Bridging the "Pacific Divide": Sociocultural Factors that Influence
the Socialization Experiences of Filipino Immigrant Families
in San Francicso

by

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Abstract

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Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Lily Wong Fillmore, Chair

This study investigates significant factors that influence the manner in which Filipino immigrant parents socialize their children for successful membership in the primary sociocultural context of the home which can differ substantially from the context in which the family lives – American society. These factors include: (1) Ethnic Identity/Cultural Orientation; (2) Personal beliefs regarding Parental Roles/Family Relationships; (3) Parental descriptions of the "Modal Filipino Person"; (4) Language Option and Usage; and (5) Perceived Discrimination and "Colonial Mentality." 100 mothers with children who were enrolled in San Francisco public schools answered a 25-item survey. In-depth interviews were also conducted with selected parents to further explore the confluence of sociocultural factors and personal choices on this all-important parenting task. Findings from the survey and interview reveal that the socialization goals of many Filipino immigrant mothers in the San Francisco Bay Area are highly influenced by traditionally defined and culturally desired child-rearing practices. However, the findings also reveal problems faced by parents as they try to socialize their children according to their 'heritage culture' in the midst of pressures to acculturate and assimilate to a host society that espouses differing and opposing values. This plus their status as

former U.S. colonists, immigrant minorities, and people of color influence the degree to which they are able to remain faithful to traditional child-rearing goals and practices. Whereas some are able to succeed in socializing their children in traditional ways, many others often find themselves redefining their child-rearing notions, reconfiguring familial roles, and re-examining their expectations vis-à-vis their children's development of cultural identities, preservation of traditional values, and loss or maintenance of their native language. In light of these findings, it is important to realize that the family plays a key role in the overall acculturative experience of immigrant children. Therefore, educational, social, local, and national institutions from both the sending and receiving countries should support Filipino immigrant families as they help their children to become active designers of their 'social futures' and proactive members of a multicultural society that they now call their own -- successful in their efforts at becoming culturally adapted yet holding fast to their identities as uniquely Filipino American.

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Preface

It was while going over my son's memento book that I got the inspiration for this paper. I was rifling through old photos and other keepsakes, when I came across a letter that I had written to him a few weeks after he was born. In it I wrote:

> *Your grandmother, Lola Nida, was there to help us survive those first few weeks, which were very difficult indeed. I never appreciated her more than during those first few weeks and I realize that she has set a very good example -- one which I am compelled to follow, as I begin my own journey into motherhood.*
>
> *December, 1997*

I knew that my mother's thousand-mile journey to be by our side during those first few weeks, was not as much a conscious act as it was an intuitive one – borne out of the instinctual repertoire of behavior that is part and parcel of her cultural psyche as a Filipino woman and mother. Following the footsteps of her mother before her, she knew that she was still greatly responsible for helping me in my initial forays into the world of parenthood.

That is how it was in our society back then. That is still how it is for us today. For Filipinos like ourselves, family is forever. Writing this paper has given me many opportunities to reflect upon my own mothering and appreciate everything – those clear cut choices as well as the taken-for-granted views about how it is to rear children – that makes the experience so profound and so inspiring.

Many years away from the past and many miles away from home, I find that in so many ways, things have remained essentially the same for our own family. It's good to know that things haven't changed much, where they matter most.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my family.

This is for you Dad and Mom. I was blessed to have parents who lived their entire lives working in the service of teaching and helping children. It was because of your example that I learned, early on, to work untiringly for and give generously to those who are in need.

This is for you Ate Irene and Ate Ichie. I was blessed to have two sisters who never stopped supporting me in everything that I did. It was because of your nurturing that I learned to believe in my possibilities.

This is for you, Jake, Luigi, and Ines. I was blessed with three children who showed me the meaning of unconditional love. Blood of my blood, bone of my bone – it is because of you that I hope in the future.

This is for you, my dearest Benggoy. Indeed I was blessed to have you. You were with me, every step of the way. You gave me more than 100 percent of your time, your effort, your kindness, and your love. You sensed, in me, the longing to fulfill a dream even as it lay buried in the deep recesses of my heart. You made me see that endings aren't the most important part of the journey – but that passion, hard work, and a grand sense of adventure most often suffice to make the trip worth the taking.

+
Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my dissertation committee and faculty advisers – Professors Lily Wong Fillmore, Eugene Garcia, and Ling-chi Wang – for all the help and support that they gave me throughout my entire academic career at UC Berkeley. It was from their scholarly wisdom that I've learned to appreciate and develop my own intellectual inclinations as well as to widen my educational horizon.

I would particularly like to thank my dissertation chair, Professor Lily Wong Fillmore -- for inspiring me to undertake this particular research on immigrant families and their children. She told me, long ago, that my dissertation was a way for me to tell a story. Therefore, the story I choose to tell must be a timeless one. It was from her genuine dedication to serving the needs of the underprivileged and underrepresented minority groups, that I've learned to pursue, with passion, my own cause as well as the cause of those whom I know so well.

I would like to thank my previous mentors, teachers, and professors all the way from elementary to graduate school -- for providing me with numerous examples of hard work, perseverance, and excellence. It was from their dedication to their craft that I've learned to transform my chosen profession into a lifelong vocation.

I would like to thank all the mothers who participated in this research study – for generously and genuinely providing me with a glimpse of the trials and triumphs of immigrant life. Indeed, this is just as much their story, as it is mine.

Lastly, I would like to thank all the children whom I have been so privileged to teach -- you have gifted me with the joy that can only come from realizing that my work was my dream fulfilled.

The day after I was brought to this world
I was oblivious to my culture.
The music of my foreign land stopped playing a long time ago
   The Filipino dream, dreams no more
And I was ignorant of my own blood
An ancient past,
     I killed it, you see
Along the road of struggle
Along the line of silent cries
Somewhere along the road
    Of oppression
     Of hate
      Of evil
       Of madness
Longing to forget
And pushed aside
To the back of a mind
That became my own
   I struck it with my fist and killed it
     I beat it down like a nail
Then I wiped my face full of blood
Stepped back and looked at what I had done
And I cried in shame....

Sheena Aniel, age 16
I Killed the Filipino Dream
1st prize – Poetry Category:
Growing Up Asian in America
Sponsored by The Asian Pacific Fund, Spring 2002

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As a teacher of newly immigrated Filipino children in the San Francisco Bay Area,

I have seen first hand, the challenges and difficulties that they often must confront and

overcome before they could even begin dealing with the business of learning. They were

not only enrolled in a new school, they were housed in a new neighborhood, surrounded

by new faces and places, expected to learn a new language, and expected to learn in new

ways. Moreover, I observed that some children managed the task of bridging the

geographic as well as the cultural "Pacific Divide" more easily than others did. For some, their relatively more successful acculturation meant an easier transition from home to school, and an early indication of future academic as well as social success. For others, this initial difficulty seemed to portend the beginning of a long and arduous journey in school and society at risk of 'falling through the cracks' along the way. While parents always play a key role in their children's educational success and well-being, this seemed to be even more critical in the case of my immigrant students. Whereas non-immigrant children have many sources of language and cultural input, the parents of immigrant children are oftentimes their only source of cultural and linguistic support (Arnberg, 1987). I realized, therefore, that it was essential to recognize the family as the critical arena for studying the processes of acculturation and adaptation among Filipino immigrant children.

Immigration and "family values" are two subjects that are often in the news limelight. Indeed, they are perennial hot-button issues within the political, social, and educational arenas. It is said that there is too much of the former and too little of the latter, but rarely are connections made between the two. According to Rumbaut (1997), this disconnection is partly reflective of the lack of attention and importance given to children and families in immigration studies. And yet, the family is perhaps, the strategic research site for understanding the dynamics of immigration and of post-immigration adaptation processes (Merton, 1987). Research focused on immigrant families can also reveal the long-term consequences for both the sending and receiving countries like the United States.

The movement from one sociocultural context to another often transforms intra-familial relationships, which can sometimes exacerbate conflicts and lead to family disunity and discord (Menjivar, 1996; Min, 1995; Rubin, 1994; Hein, 1995). In given circumstances, however, because families are situated in and influenced by larger structural, social, political, and historical contexts, the shared adversity of migration and subsequent acculturation experiences can motivate the family to close ranks cohesively and effectively, honing in what Rumbaut (1997) characterizes as "social solidarity" – an adaptive ethos of effort and efficacy and providing fertile ground for often remarkable achievement despite seemingly insurmountable odds (Caplan, Choy, & Whitmore, 1991; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995).

Statement of the Problem

This study will investigate how selected factors influence the manner in which Filipino immigrant parents and families socialize their children for successful family membership in the socio-cultural context of American society, which is often incongruent, if not in direct conflict, with values and practices of the home.

This study addresses the following questions:

1) What factors affect the socialization goals of Filipino immigrant families as they come into a cultural contact situation brought on by their migration to the United States?

2) How do these factors influence the manner in which Filipino immigrant families adhere to or adjust their socialization goals?

2a)   Do any of these factors positively influence the socialization goals of Filipino immigrant parents vis-à-vis their children's development and formation of cultural identity, and if so, in what way do they?

2b)   Do any of these factors negatively influence the socialization goals of Filipino immigrant parents vis-à-vis their children's development and formation of cultural identity, and if so, in what way do they?

Significance of the Study

In light of the fact that Filipino immigrants have the third highest entry rate among Asians and they constitute the second largest immigrant group in California, outnumbered only by immigrants from Mexico (Rumbaut, 1999), it is surprising that relatively little is known about this particular immigrant group. Personal and narrative descriptions have detailed the conditions that Filipino immigrant families have encountered upon arrival in the United States (Cordova, 1983; Vallangca, 1987; Corpus, 1991). Participatory research conducted on Filipino immigrant high school and college students have also highlighted the difficulties and challenges that are brought about by culturally conflicting experiences in the homes and at school (Ilana-Tenorio, 1997; Strobel, 1996). However, few studies have specifically addressed these complex issues from the perspective of Filipino immigrant children and their parents (Igoa, 1995).

Furthermore, studies have described contrasting experiences within the Filipino immigrant population (Portes, 1992; Espiritu & Wolf, 2001; Siu, 1996). Some studies cite high academic achievement among Filipino students, while others report lower enrollment rates, higher non-graduation rates, and higher drop out rates among students

within this same ethnic group. Moreover, other researchers have described a paradoxical pattern of acculturation among Filipino immigrant adolescents (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001; Wolf, 2002). While their parents' socioeconomic status and high levels of education seem to secure a potentially successful acculturative experience for their children, these positive indicators do not seem to translate into positive self-identities and high self-esteem among Filipino adolescents. Research among minority students in the San Diego area report the highest rates of suicidal ideation and attempts among Filipino female adolescents compared to other ethnic groups (Lau, 1995). This is in stark contrast to suicide rates among adolescents in the Philippines, which at 1.8%, ranks as one of the lowest in Asia (Moreno, 2001). According to Moreno (2001), this comparatively low rate may be attributed to Filipinos' Catholic orientation and the strong family support system that is firmly rooted within the Filipino sociocultural context. From these contrastive experiences, we can infer that Filipino immigrant families face major assimilative and acculturative pressures that result in conflict, depression, breakdown of family ties, and the inevitable loss of lives among the younger generation.

I hope that my research will contribute to the limited knowledge that this society has with regards to the plight of Filipino immigrants, and to increase our understanding of the assimilative forces operating on newcomers in American society. It is my hope too that my study will spark further future research as well as advocacy not only for Filipino immigrant families, but also for other immigrant families and their children who may be facing similar difficulties and challenges.

Research Framework

I begin my research with the assumption that Filipino parents aspire to preserve and maintain cultural values and systems within their families and do so by adopting socialization strategies that are aligned with their personal, familial, and sociocultural goals and orientations. When experienced within the stable sociocultural environment of the homeland, this set of values and practices is natural and almost always taken for granted (Diaz-Guerrero, 1987). Despite the influences of urbanization, modernization, and globalization, Filipino families continue to be protected by sociocultural support systems such as family kin relations, neighborhood and community networks, schools, media, and the Roman Catholic Church, where traditional Filipino values remain strongly in place (Moreno, 2001).

These seamless and supportive interrelationships change dramatically when Filipino families emigrate, oftentimes with irreparable consequences. Although Filipino immigrant parents may want to instill the same traditional cultural beliefs and practices in their children, they are confronted with assimilative and acculturative forces in the host country that requires conformity to the values of the dominant group. Moreover, parents find themselves without the cultural supports that they used to have back home. They are separated from their communities of origin and extended kin networks. Their children are enrolled in public schools, where religious education is not part of the school curriculum, given the mandate of church and state separation. The families are exposed to media and other cultural forms that espouse the capitalist ideals of competition and self-interest, as well as the democratic vision of independence and self-representation. While we assume that socialization processes can still carried out at home, it becomes imperative for

Filipino immigrant families to recognize and confront the complex issues and complicated dynamics that impact their child-rearing goals and strategies.

Filipino immigrant families, just like other immigrant families, bring with them ways of meaning and being which define their identity as individuals and as members of a cultural group. While we can assume that socializing their children in traditional ways may be a natural and taken-for-granted process within the stable communities of their homeland, it seems safe to infer that this same process becomes heavily influenced by the different contextual factors that impinge on their adaptive experiences in the new host country. The post-colonial relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines is just one of many sociohistorical factors that plays a major role in the acculturative experiences of Filipino immigrant families. The different values attributed to the individualistic orientation of the American culture vs. the familistic orientation of the Filipino culture, is another important factor that needs to be considered in the acculturative equation.

Furthermore, the fact that some families seem to be more successful than others in incorporating the two oftentimes opposing cultural modes in their socialization strategies underscores the observation that there is no singular Filipino immigrant experience; hence, there is no one sure or foolproof guide that parents can buy off the shelves to ensure a bright and successful future for their offspring.

What Filipino families seem to share is a sense of embeddedness in a web of primary ties of affection, trust, and obligation –what Bodnar (1987) describes as the "ligaments of responsibility among kin" which can at once be a potential source of strength as well as a possible source of vulnerability. Filipino families are the crucible of self and socialization, authority and obligation, character formation and identity

development – a sociohistorical chain that is linked together by personal and generational affiliations. As such they represent a source of positive as well as negative social capital, having the power to enable or constrain developmental outcomes of younger members down the chain. Different families then have their own ways and means of reconfiguring the cultural ties that bind amidst the acculturative forces that seem bent on untangling them.

Figure 1 is a visual representation of the significant factors that influence the socialization goals of Filipino immigrant families.

Figure 1. Significant Factors that Influence Socialization Goals
of Filipino Immigrant Parents
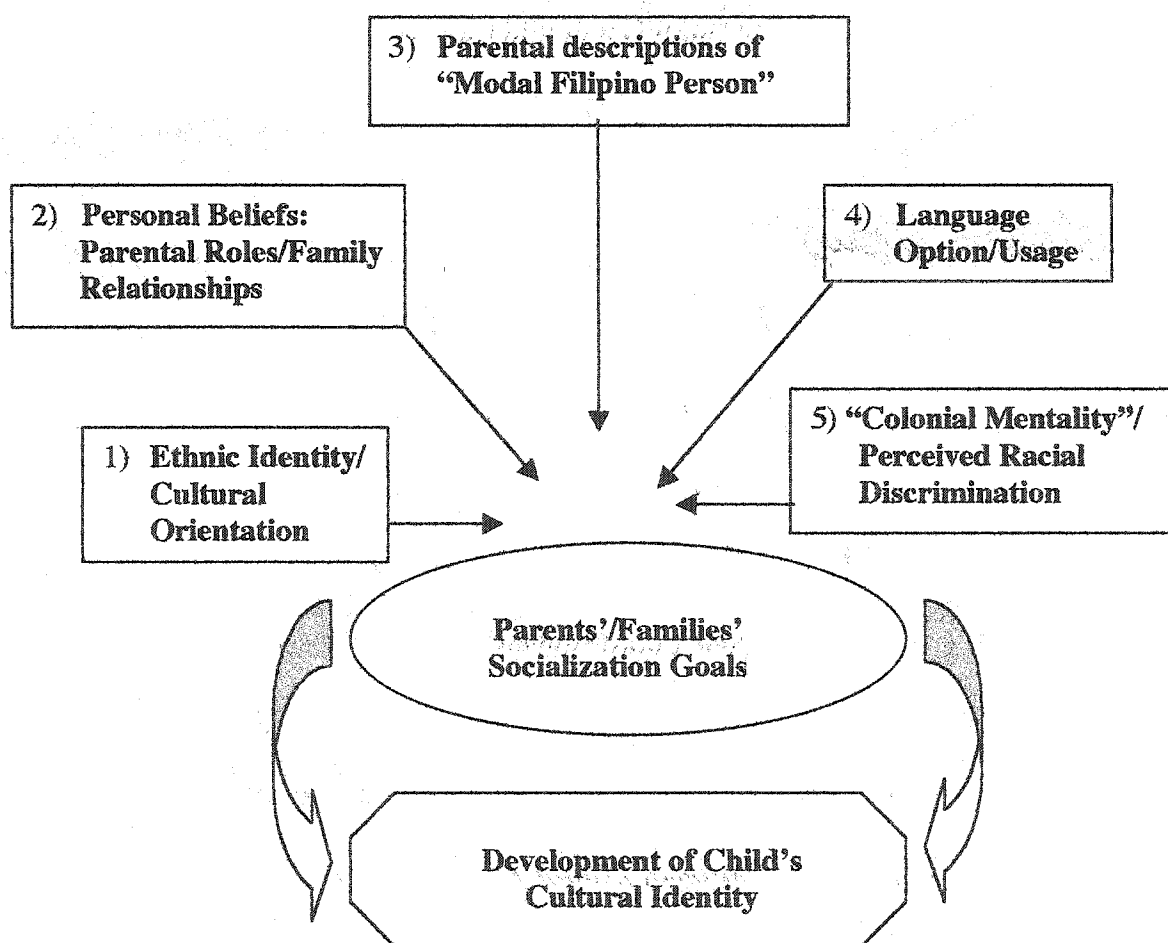
Definition of Terms

Parents/Families Socialization Goals refers to the ideals that parents aspire for when it comes to the processes of (1) instilling within their offspring systems of beliefs and principles of social order that may be peculiar to their primary group (Schiefellin & Ochs 1986) and (2) training their young to become distinctive and actively functioning members of the society in which they live (Elkin & Handel 1984; Zigler, Lamb & Child 1982). According to Harrison (1990), family ecologies of ethnic minority children differ from majority children's and partially provide the basis for variations in the context of socialization. Ethnicity plays a key role in the socialization process of families since it includes group patterns of values, social customs, perceptions, behavioral roles, language usage, and rules of social interactions that group members share in both obvious and subtle ways (Rotheram & Phinney 1987).

Development of Child's Cultural Identity refers to the process by which children come to understand the meaning of their own and others' ethnic group membership (Phinney 1990). According to Phinney & Rotheram (1987), ethnic identity is a broad concept that includes the following components: ethnic self-identification (the label used for one's own group), ethnic attitudes (feelings about one's own and other groups), and ethnic behaviors (behavior patterns specific to an ethnic group).

Socialization Goals of Filipino Parents refers to parental expectation of the process of enculturation of their children. This will include the following factors:

1. *Ethnic Identity/Ethnic Orientation* refers to the parent's socialization goals relating to ethnic identification and perceptions about the Filipino culture. This factor is characterized by a sense of pride in aspects of one's heritage culture, preference for being with others of the same ethnic group, and frequenting places where same-ethnic group members gather (Keefe & Padilla 1987).

2. *Personal Beliefs regarding Roles and Family Relationships* refers to differences in how parents, as individuals with specific personal as well as sociocultural histories, come to develop their own world-views as well as conceptions of what it means to be a parent, and the roles families play in children's overall development. According to Buriel and De Ment (1997), the parents' individual history of interaction with the larger sociocultural context, including their awareness of their ethnic group's history within the larger society, affect the manner in which they socialize their children.

3. *Parental description of the "Modal Filipino Person"* refers to their conceptions and expectations vis-à-vis their children's developmental and social outcomes. I am assuming that even within a cultural group that shares many common socialization goals, there may be differences with regards to how parents define what an ideal child should be. I chose 4 specific values that are shared by Filipinos across distance and generations and that set them apart from other cultures (Jocano 1988;

Agbayani-Siewart & Revilla 1995 ; Ilana-Tenorio 1997). These are familial closeness, religiosity, respect for authority, and smooth interpersonal relationships.

4. *Language Option and Usage* refers to the parents' knowledge of Filipino and English, and their preference in using one language or another for socialization and communication purposes. According to Schiefellin & Ochs (1986), children and other novices in society acquire tacit knowledge of principles of social order and systems of belief through exposure to and participation in language-mediated interactions. Variations in ways cultures organize the use of language reflect differences in cultural beliefs, values and goals concerning social roles and relationships in their groups.

5. *"Colonial Mentality"* refers to the impact of US colonization on the Filipino cultural psyche (Santos 1983, Juarez 1997, Wolf 1997, Strobe 1996, Litton 1999). San Juan (1992) describes this phenomenon as a preference for American life and goods as a result of the insidious effect of past U.S. colonialism and present U.S. capitalistic enterprise. *Perceived Racial Discrimination* refers to the parents' perception with regards to how they and their children are discriminated upon as well as their preference for the ethnicity of friends and social networks (Keefe & Padilla, 1987).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this literature review, I explore the interconnectedness between the status of Filipino Immigrants in the U.S., the socialization goals among Filipino families, and the acculturation and development of self-identities among children of Filipino immigrants. This chapter is organized into four major parts. The first part provides a profile of Filipino immigrant families in terms of status as an ethnic minority group. The second part reviews the current literature on the socialization goals among Filipino families. The third part examines the five major sociocultural influences on parental socialization goals described in the conceptual framework for this study. These are: (a) Ethnic Pride/Ethnic Orientation; (b) Parental Beliefs on Roles and Relationships; (c)The Modal Filipino Person; (d) Language Option and Usage; and (e) "Colonial Mentality"/Perceived Discrimination. Each of these headings will be further subdivided into two sections: the first reviews relevant literature on Filipino families in general, while the second examines the literature on Filipino immigrant families in particular. The last part summarizes the extant literature on immigration and the Filipino family.

The Status of Filipino Immigrants

As recently as 1997, Filipino immigrants were the undisputed leaders in Asian migration to the U.S. (Gold Sea Asian American Demographics, 1999). Since then, they have fallen slightly behind China and India in the total number of foreign-born entrants to the U.S. (U.S. Dept. of Justice, 1999). Despite this, Filipino immigrants remain America's second largest Asian group after the Chinese and the largest Asian-origin immigrant

group in California and the nation (Rumbaut, 1999). Their post 1965-migration to the U.S. is second only to that of the Mexicans.

Despite their numbers and considerable presence in American society, there has been little academic research on this particular group of immigrants. Indeed no other immigrant group of equal size has been so neglected by social scientists and educators. Consequently, they have remained a remarkably understudied and overlooked cultural group (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001). Some theorize that Filipinos are neglected by academic researchers partly because they "blend in" so easily into the social, economic, political, and educational landscape, given their largely urban, professional, and middle class backgrounds and lifestyles. What we find, therefore, is a sizeable minority that seems to have completely assimilated into the U.S. cultural mainstream. However, this tendency to blend into American society without much notice and attain a relative status of invisibility is historically significant and needs to be further problematized (Takaki, 1989; Camponanes, 1995; Wolf & Hoffman, 1996).

In general, in the public perception Filipinos are not distinguished from other Asians, or even from Latinos, as the majority of Filipinos have Spanish surnames (San Juan, 1994). Moreover, the formation and consolidation of an Asian American pan-ethnicity in the post-1965 era has virtually subsumed the unique identity of Filipinos under those of the Chinese and Japanese (Samson, 1999). However, San Juan (1994) emphasizes that "the reality of U.S. colonial subjugation and its profoundly enduring effects…distinguishes Filipinos from the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and others from the Asian continent."

Filipino immigrants in the post-1965 period lend some degree of credence to the "Asian model minority" myth with their relatively high educational attainment (Kao, 1995), a high level of labor force participation especially among Filipino women (Wong & Hirschman, 1983), a high percentage working as professionals (Cabezas, Shinagawa & Kawaguchi, 1986), and the lowest rate of poverty in the United States and in California (Rumbaut, 1995; Oliver, Gey, Stiles & Brady, 1995). Economic statistics, however, also confirm that Filipinos as a group receive the lowest income among Asians and occupy low-status jobs incommensurable with their advanced educational attainment (Nee & Sanders, 1985). Kitano and Daniels (1995) also claim that when looking at the group as a whole, Filipinos suffer from economic inequality as evidenced by their relatively subordinated positions compared to other Asians and White American counterparts, whether "sailors or professionals, educated or less educated, skilled or unskilled."

According to Litton, (1999), Filipino American parents tend to be highly educated and have been exposed to English. Moreover, only 5.2% of Filipino American families live at or below the poverty level (Siu, 1996). However, there are also reports that these parental success stories are not translating into academic and social success among many second generation Filipino Americans. There are signs, in fact, that many students are not doing well, as evidenced by lower college enrollment rates and higher non-graduation rates (Siu, 1996). In her examination of issues and problems confronting second generation Filipino youth, Wolf (2002), contrasts the relatively high level of Filipino assimilation and economic success in the U.S. with the despair, alienation and unhappiness experienced by a significant proportion of Filipino American youth.

Socialization Goals among Families

According to Ogbu (1981), the socialization goals of a people are derived, in part, from their cultural knowledge of their adult tasks and responsibilities, of essential competencies for adequate functioning, and of the methods of transmitting these competencies to their immediate offspring as well as to succeeding generations. Child-rearing practices have been defined as customs used by members of a society in raising and taking care of their children (Timyan 1988). These customs are integrated into the everyday life of the society and are often taken for granted – usually described as inherently "natural" or "correct". Moreover, Timyan (1988) argues that the entire pattern of child-rearing practices and attitudes developed by a society is "more or less congruent with its notions and idealizations of childhood."

Recent studies have documented the ways in which the child-rearing practices of various groups help to form and shape the child's view of self and how he or she fits in the world. Cultural groups differ with respect to cultural values and practices regarding language use and functioning, views of life and death, roles of family members, problem solving strategies, attitudes toward education, health, mental illness, and level of commitment to traditional or nontraditional ways and the balance between these two (Bennerson & Richards 2001). Certainly cultures differ in their definitions of what it means to be human and how to go about setting up structures that support these idealized notions of human development. Bennerson & Richards (2001) point out that although cultural differences in child-rearing may seem strange or unnatural to those outside the culture, the differences usually make sense within the context of the environment in which they originate and evolve.

Socialization Practices among Filipino Families

According to Jocano (1998), all ethnic groups throughout the Philippine archipelago share similar socialization practices. Barring minor modifications that derive from economic, religious, and geographic differences, socialization, as a whole, revolves around specific practices which produce in children commonly shared and uniquely held patterns of thoughts, beliefs, and actions.

The closest Filipino term for socialization is *andukha*. It means to nourish, to protect, and to nurture with tender care (Jocano, 1998). Sometimes the term *aruga* or *pag-aaruga* (tender care) is used. Socialization practices that emanate from this concept are very personal. Parenting is gleaned from traditional wisdom learned from parents and grandparents, blended with knowledge gained from available literature. According to De los Angeles-Bautista (1993), this results in a good balance between sound indigenous practices that help to transmit the Filipino cultural heritage and more progressive child-rearing practices.

Socialization Practices among Filipino Immigrant Families

Although families have their own patterns for socializing children, and for meeting the developmental needs of family members, migration frequently requires a family to adopt new patterns of interaction and coping that may conflict with the well-established patterns of the homeland (Cornville & Brotherton, 1993).

"Family ecologies" of ethnic minority groups encompass important family functionings that are a reflection of the interactions between the family as a social system and other societal institutions and systems (Harrison et al. 1990). According to Harrison

et al. (1990), the family ecology of ethnic minority children may differ somewhat from that of majority group children, where they are not required to choose between loyalty to their own group and social acceptance. Consequently, the children of ethnic minority families, as compared to the children of majority families, may experience quite different outcomes in social and emotional development.

Most of the relevant literature on socialization practices among Filipino immigrant families deal with Filipino adolescents and adults looking retrospectively at their own experiences of being raised by their parents and older and extended family kin members. There has been and continues to be a paucity of research dealing particularly with socialization of young children among Filipino immigrant families. Having said this, it is interesting to note that most of the themes and issues discussed in the following studies emphasize patterns of acculturation and development of self-identities—themes which may manifest themselves most apparently during the adolescent and adult periods but which are nonetheless inextricably linked to socialization patterns and experiences during childhood.

Factors that Influence Socialization Goals of Filipino Parents

Ethnic Identity and Cultural Orientation

David (2001) defines the ideal Filipino identity as — "a sense of belonging and loyalty to an imagined historical community, a feeling of pride and security in what one is supposed to be, a consciousness of one's roots, which immediately makes some things familiar and others strange—in short, a nostalgia, and an ability to relate one's own personal experiences to the saga of an entire community."

Kinship is rooted in the heart and soul of every Filipino (Jocano, 1998). It influences the formation, structure, and function of Filipino institutions, relationships, values, and world-view. If kinship is the nucleus of the Filipino cultural psyche, then the family is its core. It is the basic unit of the Filipino society (Tagle, 1974). Despite the many changes that have taken place in the social, economic, political, and global arenas, the family has remained a remarkably stable and relatively intact institution. Carandang (1979) describes the Filipino family as "typically complex, highly interactive and relatively close-knit." The importance of the family in understanding contemporary behavior cannot be overemphasized. According to Jocano (1998), Philippine social organization as a whole may be described as "familial" in nature in that almost all social activities in the community center around the family. Moreover, individual identities and interests are subordinated under family interests.

Filipino cultural values are widely held beliefs, which make some activities, relationships, goals, and feelings important to the Filipino people's identity. When these Filipino values coalesce and mesh in a mutually supportive system, it is called "Filipino value system." According to Andres & Ilada-Andres (1997), the content of Filipino values are the Filipino myths and religion while the structures are the Filipino oral and written traditions, churches, sacred places, temples and mosques. The Filipinos internalize these values of their culture and thus create for themselves a "world of meanings."

Undoubtedly, migration has a major impact on the formation of a child's or adolescent's self and identity. Although adolescence is a generally stressful period in and of itself, Garcia-Coll and Magnuson (1997) argue that immigrant children have a

particularly difficult time because they are trying to forge an identity in a context that may be racially and culturally dissonant. Therefore, whereas many adolescents confront insecurities about themselves, immigrant adolescents frequently find these insecurities exacerbated by their membership in a minority group (Spencer, Swanson, & Cunningham, 1991). Consequently, immigrant children and adolescents have the added developmental task of constructing adequate ethnic identities as part of their more general identity development.

In her participatory research, Ilana-Tenorio (1997) explores the formation of bicultural identities among children of post 1965 Filipino immigrants. Reflective analysis on the part of the participants led Ilana-Tenorio to underscore the importance of being socialized into the value of respect towards family elders and members. The values of obedience, honesty, religiosity were also emphasized. Subordination of oneself to family was encouraged while efforts at becoming independent were reined in. Most of her participants recalled how these values were regarded as non-negotiable by their parents despite their realization that these were quite different from the values that were being espoused by American society. They described how the difficulty with which they had to navigate between these differing expectations from their childhood up until their early adult years (Ilana-Tenorio, 1997).

