A NARRATIVE INQUIRY: DECOLONIZING PRACTICES WITH FILIPINO STUDENTS
AT A COMMUNITY COLLEGE IN HAWAI‘I

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the struggles and sacrifices of my late parents Elizabeth Carcallas Batallones and Jaime Vidal Batallones, and all of the ancestors.
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Abstract

The purpose of this qualitative, narrative inquiry was to understand the experiences of Filipino students at a community college in Hawai‘i and whether decolonizing practices in student affairs fostered positive ethnic identity, student engagement and agency. The primary findings from a cross-comparative analysis of three Filipino community college students’ narratives who were exposed to decolonizing practices suggests decolonizing practices in student affairs were a promising intervention for facilitating positive Filipino ethnic identity, increasing student engagement, and agency. Furthermore, the analysis of findings suggests participation with decolonizing student activities can serve as a critical mental health intervention for Filipino students who experience shame of ethnic identity, lack of peer support, and family pressures to succeed. The educational narratives of study participants revealed their self-concept and ethnic identity were shaped by a dominant narrative where they were rendered invisibilized and marginalized. As a result of experiencing decolonizing practices, the narratives of these three Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i were powerful counter-stories of community cultural wealth that dismantled the dominant narrative.

This study offers recommendations to address the need for future policy, practice, and research by: (a) decolonizing curriculum and programs, (b) decolonizing practices for academic and support services, and (c) decolonizing research.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

I begin by sharing a story about how this study came together. As a Filipina community college counselor, I was preparing to bring several of my students to a conference where I presented a workshop called Don’t Be a Coconut, which focused on the phenomena of colonial mentality and internalized oppression among Filipinos. I had not engaged in discussion with the students on this topic beforehand and I was not sure if the topic would resonate with them. However, when we were at the airport, one of my students took out a bottle of Eskinol—a skin whitening product widely used in the Philippines—to see if it would get through airport screening. It was suddenly at that moment I realized this topic was not only relevant, but also deeply personal, because at his age, I was also using this product without questioning the reason. This study focused on the impact of colonial mentality and shame of ethnic identity, how this is reinforced in our postsecondary settings, and how decolonizing practices have influenced Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i.

Many Filipino college students experience shame of ethnic identity, which can be rooted in colonial mentality, an internalized form of oppression that stems from centuries of colonization in the Philippines (David, 2014, 2013; David & Okazaki, 2010; Enriquez, 1992; Nadal, 2011; Strobel, 2015). The effects of colonial mentality are compounded in Hawai‘i due to racist stereotyping of Filipinos in Hawai‘i and a persistent legacy of ethnic inequality that render Filipinos marginalized and invisible within Hawai‘i’s social structure (Eisen, 2018; Eisen et al., 2015; Labrador, 2015; Nadal, 2011; Okamura, 2008). This shame of ethnic identity may be reinforced in their postsecondary schooling experience through lack of representation and invisibility in curriculum, culturally relevant programs, and faculty (Agbayani, 1996; Andresen, 2013; Banks, 2003; Constantino, 1982; Okamura, 2013; Takeuchi et al., 1990).
Background and Rationale

Filipinos: An Invisible Majority

In 1987, the University of Hawai‘i Task Force on Filipinos was organized to “review the status of Filipinos at the University of Hawai‘i (UH) and to make recommendations to increase their numbers and improve the academic success and careers of Filipinos and the quality of education for all students at the University” (University of Hawai‘i, 1988, p. 1). The Task Force became known as the Pamantasan Council comprised of faculty, staff, students, and administrators from all 10 UH campuses. Until this day, Pamantasan holds an annual conference where their mission is to advocate for the representation of Filipino Americans, Filipino curricula, and support for higher education achievement among Filipino students.

While it has been more than 30 years since Pamantasan first convened, there still remains significant Filipino education gaps in the UH system. According to census data, Filipinos are now the largest ethnic minority group in Hawai‘i and make up 25% of the total population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). A 2013 report produced by UH Mānoa’s Office of Student Equity Excellence and Diversity (SEED) showed nearly half of all students in the state’s public education system—the Hawai‘i Department of Education students—are Hawaiian (28%) and Filipino (21%). However, the same report also revealed startling numbers when it comes to Filipino representation in the UH system. Although Filipino students comprised 21% of the Hawai‘i Department of Education population, Filipinos made up only 13.5% of the total UH student population (UH Mānoa SEED, 2013). Additionally, Filipinos are overrepresented at the UH community college level, out of the total 6,828 Filipinos in the UH system, the majority (63%) are enrolled in the UH community college (UHCC) system (UHIRO, 2019; see Table 1) and do not transfer to the 4-year UH campuses (Libarios, 2013; Libarios & Bachini, 2016).
Hawai‘i Island, for example, in Fall 2017, only seven Filipino students (3%) transferred from
Hawai‘i Community College to UH Hilo (UHIRO, 2017). Filipino faculty have also been
disproportionately underrepresented, consisting of a mere 5% in the UH system. Comparatively,
Caucasian represented 46% and Japanese represented 15% of all faculty (UHIRO, 2018).

In a Hawai‘i-based case study that examined the experiences of Filipino undergraduate
students, Bachini (2011) found among the five factors affecting college success among Filipino
students, ethnic identity was identified as a significant factor in student persistence. Family
cultural practices combined with college experiences with other Filipinos contribute to a renewed
sense of pride in ethnic identity. Due to racist stereotyping of Filipinos in Hawai‘i and a
persistent legacy of ethnic inequality that render Filipinos marginalized and invisible within
Hawai‘i’s social structure, many young people feel ashamed of their ethnic identity (Bachini,
2011; Eisen, 2018; Labrador, 2003; Nadal, 2011; Okamura, 2008; Quemuel, 2014). This
phenomenon is not unique to Hawai‘i. In fact, 85–90% of Filipino immigrants in the United
States report witnessing attitudes and behaviors of relatives and friends who denigrate Filipino
culture and ethnicity (David, 2013). These negative beliefs and attitudes held by Filipinos is
known as *colonial mentality*, an internalized form of oppression that stems from centuries of
colonization in the Philippines (Constantino, 1982; David, 2013; Nadal, 2011; Strobel, 2015). As
an internalized form of oppression, colonial mentality is believed to operate on a subconscious
level (David & Okazaki, 2010). Therefore, the shame of ethnic identity experienced by Filipino
students in Hawai‘i is exacerbated by the compounded effects of both colonial mentality and
internalized oppression, in addition to economic, educational, and institutional inequality.
Research has shown positive ethnic identity development is associated with cognitive
development and student sense of belonging (Fuligini, 2007; Maramba & Velasquez, 2012;
Additionally, positive interactions such as student exchange based on common values and perspectives, along with student involvement, are contributing factors in academic success and student persistence (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Moreover, Filipino student organizations can play an important role by filling outreach and retention needs not addressed by the college student services system (Fajardo, 2014; Hernandez, 2016; Museus & Quaye, 2009; Okamura & Agbayani, 1997; Quemuel, 2014; Strayhorn, 2012).

An inventory on Filipino curriculum in the UH system shows UH Mānoa offers the most Philippine- and Filipino-focused courses in the UH system, including a bachelor’s degree, master’s degree, and graduate certificate, along with the only Center for Philippine Studies in the nation. UH Hilo offers the second most Filipino-focused courses with seven Filipino-focused courses and an undergraduate certificate in Filipino Studies, while UH West O‘ahu offers six classes. These 4-year campuses offer most of the courses related to the Philippines or Filipinos. However, the target population of UHCC students, where the majority of Filipinos are enrolled, do not have access to these courses. Among the UHCCs, Leeward Community College offers the most courses dedicated solely to the Philippine and Filipino experience, with the only academic subject certificate in Philippine Studies. Other UHCCs that offer Filipino or Ilokano language courses are Maui College and Kapi‘olani Community College. The remainder of the community colleges primarily offer courses in Asian studies, history, or ethnic studies, which may include some content on the Philippines or Filipinos. Among the seven UHCCs, Hawai‘i Community College, Kaua‘i Community College, and Windward Community College did not list any courses focused solely on the Philippines or Filipinos.
A cursory search on Filipino retention programs or support services for Filipino students within the UHCC system reveals no Filipino-specific student support programs are provided. However, the following UHCC campuses reported having active Filipino student clubs: Hawai‘i Community College, Honolulu Community College, Kaua‘i Community College, Leeward Community College, and Maui College. The cursory search of Filipino programs and services shows the UHCC system is primarily relying on the strength of its student engagement to fill Filipino educational gaps.

On February 7, 2019, the senate committee on higher education approved S.B. 1418—the UH Pamantasan Bill—a measure appropriating funds to the UH for two full-time equivalent positions to promote access, diversity, and workforce development, including programs and policies related to Philippine courses and Filipino students. In May 2019, the bill passed the House and Senate and was signed into law by Governor Ige in July 2019. Through this measure, an opportunity was created to fill critical Filipino educational equity gaps by providing personnel to develop and implement culturally relevant programs and services to facilitate positive ethnic identity development, increase student sense of belonging, and support Filipino student engagement in the UHCC system.

**Purpose**

The purpose of this qualitative, narrative inquiry study was to understand the experiences of Filipino students in the UHCC system and whether decolonizing practices in student affairs fostered positive ethnic identity, student engagement, and agency. The major scope of the project collected the narratives of Filipino students at a community college in Hawai‘i who were exposed to decolonizing practices in student affairs. Decolonizing practices with Filipino American students develop an accurate understanding of Filipino history and culture, connect
history to current issues, make students aware of the effects of colonization on self and others, and promote social action (David, 2013; Halagao, 2013; Strobel, 2015). This study attempted to understand the personal and educational impacts of these interventions.

Participants of this study were three Filipino students at a community college in Hawai‘i who were exposed to decolonizing practices and subsequently formed a Filipino student organization at their campus.

**Research Questions**

- What are the educational experiences of Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i?
- How do decolonizing practices in student affairs influence Filipino ethnic identity, educational engagement, and agency?

**Theoretical Framework**

This study used critical race theory (CRT) as a framework for understanding the problem of shame of ethnic identity, colonial mentality, and the invisibility of Filipinos in postsecondary educational settings. Through a critical race lens, this study explored the power and potential of decolonizing practices in student affairs as a critical praxis that facilitates positive ethnic identity development, challenges negative stereotypes of Filipinos, and develops critical consciousness to challenge systems of inequality while building allyship for a de-occupied Hawai‘i.

**What Is Critical Race Theory?**

CRT is a theoretical framework that uses race as an analytical tool for understanding social inequality. CRT originated in the mid-1970s from the work of Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman, who argued traditional civil rights strategies were not producing enough change and challenged the idea that civil rights gains were the path to eliminating racism and discrimination. CRT has its roots in legal studies and follows six general assumptions: (a) race is a social
construction that is pervasive, permanent, and embedded in American society; (b) CRT challenges dominant claims of colorblindness, objectivity, and merit; (c) CRT challenges ahistoricism and insists on historical and cultural analysis; (d) CRT recognizes the experiences and knowledge of people of color in its analysis; (e) CRT is interdisciplinary and draws from multiple disciplines; (f) and CRT has the broader goal of eliminating all forms of oppression (Matsuda et al., 1993).

CRT argues efforts to address racism and inequality through civil rights legislation and the law are ultimately undermined by the embedded and pervasive nature of racism. CRT theorist Derrick Bell (2005) used civil rights cases such as Brown v. Board of Education (1954) to draw this point. Bell argued while the Brown v. Board of Education (1954) ruling desegregated schools, it did little to dismantle racial discrimination and resulted in more segregated and unequal school conditions. As Black schools were forced to close and thousands of Black teachers were dismissed, Black children were subjected to hostile school environments in integrated schools. Black children found themselves disproportionately disciplined and subjected to nonacademic tracking mechanisms, leading to “differential educational opportunity” (Dixson, 2006). Through a CRT analysis of Brown v. Board of Education (1954), one can see the limitations of the law in dismantling racism, as legal measures fail to address its insidious nature.

**CRT in Education**

Building off Bell’s (2005) work, CRT has been used as an analytical tool for examining school inequality. In Toward a Critical Race Theory in Education, Ladson-Billings and Tate (2006) argued inequalities between African American and White, middle-class students are a “logical and predictable result of a racialized society in which discussions of race and racism continue to be muted and marginalized” (p. 11). In applying CRT to education, Solórzano (1998)
explained “a critical race theory in education challenges the dominant discourse on race and 
racism as they relate to education by examining how educational theory, policy, and practice are 
used to subordinate certain racial and ethnic groups” (p. 122). According to Solórzano, there are 
five themes of CRT in education: (a) race and racism is at the center of analysis and how it 
intersects with other forms of subordination; (b) CRT challenges claims that educational 
institutions are objective, colorblind, and offer equal opportunity; (c) CRT is committed to social 
justice and ending all forms of oppression and subordination; (d) CRT validates and uses the 
lived experiences of people of color as forms of knowing and analyzing racial subordination 
through methods such as narratives and storytelling; and (e) CRT is interdisciplinary and frames 
racism in a historical context, drawing from multiple disciplines.

CRT postsecondary scholars Solórzano and Yosso (2002, 2001) challenged majoritarian 
themes of colorblindness, selective admissions policies, and campus racial climate in higher 
education. CRT research in higher education examine educational disparities among historically 
marginalized communities and try to expose how majoritarian structures, such as our educational 
systems are set up to benefit dominant groups under the guise of colorblindness and race 

Filipino CRT in Education

Through a critical race perspective, Buenavista (2010) argued Filipinos experience 
educational disparities and marginalization through institutional policies that do not consider the 
complexities of Filipinos as former colonial subjects and present neocolonial subjects. Under 
colorblind educational discourse, higher education institutions have attempted to address 
disparities affecting students of color, while failing to develop programs that address the specific 
needs of ethnic and racial groups. To address this, Buenavista et al. (2009) suggested critical race
scholarship can challenge colorblindness and race neutrality in higher education by exposing how majoritarian structures are set up to benefit dominant groups and shape higher education culture.

CRT can also be applied to the education of Filipinos in Hawai‘i. Agbayani (1996) argued the Hawai‘i Department of Education, as a majoritarian structure, defined problems facing ethnic minority students through a deficit-based perspective, where students who failed to conform to the dominant, middle-class American culture are labeled as “problems” and therefore deficient, placing the burden on the student to change rather than the institution. Quemuel (2014) examined the experiences of Filipina American college students in Hawai‘i through a CRT lens and found factors such as locally specific racial stereotypes, prejudice, and institutional discrimination played an influential role in their educational experiences. Libarios (2013) studied social stratification and higher education outcomes of Filipinos in Hawai‘i and found Filipinos were disproportionately overrepresented in the community college system and highly unlikely to transfer to the 4-year university. Libarios argued, while the community college is a historical entry point for underrepresented minority students, it has failed to serve as a transfer point, challenging the notion of equal opportunity and upward mobility for Filipino students in Hawai‘i.

Asian Settler Colonialism

While this study used CRT as a framework for understanding the problems of shame in ethnic identity, colonial mentality, and invisibility in Hawai‘i, it is also important to situate the problems within the frame of “Asian settler colonialism.” Asian settler colonialism asserts Asian people in Hawai‘i are positioned as settlers who are not indigenous to Hawai‘i and therefore Asian people’s claims to minority rights should not be confused with Native Hawaiian claims for
sovereignty (Fujikane & Okamura, 2008). Asian settler colonialism problematizes the
construction of a local identity as ambivalent and conflicting. While the concept of local
represents Hawai‘i’s multiculturalism, which traces itself to a history of Asian immigrant groups
who found solidarity against a racist and exploitative haole plantation system, this narrative
works within a settler colonial nation of immigrant ideology (Labrador, 2018). Under this
ideology, Asian settler colonialism argues rights being waged against the plantation system were
based on a critique of capitalism and worker exploitation but not within the context of
colonialism, imperialism, and Native Hawaiian sovereignty (Labrador, 2014). Therefore, civil
rights struggles that operate within the context of a U.S. settler state are limited since they
ultimately fail to address injustices against Native Hawaiians or advance Native sovereignty
(Fujikane & Okamura, 2008). Through the Asian settler colonialism frame, it has been argued
that Filipinos, who are both former colonial subjects and current neocolonial subjects, have a
history of resistance to U.S. imperialism shared with Native Hawaiians. As a group displaced by
colonization, Filipinos should be viewed differently than Japanese Americans (Fujikane &
Okamura, 2008; Saranillio, 2006). Saranillio (2006) argued while Filipinos in Hawai‘i lack
social, economic, and political power, empowerment within the Filipino community is
problematic when it is framed within the U.S. settler state. As Saranillio (2006) claimed, “While
Filipino communities in Hawai‘i must continue to resist various inequalities, we must also be
aware of the colonial structures engrained in U.S. nationalism which render invisible the United
States violation of Native Hawaiians’ human rights to self-determination” (p. 125). The intent of
this study was to explore the power and possibility of using decolonizing practices in student
affairs to combat colonial mentality among Filipinos while fighting social inequality in Hawai‘i
and resisting the continued illegal colonial status of Hawai‘i toward collective liberation.
Positionality

My positionality is as a Filipina in the diaspora, born and raised in the San Francisco Bay Area. I am a daughter of parents who immigrated from the Philippines and descendant of great grandparents who immigrated to Hawai‘i as *sakadas*—sugar-cane plantation workers. I am a decolonial, anti-imperialist Filipina, with roots in community organizing. As a decolonial Filipina, I recognize my identity as a settler to Hawai‘i and want my research and work in education to reflect my values of social justice, decolonization, and solidarity with Native Hawaiian sovereignty and a de-occupied Hawai‘i. Although I have “insider” access working as a counselor at a UHCC, I may be considered an “outsider” since I am not local. The students and community with whom I work relate with me based on shared Filipino ancestry. I can also speak in limited conversational Tagalog or “Taglish” (mix of Tagalog and English), which enables me to establish rapport with immigrant Filipinos. Over the course of time I have been living and working in Hawai‘i, I have developed close personal and working relationships within the Filipino community. Among students, I have organized community events and served as an advisor for Filipino student organizations. I am also a member of Tinalak, the Filipino advisory group to the College of Education at UH Mānoa, as well as the Pamantasan Council (UH Filipino advisory group) of which my research topic is of shared interest. These community networks serve as resources for collaboration and ensure my work is accountable and responsive to the larger community’s needs.

