (CSWE)/National Institutes of Mental Health (NIMH) - Underrepresented Minority Mental Health Research Fellow 09/07–12/08

National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) Prevention Research University of Washington School of Social Work, T32 MH20010 09/04–06/06

National Institutes of Mental Health (NIMH) & University of Rochester Medical Center’s Center for the Study & Prevention of Suicide (CSPS) Summer Research Institute in Suicide Prevention (SRI/SP), Pre-Doctoral Fellow, Rochester, N.Y. 06/06, 06/05

University of Washington Graduate Office - Minority Achievement Program (GO-MAP) – Presidential Diversity Fellowship 09/03–06/04

HONORS/AWARDS

National Science Foundation (NSF) Scholarship Scholarship ($1000) to attend The Evaluators’ Institute, Washington, 07/04, 07/02
D.C.

**Max Award for Team Leadership**  
*Human Services Department. City of Seattle, Seattle, WA.*  
06/99

**National Asian Women’s Health Organization (NAWHO) Leadership Network and Legislative Advocacy Training, Washington, D.C.**  
*Training/Travel Scholarship - 1-week long training*  
02/98

**Asian Pacific Partners for Empowerment and Leadership (APPEAL) First International Leadership Training Summit, Honolulu, HI.**  
*Travel/Training Scholarship – 1 week long*  
08/97

**Dean’s List, Albers School of Business and Economics, Seattle University**  
12/91 and 06/93

**President’s List, Seattle University**

### RESEARCH INTERESTS & EXPERIENCE

**INTERESTS:**

- Adolescent health/mental health; place/community; immigrant and refugee health/mental health, health/mental health disparities and inequities; racism, discrimination, microaggressions; community-engaged participatory research; mixed methods.

**EXPERIENCES:**

**Somali Women’s and Young Girls Leadership Workshops.**  
Somali Family Safety Task Force.  
2013-2014

*Consultant.* Co-write grant application, coordinate planning and development of (3) community workshops; draft agenda(s), logic model, pre/post workshop surveys. Collect and analyze survey and qualitative data. Draft final report for funder. Provide ongoing training, technical assistance and consultation for organizational development, including fund development. Awarded: $ (Funder: Seattle Foundation).

**Washington State In-Person Assister (IPA) Outreach Project (ACA)**  
African American Reach and Teach Health (AARTH) Ministries.  
2013-2014

*Consultant.* Lead writer for evaluation section and co-write grant application. Develop evaluation tools and protocols. Design database for
evaluation. Oversee quality of data collected. Analyze data and prepare quarterly reports for funder (Washington State). Provide ongoing training, technical assistance for evaluation, e.g., data collection. Identify funding opportunities and draft grants. Awarded: $84K/1 year (Funder: Seattle Foundation)

**Washington Asian Pacific Islander Voices in Education Initiative.** The Win/Win Network.

*Consultant.* Responsible for 1) Using CBPR approaches, action oriented research, and Appreciate Inquiry (AI) (assets based approach), plan and design community focus groups, protocols, and qualitative tools, with Asian Pacific Islander (API) participants, e.g., parents, family members, students, teachers and other stakeholders. 2) pilot test the design, tools, and protocols with stakeholders, solicit input, and refine design prior to implementation; 3) coordinate with Voices Initiative’s program coordinator to schedule eight groups and recruit participants; 4) lead and facilitate focus groups; 5) conduct quantitative and qualitative analysis; 5) prepare findings and a final report for Washington State Commission on Asian Pacific American Affairs (CAPAA), Voices Advisory Council, community members, and other stakeholders; 6) assist with dissemination strategies; and 7) participate on planning committee, served as trainer and evaluator, for the *First Annual Pacific Islander Resources in Education (ASPIRE) Summit* and presented findings.

**Project HANDLE - HIV/AIDS Network Development & Life-Skills Experience.**

SAMHSA’s CSAP and CSAT - Collaboration & Technical Capacity Building for Substance Abuse Prevention within the Cambodian Community.