Their analysis of quantitative data from Portes' (1992) children of immigrants longitudinal study (CILS) and qualitative data from their own research, led Espiritu & Wolf (2001) to suggest a lack of active cultural socialization in Filipino American homes, as over 50% of the Filipino immigrant respondents reported that their parents seldom talked to them about the Philippines and close to three quarters admitted that their

family seldom celebrated special days connected with the Philippines. One youth respondent talked about a 'cultural void' – "Not much is going on in my house. It wasn't made explicit that Filipino culture is something that we should retain, that we should hold onto, as something that's valuable. There wasn't much sense that we should keep the language. So, really, we weren't taught." These sentiments are consistently echoed by other participatory researches done among Filipino American adolescents and young adults (Wolf, 2002; Ilana-Tenorio, 1997; Strobel, 1996).

There has also been a reported lack of cohesion among members of the Filipino American community (Rabaya, 1971; Galang, 1988). While the Chinese and the Japanese communities can boast of having cultural enclaves in major U.S. cities, the Filipino Americans do not have any "Philippine town" where their culture is celebrated and kept alive. According to Litton (2001), while there are numerous Filipino organizations in the U.S., they tend to function independently of one another. These organizations are often based on kinship and ethnic associations rather than on a common cultural, economic, or political interest (Agbayani-Sewart & Revilla, 1995).

San Juan (1994) attributes this seeming lack of cultural pride among Filipino immigrants to the incomplete formation of a national identity, which Constantino (1978) argues, began to emerge during the Philippine revolution against Spain but was interrupted when America intervened in 1989 and subsequently engaged in a war against the Filipinos which led to their colonization under the United States. Contrary to Ogbu's (1991) characterization of immigrants as possessing a "strong" sense of ethnic identity upon arrival to the United States, Filipinos may, in fact, possess a truncated national identity, one that has been derailed by Spanish and American colonization (San Juan,

1994). Possessed of this colonized identity, Filipino immigrants, however, may also bring with them the submerged memories of an unfinished national struggle along with an unconscious remembrance of the painful erasures that resulted from colonization (Samson, 1999). It is these submerged memories which, Samson (1999) claims, may now be in the process of resurfacing in the political identities of post-1965 second generation Filipinos.

<center>Parental Beliefs about Roles and Family Relationships</center>

As has been stated previously, Filipino society can best be described as familial. The prevailing family structure emphasizes loyalty and support of the family, not of any higher level of social organization (Andres & Ilada-Andres, 1987). The Filipino family is the principal unit around which all social activities revolve. The interests of the individual in Philippine society are secondary only to those of the family.

Child-rearing in the Philippines may be described as one in which children are extremely dependent upon the adults and other caregivers who come in and out of their lives (Shimizu, 1984). Although the concept of dependency may elicit negative connotations and undesirable implications in other cultures, the Filipinos' view of dependency is inextricably linked to socially valued norms of cooperative behavior and reciprocal relations. The building of "smooth interpersonal relations" is indispensable for acquiring social acceptance, which, according to Lynch (1973), is the most important motivating factor in the behavior of Filipinos.

Guthrie and Jacobs (1966) describe the dependency relation that is encouraged in the Philippines as such:

> Responsibilities are not pushed on him when he reaches a certain age. Instead he grows into them, gaining the necessary skills as he participates in the day-to-day activities of the family…From childhood, he learns to enjoy being taken care of and realizes that he can make others happy by being dependent on them. There is neither age when a child is expected to leave home nor an age when he is expected to become fully self-reliant. Even marriage means that each of the couple has a number of additional people from whom support will be forthcoming and help may be required.

Thus there appears to be little value attached to the early attainment of independence. As long as the family situation permits someone else to minister to his needs, a child has plenty of time to learn. The emphasis is not on assuming personal responsibility; it is on learning to be responsible for others in the family according to his age and abilities (Guthrie & Jacobs, 1966). As a corollary, it is also important for a Filipino child to learn how to relate at many different levels to many different people.

According to Domingo (1961), dominance within the family is well defined and hierarchical; the parents and elders hold the most dominant positions, followed by elder siblings with the youngest child occupying the lowest status in the hierarchy. Direction, therefore, proceeds in a linear fashion filtering down from the parents to the younger children. Consequently, parents expect obedience, respect and humility from children regardless of age. A mother especially, expects to know all her child's thoughts (Guthrie, 1961). For his part, a child is encouraged to turn to his parents and submit to their direction, counsel and advice. He is admonished to be good because any disgrace that he commits is a disgrace to the family and any misdeed soils the family's name. He also grows up confident in the knowledge that in times of misfortune, family support and love are assured. Seen in this context, dominance and intrusiveness become natural rights and

obligations of parents in the primary task of rearing socially acceptable and morally upright children (Flores, 1969).

A natural outgrowth of the previous characteristic is that of discipline. While it is true that children are indulged by many parental figures during the earliest years of life, it is also evident that parents stress discipline early on. Once children reach a certain developmental stage, they are taught not to be self-centered or to insist on having their own way in everything, but are encouraged instead to be considerate of family members and other people in the environment (Shimizu, 1984). On one hand, certain behaviors earn praise, and a child can be shown approval in the form of special favors, special permissions, and in casual parental remarks about him in conversation with other people. Signs of approval can be subtle and indirect, and not always easy to detect. On the other hand, behavior that leads to disapproval is easier to identify since scolding and punishment for misdemeanors are prompt and obvious (Guthrie & Jacobs, 1966). Discipline is strict and described as *"makuha kayo sa tingin"* — A scowl or other adult facial expression is enough to exact obedience (Flores, 1969).

In their attempts to advise their children, parents invoke models of good and bad behavior from within the family itself or from outside. They know what kind of children they want, and they operate with a socially sanctioned set of techniques calculated to produce children who have the desired qualities. Behaviors that merit discipline are disobedience, display of anger, stealing, lying, cheating, going places without permission, and interfering with adult activities (Licuanan, 1979).

The central elements in the child-rearing practices of Filipino parents, therefore, are a loving, controlling attitude and an emphasis on the involvement of the whole family.

A number of studies have noted that the parent-child relationship changes with immigration and acculturation (Huang, 1989; Kibria, 1993; Rumbaut, 1995)). In many cases, migration has only served to enhance intergenerational tensions. In addition to the normal expected life transitions and stresses arising from daily life in a technological society, the life changes associated with the immigrant experience introduce new psychological stressors that potentially impinge upon the family unit and its corresponding dynamics. For Filipino families, the acculturation process creates familial conflict not only within the conjugal relationship but also between parents and their offspring (Agbayani-Siewart & Revilla, 1995).

Research on Filipino Americans suggests that generational conflict most often arise when parents insist on maintaining their traditional hierarchical authority and demand respect and obedience from their children (Morales, 1974; Tamayo-Lott, 1980, Agabayani-Siewart & Revilla, 1995). At the same time, their children, who have simultaneously been raised with the competing American values of independence, individualism, and assertiveness – tend to challenge their parent's roles (Forman, 1980; Morales, 1974). This often leads parents to intensify their authoritarian stance and demand more compliance from their children. According to Agbayani-Siewart & Revilla (1995), this tension may have dire consequences. In the Philippine society, dependence on family is encouraged and valued. They point out that Filipino mothers encourage their children to be dependent on them and resent it when their children show signs of independence. Being dependent is equated with being obedient. The children are expected to conform to these traditional values at home but are confronted with values

that compel them to expect the very opposite. Naturally, children end up challenging the authority of their parents, thereby creating family tensions and difficulties.

In a study of cultural adaptation by Filipino families, Heras and Revilla (1995) found that mothers of less acculturated students reported higher levels of family satisfaction than those of more acculturated students. They speculated that because Filipino mothers acculturate at a slower pace than their children, they are less likely to experience tension when their children behave in a more traditional manner. Conversely, when their children behave in a more Americanized manner, the Filipino mothers experience more tension and less satisfaction with family life.

In his description of the psychosocial development of Filipino American adolescents, Santos (1983) notes that the strong desire to help their children become Americanized as quickly as possible often leads parents to encourage speedy and smooth assimilation in areas like language and communication. However, Santos (1983) claims that this is a critical factor in the widening generation gap between immigrant parents and their offspring. While parents pride themselves on their children's fluency in English, the children, for their part, are often embarrassed by their parents' funny-sounding accents and mispronunciation of English words. This leads to parents' sense of loss of authority and respect, as well as a perceived lack of shame and obedience on the part of their children. According to Santos (1983), these conflicts do not only lead to a breakdown in communication but to a collapse in interfamilial relations.

The Modal Filipino Person

The fact that a Filipino child is taken care of by many people inculcates within the child a sense of belonging to a world larger than himself. From his earliest years he moves in the family circle, consciously and unconsciously, willingly and unwillingly. He is trained in the family's ways; he absorbs their values (Sevilla, 1982). The child thus learns at a relatively early stage to refrain from asserting his ego and to avoid pushing his demand through to the end (Shimizu, 1984).

A related trait that is desired and expected from early on is that of 'utang ng loob' (debt of gratitude). This Filipino interpersonal pattern of obligation assures that each individual may look to the other according to need and the ability to help (Kaut, 1966). The long period of child nurturance and care is not geared for the Filipino child to develop independence as it is for him to learn the ethical and moral meanings of reciprocity (Jocano 1998). This notion of sacred duty on the part of the children serves to emphasize yet again the importance of family loyalty (Crisol, 1973). This brings with it an interminable sense of obligation, on the children's part, to serve their parents. The long period of child-care that is provided to a Filipino child finds its fruition in the child's development of a sense of being indebted to the people who have served him and to 'paying back' in form of ministering to their physical, social and economic needs, when he is able to do so.

In a survey of the Filipino family conducted by Porio et al. (1978), the parents ranked the values of faith to God and obedience to parents first. The child is taught early on that his primary obligations belong to his parents, siblings, and immediate kin. He is expected to respect and obey his elders, including his *kuya* (older brothers), and *ate* (older

sisters) even if they are just a few years older than he is. Obedience has been identified as the main characteristic of an ideal Filipino child (Flores, 1969).

Another cultural theme that supports the Filipino values of obedience and respect is the concept of *hiya*. Guthrie and Jacobs (1966) have described *hiya* as a mixture of "shame, embarrassment, and inferiority feelings." Moreover, in the presence of older, stronger and more important people, Filipinos are expected to show humility. Guthrie (1965) summarizes these feelings in the following description.

> Children are trained, early on, to have a capacity for painful, self-conscious feelings of inferiority. They are expected to be embarrassed when they make mistakes. Criticism by others is misery. To lose a game or fail in school is acutely distressing. On the other hand, to be solicitous for others' feelings, to be polite and hospitable, to make the other person feel good, are all approved. Somewhere in these complex habits of regarding oneself in relationship to others lies the reaction pattern of *hiya*. In a very real sense, hiya is a pattern of feelings of personal insecurity, both expected and approved.

By four years of age, children show shyness and alertness to the moods of others so that they may be perceived as "good" because they say and do what pleases others. By six, children are considered to have reached an age of reason (Tayag, 1964). It is during this time that they receive extended advice and admonitions from mothers calculated to ensure that the child thinks and behaves in a socially appropriate and acceptable manner. Indeed, a child who does not show appropriate respect is called *walang hiya* (without shame) – which is the worst thing that someone can say about a Filipino child (Guthrie, 1965).

The third cultural theme is that of collectivity—a sense of communal relatedness— in contrast to an individualistic society (Jocano, 1998). Often these collective sentiments focus on activities within the family and the kin. Whenever conflicts arise – as they

invariably do within this many-peopled environment, the concept of the 'common good' prevails (Crisol, 1973). A child is constantly enjoined to get along with his relatives and his peers as he weaves in and out of this matrix of interpersonal relationships. Furthermore, the child is repeatedly told that other people have likes, dislikes, and desires just as he does and should a conflict of interest arise, he should always defer to the wishes of others (Shimizu, 1984). Thus, he is constantly admonished to try and get along with all types of people – especially those who are different from him. The Filipino child is reinforced and trained in the art of sociability initially within the family circle. He is then expected to enact this value as he goes out beyond the domains of his home – in his peer interactions and school relations.

Immigrant children are often described as having to straddle two cultures, unable to gain a solid foothold on either group. As Sam (1992) describes it, immigrant children come to know norms and ideal behaviors that their parents promote on the one hand, and those promoted by the host society on the other hand. In Igoa's (1995) ethnographic description of a 6th grade Filipino student's experiences, she describes what seems to be a culturally split inner world. This split begins when the child has to behave in one way at home and another way at school. According to Igoa (1995), the split is caused by the "setting aside of one's past so that one can adapt an American persona." She suggests that cultural split begins very early in the children's school life – as early as Kindergarten, when their home cultures are not validated in school and they feel isolated from their classmates. In this girl's case, having no one to identify with at school led her to have difficulties not only in making friends but also in maintaining her grades, leading her to eventually drop out of school.

In their analysis of acculturation patterns among Filipino immigrant adolescents in San Diego, Espiritu and Wolf (2001) describe the Filipino case as being paradoxical. On the one hand, socioeconomic data indicate that Filipino immigrant families and their children are relatively successful in their efforts at assimilating in the workplace and in schools. On the other hand, the data on ethnic self-identities and emotional well being suggest a concurrent counter-trend. First, there is a rejection by a significant proportion of young Filipinos of the assimilative "American" identity. Second, they register relatively lower self-esteem and higher depression than other immigrant groups. In a nationwide study of teen risk behavior among adolescents in U.S. cities, a random survey of San Diego public high school students revealed that an extremely high number of Filipino female students surveyed (46%) said they had seriously considered attempting suicide in the year preceding the survey. More disturbingly, half of those who considered suicide (23%) actually attempted doing so at least once in the preceding year (Lau, 1995). This problem was not specific to females, as Filipino males' suicidal ideation rate (29%) was almost double that of all other males that were surveyed. In fact, Filipino male students ranked third (11.9%) among those who had attempted suicide, after Filipina and Hispanic females (Wolf, 2002). During follow-up interviews that they conducted with selected focus groups of high school students, Espiritu and Wolf (2001) found high rates of depression and low self-esteem as well as increasing levels of stress as a result of trying to cope with academic pressures, parental pressures to succeed and get high marks, and other pressures related to conforming to contradictory values at home and in school.

In Portes' (1992) longitudinal study on immigrant children, the subsample of 818 Filipino students scored highly in English competence and educational achievement.

Although these two criteria are significantly and positively related to self-esteem and psychological well-being, Rumbaut (1996) found that the Filipino students had statistically significantly lower self-esteem and higher depression scores than their counterparts in other ethnic groups. According to Rumbaut (1997), this experience clearly argues against the conception of assimilation as a linear process – one that leads to increasing identificational assimilation and to improvements in immigrant outcomes over time and generation in the United States.

Language Option and Usage

According to Schiefellin and Ochs (1986), language socialization is both socialization through language and socialization to use language. They believe that children and other novices in society acquire tacit knowledge of principles of social order and systems of belief through exposure to and participation in language-mediated interactions. Variations in ways cultures organize the use of language reflect differences in cultural beliefs, values and goals concerning social roles and relationships in their groups (Schiefellin & Ochs, 1986). This has important implications for what it means to learn a language and can be illustrated more clearly by looking at some features that characterize the social context for language learning in the Filipino culture.

The theme of sensitivity is reflected in the high value that Filipinos give to feelings or *damdamin*. Filipinos can be described as feelings-focused (Jocano, 1998). Congruent with the value placed on consideration of other people's feelings is the premium that is put on sensitivity to nonverbal cues that signify others' thought and feelings.

Consequently, a child is often told that he should be careful about his attitude and language so as not to anger, hurt, or annoy another person. A child must learn to mask his facial expression so as not to reveal feelings of anger; smiling when the situation requires it even when he is not amused, and pretending to be calm even when he feels violent rage (Shimizu, 1984).

Language, and its usage or non-usage, is a primary means used by Filipino parents to socialize their children especially in the deeply held values of respect for elders and obedience to authority. It is this value of *pakiramdam* that precludes the instruction a Filipino child receives in the usage of indirect statements, euphemisms, and go-betweens which, according to Guthrie and Jacobs (1966), enables one to "thoroughly determine the state of mind of the other before one raises a difficult issue". Coincident with this approach is the early training in the art of 'watchful observation'. A child is taught to listen carefully for any postural or intonational cues, which would, in turn, enable him to learn what the other is feeling.

Consistent with the subtlety of nonverbal cues, communication from parent to child, is, at times, conveyed through facial expressions like frowns, smiles, and grimaces (Flores, 1969). These transmit to the child feelings of parental approval, disapproval, delight, or annoyance. Hissing sounds may express censorship of a behavior while gestures may communicate ideas, directions, or commands. It is in the course of everyday parent-child communicative activities that revolve around rearing and discipline where the child learns to tune into these accompanying cues that give meaning to what may otherwise be unintelligible directives.

It is not surprising indeed to discover that confrontational means and blunt approaches are not typical of Filipino interpersonal communication (Guthrie & Jacobs, 1966). The use of go-betweens or a communicative intermediary is preferred and often employed, thereby guaranteeing a save-face device for all parties involved.

Finally, the cultural themes of obedience and respect are manifested in linguistic characteristics of the Filipino language (Ramos, 1978). Some examples are: (1) respect articles such as *po or opo*, (and the less formal variants *ho/oho)*, which are used to address older people, one's superiors, or strangers; (2) The second and third person plural pronouns *kayo* (you) and *sila* (they) are used rather than the singular form when addressing an older person, a superior, or a stranger; (3) kinship terms such as *kuya* (older brother) and *ate* (older sister) are used by the younger members of the family; and (4) the use of titles such as *Mang, Aling, Doktor, Gobernador*, are used to address an older man, woman, doctor and governor respectively. As soon as they are deemed able, children are taught and trained to learn and incorporate these respectful communicative forms in almost every interpersonal situation.

Linguistic adaptation is another challenge facing immigrant families and their children. According to Zhou (1997) acquiring English proficiency, on the one hand, has been regarded as the single most important prerequisite for assimilation into American. On the other hand, lack of English proficiency, aggravated by the problem of linguistic isolation and disadvantages associated with minority status, has been a severe handicap for new immigrants and their children (Zhou, 1997).

Fillmore (2000) argues, however, that the dilemma facing minority language children is less of a problem learning English, than of primary language loss. Her

illustrative descriptions of a Chinese immigrant family defines the problems and

consequences of language loss, which although not a new phenomenon, has been shown

to become more accelerated in recent years. She details the loss of family ties and the

change in the family structure, which leads to the family's subsequent inability to

continue its crucial role of socializing the young for successful living. Fillmore (2001)

contends that language loss is a result of both internal and external forces operating on

children. The internal forces – have to do with the desire for social inclusion, conformity,

and the need to communicate with others. The external forces are the sociopolitical ones

operating in the society against outsiders, differences, and diversity.

Studies have shown that many second generation Filipinos born in the United States

lose their heritage language more rapidly than any other Asian immigrant groups (Litton,

2001; Palma-Del Rosario, 1999; Espiritu & Wolf, 2001; Ilana-Tenorio, 1997). In

Fishman's (1985) study which projected the survival potential for 37 ethnic languages in

the U.S. (both Asian and non-Asian) Filipino was ranked in three different sets of criteria,

as 12th, 37th, and 37th respectively – a grave indicator of its tenuous survival. This seems

to agree with the CILS survey which found Filipinos to be the most linguistically

assimilated of all the immigrant groups that were surveyed, with 96% of the respondents

preferring English by survey's follow-up period (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001).

While proficiency in English may differ among Filipino immigrants, almost all of

those who migrate to the U.S. arrive with a fairly basic understanding of the language,

thus making transition to this predominantly English-speaking country fairly easy (Litton,

2001). Several researchers have examined factors that lead to this seemingly effortless

language shift (Galang, 1999; Juarez 1997: Strobel, 1996). Galang (1988) notes that

"Filipino immigrant parents are less likely to have a negative attitude regarding their children's assimilation, of which the shift to English is a major component and probably the most potent visible symbol." Even in the Philippines, the use of English is considered a sign of high social status. Consequently, many Filipino parents encourage their children to learn and to speak English as quickly as they can (Litton, 2001).

In October, 1981, The Philippine News conducted a surveyed students from San Francisco State University, UC Davis, UC Berkeley, San Jose State University, California State University, and San Joaquin Delta College. The results indicated different proportions of speakers of a non-English language among students and their parents thereby suggesting a shift in language preference, a diminishing link to ethnic culture among the students, and a decreasing need on the parents' part to insist that their children speak the ethnic language (Philippine News [San Francisco], 22 March 1983).

The lack of Filipino bilingual programs in American schools is another factor that encourages language shift to English (Juarez, 1997). Opposition to bilingual education in Filipino and English often comes from Filipino parents who are afraid that their children will not learn English if they are taught in Filipino and English (Asimov, 1996). Many parents feel that their children's English language development would be hindered by continued use of their Filipino language (Palma-Del Rosario, 1999). Furthermore, a belief in the superiority of English over Filipino languages, a result of colonial mentality, also encourages Filipino parents to oppose programs that encourage their children to maintain the use of Filipino within their homes (Strobel, 1996).

Most of Ilana-Tenorio's (1997) research participants claim to have experienced a profound sense of personal and identity loss resulting from their inability to speak their

native language. One interviewee commented on how his relationship with his parents never developed as deeply as he would have wished because neither of them could communicate their feelings and sentiments in a common language. His parents could not speak English as well as he could; and he couldn't speak Filipino as well as they could.

A participant in Espiritu and Wolf's (2001) study described how "there wasn't much sense that we should keep the language. So, really, we weren't taught." These sentiments are consistently echoed by other participatory researches done among Filipino American adolescents and young adults (Wolf, 2002; Ilana-Tenorio, 1997; Strobel, 1996).

"Colonial Mentality" and Perceived Discrimination

The United States unified the three distinct Philippine islands of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao through the introduction of a democratic government as well as a relatively non-political civil service, a free public-school system with a new philosophy, curriculum and methods, and English as the medium of instruction. U.S. influence also opened up possibilities for religious freedom along with many other social norms of thinking and acting (Corpuz, 1989).

Just like Spain, the United States left distinct and unique imprints on the Filipino cultural heritage. The U.S. reinforced familism and ritualism in almost every aspect of native life. It inculcated in the Filipino a high valuation upon formal education, thus popularizing education as the essential means for social and economic mobility (Agoncillo, 1979).

The trade relationship between the two countries has followed the colonial pattern, with the Philippines providing raw materials for the U.S. and in turn importing

manufactured goods from the U.S. The exportation has not been limited to natural

resources but to human resources as well. The 'brain drain' phenomenon in the

Philippines is a term coined for the mass exodus of professionals and other skilled

laborers seeking gainful employment in the U.S. Although the U.S. has pulled out from

its large military and naval base operations, there has been an infusion of U.S. military

aid and personnel brought about by the recent global fight against terrorism. More

importantly, however, English continues to be the dominant language especially in

schools, business enterprises, and governmental agencies (Galang, 1998). Lastly, the

powerful influence of U.S. popular culture that is transmitted through media and other

modes of telecommunication continues to guarantee the U.S. cultural stronghold in the

former colony (Agbayani-Siewart & Revilla, 1995).

In a discussion of colonized and immigrant minorities in the United States,

Blaunder (1972) restates the distinct histories and effects that colonization has had on

various racial and ethnic groups, and the different ways in which these groups have

responded. However, his conclusion that the Filipino "movement to the United States has

been largely voluntary" fails to recognize the effects that centuries of colonization, the

devastation of war, and the colonial restructuring of Philippine educational, political, and

economic institutions – to the needs and vision of American capitalism, can have in

creating the material and ideological conditions that would motivate Filipinos from the

1900s onward to emigrate from their native land to the home of their colonizers (Samson,

1999).

Espiritu (2002) acknowledges that the "institutional invisibility" which

characterizes many Filipino immigrants, despite their large numbers and long history in

the U.S., is part of the legacy of the colonial encounter between America and the Philippines.

According to De Castro (1994), Filipino American identity involves a search for collective history, one that involves not only the experiences of Filipinos in the United States but also those in the Philippines. He traces back the Filipino American's contemporary struggle over identity to the period of colonization in the Philippines that resulted in the "colonial mentality." San Juan (1992) aptly describes how the "thoroughly Americanized culture of the homeland" has prepared and enabled the Filipino immigrants not only to gain proficiency in English but also "to become exposed to U.S. lifestyles, cultural practices, and consumption patterns." One would expect that this preference and orientation to Western values and American sensibilities would facilitate an easier cultural transition for Filipino immigrants. Both Espiritu (2002) and De Castro (1994), conclude, however, that in the case of post-1965 second-generation youth, there seems to be a growing sense of oppositional identity that subsequently leads to a rejection of the assimilative "American" identity. This seems to be corroborated by Rumbaut's (1997) findings regarding the shift in terms of self-definition among ethnic minority youth, from plain "American" towards a more proudly militant or nationalistic affirmation one's ethnic identity. According to Rumbaut (1997), the greatest shift occurred among the Mexican and Filipino youth.

Wolf (2002) uses the term 'transnational struggles' to underscore the notion of differing codes, cultures, and ideologies and goals that circulate in the lives and minds of Filipino immigrant children. She suggests that second generation Filipino youths experience emotional transnationalism – which situates them between different

generational and locational points of reference – their parents', sometimes also their grandparents', and their own. This complex process involves multiple, interacting, and sometimes conflicting layers – which influence their degree of assimilation to U.S. cultural norms, including learning English, as well as the psycho-social consequences brought about by the tensions and conflicts between two diametric cultures with their corresponding asymmetric power-relations.

During the period of adjustment to mainstream society, immigrant children often have to contend with racial prejudice and discrimination, (James, 1997; Rumbaut, 1997).

According to Olsen (1988), a majority of immigrant students believe that Americans feel negatively towards them and are unreceptive. Almost every student in her sample reported having been called names, pushed or spat upon, or deliberately tricked, teased or laughed at because of their race or ethnicity. This is consistent with Rumbaut's (1997) previous reports that ethnic self-identification increases with residence in the United States, as those that have been discriminated against are more likely to identify with their ethnic origin. Gil, Vega, and Dimas (1994) argue that immigrant perceptions of prejudice and discriminations vary across generations, with second generation immigrants reporting the most prejudice. They suggest that the second generation may feel more deprived because it had higher initial aspirations and expectations (Roger et al., 1991). According to McCarthy (2001), the impact of discrimination and racial prejudice on the adaptation of immigrant children, especially the very young, has been a historically neglected issue and is now being recognized as crucial both for theoretical understanding of and behavioral intervention with immigrant children.

Filipino American families and their children, just like many ethnic minorities, are identified as people of color and as such experience the racism and discrimination that exists in the U.S. society. According to Espiritu and Wolf (2001), the formation of racialized minority identity among Filipino American adolescents does not begin in the U.S. but rather in the 'homeland' already affected by U.S. economic, social and cultural influences. Young Filipinos suffering discrimination, believed that their race or nationality were the overwhelming reasons for that unfair treatment. In-depth interviews with second generation Filipinos in San Diego County corroborate these findings (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001). Many of those interviewed reported that they had been verbally or physically harassed by others because of racial prejudice. These incidents seem to constitute key events in the ethnic experience of these Filipino Americans, a background against which they interpret subsequent incidents and reevaluate their assigned place in U.S. society.

Summary

The literature has emphasized that for better or worse, immigration is a family affair, and that the greatest struggles and conflicts seem to occur within this elementary unit. (Padilla & Duran, 1995; Vega et al., 1995; Laosa, 1989; Garcia-Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Rumbaut, 1997; Wolf, 2002; Espiritu, 2002 and many others.) Contemporary immigration among Filipinos may be a result primarily of economically-driven decisions. The economic goal may be achieved in the short term, as financial wherewithal and access to opportunities such as basic education become attainable. However, apart from economic advancement, the ultimate goal of achieving a better family life is constantly threatened as the families struggle to maintain and preserve their code and creed

regarding roles and relationships amidst a new set of familial, social, political, cultural and economic ideologies and expectations.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The design of this study uses both descriptive and in-depth qualitative methods, as I was concerned not only in trying to establish the present situation of Filipino immigrant families but also in gaining a better understanding of the social and cultural landscape of their experiences in the United States. The quantitative and qualitative methodologies used complement and inform the other, thereby allowing me to capture the complex dynamics between sociocultural influences and personal choices that are made manifest in the ways that Filipino immigrant parents map out the socialization goals that they have for their children.

Research Subjects

The participants of the study consisted of 100 mothers of Filipino immigrant students who were enrolled in elementary schools within the San Francisco Unified School District. I chose the mothers to be the respondents because in the Filipino family, the mother is considered to be the primary agent of socialization (Guthrie & Jacobs, 1966; Jocano & Mendez, 1974; Licuanan, 1979; Shimizu, 1984, Litton 2001). Mothers were given a letter describing the nature of the study. The letter explained the rationale of the study and why I was soliciting their participation. The letter also contained all the necessary information so that they could give their informed consent. The mothers had the option to participate in the study or to refuse to participate (see Appendix A).

Research Locale

Bessie Carmichael Elementary School and Longfellow Elementary School were selected as recruitment sites for this study because of their fairly large Filipino student population. After the closure of the school district's Filipino Education Center in 2001, Bessie Carmichael became the receiver school for many newly-arrived Filipino immigrants in the San Francisco area. The selection criteria for mothers were that (1) they be Filipino immigrants or U.S. citizens (of Filipino descent), who spent part of their lives in the Philippines, and (2) they have children who were enrolled in grades K-5.

The populations of Filipino American students in the two selected schools are shown on Table 1 below.

Table 1. Population of Filipino American students for SY 2001-2002

School	Total Student Population (K-5)	Total Filipino-American Population	Percentage of Filipino-American Population
Bessie Carmichael	352	146	41.5%
Longfellow Elementary	581	279	37%

Procedure for Sampling Selection

The principals of the two schools directed me to their K-5 Filipino Bilingual Classes, which served mostly of Filipino American students, as well as other K-5 English Language Development classes that also had Filipino American students. I initially distributed a total of 167 questionnaires. The teachers helped me to distribute the questionnaires by including these in their weekly Home/School packets. There were printed instructions on the return envelopes - specifically directing the mothers to put

back all consent forms as well as any answered/unanswered questionnaires. I then made follow-up visits to the different classrooms to collect the returned questionnaires of which there were 100. The total numbers of questionnaires distributed and retrieved are shown on Table 2.

Table 2. Questionnaire Distribution and Retrieval

School	No. of Questionnaires Distributed	No. of Questionnaires Retrieved	Percentage of Retrieval
Bessie Carmichael	112	65	58%
Longfellow Elementary	55	35	64%
Total	167	100	60%

Table 3 presents the demographic characteristics of the mothers who answered the questionnaire. In some cases, there were missing answers, thereby accounting for the less than 100 total for each descriptive category.

