TINALAK
Woven Dreams: Threading Filipino Educational Praxis
Volume 48 • Number 1 and 2 • 2016
In Memoriam

Julius Bajet Soria, PhD

This themed journal on Filipinos in education is dedicated to our dear friend and colleague, Julius Bajet Soria, PhD (Curriculum and Instruction, College of Education, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2012), who passed away on August 2, 2016. A keeper of our language and culture, Julius was committed to promoting an understanding of Filipinos, which he modeled through his words and actions. We have lost a valiant advocate for Ilokano heritage language and a strong voice for education, not just in Hawai‘i, but globally. Julius was a wonderful educator with a kind heart and gentle demeanor, who represented everything Tinalak envisions in our Filipino educators—intelligence, passion, and care. His vision will live out in the many students and teachers that he touched over the years. Julius was a key part of our journal and his contributions will forever help move Filipinos forward in education.
Educational Perspectives

Journal of the College of Education/University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

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Virgie Chattergy is professor emeritus from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. She received her postgraduate degrees from UCLA. She was born, raised, and educated in Cebu, Philippines where she received a degree in elementary education from St. Theresa's College. She pioneered the inclusion of language sensitivity and cultural diversity in education programs at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa at a time when the idea was new. Her involvement led to a variety of awards including “Leadership in Asia/Pacific Island Education” from the National Education Association (NEA).

Maharaj “Raju” Desai is a doctoral student in the Department of Curriculum Studies at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. He is a lecturer in the Filipino program in the Department of Indo-Pacific Languages and Literature at University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, as well as the Department of Philippine Studies at City College of San Francisco. His scholarship focuses on critical pedagogy, community & culturally responsive pedagogy, youth participatory action research, ethnic studies, and critical mixed race studies.

Patricia Espiritu Halagao is associate professor of curriculum studies at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and a former elementary teacher. She received her PhD in education from the University of Washington. Her scholarship focuses on critical and culturally responsive policy, pedagogy, and curriculum, specifically on Filipinos in education. She is the recipient of the University of Hawai‘i Board of Regent’s Medal for Excellence in Teaching (2012). She was the inaugural co-chair of the Tinalak Filipino Education Advisory Council. She was an appointed member of the Hawai‘i State Board of Education (2013–2016) and led efforts to adopt two policies: The Seal of Biliteracy and Multilingualism for Equitable Education.

Niki Libarios is the Director of the Office of Student Academic Services in the College of Education at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. Niki previously served as an academic advisor in the same office, as a counselor for Honolulu Community College, and as an elementary teacher for the Hawai‘i Department of Education. His research interest centers on Filipinos in higher education with a focus on recruitment, persistence, and community college transfer. Niki has been active in several Filipino organizations and is co-chair of the Tinalak Filipino Education Advisory Council in the College of Education, which he co-founded in 2012. Niki earned his PhD in education with a specialization in educational administration from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa where he also obtained a BEd in elementary education. He also received an MS in counseling psychology from Chaminade University and an AA in liberal arts from Leeward Community College.

Jeffrey Moniz is the Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs at the University of Hawai‘i - West O‘ahu. A former schoolteacher and, later, professor of education at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, he is now the chief academic officer at University of Hawai‘i - West O‘ahu. Jeff earned a BA in history and an MA in teaching from Beloit College in Wisconsin. He also earned MA and PhD degrees in education from the University of California, Santa Barbara. He has taught and written about matters of race, ethnicity, and culture and espouses a pedagogy grounded in multiplicty. Born and raised on O‘ahu, Hawai‘i, he savors life on his home island with his wife and two sons.

Julius Bajet Soria (b.1972–d.2016) was assistant professor in the Ilokano Language and Literature Program in the Department of Languages and Literatures at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. He was academic advisor of the Ilokano program and faculty co-advisor of Timpuyog, the Ilokano student-run organization. His scholarship focused on culturally responsive curriculum, specifically Ilokano heritage learning. He presented his research in Hawai‘i, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, and the continental United States. He served as curriculum developer and consultant of the Ilokano language curriculum at Farrington and Waipahu high schools through the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa GEAR UP Program.

Hannah M. Tavares is associate professor in the Department of Educational Foundations at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa in the College of Education. She received her PhD in educational policy studies and curriculum and instruction at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Her research interests include cultural histories, curriculum histories, and the use of visual archives in studies of education. She has completed a monograph, Pedagogies of the Image: Photo-archives, Cultural Histories, and Postfoundational Inquiry, published by SpringerBriefs in Education. She has essays in the journals Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, Educational Theory, and Educational Studies and the books Handbook of Research in the Social Foundations of Education, New Curriculum History, Troubling Gender, The History of Discrimination in U. S. Education: Marginality, Agency, and Power, and The State and the Politics of Knowledge. Her current book project, to be published by Sense Publishers, is titled Educational Temporalities: Local, National, and Global Perspectives.
Four years ago, Donald Young, the dean of the College of Education (COE) at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa called us into his office to discuss the status of Filipinos in the College of Education. He shared a concerned letter written by a former Filipino employee who had just received her annual college magazine *Currents*. The letter stated that not much had changed since she was an employee many years before. She was disturbed by the dismal growth of Filipino students attaining degrees in education. Although Filipinos make up 22 percent of the student population in Hawai'i's public school system, Filipinos represented only 7 percent of the College's teacher candidates.

To advise the dean on how to address the under-representation of Filipinos in the College, the Filipino Education Advisory Council was created. Our council was named after *tinalak*, the hand-woven natural cloth designed from the dreams of the indigenous Tboli women of the Philippines. Symbolizing “dream weavers,” the charge of Tinalak is to envision, inspire, and weave together Hawai'i's new generation of educators through the recruitment and support of Filipinos in the education field.

The Tinalak Council is composed of tenured instructional faculty, student services, administrators, and current and former COE doctoral students. The goals of Tinalak are three-fold:

1. recruit, retain, and graduate Filipino students from the COE to produce more Filipino educators in Hawai'i,
2. provide professional development for pre-service and in-service teachers in understanding and working with Filipino students, and
3. increase the number of Filipino faculty in the COE.

It has been truly remarkable what Tinalak has been able to achieve since its inception four years ago. Highlights include designing and co-teaching ITE 360 *Introduction to Multicultural Education (Filipino Focus)* in Fall 2013 by the Tinalak council members; receiving two grants from the UH Mānoa Office of Student, Excellence, Equity, and Diversity to provide PRAXIS exam stipends for Filipino COE students pursuing teacher education; coordinating a Filipino books and curriculum fair; assisting with targeted recruitment of education majors at “high percentage Filipino” high schools, the UH community colleges, and in the UH Mānoa Ilokano and Filipino language courses; and presenting at local and national conferences on the challenges and opportunities for Filipinos in Hawai'i at the K–12 and higher education levels.

The most recent endeavor of Tinalak is to provide scholarly contributions on Filipinos in education by serving as the co-editors and article contributors for this issue of *Educational Perspectives*. This work is potentially of great value not only for what it means to be Filipino in Hawai'i, but also in contributing to the body of knowledge of Filipinos in education—a topic of research that is virtually non-existent. In line with the symbolic meaning of Tinalak, we hope this journal serves to inspire others to dream and to create a new reality in the educational achievements of Filipinos in Hawai'i and beyond.

It all started with an alumni’s concerned letter to the dean. This powerful assertion triggered change. Together, we will weave our vision of education in Hawai'i.
The formation of the Tinalak Filipino Education Advisory Council in 2012 is a logical extension in the College of Education’s continuing effort to support its mission, namely, “to prepare professionals to contribute to a just, diverse, and democratic society.” A concerted effort to address the subject of inclusion in teacher training courses for one of our large ethnic groups, the Filipinos, began in earnest in the early eighties. Prior to this, a separate unit, Operation Manong, which was initially housed in the College of Education, raised the awareness of faculty members and administrators at the university regarding the disproportionate number of this student population vis-à-vis teachers engaging them in the schooling process. Operation Manong was transferred to another college within the university and became the Office of Multicultural Education.

Today this office is housed under the Office of Student Equity, Excellence, and Diversity (SEED), and its Director, Dr. Amy Agbayani, continues to work tirelessly to make others in the Department of Education (DOE) and the university system conscious of the fact that one of the largest ethnic groups in Hawai‘i is not fairly represented among its teaching force. Dr. Agbayani, who has provided leadership for SEED and its previous incarnations, collaborated with me initially to secure federal funding to establish what would become a specialization in multicultural education within our master’s degree program in the Department of Curriculum Studies. We were successful in obtaining federal monies, and I continued to ask for extensions until such time when the federal government considered us to be no longer “in need.”

Aware from the beginning that “start up” monies would dry up, and realizing even then, that “transitional bilingual education” would not be able to support itself for many practical reasons, I immediately used the time to institutionalize what we developed. The grant was to support tuition fees for bilingual pre-service teachers to qualify them for tenure in the DOE. We recruited from among the “teacher aides” who were stuck in these low positions and were speakers of one or two Philippine languages. We included Samoans, Koreans, and others who were interested in promoting their native languages in the schools for students who were considered speakers of a language other than English. In year one, I developed a program that was sequenced to start with many hours of field experience in the schools (Focus on Knowledge Base). This was followed, in year two, by engagement with a variety of methods (Focus on Knowledge Utilization), and culminated in the final semester with candidates’ write ups of an example of research or curriculum that would contribute to new perspectives in this area of study (Focus on Knowledge Production/Application).

The teacher candidates completed thirty-six hours of credits as required by our mainstream program. While I used existing courses, our training program included courses from the Department of Teaching English as a Second Language and a course that combined anthropological and sociological theories related to the socialization process. The rationale focused on the relationship between socialization and the development of a learning style. Simply, we supported the idea that values and life styles of a cultural group influence the parenting style of teaching and child rearing, which in turn influence the child’s style of thinking, relating to others, and responding to incentives that are manifested in the communication and relationship styles (how one expresses oneself and how one has been taught to relate to whom and under what circumstances).

By the beginning of the 1980s, I re-titled the program. Instead of Multicultural Education, the program was now known as Cultural Diversity in the Classrooms, to reflect this important aspect of teacher education. I also developed two courses that became part of the specialization program, one of which would be acceptable as an in-service professional course for teachers. At this time, the courses were attended by all teacher candidates and not limited to the “fellows” in the federally funded program. At the close of the program, we were able to graduate over thirty teachers who qualified for licensure—most starting with a master’s degree.
The program described earlier tried to address these goals and had limited success. With time’s passing, almost all of our graduates have retired and their replacement in the schools remains a challenge. The specialization program in multicultural education exists today because of the pioneering work in the 1980s. However, without financial and other types of support from administration, faculty members, and the Department of Education, we will fall short in our goals of bringing in more teacher candidates or in guiding them so they complete the program and most of all, in nurturing them in the crucial first years of teaching.

In the 1990's, multicultural programs had expanded to include educating everyone about each other’s cultures and this may be the direction to take. Perhaps, we should worry less about the numbers and focus more on the learning process. It appears that only small gains have been made if one focuses on the increase in numbers in the teaching force. At the time of our program, there were 4 percent Filipino teachers in Hawai‘i; today, according to the Tinalak data, there are 6 percent Filipino teachers. Our data on ethnicity is self-declared and therefore not very reliable, as many Filipinos are of mixed race and they may choose to designate “mixed” in indicating one’s ethnicity.

Relatively speaking, the social climate today is more receptive to engage with other cultures and should help in the efforts of the Tinalak Council. This is not to say that we have solved the issues of prejudice, as some of the authors here have demonstrated, or that we have no need to learn cross-cultural competencies. For example, one of the most critical skills for teachers who have students whose natal language is not English is their ability to distinguish between a student’s language issues as opposed to their thinking issues. This distinction is critical because failure to assess properly can result in a serious setback for the student. Whatever approach Tinalak takes, I hope their supporters will continue to impress upon educators that, as a scholar once expressed, if we want the child to become part of the school’s culture through the teachers, then, the culture of the child must also be in the minds and hearts of the teachers.
Tinalak:  
Weaving Dreams as Filipino Educational Praxis

by Jeffrey Tangonan Acido and Jeffrey Moniz

I am woven 
together by a dream 
Birthed out of struggle 
and resistance 
of my ancestors

My threads are only as strong 
As they are together, 
Side by side, 
In and out, 
Woven experiences 
That cannot be separated 
from the brown body 
of the abaca 
of the land

We are not patterns 
but visions 
of a liberated tomorrow.

We are the woven Tinalak

Tinalak is not simply a woven pattern, an indigenous artifact, or a piece of clothing made from abaca fibers. It is a vision and a dream received by the women of the T’boli community in Mindanao, Philippines. The dreams are received by the weaver from the spirits and ancestors and guide their hands to create the intricate and beautiful patterns of the tinalak.

The scholars of this issue comprise the many different threads that make up the tinalak. All the scholars either implicitly or explicitly draw strength and wisdom from their Filipino ancestry, and, woven together, they form a pattern of the many threads, by no means exhaustive of the experiences of Filipinos in Hawai‘i, the Philippines, and the diaspora. This endeavor to name, articulate, and weave a wide spectrum of Filipino experiences and identities aims to illuminate our various educational journeys. This includes negotiating what it means to be Filipino in a context that can be hostile and, more often than not, one that renders the Filipino subject as Other or invisible.

The first two pieces present a “Laying the Foundation” theme for this edition. Patricia Espiritu Halagao critically assesses the condition of Filipino K–12 students in the structures of Hawai‘i’s public schools. Next, Niki Libarios and Robert Bachini continue building critical awareness of the status quo up the educational pipeline by examining the conditions and opportunities for Filipino students at the post-secondary level. The essays of Halagao, Libarios, and Bachini lay out the compelling rationale for the reflective actions that are taken up in the essays of the following sections, which entail curricular, epistemological, and methodological interventions.

In the second set of essays, the theme of “Identity Transformations” is a common thread. The authors describe their reflective actions directed at improving academic achievement of Filipino learners. They espouse linguistically and culturally responsive pedagogy and indigenous methods centered on Filipino identities. Julius Bajet Soria’s case study, guided by an indigenous Ilokano methodology, pakasaritaan, focuses on the central role that the learning of one’s heritage language can play in affirming identity and fostering valuable academic support. He found that language communities and cultural institutions serve as valued resources for the academic and professional success of Filipino students. Raju Desai explores the traumas of his home community and the possibilities for healing those traumas through an open pedagogical philosophy grounded in kapwa—a core value from Filipino indigenous psychology. He shows how this pedagogy provides opportunities for students to find interconnectedness and a sense of where
they find a way to connect with the social world they find
themselves in Hawai‘i. Jeffrey Moniz engages in storytelling
empowered by the indigenous perspectives and methodolo-
gies advanced by some of the rising new scholars featured
in this issue. He relies on weaving the various threads of
his inquiry into a theoretical frame that shows aspects of
the identities of Filipino-descended individuals beyond the
immigrant and second generations of the Filipino American
community.

The final papers support the idea of “Bridging Com-
munities.” These last essays shift the focus from the issues
of Filipino identity to that of critical reflection on actions
that can be taken, in collaboration with others, aimed at
transforming the social conditions of Filipinos in Hawai‘i.
Jeffrey Tangonan Acido reflects on his informal educational
experiences working in marginalized, oppressed communi-
ties and how those experiences led to the emergence of a
pedagogical praxis, nakem pedagogy, that uses stories to give
meaning to the lives of the community. These stories, which
are bound together as an expression of the collective values
and beliefs, become a basis of practical knowledge for these
communities. Hannah M. Tavares also brings the idea of
community into a broader view of education in her study of
the work of a community-based organization of women in
Hawai‘i. She describes the collaborative actions these women
took that resulted in culturally-relevant, community-based
responses that addressed pressing community issues and the
social knowledge that unfolded as a result.

It is time to move away from the deficiency models
that paint our communities as lacking. Instead, we must
begin anew to weave the dream and the vision that center
on the wealth of wisdom and values that we carry from our
communities.

Like the weaving of the tinalak, these articles took a
process and a method to be able to let the wisdom of the
ancestors weave into our words and worlds. What is pre-
sented in the articles is sourced from our life’s work—years
of preoccupation with the struggle and survival of our
community. These scholars do not simply present research;
they represent a commitment to hold themselves account-
able to the people who have taught them to love and be
loved—their commitment is as strong as the abaca fibers that
hold the tinalak together. They realize that each thread of
experience constitutes an embodiment of and extensions to
the experiences of their ancestors. The articles, when woven
together, represent not just a journal, but also a dream and a
vision that stems from each generation’s will to make living
in Hawai‘i and the diaspora affirmative of who they are and
want to be.

We are optimistic that the woven tinalak that makes
up our diverse experiences will inform and instruct issues of
schooling, educational practices, and the field of educational
inquiry. We dream that the particular threads that make up
our Filipino students, educators, and administrators become
one of many starting points in taking serious the ideals of
an emancipatory and democratic education. Through the
process of threading and weaving together our stories and
essays we hope to invite you to participate in a dialogue that
revalues the wealth of wisdom that Filipinos bring to K–12
and higher education.
As a multicultural teacher educator, I am always interested in teachers’ perceptions of who their students are and where they come from. When I ask teachers who they think the largest ethnic groups in the Hawai‘i Department of Education (HIDOE) public schools are, most often they respond Japanese and then Chinese. Interestingly, the Japanese and Chinese ethnic groups have not made up the majority for a while. Since 2000, Native Hawaiian and Filipino students have continued to take the top two spots of the most prevalent ethnic groups within the HIDOE, with Hawaiian (26 percent) and Filipino (22 percent) students together making up nearly half of the student population today.

Why is it important for teachers to know and understand the cultural demographics of their students? As educational scholar Lisa Delpit states, “In order to teach you, I must know you” (1995, 183). Although ethnicity is only one component of a student’s identity, knowing and understanding one’s ethnic background can give insight into how one’s histories, cultural traditions, values, and experiences may impact their experience in school. To teach effectively, teachers need to critically examine and care about the diversity of people and to understand systemic inequities and their implications on teaching and learning (Banks 2013; Gay 2010; Pang 2010).

The purpose of this study is to examine the academic experiences of one of the largest ethnic groups in Hawai‘i’s public school system: Filipinos. Filipinos have long been an under-examined group in Hawai‘i’s educational research. While attention is paid to Native Hawaiian students—rightfully so as students from the host culture—and increasingly on recent immigrant students such as Marshallese, Chuukeese, and other Micronesian ethnic groups, Filipinos have fallen under the radar as a diverse community ranging from members with local plantation roots, professionals, to recent immigrants.

Despite their presence in Hawai‘i since the 1900s, and despite their high population numbers and lower achievement scores relative to their Asian and White peers in the HIDOE, Filipinos are rendered “an invisible majority.” The term majority highlights a contradiction in that one would expect a numerical majority would afford attention and power. However, sheer numbers does not translate into power. Filipinos are a “subordinate” ethnic group among the power dynamics and social hierarchy in Hawai‘i. Okamura’s (2008) analysis of the socioeconomic and educational inequalities characterized Chinese, Japanese, and Whites as socially and economically dominant, while Native Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Samoans were considered subordinate.

This case study exposed the academic achievement and opportunity gaps of Filipino Americans in Hawai‘i. It presents the first large scale and current examination of HIDOE data focused on making Filipinos central and visible to the discussion of academic achievement. It provides a baseline to understand the trends and status of K–12 Filipino education. It also examines student demographics intersected with variables such as ethnicity, class, gender, and language. Data was analyzed to identify target areas of challenges and strengths in order to improve instruction for Filipino student achievement. The research study concludes with recommendations for curricular and system reform.

**Literature Review**

A growing number of research studies compare the academic achievement among Asian American ethnic groups (Endo and Rong, 2013; Pang, Han and Pang, 2011; Sue & Okazaki, 2009); however, few have specifically delved into examining the educational experiences of K–12 Filipino students. Bonus and Maramba’s (2012) edited book, *The Other Students: Filipino Americans, Education and Power*, is one of the few works that discusses education and the Filipino historical context, identities, studies, pedagogy, and policy.

The research focused on Filipino K–12 academic achievement is even more minimal (Eng, Kanitkar,
The National Federation of Filipino American Associations (NaFFAA) commissioned the only report (2008) to examine Filipino K–12 education at a national level. The report, *Filipino American K–12 Public School Students: A National Survey*, aimed to “assess how Filipino students in K–12 public schools are performing academically in ten urban communities in various regions of the United States” (p.5). Hawaii was one of the sites selected to participate in this study. Hawaii’s data revealed contrasts of “Filipino firsts” (i.e., first Filipino governor) and challenges, with Filipino students ranking second to bottom out of its four major ethnic groups in math and language arts on the 2006 Hawaii State Assessments (HSA).