As a self-identified decolonial Filipina counselor, I recognize the influence colonial mentality has had on my own development. It is from this positionality that I seek to facilitate the decolonization of Filipino students by incorporating decolonizing practices in my student affairs practice. I have practiced decolonization in my student affairs work in a number of ways—my
physical space is decolonized through educational posters, the books I have on my shelf, indigenous fabrics, and photos of my work with students. I have also physically arranged my desk, computer, and seating arrangement to minimize power differentials. I have organized campus-wide events, such as Kain Tayo: Filipino History and Culture Through Food, and brought indigenous Filipino cultural practitioners to campus to expose students to precolonial Filipino cultural practices. I have also conducted workshops that educated students on colonial mentality. While my positionality has informed my approach to working with students and I have contributed to Filipino student knowledge construction through the decolonizing activities I have conducted with students, I would like my research to inform policy decisions around curriculum and the development of culturally sustaining programs that foster positive Filipino ethnic identity, agency, and solidarity through a critical, decolonizing framework.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

To better understand Filipino shame of ethnic identity and the role and impact of postsecondary institutions and college experiences in the student ethnic identity development process, the literature review focused on the following topics: Filipino college achievement, colonial mentality, and Filipino identity development in postsecondary education.

Filipino College Achievement

A review of the literature on Filipino college achievement shows Asian American students have been marginalized and invisible in higher education research (Museus & Maramba, 2011). For Filipinos who have been racialized as Asian Americans, “the problems of Filipino students become invisible to higher education institutions” (Buenavista et al., 2009, p. 77), as perceptions of Asians as high achieving minorities mask their needs. National data on Filipino college achievement have shown Filipinos experience educational disparities. Filipino students in states with the largest numbers of Filipino Americans have reported lower rates of enrollment at the 4-year universities compared with other racial groups (Okamura, 1998, 2008). Nationally, Filipinos are underrepresented in selective postsecondary institutions and more concentrated in less selective institutions (Museus & Maramba, 2011). The literature on Filipino college achievement in Hawai‘i has highlighted unique circumstances that have led to lower degree and socioeconomic attainment rates compared to Filipinos in the continental United States (Libarios, 2013; Libarios & Bachini 2016; Okamura, 2008).

The experiences of Filipinos in Hawai‘i have been shaped by its plantation labor roots in which subsequent family immigration shared similar socioeconomic backgrounds. Although most post-1965 Filipino immigrants were professional degree holders, they largely immigrated to the United States mainland and not Hawai‘i (Agbayani, 1996; Okamura, 2008). Since Filipinos
were the last wave of plantation labor who filled the lowest paid labor pool, they transitioned into the service industry after the plantations shut down, which continued the function of Filipinos as laborers primarily filling lower paid service work in Hawai‘i’s hotel tourism industry (Agbayani, 1996; Okamura, 2008). Okamura (2008) argued these unique circumstances, along with stereotypes and discrimination against Filipinos, which originate from their subordinated status within the plantation hierarchy, have continued to perpetuate and maintain the lower social status of Filipinos in Hawai‘i and have led to “generational disparity” (p. 4) with cumulative effects. Okamura argued one of the major effects of the social stratification of Filipinos in Hawai‘i has been in higher education. Okamura asserted the state’s dependency on tourism and nonresident tuition fees have perpetuated inequality, as Filipinos have made up the majority of the service sector and have been particularly hurt by tuition increases to a greater extent than other ethnic minority students.

Similar research conducted by Ong and Viernes (2013) reported Filipino Americans have experienced intergenerational downward educational mobility due in part to racialized segmented assimilation, which is the process of different immigrant groups assimilating into lower socioeconomic classes based on structural resources and barriers. Ong and Viernes suggested U.S.-born, second-generation Filipino Americans have significantly lower college completion rates than their immigrant parents, who have often held bachelor’s degrees from the Philippines. Buenavista (2013) asserted Filipinos have occupied a liminal space in education as a byproduct of the neocolonial relationship between the Philippines and the United States, where children of immigrant Philippine degree holders have been considered second-generation college students but have not experienced the advantages associated with having a parent with a college degree.
For Filipinos in Hawai‘i who have been assimilated into Hawai‘i’s social structure as a laborer class with limited access to resources, the concept of racialized segmented assimilation has explained how social stratification has impacted the educational status of Filipinos and differentiated their experiences from other Asian American groups, as well as those of Filipinos in the continental United States.

Although Filipinos have been the largest ethnic minority group in Hawai‘i, they have been disproportionately underrepresented in higher education (see Table 1). A 10-year case study conducted by Libarios (2013), which monitored a cohort of 5,206 graduates from the 1997 Hawai‘i Department of Education senior class, found Filipinos and Hawaiians have been significantly more likely to enroll in a 2-year community college and highly unlikely to transfer from a 2- to a 4-year university.

Table 1
Filipino Undergraduate Enrollment in the UH System (Spring 2019)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State of Hawai‘i</th>
<th>UH System</th>
<th>UH Mānoa</th>
<th>UH Hilo</th>
<th>UH West O‘ahu</th>
<th>UH Community Colleges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>14.45%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>17.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(197,497)</td>
<td>(6,828)</td>
<td>(1,618)</td>
<td>(251)</td>
<td>(667)</td>
<td>(4,292)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Data from 2018–2019 obtained from the UH Institutional Research Office have shown disproportionate rates of Filipino degree completion have continued to persist, especially at the graduate degree levels (UHIRO, 2019). According to these data, 12% of all Filipino students attending the 4-year UH campus earned a baccalaureate degree, 4% earned a master’s degree, and 1% earned a doctoral degree (see Table 2). In comparison, 31% of Caucasian students and
25% of Japanese students earned a master’s degree while 44% of Caucasian students earned a
doctorate degree.

According to the Hawai‘i Statewide 2014 American Community Survey (ACS) data,
32.2% of the Filipino population aged 25 years or older have a high school diploma or
equivalent; 33.2% have earned some college or an associate’s degree; 16.3% have earned a
bachelor’s degree, well below the statewide average of 20.2%; and only 2.9% have a graduate or
professional degree (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014).

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Associate Degree or Certificate</th>
<th>Baccalaureate</th>
<th>Master’s</th>
<th>Doctorate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UH Campus Total</td>
<td>5,210</td>
<td>4,662</td>
<td>868</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian or White</td>
<td>659 (12%)</td>
<td>916 (19%)</td>
<td>276 (31%)</td>
<td>91 (44%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>376 (7%)</td>
<td>377 (8%)</td>
<td>70 (25%)</td>
<td>14 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian</td>
<td>1,471 (28%)</td>
<td>812 (17%)</td>
<td>133 (15%)</td>
<td>12 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>994 (19%)</td>
<td>561 (12%)</td>
<td>42 (4%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Adapted from “Selected Characteristics,” by UH System Institutional Research and Analyst Office, 2018 and 2019.*

It is important to note while 14.5% of Hawai‘i’s population were Filipino race alone,
25% (342,095) were mixed race Filipino (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) and the UH Institutional
Research Office (UHIRO) counted Filipino students through the Office of Management Budget
1997 Mandate, or trumping policy, which gave preferences to Native Hawaiian and mixed race categories over the Filipino category (Vila, 2015). Wherein a student selected Filipino and Hawaiian as their ethnicity, their count was trumped into the Native Hawaiian category. If a student selected Filipino and mixed Asian, their count would have been trumped into a mixed race category. A presentation conducted by UH institutional researcher, Leighton Vila (2015) highlighted the implications of the UHIRO trumping practices, showing untrumped Filipino data would have doubled the Filipino count in the UH system. Vila’s investigation into the UH trumping policy also revealed about 27% of Department of Education Filipinos have been trumped and identified as non-Filipinos in the UH system, with most having been reclassified as mixed race or mixed Asian. This considerable shift in Filipino ethnicity count may have been attributed to the practice of parents reporting student ethnicity data when the students enter the Department of Education, as opposed to students self-reporting their ethnicity in their UH system application. Vila (2015) found about a quarter of the students who matriculated into the UH system switched their identity between the Department of Education and UH, which may be explained by the shame of ethnic identity Filipino students have experienced (David & Okazaki, 2010; Eisen, 2018; Okamura, 2008).

Filipino educational research has been marginalized and invisibilized due to the racialization of Filipinos as Asian Americans. Subsuming Filipinos in the Asian American category has masked the needs of Filipinos as a unique Asian immigrant group that has experienced racialized segmented assimilation and social stratification causing downward educational mobility. This has been further reinforced through institutional policies such as the UH Trumping Policy, which has invisibilized and masked Filipino educational needs and ethnic identity through the practice of trumping data.
Colonial Mentality and Decolonization

Much of Filipino shame of ethnic identity has been rooted in colonial mentality (CM)—an internalized form of oppression that has stemmed from over 300 years of Spanish colonization and subsequent American colonization in the Philippines (David, 2013, 2014; Strobel, 2015). As an internalized form of oppression, colonial mentality has operated on a subconscious level (David & Okazaki, 2010). Scholarship on colonial mentality originated from the writings of Franz Fanon (1965), Paulo Friere (1970), and Albert Memmi (1965), who all wrote about the psychological effects of colonialism. These effects have caused the colonized to internalize inferior beliefs about themselves and superior beliefs about their oppressor and to desire ridding oneself of their cultural identity to emulate the colonizer.

Virgilio Enriquez (1992), the forefather of Sikolohiyang Pilipino, or Filipino indigenous liberation psychology, described the social process of colonization as occurring through the following steps: (a) Denial and Withdrawal: The colonizer denied the existence of natives peoples culture, moral values, or any kind of social value; (b) Destruction/Eradication: The colonizer destroyed any physical or symbolic representations of the native peoples culture; (c) Denigration/Belittlement/Insult: Systems developed by the colonizer such as healthcare, schooling, and churches denigrated, insulted, and demonized those who continued to practice native cultural traditions. Legal institutions established by the colonial system punish and criminalize cultural practitioners, declaring sacred practices or the possession of sacred object as illegal; (d) Surface Accommodation/Tokenism: Remnants of native culture that have survived by this stage have been tokenized as folkloric, giving the appearance that native culture has been tolerated; (e) Transformation/Exploitation: What remains of native culture has been transformed into use by the dominant culture for the purposes of maintaining colonial structures, values, and
practices. Indigenous art and culture have been commodified for economic exploitation and indigenous language has been used to promote Christian religion. It is through this process of colonization enacted through centuries of Spanish colonization and subsequent American colonization that CM has developed and persisted in the Filipino psyche.

Filipino psychologist David (2013, 2014) described CM as a psychological construct that operates on a subconscious level and “involves an automatic and uncritical rejection of anything Filipino and an automatic and uncritical preference for anything American” (p. 63). David and Okazuki (2010) studied CM among Filipinos and developed a Colonial Mentality Scale to study CM among Filipino Americans. Using the Colonial Mentality Scale, they found CM is associated with lower levels of enculturation (connection to their Filipino heritage) and higher levels of assimilation (adherence only to the American culture), among Filipinos. Their studies also found higher levels of CM were related to lower levels of ethnic identity development, and Filipinos with CM tended to experience more depression symptoms and lower self-esteem.

In response to the prevalence and impacts of CM among Filipinos, several scholars have focused their research on the process of decolonization, which has essentially sought to facilitate the unlearning of CM and internalized oppression through: (a) teaching Philippine history from the perspective of the colonized, (b) connecting contemporary experiences to a history of resistance, (c) becoming aware of CM in oneself and others, and (d) social action and community change (Halogao, 2010; Strobel, 2015).

Using Enriquez’s (1992) 5-stage process of colonization as a framework, Native Hawaiian scholar Laenui (2000) developed a decolonization model for Native Hawaiians that paralleled the five stages of colonization Filipinos have experienced. Through this process, Laenui suggested decolonization has been made possible through the following five stages: (a)
Rediscovery/recovery: First learning one’s ethnic group was colonized, (b) Mourning: Recognition and grief for the culture that was taken away, (c) Dreaming: Imagining a world without self-denigration, (d) Commitment: Learning to commit to decolonizing self, (e) Action: Promoting decolonization on greater societal levels.

Filipino psychologist and scholar, E. J. R. David (2013, 2014) applied these decolonization concepts into his psychological practice to develop the Filipino American Decolonization Experience (FADE)—which took the decolonization models used by Halagao (2010) and Strobel (2015) and combined them with cognitive behavioral therapy techniques to facilitate decolonization within a therapeutic context.

Centuries of colonization in the Philippines has had long-lasting and enduring impacts on the psyche and psychological well-being of Filipinos through colonial mentality—an internalized form of oppression that involves inferior beliefs about themselves, superior beliefs about their oppressor, and the desire to rid oneself of their cultural identity to emulate the colonizer. CM has been believed to be responsible for lower levels of ethnic identity development and mental health factors such as depression symptoms and lower self-esteem. Scholarship in this area has pointed to decolonization as an intervention to counter the effects of CM among Filipino Americans. Shared characteristics of decolonizing practices have involved developing an awareness of the history of colonization in the Philippines, self-awareness of colonial mentality, understanding of ways in which colonization manifests in today’s society, and developing an alternate vision and commitment to community change and transformation. These findings warrant further research using colonial mentality and decolonization as a framework for understanding the ethnic identity development process among Filipino American students in postsecondary education.
Filipino Identity Development in Higher Education

It has been widely known and accepted that identity development has been significant to college student development processes (Chickering, 1993; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). To better understand how identity development has occurred among diverse student populations, a number of racial and ethnic identity development theories have been developed (Cross, 1971; Helms, 1990). More recently, a Filipino American identity model (Nadal, 2004, 2011, 2013) was developed in recognition of the distinct identity challenges of Filipino Americans due to their history of Spanish colonization.

Identity Development Theories

Identity development has been widely known and accepted as having primacy in most college student development theories (Chickering, 1969, 1993; Erikson, 1968; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Pascarella and Terenzini’s (2005) comprehensive review of the research on how college affects students supported their argument of a consistent set of cognitive, attitudinal, and psychosocial changes that occur among college students. When combined with increased involvement in cultural activities, progress is made toward positive self-concept, intellectual growth, and well-being. These findings were influenced by Erik Erickson’s (1968) theory of psychological development, which argued human development occurs over the lifespan with growth occurring through a series of crises brought about through the interaction of biological and psychological changes and sociocultural demands. One of the key crises faced by college aged students occurs during Stage 5 of Erickson’s theory is identity versus identity confusion. Chickering (1969, 1993) developed seven vectors of development in their book, Education and Identity, which argued higher education institutions should care about student development and not just “information transfer and intellectual development” (p. xii). Chickering’s seven vectors
are: (a) developing competence and confidence, (b) managing emotions, (c) moving through autonomy, (d) developing mature interpersonal relationships, (e) establishing identity, (f) developing purpose, and (g) developing integrity. While Pascarella and Terenzini’s research has shown how college impacts identity resolution, they found not enough research has gone into the process of identity development, and research that examined identity formation among students of color was lacking.

**Cross’s Racial Identity Theory**

One of the first racial identity theories developed was Cross’s (1971) 5-stage racial identity theory. This theory was originally developed to explain racial identity development among African American’s during the Civil Rights and Black Power Movement of the 1960s. As individuals advanced through stages in Cross’s racial identity theory, advancements in cognitive development were also noted. Cross’s racial identity theory consisted of six stages of racial identity development: (a) pre-encounter, or denial and denigration of one’s Black identity and adoption of dominant White standards and worldview; individuals in the pre-encounter stage may assimilate into White culture to “pass” and gain acceptance and advantages by the White dominant culture and believe race is not a factor that determines Black people’s social mobility; (b) encounter, where the individual encounters an event that shatters their existing worldview and makes it impossible to deny racism exists and begins to acknowledge a Black identity; (c) immersion, or pro-Black/anti-White identity where the individual immerses the self psychologically and physically into a Black world, and Black identity develops in reaction to White society; (d) emersion, or development of a positive Black racial identity where involvement in educational and cultural activities provides psychological relief and acceptance of Blackness not based on a reaction to Whiteness; (e) internalization, or the internalization of a
positive Black racial identity based on both a unique personal identity and a collective Black identity, where Blacks are the primary reference group to which the person belongs and their identity is no longer made in reference to White norms and standards; (f) internalization/commitment, which is a personal commitment to eliminating racism and oppression where an individual is able to internalize positive Black racial identity and forge alliances with others based on common values of social justice and equity.

**Helms White Racial Identity Theory**

Helms’s (1990) White racial identity development was developed to facilitate a positive, healthy racial identity for White people through the process of abandoning racism and embracing a nonracist White identity. The more a White person has denied or not accepted racism, the less possible it becomes to develop a positive racial identity. Therefore, the construction of a healthy White identity has relied on an understanding and awareness of individual beliefs and attitudes, institutional racism, and social and cultural norms that promote the superiority of White culture over non-White culture. Similar to Cross’s (1971) Black racial identity theory, Helms’s theory consisted of a linear progression of six stages centered on where a White person is located in their acknowledgment of racism and conscious awareness of Whiteness. The six stages consist of: (a) Contact: No awareness/ownership of a White racial identity; (b) Disintegration: Awareness of White identity/Whiteness and first realization of inequality between Blacks and Whites; Individuals may be faced with a moral dilemma and experience dissonance to cope with the emotional discomfort of knowing society’s success depends upon systems of inequality, upon which White people have privilege at the expense of Blacks; (c) Reintegration: Conscious acknowledgement of a White racial identity and belief that White people have earned their privileges and racism is experienced due to inferior social, intellectual, or moral qualities; (d)
Pseudo-Independent: Person no longer comfortable with racist identity and begins to question racism and inequality. The emotional turmoil triggered in previous stages becomes intellectualized and while the individual is opposed to racism, they still possess social and cultural attitudes that maintain White dominant standards; (e) Immersion/Emersion: Actively seeking positive White identity that rejects racism. This process is both cognitive and emotional; previous emotions that were distorted or denied are now expressed as positive feelings that enable the person to address racism and oppression; (f) Autonomy: Conscious integration of newly defined White racial identity or a “racial self-actualization” where the individual no longer feels threatened by race and actively seeks opportunities to learn from other cultures and address racism and oppression.