Table 3. Description of Participants

	Total Number	Percent (%)
Mother's Age		
20 – 25 years old	2	2
26 – 30 years old	11	11
31 – 35 years old	31	31
36 – 40 years old	30	30
41 – 45 years old	11	11
46 – 50 years old	11	11

	Total Number	Percent (50
50 years and older	1	1
50 years and older	1	1
Total	97	97
Marital Status		
Married	65	65
Single	28	28
Domestic Partner	1	1
Total	94	94
Mother's Education		
Primary (grades 1- 4)	0	0
Intermediate (grades 5-7)	3	3
High school graduate	20	20
Two years of college	29	29
College graduate	38	38
Graduate degree	10	10
Total	100	100
Household Income per Year		
$10,000 and below	8	8
$11,000 - $20,000	18	18
$21,000 - $30,000	21	21
$31,000 - $40,000	14	14
$41,000 - $60,000	15	15
$60,000 or more	15	15
Total	91	91
Mother's Occupation		
Unemployed	1	1
Full time homemaker	11	11
Self-employed	2	2
Employee (office, corporation, etc.)	71	71
Professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, etc.)	12	12

	Total Number	Percent (%)
Retired	1	1
Total	98	98
Mother's Religious Affiliation		
Roman Catholic	85	85
Christian	10	10
Muslim	0	0
Other	5	5
Total	100	100
Country of birth		
Philippines	99	99
USA	1	1
Total	100	100
Length of Residence in the U.S.		
0-5 years	23	23
6-10 years	29	29
11-15 years	30	30
16-20 years	8	8
20 years or more	9	9
Total	99	99
Number of children		
1	23	23
2	46	46
3	23	23
4	6	6
5 or more	2	2
Total	100	100

Research Instruments

Survey

In the absence of an existing instrument that deals particularly with the problem and issues discussed above, I devised a survey based on the indicators to be measured (see Appendix B). I presented the instrument to four practitioners in the field of Education for content validation and its applicability to the respondents (see Appendix C). I solicited comments and suggestions on the clarity of directions, clarity of statements, relevance and applicability of the statements to the mothers, and appropriateness of the questionnaire for its intended responses. I incorporated all comments and feedback into the questionnaire. I also had the instrument pilot-tested for user-reliability and understandability by sending out an initial questionnaire form to some selected Filipino parents with the same characteristics as the target respondents. I also considered their comments and feedback in finalizing my questionnaire.

The survey items reflected the five major influences on socialization goals among Filipino immigrant families that I identified in my conceptual framework (see Chapter 1). These were: (1) Ethnic Identity/Cultural Orientation; (2) Personal beliefs regarding parental role/family relationships; (3) Parental descriptions of the "Modal Filipino Person"; (4) Language Option/Usage; and (5) "Colonial Mentality"/Perceived Racial Discrimination.

The survey contained 25 items related to the five sociocultural influences. A cluster of five items covered each sociocultural influence. Items 1 to 5 were related to Ethnic Identity/Cultural Orientation; Items 6 to 10 were related to Parental Beliefs about roles and family relationships; Items 11 to 15 were related to Parental descriptions of the

"Modal Filipino Person"; Items 16 to 20 were related to Language Option and Usage; and questions Items 21 to 25 were related to "Colonial Mentality" and Perceived Discrimination.

Definition of Cluster Items in the Parental Socialization Survey

1. *Ethnic Identity/Cultural Orientation* items refer to the parent's socialization goals relating to ethnic identification and perceptions about the Filipino culture. Items in this scale also include preference for Filipino media and food.

2. *Personal belief* items reflect differences in how parents, as individuals with specific personal as well as sociocultural histories, come to develop their own world-views as well as conceptions of what it means to be a parent, an immigrant, a social being. This also includes items that focus on how parents view family roles and relationships.

3. *Parental descriptions of the "Modal Filipino Person"* items refer to their conceptions and expectations vis-à-vis their children's developmental and social outcomes. I am assuming that even within a cultural group that shares many common socialization goals, there may be differences with regards to how parents define what an ideal child should be. I chose 4 specific values that are shared by Filipinos across distance and generations (Jocano, 1988; Agbayani-Siewart & Revilla, 1995; Ilana-Tenorio, 1997). These are familial closeness, religiosity, respect for authority, and smooth interpersonal relationships.

4. *Language Option and Usage* items examine the parents' knowledge of Filipino and English, and their preference in using one language or another for socialization and communication purposes.

5. *"Colonial Mentality"/ Perceived Discrimination* items evaluate the parents' perception with regards to how they and their children are discriminated upon as well as their preference for the ethnicity of friends and social networks. "Colonial Mentality" items will focus on the subjects' preference for the American way of life and American goods.

Scoring and Interpretation of the Survey

Each item was scaled in the direction of Filipino cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty, so that a high rating reflected socialization goals that were more aligned with

traditional Filipino values and orientation, had a higher degree of cultural loyalty, and espoused a stronger emphasis on Filipino cultural identity. The participants indicated the degree to which they agreed or disagreed, from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) with the 25 statements in the questionnaire/survey. Items 1 through 20 were scored accordingly while items 21 through 25 were reverse-scored as a check on consistency. The total score was the sum of all 25 multiple-choice items that were circled. The highest possible score for each respondent was 125 while the lowest possible score was 25.

Mean scores were calculated for each factor. I used the following formula to determine the means (Downie & Heath, 1983):

$$X = X/N$$

Where   X = sum of the scores
      N = the number of responses
      X = the mean

Following is a breakdown of mean scores and their interpretation:

4.0 and above	- indicated high agreement with traditional Filipino socialization goals and parental expectations.
3.0 – 3.9	- indicated moderate agreement with traditional Filipino socialization goals and parental expectations.
2.0 – 2.9	- indicated a neutral stance.
1.0 – 1.9	- indicated moderate disagreement with traditional Filipino socialization goals and parental expectations.
.9 and below	- indicated high disagreement with traditional Filipino socialization goals and parental expectations.

The survey was designed to answer the first research question regarding the sociocultural influences that impinge on the socialization goals of Filipino immigrant parents.

In-depth Interview

From the 100 survey respondents, I randomly selected five mothers from among the ten highest scorers and another five mothers from among the ten lowest scorers. I conducted in-depth interviews with these mothers to verify the findings of the survey data as well as to provide a qualitative context for interpreting their results. I gave all the mothers the option to participate or refuse to participate in the interviews. All ten mothers that I had randomly picked out from the high-scoring and low-scoring ends agreed to be interviewed. Seven out of the ten mothers agreed to meet with me in their child's school during after-school hours. The remaining three mothers asked me to go to their homes and hold the interviews there. The interviews generally lasted for about 30 to 45 minutes each. All the mothers agreed for me to audiotape the proceedings of the interviews. They also granted their consent to be quoted anonymously in my research.

The interview schedule consisted of 13 open-ended questions that were all derived from the original questionnaire (see Appendix D). The questions aimed to elucidate in detail, what parents thought about the five major socializing influences and how they came to develop the perspectives they hold. The open-ended nature of the interviews allowed the parents to answer from their own frame of reference and to freely express their thoughts and feelings regarding their own parenting experiences as well as the difficulties and challenges they faced in carrying out their primary parental duties. The interviews also invited an atmosphere of reflection aimed at facilitating a deeper understanding of the different kinds of pressures that are operating on families, which in turn influence the way children are helped or hindered in their own developmental and

cultural processes of identity formation and acculturation. The demographic

characteristics of the ten interviewees are shown on Table 4.

Table 4. Description of Interviewees

High-Scoring Group								
	Score	Status	Age	Education	Job	Religion	Yrs. in the U.S.	No. of children	Ages of children
1	118	Single Parent	37	H.S. Graduate	Office Employee	Catholic	9	2	2 1/2, 10
2	112	Married	38	2 years of College	Office Employee	Catholic	3	2	7, 8
3	115	Married	37	College Graduate	Office Employee	Catholic	> 20 years	3	7, 8, 9
4	107	Married	35	College Graduate	Teacher Assistant	Catholic	11	2	7, 10
5	107	Married	32	2 years of College	Office Employee	Christian	8	2	7, 8
Low-Scoring Group								
	Score	Status	Age	Education	Job	Religion	Yrs. in the U.S.	No. of children	Ages of children
6	78	Married	42	H.S. Graduate	Babysitter	Christian	9	3	6, 14, 19
7	86	Married	32	College Graduate	Office Employee	Catholic	6	2	2 mos., 7
8	88	Married	44	Graduate Degree	Teacher	Christian	> 20 years	2	5, 13
9	86	Married	37	H.S. Graduate	Nurse Aid	Catholic	11	2	6, 10
10	96	Single Parent	48	College Graduate	Office Employee	Catholic	4	1	11

Coding and Interpretation of the Interviews

As noted previously, I used both a quantitative and qualitative approach to my data

gathering and interpretation. The qualitative approach is grounded on the notion that

values and beliefs are socially constructed (Erickson, 1986). Therefore, socialization

goals among Filipino immigrant parents and the resulting identity development of Filipino immigrant children are products of the interplay of meaning perspectives of the parents and their children, and their corresponding actions that impinge upon the families' dynamics rather than an isolated effects of mutually exclusive causal categories such as ethnicity or economics. I also focused on 'social ecology'. According to Erickson (1986), this means discovering the specific ways in which local and nonlocal forms of organization and culture relate to the activities of specific persons in making choices and conducting social action together. In my research on Filipino immigrant families, this would mean elucidating how the decisions and practices of all its members constitute what would be for them, socialization goals and strategies that can adequately prepare their children for social, educational, and economic success in the United States. My qualitative analysis aims to uncover the different layers of 'universality and particularity' in these particular cases of the ten mothers and their families, in the hopes of gaining a clearer understanding of the situation of Filipino immigrants in contemporary American society.

I analyzed transcripts of interviews using constant comparative methods by which I examined information for similarities that would reflect general categories. I repeatedly compared these data pieces to the others to derive a general theoretical framework that could adequately support, interpret, explain, and expand the data that I gathered through the survey. Through inductive analysis, I set up my interview data into five coding categories that reflected the same sociocultural influences that I developed in my conceptual framework and that I tapped in my survey. These were (1) Ethnic Identity/Cultural Orientation; (2) Parental Beliefs about Roles and Relationships; (3) The

Modal Filipino Person; (4) Language Option and Usage; and (5) "Colonial

Mentality"/Perceived Discrimination.

The open-ended interviews were designed to respond to the second research

question regarding the issues that relate to problems that families and children encounter

and the ways that families are helped or hindered in their task of socializing their

children.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

I have organized the results according to the five sociocultural influences on

parental socialization goals. Therefore, after a general discussion of the total score

distribution, the chapter will then be divided into the five major headings. Each heading

will be subdivided into two sections. The first presents the quantitative results of the

survey while the second expands and enriches the survey results with the qualitative

findings from the in-depth interviews.

Overview of Total Score Distribution

Although my findings are organized around the five major sociocultural influences,

it is useful to present an overall tabulation of the total scores that the mothers obtained

from the 25-item survey. As previously mentioned, the highest possible score was 125

and the lowest possible score was 25. In this particular sample, the highest score was 118,

while the lowest score was 66. The total score distribution is shown on Figure 2.

Figure 2. Percentage of Total Scores

Scores of Respondents
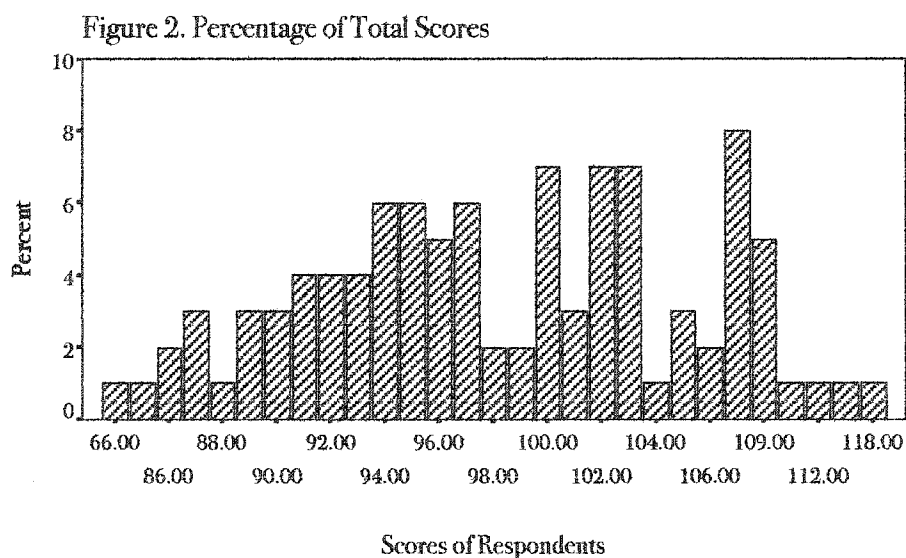
Figure 2 shows that the scores are spread fairly evenly. A greater number of mothers scored closer to the higher end of the scoring continuum as close to 70% of them scored above 95. Moreover, most of the low-scoring mothers fell in the 85-90 range with only 2 mothers scoring below 75. At first glance, then, it would appear that majority of the mothers in the sample align their socialization goals with traditional Filipino child-rearing practices and strategies (M = 98.21; S.D. = 7.89). The statistical descriptors for the total score distribution are shown on Table 5.

Table 5. Statistical Indices for the Total Score Distribution

Mean	Median	Mode	Standard Deviation	Minimum Score	Maximum Score	Total Cases
98.21	98	107	7.89	66	118	100

Survey Results and In-depth Interviews regarding Individual Factors

Ethnic Pride/Cultural Orientation

Mas maganda pa rin na maipanatili natin ang kulturang Pilipino at ipasa ito sa mga bata, dahil ito ang nagbibigay diwa sa atin. Hindi maganda na iwanan ang kultura natin. Sa halip ay dapat patibayin natin ang mga bagay na nagsasaad ng ating pagka-Pilipino.

[It is better to preserve our Filipino culture and to pass this on to our children because this is what gives meaning to our being. Instead of leaving our culture behind, we should strengthen the values and traditions that make us uniquely Filipino.]

Irene[1], Filipino mother

---

[1] All names have been changed to protect the anonymity of the interviewees. Excerpts from the interviews are reported verbatim in Filipino followed by an English translation.

Results of Survey Items on Ethnic Identity/Cultural Orientation

Survey items 1-5 dealt with the mothers' identification with and orientation toward

the Filipino culture.

The distribution of mean scores for Items 1- 5 is shown on Figure 3.

Figure 3. Mean Scores of Sociocultural Influence # 1

Ethnic Identity and Cultural Orientation
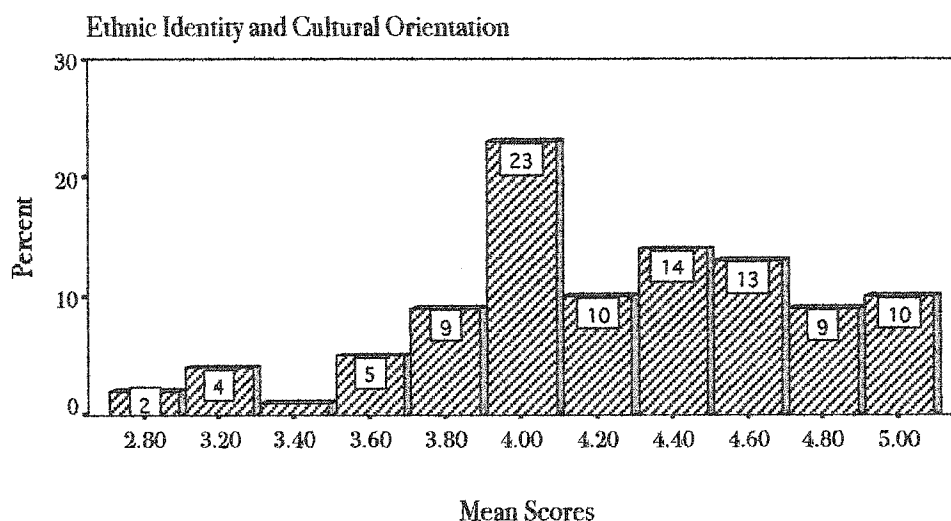
Mean Scores

The distribution of mean scores for this cluster indicates that a greater percentage of

mothers scored at the higher end of the continuum than at the lower end. Furthermore,

close to 80% of the mothers scored between the mean scores of 4 and 5 (See Figure 3).

There was no mean score of 1, indicating that no one among the 100 mothers strongly

disagreed with any of the five items in cluster one. Ten percent of the mothers obtained a

mean score of 5, indicating that at least some of the mothers agreed completely with the

five statements in this cluster. This indicates that the mothers valued Filipino cultural

heritage and desired to include Filipino customs and traditions in their child-rearing

repertoire (M = 4.23 on a 5 point scale; SD .50). (See Table 6 for the statistical descriptors for the mean scores of Items 1-5).

Table 6. Statistical Indices for Mean Scores (Items 1-5)

Mean	Median	Mode	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
4.23	4.2	4.0	.50	2.8	5.0

The statistical descriptors for the individual items of this particular cluster are shown on Table 7.

Table 7. Statistical Indices for Items 1-5

Item Number	Mean	S.D.	Range
1) Children should be raised the way they are raised back home.	4.08	.89	1.0 – 5.0
2) Parents should teach their children traditional values/customs.	4.38	.58	3.0 – 5.0
3) Families should observe religious festivals/events.	4.44	.57	3.0 – 5.0
4) We should eat Fil. food, wear Fil. clothes, and use Fil. goods.	3.99	.70	2.0 – 5.0
5) Parents should take their children back home for regular visits.	4.24	.85	1.0 – 5.0

Four out of five mean scores for Items 1-5 ranged from 4.08 to 4.44, with the exception of Item #3, which had a mean score of 3.99. This indicates that on the average, most of the mothers agreed with the items that pertained to raising their children with a sense of their Filipino ethnic identity and orienting them towards Filipino customs and traditions.

The distribution of responses for Items 1-5, are shown on Figures 4 to 8 below.

Figure 4. Distribution of responses for Item #1
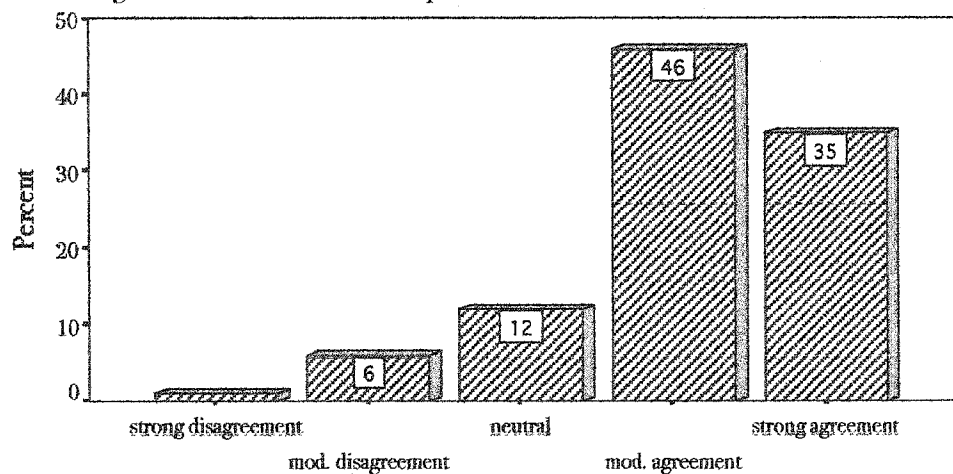
"Children should be raised the way they are raised back home."

Figure 5. Distribution of responses for Item #2
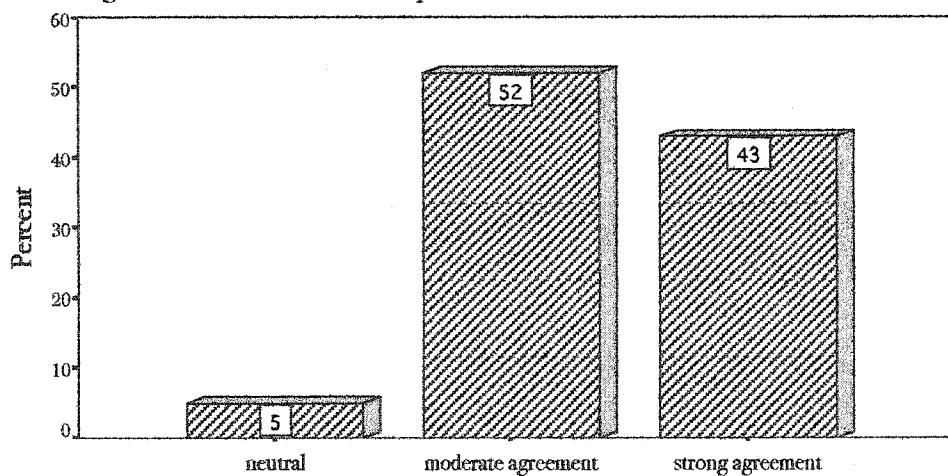
"Parents should teach children Filipino values/customs."

Figure 6. Distribution of responses for Item #3
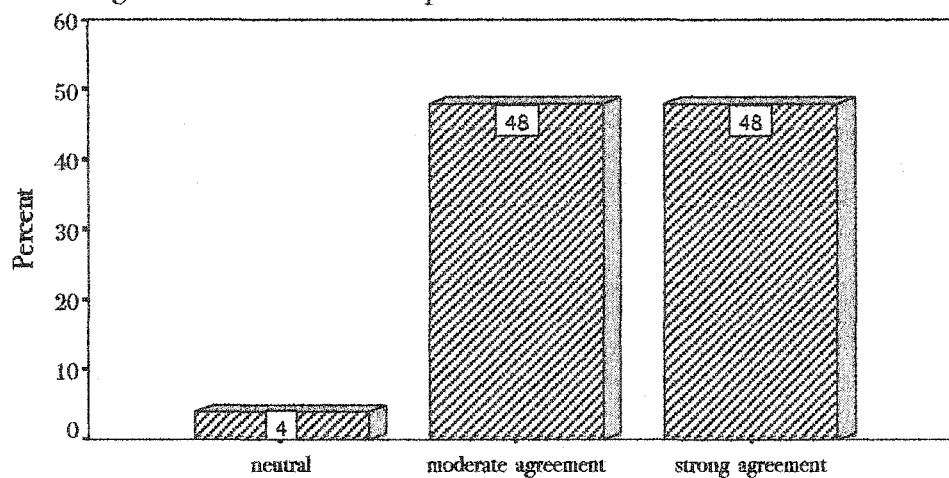
"Families should observe religious festivals/commemorative events."

Figure 7. Distribution of responses for Item #4
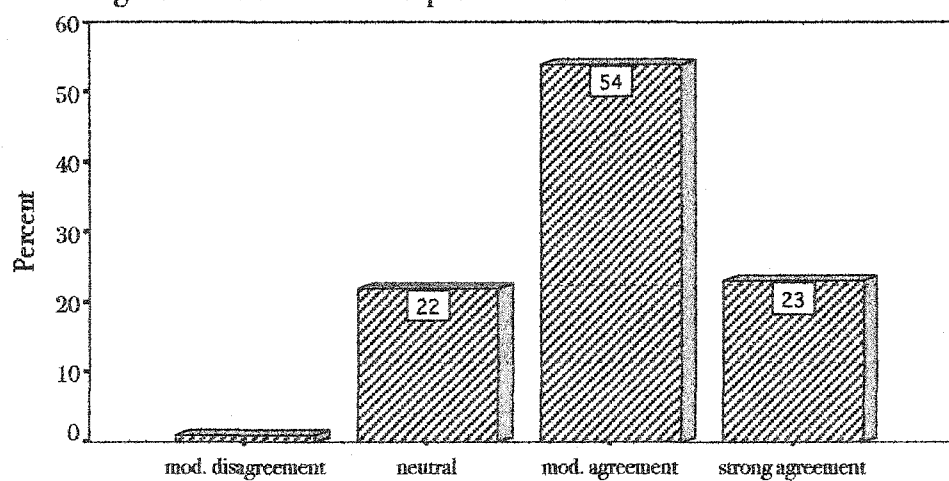
"We should eat Filipino food...patronize Filipino products."

Figure 8. Distribution of responses for Item #5
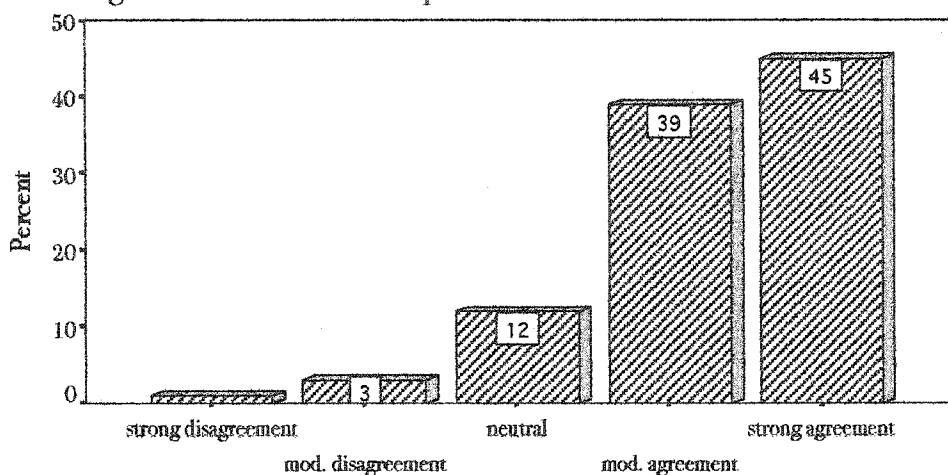
"Parents should take their children on regular homevisits."

Looking at the individual items in this cluster, it is evident that the mothers who

moderately or strongly agreed with each of the five items far outnumbered those who

disagreed. Almost all of the mothers indicated their agreement with the first two items.

95% agreed with the idea of passing on Filipino values and customs (See Figure 5) and

96% agreed on the importance of observing religious events and commemorative

holidays (See Figure 6). Moreover, nobody disagreed, whether strongly or moderately,

with these two statements. Only 7% disagreed with the idea of raising their children the

way people do back in the Philippines (See Figure 4); 4% disagreed with the idea of

bringing their children for regular homevisits with family and other relatives (See Figure

8); and only 1% disagreed with the idea of patronizing Filipino products and eating

Filipino food (See Figure 7).

The findings of this particular cluster seem to corroborate the literature on child-

rearing practices of Filipino families, which Guthrie et al. (1966) and Jocano (1998)

characterize as being highly familial in its tradition of passing on cultural traits, and

features that have been transmitted from previous generations. Moreover, despite the variation in length of U.S. residence among the 100 mothers, their responses in this cluster seem to indicate a high degree of desire to align their child-rearing practices with traditional practices of the homeland. It is interesting to note that this finding departs from those cited by Espiritu and Wolf (2001) regarding the lack of active cultural socialization among Filipino homes. However, their findings were based on the experiences of cultural socialization from the perspectives of Filipino immigrant adolescents, whereas in this study, the findings come from the perspectives of Filipino immigrant mothers. Moreover, while the adolescents in Espiritu's and Wolf's study related their perceptions regarding their experiences of being socialized by their parents, perceptions examined in this survey are the mother's own socialization goals and desires. Whether this intent is indicative of subsequent child-rearing strategies and reflective of concrete cultural socialization activities, was not directly measured by the survey.

On the whole, the results of the survey for this particular cluster indicate a strong desire on the mothers' part, to incorporate Filipino customs and traditional child-rearing practices into their present parenting repertoire.

In-depth Interviews regarding Ethnic Pride/Cultural Orientation

The interviewees' indicated a general sense of agreement regarding the importance of preserving traditional Filipino values and maintaining a Filipino cultural orientation among their children. All of the high-scoring interviewees and most of the low-scoring ones stated that it was important for their children to recognize their Filipino cultural identity.

According to Maria,

> I want my children to be proud of who they are; that they
> are part of a mixed cultural heritage – from the Spanish,
> Chinese, and Americans, but uniquely Filipino American.
> My children often ask me, "Mommy are we part this, or
> part that?" I tell them that we are all of that but first and
> foremost, we are Filipinos.

The mothers believed that their children cannot learn to accept and affirm their Filipino identities if they did not first recognize the features that defined it and made it special and unique. Katrina, another high-scoring mother, describes how she constantly teaches her children about the differences between the Filipino and American cultures. Beyond stating differences however, she makes sure to state her preference for the Filipino culture and shows this by providing her children with as many opportunities to learn about their native culture and its rich heritage and traditions.

> *Lagi kong pinapaliwanag na maraming pagkakaiba ang*
> *kulturang Amerikano at ang kulturang Pilipino. Pero lagi*
> *ko rin silang sinasabihan na mas angkop para sa atin ang*
> *kultura natin dahil parang totoong diwa natin ito. Ine-*
> *expose ko rin sila sa mga pagkain natin, sa mga*
> *pambansang araw, sa Filipino Independence Day*
> *activities, Araw ng mga Patay, atbp.*

> [I always explain to my children that the American culture
> and the Filipino culture are quite different from one
> another. But I always tell them that our culture is what I
> expect them to adhere to because it is what defines our
> souls and our beings. To do this, I always try to expose
> them to Filipino foods, Filipino celebrations, religious
> events, etc.]

Nida echoes the same desire for her children to retain their Filipino identities. According to her,

> *Ayaw kong makalimutan nila kung saan sila nanggaling at*
> *gusto kong dalhin nila ang kultura nila habang buhay.*

> [I don't want to them to forget where they came from. I
> want them to carry their culture with them throughout their
> lives.]

While most of the low-scoring mothers expressed similar sentiments, some of them

commented on how environmental pressures might inevitably make it more difficult for

their children to maintain their Filipino identities as they grow older. According to Aida,

> *Gusto ko sana ang Pilipinong kultura. Kanya lang, hindi*
> *maaalis na makuha nila ang ibang ugali ng mga*
> *kaeskuwela, barkada, at kaibigan na galing sa ibang*
> *kultura.*
>
> [I would prefer that my son retain his Filipino culture.
> However, it seems inevitable that he will acquire the
> attitudes and behaviors of his schoolmates, peers, and
> friends who come from other cultures.]

Josefina also talked about how it was important for her daughter to mix and

incorporate some American cultural features in order to survive and thrive in the

American society.

> *Pilipino ang gusto ko, pero half-half. Filipino values pero*
> *gusto ko rin siyang matutong tumayo sa sarili niya at*
> *huwag lang umasa sa iba. Ganyan kasi dito sa Amerika*
> *diba?*
>
> [I want my daughter to retain her Filipino culture, but
> maybe half-half. She must keep her Filipino values but she
> must also become independent and not rely on others even
> if she is still young. That is the way it is here in the U.S.,
> isn't it?]

The difference between the two groups of mothers did not seem to be the lack of

awareness regarding differences in cultural orientations and pressures that may come

from external forces like schools and peer groups. Rather, the difference came from the

decisions that the mothers made in light of this knowledge. Some of the low-scoring

mothers chose to live 'apart' from the Filipino community. They argued that it was better

for their children to be exposed, early on, to the multicultural context rather than band together with other Filipinos.

According to Josefina,

> *Ang pinili kong apartment complex ay iyong wala*
> *masyadong Pilipino. Ayaw kong tumira kami sa apartment*
> *na karamihan ay Pilipino. Mas gusto kong masanay ang*
> *anak ko sa iba't ibang uri ng tao.*
>
> [I chose to live in an apartment complex with very few
> Filipinos. I'd rather that my child get used to being
> surrounded by different kinds of people rather than just
> Filipinos.]