When examining scholarship focused on meeting the academic and social needs of Filipinos, most work centered around how to provide culturally responsive pedagogy and curriculum to Filipino students (Halagao 2004; Nadal 2008). Other studies showed culturally responsive approaches such as *kuwento* (Jocson 2008), *pinayism* pedagogy (Tintiangco-Cubales and Sacramento 2009) and community responsive approaches (Lawsin 1998). Halagao et al. (2009) conducted a critical study of the literature of K–12 Filipino curricula to show there was indeed a significant amount of curriculum and instruction focused on Filipino American history, culture, and related issues. Other studies looked at Filipino educational experiences through the lens of critical race theory by examining how systems and structures have not benefitted Filipinos’ access to post-secondary education (Buena vista 2010). These findings revealed stereotypes and micro-aggressions against Filipino students as well as the lack of multicultural curriculum and qualified teachers.

**Methodology**

This study used a case study method because of its focus on a unit of analysis bounded by time and place (Merriam 1998). It was centered on one issue: understanding the academic achievement and opportunity gaps of K–12 Filipinos in the HIDOE. The context of this study was the HIDOE, which was established in 1840 and is the ninth largest school district and the only statewide educational district in the United States. HIDOE is comprised of 255 schools and thirty-three charter schools serving approximately 185,000 students and employing 13,000 teachers.

In this case study, the primary instrument of data collection and analysis was myself. As the researcher, my role was to investigate and uncover the qualities and significance of the phenomena (Merriam 1998; 2009). The data collected in this case study were three types: demographic data (student population and concentration), academic achievement data (according to state assessments, proficiency scores, school complexes, graduation, and college-going rates), and quantitative intersectionality (achievement data cross examined by multiple variables such as ethnicity, gender, class, and language). Data analysis and reduction involved a multi-step process (Merriam 2009). Focus questions were determined around each data set and then the data was analyzed to see if there were any patterns that arose, which led to a hypothesis and lessons learned with the intent to improve instruction.

**Findings**

The demographic data focused on understanding the questions, “who are our students?” and “where are they concentrated?” Filipinos are currently the second largest ethnic group in the HIDOE at 22.42 percent, behind Native Hawaiian students at 25.64 percent (Figure 1). White and Japanese students round out the top four racial and ethnic groups in the HIDOE. Data was gathered at the school level from self-reporting of parents.

![2015-16 Enrollment by Ethnicity (in %)](image)
While Hawaii’s public schools are racially and ethnically diverse, ethnic groups are concentrated in particular areas. Details about these ethnic concentrations can be found at http://bit.ly/ep-map. Filipino students are largely concentrated on O‘ahu, especially in its central and leeward areas. The next largest concentrations of Filipino students are found on Maui and Kaua‘i. Figure 2 shows 2013–2014 Filipino student enrollments across the islands with Waipahu, Farrington, and Campbell complexes drawing the most Filipinos.

The academic achievement data focused on understanding these questions: What is student achievement according to race/ethnicity based on standardized tests, graduation, and college-going rates? What achievement patterns emerge? The HIDOE’s accountability system (StiveHI) displays student achievement in broad categories such as race, disadvantaged, English Language Learners (ELL), Special Education (SPED), etc. (Table 1). According to the 2015 data, White and Asian students are generally scoring higher than all students statewide. Subgroups like English Language Learners (ELL), Special Education (SPED), Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islanders are scoring well-below proficiency achievement levels. These statistics provide a general picture of achievement levels, but obscure differences among ethnic groups.

Figure 3 further breaks down state assessment results in language arts and math based on ethnicity according to the previous Hawai‘i State Assessments (school year 2011–2014) and the new Smarter Balanced Assessments (SBA), which the
### Strive HI: Student Group Performance Report
#### State of Hawaii

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target</th>
<th>English Language Arts/Literacy</th>
<th>Math</th>
<th>Science</th>
<th>Graduation Rate</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participation 95%</td>
<td>Meeting Standard 48%</td>
<td>Participation 95%</td>
<td>Meeting Standard 41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Met?</td>
<td>% Met?</td>
<td>% Met?</td>
<td>% Met?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Students</td>
<td>98% Yes 48%</td>
<td>97% Yes 41%</td>
<td>96% Yes 42%</td>
<td>82% No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disadvantaged</td>
<td>97% Yes 36%</td>
<td>97% Yes 30%</td>
<td>95% Yes 31%</td>
<td>78% No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled (SPED)</td>
<td>94% No 13% i</td>
<td>94% No 11% i</td>
<td>91% No 14% ii</td>
<td>59% No</td>
</tr>
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<td>Limited English (ELL)</td>
<td>96% Yes 32% i</td>
<td>94% No 30% i</td>
<td>91% No 24% i</td>
<td>63% No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Pacific Islander</td>
<td>98% Yes 46%</td>
<td>97% Yes 40%</td>
<td>96% Yes 39%</td>
<td>83% No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>98% Yes 49%</td>
<td>97% Yes 33%</td>
<td>98% Yes 39%</td>
<td>77% No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>98% Yes 45%</td>
<td>97% Yes 37%</td>
<td>96% Yes 41%</td>
<td>77% No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>96% Yes 45%</td>
<td>96% Yes 34%</td>
<td>95% Yes 45%</td>
<td>74% No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>97% Yes 63%</td>
<td>97% Yes 53%</td>
<td>97% Yes 60%</td>
<td>81% No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>99% Yes 58%</td>
<td>98% Yes 51%</td>
<td>98% Yes 49%</td>
<td>89% Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Islander</td>
<td>96% Yes 27%</td>
<td>96% Yes 21%</td>
<td>93% No 19%</td>
<td>72% No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian</td>
<td>97% Yes 34%</td>
<td>96% Yes 28%</td>
<td>95% Yes 23%</td>
<td>78% No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If asterisked (*), results are suppressed to protect student identity in accordance with the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA).

This report replaces the earlier version posted on 9/24/15. This report now includes ELA and mathematics targets (aka, AMOs) and corresponding "Met" or "Not Met" outcomes where applicable. Proficiency rates may change for ELL and SPED subgroups due to the inclusion of Recently Exited students into the rate calculation when the target is not met by current ELL or SPED students alone.

Index Classification: n/a

Source of Displayed Percentage Value
- i ELL and ELL Exits Achievement Rate
- ii SPED and SPED Exits Achievement Rate

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Asian two or more; Chinese; Japanese; Korean; Indo-Chinese; Other Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>Filipino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Portuguese; White; White two or more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian</td>
<td>Native Hawaiian; Part-Hawaiian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoan</td>
<td>Samoan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micronesian</td>
<td>Micronesian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2
Figure 3: State Assessment Results, Percent Proficient in English Language Arts/Reading and Mathematics.
On-Time Graduation Rate

Graduated Class

2013 2014
Asian 91% 90%
Filipino 89% 89%
Statewide 82% 82%
Samoan 76% 81%
White 79% 80%
Native Hawaiian 79% 78%
Micronesian 63% 57%

Figure 4

First Fall College Enrollment Rate
Enrolled Anywhere in Nation

Graduated Class

2011 2012 2013 2014 2015
Asian; 78%
Filipino; 58%
Statewide; 55%
Native Hawaiian; 43%
Samoan; 36%
Micronesian; 23%

Figure 5
HIDOE fully transitioned into in school year 2014–2015. The list of HIDOE’s top racial and ethnicity groups used in this study are shown in Table 2.

While it is important to not compare the results between HSA and SBA, both results illustrate academic achievement gaps among its ethnic and racial groups, with Asian and White students scoring the highest in proficiency and Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander groups scoring the lowest. According to the 2014–2015 SBA results, Filipino students are scoring proficient at the statewide average in language arts (49 percent) and slightly better in math (43 percent) in comparison to their peers. When Filipino students are separated from the Asian category, they scored significantly lower (20 percent) than their Asian peers. Since 2011, the HSA proficiency rates in reading and math among all ethnic groups have remained relatively stagnant, although existing gaps have largely stayed the same, with Filipinos ranking third among the four largest and historically longest ethnic groups in Hawai’i.

Other indicators of student achievement are high school graduation and college enrollment data. Overall, Filipinos graduated at a higher rate compared to their peers (89 percent), but at slightly a slightly lower rate compared to Asian groups in 2014 (Figure 4). White, Native Hawaiian, and other Pacific Islanders lagged below the statewide average (82 percent). Filipino students in Hawai’i also enrolled in college anywhere in the nation at a much higher rate than their peers (58 percent), with the exception of Asians students (78 percent) (Figure 5).

**Intersectionality**

Intersectionality is the theory of how different forms of oppression and discrimination interact (Crenshaw 1989). It allows us to help deconstruct how these categories influence the individual and group experience at large. In this case, looking at intersectionality data helped critically examine what is happening when we cross-examined achievement results from Smarter Balanced Assessments (2014–2015).
in language arts and math with variables such as ethnicity, gender, class, place, and language⁶.

**Gender.** When broken down according to gender, Filipino girls outscored boys in proficiency rates, reflecting a trend in all ethnic and gender groups (Table 3).

**Socioeconomic Status.** Across the board, proficiency by ethnicity and economic disadvantage showed the “not economically disadvantaged” outscoring economically disadvantaged (Table 4). In all cases, it did not matter if you were a Filipino boy or girl, advantaged or disadvantaged, Filipinos always ranked third in achievement among Asian, White, Filipino, and Native Hawaiians.

**Place.** Interesting patterns emerged when examining Filipino achievement according to school complex areas in the 2013 Hawai‘i State Assessments (Figure 6). Complex areas are K–12 schools that are organized geographically and led by a Complex Area Superintendent (CAS).

The data revealed that Filipino proficiency rates were higher in complex schools with fewer Filipinos and in schools with more resources and higher socioeconomic populations (e.g., Mililani, Kaiser, and Wai‘akea), possibly reflecting the impact of socioeconomics on achievement (Gorski 2013). It was also interesting to note outlier results. For example, Filipinos did relatively well in rural communities like Waialua on O‘ahu and socioeconomically disadvantaged communities like Kea‘au and Pāhoa on the Big Island. However, achievement levels for Filipino students on Kaua‘i and Lāna‘i were significantly lower than on other islands.

It is also important to consider separating out the data within a complex area because there may be very different achievement patterns between its complex schools. A good example is the Hilo-Wai‘akea complex area. While both complexes that make up the complex area were fairly high-performing, the slightly more affluent Wai‘akea complex outperformed the Hilo complex on most metrics. Combining the data across these two areas might obscure important variation.

### Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By Race/Ethnicity, Economic Status</th>
<th>English Language Arts</th>
<th>Mathematics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL 1</td>
<td>PL 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micronesian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statewide by Economic Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Economically Disadvantaged</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statewide</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Language. According to a Hawai‘i Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism report (2016), approximately one-in-four people in Hawai‘i speak a language other than English at home, a higher percentage than the U.S. average. Students classified as English Learners (EL) make up a significant population in HIDOE with their numbers averaging 10–13 percent over the past five years. HIDOE ranked 13th highest in EL enrollment of school districts in the nation (Soto, Hooker & Batalova, 2015).

The highest numbers of home languages spoken by EL students in the HIDOE are Philippine languages (e.g., Ilokano, Tagalog, Pampangan) at 30 percent, closely followed by Micronesian languages (e.g., Chuukese and Marshallese) at 29 percent. Details on the distribution of languages across the state of Hawai‘i can be found here: http://bit.ly/ep.languages. Ilokano (21 percent) alone is the top language used in schools, with Tagalog ranking as the fourth most spoken language (8 percent) in the schools. Outside of O‘ahu, there are high concentrations of Philippine languages spoken in Kaua‘i, Lāna‘i City, and Maui.

According to the 2015 HIDOE accountability system report, roughly 30 percent of EL students performed proficiently in language arts and math. A mere 53 percent of EL students are graduating. It is important to note that these calculations were higher because they included recently
 exiting EL students from the EL program. When comparing 2014–2015 SBA results of Filipinos students who are not EL to current active Filipino EL students, the disparity was significant, with current/active EL students underperforming in English language arts and math. (Table 5).

**Discussion**

For many of us who work in the field of education focused on the experiences of Filipinos, the findings of this case study might be both surprising and expected. It is surprising because it challenges the perception that Filipinos are not doing well in the HIDOE. Relative to their peers, Filipinos fall in the middle of the pack scoring near the state average in language arts and math proficiency. One reason they reside closer to the statewide average might be because Filipinos make up a significant student population. And based on 2014 data, Filipinos graduated (89 percent) and went to college (58 percent) at rates that are above the statewide average. However, Libarios and Bachini (2016) point out in the next article that most Filipinos are going to two-year community colleges at a higher rate than four-year institutions, with attendance to UH-Manoa (9 percent) disproportionate to the K–12 Filipino student population (22 percent).

These findings from the K–12 state assessments also quantitatively validate what we have known about our students in the K–12 public school system based on traditional forms of assessments: Filipino youth are not academically performing up to their potential and abilities. We should not be satisfied with a mediocre performance barely surpassing a low statewide average. A close look at Filipino assessment scores show approximately 30 percent of the Filipino student population had not made significant gains in meeting HAS proficiency levels in the past four years, and roughly 50 percent are not meeting proficiency levels in the new SBA.

The educational system needs to do more to address the achievement gap and provide opportunities for Filipinos to succeed. First, we must raise awareness of the academic achievement between Filipinos and other ethnic/racial groups and among Filipino subgroups. Next, we should focus our attention on opportunity gaps in our educational system. Finally, we must reframe the conversation to find the solutions in our student’s backgrounds and strengths.

**Raise Critical Awareness**

As the second largest ethnic group in the school system, more attention must be paid to the Filipino educational experience. The public, HIDOE educators, and Filipino community lack a general awareness of the status of Filipinos in education, perhaps because Filipinos do not rank the most negatively on indicators and, thus, do not generate the same amount of attention as other struggling groups. Part of this lack of awareness stems from the way HIDOE data has been disseminated to represent the student populations. When the student populations are lumped under large racial

---

**Table 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English Language Arts, SBA</th>
<th>Mathematics, SBA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SY 2014-15</td>
<td>SY 2014-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not English Language Learner</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language Learner</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino Average</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tested 19,003</td>
<td>Tested 18,976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tested 1,568</td>
<td>Tested 1,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tested 20,571</td>
<td>Tested 20,644</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
categories, it is difficult to recognize the different experiences of ethnic groups. Traditionally Filipinos have been subsumed under the Asian category. This masks their academic under-performance, which is 20 percent lower than that of their Asian peers. Further disparities arise when gender, socioeconomics, and EL issues are taken into account in all ethnic groups; more attention must be paid to Filipino subgroups who are male, economically disadvantaged, and EL students.

More critical thought must be given to how education is linked to systems of power and oppression in Hawai‘i. The academic ranking of Filipinos in relation to the four largest ethnic groups have remained enduring over time, with Filipinos situated consistently second to bottom. Their positioning reflects Hawai‘i’s social hierarchy of Asians and Whites on top, followed by Filipinos, and Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders at the bottom, thus reifying social structures of power (Okamura 2008). If we do not pay attention to Filipino students, they will continue to be an “invisible majority” in schools, resulting in their subordinate ranking and perpetuating the social hierarchy in Hawai‘i society.

Achievement vs. Opportunity Gaps

It is important to look beyond the idea of closing the achievement gap and look at how academic issues arise when viewed from a different perspective—that of an opportunity gap. The gap in academic achievement focuses on outputs and the unequal and inequitable distribution of educational results and benefits. It looks at the end result and not necessarily at the reasons behind the issues and sources of the problems. The idea of an opportunity gap refers to inputs—the unequal or inequitable distribution of funding, resources, and opportunities. If we hope to make change, we need to balance the measurement of outcomes with a strong emphasis on examining inputs and external forces that impact the quality of a student’s education (Carter and Welner 2013).

The low achievement numbers should not be the sole reflection of failure on the students’ and schools’ part. Students are impacted by countless other factors that they have no control over. For example, among family households with school-age children, Filipinos have the second lowest mean income among the state’s major ethnic groups (US Census Bureau, 2006–2010). There is a link between low academic statistics and inequalities related to power and wealth. Structural and systematic influences like racism, classism, and discrimination have an adverse affect on the educational experiences of Filipinos.

Schools that serve lower socioeconomic students often do not have the same kind of quality and availability of resources for their students. However, it is important to note that schools still find ways to overcome these challenges and provide opportunities. For example, high schools with high numbers of economically disadvantaged and Filipino students offer dual credit and early college programs, which have improved college-going rates (i.e., Waipahu and Farrington High School) (Kalani, 2016).

In addition, the teacher retention rate and teacher quality tends to be much lower in schools that serve lower socioeconomic students (Glazerman & Max, 2011). Furthermore, many teachers lack professional development and background knowledge about who their students are, specifically those who work with Filipinos. For example, it is important to understand the psychology of Filipino students and how institutions and social systems have shaped them and their educational opportunities. The historical legacy of colonialism has impacted Filipino identity and has created a sense of a colonial racial hierarchy (David and Okazaki 2006). In addition, an inherited plantation mentality and attitude might also result in a sense of cultural inferiority, the inability to articulate ethnic identity, and a lack of ethnic pride (Strobel 2001). When a student does not have a strong sense of who they are, it is hard for them to achieve academically. These students may also face higher rates of stereotype threat and micro-aggressions, which can further inhibit academic success.

Lack of professional development that focuses on the needs of Filipino students prevents teachers from teaching in culturally responsive ways, which use the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of students to teach them more effectively. When academic knowledge and practical skills are situated within the lived experiences of students, schoolwork becomes more personally meaningful and interesting and is learned more easily and thoroughly (Gay 2010). Academic achievement improves when students are taught through their own cultural and experiential filters. It is instructive that the highest growth rates of HSA in language arts and math were found in the Ka‘u and Pāhoa districts on the Big Island where there is a strong emphasis
on culturally responsive practices and that it occurred in spite of the fact that the largest ethnic population in these districts were Native Hawaiian. Attention to culturally appropriate methods point to one reason why Filipinos might be scoring higher in this complex than other places.

According to HIDOE data, teachers of Filipino ancestry make up a small percentage of the teacher population (6 percent), which is inversely proportional to the numbers of students in the school system. This results in fewer Filipino teacher role models for Filipino students.

**Act on our strengths**

Highlighting deficits like negative achievement data and the underrepresentation of Filipino teachers in the teaching profession will only get us so far. A lead evaluator at Kamehameha Schools said she realized the school needed to change the framing of *Ka Huakai: 2014 Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment* (2014), a historical data sourcebook on Hawaiians, because negative statistic after negative statistic hurt their na'au (gut). She shared that a better approach was to focus on strengths rather than deficits: “the solutions are not found in the problems, but rather focus on change through our strengths” (personal communication, March 2015). In order to create change for groups who are traditionally marginalized, we need to understand their needs, but not dwell on the deficits.

We need to instead build on their strengths. One area of strength for our Filipino youth is in our multilingual abilities. Many Filipino youth come to school knowing multiple languages such as Filipino, Ilokano, and English. Instead of labeling our Filipino students as English Learner (EL), their multilingual abilities should be viewed as rich assets that should be nurtured, valued, and used as resources for learning. A suite of linguistic and cultural Hawai‘i Board of Education (BOE) policies like the Seal of Biliteracy and Multilingualism for Equitable Education reinforces the value of Filipino immigrant student languages and supports evidence-based interventions like dual language and bilingual education for our Filipino EL students.

**Limitations**

A limitation to this study is that the data relied mainly on standards-based assessments, graduation, and college-going rates as the indicators of achievement. Academic achievement was based on students’ test scores in language arts and math, which is a narrow way of measuring success. If success had been assessed on different indicators such as the number of languages that students know, then Filipinos would be ranked higher. I also acknowledge that standardized tests are often culturally-biased and not a complete indication of what a child knows—especially children whose first language is not English. Assessing children in the language that they are not familiar with does little to test content, but rather tests their English abilities.

To supplement the quantitative data in this study, future research could collect and analyze qualitative and other multiple forms of data according to ethnicity and race (i.e., perceptual data, school process data, school climate, and health and well-being data). This richer set of information about Filipino students would present a more holistic picture of what truly is going on in the lives of our students and schools.

**Implications and Recommendations**

This study aimed to raise public consciousness of Filipino students’ educational experiences around some of the metrics that the HIDOE uses to measure academic success. It provided the first baseline of Filipino educational achievement in Hawai‘i to measure progress over time. It also focused on the opportunity gaps that educators, administrators, policy makers, and researchers need to address. We cannot afford to continue to sit on the sidelines and not pay attention to the academic, social, and cultural needs of a quarter of our student population. If we invest in targeting this group, then imagine the returns. This study proposes the following recommendations around five areas: evaluation, targeted qualitative research, culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogy, diverse assessment, and community empowerment.

The first step is to adopt and develop a robust data collection, research, and evaluation plan to study student achievement under the new assessment system. Next is to publically report and disaggregate student data according to ethnicities, such as separating out Filipinos from the Asian category. We also need to begin to track students and conduct school-level data analysis for institutional racism (i.e., tracking, honors courses, college-going rates, and careers). By conducting more qualitative research studies on schools, we can explore reasons why some complex
areas and particular schools show higher gains in academic achievement than other schools and classrooms.

At the same time, it is important to promote culturally and linguistically responsive practices in the classroom through teacher professional development and pre-service training to help teachers better connect their pedagogy and curriculum to their Filipino students. At the very least, this study recommends concentrating Filipino professional development and curricular resources in areas with high Filipino student concentrations.