Filipino American Identity Development Model

Filipino Americans have experienced a unique process of racial and ethnic identity development different than other minority groups, and racial identity theories have been limited since they have been formulated in contrast to White, dominant culture and have lacked consideration to between group differences among Asian American populations. Furthermore, Nadal (2013, 2011) argued discrimination has influenced ethnic identity and pointed to a prevalence of racism among Filipino Americans that has reinforced colonial mentality, citing phenomena where it has been common for Filipinos to deny their Filipino ethnicity or claim they are mixed or full Spanish, Latino, or Hawaiian. As the only Asian group to be colonized by Spain for over 370 years and an identity that fluctuates between Asian, Pacific Islander, or exclusively Filipino, Nadal (2004, 2011) developed the Filipino American identity development (FAID) model. Nadal’s FAID model examined the ways in which Filipinos simultaneously develop a racial and ethnic identity that is distinct from other Asian ethnic groups and consisted
of six nonlinear stages or statuses. The six stages of FAID are: (a) ethnic awareness: understanding of oneself based on the people and customs to which they are exposed; (b) assimilation to dominant culture: the realization of being different from dominant culture and therefore attempt to assimilate and reject Filipino identity; (c) social political awakening: when an individual is triggered by an event that makes them actively conscious of race and racism; (d) pan-ethnic Asian American consciousness: when an individual may adopt an Asian American identity based on shared experiences of discrimination; (e) ethnocentric realization: when an Filipino American may reject Asian American identity after experiencing discrimination from other Asians or learning about the marginalization of Filipinos within the pan-Asian community; and (f) introspection: maintenance of a strong Filipino ethnic identity that accepts their role as an Asian American.

**Social Constructions of Filipino Ethnic Identity**

Whereas the racial identity theories mentioned earlier have focused on racial and ethnic identity as a psychological construct consisting of stages of development that should be resolved to achieve a positive sense of self and reduce mental health risks, sociological research suggests Filipino ethnic identity be addressed as a social construct where racism, capitalism, and structures of inequality have served as the foundation for our understanding of Filipino ethnic identity development in Hawai‘i (Eisen, 2018; Eisen et al., 2015; Labrador, 2015; Okamura, 2008). Eisen (2018) asserted Filipinos in Hawai‘i have constructed a Filipino identity that has been “negotiated at the intersections of a Filipino colonial mentality, a local Hawai‘i identity, and a racialized structure that marginalizes Filipinos” (p. 240) and therefore developed a double consciousness (Du Bois, 1903) where the self has been perceived through the eyes of both the oppressed and the oppressor. Labrador (2003) wrote:
In other words, racial/ethnic and cultural enrichment and awareness must be politicized, where self-knowledge is part and parcel of political and economic empowerment. In this way, identity is made political, and an underlying factor in the expression of social, political, and economic interests. (p. 84)

As higher education institutions attempt to address diversity related issues, research has focused on the role higher education has played in the ethnic identity development process of students of color (Maramba & Velasquez, 2012). Several studies that have focused on ethnic identity development have shown there are cognitive and noncognitive benefits to learning about one’s ethnic group, and student affairs practitioners can play an important role in supporting the diverse needs of students through the creation of supportive subcommunities or intentional spaces consisting of culturally responsive curriculum, services, and activities that promote ethnic identity development (Maramba & Velasquez, 2012). Additional qualitative studies have suggested Filipinos in Hawai‘i experience a double consciousness (Du Bois, 1903) or double oppression and suggested these conflicts are both internal and systemic, requiring interventions that support positive ethnic identity development within a decolonization and social justice framework (Eisen, 2018; Labrador, 2003).

Postsecondary education, as sites of knowledge construction and socialization, have been critical locations where identity formation begins and therefore have played a role in contributing to Filipino student negative self-concept (Andresen, 2013; Banks, 2003). Andresen’s (2013) article in, “The ‘Other’ Students: Filipino Americans, Education, and Power,” they argued the invisibility of Filipinos from U.S. curriculum and history has led to ethnic confusion and inherited colonial mentality, making the formation of a positive Filipino American identity difficult to obtain. Andresen cited Banks (2003) notion of cultural psychological captivity, a
person’s negative ideologies about their ethnic group that are institutionalized within society to explain the role and influence curriculum plays in reinforcing the marginalization of students and communities of color. Without any representation of Filipinos in U.S. curriculum, students have been left to adopt Western centric knowledge where Filipino American contributions and experiences have been absent and made invisible.

Hernandez (2016) further complicated this argument by pointing to neoliberal conceptions of diversity as masking educational equity gaps facing Filipino Americans. While postsecondary institutions have become more diverse as a result of civil rights gains and affirmative action policy, neoliberal beliefs that have led to the reversal of this policy have further undermined the development of a Filipino identity that can challenge educational equity issues. Hernandez (2017) studied two long-standing Filipino student organizations in the United States and concluded “institutions of higher education are instrumental regions where racial and ethnic ideologies are actively forged and contested, rather than being passively inherited from the nonacademic world” (p. ii). Buenavista (2010) similarly argued in lieu of race-conscious policies, colleges have developed colorblind programs targeting “nontraditional” students (e.g., first-generation, low-income) and perpetuated racial marginalization in education, as these programs target students based on “inadequate proxies for race and often do not encompass students with complex experiences” (p. 115).

**Conclusion**

The review of literature on Filipino college achievement, colonial mentality, and Filipino ethnic identity development has shown there is a need for decolonizing Filipino identity work in postsecondary educational settings. While it has been widely accepted that college is a site where students construct knowledge of self and identity, not enough research has been conducted on the
impacts of decolonizing interventions among Filipino students and the potential impacts they may have to affect positive ethnic identity construction to counter colonial mentality, address educational and structural inequality in Hawai‘i, and increase solidarity for a decolonized and de-occupied Hawai‘i.
Chapter 3: Methodology and Methods

This research aimed to contribute to the body of research on Filipino postsecondary education and increase the understanding of experiences of Filipinos in the University of Hawai‘i community college (UHCC) system. The major scope of the project was to collect narratives of Filipino students at a community college in Hawai‘i who were exposed to decolonizing practices in student affairs. Decolonizing practices with Filipino American students seek to develop an accurate understanding of Filipino history and culture, connect history to current issues, make students aware of the effects of colonization on self and others, and promote social action (David, 2013; Halagao, 2013; Strobel, 2015). This study attempted to understand the personal, academic, and community impacts of these interventions.

Participants in this study were Filipino students at a community college in Hawai‘i who were exposed to decolonizing practices and subsequently formed a Filipino student organization at their campus. The research questions guiding this study were:

1. What are the educational experiences of Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i?

2. How do decolonizing practices in student affairs influence Filipino ethnic identity, educational engagement and agency?

This chapter describes the study’s research methodology; the rationale for narrative inquiry, critical race methodology, and counter-storytelling; a description of the research participants; an overview of the research design; methods used to collect data; analysis and findings of data; and ethical considerations.
Rationale for Narrative Inquiry

Qualitative research is rooted in the philosophical perspective that reality and knowledge are socially constructed and there is no single, observable reality, but rather multiple realities and interpretations. Through this perspective, qualitative researchers have attempted to construct knowledge by studying phenomena in the real world, or “naturalistic” setting and building theory through inductive analysis (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). As opposed to a positivist orientation where knowledge is gained through “scientific” experiments or testing theory, qualitative research builds knowledge through the process of observation and interpretation research. This type of qualitative research is known as interpretivism or social constructivism. Creswell (2013) explained, through the social constructivist lens, individuals experience the world and develop subjective meaning from these experiences based on social, historical, and cultural factors.

This study used qualitative, narrative inquiry as a methodology to understand the experience of students through their narrative perspectives and stories. Through narrative inquiry the researcher is able to gather information from participants through their personal experiences, memories, feelings, and knowledge, allowing them to access events in memory and how they were experienced (Daiute, 2014). Narrative research is a distinct form of qualitative research where individual stories about people’s lives are collected and then written as narratives to describe the meaning these experiences hold for the individual (Creswell, 2015). According to Connelly and Clandinin (1990) the main claim for the use of narrative in educational research is “humans are storytelling organisms, who individually and socially, lead storied lives” (p. 2). In narrative research, individuals tell the stories of their lives and narrative inquiry attempts to describe the stories collected and write narratives based on these experiences.
According to Polkinghorne (1995) narrative inquiry looks at events and actions and how they have contributed to a particular outcome and organizes these parts to create a story or narrative. Similarly, this study collected the narratives of students to understand their educational experiences and examined how decolonizing practices have contributed to the students’ narratives.

Critical Race Methodology and Counter-Storytelling

While this study situated the research problem within a critical race theory framework, it also employed critical race theory as a methodology in the research process. According to Solórzano and Yosso (2002) critical race methodology: (a) places race and racism—along with its intersections with other forms of oppression—at the center of the research; (b) challenges traditional theories used to explain the experiences of students of color; (c) offers liberatory solutions to achieve social justice and transformation to all forms of subordination; (d) looks at how race, gender, and class experiences are sources of strength; (e) and draws from multiple disciplines in ethnic studies, women’s studies, and history, humanities and the law.

Critical race methodology challenges dominant ideologies through the use of counter-narratives or counter-storytelling—a “method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told . . . A tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 32). Counter-narratives challenge socially constructed beliefs and allow voices in the margins of society to be heard in ways that counter hegemony, or the dominant status quo. Solórzano and Yosso (2002) argued the ideology of racism has been maintained through the master narrative, the majoritarian stories told that “distorts and silences the experiences of people of color” (p. 29). Within the silence, negative stereotypes have been reinforced, as “the silence within which assumptions are made
about good versus bad people of color and working-class people as less intelligent and irresponsible” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 29). Through the master narrative, cultural deficit storytelling has been used to demonstrate that unsuccessful students have been those who were not able to perform to dominant measures of success, while successful students of color have been those who have successfully assimilated into them. Counter-narratives, on the other hand, tell the story of those who are marginalized and live at the margins of the dominant narrative (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Through use of this methodology, counter-narratives can dispel stereotypes of Filipinos, by challenging assumptions used to explain educational inequalities.

Okamura (2008) argued what it means to be Filipino in Hawai‘i has been narrated and dictated by non-Filipinos, and there is an absence of a larger narrative about being Filipino in Hawai‘i told from a perspective that challenges racism and inequality. Given the invisibility of Filipino voices and experiences, the study served as a counter-narrative to amplify the voices of Filipino students through their stories and counter the negative stereotypes and silencing of their voice and perspective.

Participants

I employed purposeful sampling by selecting Filipino students who were exposed to decolonizing activities (see Appendix A) and subsequently became leaders in a Filipino student organization at a community college in Hawai‘i. 1 My sample size was limited to three students who were purposefully selected to obtain an in-depth understanding of their experiences.

I solicited student participants by emailing a research participation invitation (see Appendix B) to four students who were instrumental in the initial development of the club. Out of the four people solicited, two females and one male student agreed to participate. All three of

1 Pseudonyms were used for all research participants.
the students interviewed shared a number of biographical and demographic backgrounds summarized in Table 3. They were all born and raised in Hawai‘i and were second- and third-generation Filipino, or local. Two of the three students had parents born in the Philippines. All students were descendants of sakadas with an immigration history tied to plantation labor and whose families subsequently worked in service industries such as nursing, agriculture, or hospitality. All students attended public schools in Hawai‘i throughout their educational history. They were all first-generation college students and the first in their immediate family to attend college. All were recipients of the federal Pell grant.

Table 3

*Participant Demographics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Katara</th>
<th>Margaret</th>
<th>Jaiden</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Filipino and Samoan</td>
<td>Filipino Ilocano</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Receives Pell Grant</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Enrollment Status</strong></td>
<td>Full Time</td>
<td>Part Time</td>
<td>Part Time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subjects were invited to participate in this research project on a volunteer basis. As the co-advisor for the Filipino student and their academic counselor, I protected students from coercion by observing student activities that occurred outside of the classroom on a volunteer basis (see Appendix A). I was also not involved in any student course activities or in an evaluative role where grades were issued.

The study was conducted at one of the seven community colleges in the UH system. The college offered 26 degrees and certificate programs. The island where the college is located had a total population of 185,079, of which 40,878 were Filipino “race alone race or in combination”
(U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The college’s student population was reflective of Hawai‘i’s ethnic and multicultural diversity. According to UH Institutional Research Office (Fall 2019), there were 2,615 students enrolled at the college. The majority of students were local residents, enrolled part-time, and largely of Hawaiian, Asian, and Pacific Island ancestry. Filipinos represented 10% of the student population.

**Information Needed to Conduct the Study**

The narrative inquiry focused on three Filipino students attending the same community college in Hawai‘i, who were all instrumental in the formation of a new Filipino student organization and have participated in decolonizing activities. To understand how their schooling experiences prior to their exposure to decolonizing activities impacted their ethnic identity, educational engagement, and agency, two research questions were explored to gather the information needed:

1. What are the educational experiences of Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i?
2. How does decolonizing practices in student affairs influence Filipino student ethnic identity, educational engagement, and agency?

To answer the research questions, two sets of interview questions were developed (see Appendices D and E). The first set of interview questions included biographical and demographic information, such as what schools they attended, where they were born and raised, family background, and immigration history. In addition, the first interview focused on each participants’ precollege experiences as it related to their ethnic identity and postsecondary educational aspirations (see Appendix D). The second set of interview questions focused on their experiences as a community college student and how exposure to decolonizing activities in
student affairs influenced their ethnic identity and self-concept, educational engagement, and agency (see Appendix F).

**Data Collection**

Participants were recruited for the study by research participant invitation emails (see Appendix B) sent to four students who attended a Pamantasan conference and returned to their campus to form a Filipino student organization. One student joined the club thereafter and became an officer. Once students confirmed their participation, they were emailed a consent form to review and their first interview was scheduled.

All interviews were all conducted face to face at a private campus location. Before beginning the first interview, the researcher reviewed the consent form and interview questions and collected their signed consent form (see Appendix C). Interviews were audio recorded and lasted up to 1 hour each. The first interview questions (see Appendix D) were focused on their precollege educational experiences, factors that influenced them to attend college, current academic goals, and challenges they faced as college students.

The second interview was held after students participated in a number of decolonizing activities (see Appendix A), including a Don’t Be a Coconut workshop on colonial mentality, which two of the three student participants attended; a screening and community discussion of the film *Delano Manongs*; an oral-history interview with a sakada; participation in the local Sakada Day community event; and attendance at the Pamantasan Conference where they attended workshops on Filipino mental health, Philippine indigenous cultural practices, and Ilokano language. After completing the second interview, the audio recordings of interviews were transcribed by the researcher.
Data Analysis

After transcribing the interviews, the transcriptions were carefully reviewed, and a column was added to take notes that summarized responses to each of the interview questions. After digesting the interview summaries and reviewing the notes, transcriptions from the first and second interviews were analyzed for restorying (Creswell, 2015) to enable the researcher to translate interviews as student stories or narratives. The process of restorying consisted of taking the raw interview transcription data and transcribing it by identifying key elements of their story based on the following codes: setting, characters, actions, problem, and resolution. Settings were data associated with time, place, or location where the story occurred. Characters were story elements associated with personalities, portrayals, or behaviors. Actions were any movements taken in the individual’s story, including thinking or behavior. Problems were any concerns or questions that arose. And resolutions were noted as problems became resolved, conclusions reached, or explanations for the changes in characters occurred. This process was done by color coding story elements as they appeared in the interview transcripts. Once the story elements were transcribed according to story elements, narratives were constructed.

Throughout this process I collaborated with research participants to reduce the potential gap between the narrative told and the narrative reported (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, as cited in Creswell, 2015) through member checking (Creswell, 2015) and triangulating among data sources to ensure accuracy of my account of their stories. Upon completion of the first draft of the narrative, participants were asked to review their narrative to ensure accuracy and provide feedback and suggestions. According to Creswell (2015), collaboration “often calls for good working relationship between teachers and researchers, an idealized situation which takes time to develop a mutually illuminating story” (p. 514). The ongoing relationship between the researcher
and participants as club advisor and counselor, which continued beyond the research project, allowed for continuous ongoing collaboration.

After obtaining feedback from participants on the initial draft narratives, stories were analyzed through an inductive process of comparative data analysis to identify significant patterns and findings across the three narratives. Through this process of cross comparative analysis, themes emerged that revealed how the data addressed the original research questions.

**Ethical Considerations**

Ethical considerations were made in the planning and implementation of the research project to minimize potential harm to all research participants. Prior to conducting research, the researcher obtained approval from the University of Hawai‘i Institutional Review Board (see Appendix H), which reviewed the research proposal to assess ethical issues. Ethical issues that were considered included coercion, consent, confidentiality, and ownership and voice of the narratives.

Since I knew the study participants prior to conducting the research as their counselor and club advisor, care was taken to protect participants from coercion by observing activities that occurred outside of the classroom and on a volunteer basis. I was not involved in any course activities or evaluative roles where grades were issued. Before conducting interviews, I emailed participants the consent form, which informed participants of the purpose of the study and their right to skip questions, take a break, or stop participating at any time. Included in the consent form was a statement on the privacy and confidentiality of participants. All data were kept secured in a locked filing cabinet and on a password-protected computer. Participants were also informed their identity would be protected through the use of pseudonyms and omission of additional personal identifying information such as the names of their schools.
Another important ethical consideration is the issue of ownership, voice, and authenticity getting lost in the final narrative, since I translated interview transcriptions and then restoried them (Creswell, 2015). To reduce the risk of this occurring, I used extensive participant quotes to ensure narratives reflected students’ voices and not mine. Once narratives were restoried, I sent participants their narratives to review for accuracy, additional information, or corrections. I also invited participants to provide a pseudonym, rather than myself, to create an additional sense of ownership between the participant and their narrative.

**Limitations of Study**

Since this study selected qualitative narrative inquiry to obtain an in-depth understanding of the experiences of Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i who were exposed to decolonizing activities, the findings of this study were a representation of a purposeful sample of three students who all shared similar demographic backgrounds. However, the findings from this study may not have represented the diverse, varied, and intersectional experiences of all Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i—such as first-generation Filipinos who were born in the Philippines, or other Filipinos who may have additional identities not represented in the study narratives.

The study did not examine whether decolonizing activities impacted academic progress (e.g., GPA or grades) and focused on ethnic identity development, engagement, and agency. While findings suggest decolonizing activities positively impacted identity development, engagement, and agency, it did not examine whether these activities were associated with student outcomes such as course completion, grades, or GPA.

Another limitation of this study includes activities with students being limited to workshops and brief activities, which did not allow for sustained engagement and reflection on
topics that might occur in a classroom setting or formal program. Given that students volunteered to participate in activities and did not participate in all the same ones, it is unknown if there were specific activities or topics that were more impactful than others.