However, in choosing to isolate themselves from other Filipino families, they inadvertently limit their children to few ethnic networks and activities that can help the latter become more familiar with Filipino cultural practices. Moreover, whereas some of the low-scoring mothers seemed to accept the fact that their children will eventually have to accommodate the cultural orientations of their peers or that their children would have to compromise some of their values in order to survive in America, all of the high-scoring mothers channeled their efforts at trying to maintain the Filipino orientation within their children despite the cultural differences and cultural pressures that the latter are sure to face when they grow up. They did this by actively engaging in the cultural activities sponsored by Filipino-American organizations, and by participating in family and community events that commemorate traditional events like the Philippine Independence Day and the Flores de Mayo. According to Nida,

> I know it's not easy for my family and my children. We are
> facing a paradigm clash with two opposing value systems.
> But we are consciously choosing to align our child-rearing
> goals with the Filipino paradigm.

Irene seconds this view.

> *Mahirap para sa mga anak ko na maging Pilipino dahil
> nakatira kami sa ibang bansa ngayon. Doon sa atin, ang
> sentro ng pamilya ay ang simbahan at ang komunidad –
> lahat ng ating pagkatao ay nakabatay dito sa dalawang ito.
> Pero dito, maraming iba't-ibang kultura, tapos mahalaga
> dito sa Amerika ang pagtayo sa sarili at di-pag-asa sa iba
> – na talagang kakaiba sa mga kinalakihan nating asal ng
> pagiging maka-pamilya at magtulung-tulungan. Kaya nga
> mahalaga na habang bata pa sila, ay maituro ko sa kanila
> na pahalagahan ang kanilang kultura, na magaling ang
> lahi nila, na hindi nila kinakailangang baguhin ang mga
> asal nila at tama ang ginagawa nilang pagpili sa kultura
> nila.*

> [It's difficult for my children to really establish their
> Filipino identity because, of course, they live in a different
> community now. Back home the center of our family was
> the Church and the community – everyone's identities were
> clearly attached to these two foundations. Here, of course,
> you have mixed cultures plus the values of individualism
> and self-determination – which run opposite to the very
> values that define our Filipino identity – that of being a
> collectivistic and other-centered people. That is why it is
> important for me to teach them now, while they are still
> young, to be proud of who they are, that their culture is
> special, that they don't have to change, and that they make
> right decisions when they choose to abide by Filipino
> values and traditions.]

Nine out of the ten mothers expressed the desire to rear their children the way

their own parents reared them. Although both high- and low-scoring mothers could not

guarantee the outcomes of these desires, the low-scoring mothers tended to accept the

inevitable infringement of external sociocultural pressures upon their child-rearing goals

and practices while the high-scoring mothers felt that they had to take on the extra task

being conscious about and consistent in orienting their children toward the Filipino

cultural heritage and identity. As Katrina explains,

> *Doon sa atin, ang mga anak ko purong purong Pilipino,
> hindi ako mamomroblema diyan. Pero dito, kailangan*

laging isinasaisip kong turuan sila kung paano maging
Pilipino. Kailangan ako maging huwaran sa kanila. Nasa
akin lamang ang responsibilidad na ito.

[Back home, my children would be 100% Filipino, I
wouldn't have any problems in that area. Here, I have to
consciously and deliberately teach them how to be
Filipinos. I have to set the example. The pressure is on me.
The sole and full responsibility lies on my shoulders.]

Summary of Findings on Ethnic Identity/Cultural Orientation

In summary the survey findings of the cluster on Ethnic Identity and Cultural
Orientation indicate that majority of the mothers agree with traditional Filipino child-
rearing practices and would like to continue to raise their children as they themselves
were raised back home. They also prefer to orient their children toward the Filipino
cultural heritage and imbue them with a distinct Filipino identity. While most of the
interviewees expressed a common desire to preserve the Filipino cultural heritage and
identity among their children, they differed in how they responded and reacted to
potential influences of external sociocultural contexts such as schools, neighborhoods,
peers, and media. While the low-scoring mothers saw the need for a certain degree of
compromise and accommodation toward assimilative pressures, many of the high-scoring
mothers saw the need for a higher degree of vigilance and a greater responsibility on their
part – to be more conscious and proactive in their cultural socialization strategies and
practices so as to preserve and maintain the Filipino cultural heritage and identity among
their children. Moreover, their decisions of where to live and which organization to join
either enabled or hindered the families' ability to provide their children with
opportunities to reinforce their culture of origin. Whereas more of the low-scoring
mothers chose to live in areas where there were not too many Filipinos, the high-scoring

mothers realized the advantage of situating their families in apartment buildings and

neighborhoods with a high concentration of Filipino families insofar as this would enable

their children to be with people from their own ethnic background as well as to become

more familiar with Filipino cultural practices on a more consistent basis.

Parental Beliefs about Roles and Family Relationships

Iba ang pagpapalaki dito sa Amerika, lalo na sa disiplina. Dito, habang bata pa, tinuturuan na sila sa eskuwela na kapag pinalo sila ng magulang nila, na dapat tawagan nila ang pulis. Hindi ko tuloy madisiplina ang anak ko nang husto. Hindi naman natin sila dinidisiplina para saktan sila, kundi para hindi sila malulong sa masama.

[Raising children is different here in the U.S. Here, while they are still young, they are already taught in school that when their parents spank them, they should call the police. It is not allowed for children to be disciplined the way we feel we should as parents. We are not disciplining them to hurt them, but to set them on the right path.]

Clara, Filipino mother

Results of Survey Items on Parental Beliefs about Roles and Relationships

Survey items 6-10 dealt with the mothers' personal as well as sociocultural

histories, as well as their conceptions of what it means to be a parent, and the roles they

defined for themselves as well as for their children.

The distribution of mean scores for Items 6-10 are shown on Figure 9.

Figure 9. Mean Scores for Sociocultural Influence #2

Parental Beliefs about Roles and Family Relationships
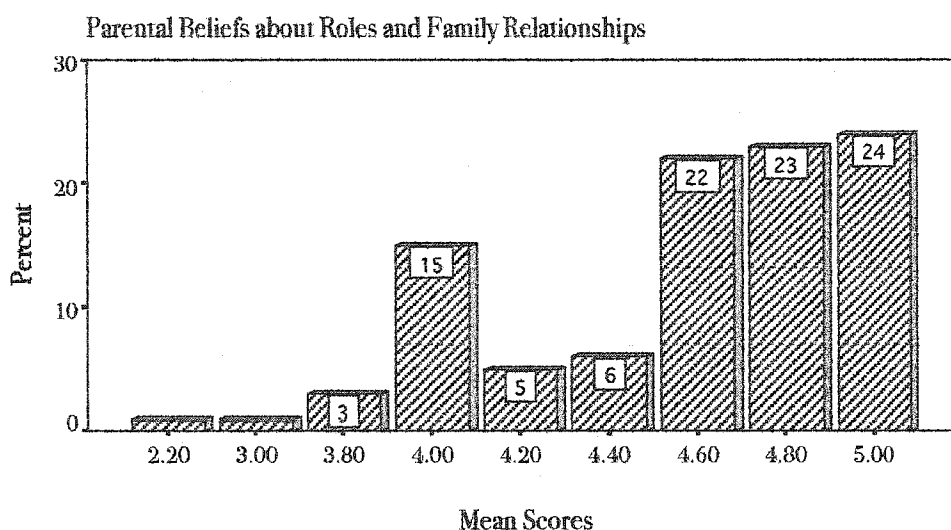
The distribution of mean scores for this cluster is even more skewed to the left

than the previous cluster as 95% of the mothers scored between the mean scores of 4 and

5, with 69% of them scoring above the mean score of 4.5 (See Figure 9). As with the

previous cluster on Ethnic Identity/Cultural Orientation, there was no mean score of 1,

indicating that none of the mothers strongly disagreed with any of the five items in

cluster two. On the other hand, twice as many mothers (24%) as those from the previous

cluster, obtained a mean score of 5, followed by 23% and 20% who obtained a mean

scores of 4.8 and 2.6 respectively. This indicates that a clear majority of the mothers

perceived their roles to be congruent with traditional Filipino parental roles especially

when it comes to the issues of being primary teachers, role models, and authority figures

in their children's lives (M = 4.6 on a 5 point scale; SD = .46). (See Table 8 for the statistical descriptors for the mean scores of Items 6-10).

Table 8. Statistical Indices for Mean Scores (Items 6-10)

Mean	Median	Mode	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
4.6	4.6	5.0	.46	2.2	5.0

The statistical descriptors for the individual items of this cluster are shown on Table 9.

Table 9. Statistical Indices for Items 6-10

Item Number	Mean	S.D.	Range
6) Parents are the first teachers/are in the best position to teach kids.	4.71	.54	2.0 – 5.0
7) Parents should be good role models and teach by example.	4.78	.42	4.0 – 5.0
8) Parents should have full authority when it comes to discipline.	4.50	.63	2.0 – 5.0
9) Children should be made to value the family name/honor.	4.50	.66	2.0 – 5.0
10) Children should defer to older siblings and adult relatives.	4.33	.79	1.0 – 5.0

Mean scores for all five items ranged from 4.33 to 4.78, indicating that on the whole, the mothers agreed with the items that pertained to traditional Filipino beliefs about parenting and widely-held views regarding roles and relationships among family members.

The distribution of responses for Items 6-10 are shown on Figures 10 to 14.

Figure 10. Distribution of responses for Item #6
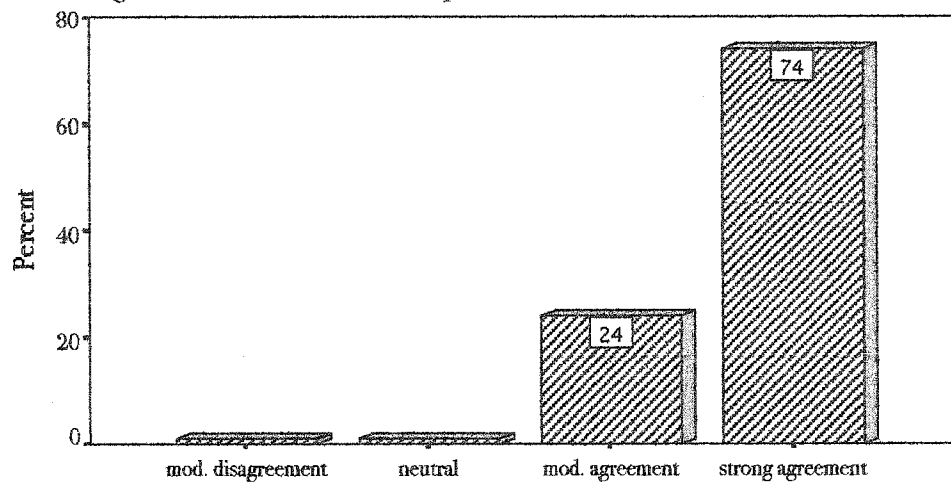
"Parents are the first teachers of their children."

Figure 11. Distribution of responses for Item #7
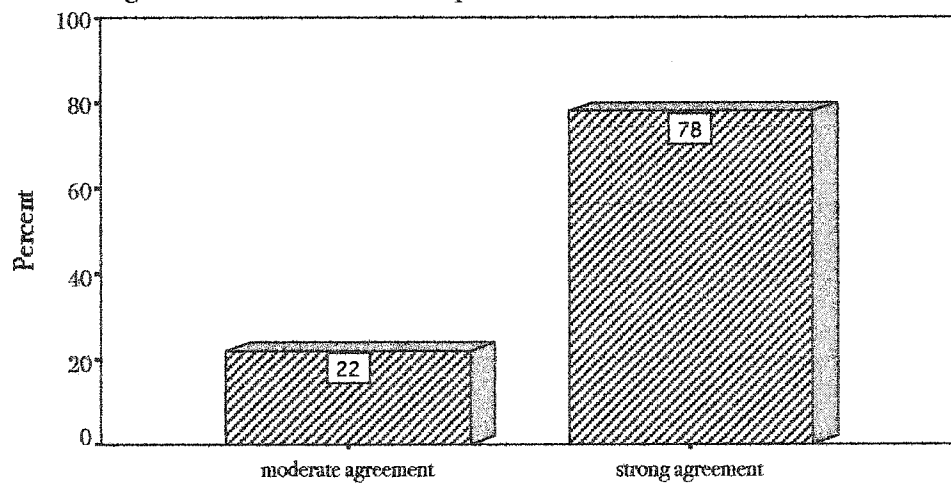
"Parents should be good role models and teach by example."

Figure 12. Distribution of responses for Item #8
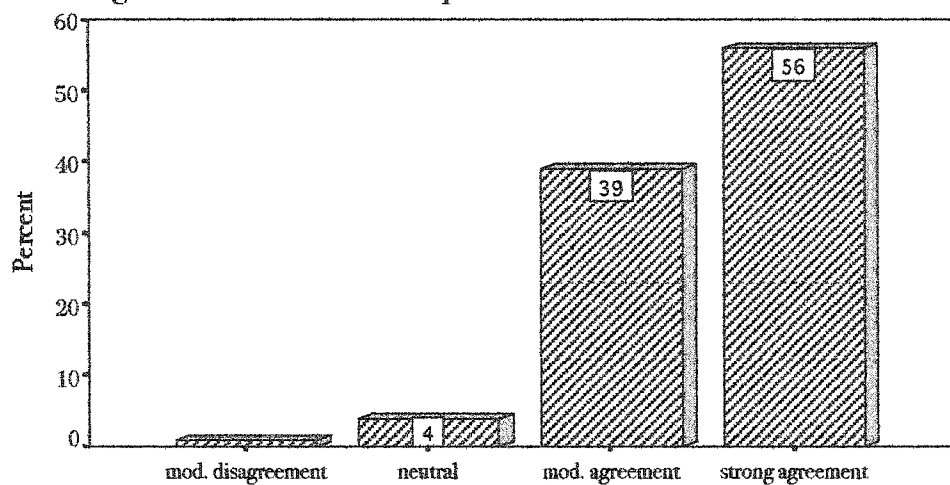
"Parents should have full authority when it comes to discipline."

Figure 13. Distribution of responses for Item #9
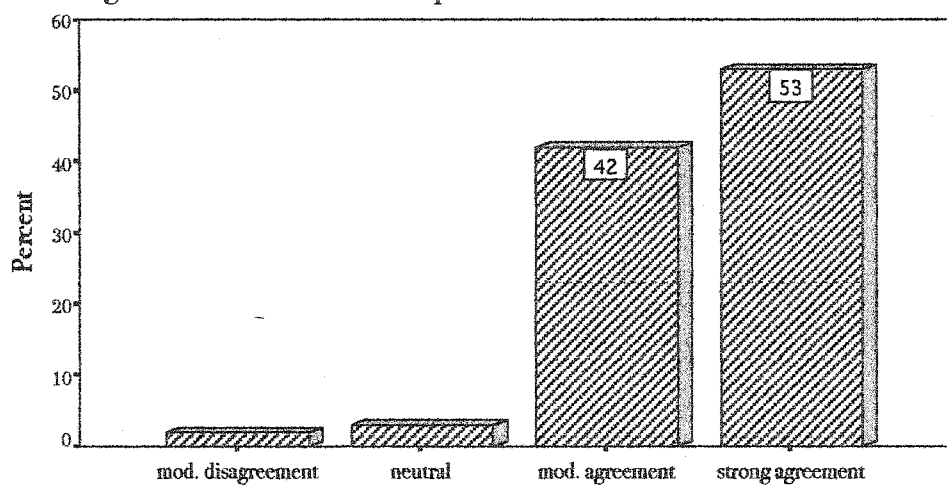
"Children should be made to honor the family name and honor."

Figure 14. Distribution of responses for Item #10
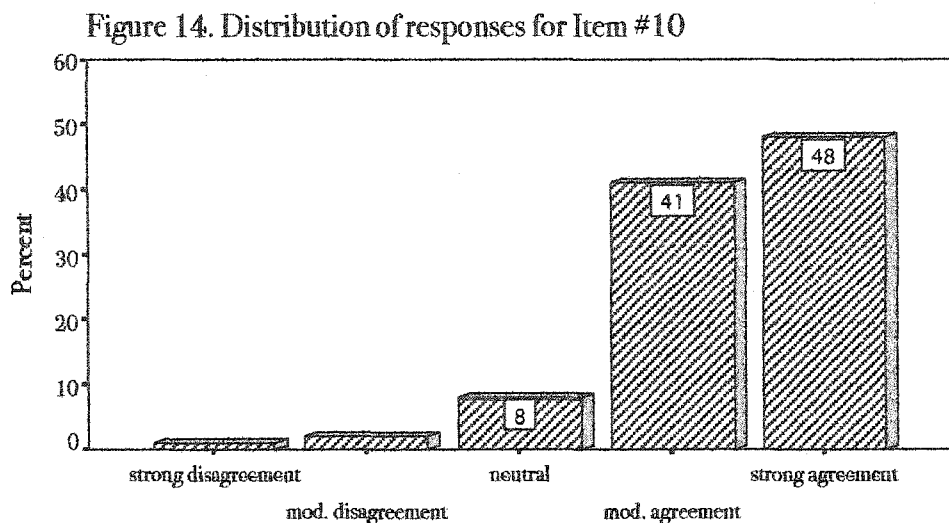
"Younger children should defer to older siblings and relatives."

Looking at the individual items in this cluster, it is evident that the mothers agreed with the traditional Filipino parental role definitions. 98% agreed that parents were their children's first and best teachers (See Figure 10). 100% believed they should be good role models and exemplars (See Figure 11). 95% agreed with the notion that parents should have full authority when it comes to enforcing discipline among their children (See Figure 12). 95% also believed that children should be made to honor the family name (See Figure 13). Finally, 88% agreed with the idea that younger children should defer to older siblings and adult relatives (See Figure 14).

The findings for this cluster is consistent with the literature that describes the hierarchical nature of familial relationships and characterizes the role of Filipino parents as dominant and authoritative (Domingo, 1961; Shimizu, 1984; Guthrie & Jacobs, 1966). Moreover, the results are also similar to those of previous studies in which parental discipline was found to be an integral element in the socialization repertoire of Filipino

families in the Philippines as well as in the U.S. (Flores, 1969; Licuanan, 1979; Agbayani-Siewart & Revilla, 1995; Heras & Revilla, 1994).

On the whole, the results of the survey for this particular cluster indicate that most of the mothers perceived their roles to be congruent with traditional Filipino parental roles especially when it comes to defining themselves as the primary teachers, role models, and authority figures in their children's lives as well as in delineating expected and acceptable role assignments and patterns of relationships among their families' members.

In-Depth Interviews regarding Parental Beliefs about Roles and Family Relationships

Just as in the previous cluster, the interview responses from both the high- and low-scoring mothers reflect the high degree of agreement in responses that were garnered in the survey. However, despite their agreement with the survey items, most of the mothers reported feeling challenged by societal and structural pressures that were forcing them to relinquish their full parental authority and redefine intrafamilial roles and relationships. All of the high-scoring mothers and most of the low-scoring ones reported awareness of a huge difference between societal expectations regarding parental roles and responsibilities and their own cultural expectations. For most of them, this cultural difference is exemplified in the ways in which parents are expected to exercise parental discipline as well as in the respect they are expected to receive from their children. For many Filipino parents, strict measures of discipline like spanking is viewed as well within their familial rights and duties. Moreover, although contemporary discipline practices among Filipino parents have become much more open to Western child discipline

practices that include dialogue and conversation between parent and child, the belief that parents still have the first and last say when it comes to disciplinary issues continues to prevail. Many Filipino immigrant parents, therefore, often feel misunderstood and confused once they discover that their disciplinary measures are morally and legally considered, by U.S. standards, as abusive. Nida summarizes the parents' sentiments when she describes her wariness towards governmental agencies like the Child Protection Services. According to her,

> *Hindi nila naiintindihan kung papaano natin pinapalaki ang ating mga anak. Wala naman silang tao sa loob ng opisina nila na nakaka-alam o nakaka-intindi ng ating kultura. Para sa akin, hindi sila sensitibo sa ating mga pangangailangan. May mga kaso na kinukuha ang bata dahil lamang pinalo ng mga magulang. Sino ba sila para husgahan kami? Hindi man nila sinisikap na kilalanin at intindihin kaming mga magulang.*

> [They do not understand my child-rearing values and practices. They lack people who are culturally-knowledgeable and sensitive. I don't perceive them to be sensitive to the needs of cultural minorities. I hear cases wherein children are taken away from families because they are spanked by their parents. Who are they to judge people like us? They do not even make the effort to know and understand where we are coming from.]

Irene adds that her role as a parent is undermined because –

> *Hindi ko nagagawa ang dapat kong gawin para palakihin ang anak ko sa wastong paraan.*

> [I am curtailed from fulfilling my duty as a parent to raise my children in the best way that I know.]

Aida claims that the inordinate power bestowed upon children by schools and government agencies is unfair to her as a parent, because it robs her of her capacity to exercise disciplinary authority; even worse, it minimizes her parental status in the eyes of her children.

*Unfair ito sa akin, dahil hindi ko na magawa ang
tungkulin ko bilang magulang. Dahil dito, mas madali
para sa mga anak ko na mag-rebelde sa akin dahil alam
nila na wala naman akong puwedeng gawin.*

[This is unfair to me because I cannot fulfill my duties as a
parent. Because of this, my children are more prone to
challenge and rebel against my authority because they
know they can get away with it anyway.]

According to the mothers, this loss of parental authority subsequently leads to a
change in family dynamics and relationships. Katrina notes that the vertical hierarchy
among Filipino families differs from the horizontal dynamic that is commonly found
among American families. She adds that the elevation of the child's status in the U.S.
threatens the hierarchical nature of Filipino families.

*Ang status ng bata sa atin, ang role ng nanay, tatay, at
anak – maliwanag. Habang nagsasalita ang mga
matatanda, hindi ka basta basta sasagot. Dito, hinahayaan
at tinuturuan pa ang mga bata na sumagot sa nakakatanda.
Parang nagkakapantay-pantay tuloy ang mga miyembro ng
pamilya at nababali-wala ang halaga ng edad at ng
karunungan.*

[Back home, the status of the mother, the father, and the
child are all very clear. Children are not allowed to
interrupt adult conversation whenever they feel like it.
Here, they are allowed and even encouraged to be
expressive and assertive even to those who are older than
they are. Family members almost seem to share an equal
footing regardless of age. It seems that the value of
seniority and wisdom are diminished.]

Teresita also describes how changes in her son's behavior that resulted from seeing
how their other friends could answer back and argue with their parents, have led to
familial conflicts and discord within her own family. She commented,

*Sa Pilipinas, ang mga bata ay sumusunod sa lahat ng
sinasabi ng mga magulang tungkol sa mga tradisyon at
mga kinagawian ng pamilya. Pero pagdating dito, ibang
iba ang kapaligiran. Nakakapulot sila ng bagong mga gawi*

at ugali – at ito ang nagdudulot ng problema sa aming pamilya.

[In the Philippines, the children follow whatever their parents tell them regarding their traditions and the cultural practices of the family. But once they come here, the environment is so different. They end up acquiring attitudes and behaviors that lead to conflict within our family.]

For her part, Clara faces the future with fear and anxiety, as there may come a time when -

Hindi na ako susundin ng anak ko at magrerebelde na siya sa akin.

[My son will not follow me anymore and will start rebelling against my authority.]

Only one mother from the low-scoring group did not feel affected by the probable change in family structure and dynamics brought about by their migration to the U.S. In Isabel's view, these are matters of personal beliefs and differing opinions. She argues that her children belong to a new generation and therefore, parents have to be cognizant of changing relationships and have to adjust their parenting strategies in order to cope with these changes.

Siyempre, iba na ang mga ugali ng kabataan ngayon. Sa atin, ang mga bata, masyadong masunurin sa matatanda kahit na labag sa loob nila. Ang mga bata dito, kapag alam nilang mali ka, mangangatuwiran sila. Para sa akin, okay lang ito kung nangangatuwiran sila sa akin. Hindi sila kailangang disiplinahin dahil dito.

[Of course these children have different values already. Back home, children are too obedient even if it is against their will. Here, if children know that you are wrong, they will argue with you. For me, it is fine if my children argue with me. I don't see this as a disciplinary issue at all.]

Eight out of the ten interviewees mentioned that they wouldn't have been able to survive in the U.S. were it not for the presence of extended family members who were living with them. All of the high-scoring mothers mentioned the support that they

received from their own parents and other family members. In most cases, the grandparents stayed home and took care of the children, thereby allowing the mothers to continue working to help their spouses meet their families' financial needs. Irene's mother used to work, but has since quit her job to take care of her grandchildren full time. Many of the mothers also described how the grandmothers have completely taken over the caregiving and child-rearing roles. According to Isabel,

> *Ang nanay ko na ang lahat para sa mga anak ko – siya ang nanay, siya ang tatay. At dahil sa kanyang tulong, nakakapagtrabaho ako.*
>
> [My mother is everything to my children – she is both mother and father to them. And because she is here, I am able to work.]

In most of the high-scoring mother's cases, the presence of the grandparents in their homes, and the child-rearing roles that they play, is a plus factor because they are able to pass on intergenerational wisdom and cultural knowledge that would otherwise be hard to come by, if at all. As Nida puts it,

> *Kung wala ang mga magulang ko, hindi mararanasan ng mga anak ko ang buhay-pamilya na kung saan may higit na nakakatanda sa kanila. Dahil dito, natututo silang maging magalang sa isang natural na paraan.*
>
> [The presence of my parents in our household enables my children to experience intergenerational relationships that would be impossible if we were just living by ourselves. These relationships enable them to learn how to be respectful toward their elders in a natural setting.]

Katrina adds –

> *Ang nanay ko ang nagpapatulog sa mga anak ko, nagluluto ng mga pagkaing Pilipino para sa kanila, nagkukuwento ng mga katutubong kuwento at nagtuturo sa kanila ng mga kantang Pilipino – kaya namumulat ang mga anak ko sa kultura natin kahit na malayo sila sa Pilipinas. Kinukuwentuhan din niya sila tungkol sa mga gawi at asal ng mga bata sa atin at kung paano sila dapat lumaki.*

[My mother tucks my children to bed, she cooks Filipino
food for them, she tells them Filipino folk tales and legends
and teaches them traditional songs – so my children are
able to experience our culture even if we live thousands of
miles away. She also tells them how children back home
are expected to behave.]

Aida also reports,

*Kung papaano kami pinalaki ng nanay ko, ganoon din ang
pagpapalaki niya sa mga anak ko. Kaya panatag ang loob
ko kahit na nagtatrabaho ako dahil alam kong nasa
mabuting kamay ang mga anak ko.*

[My mother is rearing my children the way she reared us,
her own children. That is why I feel confident and secure
even if I am working because I know that my children are
in good hands.]

Many of the mothers also consider their siblings and close relatives as a source of

tremendous support. The presence of extended family members allows them to seek

advice and counsel in areas of parenting and child-rearing. The mothers' siblings and

other family relatives also provide logistical and reciprocal support when it comes to

babysitting each other's children. According to Clara,

*Sa atin, marami kang matatakbuhan para humingi ng payo
sa pagpapalaki sa mga anak mo. Dito, nag-iisa ka lamang.
Kaya hindi ko alam ang gagawin ko kung wala ang nanay
ko at mga kapatid ko. Dito, lahat kami nakatira sa isang
bahay – alam kong magkakaproblema ako kung
magkahiwa-hiwalay at magsari-sarili kami.*

[In the Philippines, there are lots of people around whom I
can count on for help and support. Here, I am all alone.
That is why I don't know what I would do if I didn't have
my mother and siblings with me. We all live in the same
house. I know I would have major problems if we started
going separate ways and living in different places.]

Maria and Irene also enjoy the same kind of communal living arrangement as Clara.

For them, this system benefits individual family members as well as the entire family

group.

According to Maria,

> *Nagtutulungan kaming magkakapatid. Hindi kami*
> *nagsasarili at umaasa kami sa isa't-isa."*
>
> [My brothers and sisters–we all help one another. We don't
> go our separate ways and we rely on one another.]

Irene also cites the economic benefit of not having to hire babysitters in addition to

the psychological comfort in knowing that her children are being taken care of by people

whom she can trust.

> *Kung mayroon kaming kailangang puntahan, ang kapatid*
> *ko ang nag-aalaga sa mga anak ko. At kung siya naman*
> *ang mangailangan ng tulong, ako naman ang nag-aalaga*
> *sa mga anak niya.*
>
> [If I need to go somewhere, my sister is there to take care
> of my children. If she is the one in need, then I am there to
> take care of her children.]

The two mothers who did not have any close relatives living with them or helping

them out were both in the low-scoring group. The reasons they gave for not having too

much contact with their parents or close relatives were mainly due to personal choice or

circumstantial events. Josefina is the mother who chose not to live in one of the mostly-

Filipino apartment complexes that are found in the South of Market (SOMA) district.

Although her parents live close by, she personally chooses not to leave her daughter

in their care.

> *Nag-iisa lang kami ng anak ko. May mga magulang ako*
> *dito sa San Francisco, pero ayaw ko silang lapitan para*
> *tulungan ako sa pag-aalaga sa anak ko.*
>
> [My daughter and I are all alone. I have parents who live
> here in San Francisco but I choose not to seek their help in
> taking care of her.]

Teresita also commented on how her mother died when she was young and how her

father's remarriage to another woman, with whom she did not get along, has led her to

dissociate herself from the rest of her family. This is the reason why she is all alone in raising her children.

Notwithstanding the support that they receive from their own mothers and direct relatives, almost all of the interviewees spoke about the lack of human and social support systems that are available to their families here in the U.S. Neighborhoods and communities in the Philippines are typically made up of large, extended networks that live in very close physical proximity to one another. It is these kin or non-kin associations that usually form the web of physical as well as social support systems that are available for individual families and their children. According to Maria,

> *Doon sa atin, ang buong kalye at bayan mo pamilya mo.*
> *Kilala ko ang mga kapitbahay namin. Tatawirin lang*
> *namin ang bahay ng tiya namin. Samantalang dito, lalo na*
> *sa SOMA kung saan kami nakatira, bahala ka sa sarili mo.*
> *May mga kamag-anak man kami, limampung milya ang*
> *pagitan namin.*

> [Back home, the whole street and town was one big family.
> We knew all our neighbors. We just have to cross the street
> to get to our aunt's house. Here, especially in SOMA where
> we live, it's a mind-your-own-business mentality. Even
> though we have relatives, they are 50 miles away.]

For Irene, the Filipino family's support that comes from extended kin relations and neighbors is greatly diminished once they migrate to the U.S.

> *Sa atin marami kang kamag-anak, bukas ang bahay mo,*
> *kahit iwan mo ang mga anak mo mayroon laging mag-*
> *aalagang kapitbahay o kamag-anak. Dito pinagbabawal ng*
> *batas na iwanan mong nag-iisa ang mga anak mo. Ang*
> *pinakamahirap para sa amin ay ang kakulangan ng*
> *suporta sa pamilya. Dito sa sarili mo lang ikaw makaka-*
> *asa. Mahal pa. Kahit na aalagaan ang mga anak mo ng*
> *iyong mga kamag-anak, kailangan babayaran mo sila.*

> [In the Philippines, we have a lot of relatives, our homes
> are open; there are neighbors and relatives who will always
> look after our children when we go off to work. Here, there
> are laws that forbid you from leaving your child alone. Our

greatest difficulty is the lack of family support systems.
Here you have to rely completely on yourselves. It is also
very expensive. Even if you have relatives who can take
care of your children, you have to pay them.]