In addition, when assessment methods are simultaneously transformed, teaching practices will change. This study recommends more diverse forms of assessment that truly assess students’ successes. While standards-based assessments serve to understand student achievement at a particular point in time and are helpful in shedding light on issues of equity between groups of students, equal focus needs to be placed on using formative assessments and not simply on tests that focus solely on student outcomes. More diverse forms of assessment that are tied to project-based learning will help all students show what they know in more authentic and multilingual ways. Such approaches to assessment will also encourage educators to be more innovative, relevant, and rigorous.

Because Filipino languages make up one third of the languages spoken in our classrooms, more attention needs to be paid to honoring the linguistic and cultural diversity of our students and families and targeting specific professional development and language resources toward its local community. More equitable and meaningful services, such as dual language programs for our most widely spoken immigrant languages like Ilokano and Tagalog, will help our Filipino multilingual/EL students better learn the academic content, maintain their home language, and gain proficiency in the official language medium of education, whether it be English or Hawaiian (Collier & Thomas, 2014).

In conclusion, Filipino students have made progress in the HIDOE, but more work needs to be done. When the Filipino community is equipped with understanding the achievement status of our students, they are empowered to advocate for educational change and demand greater accountability from our schools and educational leaders. More specifically, they can call for disaggregation of racial data, culturally and linguistically responsive education, and support for successful strategies like early college and dual enrollment that benefit Filipino and economically disadvantaged students. Filipino organizations, parents, academics, and schools must work together to collectively transform the system. As Freire (1989) states, “The pedagogy of the oppressed cannot be developed or practiced by the oppressors…the oppressed must be their own examples in the struggle for their redemption” (p. 54). We need to find it in ourselves to dream what is possible and take action for the betterment of our students.

REFERENCES


ENDNOTES

1 The term encompasses Filipino immigrants and local born Filipino Americans.

2 Data was provided by the Hawai’i P-20 Partnerships for Education’s Hawai’i Data eXchange Partnership. Thank you to former HIDOE staff member David Moyer for the demographic and complex-area data visuals.

3 Results excludes students who did not take the assessment and reported figures may not match official figures due to differences in calculation, namely “full school year” is not taken into account in this dataset.

4 Not included (but represented in statewide average) are American Indian, Alaska Native; Black; Hispanic; Multiple; Tongan; Pacific Islander two or more; Guamanian/Chamorro; Other Pacific Islander.

5 Students who transfer out of a school are excluded from the denominator when calculating the graduation rate. On-time graduation rate includes students who graduated by the end of the summer of their cohort year, but excludes students who earned a certificate of completion.

6 Proficiency level (PL) 3 is the minimum level for Proficient.
Filipinos at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa: Condition and Opportunities to Foster College Success

Niki Libarios and Robert Bachini

According to the United States Census (2010), Filipinos are now the second largest ethnic group in Hawai‘i at approximately a quarter of the population, and their numbers continue to rise at an accelerated pace. However, attainment of higher education and the socioeconomic status of Filipinos in Hawai‘i remains low. This is a point of concern as research continues to highlight the positive correlation between educational attainment and income levels (U.S. Census Bureau 2013). In Hawai‘i’s public higher education system, Filipinos are well represented at the University of Hawai‘i (UH) community colleges while they are underrepresented at the flagship campus of the UH system—the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa (UH Mānoa).

Two recent studies examined this phenomenon and the related experiences facing Filipino students as they transition and progress through their undergraduate years. The first was a quantitative study that examined the effects of social and academic background variables on undergraduate degree completion of Filipino students from the theoretical lens of social stratification (Libarios 2013). The second was a qualitative study that explored the direct experiences of Filipino students and how these experiences influence persistence in undergraduate higher education (Bachini 2011). Combined, these studies present unique insights into the condition of Filipinos at UH Mānoa and highlight critical areas to be addressed in order to improve the higher education achievement of Filipinos in Hawai‘i. The article begins with a demographic overview of Filipinos as they are represented in the UH community colleges and UH Mānoa. Next, a brief overview and summary of key findings from the aforementioned studies are provided. Finally, the authors draw on the two studies to offer five practical recommendations for improving rates of success in higher educational achievement for Filipinos.

Condition

Filipinos in Hawai‘i Community Colleges and at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

As the public higher education institution in Hawai‘i, the University of Hawai‘i system consists of three universities and seven community colleges located throughout the Hawai‘i island chain. Of the ten-campuses, UH Mānoa is the flagship campus and the only Carnegie Doctoral Research Extensive University in the system and the state. This section provides a brief summary of the representation of Filipinos in the UH community colleges and UH Mānoa in year 2010.

The demographic data collected by the UH Institutional Research Office only accounts for full Filipinos, not people who identify as part Filipino. In fall 2010, students who self-identified as full Filipinos represented 15.7 percent of students in the UH community colleges (Institutional Research Office 2011b). For that same year, full Filipinos were similarly represented at 14.5 percent of the population in Hawai‘i (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). After Native Hawaiians, Filipinos have historically been the second largest ethnic group in the UH community colleges and generally reflect the high concentration of Filipinos living in different geographic regions of Hawai‘i. For example, the communities surrounding Honolulu Community College, Kaua‘i Community College, Leeward Community College, and Maui College are areas known for the dense population of Filipinos and each of these campuses have Filipino student representation of 20 percent or higher. Table 1 below summarizes the percentage of Filipinos in the UH community colleges by individual campus in fall 2010.

In 2010 at UH Mānoa, Filipinos only represented 7.7 percent of the total student population and their percentage
decreased markedly between UH Mānoa undergraduate and graduate levels (Institutional Research Office, 2011a). While Filipinos represented 9.6 percent of the UH Mānoa undergraduate population, they only represented 4.6 percent of the graduate level population. Table 2 below encapsulates the percentages of Filipinos in Hawai‘i at the UH community colleges and the UH Mānoa undergraduate and graduate levels for 2010.

Table 1: Percentage Share of Filipino Students by Community College, Fall 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community College</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leeward Community College</td>
<td>1718</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honolulu Community College</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauai Community College</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maui Community College</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapiolani Community College</td>
<td>1196</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawai‘i Community College</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windward Community College</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Community College System</strong></td>
<td><strong>5375</strong></td>
<td><strong>15.7%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Institutional Research Office, 2011b)

Table 2: Percentage Share of Filipinos in Hawai‘i, UH Community Colleges, and UH Mānoa, Fall 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State of Hawai‘i</th>
<th>UH Community Colleges</th>
<th>UH Mānoa Undergraduate Level</th>
<th>UH Mānoa Graduate Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(197,497)</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>(5,375)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1,131)</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>(263)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Institutional Research Office, 2011a, 2011b; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010)

As a major ethnic group in Hawai‘i, the circumstances of Filipinos deserve closer exploration, particularly their underrepresentation at UH Mānoa. Recently, a pair of studies delved into these issues and they are timely for two reasons in particular. Firstly, UH Mānoa has recognized the importance of Filipino student representation in campus ethnic diversity needs, and it has identified an increase in the numbers of Filipino students as a specific strategic campus goal (University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Committee on Enrollment Planning 2009). Secondly, both studies are based on the premise that earning a four-year degree is an important factor in social mobility since educational attainment corresponds positively with income levels (U.S. Census Bureau 2013). Hence, efforts to understand and increase the higher education attainment of Filipinos in Hawai‘i can pay dividends in improving their socioeconomic standing and benefit all of Hawai‘i since they make up a significant portion of the state population.

**Study 1**

The first study analyzed the high school through post-secondary education pathway with a focus on the completion of undergraduate degrees (Libarios 2013). More specifically, the study examined the impact of students’ social and academic backgrounds on baccalaureate degree completion, focusing primarily on Filipinos as a case study. A longitudinal data analysis was conducted which tracked the educational pathways of 5,206 students from thirty-eight Hawai‘i public high schools after their senior year through their enrollment in the UH system and completion of baccalaureate degrees at UH Mānoa. This study identified several key findings related to patterns of retention, persistence, and failure in the transition from high school graduation to pursuit of post-secondary education via the UH system.

The first finding is that of the four largest ethnic groups in Hawai‘i—Whites, Filipinos, Japanese, and Hawaiians—Filipinos are significantly more likely to enroll in public higher education. This finding is in accord with what other studies have indicated about the value that Filipinos place on higher education (Alexander 2001; Azores 1986-1987; Bachini 2011; Maramba 2008a, 2008b). It further suggests that Filipinos have a strong ambition for higher education and its associated benefits such as an awareness of higher education as a means to improve income and workforce opportunities (Church and Katigbak 1992). Moreover, Filipino parents are highly influential in encouraging their children to pursue higher education—an influence that reinforces this ambition because the parents, too, view educational attainment as a means to greater financial stability (Castillo and Minamishin 1991).

Secondly, Filipinos who choose to pursue higher education in Hawai‘i primarily enroll in the UH community colleges (Libarios 2013). Although the community colleges do represent a viable means to pursue higher education, if Filipinos in Hawai‘i continue to enroll predominately in the community colleges and do not transfer and complete degree from four-year universities, they will continue to face obstacles in upward social mobility and remain under-
qualified for higher level labor market occupations. Further studies to understand why the community colleges are the higher education institution of choice for Filipinos would be helpful in identifying the underlying issues. Affordability is clearly one reason (Teranishi, Allen, and Solarzano 2004), but other reasons may be present as well. For example, Hoxby and Avery (2013) found that many low-income students do not apply to selective colleges, regardless of being qualified for admission, because they do not know individuals who attended a selective college.

Thirdly, while Filipinos in Hawai‘i predominantly enroll in the community colleges, they do not do well in transferring to four-year universities (Libarios 2013). Again, costs may be a factor as financial pressures increase during transfer due to higher tuition rates at the four-year university. In addition, associated costs such as application fees, housing/dormitories, travel, parking costs, and specific college fees also rise. These circumstances may discourage Filipino community college students from transferring as noted by Bachini (2011) who found that finances are an important factor in the higher education persistence of Filipinos. Furthermore, community college degrees and certificate programs represent a relatively quick way to become “job-ready,” and this alone may satisfy the higher education goals of some Filipino students, especially those who belong to a low socioeconomic group and must give priority to more pressing financial needs.

Fourthly, social factors are also influential in affecting the transfer of Filipinos (Libarios 2013). Filipinos concentrated in the community colleges may not see themselves as capable of successfully transferring and completing degrees at the at the four-year university level as Harris and Nettles (1996) purport that the attraction to a particular college destination for minority students is strongly influenced by the existing percentage of minority students at that campus.

Filipinos may remain at the community college level simply because there are more Filipinos there for social and academic support (Libarios 2013), particularly because socializing in groups is a strong cultural value for Filipinos, and they rely on their networks with other Filipinos while they are in college (Bachini 2011; Banaria 2004). Studies have shown that immigrants rely on their networks to acculturate and adapt to situations they are placed in (Liu, Ong, and Rosenstein 1991; Tamura 1994). Many low-income students do not even contemplate applying to top colleges because they do not know individuals who attended one (Hoxby and Avery 2013). Filipinos may not have support systems with other Filipinos who have successfully transferred from a two-year community college to a four-year university. A similar social influence may be that Filipinos in the community colleges do not see Filipinos in the labor force with relatively high level and high paying occupations associated with university degrees, and therefore they do not feel a need to transfer and complete a baccalaureate degree.

Finally, Filipinos who enroll in four-year universities, either directly out of high school or by transfer, are likely to graduate with a baccalaureate degree (Libarios 2013). While Filipinos attending community college in this study were less likely to transfer to the university, those who did successfully transfer or who enrolled directly in a four-year university were more likely to complete a baccalaureate degree compared with other groups. This is something positive to build upon. Programs and policies that help Filipinos enroll directly into four-year universities, or assist them in the transfer process, would help in baccalaureate degree completion and, in turn, lead to improved social mobility opportunities for Filipinos.

Study 2
As a complementary extension to the previous study, this qualitative case study captured the first hand experiences of twelve Filipino students enrolled at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. Half of the students in this study enrolled directly from high school, while the remaining six were college transfers. All students graduated from Hawai‘i public schools, and the group represented ten high schools from various districts. Eleven students received some type of needs-based or merit-based financial assistance. Transfer data revealed that more Filipino students live with their parents and are less likely to hold a job while they attend a university. They report that their studies deter involvement in campus activities, express a need for educational counseling, have educational loans, and consider religion an important part of their lives (Harms 2001).

Understanding the role of culture in a student’s college experience and success is important (Museus and Quaye 2009). For Filipino students, the family is the core social unit. While the college campus culture emphasizes the importance of individual academic achievement, Filipino culture expresses a strong commitment to maintaining
the value of family and community over individuality and independence. Museus and Maramba (2010) found that students who come from cultures that differ greatly from the dominant cultures that are found on their respective college campuses encounter the greatest challenges as they adjust to college. Therefore it is likely that Filipino students encounter the same challenges.

This study centered on the role of culture in college success as measured by student persistence. In this framework, the focus of persistence shifts to institutional responsibility (Bachini 2011). Results from this study identified five key areas that contributed to student persistence or college success.

The first was finances. When compared to other racial minority groups, Filipinos are relatively low in income (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). In Hawai‘i, the socioeconomic returns Filipinos receive in income and occupational status are not commensurate with their educational qualifications (Okamura and Agbayani 1997). Combined with the high cost of living in Hawai‘i and the low wage earnings of Filipinos (Agbayani and Ah Sam 2008), the cost of university tuition adds to the parents’ struggle to afford undergraduate education. In extended families, this is especially pronounced. Accordingly, tuition costs at a community college is more affordable and therefore attractive to Filipino families, especially when another child is attending college at the same time. Filipino parents tend to restrict their children’s post-secondary choices for a variety of reasons (e.g., too costly, too far away, etc.). Their role in the decision-making is a common reason that their children do not apply to a broader range of institutions. However, when students receive some type of scholarship or financial support that minimizes the financial burden to parents, then Filipino students are more likely to persist in their studies.

The second key area identified in this study that contributed to student persistence and college success is family. Minority students face greater financial pressure and more family responsibility than the typical middle class student (Cho et al. 2008). Filipinos are more willing to sacrifice for one another and frequently want to “please and achieve” for their parents. Gender defining roles were apparent in this study. Among female students, both aspirations in college and the perceived need to manage family obligations at home (e.g., child care, cooking, cleaning, etc.) were greater when compared to males, and these factors created a source of parent-child conflict among immigrant families. Filipino parents frequently enforce discipline and rigid academic standards. Thus, Filipino students often feel their parents are overprotective and disapprove of peer social interactions such as dating. For the female students in the study, the pressure to succeed while managing home expectations was tremendous and achieving anything less than an ‘A’ is regarded as unacceptable (Wolf 1997).

Ethnic identity is the third area identified in the study that contributes to college success and is a significant factor in student persistence. When the values of one’s culture of origin support the goals of education, they encourage persistence (Kuh and Love 2000). One of the negative consequences of racist stereotyping of Filipinos in Hawai‘i is the tendency among some young people to feel ashamed of their ethnic identity and consequently to disavow it (Okamura 2008). It is encouraging, therefore, that the college experience at Mānoa has created a renewed sense of ethnic pride and identity for students primarily through Filipino language classes, Filipino student organizations, and Filipino faculty and staff who are able to serve as role models. A strong sense of ethnic identity contributes to an increase in self-esteem and a growing sense of belonging that is critical in coping with the challenges that students encounter in the college environment. This re-discovery—the idea of a shared identity, or kapwa—is a supportive value that helps students to negotiate and construct their identities in relation to living their lives in the world of higher education in America.

A sense of belonging was the fourth factor. When students are faced with the reality of microaggression on campus, they often strive to find a connection with others and a comfort zone on campus (Cheng 2004). Hurtado and Carter (1997) suggest a sense of belonging is fundamental to a student’s identification with a group and affects both cognitive and affective behavior. Museus and Maramba (2010) are in agreement and posit a student’s connection to her or his cultural heritage is positively associated with a greater sense of connection to college life.

In a study of first and second generation Filipino students, Museus and Maramba (2010) found that first-generation students experienced the lowest sense of belonging to the college campus, while second generation
students had the most difficulty making new friends, maintaining relationships with family, and dealing with feelings of isolation on campus. This study found that students were able to find a “home” at the Mānoa campus and connect with individuals and groups that validated their cultural heritage without abandoning it, and contributed to success in college. For some, studying their native language brought welcome benefits in improving their ability to communicate with others in the household. Others were empowered to minor in Filipino language and found supportive cultural mentors in Filipino language instructors.

Social networking was the fifth element that was found to contribute to student persistence and college success. Social networking allows students to strengthen interdependence and helps mitigate the negative effects of unfamiliar cultural and academic environments. Espiritu and Wolf (2001) found that social networks among Filipino youth closely resembled those of their parents. Research in student development has repeatedly indicated that increased student engagement is linked to improved retention (Baruch-Runyon, Van Zandt, and Elliott 2009). Students became more involved in university life once they had established social connections and began to feel a greater sense of attachment with the institution. Peer support was particularly salient for first-generation college students (Yazedjian et al. 2007). The social networking groups that are available to Filipino students at the Mānoa campus offer students an important support system to cope with the negative stereotyping of being Filipino. As Phinney and Haas (2003) suggest, social support is an important factor in persistence, especially for students who have few, if any, family members who attended college.

Opportunities to Foster College Success
The two studies summarized in this article have explored the high school through baccalaureate degree completion pathway to UH Mānoa for Filipinos and have detailed those experiences of Filipinos that affect persistence. They bring to light some important insights into the condition of Filipino students at UH Mānoa and recommend areas that need to be addressed in order to further their higher education achievement. The following recommendations are offered and are primarily intended to inform practice at UH Mānoa. Nevertheless, we believe these recommendations may also apply to other higher education institutions that are facing issues of underrepresented students as they pertain to transfer, persistence, and baccalaureate degree completion.

First, more financial aid and scholarship opportunities need to be provided to underrepresented students. Financing a child’s college education is a serious problem for the families of potential students that not only impacts student educational opportunities, but also affects persistence and student success. Within Filipino families, money issues are an emotional life-impacting issue, and they often result in clashes between parents and children (Espiritu 2009).

Filipino families usually qualify for scholarship support based on needs. Therefore, high school students and parents should have better access to the financial aid application process and more information about how to navigate the confusing and intimidating burden of submitting documents and filling in forms. It is imperative that both high school and college officials, whenever possible, simplify this process and take the extra time to explain this important step and guide families through the process. Also, local and community-based groups should consider adopting a school within their community and providing additional funding resources for college-bound students. Creating scholarships or tuition waivers should be explored for first-generation students who attend community college campuses. Pre-college experience programs (e.g., Upward Bound, Running Start, Summer Bridge) often offer students subsidized tuition or supplemental aid for participation and subsequent enrollment in post-secondary education. In some programs, students earn college credit while still enrolled in high school. Finally, incentives should be offered for high school students to take advanced placement courses, assume student leadership positions, manage part-time employment, or participate in athletic or musical competitions as ways to help reduce college expenses. Accordingly, it is critical for universities to create linkages and specific relationships with community colleges, high school counselors, teachers, and administrators.

Secondly, university campuses should do all they can to provide welcoming environments to underrepresented students and implement policies that encourage a culture of four-year degree attainment. As our studies suggest, one important way to help accomplish this is to bring underrepresented students to campus early and assist them in developing productive relationship connections with campus
sources of support. Admission data suggest that when students visit a college campus during their high school years they are more likely to enroll after they graduate. Encouraging a culture of attending a four-year campus begins with outreach efforts to homes, neighborhoods, and high schools. Four-year colleges should build communities of support with the Filipino community and promote engagement of potential students in ways that are engaging and attractive to students. Non-academic activities can be used to build meaningful relationships among students and faculty (Chronicle of Higher Education 2013). These kinds of activities are especially beneficial to Filipinos who often seek opportunities to join a number of campus or community based groups that provide opportunities to network with other Filipino students (Bachini 2011).

When individuals join groups, interactions influence the larger institutional culture and enhance its sub-environments (Kuh and Love 2000). In other words, when students interact with other college-bound students, they are more likely to pursue baccalaureate studies to graduation.

In connection with this insight, families should begin to think “outside the box” and beyond the perspective of their local communities. University campuses, like UH Mānoa, may seem like a distant prospect beyond the reach of their son or daughter; but the institutions are not as remote as they may seem at first, and they can serve as a very welcoming second home to many Filipinos and other underrepresented students. However, this depends on a greater degree of communication between both sides.

Third, more efforts should be made to increase the number of visible role models for underrepresented students. Higher education institutions need to do much more to build an ethnic representation of faculty, staff, and administration in proportion to the community being served. Underrepresented students are better served when they have role models who are available to them as sources of support. In addition, these role models are of value individually and collectively as they are better placed to advocate for the concerns and welfare of underrepresented students. Fulfilling this need would definitely be of benefit to Filipinos at UH Mānoa. As Bachini (2011) has found, the presence of Filipino faculty and staff contributes to the positive higher education experiences of Filipino students. Indeed, Filipino students often report that they experience a lack of encouragement and guidance when they have no Filipino faculty role models at other American universities (Azores 1986–1987).