**Chapter Summary**

In summary, this chapter described the research methods, methodologies, and limitations used to collect the narratives of Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i who were exposed to decolonizing practices in student affairs. Narrative inquiry was selected as the methodology to understand the experiences of students through their narrative perspectives and personal experiences. The study also employed critical race methodology and the use of counter-stories in the research process. Critical race methodology challenges dominant ideologies through the use of counter-narratives or counter-storytelling as a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging majoritarian stories of racial privilege. Given the invisibility of Filipino voices and experiences, this study served as a counter-narrative to amplify the voices of Filipino students through their stories and perspectives.

The research sample consisted of Filipino students who were exposed to decolonizing activities and subsequently formed a Filipino club at their community college. Out of four students who were invited to participate, three students agreed. The participants were purposefully selected to obtain an in-depth understanding of their experiences. The two research questions were:

1. What are the educational experiences of Filipino students at a community college in Hawai‘i?
2. How does decolonizing practices in student affairs influence Filipino student ethnic identity, educational engagement, and agency?
Two sets of interview questions were developed to answer these questions. The first interview focused on each participant’s precollege experiences as it related to their ethnic identity and postsecondary educational aspirations. The second set of interviews focused on their experiences as a community college student and how exposure to decolonizing activities has influenced their ethnic identity, educational engagement, and agency.

After transcribing interviews, I analyzed the data for restorying through a process of coding for story elements as they appeared in the interview transcripts, and narratives were constructed. After narratives were constructed, findings were developed through an inductive process of cross comparative analysis based on common themes across all three narratives. Throughout the process ethical considerations were made to ensure informed consent, confidentiality, and ownership of the research process by the participants.
Chapter 4: Findings

The purpose of this narrative inquiry was to understand the educational experiences of Filipino students in the University of Hawai‘i Community College (UHCC) system and how decolonizing practices in student affairs impacted their ethnic identity, educational engagement, and agency. Participants of this study were Filipino students at a UHCC, who were exposed to decolonizing practices and subsequently formed a Filipino student organization at their campus. By understanding the experiences of Filipino students in the UHCC system and the impacts of decolonizing interventions, the researcher hoped to gain insight into Filipino student ethnic identity development in Hawai‘i and the potential for decolonizing practices to address shame of identity and other negative risk factors associated with colonial mentality.

This chapter presents findings from two interviews with three Filipino students attending a community college in Hawai‘i who have been exposed to decolonizing practices in student affairs through their involvement in a newly established Filipino student club at their campus. Each section in this chapter opens with each of the student’s educational narratives, which begins with a quote I felt encapsulated their educational experience, followed by their personal family background, educational experiences before attending college, and experiences after participating in decolonizing student activities. Following each narrative is a description of their shared biographic and demographic commonalities and primary findings, which emerged from a comparative analysis of data that informed the original research questions.

The study was conducted at one of the 10 community colleges in the UH system. The college offers 26 degrees and certificate programs. The county where the college was located had a total population of 185,079 of which 40,878 were Filipino “race alone race or in combination.” The college’s student population was reflective of Hawai‘i’s rich ethnic and multicultural
diversity. According to the United Way (2017) ALICE Report, approximately 55% of households in the county were asset limited, income constrained, employed, and earning a household income above the federal poverty level, but not high enough to afford a basic budget for housing, education, healthcare, food, childcare, and transportation costs. The UH Institutional Research and Analyst Office (2019) data reported 2,615 students were enrolled at the college.

**Narrative 1: Margaret**

Margaret is a nontraditional student who returned to college in her mid-30s and a first-generation college student: “I remember people would say how Filipinos are smart. I felt like I wouldn’t live up to that standard. I struggled with school.”

She was born and raised in Hawai‘i, where she attended public elementary schools and graduated from a public high school. Her parents divorced when she was young, so during the week, she stayed with her dad and grandparents and spent weekends with her mom.

Margaret was a third-generation Filipina in Hawai‘i. Her paternal grandparents, who were Ilokano and Visayan, had an arranged marriage. They lived as tobacco farmers in Hawai‘i and survived on subsistence fishing and farming. Living in poverty without formal schooling, she was told her grandmother was teased and bullied for being poor and stopped going to school. Her father was born and raised in Hawai‘i and did not finish his high school education. Subsequent to leaving high school, he worked with Hawai‘i County and Parks until his retirement.

On her maternal side, Margaret’s great grandmother, who descended from Samoan royalty, fell in love with a farmer and fled to Hawai‘i to get married. Her grandmother was one of six children. Margaret’s maternal grandfather was an immigrant from the Philippines whose marriage was also arranged to her grandmother. Her mother earned a high school diploma and
attended the International Air Academy, where she gained training to work in the airline industry for her entire career.

Growing up, Margaret’s knowledge of her cultural heritage was limited on both Samoan and Filipino sides. On her Samoan side, she noted generational differences. While her grandmother would wear *pareo* (Polynesian sarong), her mother only required them to wear it during special occasions. She recalled traditions such as letting elders eat first and food preparation traditions being maintained. On her Filipino side, she cited food as one of the only ways she learned about her culture.

From kindergarten through the twelfth-grade, Margaret went to schools where there were mainly Filipino and Hawaiian students. However, she did not recall learning anything about Filipino history throughout her schooling: “We didn’t have any classes related to our culture. Hawaiian was it. In elementary . . . We had a sansei that would come and teach us [Japanese] language and culture. That’s it.”

When asked about messages she received about Filipinos in high school, she remembered hearing messages that “Filipinos are smart,” but she felt she could not live up to that standard because no one in her family had obtained a formal education:

I remember people would say how Filipinos are smart. I felt like I wouldn’t live up to that standard. I struggled with school. My Dad wasn’t there. He dropped out of high school. My grandparents didn’t have an education . . . I barely saw my mom, she went to high school and went to International Air Academy, but she stopped there and my grandparents didn’t go to college either.

Socially, she didn’t feel like she fit in with her Filipino or Samoan peers:
They kind of stuck to each other and speak their language. So, I didn’t fit in with that part. And I didn’t look Samoan so I didn’t fit in with Samoans either . . . I wish I would have Filipino friends that would help me, but I felt I was an outcast. You’re not Filipino because you don’t speak. They said, “because you were not raised Filipino,” they said, “I wasn’t Filipino.”

When asked if there were any role models in high school, she did not find a connection to teachers and did not feel comfortable talking because of shame she experienced earlier in her schooling experience:

I really tried opening up to teachers, but I just didn’t find that connection . . . I didn’t really connect. A lot of it, too, was because I didn’t feel comfortable talking. Because I was ashamed if I talked you would think I’m stupid. That came from my upbringing being called stupid.

Margaret switched schools after her parents divorced in the second grade. Upon entrance, she tested “behind” in math and reading scores. She was teased by her classmates, leaving a lasting imprint on her:

I guess when I tested and they saw my scores, my classmates would make fun knowing I was struggling in my test scores, it made me feel more and more insecure about myself and how smart I was. It really affected me all the way through high school. The insecurity she felt also affected her ability to seek support. While some teachers offered to help they sometimes lacked patience, especially in math and science:

I remember asking for help for my math and science . . . I remember I can tell that they were impatient. So, I struggled on my own in school . . . I graduated really low on the bottom because I struggled.
When it came to preparing for college, Margaret was at a disadvantage as a first-generation college student with limited family support: “So, my parents weren’t supportive either. I guess I don’t think they thought I would amount to anything. I asked for support many times and they shut me down.” Even though she struggled, she persisted and sought college preparation services at her high school. But her parents did not come with her. This was heartbreaking for her because her classmates had parents whom supported their college aspirations:

I saw my classmates with their parents and it broke my heart . . . I guess because our families didn’t have an education background, so they didn’t think anything of it . . . Because their parents were an arranged marriage and they didn’t go to school. It’s like two, three generations that didn’t go to school, so it’s like what makes you feel like you’re gonna do it. Which really hurts me.

While Margaret described her schooling experience as one of isolation, social stigma, and academic struggle, she credited a life changing experience in the ninth grade with planting the seed of a life-long dream to become a nurse. “I saved my classmate in the ninth grade.” While waiting for homeroom, one of her classmates was sitting on a railing and lost his balance from classmates who bumped into him while rough playing. He hit the concrete and started bleeding severely. Intuitively, she immediately took off her jacket, put it behind his head, and began applying pressure to stop the bleeding. She stayed with him, making sure he remained conscious:

After that, I just felt that it was my calling. I saved my classmate. I knew what to do and I didn’t freak out. I didn’t panic . . . After that, I decided to be a nurse and started volunteering. I wish after high school I stayed on that dream, now I’m trying years later. I’m still fighting for that dream.
Although she had already found her calling in the ninth grade, the pathway to this dream was not direct. After graduating high school, she enrolled in community college. But she could not continue due to health issues, so her mom had her enroll in the same air and hospitality academy she attended in the continental United States. After 6 months, Margaret returned to Hawai‘i in 2002 and tried to get a job in the airline industry. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, however, she was unable to meet height requirements to qualify as a flight attendant. Instead, she worked in baggage claim and security. She also tried getting a job in the hotels, but this did not work out. In search of stable employment, Margaret moved to Las Vegas and found restaurant work and then eventually moved back to Hawai‘i for a fresh start.

It was at this point in her journey, after moving around in search for stable employment and opportunity and finally returning to Hawai‘i, where she realized what she was searching for:

I guess I was trying to run away from all my problems. When I came [back to Hawai‘i], I started therapy and got help with all my health problems. I realized that I needed to work on myself. Cuz everywhere I went I wasn’t happy. I didn’t know what it was. I don’t know, so when I decided to work on myself, I realized that it was me. I was running away from my problems.

Margaret did not work for 4 years to focus on her health and finally received medical treatment for an illness for which she had long suffered without a diagnosis. “That’s when I decided to go back to education.”

I met Margaret when she first enrolled in college. I remembered her being extremely shy and having difficulty making eye contact and expressing herself comfortably. She was anxious about returning to school and understandably had many fears about her academic abilities. One of the biggest challenges she faced as a returning nontraditional student was overcoming the
same insecurities she faced in her early schooling experience: “I still feel insecure about my academics, so I feel like I should take my time.” However, she started slow and paced herself by taking part-time classes while also working part-time: “I know myself so I am pacing myself. Trying not to let that get to me, cuz I see all these younger kids.”

As the advisor for the newly formed Filipino Club, I invited her to attend a film screening of *Delano Manongs* and she joined the club afterwards. The film was about the unsung and unrecognized role of Filipino farmworkers who initiated the formation of the United Farm Workers Union, featuring labor leader, Larry Itliong. Margaret commented: “I was surprised at how many people showed up to the film and it seemed like everyone was supportive of bringing awareness to Filipino students about Filipino culture so I felt lucky to be a part of that.” She initially signed up to be an officer of the club, but as a working student, it was a challenge to attend meetings regularly. However, as a member of the club, she found herself participating in student activities and speaking on behalf of Filipino students in student government meetings to seek support for club activities.

When asked why she joined the club, Margaret shared she wanted to learn more about her culture:

I joined [the Filipino club] to learn more about the Filipino culture. My family didn’t really teach me anything. I just ate the food, they didn’t really tell me much. My great grandparents are the ones who migrated here so they would know but they didn’t pass it down to the generations, so I don’t know nothing, but I would like to know. So I thought connecting with the club would give me a sense of what my culture is like.

When asked if she felt many Filipinos students were interested in learning about their history and culture, Margaret was not sure:
I don’t know it seems like not really. Cuz we live in Hawai‘i more people are more interested in Hawaiian culture. Umm . . . but here everyone is so diverse and mixed I figure that even if you have a little Filipino wouldn’t you want to know about that part of yourself?

She also felt lack of interest may come from not having any opportunities to learn about Filipino culture:

I guess it’s because there’s not much activities that’s why I think it’s great that we have the club. That way it will bring more attention to people and it will catch their interest and they will want to learn.

She also shared how her age and financial responsibilities to support herself impacted her level of engagement:

It’s challenging for me because of age and the fact that I need to work more to support my family. If that wasn’t the case then I’d be more involved in activities and be a full-time student, but it’s hard . . . It’s a struggle.

Prior to her involvement with the club, she did not feel a connection to other Filipinos and felt her lack of cultural knowledge was something of which to be ashamed. By joining the club she learned she was not alone: “I didn’t really know any Filipinos so when I joined the club and got to hear other people’s stories and got to know them, I found some connections . . . And I started to feel more comfortable.” The club was also the first time she experienced Filipinos coming together to discuss shared experiences: “The club is the first time I’ve actually seeing a group of Filipinos where we talk about our struggles . . . Feeling insecure. Feeling like I wish I didn’t feel I’m Filipino. I can relate to that.”
Her involvement also changed how she saw herself as a Filipino, whereas previously she did not strongly identify with her Filipino identity, she gained a pride in being able to say she was Filipino:

It has built my confidence in being able to say I’m Filipino . . . At first I didn’t have that, I was just, I’m going with the flow . . . So, I have more confidence in my culture. My Filipino side. I noticed the changes.

After participating in decolonizing activities, Margaret reflected on her struggles with identity as it relates to intergenerational poverty:

I guess Filipinos are struggling with our identity . . . I’m not sure why . . . Money maybe? Filipinos are plantation workers . . . That might be a . . . You know . . . That’s why I feel like my parents weren’t supportive of me to go to college. My parents had to work since they were young. They’ve just been working all their life. That’s why I feel I gotta get an education. My mom didn’t get to see that . . . She sees more how getting an education can help you get a good job. I think that has a lot to do about it.

Being active in the club increased her overall engagement as a student and her previously lacking confidence in making social connections:

It helped me build confidence in myself. I feel a lot more confident than when I first started college and getting involved, I got to know more people so when I see them, I say hi. It helped me a lot in confidence and making friends and meeting new people. But it gave me a lot more confidence in my schoolwork. It gave me confidence in my abilities. When asked if her involvement changed how she saw herself, she cited it helped her overcome her shyness:
At first, I was too shy to talk to other Filipinos because they would ask what language I speak or what islands [I’m from], and I’m like, I don’t know . . . But now I’m like, I’m just like, “you know what, I’m learning.” I don’t care what anybody says . . . Before I’d shy away because “what’s wrong with you, how come you don’t know nothing about yourself?” But now I’m just like, “I don’t care. Just get involved, don’t be afraid” . . . I feel like the more you learn, the more you build your confidence. Don’t be afraid.

**Narrative 2: Jaiden**

Jaiden started college right after high school graduation as a first year and a first-generation college student:

Well, a lot of my friends are gone, so there’s not much of a support system . . . What it came down to is college. I thought depression was a rich person’s problem. Once it hit me, I didn’t know how to deal with it. I ended up dropping three classes.

He was a second-generation Filipino, born and raised in Hawai‘i. His grandmother (his dad’s aunt) was the first to immigrate to Hawai‘i from the Ilokos region of the Philippines in the 1970s. She was a teacher in the Philippines, taught elementary school in Hawai‘i, and was responsible for petitioning their family members to immigrate to Hawai‘i. Jaiden’s parents immigrated to Hawai‘i in 1993 with his three older siblings, and he was the first child born in the United States. Although Jaiden was not sure, he believed his grandma married a Filipino plantation worker since their last name originated from a common plantation surname.

Although Jaiden was told he was able to speak Ilokano up to the age of 3, he lost it by age 4. Growing up, Jaiden remembered being told stories about life of poverty in the Philippines and superstitious beliefs. Aside from this, he reported not learning much about his ethnic identity and culture at home.
Jaiden attended elementary through high school in a former plantation town with a high concentration of Filipinos. When asked about messages he received about his ethnicity and culture in his schools, he related he was assigned to English language learner (ELL) from kindergarten through fifth grade even though he no longer spoke Ilokano by the age of 4:

None of the kids needed ELL. We were all local kids . . . from kinder to third grade nothing but Filipino Ilokanos, and then from fourth grade, we noticed Samoans and Tongans, their English wasn’t well, so they were wondering why I was in there.

He shared, growing up in his community, it was all Filipinos who came from similar economic backgrounds: “We all lived in broken houses, we had to walk to school, to the store because a lot of us didn’t have passes.” However, one message he received about being Filipino was associated with the perception Filipinos were the high achieving students: “A student pointed out on twitter that she noticed that Filipinos were the ones in student government, would get good grades and be teacher’s pet. . . . It caused a lot of controversy.” The positive stereotypes of Filipinos at his school created the perception among non-Filipinos that there were unfair advantages for Filipinos: “They think we’re overrepresented because there’s a lot of Filipinos . . . and it overshadows other groups of people.”

When asked about what he learned about Filipino history or culture in his classes, he recalled a section in a Hawaiian history course that included Hawai‘i’s plantation history:

The only thing I know goes back to sugarcane plantation. I learned that from my Hawaiian history class my junior year. I remember we were paid lower than other ethnic groups. I was told we were the most hard working.

Although Tagalog and Ilokano language courses used to be offered at his high school, his high school stopped offering them.
When asked about other cultures or identities he identified with, his response was “the island culture. All I know is the island culture. I haven’t experienced the rest of the United States. Only here. I’m just a kid from [name of his town]. Kamaʻāina.” When asked about what identity meant to him, he talked about the common perception of his town as a place known for drugs and violence, but to embrace this identity meant to challenge this perception:

A lot of them [people from his town] turned out to be successful and good representation for the family. . . . At the school, you just hear [town name] this, [town name] that. They won’t amount to [name of other town] or [name of other high school] kind.

He went on to describe his experience as a volleyball player when they played a high school with predominantly middle class, Japanese students as a time when he felt different because of his identity:

I used to play for a club a lot of people looked up to the [name of other high school] folks, I was the only person from [name of his hometown]. A lot of them were, I guess, some of them were Filipino, but you couldn’t tell, they had the [name of other high school] look. . . . The Japanese, so I couldn’t . . . I just felt dumber.

And while he acknowledged no one had done anything to make him feel this way, he automatically felt negatively labeled, based on his [hometown] identity.

Jaiden identified his grandma, a retired schoolteacher and entrepreneur who ran a care home, as one of his role models. During his K-12 education, he cited local teachers and counselors as role models in school whom he identified with the most: “They knew how to relate because they were born and raised here. Especially my senior counselor, she spoke pidgin and she was not ashamed of it. . . . She made students feel comfortable.”
Going to college was something Jaiden always knew he would do—a goal he associated with higher pay and strongly encouraged by his family:

I always thought if I had college education, I would get a higher pay for going to college.

It wasn’t just me, my parents of course. . . . They never said if you go to college, it was not an option.

He was a first-generation college student: “My parents, just my mom, she is pretty educated, not college level. My dad took classes at adult school.” His friends also aspired to college as well, as some saved to go to college and others also attended a UH campus. His older siblings who attended college were “on me way more than my parents.” He also participated in the Advancement via Individual Determination or AVID college readiness program in his high school, which encouraged him to apply to the local university. Although he was accepted, he opted to attend the community college.