According to the mothers, this lack of support system has led them to sacrifice time

together with their spouse and has lessened opportunities for them to engage in typical

family routines like having meals together or tucking their children to bed. As Isabel

reports,

Sa atin laging mayroong mag-aalaga ng anak ko kung
magtrabaho man ako. Dito, minsan kinakailangang tumigil
ang nanay sa pagtrabaho. Eh paano naman kami
mabubuhay kung titigil akong magtrabaho? Kaya ang
nangyayari, salit salitan kami ng asawa ko – kapag araw
ang trabaho niya ako ang naiiwan sa bahay para mag-
alaga ng mga anak. Tapos night shift naman ako para pag-
uwi ng asawa ko, siya naman ang mag-aalaga sa kanila.
Hindi kami halos nagkikitang mag-asawa at hindi kami
nagkakasama bilang pamilya.

[Back home, there will always be other people who will
take care of my children when I go to work. Here, mothers
usually stop working when they have children. But I cannot
do this because our family won't be able to survive on one
income. So our solution is for me and my husband to take
alternating work shifts. When he works during the day, I
stay home to take care of the kids. Then I take the night
shift at work so that he can stay and take care of the
children while I work. My husband and I hardly get to see
each other and our family rarely spends time together.]

The mothers also expressed being constantly fearful and anxious about not knowing

what to do in the event that the support systems that they presently have will be taken

away from them. As Nida explains,

Alam ko na kahit anong oras, maaaring kunin ang kung
anumang suporta mula sa akin. Tulad nang ano ang
mangyayari kung biglang magkasakit ang mga magulang
ko o kung hindi na nila kayang tumulong sa pag-aalaga
ng mga anak ko.Di tulad sa Pilipinas, kung saan lahat ito
ay nandoon na para sa atin. Mayroon kasi tayong 'village

mentality' – nag-aalgaan tayo, inaalagaan natin ang isa't-isa, tumutulong tayo sa kapwa pamilya.

[I know that these support systems can be taken away at a moment's notice. Like what will happen if my parents get sick or if they reach a point where they can no longer help me take care of my children. Unlike in the Philippines, where these are all givens. We have a certain 'village mentality' – we self-police, we look out for one another, we help each other.]

This lack of support systems inevitably leads to a high degree of stress among many of the mothers. The high degree of stress often manifests itself in interpersonal conflicts among the mothers and their children. Clara surmises,

Doon, dahil may tumutulong sa akin mas nakakapag-'quality time' kami ng anak ko. Dito pagod na sa trabaho, pagod pa sa gawaing-bahay. Tuloy ngayon, mas madali akong magalit, dala seguro ng pagod. Nidatanong nga ako ng anak ko kung bakit ako laging masungit ngayon. Alam ko hindi ito mabuti pero parang wala akong control. Ni hindi ko man siya matulungan sa homework niya sa dami ng ibang kailangang gawin.

[There, because I have much more help, I get to spend more quality time with my son. Here, I am tired at work and more tired when I do the housework. So now, I snap at my son more easily. He often asks me why I am always upset. I know this is not good, but I feel I have no control over it. I cannot even help him with his homework because of all the other things I have to do.]

Although all of the mothers lamented the lack of support systems, the difference between the high- and low-scoring mothers was reflected in their responses towards their situation and the corresponding actions that they took to answer their need. Three of the low-scoring mothers talked about how they felt utterly alone and unsupported here in the U.S. According to Josefina,

Wala akong alam na ibang agency. Hindi ko alam na may Filipino network pala. Minsan, iniisip ko kung paano nakakakuha ng tulong ang ibang mga Pilipinong pamilya tulad ng child support. Hindi ko naman alam kung sino ang

lalapitan o kung saan pupunta para makakuha ng tulong.
Paano ako makakapunta sa mga agency na ito kung
nagtatrabaho ako araw-araw? Tapos sa weekend kapag
puwede ako, sarado naman ang opisina nila. Wala akong
panahon na hanapin ang tulong na kailangan ko.

[I didn't know that there are agencies that help out
Filipinos. I am not aware of a Filipino network. Sometimes
I wonder how other Filipino families get help and benefits
like child support. I don't know who to approach or where
to start looking. How can I go to these agencies when I
work 5 days a week. Then on the weekends, their offices
are closed. I do not have the time to find the help that I
need.]

Isabel does not see anyone outside her family who can support them.

Kami lang talaga eh. Wala nang iba.

[It is just we. There is no one else.]

According to Josefina,

Dati pa naman, talagang nag-iisa ako sa pagpapalaki ng
mga anak ko. Parang wala akong naiisip na nakakatulong
sa akin ngayon.

[I always had to go it alone. Right now, I feel it's just me
with no other support system.]

The high-scoring mothers, for their part, actively sought whatever support system

they could enlist. They enrolled their children in a Filipino after-school program because,

according to Clara,

Dito ay nakakakilala ako ng ibang mga Pilipinong
magulang at kaibigan. Kahit papapaano nakakakuha ako
ng tulong at payo mula sa kanila.

[I get to meet other Filipino parents and make new friends
there. I am able to get help and advice from them.]

Nida, Katrina, Maria and Irene felt that the greatest support system they had was the

Filipino Education Center (FEC). FEC, which was formerly part of the San Francisco

Unified School District, used to be an intake center that catered specifically to newly-

arrived Filipino immigrant children. Students normally spent one to two years at FEC

before going on to the other mainstream schools. The services provided by FEC were

primarily supportive of the physical, emotional, language, psychological and cultural

needs of the newly-arrived children. However, FEC was closed down during school year

2001-2002. Since then, all newly-arrived Filipino immigrant children have been assigned

to Bessie Carmichael School, which has a Filipino Bilingual Program, or to the other

regular elementary schools in the district.

According to the four high-scoring mothers, it was at FEC where they learned about

the importance of keeping Filipino family values and traditions alive within their homes.

For these parents, their experience at FEC led them to become more proactive at Bessie

Carmichael, where their children are presently enrolled. According to Irene,

> *Alam ko na malaki ang tulong na maibibigay ng eskuwela*
> *sa aming pamilya. Kaya hiningi ko na mailagay ang anak*
> *ko sa Filipino bilingual class – para ang guro niya ay*
> *Pilipino na maiintindihan ang mga gawi namin sa bahay at*
> *tutulungan siyang maipagpatuloy ang mga ito sa labas ng*
> *bahay.*

> [I believe that schools play a major role in helping our
> families. That is why I requested my sons to be in Filipino
> bilingual classes – so that they will have Filipino teachers
> who will understand our cultural ways and who will help
> them to appreciate and preserve these outside of our home.]

Maria seconds Irene's point by emphasizing the importance of a Filipino bilingual

program at Bessie Carmichael.

> *Mahalaga na may gurong Pilipino, dahil kung wala nito,*
> *walang makakaintindi ng kanilang mga gawi at ugali,*
> *walang makakatulong sa mga pamilya namin na*
> *maitaguyod ang mga asal na ninanais namin, na*
> *makakaintindi kung saan kami nanggaling, na magiging*
> *pangalawang magulang sa mga anak namin.*

> [It is important to have Filipino teachers, because if there
> are no Filipino teachers, there will be no one in their

> schools who can share their cultural awareness, who can
> help families continue to support the values and traits that
> we hold desirable, who can understand where they are
> coming from historically and culturally, and who can be
> like second parents to our children.]

The high-scoring parents have also actively sought out community networks that help Filipino immigrant families. They attend group meetings, join rallies and participate in cultural activities with their children in order to expose them to other Filipino families and children. Maria stresses the importance of community building and the need for active parental participation.

> We have to form Filipino networks in schools, parishes and
> communities. We have to strengthen solidarity and unity
> among Filipino immigrant families because only we can
> help ourselves. The Fil-Am community may not be visible
> but it's there just the same. They help us become more
> aware and encourage us to become more involved in issues
> like housing, health care, immigration, and education.

Summary of Findings on Parental Beliefs about Roles and Family Relationships

In summary, the survey findings for this cluster of items on Parental Beliefs on Family Roles and Relationships indicate that the mother highly agreed in how they perceived their roles as primary teachers and role models for their children, in how they delineated family roles and relationships, and in how they defined their authority and control over their children's actions and behaviors

The interviewees' responses, however, give us a deeper sense of the problems and challenges that are faced by Filipino immigrant mothers as they try to live out these role perceptions amidst a different sociocultural context that surrounds their families. The difficulties seem to stem from two sources: (1) differences in perceptions regarding

parental discipline and familial hierarchy and (2) lack of social support for their families. Many of the interviewees revealed an increased feeling of insecurity that arose from their seeming inability to exercise their full authority due to societal structures and forces that forbid them to discipline their children in ways that they regard not only as acceptable but as necessary in fulfilling their parental duties. They express their dismay at a system that does not understand the cultural perspective that equates discipline with parents' ability to rear their children in ways that have been traditionally and generationally defined not only as acceptable but as desirable too. They are shocked when they hear that schools teach their children to call 911 if ever their parents spank them; and even more shocked when they hear of children being taken away by Child Protective Services for this very reason. According to the mothers, this inordinate power that is bestowed upon their children has undermined their ability to discipline their children in appropriate ways. Moreover, the elevation of the child's status has led to tensions within their families as this is in direct conflict with their traditional definitions of familial hierarchy. They find that their children are now more prone to argue with their decisions and to question their authority. These conflicts have, in turn, eroded family unity and created family discord.

Most of the mothers also lamented the lack of support available to them in taking care of their children. Filipino families have always been defined as extended by nature and many-peopled in its orientation. Consequently, Filipino parenting has always been a family-oriented affair. It is natural for Filipino families to have many caregivers, whether blood-related or proximally located, who are able to take care of the children as needed. For the Filipino immigrant mothers, this isolation is a big shift in terms of lifestyles and responsibilities as they now find themselves alone in bearing sole responsibility of

working full-time and double-time while also having to fulfill their parental obligations. This is an entirely new scenario for the Filipino immigrant mothers, who often find themselves overburdened, over-stressed, and over-fatigued. Unlike many of their American counterparts who quit their jobs and stay home to take care of their children, many of the mothers in this study do not have this option as they are not only providing for their immediate families but are also sending financial help to extended families and relatives back home. It is not uncommon for Filipino immigrant parents to send their children back to the Philippines until they reach an age where they can either go to school for the entire day or where they are legally permitted to stay home without adult supervision.

Most of the interviewees revealed that were it not for their own mothers, they would not be able to survive the demands of living in the U.S. The grandmothers have played a key role in taking over the caregiving and child-rearing responsibilities, thereby enabling them to continue working. For many of them, the grandparents have also been a source of intergenerational wisdom and cultural knowledge for themselves as well as their children. The presence of other siblings and extended families that live together in one abode was also cited by the mothers as a big help in terms of physical, economic, and logistical support.

Again, the high- and low-scoring mothers did not differ in their perceptions about the lack of social support that they had for themselves and their families. They differed, though, in the way that they responded to this lack of social support. While the low-scoring mothers chose to remain isolated, whether by choice or circumstance, the high-scoring mothers actively sought out Filipino families, community networks and other

organizations in an effort to create the support system that was readily available back home but was hard to come by in the U.S. As noted above, the choice to isolate themselves from other Filipino families and networks has led to the low-scoring mothers inadvertently missing out on the physical, cultural, logistical, and other social supports that they could otherwise have had for themselves and their children.

The Modal Filipino Person

> *Gusto kong lumaki siyang may takot sa Diyos, may respeto sa ibang tao sa paligid niya, masunurin sa kanyang mga magulang at masipag sa kanyang pag-aaral.*
>
> **[I want my child to have a fear of God, to be respectful towards other people around him, to be obedient to his parents, and to finish his education.]**
>
> *Teresita, Filipino mother*

Results of Survey Items on The Modal Filipino Person

Survey items 11-15 dealt with the mothers' conceptions and expectations vis-à-vis their children's personal and social development and outcome. The four unique qualities that embody an ideal Filipino person are: familial closeness, religiosity, respect for authority, and ability to maintain smooth interpersonal relationships.

The distribution of mean scores for Items 11-15 is shown on Figure 15.

Figure 15. Mean Scores for Sociocultural Influence #3

Modal Filipino Person
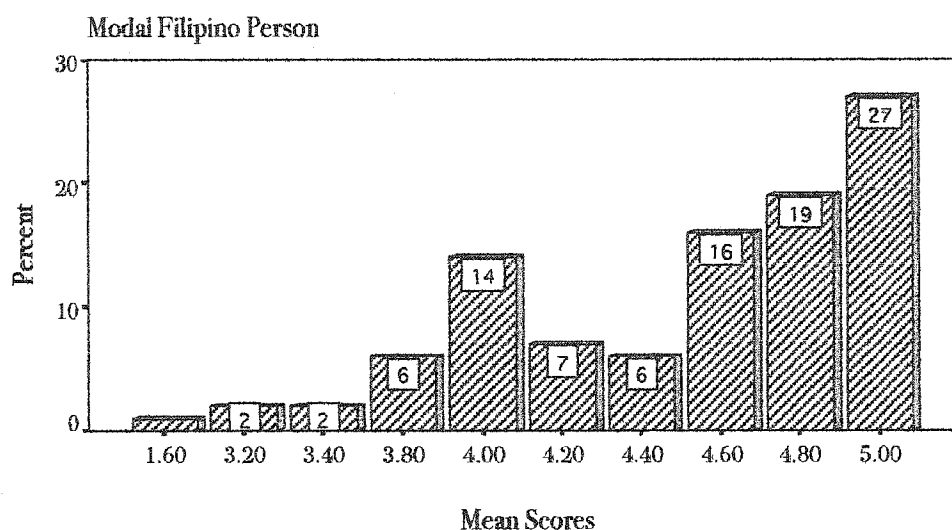
Mean Scores

The distribution of mean scores for this cluster is again skewed to the left, with 62% of the mothers scoring above the mean of 4.5 (See Figure 15). As with the two previous clusters, close to 90% of the mothers agreed with most of the items in this cluster. This is indicative of their agreement on the importance of training their children to grow up with the desired Filipino traits and qualities (M = 4.5 on a 5 point scale; S.D. = .55). (See Table 10 for the statistical descriptors for the mean scores of Items 11-15).

Table 10. Statistical Indices for Mean Scores (Items 11-15)

Mean	Median	Mode	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
4.5	4.6	5	.55	1.6	5.0

The statistical descriptors for the individual items of this particular cluster are shown on Table 11.

Table 11. Statistical Indices for Items 11-15

Item Number	Mean	S.D.	Range
11) Children should value a happy family life over financial success.	4.41	.77	2.0 – 5.0
12) Children should love God and observe Church teachings/laws.	4.46	.85	1.0 – 5.0
13) Children should show respect/obedience to parents/adults.	4.62	.65	1.0 – 5.0
14) Children should put smooth interpersonal relationships over self interest.	4.24	.68	2.0 – 5.0
15) Children should value education and finish college.	4.78	.44	3.0 – 5.0

Mean scores for all of the items in this particular cluster ranged from 4.24 to 4.78. These scores indicate that the mothers generally agreed with the items that pertained to descriptions of traditional idealizations of the Filipino person as being family-oriented, God-fearing, respectful, obedient, others-centered, and well-educated.

The distribution of responses for Items 11-15 are shown on Graphs 16 to 20.

Figure 16. Distribution of responses for Item #11
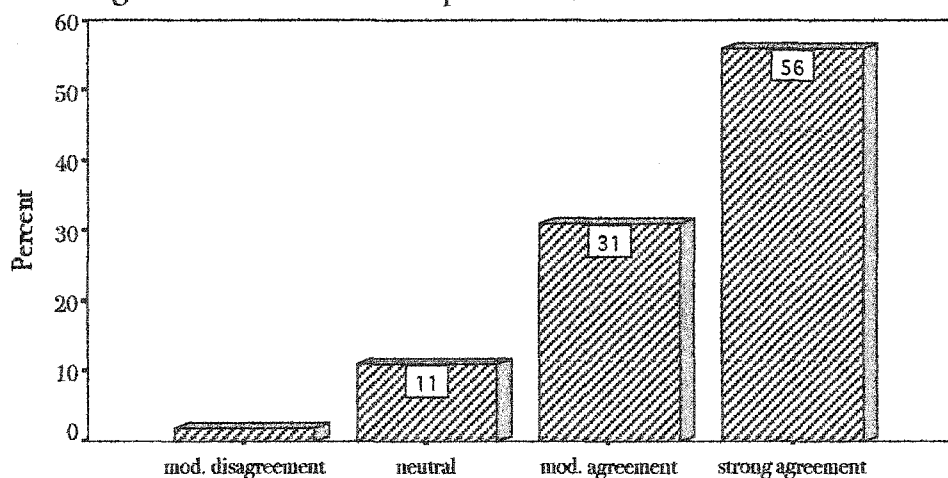
"Children should prefer a happy family life over financial success."

Figure 17. Distribution of responses for Item #12

70
60
50
Percent 40
30
20
10
0

strong disagreement   neutral   strong agreement
        mod. disagreement   mod. agreement

62
28
4
5
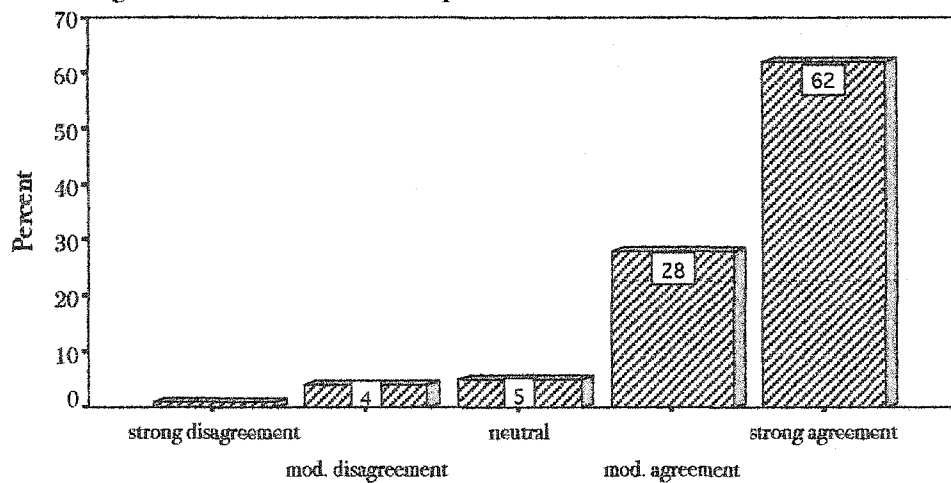
"Children should love/fear God and observe Church teachings."

Figure 18. Distribution of responses for Item #13

80
60
Percent 40
20
0

strong disagreement   neutral   moderate agreement   strong agreement

68
28
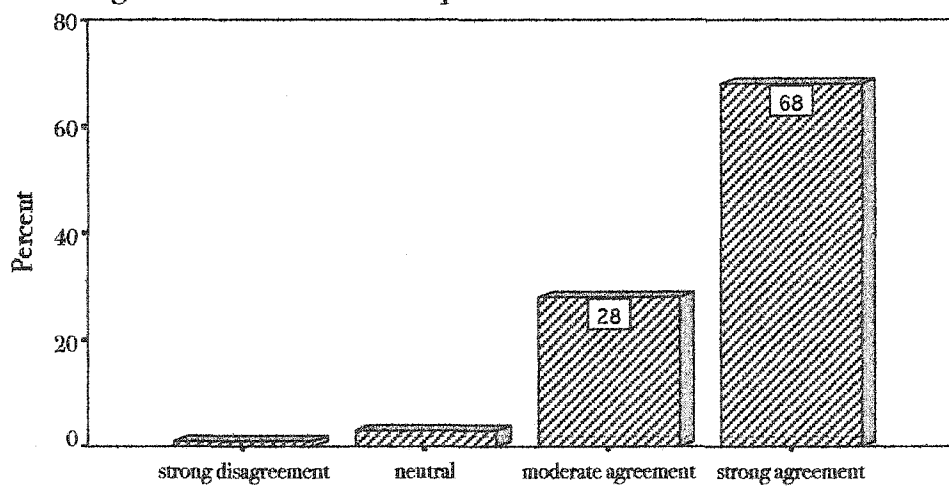
"Children should be respectful and obedient to parents/adults."

Figure 19. Distribution of responses for Item #14
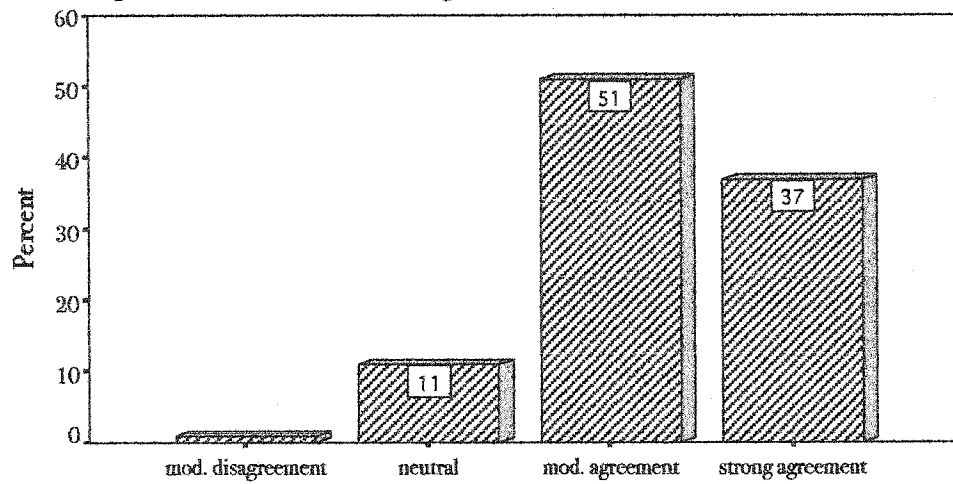
"Children should value interpersonal relations over personal interest."

Figure 20. Distribution of responses for Item #15
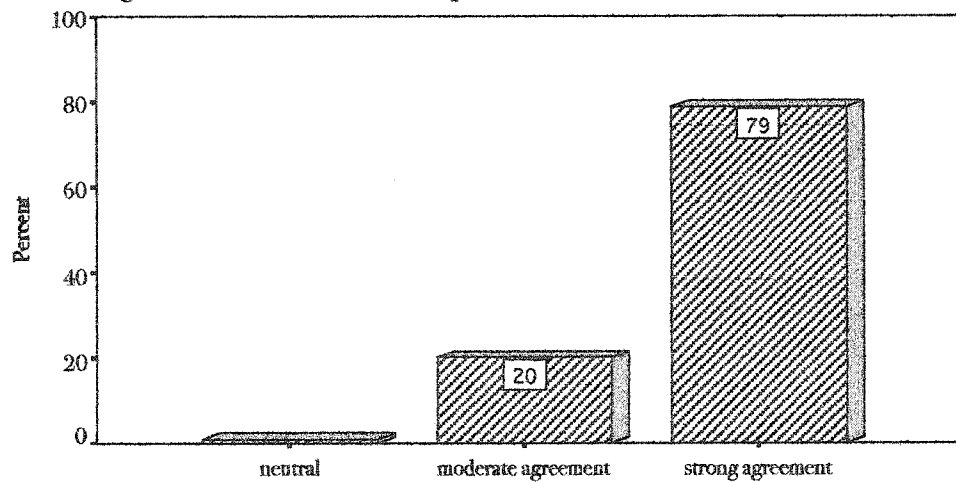
"Children should value and finish their education."

In each of the five items in this cluster, the percentage of those who moderately or strongly agreed did not fall below 87%. 97% of the mothers agreed on the importance and value of their children's education (See Figure 20). 96% agreed with the notion that children should be obedient toward their parents and respectful toward other people (See Figure 18). 90% agreed that children should be God-fearing and faithful to the Church's teachings (See Figure 17). Finally, 88% of the mothers agreed that children should learn to uphold smooth interpersonal relationships over personal interests (See Figure 19), while 87% agreed that children should be made to value a happy and secure family life over social or economic success (See Figure 16).

The survey findings of this particular cluster is similar to the previous survey done by Porio et al. (1977), wherein the characteristics of faith in God and obedience to parents were ranked first by Filipino parents from a list of desirable personal qualities that they wanted their children to possess. It is also consistent with literature descriptions of ideal Filipino children as being respectful toward elders and being mindful of the family's or group's interest over their own needs (Flores, 1969; Lynch et al., 1973; Crisol, 1973; Jocano, 1998.) The survey findings are also consistent with Litton's (1999) description of the value that Filipino parents place on education and on the high esteem in which they hold schools and teachers. Other studies also detail narrative excerpts wherein young Filipino adults remember being expected by their parents to study hard, excel in school, and finish their education (Ilana-Tenorio, 1997; Wolf 2002).

On the whole, the survey responses for this cluster indicate that most mothers agreed with the idealization of a Modal Filipino person as being religious, obedient, respectful, group-oriented and well-educated.

In-Depth Interviews regarding The Modal Filipino Person

The interview responses from both high- and low-scoring mothers were consistent

with the survey findings. All of the mothers spoke at length about the five traits that were

examined by the survey. Most of them underscored religiosity, obedience, respect, group

orientation, and education as highly desirable traits and outcomes. Aida summed it up

when she said,

> *Ang gusto ko sa mga anak ko ay maging batang maggalang*
> *sa matatanda, parating nagsisimba, ugaling makapamilya,*
> *at ang makatapos sila ng pag-aaral nila.*
>
> [I want my daughters to be respectful of elders, regular
> churchgoers, family-oriented. I also wish for them to finish
> their education.]

The premium that Filipino parents place over their children's education cuts across

social and economic classes. For many parents, gaining an education offers their children

the only chance for future economic and social mobility. One of the most compelling

incentives for Filipino who work overseas is to gain economic viability since that enables

them to finance their children's education. Together with economic opportunities, the

chance to give their children an American education ranks as the two major reasons for

the immigration of many Filipino families. According to Clara,

> *Kaya lang naman kami nagpunta dito, para mabigyan ng*
> *magandang kinabukasan ang anak ko dahil dito maaari*
> *siyang makatamo ng magandang edukasyon.*
>
> [The only reason we migrated is to be able to give my son a
> shot at acquiring a good U.S. education.]

Teresita encourages her sons to take advantage of the educational opportunities that

she could only dream of having for herself.

*Noong bata ako, gustong gusto ko mag-aral, pero mahirap
pa kami sa daga, so hindi ko makamit na maka-akyat man
sa kolehiyo. Ngayong may pagkakataon sila lagi ko silang
pinagsasabihan na mag-aral sila nag mabuti para
makapagtapos sila at makamit ang ninanais nila sa buhay.*

[When I was young, I wanted to study but we were poorer
than mice, so I wasn't able to go to college. Now that they
have all these opportunities, I always remind them to study
hard so that they can finish their schooling and achieve
their goals in life.]

Cynthia adds that her goal for her children is for them to excel in school and to

aspire for higher education. Like many of the mothers, Katrina equates a college diploma

with opportunities for future success.

*Kung makatapos sila ng pag-aaral, mas magkakaroon sila
ng magandang kinabukasan.*

[If they finish college, they will surely have a brighter
future.]

All ten mothers emphasized the importance of being respectful towards elders and

other people. For many of the mothers, being respectful signifies a sense of relatedness to

other people around them. So in order to acquire the other ideal trait of 'collective-

mindedness', one has to learn how to be respectful first.

According to Maria,

*Ang respeto para sa ibang ka-pamilya ay mahalaga. Mula
dito, natutuo din ang bata na makiramdam sa iba at isipin
ang kapakanan ng ibang tao sa paligid niya.*

[Respect for other family members is important. From here,
the child learns to be sensitive to other people and to be
considerate of their needs.]

Clara adds,

*Sana matutong makisama ang anak ko at hindi sarili lang
niya lamang ang laging iisipin.*

[I hope my child learns to have a sense of community with
others instead just putting self-interest above all else.]

Despite a common emphasis on the ideal of respect, two low-scoring mothers

voiced their disagreement with the traditional notions of respect and collectivism.

According to them, Filipino immigrant parents must realize that the social context

surrounding their families is much different from the one which they are used to back

home. According to Cynthia,

> Our typical Filipino mentality is borne out of being an
> agricultural society—hinging more on collective and
> cooperative behaviors. But we have many Filipino parents
> here who do not understand that we live in a different kind
> of cultural system. So they get disappointed when their
> children answer back or become disrespectful. Whenever
> my daughter asks me if she can pierce her tongue, I know
> it's not okay with me but I don't see it as disrespectful
> because at least she asks me before going ahead to do so. I
> can't stop her from wanting to express her individuality as
> that is the norm here.

Josefina also wants her daughter to be able to combine certain ideal Filipino traits

with American traits.

> *Gusto ko na gumalang siya sa nakakatanda, pero gusto ko*
> *rin na tumayo siya sa sarili niya. Ganyan kasi ang*
> *kinakailangang gawin ng mga tao dito sa Amerika. Walang*
> *mangyayari sa kanya kung susunud-sunod lang siya.*
>
> [I want her to be respectful toward elders but I also want
> her to be independent and to stand up for her own beliefs.
> That is how people behave here. It won't do her good to
> just keep on doing what she is told to do.]

It is evident that these two mothers have repositioned their own behavioral and

attitudinal benchmarks for their children in order to accommodate the 'cultural ideals' of

the U.S. society and its accompanying expectations of self-expression and independence.

Some of the high-scoring mothers also underscored the importance of maintaining a

simple lifestyle and working towards a happy family life instead of acquiring material

wealth. The preference for a simple life style seems to be carried over from their childhood experiences. According to Katrina,

> *Gusto ko silang maging kontento sa kung ano ang mayroon sila at hindi maging materyoso. Ganoon ako pinalaki, kung ano ang nandyan ay sapat na. Kung ano ang maibibigay ng magulang ko, hindi na ako humihingi nang higit pa dito.*
>
> [I want my sons to be content with what they have and not become too materialistic. That was how I was raised. Whatever we had sufficed. Whatever my parents were able to give us, we didn't ask for more.]

Irene adds,

> *Pinalaki kaming maging payak sa aming mga pangangailangan. Kaya ganito din ang gusto kong ugaling matutunan nila.*
>
> [We were reared to be simple in our needs and I want my children to also value simplicity.]

Despite the preference for a simple lifestyle, many of the mothers were also cognizant of many sociocultural pressures that could clash with these expectations. Many of them realize that they are living in the most capitalistic society on earth. They expect that their children will face mounting pressure to acquire goods and material things.