Fourth, university systems should implement stronger policies, programs, and resources that increase the transfer of underrepresented students from community colleges to university. Universities have not fully initiated transfer policies that increase their student population diversity, despite the high representation of low income and ethnically underrepresented students in the community colleges and lower representation in four-year colleges (Anderson, Sun, and Alfonso 2006; Dowd, Cheslock, and Melguizo, 2008). Such policies should aim at simplifying the application process, establishing opportunities for early registration, improving course equivalencies, and creating program articulations for community college students to meet university level requirements.

In addition, strong “transfer bridge” programs should be developed. Such programs will provide opportunities for community college students to visit university campuses, shadow senior students, and facilitate mentoring by university faculty and staff. Lastly, these kinds of policies and programs to assist students in transferring from community colleges to universities should be equally shared obligations from both institutions. Just as community colleges need to “push forward” students to the university level, universities need to become partners in “reaching out” to students in the community colleges.

Finally, further research on Filipinos in higher education should be conducted. The educational challenges facing Filipinos are easily masked by the broad and false notion of the “model minority myth,” which assumes that Asian Americans are generally academically successful. In reality (and demonstrated in the case of Filipinos in Hawai‘i), there are distinct higher education achievement results among and within Asian American communities (Buenavista, Jayakumar, and Misa-Escalante 2009; Ngo and Lee 2007; Suzuki 2002). Higher education research on Asian Americans, especially Filipino research, is a neglected topic of research in academia. Over the past decade, research centered on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders is present in only about 1 percent of articles published by the five most commonly referenced peer-reviewed academic journals in the field of educational studies (Museus and Chang 2009). However, distinct subgroups of the Asian
American populations will become increasingly important as this group continues to grow at a rapid pace (Pew Research Center 2012). Therefore, we believe that there is a need for more higher education research on Filipinos to serve as a basis to inform policies and practices to improve rates of higher education achievement.

Conclusion
In closing, progress in the higher education achievement of Filipinos in Hawai‘i remains at a critical point. While Filipinos have a valuable place in Hawai‘i’s history and constitute a significant percentage of Hawai‘i’s population, they do have a record of underachievement in higher education and, as a result, their status among the socioeconomically disadvantaged and underserved groups in Hawai‘i persists as a serious problem. Although the value of a good education continues to be emphasized within the Filipino culture, key factors that are needed to improve the higher education achievement of Filipinos ought to be met. They are financial aid resources, cultural heritage reinforcement, and institutional support systems. Efforts to make positive progress in these areas can serve to benefit all of Hawai‘i as the number of Filipinos in Hawai‘i continues to grow.

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Paka(sarita)an in the Ilokano: Reclaiming a Native Tongue, Owning a Heritage

Julius Bajet Soria

Background and Introduction
In the last decade and a half, I have dedicated myself to Ilokano language teaching in secondary and college contexts, and my previous personal and educational experiences are a reflection of my teaching practice. Teaching is my commitment and passion, and for Ilokano language teaching, a journey and a struggle. As an educator, one of the rewarding aspects of teaching is the rare opportunity for us to enter our students’ lives through our formal and informal interactions with them. Students share the stories of their lives: divorce in the family, drug use, domestic violence, gang membership, and pregnancy are some of the examples. It is through these stories that we get to know them beyond their “student” identities. Shannon (1995) asserts the importance of stories, …stories are important to people, politics, and education. Stories are how people make sense of themselves and their worlds. In young children’s spontaneous stories that they act out as they play, we can see how they believe people relate to one another, who they hope to become, and how they will behave…As adults, the true and imaginary stories we wish to tell and believe suggest what we value most in this world. In a real sense, stories make people. For this reason stories are political. Whose stories get told? What can these stories mean? Who benefits from their telling? These are political questions because they address the way in which people’s identities—their beliefs, attitudes, and values—are created and maintained. These identities determine how we live together in and out of schools as much as school rules or governmental laws. (xi).

As an Ilokano language teacher at the university and secondary level, it has been a practice for me to survey my Ilokano students on their reasons for taking the course. This exercise gives me an indication of the language history background of my students as well as ideas for ongoing curricular innovation in heritage language teaching. Based on their responses, the majority of the students were heritage learners raised in homes where Ilokano was spoken. By listening to and rereading their histories, I saw the richness and complexities embedded in their stories. This inspired me to conduct an ethnographic study (Soria 2012) to research the bigger stories of these students in the contexts of their home, school, peer relationships, and community, highlighting the role of language as the connecting element in coming up with their pkasaritaan or history.

The scholarship on Philippine languages as community/heritage languages in Hawai‘i is lacking and is very much under-researched. Underrepresented in the field, I hope that this preliminary work will further address the bigger issues of linguistic rights and access and social justice, especially in a state where a high premium is placed on cultural diversity.

This paper reports on one Filipino high school student’s story, Rimat (a pseudonym), from an ethnographic study that I conducted at Nakem High School (NHS), a public high school in urban Honolulu on students learning Ilokano as a heritage language. Her story gives voice to students who are rarely given the opportunity to tell their own stories because their voices are not heard within schooling or in the mainstream discourse. The students’ native language bridges their past and their future, and, when not silenced, it is through their native language that they tell their stories (Rivera 1999). But before I share her story, I provide an overview of the heritage language field in the United States, specifically of Ilokano in the diaspora and in the Hawai‘i Department of Education (HIDOE). Next, I describe the context of the study and pkasaritaan as a theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical lens in the collecting of students’ stories. The final section is the presentation and the “making sense” of the student’s narrative.
A Snapshot of Heritage Language Education in the US

The teaching of heritage languages is not a recent phenomenon in the United States. In 1839, many states authorized bilingual education programs, specifically the teaching of German language to children of German heritage in public schools (Webb and Miller 2000). The passage and implementation of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 provided a forum for language policy and directly involved educational institutions to meet the needs of linguistic minority students.

While the term heritage language (HL) has been in use, particularly in Canada, since the early 1970s (Cummins 2005), it has gained significant ground in U.S. research, policy, and practice only since the 1990s, becoming a subdiscipline within the fields of foreign language and applied linguistics. According to Trifonas and Aravossitas (2014), education in heritage language “is linked to the processes of identity negotiation and cultural inheritance, through language that passes from generation to generation as a tangible legacy of the past that looks forward to a future” (1). Spanish continues to dominate the field in terms of research and publications.

With the rapidly changing demographics of the United States and the increasing numbers of speakers of languages other than English in our educational system, many students study a “foreign” language that is not entirely foreign for them, but is in fact the language spoken in their homes. This is true for many of the languages taught in Hawaii’s public schools. In the literature, two definitions of heritage language have predominated. Coming from the perspective of language revitalization, Fishman (2001) refers to the term as a language with which individuals have a personal historical connection. Fishman’s definition aligns very nicely with the result of a survey conducted by the National Heritage Language Resource Center (NHLRC) in 2007–2009 (Carriera 2009) on the motivation of heritage learners in learning their heritage language. Students who were surveyed overwhelmingly responded that they chose to study their home language because they were interested in learning about their cultural and linguistic roots and wanted to be able to communicate with their family in the United States, mirroring the responses of my college and high school students. Valdés (2001), on the other hand, offers an operational/program-level definition as a language spoken by a “student who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken by one who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language” (1).

Ilokano in the Diaspora and Hawai’i DOE

Ilokano is a Western Austronesian language spoken in Northern Luzon, Philippines (Rubino 2000). It is the third largest language in the Philippines, after Tagalog and Cebuano. The Philippine National Statistics Office 2000 census put Ilokano native speakers at 7.7 million.

The Filipino community has grown since their arrival in Hawai‘i 109 years ago, making them the largest ethnic group in Hawai‘i (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). Today, the vast majority of Filipinos in Hawai‘i are of Ilokano ancestry, at least 85 percent. Furthermore, 2008 data from the Hawai‘i State Judiciary ranked Ilokano as the second highest-demand language in the state courts (Office of Language Access 2009). The University’s Ilokano Language and Literature Program, for the past forty-three years, is the only one in the state of Hawai‘i and in the United States. It is a full program that offers a Bachelor of Arts with a concentration in Ilokano, as well as a minor and a certificate, and there is no other program like it in the world. Teaching the language has propelled documentation, conservation, and other activities such as collaborative efforts in linguistic research, seminars and workshops on literary and cultural productions, publications of textbooks and anthologies of Ilokano literature, and international conferences on Ilokano literature and culture and the intersections of this culture with national and global cultures.

Ilokano is listed as one of the official languages under the World Languages program of the Hawai‘i DOE. Ilokano is currently taught at two public high schools on the island of O‘ahu. This year, the College of Education at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa (UHM) graduated the first-ever licensed Ilokano teacher in the state of Hawai‘i.

The Methodology of Pakasaritaan

The student’s story presented in this paper is part of a qualitative study of Ilokano heritage language learners at a public high school in urban Honolulu, using critical ethnography (CE) articulated as paka(sarita)tan. The intersection between sarita and pakasaritaan (paka+sarita+an) is that one invokes/summons the other, hence, the story in history and history in the story (Agcaoili 2006; 2010). As in CE, the Ilokano
traditional discourse of *saritaan/talking story*, socially grounded in the immediate contexts in which people live and work, accounts for the importance of dialogue and negotiation. *Saritaan* offers a space to give or help give voice to young people who are the inheritors of the language and culture of Ilokano and Amianan (North/Northern) peoples. It is language that allows us to tell and draw up our *sarita/*stories, and by building from these stories, we create *pakasaritaan/history* embodying our understanding of the world, of experiences, and ultimately ourselves. Our knowledge and experiences are intrinsically linked to our language. Since a language carries the conception of the world that speaks it, our native language—the language of our students, is not only the carrier of knowledge but also, as stated by Freire and Macedo (1987), “knowledge itself” (53). The students are the focus, and their voices carry forward indigenous meanings and experiences that are in opposition to dominant discourses and practices (Fine 1994). Bringing voice to the informants and giving them authority in characterizing their experiences are important foundations in which this study is based and a qualitative research methodology allows for that, articulated by the Ilokano *paka(saritaan)*.

In the Ilokano *pakasaritaan*, the researcher assumes the *manong* (older male sibling) role while the students take the *ading* (younger sibling) role. In the context of the Ilokano family, the *manong* is perceived as the *nanaknakman/nanaknakem* (more conscious), and the *ading* shares and/or confides to the *manong* because there is trust that exists between the two. The *manong* provides encouragement, support, and advice to the *ading*. In other words, the “opening up” that occurs during *saritaan* allows for an intervention to happen, which makes the *saritaan* method powerful. There are dynamics in the reciprocity between the speakers—the *manong* and the *ading*. There is trust involved in the exchange of information. The kinship of the *manong-ading* relationship is captured in *saritaan*. The students allowed me to enter their world in (re)telling their stories. In welcoming me to their world, my responsibility is to listen to what they have to say and to find meaning in what they have said.

**RIMAT: The Voice of a Heritage Learner**

Rimat’s story starts off with an excerpt of her valedictory address delivered in May 2011 at NHS. Rimat was one of the ten valedictorians of her graduating class that year. Her speech contextualizes the totality of her experiences and accomplishments, while also giving respect and recognition to the support and sacrifices of her family, friends, teachers, and mentors.

No matter who you are or where you came from you will always be an Agila (a pseudonym for the school mascot) and a member of the class of 2011. We all have our own stories and memories of the past. That’s what makes us each unique and different. We may be labeled and classified depending on what we have accomplished throughout high school, but that doesn’t determine who we are and who we will become…

NHS, Rimat’s alma mater, has served the community for more than 75 years and continues to have one of the largest student body and staff populations of any high school in Hawai‘i. It is situated in a community that is made up of lower socio-economic families with diverse ethnic backgrounds, but predominantly Filipino. Rimat describes her community this way:

There’s really friendly people in Lugar. Like everybody pretty much knows where everybody lives… But as I got older, it was more scary. It’s too crowded. There’s like houses on every little square foot. There seems to be druggies or like you hear things at night. There was an incident when someone stole something from our house because we left it on the porch.

Lugar has a rich history involving immigrants. Known as the place of transition, many immigrants, including Rimat’s parents, have settled and planted their seed of hard work in this community. They had built their own homes, established their own businesses, and raised their children who are now following and/or surpassing the footsteps of their parents. Nevertheless, Rimat grew up in a home where she was surrounded by people who supported her and made sure she grew up healthy.

Growing up, it was just me, my mom, my dad, and my brother and my grandma Rosita. So my mom’s mom, she would watch me, she would cook me food and clean. She would scold me. I remember when I was like four or five.

In Rimat’s narrative, we see the physical presence of a parent, a mother fulfilling her responsibilities to her child as evidenced in the cooking and cleaning inside the
home. These tasks are necessary so that the child is raised healthy. We also see the presence of a grandmother who is there to support the child in the home. Guerrero et al. (2006) found that, among Filipino adolescents in Hawai‘i, family support and higher socioeconomic status (SES) are important protective factors against academic, behavioral, and emotional difficulties.

Similarly, Rimat’s home provided a rich input of the Ilokano language. At home, Rimat was immersed in the Ilokano language through her constant and intimate interactions with the “flower ladies” who worked at her mother’s floral shop. Alongside, she heard tidbits of the life of these women before they came to Hawai‘i; for example, the use of a rubber slipper in place of an eraser and the use of sugarcane as toothpaste.

From these stories, the value of hard work, humility, and self-reliance were instilled in her at a very young age, exemplified in her work ethic as a student. In high school, Rimat excelled academically and participated in various extra curricular activities.

Ilokano is mostly spoken at home. My mom scolds me in Ilokano. She talks to me in Ilokano when she tells me to do something. When she’s telling me a story like when her workers are not listening to her and she gets “high blood” and she needs to tell somebody. Or she tells me a story; I don’t know…anykine stories. It starts off as English and then she gets tired of speaking English so she speaks in Ilokano.

I grew up listening to Ilokano. My mom has a flower business and it’s at our house and it’s downstairs when I was small I would go downstairs. So when I was small I would just sit and watch or like I would give them flower ‘cuz they make leis, right, and if they needed more flowers I would give them flowers. Or if they asked me if I wanted food, so they would give me some snacks or they would tell me to go sleep ‘cuz I was still a kid.

All of her workers are Filipino and they speak Ilokano so they’re older people so of course they’re going to speak Ilokano. I would always ask them what does it mean, what does it mean ‘cuz I didn’t understand. If I were sitting next to an old lady, I would ask her what are you saying and they would try to explain it. Sometimes they don’t know, they can’t find the English word for it so I just ask my mom. If my mom doesn’t know then they try to find a simple word or they say “kasla [just like] something, something” and then I try to figure it out.

And like little by little, I learned.

One time they talked about when they were young. ‘Cuz I asked my mom for an eraser and they told me, “Oh you know when I was young I used to use my slipper as an eraser.” Or if they found out that there was toothpaste on sale at Long’s and they’re like, “Oh, let’s go to Long’s to buy toothpaste” or would say, “You know when I was small we never have toothpaste. We used the sugarcane.”

So I learned about like history also. Some of them like also told me when the Japanese people went to the Philippines, they were young and one of the old ladies told me they witnessed somebody’s head getting shot off.

As I got older, I would tell them what to do. Like which orders to do first, “Aramidenyo ‘diay order ni May,” [“Do May’s order,”] cuz May is the lady’s name. And they would ask for the pattern, “Ania ti patternna?” [“What’s the pattern?”] “Three one, two one.” Or they ask what kind of flower, how many inches.

If I don’t have meetings I’m usually talking or doing homework. It depends. Sometimes it’s for Student Government, sometimes it’s for the National Honor Society (NHS). Sometimes I tutor for NHS. For student government I facilitate the meetings. For the NHS, I’m the secretary so I take down minutes.

No one, nobody, like my mom didn’t tell me you should join NHS; you should be in student government. I kind of fell into the place on my own. My parents know that I’m involved. They stopped calling me when I come home late ‘cuz they know I’m not out smoking, drinking, or partying.

The stories of hard work she heard and witnessed growing up inspired her to dream her own dream and work equally as hard as her parents. She studied hard and that became an expectation from her parents and other people. While Rimat was engaged in her undertakings, her parents were right by her side thinking of her well-being.

So after awhile it was an expectation like, “Oh yeah, you’re going to be a valedictorian.” Like when I got that C in Calculus in my grade check, my dreams started to crumble. I was like, “It’s ok if I’m not valedictorian,” but deep down you were like “You worked so hard for it; why just give up this last term where it actually counts?”

I had a C for Calculus for my midterm grade check and my mom was mad at me because I had that C and she was like, “Why do you have a C?”
And it was hard for me to explain to her that calculus is hard. She goes, “Yeah but you’re always studying. How come you have a C?”

They always tell me to study hard; keep doing what I’m doing. But they don’t help me. But sometimes they scold me for not going to sleep. Sometimes they scold me for being on the computer.

They always say that because they want us to do better knowing that they suffered and that they have to work so hard just to have the things that I have now. Like they have to work twice as hard.

Here we see a continued support of the parents to the child. The constant reminder is an indication that her parents are very supportive and caring about her academics as well as her personal well-being; but more importantly, they do not want to see their child go through the same challenges and hardships that they faced. But despite the pressure and the rigor of her academics, Rimat attributes her success to the encouragement of her peers, teachers, and mentors in her school.

The people I hang out with, we encourage each other to do well in school. That’s why I do well in school, I guess, because people look up to me—the underclassmen…There are teachers on campus that do care for their students but there are teachers on campus I never personally had but I heard stories about them and they don’t care about their students. Like they’ll give you work and they expect you to do it without explaining it. There are teachers who are personable so that you can talk to them. You can go to them during recess or like when you have someone to talk to or you need guidance. Like, “Oh, Mister or Miss, I’m failing my class. Do you know what I can do?”

Although it was not her first choice, Rimat grew to appreciate the Ilokano class that she took at NHS. The Ilokano classroom provided her the space to further explore her roots and this is something that she appreciated. In the exploration process, her immigrant home and her own community became her resources.

I wasn’t supposed to take Ilokano at NHS. I was supposed to take Accounting but the class was full. So I went to the registrar and I was like, “Okay, I need to take language course anyway.” So there was no language one. It was all language two. It was like Japanese II, Japanese III, Spanish II, Spanish III. Ilokano was the only opening. I was like, “might as well take it” so I took it and knew the simple stuff.

I really enjoyed the family tree project because it kinda forced you to figure out what your family was about. In Ilokano II, you had to interview your parent or grandparent about what they think life was like in Hawai’i or like when they did come to Hawai’i, what was their reaction? How did they feel? And we had to write a paper. I don’t remember and then we had to record it. We had to transcribe it. Oh my gosh, that was crazy! It was interesting learning about the history because like you speak Filipino but you don’t know how it originated. Like I learned that like the Spanish, like the Spaniards, occupied the Philippines for a long time and that’s why some people’s last name may sound a bit Spanish because of that.

Being in Ilokano class, you kind of appreciate your culture more and you understand where you parents come from and what life was like back then.

Rimat reflects on her experiences and the values that she learned from her parents. Living in a community that is rich in history and also rich in negative attributions, the supportive and caring home kept her in place.

Like I wouldn’t be the same person I am today if it wasn’t for the experiences that I had and if it wasn’t for what my parents taught and my parents wouldn’t know what they know if their parents didn’t teach them that. They taught me like always respect your elders no matter what culture. You always address them by grandma, auntie, uncle, manang, manong.

Rimat graduated with her bachelor’s degree in Public Health from a mainland university in Spring 2015. She will start her graduate program in Speech Pathology in Fall 2015 in the same university.

Conclusion and Implications

The youth in this paper expressed pride, respect, and appreciation for her language, culture, and heritage. Part of this is the result of the caring and nurturing home that she grew up in and reinforced by her Ilokano language class which valued her heritage language and culture. The Ilokano class provided the space for the student to bring her identit(ies) and her own understandings of Ilokanoess that she has negotiated through ongoing interactions within her diasporic community.

Heritage language learning needs to start while the students are young. Advocates of heritage language stress
the importance of programs that seek to preserve heritage languages, especially in light of the constant increases in immigration. Like the story of Rimat, many students possess this invaluable knowledge from home that needs cultivation and fostering by communities, cultural institutions, and stakeholders themselves. Putting languages at the center of our educational experience values languages as resources that can aide students’ academic success and professional undertakings.

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Critical *Kapwa*: Possibilities of Collective Healing from Colonial Trauma

*Maharaj “Raju” Desai*

This paper is based on my own experiences as a student, educator, and Filipina/o. I explore the multiple traumas in the community that I grew up in that impacted my experiences as well as those of my family and the connection of those traumas to colonialism. I also examine the possibilities for healing from those traumas through *kapwa*—the core value of Filipina/o indigenous psychology that emphasizes our interrelatedness with one another. Additionally, I illustrate how Filipina/o educators can and should foster spaces where Filipina/o students can collectively heal through Critical Kapwa pedagogy—an open pedagogical philosophy that came from my experiences working with Filipina/o youth in San Francisco.