Office of National Drug Control Policy
*Consultant and Co-PI Neighborhood House, Seattle, WA.*

Lead/co-lead grantwriting efforts, coordinate the provision of Training/Technical Assistance (T/TA) for community HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment and care project designed to serve SE Asians, African refugees and immigrants, and African Americans. Provide consultation and TTA for: program planning/development, curriculum and resource development, strategic planning, community needs assessment, and evaluation. Develop training guides, evaluation plans, tools, and other resources. Draft reports, abstracts, and presentations for agency use and dissemination to communities, and for local and national conferences. Lead/co-author grant applications, (select, identify, adapt) curricula, evaluation, sustainability & strategic plans. Awarded: SAMHSA CSAP $/years; SAMHSA CSAT $ /years; ONDCP $/year

**First Annual Place Matters Conference.**

Research Assistant, *University of Washington’s: Office of Minority*
Affairs/Diversity Research Institute. Assist with all aspects of conference planning and logistics. Identify and maintain supporting literature and resources for conference website. Draft call for abstracts and identify and draft review criteria for conference poster sessions and presenters.

**Washington State Anti-Trafficking Response Network (WARN) Project. Consultant - Interviewer.** D.J. and Associates. Contact community staff, administer surveys and conduct qualitative interviews with collaborative partners. Analyze data and prepare reports for evaluation team. (*Funder: Office of Refugee Resettlement*).


**Teen Dating Violence/Teen Peer Advocacy Project (TPAP).** SAMHSA -CSAP Violence Prevention Project *Research/Evaluation Consultant, Asian Counseling and Referral Service (ACRS)* Co-author grant proposal, co-develop curriculum with agency staff, revise/update per staff recommendations and youth/program needs. Primary responsibilities include develop/design evaluation plan, survey tools and protocols Draft abstracts and manuscripts for presentation at local and national conferences. Provide T/TA and assist with identification of funding sources and co-author grants to ensure project’s sustainability.

**ICHS’ Community Needs Assessment Project: Holly Park Medical & Dental Clinic and International District Main Clinic** *Research Consultant, International Community Health Services (ICHS)* Oversee and coordinate community assessment process including hiring, training of staff, e.g., research assistants. Develop surveys and protocols, oversee data collection and analysis. Conduct analysis and draft reports and presentations.

**Evaluation of The New School Initiative at Southshore** *Researcher/Evaluator, University of Washington, School of Public Health & Community Medicine, Maternal Child Health (MCH)* Coordinate efforts with New School principal, staff and board to plan, design, and evaluate innovative approaches to early childhood education and comprehensive, wraparound wellness/support services for children and families. (*Funders: Stuart Sloan’s The New School Foundation*).

**Seattle Partners for Healthy Communities (SPHC) Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)** 2000-2005
Epidemiologist II/Qualitative Researcher, Public Health–Seattle & King County, Epidemiology, Planning and Evaluation (EPE) Unit

Promoting Assets Across Cultures (PAAC) Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)
Lead (Qualitative) Evaluator, Public Health–Seattle & King County, Epidemiology, Planning and Evaluation (EPE) Unit
Manage all aspects of research/evaluation project. Develop research/evaluation protocols, tools, curricula, and instruments. Hire and train bilingual/bicultural focus group facilitators and research assistants. Oversee coordination and data collection, i.e., conduct of 17 focus groups with East African speaking populations, South East Asian and English speaking adults and youth. Train staff as needed. Responsible for data analysis, preparation of reports, manuscripts and draft/develop abstracts and short reports to be presented at community meetings, local and national conferences.

Community Research Center (CRC) Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)
Co-Director, Public Health–Seattle & King County, Epidemiology, Planning and Evaluation (EPE) Unit
Oversee provision of T/TA (research, evaluation, community needs assessments, and grantwriting) for faith-based, community organizations, and grassroots groups. Identify/develop curriculum/training materials and resources, e.g., tools and handouts. Facilitate and conduct T/TA sessions. Oversee small grants projects: develop RFA, disseminate, and assess applications according to criteria. Provide T/TA to funded agencies.