However, most of the high-scoring mothers do not let this deter them from insisting on family practices that continue to instill ideal values and shape desirable traits among their children. According to Katrina,

> *Dito sa Amerika., ang mga bata, parang nasa kanila na lahat lahat – scooter, wheelies, playstation, atbp. Pero parang hindi sila nakokontento, parang lagi silang hingi nang hingi pa ng iba. Kaya lagi kong pinagsasabihan ang mga anak ko na hindi dahil ganito dito ay kailangang ganoon din ang maging pananaw nila.*
>
> [Here in the America, children seem to have everything - scooter, wheelies, playstation, etc., yet they never seem to be content with what they have. They always ask for more.

That is why I tell my children that just because that is how
it is here it doesn't mean they have to have the same
materialistic attitude.]

Irene for her part tries to insist on simplicity while she has the authority and control

over what her children can get.

*Kaya nga habang bata pa sila, at Nidatanong nila sa akin
kung puwedeng bumili ng bagong sapatos, sinasabi ko sa
kanila, hangga't hindi nasisira ang sapatos ninyo, hindi
tayo bibili nang bago. Ginagawa ko ito dahil gusto ko na
makasanayan nila ang ganitong ugali at pagpapahalaga sa
simpleng buhay.*

[That is why when they ask me if they can get new
sneakers, I tell them that we won't buy new pairs unless
their old ones get really worn out. I am doing this so that
they will get used to this kind of mentality and simple
lifestyle.]

Environmental pressures also seem to pose a grave threat to the highly esteemed

values of respect and obedience towards parents and elder people in the family. Almost

all of the mothers expressed their concern regarding the negative influence of schools,

peers, and popular culture vis-à-vis the development of ideal Filipino traits among their

children. Most of them spoke about how they often see young people answering back

older people in a disrespectful manner.

Clara hopes that,

*Sana hindi pakawalan ng anak ko ang paggalang sa
matatanda. Pero, ang dami kong nakikitang mga teenager
na sumasagot nang pabalang, at ito ang pinakamalaki
kong takot, na gawin din ito ng anak ko balang araw.*

[I hope that my son never loses his respect for elders. But
here, I see a lot of teenagers who answer back
disrespectfully- and this is my greatest fear, that my son
will end up being disrespectful one day.]

On the one hand, Philippines societal institutions support the development of

cultural traits that are highly prized by the family. On the other hand, U.S. schools and

other societal institutions require children to be assertive and independent – traits which seem to run counter to those of respect and obedience. Many mothers, though they know that they still have full control over their children's lives at this point, can't help but feel uncertain about future outcomes of their children's personal and social development. Many of them realize that they will eventually have to make compromises. Nida cites TV and the Internet as examples of instruments that can undermine their control over their children.

> For how long can I implement the 'no TV' policy at home?
> I have to be very vigilant about what they see and hear in
> the media. Now, I can sit with them every time they surf
> the net, but will I be able to do this when they grow older?

Most of the mothers also agreed that early sex education and media exposure pose a serious threat to the development of a morally virtuous person. For many Filipinos, the issue of sex is inextricably linked to the moral teachings of the Catholic Church. Sex has been historically and culturally subsumed under the paradigm of moral development and values formation that was imposed by the Spanish mission clerics when they brought Catholicism to the islands. That is why for many Filipinos, sexual conduct is heavily grounded on religious and cultural codes. Moreover, for many parents, understanding about sex and related matters hinges on a child's capacity for moral reasoning, which children are thought not to be able to handle when they are young. That sex, therefore, is such an open topic and even mandated as a 4th grade curricular topic in American public schools is shocking to many of the interviewees. According to Irene,

> *Dito kahit bata pa lang sila, ine-expose na sila sa mga*
> *bagay tulad ng sex. Ang anak ko, na siyam na taong gulang*
> *lang ay nag-iisip na tungkol sa mga bagay bagay na ito*
> *dahil natutunan niya ito sa eskuwela. Nagugulat ang mga*
> *pinsan niya sa Pilipinas sa kanya dahil doon, sa high*

*school pa lang halos itinuturo ang tungkol sa mga bagay
na ito.*

[At a very young age, children here are exposed to topics
like sex. My son, who is only 9, is already thinking about
these things because he learned about it in school. His
cousins back home are surprised that he is already
knowledgeable about these things. Back home, they do not
teach these things until children are in 3rd year high school.]

Clara adds that sexual liberalness that is displayed on TV shows, MTV and the
Internet all have a detrimental effect on her child's developing consciousness of sex at an
inopportune and inappropriate time. Moreover, beyond the matter of wrong timing, the
fact that her son is receiving and learning cultural and moral messages that are
contradictory to what she wants to instill, makes the situation even more problematic.

*Nakita ko silang nakakakita nang cartoon na may 'sexual
theme' – at ayun, naghahagik-hikan sila pero hindi naman
nila maintindihan nang lubos ang palabas. Kahit ba
pambata at nakakatawa, hindi tama iyong nakikita nila
iyon. Pero dito pinapakita nila iyon kahit sa pambatang
palabas.*

[Once I saw them watching this cartoon with a 'sexual
theme' – they were giggling and laughing without fully
comprehending the show's material. Even if it's a child's
show and even if it's funny, I don't think it is right for them
to watch that. But here, they allow it even in kid's cartoon
shows.]

The future looks very worrisome for most of the mothers who were interviewed.
They worry that their children will succumb to peer pressure regarding sex, drugs, and
gangs. They fear that external influences will destroy the traits and values that they are
now trying so hard to instill among their children. According to Aida,

*Dito pa naman sa 6th Street kung saan kami nakatira, diyan
lang sa kanto, may nag-drugs, may homeless, maraming
lasing nakikita ito ng mga anak ko araw-araw."*

[Here on 6th Street where we live, on almost every corner,
there are people doing drugs, there are homeless people,

there are drunkards...my children see this every single
day.]

Katrina also fears the time when her children go to Middle School. She knows that
there will be no special program dedicated to Filipino bilingual students as there is in the
elementary school where her children are now enrolled.

> *Pagdating ng anak ko sa middle school, mas mahirap pa,*
> *dahil wala namang Filipino program o mga gurong*
> *Pilipino na makakatulong sa kanila. Mas malaki ang*
> *pressure ng barkada, pero mas mahina ang magiging*
> *suporta ng eskuwela.*
>
> [When my sons go to middle school, it will be even harder
> because there will neither be a Filipino program nor
> Filipino teachers who will be able to help them. The
> pressures will be greater but the school support will be less
> in this regard.]

Four of the high-scoring mothers reported that they are seriously considering
bringing their children back home when their children get to middle school. They realize
that this may be the only way for their children to preserve the values and traits that they
are trying so hard to inculcate. According to Katrina,

> *Iniisip kong ibalik sila sa Pilipinas pagdating ng middle*
> *school o high school, kasi kahit may mga problema din*
> *doon, hindi naman kasing grabe ng problema ng mga bata*
> *dito. At saka doon, mas maraming taong makakatulong at*
> *makakagabay sa kanila.*
>
> [We are thinking of bringing our sons back home when
> they get to middle school or high school. Even if we have
> problems there, they are not as serious as the problems of
> teenagers here in the U.S. Back home, there will be many
> more people who will help them and look out after their
> welfare.]

Summary of Findings on The Modal Filipino Person

In summary, the survey findings of this cluster on Modal Filipino Person indicate that most mothers agreed with the idealization of a Filipino person as being religious, obedient, respectful, group-oriented and educated.

The premium that Filipino parents place on education was evident in all the interviewees' responses. In a society that has traditionally been defined by class and social status, the only way for Filipino families to attain social mobility is for their children to acquire an education and get a shot at economic opportunities which they hope will improve their family's lot. The chance, therefore, to provide their children with an American education is a huge incentive for many Filipino immigrant parents and is, in fact, one of the primary reasons for migrating to the United States.

The interviewees also reiterated the desire to produce children who possessed the same attitudes and behavioral qualities as the ones that have been identified as characteristics of the ideal Filipino person. At the same time, all the mothers realized the extreme polarity between the Filipino definition of a modal person who is respectful of one's elders, obedient towards one's parents, and collective in one's orientation and the American idealization of a person who asserts his rights, expresses his ideas, and who is individualistic to the core. Their responses to this perceived clash in cultural paradigms separated the low-scoring mothers from the high-scoring ones. On one hand, the low-scoring mothers were more willing to redefine their notions of respect and collectivism in order to accommodate to the sociocultural context that encouraged children to be self-expressive and assertive. They also realized that their children needed to be independent and to make their own decisions, as this was the norm in U.S. society. On the other hand,

the high-scoring mothers insisted on being as faithful to the traditional ideals as they possibly could. They resisted the pressure to pare down their expectations especially at a time when they feel they still have a great degree of control and influence over their children's lives and activities. The way they set out rules and expectations regarding their children's attitude and behavior within their homes indicate the manner in which they implement socialization practices that reflect this unwavering stance and this unwillingness to compromise.

While the present seems to still be relatively under their control, the future is another story altogether. Many of the mothers were cognizant of the other socializing influences in the environment that could end up harming rather than helping their children. First is the prevailing atmosphere of materialism and consumerism, which are trademarks of any capitalistic society. Most of the mothers fear that it would be very hard to maintain the value of a simple lifestyle in the midst of a society that encourages the constant acquisition of goods. Second is the influence of TV, the Internet, and media in propagating a pop culture that highlights sex, violence, drugs, and wild behavior even among young people. They fear that early exposure to sex education as well as other sex-related cultural themes, poses a serious threat to their children's moral development and faith formation. Furthermore, they foresee less cultural support for their children once they reach the middle and high schools. They worry that their children won't have access to programs that cater specifically to the needs of Filipino American youth, especially during a time when they are more likely to succumb to peer pressures and grapple with identity, personality, and sexual issues.

For some of the high-scoring mothers, the only viable alternative seems to be that of returning their families to the Philippines. Although they admit that similar problems do occur back home, they feel that there are also many more sources of cultural and moral support on which they and their children can depend. Four out of the five high-scoring mothers are seriously considering this option despite the certain economic consequences their families are bound to face.

Language Option and Usage

Kahit na Filipino ang salita namin sa bahay, at kahit na nasa Filipino Bilingual program sila, lahat ng naririnig nila sa mga kaibigan nila, at nababasa at napapanood nila sa TV ay sa Inggles. Kasama ng pagbago ng pananalita, napapansin ko na nagbabago na rin ang kanilang ugali

[Even if we speak Filipino to them at home, and even if they are enrolled in a Filipino bilingual program, all that they hear with their school peers, watch on TV and read in books...all are in English. With the change in language, I have noticed an accompanying change in their behaviors.]

Katrina, Filipino mother

Results of Survey Items on Language Option and Usage

Survey items 16-20 dealt with the mothers' preference for using Filipino as a means of socializing their children and maintaining the use of Filipino as the primary means of communication within the home. It also reflects the mothers' perceptions regarding the importance of preserving the heritage language as well as the reality of language shift and language loss among their children.

The distribution of means scores for Items 16-20 is shown on Figure 21.

Figure 21. Mean Scores for Sociocultural Influence #4

Language Option and Usage
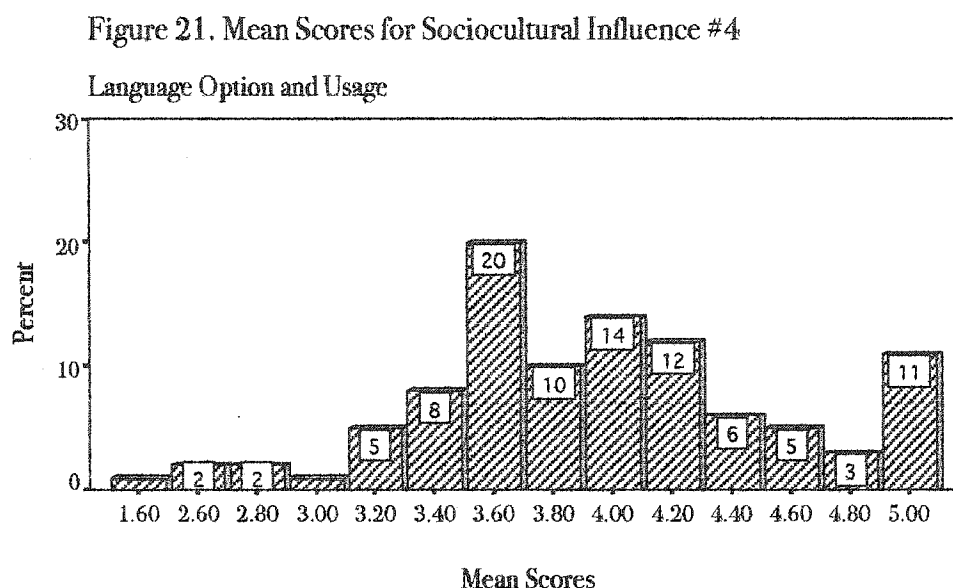
Mean Scores

The distribution of mean scores for this cluster is quite different from the previous three clusters. Firstly, unlike the distributions for the first three clusters which revealed a slight to definite skewness, this one more closely resembles a normal curve, as most of the scores are spread fairly evenly across the range of scores (See Figure 21). This fairly normal distribution of scores also reflects a wider degree of variation among the mothers' overall responses. Secondly, and more importantly, as many mothers disagree or feel neutral about most of the statements as those who agree with them. In this cluster, only 51% of the mothers indicated moderate or strong agreement with the items as compared to 49% of those who either disagreed or claimed neutrality. Thirdly, 44% of the respondents obtained a mean score between 3.0 – 3.9, which indicates that almost half of the mothers felt or claimed to be neutral with regards to the issue of native language

usage and socialization. Compared to the previous clusters, wherein an extremely high percentage of mothers obtained mean scores greater than 4, this can be seen as a considerable drop in mothers' overall agreement with issues of first language preference and usage within their homes (M = 3.9 on a 5 point scale; S.D. = .63) (See Table 12 for the statistical descriptors for the means scores of Items 16-20.)

Table 12. Statistical Indices for Mean Scores (Items 16-20)

Mean	Median	Mode	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
3.9	4.0	3.6	.63	1.6	5.0

The statistical descriptors for the individual items of this cluster are shown on Table 13.

Table 13. Statistical Indices for Items 16-20

Item Number	Mean	S.D.	Range
16) Parents should encourage children to speak Filipino at home.	4.24	.71	2.0 – 5.0
17) Children should be exposed to Filipino media	4.13	.68	2.0 – 5.0
18) The school should teach Filipino language to Filipino children.	4.11	.74	.0 – 5.0
19) Our language can best transmit our culture.	4.02	.82	1.0 – 5.0
20) If our children lose their language, they will lose their identities.	3.19	1.22	1.0 – 5.0

The mean scores for Items 16-19 range from 4.02 to 4.24, which indicates that on the average, the mothers agreed with the ideas of using the native language within their homes, exposing their children to Filipino literature, and enrolling their children in Filipino language education classes. The mothers also agreed that the home language was

the best way to transmit the native culture to their children. However, the mean score of 3.19 for Item #20 was the lowest of all the 25 items in the survey. This indicates that on the average, the mothers neither agreed nor disagreed with the idea that language loss would lead to cultural loss among their children. Moreover the standard deviation for this particular item also indicates the wide range of responses that were garnered for this particular item. The distribution of responses for Items 16-20 are shown on Figures 22 to 26 below.

Figure 22. Distribution of responses for Item #16
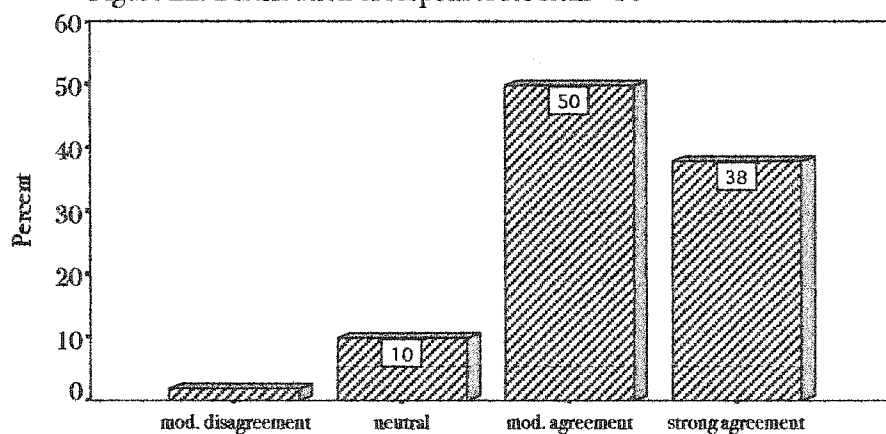
"Parents should encourage children to speak Filipino at home."

Figure 23. Distribution of responses for Item #17
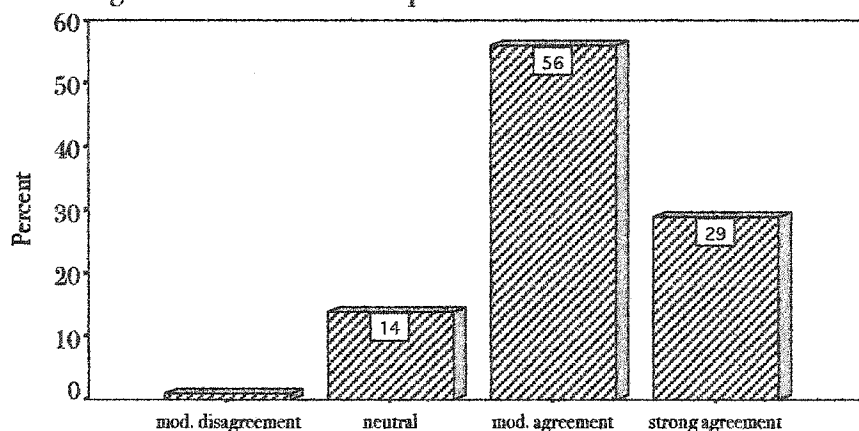
"Children should be exposed to Filipino reading materials, shows, etc."

Figure 24. Distribution of responses for Item #18
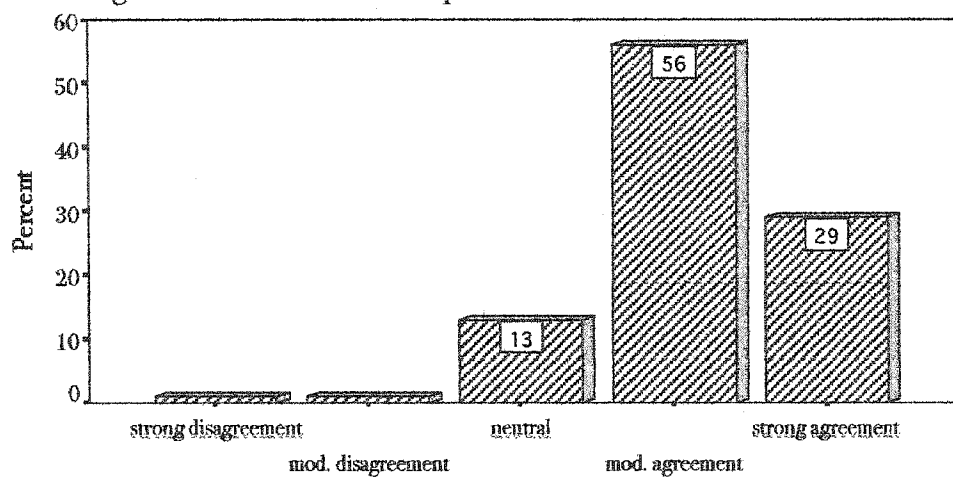
"The school should teach Filipino language to Filipino children."

Figure 25. Distribution of responses for Item # 19
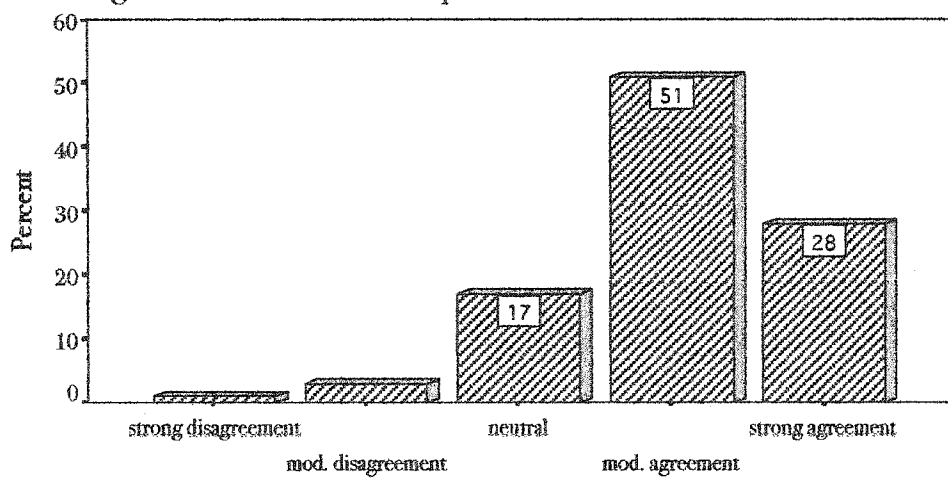
"Filipino language is the best way to transmit the Filipino culture."

Figure 26. Distribution of responses for Item #20
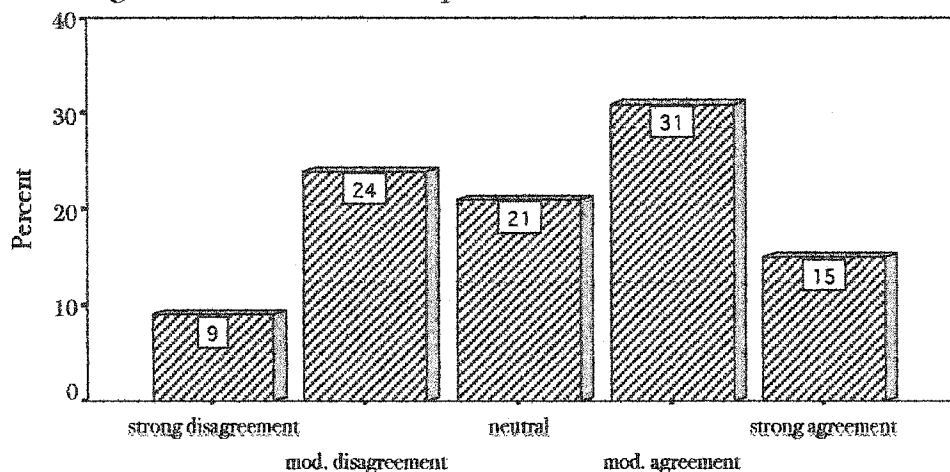
"If our children lose their Filipino, they will lose their identities."

Looking at the individual items, it is evident that in four of the five items, the majority of the mothers still agreed rather than disagreed with the statements on language option and usage. 88% of the mothers agreed that children should be encouraged to speak Filipino at home and with other Filipinos in the community (See Figure 22); 85% agreed that children should be exposed to various kinds of Filipino media (See Figure 23); 85% also agreed that schools should teach the Filipino language to Filipino children (See Figure 24); and 79% of the mothers agreed that Filipino language is the best way to transmit Filipino culture to their children (See Figure 25). Although for all of these four survey items, those who moderately or strongly disagreed comprised only 2% at most, it is interesting to see that the percentage of mothers who claimed neutrality on these items rose to 10, 13, 14, and 17% respectively.

It is in the last statement, in fact, wherein we see the clearest division among the mothers not only within this particular cluster but also for the entire survey. Only 46% of

the mothers agreed, whether moderately or strongly, with the notion that if their children lose their Filipino language, they will also eventually lose their Filipino identity (See Figure 26). An almost equal percentage of the mothers (44%), either moderately or strongly disagreed with this notion. Moreover, 9% of the mothers expressed strong disagreement with this item. Furthermore, this was the only item in the cluster whose mean score dipped below 4. This indicates that for almost half of the mothers, loss of one's native language is not regarded as equivalent to loss of one's cultural identity.

The findings of this particular cluster are consistent with the literature on language loss that is prevalent among a great number of second-generation Filipino immigrant youth (Litton 2001; Palma-Del Rosario 1999; Espiritu & Wolf 2001; Ilana-Tenorio, 1997). The results are also reflective of Galang's (1998) conclusion that Filipino immigrant parents are less likely to have a negative attitude regarding their children's assimilation, of which the shift to English is "the most visible symbol." Furthermore, the mothers' rejection of the notion that language loss can lead to cultural identity loss concurs with Santos' (1983) description of how Filipino immigrant parents encourage their children to assimilate as quickly as possible to the American cultural mainstream, especially in the areas of language and communication, only to discover, often belatedly, its negative repercussions on patterns of family relationships as well as on their children's personal and cultural identity formation.

In sum, the survey results of this particular cluster show that majority of the mothers agreed with utility of exposing their children to Filipino books, TV, and other forms of media. The majority also believed in the importance of having Filipino language instruction in the school curriculum. Furthermore, many mothers agreed with the

viewpoint that using the native language was one of the primary means for socializing their children. However, nearly half either expressed their disagreement or indifference regarding the idea that native language loss among their children could lead to serious cultural identity issues later on in life.

In-Depth Interviews regarding Language Option and Usage

The interviewees' responses confirmed the division among mothers' perceptions regarding issues of language usage and language loss that was evident in the survey. Both high- and low-scoring mothers expressed different beliefs regarding how they viewed native language vis-à-vis its role in the socialization practices within their homes and its function in the process of identity formation among their children.

The high-scoring mothers believed that native language was the anchor of their children's identity. As Nida describes it,

> *Ang wika natin ay ang kultura natin. Hindi natin*
> *mahihiwalay ang isa sa isa. Kung tatanggalin mo ang*
> *Filipino, mawawala ang pagka-Pilipino mo, kasi ito ang*
> *nagtutulay sa atin at sa ating kultura.*
>
> [Our language is our culture. It is impossible to separate
> one from the other. If you remove our language, you will
> lose our culture – because this is the bridge that links us to
> our culture.]

Losing one's native language in this respondent's view, is tantamount to being set adrift in a sea without one's bearings or tools to navigate successfully. These mothers also believed that language was more than a system of speech or a communicative tool. They understood language more as a cultural tool that enables parents to teach and transfer deeply held worldviews and belief systems. Therefore, they felt that it was only

through their native language that they could cut through all the personal, emotional, cultural, and psychological nuances of parent-child communication. As Maria puts it,

> *Ang salita natin, ang mga himig at kasabihan nito ay nagdadala ng mas malalim na kahulugan kaysa sa Ingles o anumang wikang dayuhan. Nakikita ko na kapag kinakausap ko ang mga anak ko sa Filipino o Bisaya, mas naiintindihan nila ako. Kahit na hindi kami nakikipag-usap sa isa't-isa, o kahit na ang sinabi lang ay 'po' o 'opo' — madami na ang naipapahiwatig noon kaysa sa mismong salita lamang.*

> [Our language, its nuances, expressions, and idioms carry much greater meaning to us than English or any other language ever will. I see that when I speak to my children in Filipino or Visaya, they children understand me more deeply. Even if we are not speaking to one another, or even if we just say 'po' or 'opo' — that conveys a world of meanings to us that goes beyond the mere words themselves.]

Another point that the high-scoring mothers underscored was the relationship between native language use and language socialization within their homes. It was very clear to the mothers that only by using Filipino and insisting that their children to communicate in Filipino, could they continue to instill in them, the traits that they wanted them to acquire and the values that they wanted them to uphold. As Clara explains,

> *Paano ko sila matuturuan ng mga asal at gawing ninanais ko na matutunan nila, kung hindi ko gagamitin ang wika natin? Kasama ng wika natin ang mga salita at paggamit ng salitang nagsaad ng paggalang at ng pagkikilala sa iba. Sa palagay ko, kapag hindi namin patuloy na gamitin ang Filipino, hindi nila ito lubusang matututunan.*

> [How can I teach my children the traits and values that I want them to learn if we do not use our native language? Our language, has embedded within it, words and structures that emphasize respect and other-relatedness. In my opinion, if we stop speaking Filipino, my children would find it very difficult to learn these values fully.]

Moreover, they reasoned that because they were now living in an English-dominant society, it becomes even more imperative for them to insist on using Filipino as this was the only venue in which their children could continue to experience the native language on a daily basis. Many of them instituted a "Filipino-only at home" policy and tried to be consistent in its implementation. According to Irene,

> *Sa bahay namin, Filipino lang ang salita. Kapag tinatatong ko sila kung gusto nilang kumain, ayaw naming maririnig silang sumagot ng "yes" o "yeah". Gusto namin ang sagot nila ay "po" o "hindi pa po". Ang pagrerespeto nila sa iba at sa nakakatanda sa kanila ay hindi nawawala dahil inaasahan naming patuloy kaming makikipag-usap sa isa't-isa sa Filipino.*

> [In our house, we only speak Filipino. When we ask our sons if they want to eat, we don't want to hear them say "yes" or "yeah". We want them to say, "yes, Ma'am" or "not yet, Sir" The respectful stance that they have for others around them is not lost because we expect them to communicate with us in our native language.]

Though they realized that insisting on native language use and communication took more effort on everybody's part, the mothers knew that they had to do it if they wanted to help their children retain their culture and their values. Katrina describes the extra amount of monitoring, both on her part and her children's, that she has to do just to be consistent in implementing the "Filipino-only" policy at their home. She knows that it is not an easy task especially because her children are being raised and schooled in English-speaking contexts. According to her,

> *Lagi naming sinisikap na magsalita sa Filipino sa bahay pero alam ko na magiging mas mahirap pang panatiliin ang wikang Filipino dahil Inggles ang ginagamit sa labas ng bahay at sa eskuwela. Pero lalo lang akong nagsusumikap para panatiliin ito. Away kong dumating ang panahon na sisihin ako ng mga anak ko kung bakit hindi ko sila tinuruan ng Filipino. Marami akong naririnig na kuwentong ganoon.*

[We always try to speak Filipino at home but I know that it will become increasingly difficult to maintain it because they speak and hear only English outside our home and in school. But this just makes me persevere in my efforts to maintain the language. I don't want it to come to a point wherein they will be in college and blaming us for not teaching them their native language. I've heard too many of those sad stories.]

Many of them were convinced that native language loss had a huge impact on identity issues among adolescents as well as on the breakdown of traditional values and the weakening in family ties. According to Nida,

Nakikita ko talaga ang pagkakaiba ng mga bata na pinalaking marunong magbasa, magsulat, at magsalita sa Filipino at ang mga batang hindi kinalakihan ito. May pagkakaiba sa kanilang pakikitungo sa kanilang mga magulang. Dahil na nga sa ang wika natin ay puno ng mga anyong gumagalang, mas magalang ang mga batang nagsasalita sa Filipino. Kahit na ibang tao na ang kausap nila lumalabas ang maggalang na asal nang mas natural dahil nasa katauhan na nila at kinalakihan na nila ito.

[I can see a stark difference between children who were reared to read, write, and speak in Filipino and those who weren't. There is a difference in how the children relate to their parents. Because Filipino – in content and structure – is full of respect and relatedness, children who are socialized in Filipino acquire these traits more naturally. This respectful attitude comes across just as naturally when they switch to English and relate to others outside the home, because it is already part of who they are.]

Many of the high-scoring mothers admitted that they did not come to the U.S. armed with this knowledge and prepared for the battle ahead. All of the mothers who insisted on the importance of native language cited the Filipino Education Center as the place where they learned about and appreciated not only the importance of first language preservation but also the key role that parents had to play in order to preserve the language within their homes.