My first teaching experience was in a Filipina/o American History class at Balboa High School in San Francisco. The Excelsior District of San Francisco and, in particular, Balboa High School will always have a special place in my heart. This is the community that I grew up in, the high school that many of my cousins attended, and the school that I first taught in. The Excelsior has been home to a large Filipina/o American community since the mid 70s and Balboa has historically had a high percentage of Filipina/o students. Getting to know my students and their lives allowed me to see some of the same issues that my cousins and I faced growing up. Many of the things that I thought just happened in our family were actually more commonplace for our community than I had been taught to believe.

In my own personal experience, I grew up experiencing some of these social toxins but lacked the critical understanding that these issues were not endemic to my family and community, but were a by-product of colonialism. The grand narrative of my family, which reflects a common narrative of education among Filipinas/os, was to get education because that is the only tool to escape from these toxins and this cycle. Fortunately, I was able to continue on to higher education and was the first of my generation to attend a university in the USA. My mother and my maternal aunt are the only other people besides me to have a four-year degree or higher, but they earned those in the Philippines. Of my generation, including all my cousins, both in the United States and the Philippines, I am the only one who has been able to earn a four-year degree, so far. A significant barrier to my cousins’ ability to succeed in college has been a lack of support—financially, academically, and emotionally.

**Social Toxins**

Many of these issues and social toxins that my cousins and I grew up with continue to be an everyday presence in the lives of Filipina/o Americans. Our community is still plagued by issues such as domestic violence (Asian Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence [APIIDV] 2010); high dropout rates (Halagao 2010; Tintiangco-Cubales 2007); high suicide rates (Lau 1995); substance abuse (Daus-Magbual and Molina 2009; David 2011; Nadal 2009; Toleran et al. 2012); high risk sex behaviors that lead to teenage pregnancy and HIV infection (Daus-Magbual and Molina, 2009; Nadal 2009; Tintiangco-Cubales 2011); and mental health issues such as depression (Africa 2010; Javier, Huffman, and Mendoza 2007; Levenson 2010; Sanchez and Gaw 2007). According to Mihesuah and Wilson (2004), many of the social issues that colonized communities face, including “poverty, chemical dependence, depression, suicide, family violence, and disease,” are inextricably linked to the colonial process. These processes include displacement from land and other oppressive techniques involving the suppression of native languages and the imposition of foreign epistemologies that devalue indigenous knowledge and belief systems and introduce new spiritual beliefs. language, epistemology, and spirituality.

The trauma of colonialism has had a devastating effect on the lives and identities of Filipina/o Americans. Our community has been plagued by many social problems that
stem from the residual effects of multiple colonizations of the Philippines, in addition to the internal colonialism that all people of color face in the United States (Blauner 1972; David 2011; Halagao 2010; Tejeda, Gutierrez, and Espinosa 2003). More than just a historic event, colonialism legacy and its devastating consequences continue to this day in the neocolonial relationship that now exists between the United States and the Philippines and is recapitulated in the hegemonic structures and ideologies that Filipinas/os face as an ethnic minority within the United States. These colonial traumas, though rooted in the past, manifest themselves in the lives of Filipina/o Americans today who may or may not be able to recognize them as such. (Constantino 1992; David 2011; de Guia 2010; Rodriguez 2009; Strobel 2001; Tintiangco-Cubales 2011).

Colonialism

The Philippines has been colonized for over 380 years—333 years by Spain and 47 years by the United States. This does not include the years since 1946 during which the United States has maintained a neo-colonial relationship with the Philippines (Constantino 1996; Strobel 2001; Rafael 2000; Rimonte 1997; Rodriguez 2009).

The long legacy of colonialism in the Philippines has resulted in the internalization of white supremacy, immense poverty, unfair land distribution, and an overwhelming sense, among Filipinas/os, of inability to change conditions in their homeland due to a sense of hopelessness (Constantino 1992; Rafael 2000). From the beginning of the colonial period in the Philippines, a social system has been installed that privileges whiteness and the colonizers right to dominate the indigenous people (indios) and the masses (masa), who are placed at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. To this day there is an elevation of whiteness and all things associated with the West to the denigration of what is native. This love of the West and a deeply ingrained sense of hopelessness has been instilled by a colonial education system that was instituted in the Philippines by the Americans during the colonial period was intentionally created to subdue the desire for independence of the Filipina/o people and to implant American myths into the Filipino consciousness (Constantino 1982; David 2011; Halagao 2010; Rafael 2000; Tintiangco-Cubales 2011). The internalization, normalization, and perpetuation of these myths by Filipinos are what is known as colonial mentality.

Some of these myths include the belief in meritocracy; the belief that America is a land of opportunity with an egalitarian society; and the belief that America’s relationship to the Philippines was that of kind benefactor to beneficiary and not one of colonial oppressor/exploiter of the land and people (Constantino 1992). The acceptance of these hegemonic misconceptions along with the model minority myth has produced a lack of awareness of the multiple issues that plague the Filipina/o American community. The model minority myth also masks the long history of colonial oppression that has plagued Filipinos.

By ignoring the history of colonialism and the truth behind our history of exploitation by the United States, we ignore the trauma that has affected us and our community (Strobel 2001). We internalize these Americanized notions of what it means to be a Filipina/o or Filipina/o American to the detriment of our spiritual selves and our efforts to cope with the past and the trauma of colonization (Apostol 2010; Enriquez 2004; Herbito 2010; Rimonte 1997). What makes this even more hurtful to our community is that we then ignore the relationship between our current problems and the devastation caused by colonialism.

Kapwa

“Kapwa is a recognition of shared identity, an inner self shared with others.” Enriquez (2004, 5)

Kapwa, according Virgilio Enriquez (2004), is the core value of Sikolobiyang Pilipino or the field Indigenous Philippine Psychology. It is the value that pervades every ethno-linguistic group within the Philippines whether Animist, Muslim, Catholic/Christian, or otherwise. Kapwa has been used and invoked in a number of Filipino American spaces recently. However, merely being together in a space does not mean that we are in kapwa with one another. While kapwa is a concept of shared or collective identity, it is also about the way interpersonal relationships function and are maintained within this collective identity. It is about empha-
sizing the community over the individual. Shawn Ginwright (2010) argues that community is all about the “consciousness of the interrelatedness one has with others…rooted in political, cultural, and economic histories as well as contemporary struggles in which people collectively act to make meaning of their social condition” (78). In other words, community is more than just connections and relationships, but also about moving collectively towards goals. For me, kapwa is more than just a folk notion of community, but rather a deep connection and commitment to that community much like the concept expressed by Ginwright.

I liken this conceptualization of kapwa to a balangay or boat. In looking at the maritime communities of the Badjao and Samal Laut peoples of the Southern Philippines who spend most of their lives on the open sea, we can see that their culture and language are determined by the environment in which they live—the boat that is their home. Having to co-exist within close quarters on a small ocean vessel, the community members have to maintain smooth interpersonal relationships in order literally to make things sail smoothly. This does not mean always getting along or liking everyone all the time, but it does imply constantly maintaining a commitment to one another and to the collective. There is no option of separating from one another because that would mean death by drowning. Closeness is so tight that words need often not be spoken and members of the community are able to sense each other’s emotions and thoughts by feeling and by reading non-verbal cues. This is kapwa at its fullest—a community so connected and committed to one another that they function as one.

Unfortunately, this central core value has been compromised by the infliction of colonial values that have been imposed by the multiple colonizers of the Philippines (Enriquez 2004). Filipinas/os have been taught, instead, to view the colonially imposed value of shame, or biya, as the primary value that is central to Filipina/o identity. This proved very useful in subjugating and maintaining control over the people during the American period.

According to bell hooks (1994), “one of the primary reasons we have not experienced a revolution of values is that a culture of domination necessarily promotes addiction to lying and denial” (28). As Filipina/o Americans, much of our colonial identities are shaped by deceits—by lies and denials. In order to believe in the colonial values that we have been fed, Filipinas/os have had to accept and internalize this racial hierarchy that places them in a subordinate position. Such beliefs affect family dynamics and, in America, manifests themselves in the perpetuation of colonial mentality—a mindset in which Filipinas/os internalize the values and imposed identities of their colonizers. The results of all this are identities that are in conflict with one another (i.e., Filipina/o vs. Filipina/o American, FOBs, and the “whitewashed”). We end up believing so strongly in these identity categories that we deny the fact that we have, as Filipinas/os, many more similarities than differences, and we become blinded to the history of our exploitation. The result is that we perpetuate these oppressive stereotypes that continue to afflict us. Instead of uniting to combat the daily manifestation of oppressive forces in our lives, we end up divided and often become sub-oppressors within our own families and communities. This can be seen in the way Filipina/o Americans perpetuate ideologies like colonial mentality, hetero-patriarchy, and racial/ethnic stereotypes.

Many Filipina/o American scholars have commented on how the Filipina/o American community is divided on multiple levels and there is really no central cohesive sense of Filipina/o community (David 2011; Nadal 2009; Rodriguez 2009; San Juan 1996; Strobel 2001). This lack of unity affects what the community is able to struggle to achieve and why they are struggling to achieve it. While there is this vague notion of what it means to be Filipina/o, the construction of this identity is built upon colonial ideals and lacks a critical understanding of the causes of oppression.

Critical Kapwa is a pedagogy that has the power to heal on both the individual and collective levels. It is a revolution in ideology, epistemology, and spirituality that has the power to affect all aspects of Filipina/o life. This pedagogy seeks to uncover the many layers and aspects of the value of kapwa and its application for Filipina/o Americans as well as for all people.

Pakikipagkapwa is much deeper and profound in its implications. It also means accepting and dealing with the other person as an equal. The company president and the office clerk may not have an equivalent role, status, or income but the Filipino way demands and implements the idea that they treat one another as fellow human beings (Kapwa-tao). This means a regard for the dignity and being of others. (Enriquez 2004, 47)
Aside from being a form of collective familial identity, kapwa connects the individual to community, culture, place, environment, and history. The sense of kapwa that I develop here looks at relationships between people, plants, animals, spirits, myths, spirituality, knowledge, epistemology, and theory. Kapwa can be a tool to address how much loss a community has experienced and how much healing there remains to be done. According to an activist whom I interviewed, “[kapwa] is a way of deepening our connections with each other and kind of essential to the process of really healing from the traumas in our lives and in our history that we’re carrying.” Critical Kapwa consists of three pillars: Humanization, On Becoming Diwa(ta), and Decolonizing Epistemologies.

**Critical Kapwa Pedagogy**

Critical Kapwa pedagogy is about individuals and communities coming together to heal themselves. It is about reviving and rearticulating the most fundamental indigenous Filipina/o value of kapwa—a deep connection with and commitment to community. Critical Kapwa is about revolutionizing ideology, epistemology, and spirituality in order to combat the daily manifestations of the residual hegemonic trauma in our lives, families, and communities caused by colonization. It is also about seeing and building connections between people, cultures, places, environments, history, and spirituality. The three pillars—Humanization, On Becoming Diwa(ta), and Decolonizing Epistemologies—intersect with one another to destroy hegemonic ideological structures that perpetuate colonial domination while they also empower the individual to operate outside of those hegemonic ideological structures.

Humanization requires an analysis of non-western social systems and structures in order to destroy the hierarchies and false binaries that perpetuate the realities of subordination and oppression. Humanization through kapwa aims to reinforce an examination of and understanding of human interactions through multiple lenses to see how people are affected by these various oppressive ideologies. Humanization must not only be practiced on other people, but also, more importantly on the self. It is about seeing one another as human being as opposed to human doing. For instance, as a teacher, it is about seeing your students as more than their assignments, grades, and/or behaviors, but as multifaceted beings with historied bodies and lived experiences. Humanization is the most direct and immediate means of combating oppression.

The second pillar, which I refer to as “On Becoming Diwa(ta),” is a combination of two words that are found in many Philippine languages—diwa or spirit and diwata or deity. In order to heal the disconnects between mind, spirit, and body, diwa(ta) is a return to seeing the self as a spiritual being that is connected to different realms. A denial of the Western concept of individualism that is perpetuated through capitalist structures, diwa(ta) is about what hooks (1994) calls “wholeness, a union of mind, body, and spirit” (14). Embracing diwa(ta) does not require one to partake in exotic, ancient rituals practiced in remote indigenous communities. Filipina/o Americans, to truly be relevant and connected to their own daily lives, should instead strive to create their own spiritual practices that are based on indigenous practices, and that share a direct connection with their own lived experiences. Simply choosing and mimicking the practices of a random ethnic group is cultural misappropriation, and that act of misappropriation adds to the cultural distance between the Filipina/o American and the indigenous Filipina/o.

While diwa(ta) is about striving to actualize a deeper understanding of humanity through embracing the divinity of the self, of others, and of the environment; the intersection of the pillars of diwa(ta) and of Decolonizing Epistemologies requires us to take aspects of indigenous spirituality and ideology and rearticulate them in order to serve as a counter-hegemonic narrative for survival. The purpose of Decolonizing Epistemologies is to give voice to the colonized/oppressed who have been silenced in society and in the classroom. If we are to assist students and the community in redefining themselves, they first need access to new tools to help articulate a renewed sense of being and self-worth.

**Application of Critical Kapwa in California**

As I was developing Critical Kapwa as a pedagogy I was able to implement it where I was teaching Philippine Studies: Pin@y Educational Partnerships (PEP) at Balboa High School and Kilusan for Kids, a bilingual Tagalog K–2 curriculum. PEP is an ethnic studies pipeline that is a partnership between Filipina/o American Studies at San Francisco State University and five public schools with high Filipina/o populations within San Francisco Unified School District. Through PEP, I was able to co-teach a course on...
Filipina/o American History and Community as a high school elective at Balboa High School—a course that would have been extremely beneficial to my cousins had it been available back then. In the 2012–13 school year, we worked with twenty-eight seniors and had a really amazing year. We intentionally tried to build community with our students, the community, and each other. We tried to incorporate a sense of community into the many projects that we undertook. Our Performing Resistance Project brought the community into the classroom and we had our students perform individual and collective pieces that were centered around issues of oppression based on race, class, gender, and sexuality. We brought the students out into the community through our joint South of Market (SOMA) field trip with Burton High School where we did a walking tour of the neighborhood and examined its historical and current relevance to the Filipina/o community. Through both projects students were able to build a new sense of identity with one another and begin to see themselves as connected to a larger community. They also examined how oppression, as well as facets of identity, such as race, class, gender, and sexuality, affect all of us at individual, interpersonal, and institutional levels. For our final project, the students completed a Youth Participatory Action Project on how violence affects students differently based on race, class, and gender. In doing this project, students came together and the sense of solidarity produced powerful learnings about the multiple forms of violence that they are exposed to on a daily basis in their communities and how these occurrences have become normalized for them. The students then taught their findings to middle school students at Denman middle school to exemplify the type of community engagement that Critical Kapwa aims to achieve.

The work on Kilusan for Kids was a partnership between my mentor, Dr. Tintiangco-Cubales, PEP teachers, and teachers in San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD) where we co-created curriculum that would teach students the Tagalog language, but also to love themselves, their families, and their community and to love being Filipina/o. We were intentional in our efforts to teach language in a way that is more critical of colonially constructed narratives and hierarchies of power. For instance, we developed an entire unit that revolved around the deconstruction of gender roles by examining the non-gendered pronoun of siya (he/she/it) and exploring what that means for a culture not to define gender in gendered terms. In that unit, we also look at caring and how that looks different in many different families and contexts. We wanted our curriculum to be open to the students’ multiple narratives of being Filipina/o as opposed to perpetuating the post-colonial meta-narrative of how Filipinas/os should be. Additionally, in the unit on exploring Philippine and Filipina/o American heroes, we ask the students to examine who their personal heroes are and what makes them heroic.

These different curricula and projects are examples of Critical Kapwa pedagogy because they all, at their core, aim to counter colonially constructed hierarchies of power such as high and low culture, civilized and savage cultures, and gender and racial hierarchies. Additionally, these examples allowed students to pull examples from their own experiences and share their voices. In my experience of taking Filipina/o classes growing up, we were always told what it means to be Filipina/o, rather than constructing the meaning for ourselves. It was always defined for us, and we had to determine if and how we fit into that definition. We were never allowed to define things for ourselves, nor to challenge some of those definitions given to us. Critical Kapwa pedagogy allows for a broader, more inclusive way of teaching Philippine and Filipina/o American Studies that includes all perspectives. It is about connecting to one another, to our families, to our history and our ancestors.

Critical Kapwa in Hawai‘i through Tinalak
In 2013, I moved to Hawai‘i to work on a doctoral degree in education. While at the College of Education, I became involved with Tinalak. In that first semester, in the fall 2013, I co-taught a class on multicultural education focusing on Filipinas/os with the other members of Tinalak. This gave me an opportunity to implement some aspects of Critical Kapwa pedagogy in a new setting. We had students collaboratively create lesson plans and then teach them at different public schools with high Filipina/o populations on O‘ahu. In addition, we organized a Filipina/o American Book & Curriculum Fair in collaboration with our students and community partners. The purpose of the book fair was to counter arguments made by many teachers that it was difficult to incorporate Filipina/o material into the curriculum due to a lack of resources—we showed them the wealth of resources readily available. The students and community members were pleasantly surprised to see how much material there actually is on Filipina/os that can be used in classrooms.
The following spring semester, I worked with a handful of college students on a course where they collectively developed and taught lesson plans in the Fresh Off the Boat (FOB) Project class at Farrington High School. One of these lesson plans was on the concepts of *balangay* (boat) and *barangay* (the smallest political unit in the Philippines). Students had to work together to sail boats around the classroom to get a prize. We then debriefed about the activity and what type of culture it took to sail on the boat. From there, one of the college students asked what the culture of their community was like and whether or not their community functioned as well as they did in their groups on their boats. The dialogue sparked a lot of conversation about the issues within the community that the students come from. They shared personal narratives about their experiences in Kalihi and dialogues with some of the college students who also grew up in the same area. It got them thinking about what is going on in their community and how to help make changes for the better on both individual and collective levels. Additionally, the games we played helped encourage a strong classroom community.

Coming from Northern California, I have seen stark differences between the community there and the community here in Hawai‘i. Both communities confront many of the same issues that Critical Kawpa seeks to remedy. However, there are certain issues that are specific to Hawai‘i. For instance, it seems that the community here is more divided on such matters as region, language, and immigration status—for example, on being FOB versus local-born, Visayan versus Ilokano versus Tagalog, Kalihi versus Waipahu. Considering how large the Filipina/o population is here, I am surprised by all the disparaging remarks about Filipinas/os or about being Filipina/o that I hear on a regular basis. I hear these statements coming from both Filipinas/os and non-Filipinas/os alike. Considering Hawai‘i has such a large Filipina/o population, we need to work on being stronger and more cohesive as a community. I find hope in the educational spaces created through our collective participation in Tinalak where we work with students to help heal some of the deep-seated divisions that they have grown up with. We do this through collaboration among faculty, college students, public school youth, and community partners.

## Conclusion

Philippine Studies and Filipina/o American Studies have an important role to play in our communities. Aside from teaching students about their past and their heritage, we have a choice of either perpetuating the divisions in our community or attempting to repair those relationships and bring about a collective healing from historical trauma. Critical Kapwa pedagogy is a very open pedagogy that helps create a space that allows for that healing to take place. It is, however, just one of many possibilities for overcoming the trauma of our colonial past and present. The most important thing is that we create spaces where our students can learn about their interconnectedness with one another as Filipinas/os, and come to an increased sense of the value of their families, their community, the land, and their history. They need the opportunity to share their own narratives and experiences so that they can find where they fit within the framework of Filipina/o America.

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ENDNOTES

1 Traditional hulled sailing vessel that brought people from island to island.
Recasting Our Relatives: Eroding and (E)Merging Filipino Connections

Jeffrey Moniz

What is the future of Filipino in Filipino American? What counts as Filipino in Filipino American? Who counts as Filipino in Filipino American? These are the questions I pose in light of demographic shifts over time and the advent of science and technology, including genetic testing. I launch my inquiry by first exploring indigenous perspectives and methods concerning Filipino identities. Secondly, I engage in storytelling methods that help illustrate the main themes that emerged from this inquiry. Thirdly, I explore some of the implications for self-understanding implied by recent developments in DNA testing. And finally, I focus my analysis on the future utility and continued relevance of what it means to be Filipino and Filipino American.

The Future of Filipino in Filipino American

My inquiry starts with the question, “What is the future of Filipino in Filipino American?” I ask this question as the multiracial descendant of Ilokano great grandparents and grandparents who came to live in Hawai‘i from the Philippines. Am I Filipino? What if I don’t really understand or speak a Philippine language? What if I am, culturally, more of a Hawai‘i “Local” and an American? Can I also be Filipino? Ideas of changing conceptions of racial, ethnic, and cultural identities (Cornell and Hartmann 2007; Gans 1979, 1992; Mornley and Robins 2002; Omi and Winant 2015; Spickard 2007; Spickard and Burroughs 2000) helped provide the impetus for my inquiry into current and future changes in Filipino American identity.