Implementing Asthma Care Training (ACT) in Seattle/King County Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)
Lead Evaluator, Asthma and Allergy Foundation of Washington.
Assess the replication of CDC community-based best practice curricula - asthma education for parents and young children. Develop evaluation plan, tools, surveys and protocols. Administer surveys and conduct interviews with staff, parents and providers. Prepare reports and briefings to funder, Director and PI.

Native American Women’s Dialogue on Infant Mortality (NAWDIM) US Dept. of Health and Human Services, Office of Minority Health
Lead Evaluator, United Indians of All Tribes Foundation (UIATF).
Collaborate with team to identify/assess research/evaluation needs. Develop evaluation plan, tools, surveys, and other protocols. Analyze data and prepare reports for staff, management, and funders as needed.
Co-author grant for renewal/submission. Awarded year 2 grant renewal by OMH.

**Community Needs Assessment Project: Pacific Islander Populations**
International Community Health Services (ICHS).
*Research Consultant.*
Oversee and coordinate community assessment project. Develop survey tools and protocols, oversee data collection and analysis. Conduct analysis and draft reports. Present findings and recommendations to Agency Director and Board members based on reports. 1995-1998

**Seattle Organ Donation and Transplantation Project**
Hope Heart Institute & University of Washington’s Dept. of Surgery & Medicine/Dept. of Health Services
*Qualitative Researcher/Consultant.*
Provide consultation for qualitative research components of project including design, development of data collection instruments, data entry and analysis using Qualitative software program. Train data entry staff, assist with preparation of reports and manuscripts; and presentations for national conferences. Design and develop curriculum and conduct cultural competency trainings for service providers. (*funder: NIH National Heart, Blood, and Lung Institute*)

**Asian Pacific Islander Teen Smoking Project**
Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)
*Research Director.*, University of Washington, School of Public Health & Community Medicine, Department of Health Services; Seattle, WA.
Responsible for all phases of research and project management - design, project planning, budgets and administration, and implementation. Hire and train staff/ research assistants. Draft Human Subjects/IRB applications, and data collection protocols, tools/instruments (quantitative and qualitative), contact scripts and consent forms. Provide ongoing supervision and oversight for data collection activities and data analysis - quantitative and qualitative – preparation of reports for funders, abstracts and manuscripts for presentations. Present project findings at local and national conferences. coordination with community members, staff and CBOs, research design, data collection and analysis, preparation of reports and manuscripts for funders and dissemination purposes. Also responsible for coordination of research activities with National Tobacco Network (12 universities nationwide). (*funder: Center for Disease Control and Prevention – Office of Smoking and Health*)

**Mutual Partnerships Coalition Initiative**
*MWS Student Intern, Group Health Cooperative’s Center for Health Promotion; Seattle, WA.*
Responsible for resource development for intergenerational community
asset development project. Conduct outreach and administer/interview seniors using project tools and protocols. Convene youth and senior groups regarding arts and other assets. Develop computer course curricula and train seniors in computing skills. Assist with coordination of project events and activities. (Funder: W.K. Kellogg Foundation)

**Minority Youth Health Project**
Robert Wood Johnson Foundation
*Research Assistant, University of Washington, School of Public Health & Community Medicine, Department of Health Services; Seattle, WA.*

**PUBLICATIONS**


**Gran-O’Donnell, S;** Farwell, N; Mohamed, F; Negash, T; and Sarka, E. Proceedings from Ethiopian Community Development Council’s Annual Conference. Washington, D.C., 2001.


**OTHER REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS**


**SELECTED PRESENTATIONS**


Gran-O’Donnell, S. Seattle Partners for Healthy Communities’ Community Research Center: Providing Technical Assistance and Resources to Promote Community Capacity and Development. Panel Presentation: 


Shiu-Thornton, S; Gran-O’Donnell, S; Chan, M; Weaver, M; Spigner, C; and Allen, M. Cultural Perspectives on Organ Donation From Five Asian-American Communities. Presented at American Society for Minority Health and Transplantation Professionals Annual Meeting, Eliminating Health Disparities Boston, MA., Sept. 2000


Gran-O’Donnell, S; Lopez, K; Lindborg, E; Fish, V; and Sherry, L:  *Diversity: Bringing It Back and Weaving It Together.* Panel Presentation at the Western, Pacific & Gulf Region’s Youth Tobacco Conference, Seattle, WA, Oct. 1997.