As Maria said,

> *Wala kaming ka-malay-malay tungkol sa kahalagahan ng*
> *pagpapanatili ng wikang Filipino noon. Natutunan lang*
> *namin iyan sa FEC – kasi noon may workshop para sa mga*
> *magulang at iyan ang sinabi nila sa amin. Na kung hindi*
> *kami magpupursigi sa pagsasalita at pagpapanatili ng*
> *wika sa bahay, tuluyang mawawala ito at mas malamang*
> *na magkaproblema ang mga anak namin paglaki nila.*

> [We had no idea about the importance of preserving our
> native language when we first came here. We only learned
> this at FEC. During parent workshops, we were taught that
> if we didn't do our best in maintaining the language at
> home, then our children would eventually lose it and would
> be more likely to experience identity issues later on in life.]

It was also at FEC where the mothers learned that speaking in their native language

did not pose a threat to their children's ability to learn and attain fluency in their second

language. Nida cites the experience of her third grade daughter as proof of this.

> *Ang ibang mga magulang, sinasanay nila sa Inggles ang*
> *anak nila agad para daw pagpasok sa eskwela ay hindi ito*
> *mahuli. Eh pagpasok sa eskwela, matututo naman din ang*
> *mga bata. Hindi nahirapan ang anak ko sa Inggles kahit na*
> *Filipino ang salita namin sa bahay. Number one ang anak*
> *ko sa lahat ng Gr. 4 sa Bessie Carmichael sa English*
> *standardized test. Kung nahihirapan siya sa paggamit ng*
> *dalawang wika, magiging ganito pa siya kagaling sa*
> *Inggles?*

> [I know that other parents train their children to speak in
> English because they believe that doing so will help their
> children perform better in school. I believe differently
> because I know that whether they like it or not, the children
> will have to learn English in school anyway. My daughter
> did not have any difficulty with English in school despite
> the fact that we speak only Filipino at home. In fact, among
> all the 4th graders at Bessie Carmichael she attained the
> highest score in the English standardized test. If she was
> experiencing difficulty in using both language
> simultaneously, would she even be this good in English?]

Finally, the high-scoring mothers were convinced of the possibility of success in

preserving the native language and the culture among their children because they had the

opportunity to meet young Filipino-Americans who were able to successfully retain their

native language despite having spent most of their growing-up years in an English-

dominant society. Clara recalls meeting young college students from U. C. Berkeley who

volunteer during the Filipino Afterschool program that her children attend.

> *Natutuwa ako sa mga kuya na tumutulong sa Afterschool*
> *Program sa FEC. Napaka-galang nila, matulungin sa*
> *matatanda at sa mga guro, at maalaga sa mga bata. Ang*
> *pinakamaganda pa, ang tatas nilang mag-Filipino!*
> *Tinanong ko sila noon kung paano nagawa iyon dahil sa*
> *mukhang mas kakaunti lang ang ganoong hindi*
> *nakalimutan ang Filipino nila. Ayon sa kanilang lahat,*
> *dahil daw sa sinigurado ng mga magulang nila na hindi*
> *nila nakalimutan ang Filipino nila at sinigurado na mga*
> *magulang nila na hindi nila makalimutan na Pilipino sila.*

> [I am so impressed with the college boys who come to help
> out at our Afterschool Program at FEC. They are so well-
> mannered, very respectful, helpful to the adults and
> teachers, and caring toward the children. Best of all, they
> speak Filipino like natives! I asked them before how they
> were able to do it because they seemed to be in the minority
> here. All of them said that it was their parents who made
> sure that they never forgot to speak Filipino and it was their
> parents who made sure that they never forgot that they were
> Filipinos.]

The low-scoring mothers, for their part, had their own reasons and justifications for

deciding not to insist on native language use among their children. The most common

explanation they gave was that of utility and efficiency. Given that most Filipino

immigrants come to the U.S. already well-versed and sufficiently-articulate, if not fully-

literate in English, many parents find it more tedious to switch from English to Filipino

especially when their children begin communicating to them in English at home. Because

it is 'natural' for them to speak English, most of the low-scoring mothers felt no need to

converse with their children in Filipino. According to Cynthia,

> You can consider my kids as native language speakers of
> English. It's really more for efficiency. It's not a conscious
> choice on our part to speak one or the other language.

Isabel also cites that for reasons of practicality and redundancy, she has chosen to just communicate to her children in English rather than Filipino.

> We speak equal and mix-mix Filipino and English at home.
> The children speak more English to each other and to us.
> Most times, since I can understand what she is saying, I just
> speak to her in English also. There is no need to translate or
> to switch back to Filipino anymore.

Aida explains that more often than not, she finds herself speaking back to her children in English instead of Filipino for purposes of ease and practicality in communication.

> For me, there is no difference between using English and
> Filipino – I always speak to them in Filipino, but since they
> can't speak to me in Filipino, I end up speaking in English.
> It's no big deal because what's important is that we
> understand what is being said.

Conversely, since the children know that their parents could communicate to them in English, there is no pressure, on their part, to translate whatever it is that they are saying, back to Filipino. Unlike the case of other ethnic minority children who become language brokers for their parents and the outside world, many Filipino immigrant children do not have as many opportunities to use their native language and consequently tend to lose it much more quickly and easily. According to the low-scoring mothers, their children are now more fluent in English than they are in Filipino. Teresita reported that she had to adjust to her son's difficulty in Filipino by speaking to him in English.

> *Ang salita namin sa bahay ay Filipino kadalasan. Pero ang
> anak ko na nasa Kindergarten ngayon, mas gusto na niya
> kaming kausapin sa Inggles dahil nahihirapan na siyang
> sumagot at makipag-usap sa Filipino. Wala kaming choice*

kundi ang kausapin siya sa Ingggles para hindi na siya mahirapan.

[We speak mostly Filipino at home. But my youngest son, who is in Kindergarten, prefers to speak to us in English because he finds it difficult to speak in Filipino even if he can understand most of what he hears. We have no choice but to speak to him in English so that he won't find it too difficult to communicate with us.]

Josefina reports that it took her daughter less than a year to shift from Filipino to English.

Pagdating namin dito, hindi pa siya marunong mag-Inggles. Kapag nakikipaglaro siya sa ibang bata, sinasalin ko pa ang Tagalog sa Inggles para sa kanya. Pero, sa loob ng ilang buwan lang, naging mas matatas na siya sa Inggles. Mabilis ang transition niya. Ngayon hindi na niya halos magamit ang Filipino niya.

[Because she didn't know much English when we first arrived, I had to translate her Filipino to English whenever she wanted to play with her friends who spoke nothing but English. After only a few months, however, she became more fluent and proficient in English. Her transition was really quick. Now, she can hardly remember or use Filipino anymore.]

According to the mothers, the external environment played a major role in their children's shift to English, against which they had little control. In Josefina's case, her decision to live in an apartment complex with few Filipinos increased the pressure, on her daughter's part, to learn and use English right away.

Dito sa tirahan namin, wala masyadong Pilipino, di tulad sa ibang lugar. Kaya wala siya masyadong pagkakataon na gamitin ang Filipino niya. Lahat ng bagong kalaro niya ay puro Inggles ang salita kaya puwersado siyang magsalita ng Inggles.

[Here in our apartment building, there aren't many Filipinos unlike in other apartment complexes. So she doesn't have the opportunity to meet other Filipino speakers. All her new playmates are English-speakers, so she has no choice but to speak English with them.

Teresita recounts,

> *Nagtatrabaho ako noon bilang babysitter ng isang batang*
> *Amerikano at lagi kong dinadala ang anak ko habang nag-*
> *aalaga ako. Sabay silang lumaki noong bata. At naging*
> *magkalaro sila. Mula noong nagsimula siyang matutong*
> *magsalita, lahat ng naririnig niya sa bahay na*
> *pinagtatrabahuhan ko ay Inggles. Kahit na Filipino ang*
> *salita namin sa bahay, mas mahaba ang panahon na*
> *nandoon siya sa bahay noong Amerikanong bata dahil*
> *buong araw kami nandoon. Dahil dito, mas naging*
> *komportable siya sa Inggles kaysa Filipino.*

> [I used to work as a babysitter for an American baby. I
> often brought my son with me while babysitting. The two
> boys practically grew up together as playmates. Once my
> son learned to communicate, all he heard was English
> because he actually spent a greater portion of the day in the
> American boy's house. Because of this, he ended up being
> more comfortable in English than Filipino.]

School was considered by the mothers as the other primary reason for their decision not to force their children to continue speaking in Filipino. According to Josefina, her daughter's quick transition to English "was due to her attending an American school."

Furthermore, even though their children attended Filipino bilingual classes, some of the mothers did not see learning Filipino as a value as much as they saw it as a hindrance to their children's ability to learn and become more fluent in either Filipino or English. Aida justifies the reason why she is having her son tranferred from the Filipino Bilingual class to a regular English Language Development (ELD) class next school year.

> In school, he tries hard, but I think it is just causing him to
> become more confused. At home, he ends up sounding so
> funny in the way he speaks Filipino. At school, his grades
> are suffering because he is having a difficult time with the
> form and structure of Filipino. That is why I want him to be
> transferred out of the Filipino Bilingual Program into a
> regular English Language Development class.

Some of the mothers felt that continued use of Filipino was causing their children's English skills to regress. In Cynthia's opinion, her son's level of English fluency dropped when he started to attend the Filipino Bilingual kindergarten class.

> I know my son enjoys learning Filipino, but I think his English has also regressed because of this. His English language abilities seem to have weakened when he was in the Filipino Bilingual class.

For her part, Josefina bases her beliefs regarding first and second language issues on what she hears from other people, on what she thinks is the experience of many of the Filipino immigrant children who went to FEC for a longer period than her daughter did, and on what she believes is a fundamental requirement for success in American society.

> I heard that those children who do not shift to English right away have a hard time now academically. They are left behind because they cannot pick up English as quickly and as efficiently because they are so used to speaking in Filipino. That was the problem at FEC. They spoke mostly in Filipino to the children. So when the children transfer to other schools, they find it hard to catch up in English. It's the children who suffer in the long run because they have to learn English more than they have to retain Filipino if they want to succeed in America.

As if external pressures weren't enough, most of the low-scoring mothers recounted how they were pressured by family members and other Filipino relatives who dissuaded them from continuing to speak to their children in Filipino. The ease with which many Filipinos assimilate linguistically as well as their seeming willingness to ascribe a higher social value on English over their own language, must also be viewed within the context of the U.S. – Philippine colonial relationship.

According to Josefina,

> *Pagdating pa lang namin, ang unang sinabi ng tatay ko sa*
> *amin ay, "nasa Amerika na kayo, bakit pa kayo nag-Fi-*
> *Filipino?" Noon, sinabi ko sa kanya na makakalimutan din*
> *ng anak ko ang wika niya. Pero nagalit siya at*
> *pinagpilitang kausapin ang anak ko sa Inggles. Inggles*
> *lang ang ginamit niyang wika sa anak ko. Malaking rason*
> *ito kung bakit nagbago ang wika ng anak ko. Dahil unang-*
> *una pa lang, ayaw na ng mga lolo at lola niya na kausapin*
> *siya kundi Inggles.*

> [When we arrived here in the U.S., the first thing that my
> father told me and my daughter was, "you are now in
> America, why are you still speaking in Filipino?" Back
> then I told him that she would forget the language soon
> enough. But he got angry and insisted that my daughter
> speak only in English. He would always speak to her in
> English. This was a big factor in her shift – because first of
> all, her grandparents didn't want to talk to her in anything
> but English.]

Cynthia claims that this 'degradation', by the previous immigrant generation, of

their native language has made it not only impossible for her husband to speak to their

children in Filipino, but also highly improbable that their children would ever learn to

speak the language as fluently as she had originally hoped.

> I regret that my husband was never taught nor encouraged
> to speak in Filipino. I regret that it was very negative, from
> his parents' point of view, to speak their native dialect at
> home when he was growing up. His parents were ashamed
> of their language. They trained their children not to speak
> in Filipino. For them, language was related to one big
> inferiority complex. So even if I want my children to learn
> the language, it's doubly hard – since the other person who
> could help me teach them at home, doesn't know how to
> speak it himself.

Interestingly, many, if not all, of the low-scoring mothers did not feel that language

loss had much, if any, bearing on the development of their children's identity. Most of

their children were in the 6-10 age bracket, and had not, so far, given any indication of

problems regarding their identities. Just like the high-scoring mothers though, many of

the low-scoring mothers had no guarantees of long-term consequences and could only go

as far as a hunch and a prayer could take them. According to Isabel,

> *Nandoon pa rin naman ang pagka-Pilipino nila kahit hindi*
> *na sila nagsasalita sa Filipino. Diba nasa dugo iyon?*
>
> [Their identity as Filipinos isn't lost even if they do not
> speak Filipino anymore. That runs in the blood, doesn't it?]

Aida concurs by saying,

> *Hindi ako naniniwala na kapag mawala ang wika,*
> *mawawala ang pagka-Pilipino nila. Ang mga kasama*
> *naman nila sa bahay ay Pilipino kaya nakikita pa rin*
> *naman nila ang mga gawi at asal ng Pilipino. Hindi naman*
> *seguro mangyayari na mawala ang pagka-Pilipino nila*
> *kahit na Inggles na ang salita nila.*
>
> [I don't believe that if they lose their language, they will
> lose their Filipino identity. After all, they live with
> Filipinos at home and are exposed to Filipino traits and
> values. Hopefully, they won't lose their culture even if they
> have forgotten their Filipino.]

Only one of the low-scoring mothers connected her son's native language loss with

his identity problems. Of the ten mothers, only Teresita had older children who, at 14 and

18 years of age, were much older than the rest of the interviewees' children. She

recounted first-hand experiences of the conflicts and difficulties that her eldest son faced

when he reached the adolescent stage.

> *Noong naging teen-ager ang anak ko, nawala na ang*
> *respeto niya para sa amin. Ang palagay ko, malaking*
> *impluwensya ang pagkawala ng Filipino niya. Noong*
> *naisip niyang nakapag-aral na sila dito at mas marunong*
> *na siyang mag-Inggles kaysa sa akin, mas kaya na niyang*
> *hindi respetuhin ang papel ko bilang nanay nila. Hindi na*
> *niya kami sinunod ng tatay niya. Nagbarkada siya, nag-*
> *drugs, nalulong sa masama. Muntik nang masira ang*
> *pamilya namin dahil dito. Talagang pinagdadasal ko na*
> *hindi ito mangyari sa iba kong mga anak.*

[When my son became a teenager, he lost his respect for us.
I really think the fact that he lost his language played a big
role in this change. Once he realized that he was schooled
here and that he was more fluent in English than I was, he
was more prone to challenge my parental authority and
show me disrespect. He stopped obeying his father and me
He joined gangs, went into drugs, and became
uncontrollable. This nearly destroyed our family. I am
really praying that this doesn't happen again to my younger
sons.]

Summary of Findings on Language Option and Usage

In summary, the results of the survey items on Language Option and Usage

indicate that although majority of the respondents agreed with the importance of using

the native language at home and exposing their children to Filipino media and literature,

and although many of them were supportive of the idea of including the Filipino language

in the schools' curriculum, nearly half of them disagreed with or were indifferent to the

possibility that native language loss among their children could lead to serious cultural

identity issues later on.

The interviewees' responses explained and justified their insistence on or

resistance toward native language preservation among their children. The mothers who

agreed with the survey items strongly believed in the inextricable link between language

and culture. Moreover, they felt that only through their conscious and deliberate

insistence on native language practices within their homes, could their children be

successful not only in preserving their first language but in acquiring the cultural traits

and attitudes that they so desired. They were aware of the prevailing ideology that in

order to be fully American, one has to speak English only. In fact, they came over to the

U.S. with hardly any thought to the social and political issues surrounding first and

second languages. For most of them, it was only at FEC where they learned about the necessity of preserving the home language and of the major role they had to play in order for this to happen. All of the high-scoring mothers believe or have learned to believe that continued first language development did not pose a threat to second language learning. They witness this phenomenon in their children who have become fully and academically proficient in English without losing ground in their Filipino. Most of them did not only see the value of having a Filipino bilingual program for their children at the elementary level, but were also looking ahead at how they can work toward creating a continuous and coherent Filipino bilingual program that would extend to the middle and high schools.

Most of the mothers who disagreed with the survey items decided to 'allow' the shift from Filipino to English to take place within their homes, mainly for reasons of efficiency, practicality, and utility. Many of them explained that since they knew how to speak in English anyway, it was irrelevant and even more complicated to insist that their children speak to them in Filipino. In contrast to other minority immigrant children who are forced to act as language brokers between their parents and the outside world, Filipino immigrant children often do not have to translate for their parents and are therefore more susceptible to lose their native language quickly and irretrievably. The low-scoring mothers also felt that they had little control over the impact that external influences such as playmates, neighborhoods, and schools had on their children's language shift and consequent language loss

Moreover, their beliefs regarding the negative impact that their children's continued use of Filipino had on their acquisition of English, led them to have a negative view of

the Filipino bilingual programs in their children's schools. Many of them felt that being in a Filipino bilingual class was not only retarding their children's English fluency but was not helping their children's effort at learning Filipino. Because of this, they were more inclined to transfer their children to regular English Development classes rather than have them suffer academically in either English or Filipino.

Many of the low-scoring mothers also believed that in order for their children to succeed in America, it was more important for them to learn English than to retain Filipino. It is clear that for most of these mothers, it has become an either-or scenario. It is hardly a matter of choice as they, in fact, see that their children are left with no choice but to acquire English fluency, especially at the expense of their native language.

Finally, most of the low-scoring mothers believed that there is no connection between native language loss and future identity problems. However, most of them were also quick to note that this was more of a hope, rather than a certainty. They hope that their presence, teachings, and examples are sufficient reasons for their children to retain their culture. Only one low-scoring mother identified language loss as the factor behind her son's behavioral and identity problems. Only she had children above age 10, and therefore, only she had experienced this problem first-hand when her eldest child became a teenager. She reported that as her son lost the ability to communicate in Filipino, he gradually but irrevocably lost his sense of respect, his sense of family, and his sense of identity.

"Colonial Mentality"/Perceived Discrimination

Natutunan ko na mayroon tayong 'colonial mentality' dahil sa ating nakaraan. At dala dala natin ito hanggang dito sa Amerika. Kung colonial ka, malamang hindi mo pahahalagahan ang iyong pagka-Pilipino. Ang malungkot doon, natututunan lang ito ng mga magulang kapag nagkaproblema na ang mga anak nila paglaki ng mga ito. Tapos ang tanong nila sa sarili nila…. paano nangyari ito sa anak ko?

[I learned that we have this 'colonial mentality' due to our past – and we have to deal with this stigma and carry it with us even here in the United States. If you're colonial, then chances are you won't value your Filipino identity. Sadly, many parents only realize the loss when their children experience extreme psycho-emotional problems later on. Then they ask themselves….how did this happen to my child?]

Maria, Filipino mother

Results of Survey Items on "Colonial Mentality"/Perceived Discrimination

Survey items 21-25 dealt with the influence of (1) *"Colonial Mentality"* – which refers to the impact of US colonization on the Filipino cultural psyche as manifested in the mothers' preference for American way of life and social networks over one's own kin group, and (2) *Perceived Racial Discrimination* – which refers to the mothers' perceptions about experiences of racial discrimination in the United States, on their socialization goals and subsequent child-rearing decisions and strategies.

The distribution of mean scores for Items 21-25 is shown on Figure 27.

Figure 27. Mean Scores for Sociocultural Influence #5

"Colonial Mentality"/Perceived Discrimination
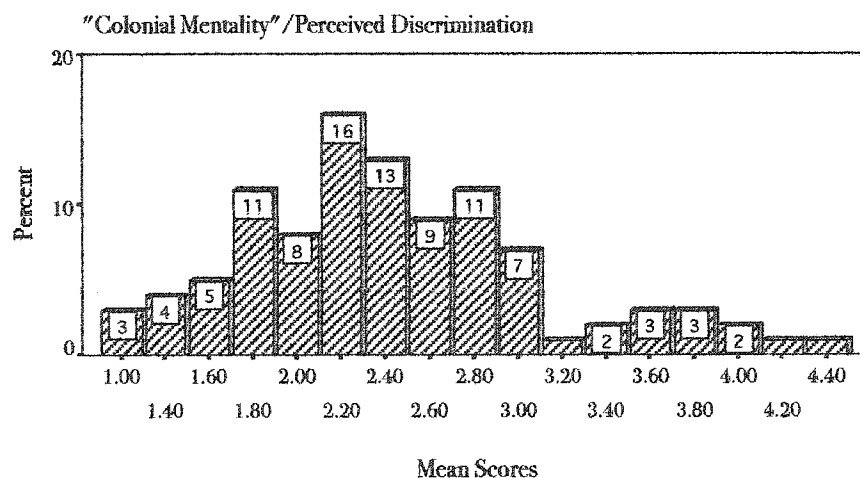
The distribution of mean scores for items in this cluster shows a slight skew to the right, as 87% of the mothers scored between the mean scores of 1 and 3 (See Figure 27). Moreover, 57% of the mothers expressed agreement with most of the items in this cluster while only 3% expressed disagreement with most of the items in this cluster. Since the items in this cluster were reverse-scored as a check on consistency, this finding indicates that majority of the mothers seem to accept the inevitability of assimilation to and adoption of the American cultural mainstream in order to gain social acceptance and to avoid racial prejudice and discrimination (M= 2.43 on a 5 point scale; S.D. = .70). Table 14 summarizes the statistical descriptors for Items 21-25.

Table 14. Statistical Indices for Mean Scores (Items 21-25)

Mean	Median	Mode	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
2.43	2.4	2.2	.70	1.0	4.4

The statistical descriptors for the individual items in this cluster are shown on Table 15.

Table 15. Statistical Indices for Items 21-25

Item Number	Mean	S.D.	Range
21) Adopting the American way of life gives us status and helps us to get accepted more easily.	2.85	1.09	1.0 – 5.0
22) Getting a good education is the best way to avoid discrimination/exclusion.	1.91	1.07	1.0 – 5.0
23) Our children should attend schools with predominantly White American children.	3.23	.99	1.0 – 5.0
24) Learning and using English gives them an edge and helps them to get along with other Americans.	2.12	.95	1.0 – 5.0
25) Excelling in schools is a good way of being at par with their American counterparts.	2.03	1.03	1.0 – 5.0

The mean scores for Items 21, 24, and 25 indicate that on the average, the mothers agreed with the ideas of (1) assimilating to the American society and its culture, (2) using English as a means to gain social acceptance, and (3) excelling in school in order for their children to achieve equality with their American peers. The mean score for Item 22 was 1.91, which also indicates that the mothers strongly agreed with the idea of getting a good education in order to avoid discrimination. The mean score for Item 23 was 3.23, which indicated that on the average, the mothers were indifferent to the idea that their children should be placed in schools with predominantly White Americans.

The distribution of responses for Items 21-25 are shown on Figures 28 to 32.

Figure 28. Distribution of responses for Item #21
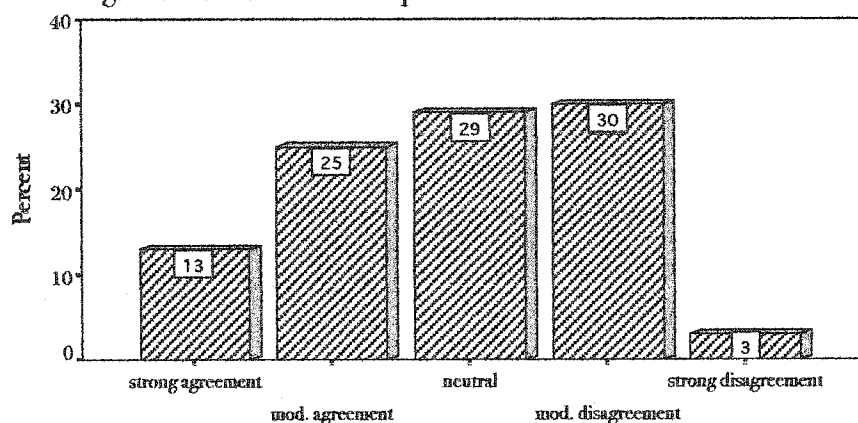
"Adopting the American culture helps our children to gain acceptance."

Figure 29. Distribution of responses for Item #22
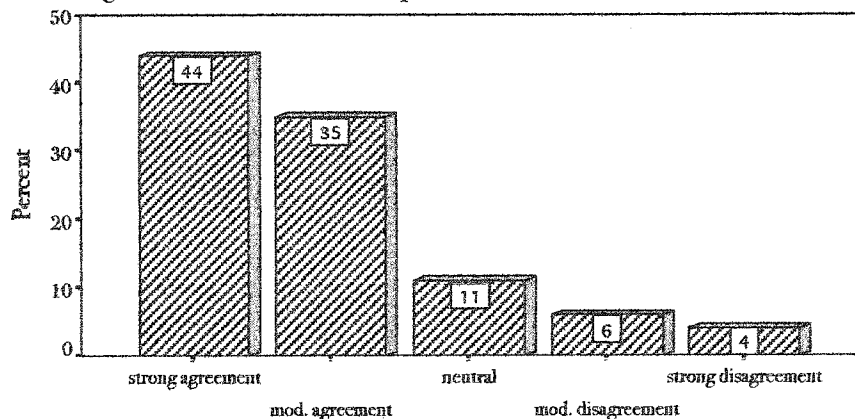
"Getting a good education helps us to avoid discrimination."

Figure 30. Distribution of responses for Item #23
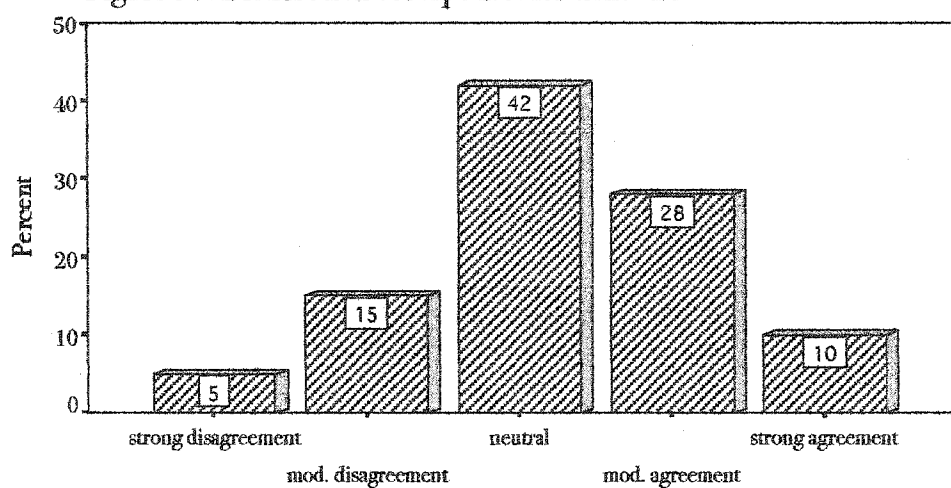
"Our children should attend predominantly White American schools."

Figure 31. Distribution of responses for Item #24
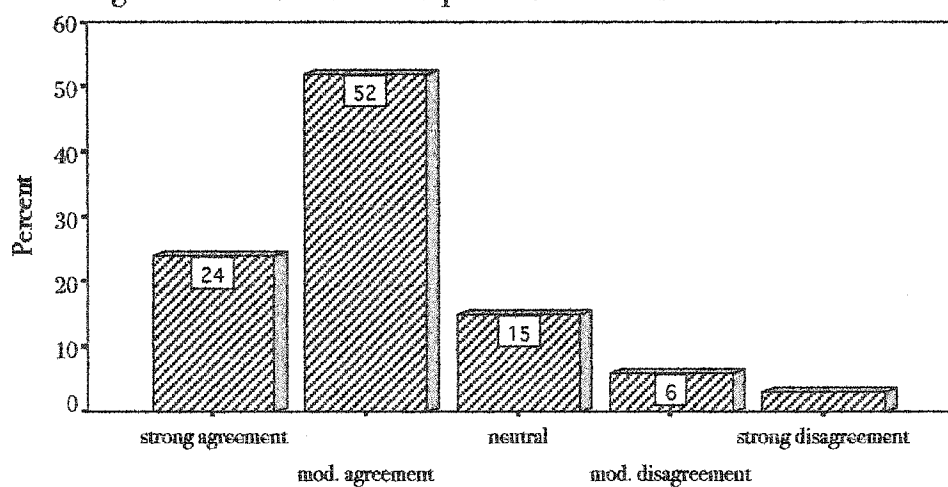
"Using English helps our children get accepted more easily."

Figure 32. Distribution of responses for Item #25
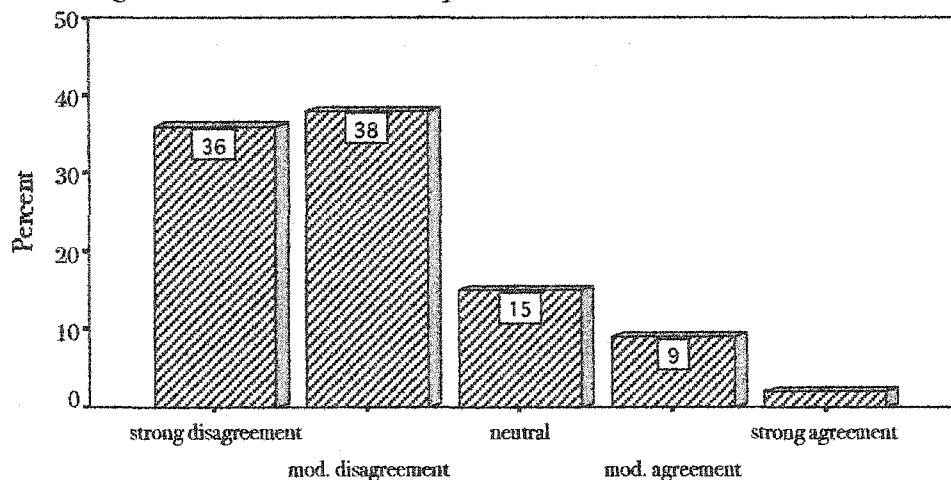
"Excelling in school helps our children to be at par with Americans."

Looking at the individual items, we see that 79% of the mothers felt that getting a good education was the best way for their children to avoid discrimination and/or exclusion (See Figure 29). 74% of the mothers agreed that excelling in school is a good way to be at par with their American classmates (See Figure 32), while 76% felt that learning and using English gives their children an edge and helps them to get along with other Americans (See Figure 31). In all these three items, the percentage of mothers who disagreed did not go beyond 11%. Although 33% of the mothers disagreed with the idea that they had to adopt an American way of life in order to gain status and acceptance more easily, they were outnumbered by 38% of those who agreed that is was necessary (See Figure 28). The remaining 29% claimed a neutral stance in this particular item. Finally, although 38% of the mothers disagreed with the idea that their children should attend schools with predominantly White American students, 42% were neutral, while the remaining 20% expressed agreement with this statement (See Figure 30).