Over the past two decades, scholars have explored these questions, specifically directing their attention to issues of Filipino American identity (Bonus 2000; Espiritu 2003; Halagao 2004; Nadal 2004; Revilla 1997; Root 1997; Strobel 1996; Tavares 2006). Some studies are centered on Filipino identity in Hawai‘i (Agbayani 1991; Alegado 1991; Gonsalves and Labrador 2011; Labrador 2002, 2015; Okamura 1997, 1998; Okamura et al. 1991; Okamura and Labrador, 1996; Revilla 1996; Teodoro 1981) and have mainly focused on the immigrants and second generation of the Filipino community. My study, however, is interested in identity construction of the Hawai‘i descendants of these first two generations.

To guide me in my exploration, I have relied on the theoretical framework woven together from the threads of theory provided by the other authors in this special issue. These theoretical perspectives, include the works of Jeffrey Acido (2012, 2014), Elena Clariza (2015), Raju Desai (2015), and Julius Soria (2012), have provided me with the interpretive tools to uncover new meanings in my stories, contributing a deeper sense of what it means to be Filipino in Hawai‘i.

Clariza’s notion of halungkat, a Cebuano term for the process of overturning piles of things in search of hidden meanings, is valuable for making sense of the journey in reclaiming one’s Filipino identity (2015). Desai contributes the idea of Critical Kapwa Pedagogy, which involves the revival and rearticulation of a fundamental indigenous Filipino value—kapwa, one’s deep connection and commitment to community—by employing an approach rooted in the lived experience, ancestral knowledge, and oral history of the Filipino peoples. Soria (2012) and Acido (2014) advance the Ilokano concept of pakasaritaan, storytelling as a means of gaining a deeper understanding of how the Ilokano people conceive of themselves as agents of history. Acido explains that pakasaritaan “is a mechanism that allows for a re-membering of history and the lessons of the ancestors in the fullest sense of the term—to become, once again, membered to a community that refuses to let go in the face of colonization” (2014, 44).

In particular, Acido’s Nakem (Soul Consciousness) Pedagogy, employing what he calls Social Biography, legitimizes the telling of my stories as a form of situated knowledge. Stories from my personal experience are intended to illustrate a heuristic, via allegorical significance, for considering the future of Filipino and Filipino American...
identities. In this article, I aim to represent, using examples summoned from my lived experience, the factors that will continue to transform Filipino American identities of my generation and the identities of our children and grandchildren. But I also tell a different story—a scientific one that I use to support my contentions about how modern identities can be shaped. Narratives of lived experiences combined with science enrich our understanding of being a Filipino American.

**Mama Old’s Moth**

I’ll begin my exploration into my ancestral connections to the Philippines by sharing a story that involves my Filipino grandparents and the death of my great grandmother. This story happened forty years ago and took place in the towns of Wahiawā and Mililani, on O’ahu. I was six years old when my great-grandmother, Maria Carmen Bumanlag Nacino Paulo, known to us as “Mama Old,” passed away. My great-grandparents and grandparents came from the Philippines in 1928 when my great-grandfather was stationed in Hawai‘i as a Philippine Scout in the segregated U.S. Army. With the intent to assimilate to their new home, the family chose to abandon the use of Ilokano kinship terms for parents and grandparents and used “Mama” and “Papa” instead. In order for the children to distinguish between their parents and grandparents, they attached the term “Old” to their grandparents. Hence, my mother, her siblings, and her cousins referred to their grandmother, my great-grandmother, as Mama Old. This seemingly innocuous act of replacing kinship terms speaks to the power of assimilation and its resulting erosion of traditional relationships associated with the language and culture of our ancestors. Our family consciously chose to embrace their American identity. Yet, while they celebrated being American, they remained, relative to others in our setting, Filipino.

The event of Mama Old’s death was my first exposure to a funeral and the rituals practiced by my Ilokano ancestors that had settled in Hawai‘i. I could go into all of the rituals I remember, but I don’t have the space in this article. Instead, I want to focus on the prayer sessions offered after the funeral. These were the nights when our large extended family would gather around a home altar praying the rosary. An image that is burned into my memory, in the mind of a six-year-old, was the constant presence of a large dark moth in the house, usually on the white wall near the altar. I recall the matter-of-fact explanation from my elders that the moth was visiting because Mama Old had died. Amongst her great-grandchildren, we all accepted this explanation, especially because the moth’s continued presence at those prayer parties and the “anniversary of death” prayer parties fits this belief. We considered the moth to be an embodiment of Mama Old. My older brother brought this up to me in a recent conversation. I had not thought of this childhood memory in years.

While I had matter-of-factly accepted the details of this story at face value, at first, I later repressed it when I realized how fantastic it sounded from mainstream perspectives. In the course my scientific education, I had unconsciously suppressed this memory. As I seek to understand its significance for me, now, I am able to view it as an important source for personal growth. What might have been construed as idle fancy or superstition has become, in light of this inquiry into identity, an important part in understanding my Filipino heritage and its role in shaping my identity. This is an act of commitment that represents more than an insightful appreciation of and connection with my cultural past. Making sense of this memory also represents a way of making sense of my identity in my context.

In this story, an ancestor had changed form into a moth but still existed, though temporally, in the environment. The folk beliefs of my ancestors traveled across geography and through time. On further reflection, I considered how the settler ancestor had struggled and labored to rise, much like a moth struggling to emerge from its chrysalis. Symbolically, I interpret this as the struggle of the immigrant settler resulting in a rebirth after transforming herself. The successive generations inherit the freedom to rise and soar. With origins from another set of islands, the Filipino American constructs a life in the new island setting and each successive generation reconstructs their identities to fit their environment.

In the next story, the same weaving of threads from a past in another place, into the fabric of this place, materializes in a different way. While the form of an ancestor is actually invisible, the effects of his presence is just as tangible as Mama Old’s moth.
The next story relates an event that happened a few years later, around thirty-five years ago, on St. Patrick’s Day. I have a very vivid memory of this. My Grandma, Elena Pagarigan, was in the kitchen preparing a big pot of tombong-tombong, the dessert made from coconut milk, tapioca, mochi balls, sweet potatoes, and langka*. I was fortunate to grow up in the same house in Waipahu where my Filipino grandparents lived. I was an eleven-year-old kid, seated at our dining room table, after school, doing my homework. While preparing the tombong-tombong, my Grandma explained that she was making it in honor of the birthday of her father, my great grandfather, whom we referred to as “Papa Old.” She told me how my deceased great grandfather, Patricio Bautista Paulo, was named Patricio because he was born on St. Patrick’s Day. He had loved tombong-tombong, so she was making it in his honor. Suddenly, as if it was on cue, the front door to our house slowly opened and closed as if some invisible person had just walked in. Without any hint of surprise—almost as if she expected it, my Grandma matter-of-factly said, “See, Papa Old is visiting us now.” I had accepted it as my reality, because it was so real to me, at the time, that the ghost of Papa Old had come to visit us, in Waipahu, on his birthday.

Trying to make sense of this memory now, like the previous memory, adds to the sense-making of my identity in context. The ancestor was invisible, but I was assured by my grandmother that he was really there. The return of my dead great grandfather may symbolize a revival of my ties to my ancestors, a revival initiated by his ghost and reinforced by my Grandma Elena. In effect, Papa Old’s ghost and my great grandfather, Patricio Bautista Paulo, was named Patricio because he was born on St. Patrick’s Day. He had loved tombong-tombong, so she was making it in his honor. Suddenly, as if it was on cue, the front door to our house slowly opened and closed as if some invisible person had just walked in. Without any hint of surprise—almost as if she expected it, my Grandma matter-of-factly said, “See, Papa Old is visiting us now.” I had accepted it as my reality, because it was so real to me, at the time, that the ghost of Papa Old had come to visit us, in Waipahu, on his birthday.

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The same weaving of threads from another place, into the fabric of this place, materializes in yet a different way in my next story. While my ancestors have served as clear sources of connection, members of my community are additional sources that reinforce and build on those connections.

The Aswang
Finally, I’ll tell just one more story—though I have many to tell. This happened one summer night, about twenty-five years ago. I was home on a visit from college in Wisconsin, living and working on O’ahu during my summer break. A couple of childhood friends and I had spent the day cruising on the North Shore. That night, we stopped at the 7-11 near the intersection known as Weed Circle, between Waialua and Haleiwa. We stopped there to engage in some typical college-aged behavior—to pick up more beer and “have a few” as we put it. We were drinking our beer in the parking lot, having some laughs, when suddenly a short dark figure seemed in an unusual way to simultaneously waddle and glide past us. It quickly breezed past us and crossed the road into the cane fields, disappearing in the direction of the Wai’anae mountains. We looked at each other in silent astonishment. Then, as we recovered our speech, the word aswang came to our lips in unison. Was that what we had all seen cross in front of us? And, what did it mean? We all agreed that we had just seen an aswang. An aswang is a feared shapeshifting vampire creature that has human features along with a very long proboscis, beak, or tongue, and is often depicted with wings. In my family, my grandmother would tell stories about aswangs as a way to caution us with fear. “Hala, you better watch out. The aswang going get you!”

I reunited with one of these friends, recently, and he brought up the encounter. Again, I had not really thought about it in years. At the time when this story took place, the occasion of my return from Wisconsin provided an opportunity to, once again, reconnect in person with my family and friends in Hawai‘i. When I reflect on my life history, the periods of time where I seemed to suppress the fantastic stories of my youth were most often when I was away from Hawai‘i for my education. My educational journey and my professional career identity had curbed my memory of the aswang encounter for many years. As in my previous stories, making sense of this memory represents a way of making sense of my identity, particularly in my context.

Seeing the aswang had served to help build my Filipino American identity in several ways. First, it reminded me, at the time, to attend to the folk beliefs shared with me by my grandmother. Next, I had happened to see the aswang with two other friends. We agreed on what we witnessed, which speaks to the power of the community values we share. Finally, I am able to interpret the symbolism of the aswang in relation to the development of my cultural identity. The shapeshifting nature of the aswang symbolizes a protean identity, encompassing multiple identities, that can be in-

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formed by the surrounding politico-historical environment.

In spite of the deleterious effect of assimilation on our Filipino identity, family and community serve as resources to maintain our relationship to the beliefs of our ancestors. Folk beliefs that had once served the purpose of social control now also serve the purpose of social coherence. The wonder of the phenomena I observed in each story reminds me that my Filipinoness can exist in Hawai‘i, and that my Filipinoness can coexist with my Americanness. The allegorical significance of these stories provides a way to view the paradox inherent in constructing Filipino American identity, particularly in Hawai‘i. Like how my parents, grandparents, and great grandparents adopted the use of “Mama and Papa,” their descendants continue to find ways to conform to their environment. And yet, despite their assimilation, the descendants are able to retain their stories.

Two challenges emerged in the process of this inquiry. In my exploration of Filipino American identity construction I realized the following:

First, I lament the loss of ancestral connection, including the loss of our connections to the Philippines with the passing of older generations.

Second, I acknowledge the enormity of the rise of science and technology.

The following sections describe two factors that have played major roles influencing transformations in identity.

**Choose Your Illusion**

In the process of reflecting on these stories I engaged in a transformation that Acido described as affirming and reclaiming myself, “not as a pathology of oppression, but an agent capable of changing and being conscious of one’s life context” (2014, 34). I may be American and Local, but, through this process, I rediscovered and reconnected with folk beliefs of my family, including my ancestors. These were experiences that I shared with family members and friends from my community. I choose not to deny their existence.

I tell these stories to illustrate how these things had been so real to me. A common characteristic, however, is that all three of these experiences took place before my transformation into a “scientific man”—before my doctoral education and academic training, before earning my PhD, before becoming a professor and vice chancellor.

When I look back on these events, I can see them differently, as I now possess the lens of science to provide logical explanations for what I experienced. Humans are vulnerable to what scientists call confirmation bias—the tendency to look for and see only evidence that confirms what people already believe. I originally interpreted the phenomena that I witnessed through the lens of my belief system, which came, in large part, from my family and my community beliefs.

Unfortunately, the scientific, logical explanations also serve to erode my connection to my ancestors’ belief systems in the Philippines. Like when the older generations from the Philippines in our families pass away, we lose that lifeline to the old country. Ancestral beliefs and knowledge simply become superstitions. I see that take place in my own home when I try to pass on ancestral beliefs to my children. My non-Filipino spouse cannot believe that a professor can be so superstitious. This contradictory existence, always present and never really reconciled, epitomizes the paradox of my Filipino American identity, which, I suspect, is typical of many others of my and subsequent generations. In many ways, for those who are far removed from the immigrant generation, embracing multiplicity may be a feature that persists from what may be the Filipino archetype. Filipinos are diverse and their identities are multiple and fluid, depending on context. While my exploration has yielded, for me, a deeper, more complex understanding of my self and the world I live in, it has also revealed undeniable challenges and ways to view those challenges, particularly for the descendants of the first two generations.

**The Primacy of Science and Technology**

Our daily lives are permeated with the ideas of science and technology as never before. We see how science and technology are often pitted in conflict against culture. Consider, for example, the current debate and impasse in Hawai‘i involving those who wish to build the Thirty Meter Telescope and those who aim to preserve the sanctity of Mauna Kea.

Science has provided us with many advances in our understanding of ourselves, sometimes for better and sometimes for worse. One of the recent breakthroughs has been the mapping of the human genome. We now have
the ability to possess a greater understanding of our deep ancestry—who we are at the genetic level.

My recent work with National Geographic has brought me into close contact with the Genographic Project. I participated in the project, which required that I submit a DNA sample by swabbing the inside of my cheek and sending it for analysis to National Geographic. They analyzed my DNA sample and were able to provide me with the results of their analysis. In addition to providing me with genetic data in the form of my personal DNA sequence, the Genographic Project was able to provide their interpretation of my results from an anthropological perspective. For the purposes of this piece, I will share the segment of my results that pertains to my Filipino ancestry.

The scientists at the Genographic Project were able to trace the ancestry of my maternal line, though my mitochondrial DNA, to a particular haplogroup known as F1A3A and its branch on the human family tree. By tracing the genetic markers in my DNA, the results trace my maternal lineage out of East Africa 67,000 years ago, through East Africa or Asia about 60,000 years ago, on through West Asia 55,000 years ago, Southeast Asia 47,200 ± 12,350 years ago, and Central Asia 42,290 ± 3,400 years ago.

So here is an instance of science and technology providing me with a greater understanding of who I am, down to the genetic level—this is what’s encoded in my DNA. I’ve discovered that my Filipino ancestry, according to today’s best science, extends well beyond the confines of the Philippines. Geneticists link the spread of my haplogroup line throughout Asia and the Pacific. This has tremendous implications for how I can now construct my identity. Genetic technology and the science of the genome can now provide new ways to think about who we are and how we are connected with others.

This has implications, today, in the context of thinking about Filipinos in Hawai‘i. Take, for example, Filipinos’ connection to the recently embarked worldwide voyage of the Polynesian sailing canoes Hokule‘a and Hikianalia. The Mālama Honua (Care for Our Earth) voyage aims to promote care for our oceans and island earth by learning more about them, by creating global relationships, and by exploring and journeying around the world. While the vessels on the journey are Hawaiian voyaging canoes—a clear source of pride for Native Hawaiians—Polynesian sailing canoes have their roots in the long canoes with sails and outriggers that Austronesians from Asia brought to Near Oceania. Filipinos share these seafaring roots.

The first time that I learned this lesson was when I taught fourth grade on Moloka‘i. During the 1995 voyage of the Hokule‘a, educators from the Moanalua Garden Foundation, including 1976 Hokule‘a crew member Penny Martin, shared a fourth grade lesson from their ‘Ōhi‘a Project curriculum called “Visions of Voyaging.” The thing that stood out for many of us who attended that session was a chart that showed how similar some common words from Polynesian and the Philippine Languages of the Austronesian Family were. I noticed how students from immigrant families—multilingual learners and English language learners, suddenly became more interested in the lesson when they learned how the Polynesian voyaging that they were studying was connected to their home languages. We learned, as depicted in that chart, that Samoans, Marquesans, Tahitians, Hawaiians, and Maori—all classified as Polynesians, are also related to those who are Ilocano, Tagalog, Visayan, Mindanaoan, and Pampangan. Take, for example, the word for the number five in these Polynesian and Philippine languages. The language commonalities across groups, particularly in counting, are clearly evident in this example. And now, genetic technology is also able to corroborate the notion that we really are related, and this has ramifications for how we are able construct our identities. The greatest lesson that

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Conclusion
In the process of reexamining my identity, two factors have come to light that I believe have the most impact on Filipino American identity construction, today, and into the future: (1) the erosion of connections to our ancestors in the Philippines, and (2) the emergence and primacy of science and technology.

In spite of the loss of these ancestral connections, descendants are now able to reconstruct their Filipino identities by engaging in indigenous methodologies that revive a deep connection with and commitment to Filipino family and community. At the same time, genetic technologies are providing us with ways to better understand our human genetic roots, based on historical patterns in DNA. Our ancient ancestors’ movements around the world are recorded in the genetic footprints within us today. The farther back you trace, the more you become related to the whole of humanity. Herein lies a paradox of Filipino American identity today. Despite our growing understanding of our points of connection, a deep understanding of our differences remains vitally important, especially in regard to the social, political, economic, and historical contexts that shape our identities.

The implications for identity (re)constructions grounded in halungkat, Critical Kapwa Pedagogy, pakasaritan, Nakem Pedagogy, and Social Biography hold tremendous promise for Filipino educational praxis. Consider this example. A study by Libarios (2013) calls for addressing the underachievement of Filipinos in Hawai’i in higher education by supporting their desires and capacity to succeed. Bachini (2011) shows that the development of an achieved ethnic identity is critical for coping with the challenges presented in higher education and that students look for opportunities that provide a sense of belonging and connectedness with other Filipina/o students. Forming Filipino American identities through indigenous perspectives and culturally responsive methods may contribute to the promise of better fulfilling the educational potential of future generations of Filipino Americans.

Also, consider the possibilities that are afforded through science and technology. We are now connected, electronically, as never before. We possess the potential to virtually construct and re-construct knowledge, our identities, and our communities. By telling our stories, in the context of newly emerging networks, made possible by advances in technology, we can realize our socio-historical selfhood for ourselves and our communities on our own terms.

This is the heuristic: reality isn’t only defined through singular membership categories. It can be rationally experienced through syncretic, hybrid, and plural identities—viewed through multiple lenses. A consistent way for Filipino Americans to appreciate everyday phenomenon is with an approach that embraces their multiplicity. The multiplicity heuristic allows a person to defy the reductionist illusion of singular membership categories. As Nobel laureate Amartya Sen put it, “the importance of one identity need not obliterate the importance of others” (2006, 19). Even when views from lenses of plural identities dramatically contrast, they can be held together in a useful framework that considers phenomenon through an approach that fundamentally embraces ambiguity, whether intentionally or not. In reference to the metaphorical theme of this special issue, the woven Tinalak cloth, when we are able to successfully weave the various threads of our multiple identities into a personally meaningful pattern, this is when we know who we are.

REFERENCES
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ENDNOTES

1 I acknowledge that I am also descended from Portuguese ancestors who came to live in Hawai‘i from the Azores and Madeira. For the purposes of this article, I focus only on my Ilokano ancestry. An exploration of my Portuguese ancestry would be more appropriate for an issue devoted to Portuguese identity in Hawai‘i.

2 Both Soria (2012) and Acido (2014) recognize Aurelio Agcaoili’s contributions to their respective uses of pakasaritaan. Acido also acknowledges Agcaoili’s and Soria’s contributions in his use of Nakem.

3 These constructions and reconstructions in a new place are not intended to supplant the rights of indigenous Hawaiians to their land. These stories exist to enable understanding of, or knowledge concerning, a settler’s and her descendants positions in relation to the place.

4 The English term for langka is jackfruit.


6 The Genographic Project is a genetic research initiative led by National Geographic Explorer in Residence Dr. Spencer Wells. I opted to join this real-time scientific project aimed at better understanding our genetic roots following Dr. Wells’ lecture titled *Deep Ancestry: Inside the Genographic Project* delivered at National Geographic’s headquarters in Washington, DC, on April 19, 2012.

7 This example was drawn from the table in the Moanalua Gardens Foundation curriculum “Visions of Voyaging” (2003, p. 8). The original source was Edward Tregear’s *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (1891).
Learning about learning has been a beautiful, painful, and complicated process of moving in and out of spaces that have both nurtured my liberation and sustained my alienation. For most of my life, schooling has been both a place and process in which alienation has disguised itself as learning. When I reflect on my educational journey I realize that it is rare, even absent, for many people of color, immigrants, and indigenous peoples to experience in their K–12 and university education (formal education) a liberatory process of learning that engages the fullness of their identity and makes center their social location. For most of my schooling journey, I have struggled to see my self in the curriculum and pedagogy of state sponsored educational institutions. It was not until I finished my bachelor’s degree and started working in marginalized, oppressed communities in California and Hawai‘i that I began to think about education in more broad strokes. Up until that point it was difficult, or rather, I was made to believe that education, “real” learning, could only happen within state sponsored education. Ironically, it was informal education, learning that happened outside of the classroom, that led me to articulate an experience that was a catalyst for an alchemy of a liberative pedagogy.