When Jaiden started college, he initially selected nursing as his career goal and thought of it as “the only thing to turn to.” However, pursuing this goal became a source of extreme stress for him, as he started to question his educational and career goals and the prospect of letting his family down. Without peer and social support and unable to speak to his family about his fears, Jaiden became especially vulnerable and experienced depression:

Well a lot of my friends are gone, so there’s not much of a support system. . . . What it came down to is college. I thought depression was a rich person’s problem. Once it hit me, I didn’t know how to deal with it I ended up dropping three classes that were sources of stress but then I still felt a lot of stress coming in.

Jaiden believed he was not alone in his struggle with depression and anxiety and many other Filipino students experienced depression but are unable to talk about it and get help. When
asked the reason, he linked depression and mental health issues to socioeconomic conditions and the pressure to support their families, which led to extreme competition between relatives and friends:

A lot of them [Filipino parents] either graduate high school or didn’t graduate and ended up in lower income jobs so. . . . They don’t want their kids to live the same life. They want to live comfortably. . . . A lot of our cousins were valedictorians. They have parents who provided the resources. . . . They have a really big family and my cousins, well not all, a lot of them just ended up going to college, finishing it, and even getting a master’s degree and end up working at the hotels . . . My friends cry for days and nights. Because they’re worried about their parents not knowing if they’re doing enough.

Much of Jaiden’s anxiety stemmed from competition with peers, which was perpetuated by parents who constantly compared their children to one another: “Competition is a big thing. Especially with Filipino students. And then the parents brag about ‘my kids did this.’” He explained if he did not achieve a 4.0 GPA and have high achieving goals, he would be shamed. When it came to talking with parents about depression, he shared it was “either taboo or they don’t care for it, like it doesn’t exist. A lot of them would laugh and say you’ll get over it.”

During Jaiden’s first year of college, he was invited to attend the UH Pamantasan Conference where he attended workshops on colonial mentality and mental health:

Our presenters explained colonial mentality and generations [of Filipinos] have Western preferences that built in our heads and we created a vision for how Philippine society and culture would look like in the present without it, and I thought it was really cool, because I myself realized that I, just like others have some colonial mentality. And then the mental health workshop, the biggest take away was hiya (shame). Like trying to relieve
the pressure that’s put on us . . . Yeah and not wanting to shame and disappoint our family.

Jaiden talked about the importance of having access to these types of topics by speaking on Filipino mental health: “This is not a topic that many people are comfortable speaking with… It’s taboo . . . so, having a seminar about it would let them be aware and let them know it’s okay and there’s resources to help you.” He also shared how he could relate to the issues of Filipino shame of ethnic identity. Reflecting on the colonial mentality workshop, Don’t Be a Coconut, “a lot of people feel shame about their traditional culture. So, recognizing letting people know this is our culture before [precolonial] . . . It’s not bad, it’s not something to be ashamed of.”

Shortly after attending the Pamantasan Conference, Jaiden helped form the Filipino club at his campus. In addition to attending meetings, he volunteered in community events commemorating Hawai‘i’s sakada history, conducted oral history with former sakadas, and attended workshops addressing issues such as Mauna Kea and Ilokano language.

Prior to joining the Filipino club, Jaiden felt he didn’t have a reason to be proud of his culture. Although he identified as Filipino, he thought of himself as kamaʻāina, or local, first:

I joined the club because I wanted to find a reason to take pride in my culture . . . The local culture was what I know from day to day, but there wasn’t much people that would talk about the Filipino culture. My parents, they talked the language, they cooked the food, but they didn’t talk about what life was not too much, they didn’t teach me about history. They don’t know much, so I was also kind of ashamed because of all these negative attitudes and stereotypes. I wanted to not be ignorant and learn.

When asked if he felt other Filipino students were interested in learning about their history and culture, he believed students would be interested but there were not opportunities to
learn: “Yeah, I do believe. There aren’t resources to learn. No more classes. Only parents and maybe grandparents. I just don’t hear . . . Yeah, I mean chicken fighting and the food.”

Joining the club encouraged him to step up as a leader, giving him the courage to speak and feel more connected to the college campus:

Before, I would never ever thought about being an [officer], but the members encouraged me. I wouldn’t be as social as I am now. I mean, I definitely wouldn’t talk to any people in [the student lounge], but now I do that. My communication’s gotten way better . . . I got more familiar with people on this campus, so if I did not join the club, I probably wouldn’t feel comfortable being in speech class and having the courage to stand up and like, speak. But now that I talk a lot in meetings, I do feel more comfortable.

This confidence has also motivated him to consider getting involved in student leadership: “I have thought about student body. I went to listen on meetings a couple times, and I think it’s made me think about it. Just about my voice. I really want to be a voice for my community.”

Jaiden’s involvement with the club activities also influenced him academically. While his career and educational goals were previously a cause of great stress, anxiety, and depression, he became inspired to explore careers outside of nursing and exposed to majors he had not previously considered, such as ethnic studies:

Learning about all this Filipino history and culture got me thinking maybe I could be a professor in ethnic studies or in a Filipino focus. I found a better track and I feel more confident in my career choices as a professor.

Whereas Jaiden previously felt a stigma associated with identifying as a Filipino, he shared for the first time he was able to embody his ethnic identity: “I don’t feel more alien . . . I don’t feel stigma. I feel like a Filipino . . . Yeah, I feel a lot of connection to myself . . . I wasn’t
I’m not the saddest person in the world anymore. I see myself as being more brave. More outspoken and that’s something that I struggled with a lot and I never really felt comfortable with.”

**Narrative 3: Katara**

Katara started college as a first-year college student after graduating high school and was the first in her family to attend college: “My parents go to work and do double jobs . . . The challenge is having to take care of my siblings, it’s hard because I have all these tests coming up, they don’t realize how hard it is.”

Katara was a third-generation Filipino, born and raised in Hawai‘i in a plantation town with a high concentration of Filipinos. Katara’s father immigrated to Hawai‘i as a teenager from Ilocos Norte, Philippines. Her paternal grandfather’s family immigrated to the continental United States and later petitioned his wife and Katara’s dad to join him in Hawai‘i. Her mother’s side of the family was from Abra, Ilocos Norte, Philippines. She was told her maternal grandmother’s sister married a *sakada* and petitioned all her sisters and children to immigrate to Hawai‘i. Katara’s mother was one of those children and was born and raised in Hawai‘i.

Katara identified as Filipino. However, her maternal great grandparents also had Samoan and Tongan ancestry. Although she grew up in a heavily concentrated Filipino town, she did not see an appreciation for being Filipino: “We’re just big, but not [many] people appreciate being Filipino or anything.”

Katara attended public elementary and high schools in Hawai‘i. Throughout this time, she did not receive much information about Filipino history or culture in school and at home she had the impression her parents did not want to talk about it:
There’s not really things we learn at school. It’s mostly American history or Hawaiian history . . . not even your parents want to talk about it . . . And you want to learn more but there really isn’t anything.

The only time she could recall learning anything related to the Philippines was in her Spanish class, where she learned about Spain’s colonization of the Philippines, which explained why some Filipinos have Spanish last names.

When asked other cultures or identities with which she identified, she shared she did not really hang out with Filipinos because she felt like an outsider not knowing the language: “Because you’re not from the Philippines, so there’s the groups from the Philippines born and raised in the Philippines and then there’s the ones who are born and raised here—locals.” She further described a division or separation between immigrant and local students at her school: “I would hang out with both sides, but I would still feel left out because they would speak the language. I would feel hurt because I’m like, am I not learning enough about my culture?”

Despite the feeling of being an outsider and perceived division among Filipino students, Katara formed a Filipino Club during her senior year of high school and encouraged more integration between immigrant and local Filipinos at her school. However, she shared fears of being bullied or made fun of were issues that affected student interest in performing Filipino cultural dances during school events: “You want to bring out all our dances, but they’re like, oh they’re gonna make fun of us.”

In high school, there were Filipino faculty and staff whom she considered role models, with one of them being the advisor for the Filipino club. One resource she found the most useful was a counselor who encouraged her to attend college. Since her freshman year of high school, Katara planned to join the marines as many of her friends had the same plans: “A lot of my
friends decide to go to the military because they don’t know where to go and don’t want to go to school.” However, her counselor helped her with her SAT and encouraged her to go to college every day. At home her parents also encouraged her to go to college, since she would be the first to attend college in her family: “I guess I’m doing this for my parents and for me.”

Katara enrolled in college after graduating high school and chose the community college because “I didn’t want [mom] to spend a lot of money.” In her junior year of high school, she sprained her ankle and went to the radiologist, which sparked her interest in taking classes to get into a radiology program.

In her first year of college she struggled with the transition, learning how to study, and understanding financial aid eligibility. While she was in high school, she did not realize she was registered for an early college class and did not attend the course, which resulted in an F grade. This disqualified her for financial and she had to work against this deficit in her first year of college:

Some challenges I faced would be like finding the right mindset. Sometimes it’s like, oh my God, it gets tiring, but you don’t wanna give up. My first sem [sic] my grades were kind of bad, but I was trying to settle myself into college. I didn’t really have anyone to study with or find friends to talk to and study. I think that was the challenges and trying to keep my grades up with financial aid and finding out I had to pay for everything.

When asked if she felt Filipino students faced any unique challenges, she talked about the conflict she felt between wanting to leave and needing to stay to support her parents and family: “I wanted to leave here and go somewhere else before, but my parents need me. As a Filipino, they expect that you take care of your elders and you need to work as hard as they did.” As the
eldest daughter, she carried many responsibilities at home and was expected to stay home to focus on school and help take care of her two younger brothers:

My parents go to work and do double jobs. My dad does papaya and then does the nursery. And then my mom, she goes to people’s homes and takes care of them and then works in the hospital. The challenge is having to take care of my siblings, it’s hard because I have all these tests coming up and they don’t realize how hard it is.

She also started working, which made it even more difficult to manage school and family responsibilities.

As the only daughter and the eldest in her family, Katara viewed her situation at home as unfair treatment. Although her brother was 16, she was the only child who is made responsible for household chores. She observed this as a pattern among the women in her family who were subjected to the same gender roles and responsibilities and were expected to make the same sacrifices for their families:

And even my auntie, I feel her pain too . . . Even her, she does everything for her parents.

I see that a lot in girls. They have to do everything for the family. Even my mom stayed back to take care of her parents. I just see the pattern, you know.

In her first year of college, Katara attended a Pamantasan Conference and returned to her campus to help establish the Filipino Club. She participated in a number of activities: colonial mentality and mental health workshops, film screenings highlighting the Filipino farm labor movement, sakada history, family oral history, Philippine language, and indigenous cultural workshops. When asked if she felt it is important to have these types of activities for students, she expressed the importance of gaining cultural knowledge beyond colonial dance forms often performed:
For me, I think it’s important. We don’t really get to experience this every day. We just learn more like *tinikling* and the candle dance (popular, Spanish influenced dances). I was happy to be exposed to the *gangsa* dance (indigenous Philippine dance from Kalinga) and the *eskrima* (ancient Philippine martial arts), because we never know what we’re gonna miss about our culture if we don’t get to experience or learn from it.

When asked why it was important to have a Filipino Club at the college, she talked about the importance of having a supportive space amongst peers to talk about shared struggles, such as family pressure and mental health issues. But when asked if she felt many Filipino students were interested in learning about their history and culture, her answer was half and half:

I think the ones who aren’t interested may not have an open mind. And like those who aren’t, I feel maybe they already experienced it but from a bad place, like mental health issues because they know they have it. But for me, I’m interested because I know I have mental health issues from my parents because it’s traditions that have been passed on from generations to generations and how you can stop it or stop unhealthy patterns.

Learning about mental health in the Filipino community helped her reflect more on her own personal experiences and recognize negative patterns within her family that stem from strict parental expectations. She connected this pattern to her family’s educational history:

Well I know my dad, he’s very anger management but I try not to be like that. After all of this involvement [in the Filipino club] and seeing different perspectives, I’ve kind of like mellowed down . . . I guess it’s because my grandparents were very strict with my auntie, dad, and uncle and they’d expect them to do a lot of things and limited them from doing things back in high school . . . Even my dad would show up for school just for attendance but leave and the school would call . . . From that, my parents had me when they were at
a young age at 19 and that influences me, so my parents were very strict on me. It made
me very mad because they made mistakes and I am like don’t put that on me. They just
wanted me to have a better future than what like they had.

The stress of Katara’s parents working so much was passed onto her as the eldest
daughter:

And they struggled a lot. I remember that my grandparents were watching me and my
parents were always working. They worked at McDonald’s at that time and my mom was
pregnant with my younger brother [name omitted] then she decided to become a CNA . . .
then my dad got a job at the nursery. So, I guess the way they were stressed out made me
stressed out. As she got older, her share of responsibilities to take care of her younger
siblings increased to the point that she felt like she was a parent. In high school, she tried
to balance extracurricular involvement with these obligations, but this created conflict
between her parents who relied on her for childcare and domestic chores at home. I
would bring my brothers to school and I would feel like a parent. I would be in panic
mode if something happened to my brothers.

The build-up of stress Katara experienced was often expressed as anger and resulted in
fights with her parents. It was not until she was in college that she was finally able to
communicate this to them:

My mom was asking what’s wrong with you and I told them you don’t understand you
put so much pressure on me. You guys are never home. You know how stressful that is
and you expect me to do everything for [siblings names] . . . And they said, “But college
is supposed to be easy.” And I’m like, “no it’s not. You guys never went to college and I
feel like a parent to [sibling name].”
Eventually, Katara started working to help alleviate financial burdens. However, she was not pressured by her parents to work. This initially created conflict with her parents, as her dad perceived it as a sign she was attempting to become independent and separate herself from the family.

When Katara first started college, her academic pathway was radiology. However, involvement with the Filipino club and decolonizing activities had broadened her perspectives of educational and career options she could pursue:

I feel like gathering all the information we learned from all the activities it brings up to you that there’s more that we can imagine and that anything is possible to do and the health and mental health issues also helps explain that I shouldn’t be afraid of my parents for changing my major. Yes, it’s hard because they all want their children to be nurses and doctors.

She shared many of her friends experienced the same stress of feeling pressured to choose healthcare related academic and career goals to please their parents and she did not realize the level of stress this created for her until she attended a mental health workshop. Although she was not doing well in science courses, her exposure to decolonizing activities helped her to better understand herself and realize her interest in fields she had not previously considered: “I was barely passing my science classes and being involved in Filipino activities and mental health issues . . . I’m more interested in mental health . . . I guess that’s where it influenced me academically.”

When asked how these activities changed how she saw herself as a Filipino, she shared she felt more connected to her grandparents, who were familiar with the history and cultural practices she learned about, whereas her parents were not: “I guess it changed me as a Filipino
knowing I have deeper connections than my parents. Sometimes I talk to my parents but they have no clue what I’m talking about.” Through her involvement, she’s also learned to appreciate and value her grandparent’s self-sufficiency skills and the traditions they practiced, and she worried about what would happen if these traditions did not continue:

I’m scared because my grandpa’s old. My grandpa does everything for the family, he cooks, he doesn’t even have a degree in building houses, but he knows how to build houses . . . We told our grandpa, “you need to teach us how to do it” . . . Cuz my papa doesn’t like store chicken. He likes to raise things rather than just buy them. He raises chicken, wild pigs, cows, it’s all in our backyard it’s like a whole farm . . . I always think . . . Not be sad, but I always think, oh my gosh . . . My grandparents can just go.

Family practices she had previously not valued, took on new relevance for her as well:

In my family we make plates for whoever passed away with a whole table with a bunch of food . . . I’m thinking I better write these down. My cousin thinks I’m crazy cuz I think it’s important to remember these things.

She also recalled her grandmother’s use of ti leaf to treat a fever as another cultural practice she learned to value:

I feel more Filipino. I feel more my culture and like, I guess what I said about my grandparents and stuff . . . I think I gained more knowledge through these activities and the club. I know a lot more than I used to know. If I never came here, I would consider myself a basic Filipino American. As right now, I guess I have more connection to my grandparents.

After attending club events and activities, Katara shared handouts and information with her grandparents, which would spark discussion with them. On one occasion she shared with
them an artifact from a colonial mentality workshop, which was a cartoon image depicting Filipinos as uncivilized children being educated by America (see Appendix I):

They said, yeah, you have to speak English to know things and that’s why I didn’t go to school because you have to learn how to read or like, speak English. I think that’s what changed my perspective. I think that’s why so many Filipinos think they have to know English to have the education . . . And it kind of makes me mad that a lot of people make fun of your accents because you’re an immigrant but they know so much like a lot more than we do.

She continued to relay how, as an immigrant, her dad limited his employment options to avoid having to speak English and how this applied to other Filipino parents:

Cuz, like, I’m trying to help my dad look for another job but to get a good job you have to know English because he wasn’t born here. Just like my boyfriend’s dad, he’s picking macadamias because he thinks he has to speak English for a better job.

Whereas she previously had not considered these as factors impacting her family, she regretfully expressed: “But seeing my grandparents struggle with the same thing, I feel bad now.”

When asked how her involvement influenced her leadership abilities, she relayed there were not many leaders to follow. Although she was active in student government in high school, she felt she had two identities. In student government she was with “all these good smart people,” and outside of the classroom she would “act bad” and not share her leadership involvement to avoid getting made fun of. As an officer with the Filipino club at the college, she no longer felt she had to “act like someone else.” Instead, the club became a place that supported her desire to be a leader and be supported by her peers:
Before, I had no voice and being [an officer of the club], I at least have friends who can hear me out and we can hear each other out and exchange how we feel about our situation. So, you do feel support.

**Demographic Commonalities**

While the study purposefully sampled Filipino students attending the same community college in Hawai‘i who were exposed to decolonizing practices, all three of the students interviewed also shared a number of biographical and demographic backgrounds. They were all born and raised in Hawai‘i and were second- to third-generation Filipino, or local. Two of the three participants had at least one parent born in the Philippines. All of the students are descendants of sakadas with an immigration history tied to plantation labor and whose family subsequently worked in the service industry as nursing assistants, agricultural or hospitality work. All of the students attended public schools in Hawai‘i throughout their educational history. They all were first-generation college students and the first in their immediate family to attend college. All enrolled in the community college after graduating high school. Two of the three research participants were first-time college students, and one research participant was a returning adult college student. Two of the three research participants were enrolled as part-time students. Two of the three research participants worked part time while in school. All were recipients of the federal Pell grant.