**TEACHING INTERESTS & EXPERIENCE**

**SPECIALIZATION:**

Micro/meso/macro (integrated) practice; research methods; Macro Practice: Communities, Organizations and Policy Practice; Community-Engaged Participatory Research; Empowerment Practice with Youth; Empowerment Practice with multi-ethnic, -racial, and –cultural communities; Empowerment Practice with refugee and immigrant communities; Participatory Approaches to Evaluation.

**COURSES TAUGHT:**

*Social Work Practice*  
*Macro Practice II: Organizations, Community and Policy Practice (Soc W 513),*  
**Sole Instructor**
Graduate level foundation practice course that provides frame of reference and skills for organizational, community-based social work practice. Theories of social change are examined with examples drawn from community organizing and policy advocacy.

**Critical Empowerment Practice with Refugees and Immigrants (Soc W 538), Sole Instructor**
Advanced graduate level practice course with a focus on principles of empowering practice, critical analyses of models of multiculturalism and paradigms of knowledge and practice proven problematic in our increasingly diverse society. Assists students in developing empowering practice values, knowledge, and skills for working with refugee and immigrant communities.

**Critical Empowerment Practice with Youth (Soc W 538), Sole Instructor**
Advanced graduate level practice course with a focus on principles of empowering practice, critical analyses of models of multiculturalism and paradigms of knowledge and practice proven problematic in our increasingly diverse society. Assists students in developing empowering practice values, knowledge, and skills for working with youth.

**Critical Empowerment Practice with Multi-Ethnic, -Racial, and -Cultural Communities (Soc W 538), Sole Instructor**
Advanced graduate level practice course with a focus on principles of empowering practice, critical analyses of models of multiculturalism and paradigms of knowledge and developing empowering practice values, knowledge and skills working with diverse communities, and practice proven problematic in our increasingly diverse society.

**Research Methods**
**Foundations of Social Welfare Research (Soc W 505), Sole Instructor**
Overview of research process/methods in social work, with focus on consuming and performing practice-related research and evaluating one's own practice. Emphasis on critical understanding of empirical literature, development of useful and appropriate questions about social work practice, and strategies and techniques for doing research and applying findings to practice.

**MSW Practicum Instructor.**
School of Social Work; University of Washington; Seattle, WA. Serve as onsite instructor for first and second year (advanced) MSW students. Assign and oversee student’s practicum project tasks and activities. Provide resources (related readings and other resources), assist
with problem-solving, identify opportunities for networking, and daily supervision. Work with UW Field Education Office and faculty to identify appropriate projects per student’s learning plans, attend trainings, and meetings. Evaluate student’s progress quarterly and at the end of the school year.

Social and Human Services

**Working with Diverse Populations (SHS 219), Sole Instructor**

2006

Identifies barriers to effective interactions with diverse populations, including culture, ethnicity, age, gender, sexual orientation, disability, and health differences. Provides a frame of reference and skills for effective work with clients different from oneself.

**Time and Stress Management (SHS 107), Co-Instructor**

2005

Addresses personal and organizational stress in human services settings and offers techniques for reducing and preventing stress, decreasing burnout, and increasing job satisfaction including time management techniques.

**GUEST LECTURES:**

Gran-O’Donnell, S. May 4, 2010. *The New Face of HIV and AIDS: Cultural Competency and Cultural Humility as Strategies for Improving Care.* Oregon Health Sciences University, School of Nursing, Bachelor of Science in Nursing Program, Klamath Falls, OR. Invited Guest Lecturer.