Immersing myself in contexts and communities that did not have access to a middle-class life of privilege allowed me to see education as an expansive and inclusive process of learning. What developed from approximately eight years of doing popular education in largely working class, (im)migrant, diasporic, and indigenous communities is my articulation of a pedagogy that makes central the use of story and story-telling—I call this Nakem Pedagogy—Pedagogy of Soul Consciousness.

In this introductory article, I offer the genealogy of my articulation of an emerging pedagogical praxis. I offer, through my discussion of Nakem Pedagogy, the profound realization that comes from one’s story—a story in itself, not simply a story as a tool or medium, but a story as empirical evidence of one’s ontological becoming—an essential element in changing how we see and become in the world. The following ideas and experiences are the foundations of Nakem Pedagogy. Ultimately, it is what I hope will become a catalyst for a new vision that will create a pathway for an education that engages the depth of our humanity and steers us away from a fragmented way of being.

What is Nakem and Soul-Consciousness?

*Nakem* is an indigenous Ilokano word that has a myriad of meanings depending on how one uses it. Loosely, it can be translated as habit, manners, or feelings. However, in the context of this pedagogical project I define it as soul-consciousness. I do not intend to enter into a religious, philosophical, or metaphysical discourse on the nature and substance of the soul, rather I will use, in part, the definition that Rachel Kessler uses for soul in her work in education:

> I use the word soul...to call for attention in schools to inner life; to the depth dimension of human experience; to students’ longings for something more than an ordinary, material, and fragmented existence (Kesserler 2000, x)

I add to Rachel Kessler’s (2000) definition of soul and include in the “depth dimension of human experience” a call for the use of one’s stories as rooted through the body, routed through genealogical ancestry and always tied to the land that one was born in and/or currently calls home. The soul in the indigenous Ilokano sense is the knowledge that consciously and unconsciously animates and mitigates our understanding of our selves and the world. The Ilokano language scholar, Aurelio Agcaoili (2012), in his Ilokano dictionary defines *nakem* five different ways:

- **nakem** (1) 1. A critical consciousness 2. a moral standard among Ilokanos 3. the measure of one’s person 4. the core of one’s being

nakem (3) 1. free will 2. will 3. determination 4. a divine plan

nakem (4) 1. an idea 2. a thought 3. a reflection 4. an opinion 5. a point of view 6. a belief

nakem (5) 1. prudence 2. the quality of having a sound judgment 3. the quality of having discretion 4. the quality of being reasonable 5. the quality of having maturity in evaluating things 6. the quality of having discretion.

Indeed, nakem is all of the above and more. To use our nakem, soul-consciousness, means that we summon the totality of our being, including summoning not only our personal and immediate experiences but also our ancestors’ experiences—for our measure, core, wisdom, knowledge, and various qualities of our being are always rooted in our ancestral genealogy. To use nakem in our pedagogy is to bring into the process of education this “critical consciousness” that is informed by our ontology, epistemology, and cosmology.

Social Biography: We are the Stories we tell

I grew up in constant movement between temporary homes. People going back and forth constantly searching for that elusive dream, hoping one day life will be kind. I was born on the base of a mountain overlooking the dry and parched earth of the Ilocos. My first memory was riding on the back of a water buffalo while my grandfather, with his slick bolo knife and thick straw hat, would make our way deep into the Ilocos valleys. I remember the strength of the water buffalo carrying us with a certain ease, stopping when tired, drinking when thirsty, and leaving deep muddy hoof prints, as if to mark where we had come from.

My parents moved to Manila when I was one year old. No mountains or water buffalos; instead, train tracks and skyscrapers. We did not ride on them or go in them. Poverty does not allow you to touch—only see—at the most. Despite growing up thirty feet away from the train tracks, to this day, I have never ridden a train. We ended up as squatters in Manila. My father banked on the promise that the Philippine government would grant him land for serving in the Philippine military—and he is still waiting. He was deployed to the war zones in Mindanao, and my mother would make her way back to the Ilocos. My father was not present when my sister was born, which was also the case when I was born.

And so, we went back to where the mountains embraced me. As soon as my baby sister could walk, we moved back to that home along the railroad. My mother, after coming up with ways to make a peso or two by selling vegetables and ice water would soon come to the difficult decision of migrating to Hawai’i. The dollar was more handsome to her than the peso. She said there were diamonds to be found in Hawai’i. So, she packed her bags, told my father to wait for our visas, and once they came, then we would be together with her again.

After a year of absence a six-year-old boy cannot tell the difference between one or two or four years of not seeing his mother. Absence is also absence of time. My mother came back waving the visas for my sister and me, but not for my father. He will have to wait.

My mother brought us to Hawai’i, but she found two jobs would not make enough diamonds to hire a babysitter, so she sent us back to the Philippines. My father was happy. My mother sent money to us while my young, retired military father assumed all the duties of a single parent.

In time, my mother returned with a visa for my father and soon after, all of us—father, mother, sister, and I would make that long trip to Hawai’i, America. But I learned that being together means something different in America than in the Philippines—it means you live near each other while never having to be with each other. My father would match my mother one job for another—four jobs together—and when my sister and I start working it would be six jobs altogether. Fast forward to today.

My sister graduated from college and is now living in Seattle. I, on the other hand, keep graduating from college. My father is retired. My mother will soon follow him into retirement, but for now she is still working—although only at one-and-a-half jobs. Happily-ever-after? Is this the “American Dream?”

When I look back at this painful journey, I realize now that I am not the only one with this story, and that many other immigrants have similar experiences. Throughout my formal schooling, I never talked about this experience;
perhaps because I was too busy learning about experiences other than my own. When I was in college I tried hard to forget about the coarse experiences of poverty and feeling ashamed of my working class roots, and, for a long time, I even denied that I was born in the Philippines. I never mentioned what jobs my mother and father had. I did not invite my friends to our cramped one-bedroom place. I lied about everything, especially about myself. And now I realize I could not tell this story about my experience and myself because, in reality, I was embarrassed by my story. I thought that it would be heard in a condescending way, or not heard at all. However, the truth is I did not understand myself, or view my life in context. I did not have a frame to understand my story and the complexity of my experience. I did not understand my story. I did not know I had a story. However, the more I tell my story the more I begin to understand myself. Stories are not just stories; they are more than a retelling of events, more than merely anecdotes. When stories are entwined with other stories and strung together, they make up narratives that shape and give meaning to our lives—past and present. In short, my/our lives become meaningful when we speak and begin to give an account of events. Yet, I/we have not been given many chances to tell stories that speak to our experiences. I realize now that I have been labeled many adjectives in many kinds of stories: person of color, working class, (im)migrant, poor, squatter. Depending on the story, its time, and its place I am named: subaltern, third world, cyborg, oppressed, marginalized, subjugated, colonized, and slave.

Different names, similar experiences, often pathologized as “the problem” in need of being saved by a purportedly purer unsoiled self and always being written about and objectified. When do I/we get to tell my/our stories? What is the meaning of my/our stories? How do I/we find out the “truth” about my/our stories? And what stories do I/we tell about myself/ourselves when we do not know my/our stories? How do I/we tell a story affirmative of who we are and who we are not? Where do I/we begin?

My educational methodology is premised on the idea that epistemologically, ontologically, theologically, and pedagogically, stories matter. In an effort to illuminate and draw out the significance of these four dimensions I turn to the concept of social biography. Social biography is the theoretical frame in which I view stories. The concept of social biography has evolved throughout my experience working in various educational spaces.

Whereas the tradition of western academic research begins with the written text (books, journal articles, etc.), social biography begins with our lives, our bodies, our traumas, our hopes and fears—our lived experiences. This is not to strip away the power of the written text, rather we should give our lived experiences an equal seat at the table of knowledge and wisdom—our world must sit next to the word. To use our lived experiences means we make visible, through our (embodied) stories, what we see and feel—in addition to what we read.

The following section is a re-tracing of my work in both grassroots education and formal education in the university that led to my articulation of social biography.

Represent to Witness and Critical Faith
I came to the concept of Social Biography during a period of study in a seminary in Berkeley, California through my involvement in a youth leadership program called Represent to Witness (R2W) run by a popular educator and student of the late Paulo Freire, Michael James. R2W is an organization dedicated to youth leadership development among Asian and Pacific Islander (API), Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer (LGBTQ), indigenous, and working class youth. The youth leadership program was made up of young people of color from all over the United States—mainly from Hawai’i, Texas, California, New York, and Washington State.

For about two and a half years, I was immersed in a transformative way of learning and teaching that engaged both body and soul. By nature of being housed in a seminary, Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, the spiritual milieu of the place and the faith traditions of the youth and leaders brought out a constant engagement with the participants’ faith/spiritual/wisdom traditions. Michael James developed a methodology called Critical Faith, an incorporation of liberation pedagogy and popular education with faith-based traditions—particularly Christian liberation theologies.

Discussions of faith were situated in issues such as race, class, gender, sexuality, and language and always in the context of colonization and imperialism. Here, the use of social biography, as an element of critical faith methodology, challenged assumed “truths” that participants held deeply. The sharing and witnessing of each other’s social biography...
described and exposed underlying colonial potencies that shaped the participants' lives. Under these conditions, stories become an apparatus for social critique. I came to see, for the first time, the use of faith traditions as a form of emancipation and decolonization, and I learned, for the first time, the use of stories, both personal and collective, as a vehicle for social change.

Rise Up! Roots of Liberation

After returning to Hawai‘i from the seminary in Berkeley, I was hired by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) Hawai‘i Program Committee (currently known as Hawai‘i, Peace and Justice: NāPua Ho‘āla i ka Pono—“The flowers/youth rising in peace and justice”) to run a youth program, Rise Up! Roots of Liberation, mainly composed of Filipino, Japanese, and Native Hawaiian youth. Here, I was able to develop what I learned through R2W and localize the curriculum and pedagogy that was used in Berkeley. With the majority of students coming from Native Hawaiian charter schools, the curriculum and pedagogy I used from R2W was indigenized to incorporate indigenous epistemologies and worldviews. While Michael James’ educational team comprised artists and educators coming from faith-based traditions, the team that I worked with in Rise Up! comprised civil and indigenous rights activists who were steeped in the movement for a demilitarization of the Hawaiian Islands. Some were union organizers, some were women’s rights advocates, and others were part of the Protect Kahoolawe ‘Ohana (PKO). Being around people who represented complex political orientations gave me an understanding of the multi-faceted issues that face Hawai‘i. The pedagogy for this particular program was infused with activist and more overt political orientations. Through this experience I took away a profound understanding of how much the ‘āina (that which feeds) is a source of knowledge and the impact it has on indigenous way of relationality.

(Un)bounded Classrooms

After doing popular education among youth in the Bay Area and Hawai‘i, I was hired to teach in the Ilokano Language Program at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa (UHM) during my graduate program in Asian studies. There, I began to teach in a more formal classroom setting and all the formalities took over me.

The syllabus was functioning like a contract. If it is not written down, it does not have to be followed. Short, compact, linear, and repetitive learning governs the classroom. Make sure your grading is clear. No talk of spirit. No mention of God or the sacred. The professor knows best. She is the teacher that teaches. Students sit and listen. It is all about the grades! Extra credit, yes please! Happy students equals good evaluations. No complaints, no lawsuits. Semester done. Repeat.

All lectures point to what will be on the test and students meticulously write every word, verbatim. Stories, whenever I use them, are viewed with ambivalence: “Will it be on the test?” is the enduring question I am asked. Educational institutions shape the ethos of the classroom. The seats are lined up in straight rows and columns, facing the chalkboard, where the teacher will pontificate. Bodies, too, are structured—students face forward, their backs are the only visible thing to each other, all the while the teacher sees all the faces—in one policing glance and panoptical posture.

The architecture of the classroom is built so the teacher and student do not see each other in a meaningful relationality—a pedagogy of apartheid: teacher/student, head/soul, theory/experience—binaries, boundaries, and borders shape the knowledge and relationship (re)produced in the classroom. Why (and how) is education a form of degradation? Under what condition does it destroy our curiosity for learning—for each other?

My soul was shrinking, and I strongly believed the souls of my students were shrinking as well. In an effort to recapture what I gained from (or what I saw transpire in) my Berkeley and AFSC experience working with youth, I decided to undo the boundaries of the classroom and the formalized syllabus. I turned to social biography and made stories central. I restructured the classroom so that it would revolve around the stories of the students—stories of their homes, parents, peoples. We then told stories in their homes, with their parents, in front of their peoples. In telling their stories, the students cried, laughed, got angry and scared, and became frustrated. However, I began to see that the students who initially complained about attending a once-a-week and two-and-a-half-hour class would stay for a couple more hours to talk-story and reflect on the meaning of what they had learned, after class—a kind of class after class phenomena. This noticeable shift from one of detachment.
to a search for interconnectedness and yearning for a deeper meaning-making is what I call **nakem**—soul consciousness. In essence, the stories catalyzed **nakem** and Nakem Pedagogy was born.

**Flipping the Script on the Text**

At the time of this writing, budget cuts, standardized curricula, and testing based on common core standards are becoming the dominant practices of educational institutions. State-sponsored curriculum and textbooks are the students’ primary instruments for learning in the K–12 educational arena. In higher education, though there are not any state-sponsored curricula, there are “cannons” or “classics” that are hailed and given a performative function with similar hegemonic scope. These texts are the primary instrument, codified in the holy syllabus and programitized in the sacred (or profane) curriculum. The answers to the test point toward the textbook. Because the “answer” is in the textbook, it creates a dangerous equivocation that the source of knowledge is found only in the textbook. Textbooks become an entrapment of learning and teaching—limiting the epistemological possibilities of understanding knowledge and the reality perceived.

We need to reimagine textbooks in multiple ways and make them more significant to students’ lives. When textbooks are reimagined, they can become a source of emancipation for learners. If we imagine textbooks simply as containers of knowledge, bounded in a single space, read and recited, though not necessarily in printed form, then it is possible for us to see the soul as a textbook. Our soul carries in itself stories of ourselves and stories of how we perceive the world. These stories illuminate our experiences and inform and instruct us in navigating the world—these stories are also the basis of knowledge. Our stories as (unwritten) text, bound together by our soul, become a textbook.

**Nakem** pedagogy represents the belief that the primary textbook that ought to be used in class is our soul. When we conceive of the maxim “everything we need to know, we already know, but we just do not know it yet” as true, then all the (written) text in the traditional textbooks becomes equal to the text (story) embedded in our souls. It is not to say that the written word (books, articles, and scholarly materials) is valued less, rather the written words becomes deeper when they are situated in the lived experiences and immediate context of the world of the student/learner. Only when there is a dialogical relationship between the written text and the text of the soul can a liberative and emancipatory education happen.

**Nakem** pedagogy seeks to bring out, through our stories, the textuality of our soul—allowing us to engage the pages of our life and read the story that we carry in our soul. A pedagogy of soul consciousness makes the reading of the story embedded in our bodies the central concern in education. The stories that reside in the soul, intersected and interwoven, become the foundation of a literacy/understanding of the soul.

When we can begin to learn through telling our own story and hearing the stories of others’ past and present experiences, we can re-signify those stories that have shaped and molded us into who we did not want to be and transform these stories in such a way that affirms who we want to become. Or rather, we can re-write and flip the script of the stories that have forced our souls to recite and inherit the story of the oppressors. In other words, we do not allow our stories to be a source of oppression, and instead we make our stories become a source of emancipation.

**Nakem Pedagogy as Decolonizing Education**

Our souls shrink in colonial classrooms. Isolated, alone, and partitioned-off from each other, our souls shrink when the four walls of the classroom do not allow us to speak to and hear each other. Our souls have the capacity to knock down or speak back to the four walls of the classroom, asking them their secrets and insights, but only if we are able to reimagine what the walls can be for the community of learners.

Here, I use walls in two different ways. In one sense, walls can function as artificial boundaries that separate us from communities, our environments, our connectedness, and our ability to seek knowledge that can nurture life. In this sense, walls become those barriers that box us in from the larger world and at the same time isolate us and keep us apart from each other. These walls limit our understanding of ourselves while perpetuating and promoting “knowledge” from a singular space, separating the academic from the personal, theory from experience, spiritual from secular, and anecdotal from empirical. The walls in this narrow definition become a fatalistic limitation.
In another sense, the four walls of the classroom can be imagined as the dynamic environment we live in—society at large. Walls in this sense represent the expanded boundaries of how far we can go and possibilities of the space we can transcend. Walls become the liminal space where we can discern where we are and where we want to go.

This dialogical relationship between our soul and the four walls can only take place when we can imagine the walls to be a container for learning and not a prison for domesticating the community of learners. Thus, walls ought to be always moving—inclusive and expansive but always a place in which the soul and the process of education make the self educable. The walls must be re-imagined as our home, the streets, the land and the ocean, popular culture, the near and far, the now and then. Walls, in a liberatory sense, are seen as an invitation to transgress one’s immediate limitations—a liminal space of possibility.

Here, nakem pedagogy, or a pedagogy of soul-consciousness, can articulate and make audible the wounds that our bodies carry that are often hidden or suppressed in the classroom space. It can give insight to our experiences within colonial structures and show how our souls can be transformed. In addition, nakem pedagogy introduces and encourages the indigeneity of the students, enabling it to become manifest in the classroom and thereby influencing the direction of the curriculum in emancipatory ways.

Because we become the stories that we tell, it matters what story we tell about ourselves. If we harbor stories that always see ourselves in pathological ways—in terms of “lazy,” “uneducated,” “savage,” “slave,” and “colonized”—then our souls essentially become lazy, uneducated, savage, slave, and colonized. Stories have the power to write, mark, cut, sever, and fragment our soul. Stories empowered by social biography help us to see that our souls are written (often by others) and offer a vehicle to re-write, flip, reclaim, decolonize, the colonial experiences that we have inherited and have kept us socially fragmented and separated from each other. Stories framed through the methods of social biography have two interwoven capacities—one that allows us to expose the depth of the soul wound, and another that allows us to rewrite the stories that have placed limits on our selves.

In order for our souls to become mended (as oppose to fragmented), and our stories to become a source of emancipatory wisdom, we need to understand the forces that have shaped our souls into exilic silence and schizophrenic identity. How do we begin to see how our souls have gone through potent, traumatic, social, and political forces that have adversely affected the way we learn, understand ourselves, and construe the world we live in?

These forces are none other than the brutal encounter of colonization and the continued hegemonic instruments (vis-à-vis educational systems—schooling) that serves to sustain a colonized and fragmented self. Because schooling has largely been one of the primary tools of colonization, the classroom has been a site that has reinforced and privileged colonial values and narratives of domination and subordination. As a result, students are indoctrinated by the curriculum into a condition of assimilation and an inherited ontology of absence and fragmentation.

The ideas of soul, self, and ontology, though different and distinct, are inseparable and interrelated. I cannot see a fragmented self with a whole soul and ontology. Neither do I see a fragmented ontology that can result in a non-fragmented self and soul. Furthermore, a malnourished soul is a result of a fragmented self and ontology. Because all three are inseparable, I use all three interchangeably.

In my experience of teaching classes in Philippine popular culture, Philippine literature, community and culture in education, and Philippine cultural mapping in Hawai‘i at the university as well as conducting popular education in various communities in Hawai‘i and California, many of my students, when asked to speak about why their parents or grandparents moved to Hawai‘i and the United States (majority of my students are between first and third generation), will reiterate the institutionalized myth of the material promise of the American Dream. They consistently make reference to the Philippines as a place of suffering and backwardness, and a place that one should leave in order to live a better life. In their view, America is where dreams come true and the Philippines is where nightmares are born. In fairness, they do not have the tools to recognize their colonial pedagogical inculcation. What forces shape or give credence to this recurring imagery of America and the Philippines? How can nakem pedagogy challenge and disrupt this perennial view?

Given their entrenched beliefs, I situate nakem pedagogy and the current educational milieu in a neo-postcolonial context. That is, I teach that we are living in a reality that has to a certain extent shed the formality
of colonialism and slipped into a more sophisticated
arena of psychic and somatic enslavement and linguistic
manipulation—colonial relationships have moved from
feudalism to capitalism, master/slave to producer/consumer,
and imperialism to globalization.

Students and teachers who want to teach and learn with
a liberatory trajectory must be aware of the reality that has
shaped their traumas and experiences, both individual and
collective, and challenge spaces that perpetuate and sustain
its violent existence. In doing so, we will be able to name
structures, systems, and narratives that are sustaining our
fragmented souls and identities. In turn, we will be able to
remember or at least conceive of a past for/of our self/soul
that was not colonized. Consequently, we will gain hope for
an ontology that is not constructed on the ideals of a colonial
imagination. In the final analysis, a soul-consciousness
pedagogy will have profoundly re-oriented education as a
practice of self-becoming and a reclamation and realization
of ones historical selfhood. Nakem pedagogy in its visions
of a liberatory education pushes the pedagogical boundaries
outwards to take account of the use of stories and our
soul-consciousness.