**Research Question Findings**

The objective of the first research question was to understand the educational experiences of Filipino students in the UHCC system and specifically what could be learned about how these experiences shaped their ethnic identity development and consequently, their academic
development. Seven primary findings emerged from a comparative analysis of data to inform the first research question, and six primary findings emerged to inform the second research question.

**Research Question 1: What Is the Educational Experience of Filipino Community College Students in Hawai‘i?**

Seven primary findings emerged from a comparative analysis of data to inform the first research question.

*Finding 1: Students Experienced Shame Associated With Being Filipino, Not Feeling Like They Fit In*

While each of the participants identified themselves as Filipino, they all experienced shame associated with being Filipino and a lack of pride in their ethnic identity. Participants referenced negative stereotypes and a lack of Filipino cultural and historical knowledge passed on from their families and in their schools. Jaiden expressed:

> I joined the club because I wanted to find a reason to take pride in my culture . . . The local culture was what I know day to day, but there wasn’t much talk about the Filipino culture. My parents, they talked the language, they cooked the food, but they didn’t talk about what life was not too much, they didn’t teach me about history. They don’t know much, so I was also kind of ashamed because of all these negative attitudes and stereotypes. I wanted to not be ignorant and learn.

Participants also expressed shame for not knowing how to speak their native language and therefore not feeling like they fit in. Margaret described:

> We had some Filipino students. I felt ashamed because they would ask me if I speak Tagalog and I would say no so I was kind of left out. They kind of stuck to each other and speak their language. So, I didn’t fit in with that part.
Finding 2: Students’ Conception of Filipino Identity Was Essentialized

While participants shared they felt shame for being Filipino, their conception of Filipino identity or culture was essentialized, or reduced, to a limited number of characteristics such as immigration status, language, food, or superstitions and therefore, did not see themselves as a local fitting in with this description. For the research participants, their primary source for understanding what it meant to be Filipino came from what they learned from their family at home, experiences at school, and as mentioned earlier, societal recognition and stereotypes. Jaiden explained:

We didn’t learn much other than the language. I was told I was able to speak the language when I was 2 or 3, but I lost it by age 4. There were a lot of stories about life in the Philippines like it was poor . . . They didn’t teach much other than superstitions . . . My parents, they talked the language, they cooked the food, but they didn’t talk about what life was not too much, they didn’t teach me about history.

Margaret did not feel connected to her Filipino identity because she did not speak the language. She recalled others telling her: “You’re not Filipino because you don’t speak. They said, ‘Because you were not raised Filipino,’ they said I wasn’t Filipino.”

Finding 3: Filipino History, Culture, and Language Was Not Part of Their Formal Schooling Experience and Not Reflected in Any of Their Curriculum

Although all three students reported attending schools where Filipinos represented a significant portion of the student population, there were minimal to no opportunities for them to learn about Philippine or Filipino history, culture, or contributions in the curriculum. Information they could recall learning came from Spanish and Hawaiian history classes, which was limited to a brief explanation for Filipinos with Spanish surnames and negative and uncritical associations
with Filipino plantation labor. Katara formed a Filipino club at her high school with the support of a Filipino instructor. She shared that she learned about her history in “just the Spanish class. There was nothing in history class or outside unless you wanna make your own Filipino Club which we didn’t have one until my senior year because we were the ones who created it.”

For Jaiden, his educational experience began with learning if a person were Filipino, they belonged in the English language learners (ELL) program:

None of the kids needed ELL. We were all local kids . . . From kinder [sic] to third grade, nothing but Filipino Ilokano and then from fourth grade we noticed Samoans and Tongans, their English wasn’t so well, so they were wondering why I was in there.

Finding 4: Perceptions of Filipinos as “Smart” Conflicted With Their Experiences as First-Generation College Students, This Conflict Contributed to Feelings of Shame and Fear of Failure

The perception of Filipinos as smart or high achieving was a theme that emerged from the student narratives. This belief stemmed from comments and feedback from classmates in school, as well as from their parents at home. Jaiden stated, “I’m not a summa cum laude. I felt shame. When my sister them was rewarded summa cum laude, my mom laughed and said, ‘It was nothing.’ It’s not high enough.” However, these expectations and messages conflicted with their own experiences as first-generation students who struggled academically. “I remember people would say how Filipinos are smart. I felt like I wouldn’t live up to that standard. I struggled in school,” stated Margaret. Furthermore, being smart was something that was negatively looked upon. Jaiden said it caused controversy in his school: “A student pointed out on Twitter that she noticed that Filipinos were the ones in student government, would get good
grades and be teacher’s pet . . . It caused a lot of controversy.” Katara said she downplayed being smart in high school:

Because like I never hung out with the good people in high school. I was class VP and stuff like that but I don’t think I hung out with the right people with the right support.

They would support me, but they would make fun of me for the things that I would do.

**Finding 5: Limited Family Support to Understand the Challenges They Faced as First-Generation College Students, Socioeconomic Pressure to Meet Family Expectations as a Source of Stress**

As first-generation college students, all of the participants shared the difficulties they faced as the first in their family to attend college. While Jaiden and Katara were supported to attend college and reported their parents as primary factors in their decision to attend college, the pressure to meet their family’s expectations created a level of stress, which they felt their parents could not relate to. Jaiden shared, “My friends actually cry for days and nights because they’re worried about their parents not knowing if they’re doing enough.”

Additionally, Jaiden shared how family socioeconomic status influenced the pressure he felt to succeed: “A lot of them [parents] either graduate high school or didn’t graduate high school, ended up in lower income jobs, so they don’t want their kids to live the same life. They want to live comfortably.”

However, even with the attainment of a college degree, many of Jaiden’s cousins still ended up working in the hotel industry:

A lot of our cousins were valedictorians; they have parents who provided the resources . . . And my cousins, well not all, a lot of them just ended up going to college, finishing it,
and even getting a master’s degree, and end up working at [name of hotel resort on the island]. At that point, a lot of parents stop caring.

For Katara, the pressure to balance her academic responsibilities while providing childcare and domestic work at home was a challenge she felt her parents could not relate to:

Another challenge dealing with having to take care of my brothers. I have two . . . My parents go to work and do double jobs. My dad does papaya and then does the nursery. And then my mom she goes to the people’s homes and takes care of them and then works in the hospital. The challenge is having to take care of my siblings, it’s hard because I have all these tests coming up and they don’t realize how hard it is. They’re like I know you’re in college, but this is also stressful for me.

On the other hand, the support that came from Margaret’s parents was limited by their low expectations of her success:

So, my parents weren’t supportive either. I guess I don’t think they thought I would amount to anything. I asked for support many times and they shut me down. Even though I struggled, I really wanted to go to college. I went to college meetings, SAT prep, financial aid and I would tell my mom to come and she would say we don’t have time for that . . . And I saw my classmates with their parents and it broke my heart . . . I guess because our families didn’t have an education background, so they didn’t think anything of it . . . Even now, when I talk to my them about it and tell tell them I can’t visit because of school, they’ll be like, I mean you can tell that they don’t wanna hear it. Because their parents were an arranged marriage and they didn’t go to school. It’s like two, three generations that didn’t go to school, so it’s like what makes you feel like you’re gonna do it. Which really hurts me.
Finding 6: Mental Health Issues and Concerns

All of the participants experienced mental health concerns. Both Jaiden and Katara associated their mental health issues with family pressures and the stress of meeting family expectations. Jaiden explained:

I thought depression was a rich person’s problem. Once it hit me, I didn’t know how to deal with it. I ended up dropping three classes that were sources of stress but then I still felt a lot of stress coming in. I felt stress from not graduating on time . . . I’m sure a lot of them [Filipino friends] have depression but they’re scared to talk about it or receive help. . . Depression is either taboo or they don’t care for it like it doesn’t exist. A lot of them would laugh and say you’ll get over it.

Similarly, Margaret struggled with unresolved physical and mental health issues, which became a barrier to her academic success until she decided to focus on her health and wellbeing. She stated:

I guess I was trying to run away from all my problems. When I came here [the college], I started therapy and got help with all my health problems. I realized that I need to do work on myself. Cuz everywhere I went I wasn’t happy. I didn’t know what it was. I don’t know, so when I decided to work on myself, I realized it was me. I was running away from my problems.

Finding 7: Limited Career and Educational Goals

The educational narratives of the students showed their educational and career aspirations were all highly influenced by their parents and stereotypical roles of Filipinos as caregivers. Both Jaiden and Katara initially selected nursing and radiology as their academic and career goals, but
struggled with the pressure to remain in an academic pathway that seemed less compatible with their interests to please their family. Katara shared:

    My boyfriend’s parents are pushing him to be a CNA and I told him don’t do it if you don’t want to and he asked me then why don’t you do the same thing . . . and I told them that I honestly don’t think I want to do it. I know it’s not meant for me, but I still do it for them.

On the other hand, although Margaret’s dream of becoming a nurse was influenced by her experience of saving the life of her classmate, her mom played an instrumental role in encouraging her to pursue a career path in the airline industry after her initial attempts in college were unsuccessful. Margaret shared:

    I tried college for a while at [name of another UHCC], but I was having a lot of health issues, so I kind of dropped out after that and my mom made me go to International Air Academy and they teach you everything about how to work in the airlines . . . I wish after high school I stayed on that dream [nursing], now I’m trying years later, I’m still fighting for that dream.

Research Question 2a: How Do Decolonizing Practices in Student Affairs Influence Filipino Student Ethnic Identity?

    Two findings emerged from a comparative analysis of data to inform the Research Question 2a.
**Finding 1: Participants Reported Feeling a Closer Connection to Their Filipino Identity,**

*Feeling Pride, and No Longer Ashamed to Be Filipino*

The narratives suggested decolonizing practices positively influenced student ethnic identity from shame and indifference to one of pride and integration of a Filipino identity.

Margaret shared:

At first, I didn’t know anything and I was like, I didn’t really care, but part of me wanted to learn more about myself that’s why I got involved and now that I’m getting to know everyone, I feel more closer to my Filipino side . . . It has built in my confidence in being able to say I’m Filipino or you know when we have activities. I’m proud to say I’m involved in it . . . At first, I didn’t have that, I was just, “I’m going with the flow,” so I have more confidence in my culture. My Filipino side. I noticed the changes.

Decolonizing practices helped students to connect with being Filipino and their roots. Jaiden asserted:

Yeah, I feel a lot of connection to myself. I wasn’t connected before . . . I don’t feel stigma. I feel like a Filipino. Oh my god, I can’t believe I said that . . . Being a coconut [colonial mentality], how do I say this? I mean it brings shame. A lot of people feel shame about their traditional culture. So, recognizing, letting people know this is our culture before [precolonial], it’s not bad. It’s not something to be ashamed of.

**Finding 2: Participants’ Understanding of What It Meant to Be Filipino Expanded to Include Both Immigrant and Local Identities and Diverse Perspectives**

Although students’ conceptions of what it meant to be Filipino were essentialized and based on the limited information passed onto them at home and in their school setting, their understanding of what it means to be Filipino expanded after participating in decolonizing
activities. Decolonizing practices seemed to have served as a bridge between their initial conception of Filipino identity as being largely associated with immigrants or Philippine language speakers to seeing themselves as Filipino. As a result of involvement in Filipino clubs, Jaiden embraced the diversity of the Filipino community: “I don’t see a divide between the immigrant and the first-, second-, third-generation anymore. I just see us as Filipino. One community.”

Margaret shared she was more accepting of multiple Filipino identities. She stated, “Before I’d shy away because what’s wrong with you, how come you don’t know nothing about yourself? But now I’m just like I don’t care. I’m learning. Everyone’s situation is different.”

**Research Question 2b: How Do Decolonizing Practices in Student Affairs Influence Filipino Student Engagement?**

Two findings emerged from a comparative analysis of data to inform Research Question 2b.

**Finding 1: Increased Interest in Campus Engagement**

Participants reported involvement in the club increased their motivation to become more involved on campus and socially engaged with other students outside of the classroom. Jaiden shared:

I wouldn’t be as social as I am now. I mean, I definitely wouldn’t talk to any people in [name of student activities center]. But I do that now. My communications gotten way better . . . In the club I got to meet a lot of people And outside, I’ve talked to people in other clubs and I got more familiar with people on this campus, so if I did not join the club, I probably wouldn’t feel comfortable being in Speech class and not even have the
courage to stand up and like, speak. But now that I talk a lot in meetings, I do feel comfortable.

Although Margaret became much more involved in campus, her participation was limited by her work responsibilities outside of school. She reflected:

It makes me want to get involved more and try to get more people involved. I just wish I had more time . . . It’s challenging for me because of age and the fact that I need to work more to support my family. If that wasn’t the case, then I’d be more involved in activities and be a full-time student, but it’s hard . . . It’s a struggle . . . So, it’s too bad but the time I do have, I try to get involved.

**Finding 2: Connection and Peer Support**

Participating in the club increased participants’ ability to make social connections they had not previously made and created a space for them to connect with other Filipino students who shared similar struggles. As a result of her involvement, Margaret shared:

I feel a lot more confident than when I first started college and getting involved, I got to know more people so when I see them, I say hi. It helped me a lot in confidence and making friends and meeting new people.

Jaiden concurred, “Meeting other Filipinos, that [like me] had no idea, like nothing about their culture. I don’t feel more alien.”

**Research Question 2c: How Do Decolonizing Practices in Student Affairs Influence Filipino Student Educational Agency?**

Two findings emerged from a comparative analysis of data to inform Research Question 2c.
**Finding 1: Increased Self-Esteem, Confidence, and Voice**

A consistent theme that emerged from participant interviews when asked about the impact of exposure to decolonizing activities was an increase in confidence in their ability to speak, have their voices heard, and face their fears. Margaret described the increase in confidence she experienced: “It helped me build confidence in myself. I feel a lot more confident than when I first started college . . . I feel like the more you learn, the more you build your confidence.” Similarly, Katara expressed how the club created a space for her to have a voice: “And like before I had no voice and being [officer ] of the club, I at least have friends who can hear me out and we can hear each other out and exchange how we feel about our situation.” Jaiden also described an increased sense of bravery, self-esteem, and voice:

Just about my voice. I really want to be a voice for my community . . . I’m not the saddest person in the world anymore. I see myself as being more brave. More outspoken and that’s something that I struggled with a lot and I never really ever felt comfortable with myself.

**Finding 2: Participants Reported Increased Confidence and Agency in Choosing Their Academic and Career Pathways**

Findings from interviews showed participants’ confidence in their major and career goals increased after participating in decolonizing activities. Whereas Jaiden and Katara previously felt pressure to maintain a career goal in the healthcare field and expressed a fear of letting their parents down for not pursuing their parent’s interests, exposure to decolonizing activities opened up new possibilities for them to explore academic and career paths that align with their interests. For Jaiden, his experience opened him up to pursuing a major and career related to ethnic studies:
Learning all this Filipino history and culture got me thinking maybe I could be a professor in ethnic studies or in a Filipino focus. I found a better track and I feel more confident in my career choices as a professor.

Katara’s experience also opened her up to pursuing a career and academic goal in the mental health field:

It influenced me in knowing where I wanna be. I was barely passing my science classes and being involved in Filipino activities and mental health issues. I’m more interested in like, mental health. I guess that’s where it influenced me academically.

**Conclusion**

The primary findings from a cross-comparative analysis of individual narratives of three Filipino students who were exposed to decolonizing practices and subsequently formed a Filipino club at a Hawai‘i community college, suggested decolonizing practices were a promising intervention for facilitating a positive Filipino ethnic identity, increasing student engagement, and agency. Furthermore, the analysis of findings suggested participation with decolonizing student activities can serve as a critical mental health intervention for Filipino students who experience shame of ethnic identity, lack of peer support, and family pressures to succeed.
Chapter 5: Discussion

As Richard Delgado (1989), founder of critical race theory explained, the narratives of three Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i can lead to healing, liberation, and mental health:

So, stories—stories about oppression, about victimization, about one’s own brutalization—far from deepening the despair of the oppressed, lead to healing, liberation, mental health. They also promote group solidarity. Storytelling emboldens the hearer, who may have had the same thoughts and experiences the storyteller describes, but hesitated to give them voice. Having heard another express them, he or she realizes, I am not alone. (p. 2437)

The purpose of this narrative inquiry study was to tell the story of the experiences of Filipino students in the UHCC system and understand how decolonizing practices in student affairs fostered positive ethnic identity, educational engagement, and agency. The study used narrative inquiry as a methodology to understand students through their narrative perspectives and stories and also employed critical race methodology through the use of counter-narratives to challenge socially constructed beliefs that allowed participant voices to counter hegemony, or the dominant status quo. Given the invisibility of Filipino voices and experiences in educational research, the study as a whole served as a counter-narrative to amplify the voices and perspectives of Filipino students often silenced and filtered through negative stereotypes. It was hoped understanding the experiences of Filipino students in Hawai‘i’s educational system—a site where students have constructed knowledge of self and identity—and examining the impact of decolonizing interventions in student affairs would provide insight into policies and practices to support the development of Filipino students in the UHCC system.
This research consisted of two interviews with three Filipino college students who were exposed to decolonizing activities and formed a Filipino club. The first interview focused on their precollege experiences as it related to their ethnic identity and college aspirations, and the second interview focused on their college experiences and how decolonizing activities impacted their ethnic identity, educational engagement, and agency. Once both interviews were completed, transcriptions from the first and second interview were analyzed for restorying and translated as stories or narratives. Stories were analyzed through an inductive process of comparative data analysis to identify significant patterns and findings across the three narratives. Through this process of cross comparative analysis, findings, or themes emerged to address the original research questions:

1. What are the educational experiences of Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i?
2. How does decolonizing practices in student affairs influence Filipino student ethnic identity, educational engagement and agency?

This chapter begins with a discussion of the findings using an analytical framework of dominant and counter narratives and existing literature to understand the educational experiences of Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i and the significance of decolonizing activities on their identity, educational engagement, and sense of agency. The chapter concludes with study’s recommendations for future research, policy, and practice.

**Prevailing Dominant Narratives Influence Filipino Community College Students in Hawai‘i**

Delgado (1989), founder of CRT, argued, for many minority persons, the principal instrument of their subordination is:
the prevailing *mindset* by means of which members of the dominant group justify the
world as it is, that is, with whites on top and browns and blacks at the bottom . . . stories,
parables, chronicles, and narratives are powerful means for destroying mindset. (p. 2413)
However, he argued just as dominant stories or narratives can work to destroy the mindset,
counter-stories can also serve to dismantle them: “They can show that what we believe is
ridiculous, self-serving, or cruel. They can show us the way out of the trap of unjustified
exclusion. They can help us understand when it is time to reallocate power” (Delgado, 1989, p.
2415).