Gran-O’Donnell, S. May 2003. *Qualitative Data Analysis Using NUD*IST Software.* Training for University of Washington’s Dept. of


ADDITIONAL PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

COMMUNITY-BASED/MACRO SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

The Executive Development Institute (EDI) “The Art of Team Building” workshops at EDI’s 4th Annual Leadership Together Conference. Consultant/ Trainer/Facilitator responsible for designing/developing two – 90 minute presentations on the topic of “The Art of Team Building” - for Asian American professionals - via a mix of lecture, activities, and interactive discussions; prepared and submitted workshop description, PowerPoint slides; and ongoing coordination with Executive Director and Conference Planners to ensure related tasks were submitted/completed prior to the conference.

ICF International, Inc. US Dept. of Health and Human Services (HHS). Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health – Office of the Regional Health Administrator. HIV/AIDS Regional Resource Network Project. Senior Associate/Consultant. Responsible for: 1) program planning, development, and evaluation for Regional Resource Network Project (RRNP) aligned with the goals and objectives of the White House’s National HIV/AIDS Strategy; 2) provision of technical assistance and support for 10 Regional Resource Consultants and other team members; 3) response to (federal) funder’s requests for reports, papers; and other documents; 4) collaboration with Project Managers and Senior Officers, draft grant applications to expand business opportunities; and 5) performing other duties per request of funder.

prevention, treatment, and care by: engaging faith- and community-based partners, organizations, key leaders, and others in prevention activities/initiatives; promoting HIV testing, reduction of stigma; facilitating collaboration at federal, state, and local levels. Responsible for special local, regional and national projects including: development of PSAs and planning, implementation of Seattle HIV/AIDS Town Hall and Pacific Northwest National African HIV/AIDS Initiative (NAHI) Regional Summit. Other duties: review proposals for Region X's Offices on Women’s Health and Minority Health and active participation and collaboration with federal, state, and local partners on committees and special projects locally, regionally and nationally.

**Consultant/Trainer.** Asian Pacific AIDS Intervention Team (APAIT). *West Coast Regional Grantwriting Workshop.* Develop training materials, tools, and resources for West Coast Regional Workshop, *How to Write Successful Grant Proposals.* Lead trainer/facilitator for 1 – ½ day workshop attended by 20 HIV/AIDS program managers, staff and agency members.

**Consultant.** Communities Advocating for Emergency AIDS Response (CAEAR) Foundation. Assess training needs, identify/develop curriculum and materials, e.g., evaluation tools and resources. Conduct Cultural Competency Trainings for 20 staff, managers and coalition members, e.g., youth, parents, and stakeholders. Administer surveys, analyze data, prepare, and submit required reports.

**SERVICE**

**ACADEMIC SERVICE (*elected positions):**

School of Social Work – MSW Graduate Admissions Reviewer 09/05-
UW Graduate School Senate Representative* 06/07
UW School of Social Work Practicum Instructor
UW School of Social Work Community Centered Integrative Practice Concentration (CCIP) Committee Member 2003 - 2006
2004 - 2005
2001 – 2008
2009 - 2009

**COMMUNITY SERVICE:**

African American Reach and Teach Health Ministry (AARTH) 2005 – 2012
Executive Search and Organizational Capacity Building Committees, Seattle, WA
Washington State Asian Pacific Islander Education Initiative: 2012 - 2013
CONFERENCE PLANNING MEMBER, TRAINING AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROVIDER, ADVISOR
National African HIV/AIDS Initiative 2008 - 2010
Asian Pacific Islander Educational Think Tank, Washington State 2012 - 2014
Taro Roots Foundation Advisory Board Member 2010 - Present

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE:
APHA – CBPR Conference Proposal Reviewer 2002 –
US DHHS Office of Adolescent Health: Proposal Reviewer 2006
US DHHS OWH AND OMH Proposal Reviewer 2010
Conference Proposal Reviewer 2008 - 2010
NAHI Conference Planning Committee Member, 2008 - 2010

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS
American Public Health Association
American Evaluation Association
Council on Social Work Education
  Society for Social Work and Research
National Asian Women’s Health Organization