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Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
This essay describes my collaboration with a community-based organization of women serving a predominantly, but not exclusively, immigrant and diasporic Filipino community in the county of Hawai’i to co-create an education project. It offers an analysis of two seemingly divergent communities and their presumably distinct practices and linguistic registers: social foundations expertise and the production of academic knowledge and practitioner expertise and community base organizing. With a focus on the processes, challenges, and risks of this collaboration, I show the formation of an experimental community in which a group of women with different professional backgrounds, skills, interests, and political outlooks came together to create an actionable project: a community education conference that addresses a pressing community issue and discuss the social knowledge that unfolded as a result.

There are two aims of this essay. The first is to illustrate how theoretic-practice is enacted in a space that is deemed “non-academic.” The second is to bring that non-academic space of learning into the network of pedagogical discursive practices. I do this to encourage a broader view of education. This broader view proceeds from the belief that education cannot be confined to what happens in schools and classrooms but is a situated human activity embedded in everyday social life (Levinson et al. 2000, 5).

The ideas for conceptualizing the collaborative effort draw primarily on the conceptual work of philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy (1991) on community, Lauren Berlant and Lee Edelman (2014) on relationality, and the late social theorist Gillian Rose (1997) on feminist research. The essay begins with a consideration of formulations on the problem of community and a discussion of feminist praxis. Next, I elaborate on the two face-to-face meetings that were held in December 2012 and February 2013 and the community education conference that took place in March 2013. I end with an evaluation of our collaboration and its transformative effects.

Community
The notion of an experimental community is not simply a fixed location or place but a site of relations characterized by temporal and spatial dimensions of association. The temporal draws attention to duration, as in the gathering of groups or individuals that come together for a period of time for collaboration on a specific situation, and intensity, as in the set of social exchanges and psychic incoherences that arise in sites invested with hopes, desires, and expectations (see Berlant and Edelman 2014). The spatial dimension draws attention to the distribution of relations as, for example, relations of proximity-in-distance, connecting, separating, appearing and disappearing, and being with one another; but never a relation of appropriation or fusion (Nancy 1991; McMahon 2011). In other words, it captures how we experience our connectedness, or lack thereof, to each other. Apart from its distinctly corporeal dimension of space, there is an implicit political dimension, too. An experimental community sharpens our ability to envision a collectivity that is not based on hierarchical relations or that collapses multiple kinds of differences for the sake of harmony or in the name of a communal identity.

Attending and negotiating the spacing of relations is a key dimension in this formulation of community, for it interferes with the drive toward a static form of social unity or enforced consensus. In other words, community is formulated as something other than containing, integrating, managing, or absorbing the innumerable particularities through and within which individuals are constituted. This formulation of community is hospitable to the porous boundaries and uncontrollable seepage of its members’ experiences and what is inevitably unleashed when human
lives come together in association. It differs from John Dewey’s (1927) formulation of community inasmuch as it reticulates what are deemed “negative” forces such as discord, disagreement, and dissention as productive forces integral to human association and to the enactment of community. The themes of social cooperation, rational procedures of problem solving, and integration of all human lives into a self-organizing community that are the substratum of Dewey’s (via Hegel) formulation of community and his notion of democracy, contrasts with Nancy’s (via Heidegger) formulation for which “community” is not obliged to have communion, totality, or complete immanence.

Basualdo and Laddaga (2009) describe the characteristics of experimental communities as “durable associations of individuals who explore anomalous forms of being together while addressing a problem in a certain locality” (199). Community is not conceptualized as a fixed communion or collectivity based on identitarian politics, but is enacted through what Nancy calls “contingent modalities of spacing” (as cited in Hinderliter et al. 2009, 15).

Significantly, it is expressed as “a form of relation” rather than as “a form of totality” or a collection of “identified selves” (14). Because the concept of spacing introduces aspects of seepage, interruption, and disjunction, community becomes the enactment of dislocations (14). By this I mean that experiences that take the form of feeling unhinged from ourselves, or estranged, or overwhelmed are not seen as problems to manage or overcome but are part of the risk, excitement, and possibility we confront with each other when in community.

The permeability of national borders and the variety of migration patterns make this a particularly powerful and productive way of conceptualizing community that can account for movement related to the complexity of human experiences. At the same time, because this conceptualization of community is cast in temporal and spatial terms, it has the potential to be responsive to those many instances when border-making crossed over members of preexisting polities, such as the case of Hawai’i (Sai 2011). Though Basualdo’s and Laddaga’s examples come from contemporary art practices in aesthetics, I am drawn to the concept of experimental community primarily because it extends the repertoire of community making and opens up new genres of experience. It extends how we might think about what a community can become and the kinds of engagements it might enable. Community is a site of relation and enactment. Community is not based simply on identity or locality.

An experimental community also allows for the “redistribution of positions and of roles in the site in which it takes place” (Basualdo and Laddaga 2009, 206). The spacing of relations can sensitize us to pedagogical possibilities and processes of learning that are reciprocal and relational. We do not have to submit to the longstanding cultural habit of banking or to the institutional forms of hierarchical ordering. Finally, the appeal may have to do with my own hybrid (Bhabha and Camaroff, 2002) positionality and a long intellectual preoccupation with discerning the shifting socio-historical practices related to racial subjection (Tavares 2008, 2009, 2011).

Working with visual archives, particularly photographs, was largely motivated by a concern to articulate the complicatedness of identity formations and in some sense validate the messy, contingent, historical, and contemporary strains upon its making against purist and essentialist accounts (Butler 1993; Collins 1991; Gilroy 1993, 2005). It is becoming clear to me that there is a peculiar temporality to identity, whether pinned on to individuals by institutions (USA racial categories not only change but are assumed to be mutually exclusive) or self-selected by the individual herself (self-identification tends to underestimate the fundamental disunity of the self and its constitution by and through processes which are only partially accessible) (Alcoff 2002).

**Feminist Praxis**

Like many feminist scholars, I too desire to have the activities I perform and the work I produce understood as feminist work. However, doing “feminist” work is neither a self-evident nor transparent activity. Donna Haraway (1991) and Sandra Harding (1991) have argued that all knowledge is situated, produced in specific conditions and circumstances. Their argument applies to the production of feminist knowledges, which make no claims to have universal meaning and applicability to all things and contexts. They treat the knowledge produced and the knowledge studied as specific, partial, and open to different translations, routes of circulation, and political investment. To this I would add, knowledge is always imperfect and without teleological
certainty (see Walker 2011, 263). Such views contrast with the production of knowledge that legislates itself under the sign of the universal, that is to say, disembodied, unattached, value-free, and ahistorical. The aim to “situate academic knowledge reflexively” as Rose (1997) put it, “is to produce non-overgeneralizing knowledges that learn from other kinds of knowledges, and that remains the crucial goal” [emphasis mine] (315).

To think and act along these lines is to recognize the productive power of academic knowledge, as, for example, the way academic knowledge produces its objects of study and legitimizes a particular perspective. To put it in terms of schooling contexts, think about how youth, students, families, and communities in many research studies are often “conscripted into pathological identities by labeling” (Shields, Bishop, and Mazawi 2005, 9) and categorization a priori. This is what scholars in the interpretive social sciences identify as the “discursive and organizational arrangements” embedded in the work of institutions of knowledge production (Mehan 2000). As one feminist scholar put it, “there are real dangers that are inherent in our position within the powerful institutions of knowledge production” (McDowell 1992, 413). I share these critiques that argue knowledge is partial, situated, and embodied and that academic knowledge in particular is productive of social realities and the challenges that they presented for both understanding my relationship to the women of Ating Bahay and for conceptualizing the work that we did together.

Background Context

I was introduced to the members of Ating Bahay through e-mail in mid-November, 2012. Prior to this introduction, I had heard about the work of the group from one of its board members who had a position funded through a federal Violence Against Women grant. Ating Bahay, translated by its members as “Our House,” is a community-based organization of women professionals and para-professionals in the fields of social work, health care, immigration and law, sex assault and domestic violence, and economic opportunity development in Hawai’i county. The individuals came together to find a community and culturally appropriate response to a tragic domestic violence incident that resulted in the death of a Filipino woman in May 2010. Immediately after the incident the group of women began a series of monthly meetings at a small Filipino bakeshop near the scene of the incident that culminated in their planning of culturally relevant community-based responses to the social trauma of domestic violence. Before I was contacted, Ating Bahay had organized numerous community education events in Hilo that included coordinating an open forum “Building the Filipino Response to Domestic Violence” that was held in February 2011 for community members to identify concerns and resources and to build alliances. They had also organized a conference on Filipino Domestic Violence in October 2011 as well as a number of other events.

Ating Bahay had heard about my interdisciplinary research project on the use of family photographs and photographic albums through one of its members, Lydia. The project I was working on was spurred by an interest in the role of visual images in shaping modernity’s common sense about social difference. This interest had several threads, one was related to the iconic photographs of different ethnic groups in Hawai’i that were featured in the book Temperament and Race and in the images that circulated of “Filipinos” for the 1904 World’s Fair in St. Louis, Missouri. Another had to do with work of contemporary artists and scholars who were using images in a variety of ways to call into question that heritage. In what ways do images, particularly photographic images, play a role in shaping modernity’s common sense about multiple human differences? Could they tell us something about power relations? More specifically, do they say something about the production, circulation, and consumption of racial discourses and cultural dichotomies and stereotypes of the people who were pictured in the photographs? My preoccupation with visual archives and image-making, particularly photographic images and their pedagogic potential for understanding the influence of modernity on the present became the basis for a graduate seminar course that I began teaching in the fall 2012 semester in the Department of Educational Foundations.

Our first correspondence was through e-mail. The members wanted to build and extend on their previous outreach work that brought a culturally relevant and community response to domestic violence. I was invited to participate in the framing of the group’s conference. They had decided to frame the conference on the theme of historical trauma. Subsequent correspondence focused primarily on setting the day and place for our first face-to-face meeting in Hilo.
Feeling Vulnerable

I flew to Hilo to meet the members of *Ating Bahay* and to share the work I was doing with family photographs. What was unique about our association from the very beginning was the nature of our collaborative relation. First, our relationship didn’t carry the meaning of “partnerships” promoted as an educational reform strategy between universities and communities and between researchers and practitioners’ interests. I was not approaching the community organization with a set research agenda; rather, they had contacted me through one of their board members to assist in framing a community education conference that was in its planning stages. Secondly, the members expressed interest in my project and wanted to learn more about it. There was mutual interest and desire to relate to the space of each other’s work and co-create an actionable pedagogic project. Finally, I came to this meeting thinking that the contemporary social theories and philosophies that had invigorated my thinking along with the technical skills that I had attained over the years could have very practical implications in other spaces and could be responsive to the educational and pedagogic needs of different publics.

We met early on a bright and sunny Saturday morning on December 15. I remember pulling into the parking area with Lydia and being overtaken by a sensation of vulnerability. How would the group receive me? What will my body signify to them? It could be said I experienced particular relations of social power. The hierarchical spacing of relations manifested in institutional and discursive networks that separates the academic and non-academic, the formal from the informal, the university from the community, and the insider from the outsider. Welcoming each other we settled at a large table outside of the immigration office—in retrospect, a fitting place. The women had brought baked foods from the Filipino bakery that served as their meeting place over the years. One of the members made an announcement about a referral for a woman with four children to a women’s shelter. This is some of the work the group did.

We began with introductions. I listened as each member shared their social backgrounds, professional and/or activist work, interests and skills, and visions for change in their community. The women are a bold and diverse group ranging in age, experience, activism, and political outlook. All but one was of Filipino ethnicity. As we struggled to articulate our ideas it was very clear that they were not a homogeneous group, representative of all women or spokespersons for all Filipina. I was reminded of Gwendolyn Parker’s profoundly insightful book *Trespassing*, which had a passage that described the Harvard-Radcliffe black community in 1969 during student demonstrations. It’s a beautifully written reflection on the limitations of her picture of “blackness.” As Parker writes,

As I listened and looked around me, I found it hard to hold in mind that we were a singular anything. People began their sentences with ‘We this’ and ‘We that,’ speaking of the need for unity, while the participants, it seemed to me, kept dissolving into their constituent parts. There were tweed jackets and flack jackets. Gold wire-rimmed glasses and dark shades. Jeans and tailored pants. Some people took the microphone and spoke as if they were only days from becoming a professor. Others were already politicians, fiery, and pithy, peppering their speech with phrases that sang. Some slouched against the wall as they spoke, keeping their dark glasses on, punching the air with their fists. Others accused and assailed. That we looked like a cornucopia of all the world’s people, in a blizzard of shades and tones, didn’t surprise me. I was accustomed to that. But the fact that there was almost no single experience that could be said to represent everyone’s was surprising indeed (1997, 105).

In the next paragraph Parker observes, “I realized that I had no up-to-date picture of ‘blackness,’ not one that could stretch to take in this whole gathering” (105). Parker’s experience of encountering her self in relation to her community discloses what Barbara Johnson (1987) so meaningfully calls “the surprise of otherness,” and Lauren Berlant and Lee Edelman (2014) describe as “a nest of differences” about any encounter. I, too, experienced the multiplicity and historicity of our encounter alluded to by Parker as each of us hesitated, laughed, tried to clarify, got stuck, and struggled to share our views and articulate our particularity in relation to our collective purpose for coming together.

As I began to share with the group the work I was doing with family photographs, I became self-conscious of the academic tone in my voice and words and what seemed like difficult ideas and concepts for thinking about the genre of family pictures and the method of “memory work” (Kuhn
In this non-academic space “difficult knowledge” seemed too much, yet in an academic setting it would have felt not enough. Similar to the experience described by Parker, the differential spacing of our social relations and social embeddedness asserted itself. As Berlant and Edelman put it, “Being in relation invariably involves the animation of distance and closeness; in that sense even direct address can be felt as indirect and acknowledgement can seem like misrecognition” (2014, xi). This is the messy, even confusing, work of translation and negotiation that occurs when human lives are engaged in dialogue.

Themes eventually emerged from my work that had connections to their work. Our discussion streams led to us thinking about Filipino immigrant and diasporic histories, cultural memory, patriarchal institutions, social trauma, and resilience. We focused on the conference theme, purpose, program, audience, and intended outcome. These are big topics and can be time consuming to pin down, but through sustained exchange we were able to consummate our ideas around these topics. Two purposes related to the theme of the conference were settled: create new narratives and highlight resilience. Future tasks and a division of labor were established. I volunteered to provide research literature syntheses on the topic of historical trauma that would become part of the conference program. I was also asked and respectfully accepted the invitation to present my work at the conference.

Mapping Knowledge
Two months later, on February 2, 2013, I went back to Hilo. We met at the same place. At this meeting we shared the results of our specific tasks and worked at connecting them to the purpose of the conference. The scholarly research on historical trauma draws from ethnic minority psychology, social work, and mental health. Within educational studies there is a rich body of research that draws from psychoanalytics. Because the members of the group were most drawn to the literature that focused on micro-aggressions, healing, and resilience, I emphasized these aspects of the literature. This was not a random decision; it was based on respecting the conceptual work they had done prior to me coming on board.

Two of us brought articles that were relevant to the theme and we spent a good amount of time discussing whether any of them should be included in the conference folders. The articles were organized around frames of interrupting, what I call “regime-made traumatic experiences;” that is, traumatic experiences produced by democratic regimes (like nuclear weapons testing, illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, racist laws of exclusion). Three in particular dealt with the Pacific context and nuclear weapons testing. All the members of the group agreed that the articles should be included, a decision that illustrated their desire to provide a forum that might speak to the structural resonances between regime-made trauma and broader community issues. We discussed in detail what the program would look like.

While there are significant differences in feminist epistemologies and no “coherent metanarrative” on the production of knowledge (Lemesianou and Grinberg 2006, 217), what is significant about this rich archive is the view that “all knowledge is situated” (Haraway 1991; Harding 1991). As a result, different spatial contexts and voices have been legitimated from which questions can emerge, knowledge can be generated, and reality can be transformed. Following from this, the members of the group began to envision how their translations and applications of historical trauma would take form. With varying degrees of political consciousness, their strategy was to enact the idea of “memory work” a concept that Annette Kuhn works through in her beautifully written book on family photographs.

Sensible Pedagogy
I arrived at the Aupuni Center Conference Room on March 21. I could sense what Jacques Rancière calls “the distribution of the sensible,” the notion that aesthetic techniques can extend our narrow spatial and temporal notions of public life and politics. Each member of the group had brought a family photograph that had been blown up to the size of a poster, and they had hung them around the conference room. The visual effect was powerful, an “affectual address” that drew conference participants in.

The number of conference participants was about thirty and comprised county officials, community leaders, and students and teachers from the college and university. The morning session began with addresses welcoming county officials and thanking supporters of the conference followed by opening remarks by a member of the group and then by the county prosecuting attorney. An overview of data and
systems response to domestic violence was presented, followed by the presentation on historical trauma.

The morning session ended with a powerful live performance, “Blanket of Shame,” that dealt with the silences around intimate partner violence, performed by the members of Ating Bahay and some of the conference participants. Live performance, as the stage actor Geoff Moore put it, “offers something different. Another kind of attention. ... You are required to be part of a social transaction. Your humanity is called upon. You have to be “there” with others” (as cited in Dixon 2007). After a short break, it was my turn to deliver the keynote address, Memory Work and Historical Trauma, that segued to each of the members of Ating Bahay sharing their images through memory work. The afternoon session provided historical perspectives on Philippine colonization and Hawai‘i plantation violence by two community leaders and an open discussion on why the conference theme mattered for community.

There was critical engagement from the conference participants. Several perspectives stand out. A transgender participant told her story about intimate partner violence and in doing so raised the issue of the hetero-normative assumptions that frame domestic violence discourse. An East-African woman now living in the county of Hawai‘i talked about her experience growing up in her prior home and how those experiences had resonances with many of the issues related to the theme of the conference. The transnational connections she made to her prior home with postcolonial Hawai‘i illustrates what could be called entanglement, of living in a place and remembering/desiring another, which is common to diaspora cultures. A small group of students from the college were captivated by the delivery of the topics and indicated they would like to have classes and teachers that would let them experiment with other genre forms of learning historical material. Their observation, in effect, was a not-so-subtle critique of the disembodied knowledge that forms so much of the modern heritage of the contemporary curriculum. After the participant discussion the conference closed with a Mirienda.

Risky Work

The analysis of my collaboration with Ating Bahay highlights what is characterized as an experimental community. Our collaborative planning made possible to organize a community education conference and to engage in dialogue and discussion held across different spaces and linguistic registers. It also enabled social relations to be formed and enhanced. It was risky inasmuch as the fruition of our collaborative work, in the form of an actionable project, arose from our exchanges with each other and the provocations of our ideas. These relations are never smooth and predictable. There are blockages, misunderstandings, shifts in perspectives, references that are often taken for granted, historical contexts that are never fully shared. Yet, such responses are not failures that need to be overcome or resolved. Rather, they were central to our engagement with each other. Berlant and Edelman view these kinds of exchanges, often construed as negative, as generative and indispensable to relationality. As they have put it, “conversation complicates the prestige of autonomy and the fiction of authorial sovereignty by introducing unpredictability of moving in relation to another” (2014, x).

But did the work we did and the frameworks we experimented with achieve transformative effects? There are small indications that it might have. After I returned to my campus I received an e-mail message from a volunteer in the Prosecuting Attorney Office requesting a copy of the power-point on historical trauma. It was nice being part of your presentation on Historical Trauma ... Is it possible to get a copy of your presentation via e-mail? I also look forward to future engagements and dialogue with you (Personal e-mail correspondence dated 3/21/2013).

Reflecting on the open discussion and reviewing some of the comments on the conference evaluations suggest something transformative might have happened. One conference attendee wrote to the question, “What information was most helpful or important to you?” Understanding the work “Historical Trauma, Memory [Work]” and the relation of our everyday events from the past and present. Yet I also believe that the question may be both too abstract and too simplistic insofar as it obscures the various forms through which subordinated persons resist the conditions of their “devaluation” (Berlant and Edelman 2014).

Ever since I heard about the work of Ating Bahay, I have thought deeply about the collaborative experience that the conference entailed, and I have struggled to find a way to conceptualize the complex pedagogic, social, affective, psychic, political, and educative dimensions of what transpired. In fact, this quandary became the topic of a pre-conference workshop for the 2014 American Educational Research
Association held in Philadelphia. This essay is my attempt to give that experience expression and to put in circulation their impressive community education work.

Epilogue

On January 21, 2014 a member of Ating Bahay contacted me through e-mail to collaborate on another conference that would build on the theme of historical trauma. Through e-mail we began to share ideas. On August 26, 2014 the group put the conference project on hold, we hope to resume our conversation and collaboration again in the near future. A copy of an earlier version of this paper was shared with the group.

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REFERENCES


ENDNOTES

1 Lydia is a pseudonym.

2 A regime-made traumatic experience is a concept fused together from Azoulay’s (2012) “regime-made disasters” and Regenspan’s (2014) “politically induced trauma.”
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