Using the critical race frame of dominant narratives to analyze the study’s findings
reveals prevailing dominant mindsets influence the self-concept of Filipino students in the
UHCC system. Students reported feeling shame of their ethnic identity, not having their history
or culture represented in their school curriculum, having an essentialized conception of Filipino
identity, and an awareness of negative stereotypes of Filipinos while also being subjected to the
model minority stereotype of being smart.

These findings where participants did not experience pride in their ethnic identity are
consistent with Eisen (2018), who similarly conducted a focus group with a group of second-
generation Filipinos who grew up in Hawai‘i and found “there’s nothing positive about being
Filipino” (p. 420). Eisen (2018) argued Filipinos have developed a double consciousness (Du
Bois, 1903), where they perceive the world from both the dominant culture and the dominated, as
a marginalized group. He argued, in Hawai‘i, local identity encourages assimilation where the
concept of a “local” draws upon the central frames of colorblind racism to embrace the myth of
multiculturalism, which assumes those willing to assimilate will have equal opportunity in
Hawai‘i (Eisen, 2018; Labrador, 2018). Through this frame, “local” fails to acknowledge
structural inequality where Filipinos are disproportionately overrepresented in the service sector and underrepresented in managerial positions, less likely to obtain a college degree, and earn significantly less income than other groups (Labrador, 2014; Okamura, 2008). Consequently, “Filipinos may embrace dominant ideologies that support a local identity and the myth of multiculturalism while being aware of their marginalization and the lack of perceived benefits of being Filipino in Hawai‘i” (Eisen, 2018, p. 2).

Although students attended schools and lived in communities with high concentrations of Filipinos, there were few to no opportunities to learn about their history or culture in the curriculum. Andresen (2013) wrote about the power of schools as sites of knowledge construction where identity formation begins and argued the invisibility of Filipinos from U.S. curriculum and history has led to “ethnic confusion and inherited colonial mentality” (p. 66) and is a factor that has made the formation of a Filipino American identity difficult to attain. He referenced Banks’s (2003) notion of cultural psychological captivity—a stage of cultural identity where individuals internalize negative beliefs about their ethnic group that are institutionalized within society—as one of the repercussions of a Western centric knowledge:

As a result of mainstream academic knowledge received in school, students of color often experience cultural psychological captivity . . . learning through mainstream academic paradigm is a major factor in people of color’s internalization of their psychological and cultural captivity. (Andresen, 2013, p. 70)

The finding that research participants had a conception of Filipino identity or culture, which was essentialized or reduced to a limited number of characteristics (e.g., immigration status, language, food, or superstitions), and, therefore, did not see themselves as a local fitting in can be explained through a dominant narrative of Filipinos as perpetual foreigner. Through
essentialism, or the belief that Filipinos share a fixed set of characteristics—dominant groups are able to justify the marginalization of Filipinos (Mahalingam, 2007). This finding suggests study participants may be at the first two nonlinear stages of Nadal’s (2011) FAID model: (a) ethnic awareness: understanding of oneself based on the people and customs to which one is exposed and (b) assimilation to dominant culture: the realization a person is different from dominant culture and therefore attempts to assimilate and reject Filipino identity. According to Nadal (2004), CM and assimilation is strengthened in environments where Filipinos are marginalized, and suggests colonial mentality is especially salient in Hawai‘i “where the plantation era and establishment of a local identity has created an ethnic hierarchy which continues to marginalize Filipinos” (p. 30).

Buenavista (2010) pointed to the dichotomous racialization of Filipinos who have been racialized as Asian American “model minorities” and assumed to be successful academically and economically on one hand, yet on the other, distinctly racialized negatively. Margaret grew up receiving dual messages that “Filipinos are smart” and at the same time, a subordinated laborer class within Hawai‘i social structure. The dichotomous racialization of Filipinos represents another dominant narrative that negatively affects Filipinos like Margaret, who have needs that may be overlooked either because of assumptions about them as model minorities or as low-achievers who are not bound for college.

After analyzing the study findings, the literature suggests the experiences and self-concept of study participants are largely dictated by a dominant culture, which does not fully integrate Filipino culture and often denigrates Filipinos and invisibilized Filipinos from curriculum. Furthermore, students are subjected to a dichotomous racialization that imposes both the model minority myth and stigmatized stereotypes. These factors can potentially strengthen
CM and assimilation among Filipino students and inhibits movement to “integration” stages of Filipino ethnic identity development where Filipino’s experience greater pride and respect for other groups (Nadal, 2004).

**Reframing Experiences of Filipino Community College Students in Hawai‘i as Counter-Stories of Community Cultural Wealth**

The educational narratives of study participants revealed the extent to which their self-concept and ethnic identity have been shaped by a dominant narrative where they were rendered invisibilized and marginalized. However, as a result of experiencing decolonizing practices, their narratives may also serve as counter-stories—a “tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 32). Rather than view the disadvantages and challenges facing Filipino students as deficits, Yosso (2005) community cultural wealth model uses a critical race lens to learn from the narratives of students of color as valid of forms of knowledge brought from their families and communities, which often go unrecognized and unacknowledged.

Whereas knowledge of the dominant, White, middle class culture is considered valuable social capital to attain social mobility through schooling, Yosso (2005) offers community cultural wealth as an alternative paradigm, which challenges the assumption that students of color are culturally deficient and seeks to transform the process of schooling. “Community cultural wealth is an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression” (Yosso, 2005, p. 77) and includes six forms of capital: aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, navigational, and resistant.
Using the conceptualization of community cultural wealth, the narratives of these three Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i are powerful counter-stories that dismantle the dominant narrative. Furthermore, these narratives offer insight into how decolonizing practices may serve to shift students’ previous deficit views of being Filipino to that of community cultural wealth.

**Aspirational Capital**

Aspirational capital refers to “the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers” (Yosso, 2005, p. 78). For students, such as Jaiden and Katara—whose parents insisted upon them to earn degrees in the nursing field despite their own limited career opportunities—the dreams their parents held for them can be considered a form of aspirational capital. On the other hand, for students like Margaret, whose resiliency to pursue her dream of becoming a nurse in spite of her parents’ inability to maintain the same hopes and dreams for her, it is an example of the aspirational capital she created to break the pattern of occupational and educational status in her family.

**Linguistic Capital**

Linguistic capital represents the intellectual and social skills one gains from knowing more than one language. After participating in decolonizing activities, Katara shared a heightened awareness of the linguistic discrimination and barriers members of her family faced and how it impacted the employment opportunities available to her dad. Her exposure to decolonizing activities increased her awareness of knowing another language as a valuable form of linguistic capital that is not valued by the dominant culture. Katara shared:

I showed them the picture [from the Don’t Be a Coconut workshop] and they said,

“Yeah, you have to speak English to know things” and that’s why I didn’t go to school
because you have to learn how to read or like, speak English. I think that’s why it changed my perspective. I think that’s why so many Filipinos think they have to know English to have the education they want, but really you don’t need to because you have your own specific language you’ve talked your whole entire life because you’re from another country and you have your own set language and you have to come here and learn another language. And it kind of makes me mad that a lot of people make fun of your accents because you’re an immigrant but they know so much, like a lot more than we do . . . Cuz like I’m trying to help my dad look for another job but to get a good job you have to know English because he wasn’t born here. But, seeing my grandparents struggle with the same thing, I feel bad now.

**Familial Capital**

Familial capital is the cultural knowledge nurtured among family members and carries a sense of community history and memory. Decolonizing practices in many ways sought to nurture the value placed on these forms of knowledge. For example, one activity facilitated with participants was to interview their families to learn about their immigration stories. After participating in decolonizing activities, the sense of community history and memory were strengthened. Katara’s narrative suggested decolonizing activities increased her awareness of familial capital and her desire to preserve these forms of knowledges in her family:

I think about my parents [who] are second gen and they hardly know how to do things and it makes me sad like when we’re older. I tell my boyfriend to learn something. I tell my boyfriend we need to learn . . . I’m scared because my grandpa’s old. My grandpa does everything for the family, he cooks, he doesn’t even have a degree in building houses, but he knows how to build houses. All the grandparents, they all know each other
and get along. I guess that’s also important to me, I guess like seeing everyone at a Filipino party and they’re all talking in Ilocano and talking about their life and about how to kill a pig or a cow . . . Me and my cousin at every family occasion we just sit down and watch everyone cooking and cutting meat. We talk about what if we don’t know how to do it. We told our grandpa you need to teach us. My mom doesn’t know even how to cook a real chicken. Cuz my papa doesn’t like store chicken. He likes to raise things rather than just buy them. He raises chicken, wild pigs, cows it’s all in our backyard it’s like a whole farm, rather than buying them. When he’s hungry he’s gonna go back there . . . I always think . . . Not be sad, but I always think oh my gosh . . . My grandparents could just go . . . about I don’t know what to do, I’d be devastated . . . And even if I don’t get along, at least they know some part of our culture, respect and stuff like that. I didn’t really go to church before, but we used to go from house to house and I used to be the leader with my cousin, now I realize even some simply like the prayers we lead . . . Even our funerals, we have so many traditions. In my family we make plates for whoever passed away with a whole table with a bunch of food . . . I’m thinking I better write all of these down.

Social Capital

Social capital refers to the peer and social networks that provide emotional support to navigate social institutions, such as higher education. Participant narratives suggest participation in decolonizing activities increased the social capital available to them through the establishment of the peer social network created by the Filipino club. Jaiden’s social capital increased as a result of his involvement in the club: “I wouldn’t be as social as I am now. I mean, I definitely wouldn’t talk to any people in [student lounge name]. But now I do that. My communication’s
gotten way better.” For Margaret, who had never made social connections with other Filipinos, involvement increased her social capital as well: “I didn’t know anything and I didn’t really know any Filipinos so when I joined the club and got to hear other people’s stories and got to know them I found some connections.”

**Navigational Capital**

The narratives of research participants can also demonstrate how they developed the navigational skills to maneuver through a system not traditionally designed for their success as low-income, first-generation college students of color. Yosso (2005) described navigational capital as a “set of inner resources, social competencies and cultural strategies that permit individuals to not only survive, recover, or even thrive after stressful events, but also to draw from the experience to enhance subsequent functioning” (p. 80). Despite Margaret’s testing behind in math and reading in elementary school—a label that followed her throughout her schooling experience—she persisted and tapped her inner resources to return to college as a nontraditional student. Knowing the potential for academic difficulty, she displayed navigational capital by purposefully developing a plan for her success that included limiting her course load to part time:

I feel like I should hurry up but knowing me, I still feel insecure about my academics, so I feel like I should take my time. But age is making me feel like I need to take my time. I know myself so I am pacing myself.

Although Margaret did not fit the standard profile of a traditional, full-time college student, she persisted and leveraged her inner knowing to develop an academic success plan that was responsive to her needs.
Navigational capital may also be another resource students and parents may develop as an outcome of decolonizing practices. As Jaiden and Katara struggled to fulfill the academic and career goals established by their parents, the researcher, who also served as their academic counselor, leveraged the aspirational capital of their parents and invited the students to bring their parents to a meeting to communicate the stress and anxiety of pursuing a nursing and health related career. As a result of this strategy, both students and parents increased their navigational skills, as the students received support for this academic concern in a way that honored the aspirations of their family while exercising their agency to determine their educational and career goals.

Resistant Capital

Resistant capital is a form of cultural wealth that grounds communities of color in their legacy of resistance to subordination and challenges inequality. By teaching students about the history of colonization in the Philippines from the perspective of the colonized, and raising student awareness of the ways in which internalized oppression and colonial mentality manifests in their self, families, and community, decolonizing practices pass on resistant capital. For research participants, decolonizing activities such as the Don’t Be a Coconut workshop and Delano Manong’s film screening were the first time they learned about a resistant Filipino history. In the Don’t Be a Coconut workshop, they learned Filipinos fought and won their independence from Spain and resisted American occupation in the Philippine American War. In the Delano Manong’s film, students learned about the historic role Filipino farmworkers played in resisting labor exploitation and forging Mexican and Filipino unity to form the United Farm Workers Union, a role that has sadly been overshadowed and unknown to many. Through these decolonizing activities, students connected to their own personal history as descendants of
sakadas or plantation laborers in Hawai‘i, who, like the manongs in Delano, also have a long history of resistance and labor organizing. Labrador (2003) also asserted the construction of Filipino identity is resistant capital:

The construction of Filipino identities directly challenges the effects of colonialism, opposes racism, confronts their collective marginalization, while demanding complete participation in Hawai‘i’s society. Thus working through Filipino identity matters in Hawai‘i is to contest subordination in the contemporary racial/ethnic and class hierarchy. (pp. 84–85)

Moreover, Saranillio (2018) reminded that Filipinos possess “a fierce history of resistance to colonization,” but “as long as Native Hawaiians remain colonized, empowerment through the colonial system means that we stand on the backs of indigenous peoples” (p. 275). The intention of decolonizing practices is to build resistant capital as a form of cultural wealth that raises student critical consciousness to support Native Hawaiian struggle for self-determination, while combating marginalization and racism against Filipinos in Hawai‘i.

In summary, after analyzing the study findings through a critical race lens of dominant and counter-narratives, the literature suggests the self-concept and ethnic identity of study participants were shaped by a dominant narrative where they were rendered invisibilized and marginalized. However, the narratives of three Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i show decolonizing practices in student affairs serve as powerful counter-stories that dismantle the dominant narrative and shift students previous deficit views of being Filipino to that of community cultural wealth; consequently passing on resistant capital to challenge inequalities and systems of oppression.
Recommendations

Based on the interpretation of findings using an analytical framework of master narrative to analyze the educational experiences of Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i and the conceptualization of community cultural wealth to reframe their narratives as counter-stories, this study offers recommendations to address the following needs for future policy, practice, and research: (a) decolonizing curriculum and programs, (b) decolonizing practices for academic and support services, and (c) decolonizing research.

Decolonizing Curriculum and Programs

Recommendations in the area of decolonizing curriculum and programs are to require an Ethnic Studies focus requirement in the UHCC System and offer critical decolonizing curriculum and cocurricular programs.

Develop an Ethnic Studies Requirement in the UHCC System

While the findings of this study show decolonizing practices in student affairs are a promising intervention tied to positive mental health and student outcomes, this work must be anchored and reinforced by curriculum and courses offered in the UHCC system, such as ethnic studies. Ethnic studies is the interdisciplinary study of race and ethnicity taught from the perspectives of underrepresented groups in the United States. By requiring ethnic studies as a required course for all UHCC graduates, all students would be given the opportunity to learn about race and ethnicity and the impacts of racism and other forms of oppression on communities of color. Mandating ethnic studies as a focus designation requirement would assist in ensuring all students are provided with the space to critically examine dominant, negative stereotypes of Filipinos and other underrepresented groups. This would also create an incentive
for faculty to develop ethnic studies courses and for students to register in them because they would fulfill a graduation requirement.

**Critical Decolonizing Filipino Curriculum and Cocurricular Programs**

Museus and Maramba (2011) argue that rather than leave college students to create culturally relevant programs and activities through ethnic student organizations, it should be an institutional responsibility to create culturally relevant programs on campus and doing so can “help students develop activities that both validate those undergraduates’ cultural backgrounds and achieve important educational outcomes” (p. 253). The findings from this study come to a similar conclusion and recommend development of critical, decolonizing curricula and cocurricular programs to validate the complex cultural backgrounds of Filipino students.

The decolonizing practices conducted with study participants consisted of student activities such as a workshop in decolonizing Filipino identity, film screenings on Filipino labor organizing, and participation in events that exposed students to educational equity issues and indigenous Philippine cultural practices. However, these practices were not provided as part of a formal student development program, course curriculum, or even cocurricular activities to supplement related coursework. Decolonizing practices in student affairs are reliant upon the capacity of students to engage in activities outside of their school, work, and family obligations, and not just a willing faculty member. Decolonizing practices in student affairs is difficult to sustain and replicate without curricular support and resources to develop a structured program with staff trained to facilitate the decolonization process. Therefore, recommendations for practice are to develop courses that provide the necessary intellectual space to examine and process Filipino experiences from a critical, decolonial perspective to intentionally dismantle dominant narratives to which students are subjected otherwise. Eisen (2018) suggested the
creation of critical counter spaces as crucial to the development of the decolonization process and references the work of Halagao et al. (2009), who conducted a critical and comprehensive review of Filipina/o American curriculum that pursues critical pedagogy through critical content, critical instruction, and critical impact. Therefore, recommendations are to develop and use critical decolonizing curriculum and cocurricular programs grounded in Filipino critical pedagogy and challenge superficial multiculturalism through an “intentional educational process of decolonization” (Halagao et al., 2009, p. 9).

Given there are currently no Filipino specific, culturally relevant programs within the UHCC system, this study recommends the UH system allocate resources to support critical decolonizing programs. Additionally, since most UHCC campuses qualify for federal grant opportunities under the Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-serving institutions (AANAPISI) program—a federal designated minority-serving institution (MSI) program—UHCC administrators can actively seek out AANAPISI funds to improve and expand their capacity to address the complex needs of Filipino and other Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander students.

**Decolonizing Practices for Academic and Support Services**

Recommendations in the area of decolonizing practices for academic and support services include extending decolonizing practices to educators, student affairs practitioners, family and community.

*Extend Decolonizing Practices to Educators and Student Development Practitioners*

Given there are few to no opportunities for our students to critically examine dominant, negative stereotypes about their ethnic identity, there is likely a dearth of teachers and student affairs practitioners who have undergone the process of decolonizing their understanding of
Filipino identity, history, and experiences. Therefore, it is important this type of content be included in academic programs, which prepare individuals for work with Filipino students (e.g., teacher preparation, school counseling, and student development programs) and not just limited to Filipino students in the UHCC system.

Decolonizing practices for existing student affairs practitioners can include seeking professional development opportunities to learn more about the colonial history of the Philippines and its unique status as the only Asian group to be colonized by both Spain and the United States.

**Extend Decolonizing Practices to Family and Community**

In addition to extending decolonizing practices to educational practitioners, Halagao (2004) suggested decolonization practices not only be limited to the classroom, but also be extended to include family members and community members who support Filipino students. Examples can include inviting family and community members to participate in decolonizing activities with students and engage in dialogue on the ways in which family and community may be unconsciously reinforcing negative stereotypes or colonial mentality.

**Decolonizing Research**

Recommendations in the area of decolonizing research include decolonizing Filipino ethnic identity theory and further examination of decolonization and Filipino student success outcomes.

**Decolonizing Filipino Ethnic Identity Theory**

While this study primarily focused on understanding the impact of decolonizing activities on the ethnic identity development and educational experiences of Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i, future studies can further extend theories such as Nadal’s (2011) FAID
model and develop decolonizing Filipino identity theory that accounts for the implications of Filipino settler colonialism in Hawai‘i. For example, future studies could explore how to facilitate movement away from Filipino American identity or local pan-Asian identity and toward a Filipino settler identity that is committed to supporting Native Hawaiians in achieving self-determination and the decolonization of Hawai‘i, while combating marginalization and racism against Filipinos in Hawai‘i (Saranillio, 2018).

**Decolonization and Student Achievement**

Another area for future research is to further examine the impacts of decolonization on student achievement outcomes. While this study found decolonizing practices increased student engagement and agency, future studies could examine whether decolonization practices might serve to mitigate factors that may influence Filipino student success such as motivation, use of campus resources, and persistence and the effects of decolonizing practices on student success outcomes such as graduation, retention, and ultimately transfer to a 4-year institution.

**Closing Reflection**

“*Do You Feel Seen and Loved?*”

I began this dissertation by sharing the story of how this study came about, and the incident of a student who brought a bottle of Eskinol, a skin whitening product, to a Pamantasan conference where I would be presenting a workshop on colonial mentality. This incident made me realize not only the relevance of addressing colonial mentality with my students, but also how deeply personal the issue of colonial mentality was for me, as I also used to use the same product when I was the same age without questioning the reason. It was not until I was exposed to decolonizing practices through ethnic studies in college that I found my voice, confidence, and purpose. As it would turn out, this student also became one of the participants in this study—
Jaiden. Since that time, his educational experience has been transformed from one characterized by depression and anxiety to one of healing and pride in his ethnic identity. Through decolonizing practices, he was able to exercise his agency and now wants to pursue ethnic studies as an academic goal. More importantly, he has gained greater confidence, self-esteem, and voice. Last fall, he attended the same Pamantasan Conference again and spent the whole day in decolonizing workshops, staying until the very end. Afterward, I went up to him, gave him a hug, and asked, “Do you feel seen and loved?” He nodded his head in affirmation. As a decolonizing student affairs practitioner, this is why I do this work. I hope this research will be of value to other practitioners—to understand the value and impact decolonizing practices may have for Filipino students. Mabuhay!
### Appendix A: Decolonizing Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Don't Be a Coconut” Workshop</td>
<td>Workshop on colonial mentality and countering internalized oppression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delano Manongs Film Screening &amp; Community Discussion (Film Directed by Marisa Aroy)</td>
<td>Film screening that tells the story of labor organizer Larry Itliong and the Filipino farm workers who instigated the formation of the United Farm Workers Union (UFW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakada Oral History Project</td>
<td>Conducted oral history with a living sakada, to learn about the Filipino plantation and worker organizing history.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakada Day Commemoration</td>
<td>Volunteered at community sakada commemoration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samahang Summer Retreat</td>
<td>Participants interviewed their families to learn their immigration history and participated in community building activities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Recruitment Script

Aloha! I am a graduate student at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa in the College of Education. As part of the requirements for earning my doctorate degree, I am doing a research project. The purpose of this project is to understand the experiences of Filipino students in the University of Hawai‘i Community College system and how decolonizing practices in student affairs impact student ethnic identity, engagement and agency. I am reaching out to invite you to participate because you have been exposed to decolonizing practices and are members of a Filipino student organization at your campus.

If you agree to participate, you will be interviewed two times. The first interview questions will focus on your educational experiences prior to attending college and will last up to 1 hour. After the first interview, I will observe your participation in student activities, which will include campus and club activities, and workshops. The second interview will take place after I have conducted observations from your involvement in student activities and workshops and will last up to 1 hour.

Interviews will be conducted at XXXXX or at a location convenient to you, and will be confidential. Observations will be recorded during your participation in campus and community related activities, which may be held at XXXXX or in an off-campus setting.

If you have any questions or would like to participate in the research, I can be reached at xxxxx@hawaii.edu.
Appendix C: Consent Form

Consent to Participate in a Research Project

Patricia Halagao (Principal Investigator)
Jeanne Batallones (Student Investigator)

Project title: “A Narrative Inquiry: Decolonizing Practices With Filipino UH Community College Students”

Aloha! My name is Jeanne Batallones and you are invited to take part in a research study. I am a graduate student at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa in the College of Education. As part of the requirements for earning my doctorate degree, I am doing a research project.

What am I being asked to do? If you agree to participate, you will be interviewed 2 times. Interviews will be conducted at XXXX or at a location convenient to you, and will be confidential. During the interviews, I will be the only person present and will be conducting the interview. I will also be observing your participation during your campus and community related activities, which may be held at XXXXX or in an off-campus setting. All of this will be done within a 6 month time period.

Taking part in this study is your choice. Your participation in this project is completely voluntary. You may stop participating at any time. If you stop being in the study, there will be no penalty or loss to you. Your choice to participate or not participate will not affect your rights to services as a XXXXX student.

Why is this study being done?
The purpose of this project is to understand the experiences of Filipino students in the University of Hawai‘i Community College system and how decolonizing practices in student affairs impact student ethnic identity, engagement and agency. I am asking you to participate because you have been exposed to decolonizing practices and have subsequently formed a Filipino student organization at your campus.

What will happen if I decide to take part in this study? There will be two interviews where discussion will be guided by less than 10 open ended questions. It will take about an hour for each interview. The interview will be informal, a time to share your experiences. Your answers will inform educational practitioners on interventions that support Filipino student development. Interview questions will include questions like, “Tell me about your schooling experience and what factors led you to go to college?”

The first interview questions will focus on your educational experiences prior to attending college and will last up to 1 hour. After the first interview, I will observe your participation in student activities, which will include campus and club activities, and workshops, such as the Decolonizing Filipino Identity and Filipino History workshops. The second interview will take place after I have conducted observations from your involvement in student activities and workshops and will last up to 1 hour. All of this will be done within a 6 month time period.

With your permission, I will audio-record the interviews, and make observations from your participation in Filipino student activities so that I can later transcribe the interview and analyze the responses and observations.

What are the risks and benefits of taking part in this study? I believe there is little risk to you in participating in this research project. If you do become uncomfortable, you can skip a question, take a break, or stop participating at any time.
While there will be no direct benefit to you for participating in the interviews, the information you provide will help inform educational practitioners concerned with addressing the needs of Filipino students in the UH system.

**Privacy and Confidentiality.** I will keep all study data secure in a locked filing cabinet in a locked office/encrypted on a password protected computer. Only my University of Hawai‘i advisor and I will have access to the information. Other agencies that have legal permission have the right to review research records. The University of Hawai‘i Human Studies Program has the right to review research records for this study.

After I analyze the interviews, I will erase or destroy the audio-recordings. When I report the results of the research project, I will not use your name. I will not use any other personal identifying information that can identify you. I will use pseudonyms (fake names) and report my findings in a way that protects your privacy and confidentiality to the extent allowed by law.

**Future Research Studies:**
Even after removing identifiers, the data from this study will not be used or distributed for future research studies.

**Questions** If you have any questions about this study, please email Jeanne Batallones at XXXXXX@hawaii.edu. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. Patricia Halagao, (XXX) XXX-XXXX, XXXXX@hawaii.edu. You may contact the UH Human Studies Program at XXX.XXX.XXX or XXXXX@hawaii.edu to discuss problems, concerns and questions; obtain information; or offer input with an informed individual who is unaffiliated with the specific research protocol. Please visit http://go.hawaii.edu/jRd for more information on your rights as a research participant.

If you agree to participate in this project, please sign and date this signature page and return it by email to: XXXXX@hawaii.edu.

Keep a copy of the informed consent for your records and reference.

**Signature(s) for Consent:**

I give permission to join the research project entitled, “A Narrative Inquiry: Decolonizing Practices with Filipino UH Community College Students”

Please initial next to either “Yes” or “No” to the following:

_____ Yes  _____ No I consent to be audio recorded for the interview portion of this research.

Name of Participant (Print): ______________________________________________

Participant’s Signature: _________________________________________________

Signature of the Person Obtaining Consent: _______________________________

Date: __________________________

Mahalo!
Appendix D: First Interview Questions

Project title: “A Narrative Inquiry: Decolonizing Practices with Filipino UH Community College Students”

Investigator: Jeanne Batallones

First Interview Questions for Research Participants

1. Where were you born and raised?
2. What do you know about how your family ended up in Hawai‘i?
3. What is your ethnicity?
4. What did you learn about your ethnic identity and culture growing up?
5. What K-12 schools did you attend?
6. What messages did you receive about your ethnicity/culture in your schools?
7. Were there many students who identified as Filipino at your K-12 school?
8. What other cultures or identities do you identify with?
9. How you ever felt a time when you felt left out because of your identity/identities?
10. What did you learn about Filipino history or culture in your classes?
11. What opportunities, if any, did you have to learn about your history or culture?
12. Do you remember having role models who you identified with in K-12 school?
13. What were some resources or support you found most useful and relevant to you as a high school student? As a college student?
14. Why did you choose to go to college?
15. Are you the first in your family to attend college? If not, who has a college degree in your family? And/or, who else is in college?
16. What is your major?
17. What are your career goals?
18. Why did you select this major/career?
19. What are some challenges you face?
20. Are there any challenges you feel Filipino community college students face that are unique?
Appendix E: Second Interview Questions

Project Title: “A Narrative Inquiry: Decolonizing Practices With Filipino UH Community College Students”

Investigator: Jeanne Batallones

Second Interview Questions for Research Participants
After Participating in Decolonizing Activities

1. What activities have you been involved in since joining the club?
2. What did you learn from the activities?
3. Do you feel it’s important to have these activities for students? Why or why not?
4. What motivated you to join the Filipino club?
5. Do you feel it’s important for there to be a Filipino club at the college? Why or why not?
6. Do you feel many Filipino students are interested in learning about their history and culture? Please explain.
7. How has your exposure to the activity/activities influenced your involvement in college?
8. How has your involvement influenced your leadership abilities?
9. How has your involvement in student activities influenced you academically (your academic progress and/or career goals)?
10. Did you feel connected to the college or community before becoming involved in student activities?
11. How does your involvement in student activities change your feeling of connection to the college? Feeling of connection to the Filipino community?
12. How have the activities you’ve participated in changed how you see yourself as a Filipino?
13. How has the activity changed your perceptions of other Filipinos?
## Appendix F: Mapping of Interview Questions to Research Questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>What are the educational experiences of Filipino community college students in Hawai‘i?</th>
<th>How does decolonizing practices in student affairs influence Filipino student...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interview Questions</strong></td>
<td>Pre-College Experiences:</td>
<td>Engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What K-12 schools did you attend?</td>
<td>Agency/Leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What messages did you receive about your ethnicity/culture in your schools?</td>
<td>Ethnic Identity</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Were there many students who identified as Filipino at your K-12 school?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What other cultures or identities do you identify with?</td>
<td>How has your exposure to the activities influenced your involvement/leadership?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have you ever felt a time when you felt left out because of your identity/identities?</td>
<td>How has your involvement in student activities influenced your academic and/or career goals?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What did you learn about Filipino history or culture in your classes?</td>
<td>Did you feel connected to the college or community before becoming involved in student activities?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>How does your involvement in student activities change your feeling of connection to the college or community?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do you remember having role models who you identified with in K-12 schools?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>What were some of the resources or support you found most useful</td>
<td>How has decolonizing activity disrupted, changed or reinforced their self-concept?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How has the activity changed your perceptions or understanding of your ethnic identity?</td>
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<tr>
<td>and relevant to you as a high school student? As a college student?</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Biographical Data Questions:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Where were you born &amp; raised?</td>
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<td>What do you know about how your family ended up in Hawai‘i?</td>
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<td>Why did you choose to go to college?</td>
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<td>Are you the first in your family to attend college? If not, who else has a college degree in your family? And/or who else is in college?</td>
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<td>What is your major?</td>
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<td>What are some challenges you face?</td>
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<td>Are there any challenges you feel Filipino community college students face that are unique?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix G: Don’t Be a Coconut Lesson Plan

Title: “Don’t Be a Coconut! Colonial Mentality & Countering Internalized Oppression in Education”

Workshop Run Time: 45 mins
Capacity: 30 students max

Technology Needed:
- Projector screen or TV
- HDMI cable hook-up
- Audio hook-up
- Kahoot It! Survey
- Powerpoint

Supplies Needed:
- Chart paper
- Colored pens/pencils/markers
- Color print-outs of images from the Forbidden Book (3 of ea.)
- Colonial Mentality Scale
- Forbidden Book

Objectives:
1. Gain a basic understanding of the roots of colonialism in the Philippines.
2. Gain a basic understanding of the concept of colonial mentality.
3. Identify the different ways colonialism manifests in their everyday lives.
4. Identify the different ways colonialism manifests in Filipino cultures.
5. Discuss ways colonial mentality affects our schooling and college experiences.
6. Empower students to decolonize selves and combat internalized oppression.
7. Encourage imagination of a decolonized Filipino identity and community.

I. ICE BREAKER: ARE YOU A COCONUT? KAHOOT IT! (10mins)

- Kahoot It Account Sign-In
  - https://kahoot.com

- Are you a Coconut?
  - Red = Agree Blue = Disagree
  - Students respond to the following questions from EJR David's Colonial Mentality Scale (CMS):
    - I tend to divide Filipinos into two types: the FOBs (fresh-off-the-boat/newly arrived immigrants) and the Filipino Americans
    - I find people with lighter skin tones more attractive
    - I genuinely think that a part blooded Filipino is more attractive than a full
    - The American culture is generally more admirable, desirable or better
    - Spain and the U.S. are highly responsible for civilizing Filipinos and improving their way of life.
    - I do not want my children to have Filipino noses
    - I feel that there are very few things about Filipino culture that I can be proud of
    - In general, I am ashamed of newly arrived Filipino immigrants
    - In general, I am embarrassed of the Filipino culture and traditions
    - I make fun of, tease, or bad mouth Filipinos who speak with strong accents

- After each question, participants will submit votes anonymously using Kahoot It on their phone. The tally of agree/disagree will be displayed, so that everyone can view the total votes per question.

- Engage in discussion about questions.
  - What did you notice about the questions we were asking?
  - What did they have in common?
  - Why do you think we asked these questions?
Are these questions relevant to the Filipino community?
What are your reactions?
How do you think most Filipinos your age would answer these questions?
How do you think your parents would answer these questions?
Has there ever been a time when you felt that way?
Do these ideas sound familiar to you? In what way?

- Explain that the questions were developed by Filipino psychologist, Dr. E.J.R David to measure a phenomenon known as 'colonial mentality'

II. WHAT IS COLONIAL MENTALITY? (5mins)
- What is Colonial Mentality?
- How does it affect Filipinos?

III. WHERE DOES IT COME FROM? (20mins)
- Power Point: Teaching through political cartoons (Forbidden Book images)
  - Break room up into groups of 6
  - HANDOUT: Critical Questions
  - Report back
    - What’s happening in the picture?
    - Who do you see?
    - How are Filipinos depicted?
    - How are others depicted? Are they similar or different?
    - How does this image make you feel? About being Filipino?
    - What do you think is the purpose of this depiction?
    - Does this perpetuate or challenge colonization?
    - Do you still see these ideas perpetuated today? Explain.

IV. GROUP ACTIVITY: HOW DO WE COUNTER IT? (10mins)
- QUESTION: “Imagine we are in a decolonized Filipino place (like a Filipino Wakanda). What would that look like?”
- TASK: Draw, write, etc. on chart paper. Report back.
- More guiding questions:
  - What would it look like to be decolonized?
  - What kind of images of Filipinos would you like to see?
  - How would your education be different?
  - What would it look like to have a decolonized education? What would a decolonized education consist of?
  - How would it affect you if we decolonized our education?
  - What are the different ways we can decolonize and combat colonial mentality?
  - How do we counter it?
  - How would we want to be represented?

VI. CONCLUSION
- Isang bagsak! (One down)
- Evaluation
Appendix H: IRB Approval Letter

DATE: June 17, 2019
TO: Halagao, Patricia, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Curriculum Studies
    Bataliones, Jeanne, M.S., College of Education, University of Hawaii at Manoa
FROM: Rivera, Victoria, Dir, Ofc of Rsch Compliance, Social&Behav Exempt
PROTOCOL TITLE: A Narrative Inquiry: Decolonizing Practices with Filipino UH Community College Students
FUNDING SOURCE: 
PROTOCOL NUMBER: 2019-00231
APPROVAL DATE: June 17, 2019

NOTICE OF APPROVAL FOR HUMAN RESEARCH

This letter is your record of the Human Studies Program approval of this study as exempt.

On June 17, 2019, the University of Hawaii (UH) Human Studies Program approved this study as exempt from federal regulations pertaining to the protection of human research participants. The authority for the exemption applicable to your study is documented in the Code of Federal Regulations at 45 CFR 46.101(b) 2.

Exempt studies are subject to the ethical principles articulated in The Belmont Report, found at the OHRP Website www.hhs.gov/ohrp/humansubjects/guidance/ethics.html.

Exempt studies do not require regular continuing review by the Human Studies Program. However, if you propose to modify your study, you must receive approval from the Human Studies Program prior to implementing any changes. You can submit your proposed changes via the UH eProtocol application. The Human Studies Program may review the exempt status at that time and request an application for approval as non-exempt research.

In order to protect the confidentiality of research participants, we encourage you to destroy private information which can be linked to the identities of individuals as soon as it is reasonable to do so. Signed consent forms, as applicable to your study, should be maintained for at least the duration of your project.

This approval does not expire. However, please notify the Human Studies Program when your study is complete. Upon notification, we will close our files pertaining to your study.

If you have any questions relating to the protection of human research participants, please contact the Human Studies Program by phone at 956-5007 or email uhirb@hawaii.edu. We wish you success in carrying out your research project.
Appendix I: Depictions of Filipinos

"SCHOOL BEGINS."

"Uncle Sam (to his new class in Civilization)—Now, children, you've got to learn these lessons whether you want to or not! But just take a look at the class ahead of you, and remember that, in a little while, you will feel glad to be here as they are!"


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