The survey findings of this particular cluster of items concur with the literature that describes how the Filipino's sense of personal and cultural identity is deeply embedded within the historical context of U.S. and Philippine relations. Furthermore, it echoes the way some researchers have described the Filipino 'colonial mentality' as an enduring legacy of the colonial encounter between America and the Philippines (San Juan, 1992; De Castro, 1994; Samson, 1999). The survey finding on the high premium that parents place on English also agrees with the literature that describes how Filipino immigrant parents encourage and expect their children to achieve English fluency as soon as they can in order to earn high marks in schools, assimilate to the mainstream, and avoid exclusion from their peers (Galang, 1998; Litton, 2001; Palma-Del Rosario, 1999). This same parental expectation on academic excellence was evident in Wolf's (2002) description of parental pressures reported by teachers of Filipino high school students in Vallejo, CA.

The survey findings are also consistent with studies that show how the acculturative experiences of Filipino immigrants to the U.S. are shaped and transformed by experiences of prejudice and discrimination, their own and their children's, toward their racial background and ethnicity (De Castro, 1994; Rumbaut, 1996; Rumbaut, 1997). It is also consistent with studies that detail how these discriminatory experiences, in turn, provide the background against which they re-evaluate their assigned places and roles in U.S. society (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001, Espiritu, 2002; Wolf, 2002).

On the whole, the survey findings of this particular cluster indicate that majority of the mothers seem to accept the notion of assimilation to the American cultural

mainstream in order to gain social acceptance and to avoid racial prejudice and discrimination.

In-Depth Interviews regarding "Colonial Mentality"/Perceived Discrimination

The responses to the interview give us a deeper insight as to how the Filipino 'colonial mentality' impinges on the mothers' immigrant experiences in America. According to San Juan (1992), a sociologist working with the Filipino community in San Diego, a history of colonialism in the Philippines and racism in the United States continue to shape experiences of Filipino immigrant families. Indeed, the Filipino colonialist history and socialization into North American life, values, and practices while still in the homeland are things that every Filipino immigrant family carry with them as they make America their new home. In Philippine colonialist history, shame and second-class social status played important roles in the formation of the national psyche (Ileto, 1979). Ileto argues that these notions may continue to reverberate among Filipino immigrant parents and their children.

Interestingly, only the mothers who strongly agreed with the survey items had something to say about 'colonial mentality' and the issue of compromising Filipino values and identity in order to assimilate more easily and successfully into American society. According them, the psychological impact of colonial mentality, in the everyday dealings and life-activities of Filipino immigrants, seriously threatens their efforts to inculcate a solid sense of identity among their children and leads to difficulties in justifying the continued propagation of Filipino values and tradition among their second-generation children.

Clara argues that -

> *Kung kinakahiya natin ang ating kultura, para na ring*
> *tinalikuran natin ang ating pagkatao. Kung ituturo ko sa*
> *mga anak ko na ikahiya ang kanilag pagka-Pilipino,*
> *papaano nila mapapahalagahan ang sarili nila at papaano*
> *nila maipapanatili ang mga gawi na gusto ko nilang*
> *panatiliin habang-buhay?*

> [If we are ashamed of our culture, it's as if we've turned
> our back on our being. If I teach my children to be ashamed
> of who they are, then how can they be proud of who they
> are and how can they continue to uphold the Filipino values
> that I want them to preserve?]

Nida adds that the crippling issue for many Filipinos,

> ...is that once we step foot on American soil, we think we
> either can or must forget our Filipino identity. On the
> contrary, I believe that all the more we need those things
> that serve as our secure anchor as we make the transition
> into the new culture. How else can our children come to
> internalize the importance of our values and externalize
> these values in their daily dealings with others around
> them? Then, when our children reach middle school and
> high school, we wonder what went wrong. It's very
> insidious, this pressure to assimilate without realizing the
> damaging consequences later on in their lives.

Inherent in the mothers' argument is a fundamental appreciation for their Filipino

culture and the conviction that there is nothing to be ashamed about their culture and their

ways. However, this appreciation for the Filipino culture does not lead them simply to

expect their children to reject the good features of their new host culture but to realize

that they have as many 'good qualities' to share with other cultures as they have to learn.

As Irene explains,

> *Pilipino tayo. Ang dugo natin ay Pilipino. Kung ano ang*
> *kultura natin, dapat maging totoo tayo dito. Kung pipilitin*
> *ko ang mga anak ko na maging maka-Amerikano, mahirap*
> *dahil hindi naman sila talagang Amerikano. Kung*
> *makakakuha tayo ng bagay mula sa kultura nila na*
> *makakbuti para sa atin, maganda iyon. Pero hindi ibig*

*sabihin na wala na rin silang matututunang mabuti mula sa
ating kultura. Sa aking opisina, kaming mga Pilipino,
naghihintayan kami bago kumain nang sabay. Kapag
walang ulam ang isang ka-opisina, nagbibigayan kami.
Unti-unting natuto sa amin ang mga Amerikanong ka-
opisina namin. Sinabi nila na natutunan nila mula sa amin
ang maging mas sensitibo sa iba at ang magbigayan.
Natuto sila sa amin at natututo kami mula sa kanila. Gusto
ko ganito ang mangyari sa mga anak ko – ang matuto ng
magagandang bagay mula sa kulturang ito pero ang
maipanatili at maituro sa iba ang mabubuting gawi ng mga
Pilipino imbis na ikahiya nila ang mga ito.*

[We're Filipino. Our blood is Filipino. Whatever our
culture is, we have to be true to that. If I force my children
to adopt the American culture, it's hard because they are
not completely American. If we can adopt things in their
culture that can improve us as persons, then that's good.
But this doesn't mean that other people cannot learn many
good things from our Filipino culture. At my workplace,
we Filipinos wait for each other before eating our lunch
together. We share our food with whoever doesn't have
lunch for that day. Our American officemates gradually
adopted our 'lunch practice'. They told us that they have
learned a lot from us – like sharing and being sensitive to
others. They learn from us and we learn from them. This is
what I want for my children – to learn from this culture but
at the same time, to retain and to share our values and our
ways with others instead of being ashamed of them.]

Many of the mothers also emphasized the importance of valuing Filipino culture

because, as Katrina argues, despite our best efforts at trying to transform ourselves by

'becoming as American in our language and behavior', we will always be considered as

outsiders and non-American anyway.

She comments,

*Wala naman tayong mahihinatnan sa pagbago ng ating
wika at gawi dahil, kahit anong gawin natin, lagi naman
nila tayong kikilalanin bilang kakaiba sa kanila. Kung
tinatanggap nila tayo bilang ibang kultura, dapat
tanggapin din natin ang ating pagka-iba sa kanila.*

[We gain nothing by changing our language and our
identities because, hard as we might try, Americans will

always see us as being different from them. If they accept
us as from another race, then we should accept ourselves as
such.]

Maria adds that this 'non-negotiable' attitude is the only way she can continue to

inculcate within her children a sense of who they are and how special they are – in the

midst of a cultural context that equates one's sense of self and worth with one's

proximity to the 'white-European' ideal.

> *Iyong mga sumusuko sa kanilang 'colonial' na pag-iisip ay
> nagpapakita na puwede silang ma-angkin muli. Na kung
> ano ang sabihin ng iba tungkol sa kanila at sa kung ano
> dapat sila maging – ay tatanggapin nila. Dapat nating
> panindigan ang ating pagka-Pilipino. Maaari tayong
> bumigay sa ibang bagay, maliban lang sa ating pagka-
> Pilipino at sa ating kultura.*

> [Those who succumb to their 'colonial mentality' show that
> they are willing to be 'colonized' all over again. They are
> showing that they will accept whatever others say they are
> and what they should be. No, you stand for who you are.
> You can compromise in other situations, but never about
> being Filipino and never about your Filipino culture.]

According to the mothers, it was only through reflection that they came to the

conviction that they don't have to join the cultural mainstream. Moreover, they

emphasized that without conscious deliberation and critical reflection, it becomes much

easier to succumb to internal pressures. As Nida asserts,

> After a long period of reflection, I came to the conclusion
> that I don't have to join the mainstream. If this society
> promotes individualism and freedom of expression, then I
> choose to express my individuality by not joining the
> mainstream. I've made the choice to continue teaching my
> children traditional Filipino values and speaking the
> Filipino language instead of bowing to internal 'cultural
> pressures' that have ingrained within us this sense of
> needing to bow to the 'greater American culture'. I
> wouldn't have come to this point without first becoming
> aware of the 'psychohistorical and sociocultural baggage'
> that we carry and its potentially damaging repercussions to

our lives not only as Filipinos but also as Filipino
Americans.

Two of the low-scoring mothers mentioned 'colonial mentality' as a psycho-social reality that continues to plague present-day Filipino immigrants.

According to Cynthia,

> Even within our immediate family, you can feel the shame
> that comes with being a Filipino. My brothers-in-law, they
> were born and raised here. The other married a White
> American because he never wanted to relate to Filipinos.
> The same goes for my other brother. My husband and his
> siblings really saw how ashamed their parents were when
> people identified them as Filipinos. They tried so hard to be
> known as Americans, before anything else.

Despite this acknowledgement, however, none of the mothers talked about its implications and repercussions on their own child-rearing practices. This lack of comment, on the low-scoring mothers' part, regarding the possible ill-effects of 'colonial mentality' can be interpreted in three ways. First, it is possible that for the low-scoring mothers, being colonially-minded is a non-issue because they believe that the only way for their children to assimilate quickly and successfully in the American cultural mainstream, is to acquire the 'typical American' manner of speaking, thinking, acting, and being at the expense of their own ways. The short-term gains of assimilation and social acceptance far outweigh whatever long-term consequences there may be, if any. This is what they want for their children and so they see no problem with their decision.

Second, it is also possible that they see themselves as not having any choice in the matter. They are caught between bi-polar choices; they face an either-or affair. Their children cannot succeed in America without taking on American ways. So, in a sense, they have accepted the reality and the seeming necessity of subsuming their cultural ways

in order to survive and thrive in the U.S. society. In other words, they believe they have no choice but to give up being Filipino in order to become American.

Third, it may be that the low-scoring mothers have just not consciously and deliberately thought about the possible consequences of being colonially-minded and feeling shame for their own culture. Indeed, for many Filipinos, both here and back home, this 'colonial mentality' is a state of mind that, just like child-rearing practices, resides in the domain of things that are 'taken-for-granted' or unquestioned and accepted as 'the way things are'. For Filipinos back home, however, the repercussions that result from the preference for things American do not reach the dire levels that they do among Filipino immigrants in the U.S. Whereas the social institutions of the homeland are able to provide a distinctly Filipino cultural foundation despite the influences of Western practices and capitalistic enterprise, Filipinos living the U.S. have no such support and find themselves losing the very foundation of their cultures when they give up the Filipino way of life in exchange for the American dream. This situation is exacerbated in the case of the second generation youth because although their parents may have previous experiences and solid memories of the Filipino culture and tradition to serve as anchors, the children can only draw from the multiple images of their parents' points of reference, their own hyphenated and hybrid identity, and their perceptions and experiences of what it means to be Filipino American. This is how Wolf (2002) describes the emotional transnationalism that plagues many second generation Filipino youth – a feeling of being neither here nor there that results in a lack and loss of personal sense of self and worth. It is no surprise, therefore, that many Filipino immigrant youth, despite their seamless

assimilation to American society, experience greater psychosocial problems than their other ethnic minority counterparts.

Of course, there may very well be a fourth possibility – that Filipino families live in a world that is neither black-or-white nor as cut-and-dried as it would appear. Choices and decisions are often the result of a multiplicity of factors and circumstances that in the end, cannot be traced to any one source. It may be any one factor, or all three factors working independently or in tandem – that influence the mothers' choices or non-choices.

Although the low-scoring mothers did not voice differing opinions and beliefs regarding the insidious effects of the 'Filipino colonial mentality', they expressed their agreement when it came to the "Westernizing influences" that were bearing down on their children. All the mothers, both high- and low-scoring, expressed fears and concerns with regards to the influence of the external sociocultural environment such as schools, peers, and media. They worry that their own parental influence is gradually diminishing as their children get older and become more exposed to other more powerful environmental pressures. Despite a shared recognition of the external influences that surround their children, however, the mothers differed in the way that they responded to these sociocultural pressures.

For many of the low-scoring mothers, the resulting inclination toward and preference for Western attitudes and lifestyle seem to be an inevitable outcome of their migration and a steep price which they have no choice but to pay.

According to Teresita,

> *Dito malakas ang impluwensiya ng mga kaklase niya.*
> *Kahit na nandyan kaming mga magulang, parang*
> *mangyayari talaga na makuha nila ang mga gawi at asal*
> *ng mga kabarkada nila. Nauwi ito sa away at di*

*pagkakaintindihan naming magka-pamilya. Masama din
ang impluwensya ng TV at Internet – natututo ang mga
bata tungkol sa sex, consumerism, violence, drugs, etc.
Pero hindi ko sila ma-control. Kahit na alam kong masama
ito para sa mga anak ko, parang nawalan na ako ng
control sa mga anak ko. Ang pinakamatanda kong anak ay
sumali sa gangs, nalulong sa drugs, at tumaliwas sa mga
payo ko. Hanggang ngayon, iniisip ko, bakit kaya
nagkaganoon ang anak ko?*

[Here, their classmates have a strong influence on my
children. Even if we try to be there for them and guide
them, it seems inevitable that they will acquire the attitudes
and behavior of their friends and peers. This often leads to
conflicts within our family. TV and Internet are also bad
influences because they expose the kids to sex,
consumerism, violence, gangs, etc. But I can't seem to
control them. Even if I know that these things are bad for
my children, I seem to have lost all forms of control. My
eldest son joined gangs, did drugs, and rebelled against me.
Until now, I ask myself, whatever happened to my son?]

The parents also stress that the decreased amount of time that they get to spend with

their families and the lack of extended family members who can help them to take care of

their children, make it much more difficult for them to counter the external influences

brought on by TV, magazines, peers, and the broader social environment. Aida claims

that her work schedule, and the relatively easy access to inappropriate content on TV and

the Internet, compound her difficulty in being able to rigorously monitor her children's

activities.

I work 5 days a week. During off time, I'm practically
doing all the other errands that I have to do. So I cannot
keep track of my children's activities, however I may want
to. Even if I tell them not to watch TV or log on to the
Internet, I know that they go ahead and do so anyway. Foul
language can be heard on TV. Music that doesn't have
moral content is aired constantly. Media is a big problem.
Then, you see how young children in the U.S. behave
themselves in ways that are much too advanced for children
in our culture – in their manner of dressing, in mixing with
children of the opposite sex, in the ways that they express

themselves. So these have a very strong influence on my children. It's all around them – free for the taking. I can't control them so I hope they will manage to control themselves.

The high-scoring mothers, for their part, shared the conviction that their efforts at instilling cultural awareness and pride among their children will reap benefits in the future when they will have to face these external sociocultural pressures on their own. As Irene explains,

> *Ngayon, habang malaki pa ang impluwensya ko sa kanila, talagang sinisikap kong ipaliwanag sa kanila na hindi nila kailangang gayahin lahat ng nakikita nila sa TV or lahat ng sinasabi ng mga kabarkada nila sa kanila.*
>
> [Now while I still wield enormous influence over my children, I try extra hard to explain to them that they don't have to copy everything that they see on TV or follow what all their friends tell them to do.]

Like many of the other high-scoring mothers, Katrina emphasizes the importance of her role and her choices, as well as her efforts and her actions because it is only through these that she can hope for even a modicum of success.

> *Kailangan akong magpursigi lalo, dahil ang mga impluwensya sa labas ng bahay ay nagtuturo ng mga taliwas na kahalagahan sa gusto kong maituro sa mga anak ko. Alam kong walang kasiguruhan ang kalalabasan ng aking pagsisikap, pero kung hindi ko sila tuturuang pahalagahan ang kanilang sariling gawi at pinaniniwalaan, para na ring sumuko ako bago pa nag-umpisa ang laban.*
>
> [I have to work extra hard, because the sociocultural influences outside our home go against the mindset and values that I want to instill in my children. I know there are no guarantees as to the outcome of my efforts, but if I don't teach them to value their own culture and beliefs, then it's as if I've given up on them even before the fight has begun.]

One may claim that the social construct of the "Filipino colonial mentality" is merely a coinage of an expression describing a distinctly pro-Western mind-state among former U.S. colonists. One may argue that this preference for American life and goods is a result not of internal sociohistorical mechanisms but of continued effort, on the U.S. part, to instill loyalty and thereby create a perpetual and ever-increasing consumer base to fuel its capitalistic enterprise and guarantee its global dominance and economic longevity. Though one can question the existence and validity of this internal mechanism that fosters feelings of social inferiority and inclines Filipino immigrants toward complete cultural assimilation, one certainly cannot deny the existence of external pressures on immigrants and other ethnic minorities that are brought about by discrimination and prejudice and the clear-cut division of U.S. society based on a European vs. non-European distinction (Lieberson & Waters, 1988).

Both the high- and low-scoring mothers shared their families' experiences with racism and discrimination in the U.S. It is in light of these experiences that they continue to reconstruct and reconfigure their, as well as their children's, places in the social hierarchy that defines American society. Yet again, there was a marked difference in the way the interviewees' felt they should face the problem of discrimination.

The high-scoring interviewees felt that there was a need to face discrimination head-on. It was important for them to educate their children, at this early stage, about the reality of racism in America, and the ways they could fight it and still end up with an intact sense of self and self-worth. Nida recalled one instance of discrimination that has been seared into her and her children's memory.

> My children and I boarded a MUNI bus on 5th street. An
> old lady who entered after we did asked me and my

> children to get up from our places because she said that she
> wanted to sit on my seat. We weren't even seated on the
> 'reserved' seats. There was a teenager across from me and
> she could have asked that boy to stand up. She glared at us
> and shouted at us, "You're not supposed to sit there. I want
> your seat." I was stunned, and didn't know what to do – I
> cried because I didn't know how to explain to my kids that
> I cannot protect them from this reality – that we are people
> of color and no matter how hard they try to make things
> equal across the board in this society, that seed of hatred for
> people of color will always be there.

Katrina recounts her own experience of being discriminated against because of

other people's preconceived notions regarding her race and because of her seeming

inability to speak in English.

> My youngest son and I usually pick up my older son from
> school every day. We used to ride the bus and my son
> usually sleeps on the way. I often lay him on one seat so
> that his head can rest on my lap. On one occasion, there
> was a person who boarded the bus and sat in front of us.
> Then this senior citizen beside me told me that there was a
> senior citizen who boarded the bus, so why didn't I give up
> my seat? That those seats weren't for us, that we had no
> right to sit there. I didn't mind her. But she kept on nudging
> me, elbowing me asking me, "Why are you not speaking?
> You don't know how to speak English?" For me that's
> discrimination, because she saw and felt that I was
> different. She assumed right away that I didn't know how
> to speak English. I didn't mind her but she just kept on and
> she didn't stop harassing me. I couldn't move because the
> bus was moving and my child was asleep. I really didn't
> see the reason to move since there were so many empty
> seats on the bus. I felt violated by this incident. I cried on
> the way because she kept on saying things like I don't have
> the right to be in this country anyway because I wasn't an
> American. She was saying it in a derogatory way.

It is because of these painful experiences that the mothers tried their best to make

their children understand about the reality of discrimination and the challenge not to

succumb to feelings of worthlessness and self-defeat.

As Nida explains,

> *Ngayon pa lang, sinasabi ko sa kanila, na mayroong mga*
> *tao na kamumuhian kayo dahil lamang sa itsura ninyo at*
> *kinakailangan kayong maging matatag sa sarili ninyo at*
> *magsumikap para maipakita ninyo na mali ang iniisip nila*
> *tungkol sa inyo….na kasing buti at galing nila kayo, kung*
> *hindi lalo pa.*

> [This early, I constantly tell my children – that there will
> always be a certain number of people who are going to hate
> you because of what you look like and you just have to be
> firm and strong and do the best you can to prove to them
> that they are wrong in their perceptions of you… that you
> can be as good, if not better, than the next person.]

The mothers also claim that the school is an arena for discrimination and as such,
should also be the starting point for multicultural openness, tolerance, and acceptance.

Maria recounts,

> My children are experiencing a lot of bullying in school - I
> don't know if it's racially motivated. They came from FEC
> – wherein everyone understood them and everyone
> communicated in a manner that everyone understood. But
> here at Bessie Carmichael, one of the biggest challenges for
> our children is the prevailing cultural attitude towards
> Filipino immigrant children who have not, whether by
> choice or circumstance, assimilated as completely as the
> other Filipino American children in the school. Here we
> are, trying to build confidence in our children, about their
> culture and their race – and then they have to face remarks
> from other children, as well as from some school personnel,
> that negate these.

Another thing the mothers mentioned was the need for them to take an active stance
when it came to advocating for their children's individual, cultural, and social rights in
their schools. They volunteered to sit on School Site Councils and became active in the
school PTA just to have their children's voices heard. Many Filipino parents do not
participate actively in school functions and home-school partnerships. According to
Litton (1998), many Filipino parents regard schools and teachers as possessing full

authority when it comes to their children's education. Consequently, they tend to exhibit a relatively passive attitude and maintain distance to show their respect and acceptance of the school's complete authority when it comes to the education of their children. Filipino parents are not 'trained' in the politics of advocating and lobbying for what they believe is best for their children's education. For the high-scoring mothers, this was something they had to learn once their children entered the U.S. public school system. Once again, it was at FEC where they were taught about the importance of school site councils and the weight that parental requests and demands carry when it comes to educational policy and decisions that could either benefit or disadvantage their children. They realized that they had to take it upon themselves to act on their children's behalf, because as Irene exclaims, "that's the way it's done here in the U.S." It was in these school meetings where the parents also experienced discrimination first-hand. According to Maria,

> During one of the school board meetings, I spoke up on behalf of our children, who were not assigned to the Filipino bilingual classes that we had originally requested. Then I overheard remarks like, "Who is this parent?" "Is she Filipino?" "How come she is very articulate?" So I thought to myself, "What do they think about us Filipinos, just because we don't speak perfect English and just because we have a heavy accent – that we're stupid, that we don't know anything?" If adults can be treated this way, how much worse can it be for our children?

Clara, who is also an active participant in school-parent meetings, remarked –

> Once, a parent told me, "You know what, your children are going to middle school eventually and you just have to deal with the fact that there will be no more Filipino bilingual program and that everyone will just have to attend regular English classes." She talked to me as if I was stupid and as if my ideas were foolish and inconsequential. She conveyed the message, by her tone and demeanor, that we Filipinos were radicals and that we were harassing them. The message to us was that we were small fry – that we did not

matter and that we might as well just forget about our
demands. I refused to stoop to her level. We need to put a
stop to people putting us down like that because they have
no right to treat us that way. I realize that I have to do this
for my children, because no one else will help them face
discrimination and deal with it in ways where they could
emerge as victors instead of victims.

The low-scoring mothers responded to their perceptions and experiences of

discrimination by accepting it as an inevitable consequence of living as immigrants U.S.

As Teresita discloses,

> Sa tindahan, tinutulak at sinisiko ako ng mga puti.
> Tinitignan nila ako mula ulo hanggang paa. Seguro hindi
> mo talaga maaalis ang racism dito sa Amerika.

> [In the grocery, white people push me and shove me and
> look at me from head to toe. I guess you can't really take
> away racism in the U.S.]

This is also one of the reasons why the low-scoring mothers decided that it was in

the best interest of their children to assimilate rather than to 'stand out' and risk being the

target of further discrimination. According to Isabel,

> Kailangan maging siga ka – tulad kung pupunta ka sa
> tindahan – kung hindi ka siga, hindi ka nila tatratuhin nang
> tama. Kapag tinitignan ka nila o kapag kinakausap mo sila,
> hindi ka nila papansinin at hindi ka nila pagbibilhan.
> Ganoon talaga dito. Kaya nga tinuturuan ko ang mga anak
> ko na tumulad sa kanila – para mabuhay sila dito sa
> Amerika.

> [You have to be tough here – like when you go to the store
> – if you are not tough, they will not treat you well. When
> they look at you or when you speak to them, sometimes,
> they ignore you and forget about you. It's the reality here.
> That is why I am training my children to think and act like
> others do – so that they will survive in America.]

Cynthia explains that racism may not only come from White American schoolmates

but from other ethnic groups as well.

> Sometimes, discrimination is verbal; sometimes it's
> physical. In my son's case, majority of his classmates were
> either Blacks or Latinos. He was the only Asian kid in his
> class. He was not allowed to play ball on one side of the
> school because he wasn't black. He also wasn't allowed to
> play on the other side because he wasn't Latino. He always
> came home with bloody lips. Here, if you don't push back,
> they're just going to keep on pushing you.

Because of perceived or real discrimination, many of the low-scoring mothers also decided that excelling in school was the only way for their children to be seen as 'equal' or at least, not inferior to their peers. They felt that education could provide the level playing field where meritocracy superceded the color of one's skin. Moreover, some of them also felt that their children's acquisition of English fluency could lessen the degree of perceived difference from their peers. This is the reason why they were more than willing for their children to learn English as soon as possible even if this meant that they would lose their Filipino language. As Josefina explains,

> *Kung Iingglisin nila ang mga kaklase nila, at least, hindi*
> *sila mamaliitin. Makikitang marunong pala sila magsalita*
> *nang tulad ng Amerikano at makikitang matalino pala siya*
> *kaya hindi nila siya puwedeng mamaliitin tulad nang*
> *pagmamaliit nila sa ibang bata na hindi maipakita na*
> *pare-pareho lang sila.*

> [If my daughter speaks to her classmates in English, at least
> they won't look down on her. They will see that she can
> speak like one of them and they will realize that she is
> smart and they will not belittle her as much as they would if
> she couldn't show them that she was just as good as the rest
> of them.]

Summary of Findings on "Colonial Mentality"/Perceived Discrimination

In summary, the results of the survey on "Colonial Mentality" and Perceived Discrimination indicate that majority of the mothers seem to accept the necessity of complete assimilation to the American cultural mainstream in order to gain social

acceptance and to avoid racial prejudice and discrimination. The in-depth interviews

clarify how their perceptions of cultural inferiority as well as their experiences of racism

and discrimination in the U.S. continually transform their child-rearing goals and the

subsequent trajectories these goals take as manifested by the child-rearing strategies that

they adopt.

It is relevant to note that only the high-scoring mothers expressed their concern

regarding the insidious effects of the Filipino 'colonial mentality'. For these mothers, this

psychosocial tendency to devalue their own culture threatens parents' continued ability to

inculcate a solid sense of identity among their children. According to them, this tends to

undermine their ability to continue following the child-rearing practices and strategies

that propagate traditional values and behavior. Inherent in most of the mothers' argument

is a deep appreciation for their own cultural heritage and a firm belief that there is as

much that Filipinos could offer to other cultures as they could learn from them. The

mothers also cited critical reflection and analysis as having played key roles in enabling

them to bring these unconscious and taken-for-granted preconceptions to the fore. In so

doing, they are better able to resist succumbing to these internal feelings of cultural

inferiority. Moreover, they are able to focus their efforts at helping their children become

more conscious about these issues early in their lives in the hope that the children will be

able to break away from the 'colonial mindedness' that has plagued former generations.

None of the low-scoring mothers had anything to say about 'colonial mentality' and

its effects on the immigrant experiences of Filipinos in the U.S. The lack of response can

be interpreted in four ways. First, it is possible that for the low-scoring mothers, giving

up their Filipino culture and identity is a choice that they are willing to make. In this

regard, the argument against Filipino 'colonial mentality' is moot because they do believe that their culture is inferior to that of the U.S. and also that it would be better for them and their families to assimilate as completely as possible to the American way of life.

Second, it is also possible that the low-scoring mothers see themselves and their children in a no-win dilemma. They accept the social requirement of having to give up their Filipino culture and ways in order to succeed in American society. Thus, they have no choice, but to give up being Filipino in order to become American.

Third, it is also likely that the low-scoring mothers are not aware of the possible negative repercussions that could result from feeling culturally inferior. As previously mentioned, 'colonial-mentality' is a psychological and sociocultural mindset that predisposes Filipinos to think of their culture as inferior and second-rate to that of the Americans. Whether this is internally conceived in the minds and hearts of Filipinos, through a long history of colonialism, or is externally propagated by U.S. social institutions as a means to maintain its capitalistic enterprise in the former colony, it is a subject of endless sociohistorical and political debate. What is clear is that being 'colonially-minded' is not something that Filipinos consciously think about as they go about their daily lives. So this lack of awareness on the low-scoring mothers' part is common among many Filipinos both in the Philippines as well as in the U.S. However, whereas the societal institutions of the homeland are able to provide a Filipino cultural foundation despite the prevalence of Western influence, Filipinos living in the U.S. do not have such support and find themselves losing the very foundation of their cultures when they exchange their Filipino way of life for the American dream.

Fourth, it may very well be that for the low-scoring interviewees', just as for a significant number of survey respondents who claimed neutrality in the items of this particular cluster, the issue of 'colonial mentality' is embedded within a more complicated tapestry of social dilemmas and personal choices, economic pressures and external influences that Filipino immigrants and their families face on a daily basis. Therefore, it would be unwise at best and unfair at worst, to claim that feelings of cultural inferiority is the major reason why Filipino parents encourage their children to assimilate to the U.S. cultural mainstream as fully as possible, and as soon as they can.

Both the high- and low-scoring mothers expressed their agreement regarding the weight of the external assimilative pressures that were bearing down on their children. They all expressed fears when it came to the degree of "Westernizing influence" that schools, peers, gangs, pop culture, and media had on their children. Moreover, most of them claimed a growing sense of concern in the realization that as their children were growing older, these environmental pressures were gaining more influence and control over their lives. Despite a shared recognition of the external influences that were surrounding their children, the mothers differed in the way that they responded to them. Whereas the low-scoring mothers seemed to accept this as an inevitable outcome of their migration and a price which they had no choice but to pay, the high-scoring mothers believe that their efforts at instilling cultural awareness and pride among their children at the present will help the latter to deal with these pressures in the future.

Although the validity of 'colonial mentality' – and the degree of its influence on Filipino immigrants' lives continues to be a topic of sociopolitical discourse and debate, there is no denying the reality of racism and discrimination in the lives of Filipino

immigrants in the U.S. Both the high- and low-scoring mothers shared personal experiences of prejudice and exclusion from members of other cultures, and it is in light of these experiences that they find themselves continually re-examining and re-configuring their own, as well as their children's roles and assigned places in U.S. society. Moreover, these discriminatory experiences also influence the ways in which they feel their children could and should survive and thrive in the face of social and racial division that is ever-present in America. On the one hand, the high-scoring interviewees felt that there was a need to face discrimination head-on. They felt that it was important to teach their children about what to expect as they grow up in a society that disfavors those who are colored. They argue that it made it all the more important for them to instill cultural pride and a solid sense of identity among their children as these would help them to stand strong in the face of racism and prejudice. They realized that since school was a fertile ground for discrimination, it should also provide the starting point where children can learn about openness, tolerance, and justice. The mothers recognized the important role they had to play in the school arena, in order to be advocates for their children's education and social rights. They became involved in PTAs and school site councils and used these as platforms for their voices and ideas regarding educational policies and programs that could either benefit or disadvantage their children.

The low-scoring mothers, for their part, responded to their perceptions and experiences with racism and discrimination by accepting these as indelibly woven into the fabric of American life. This reality, is in fact, one of the major reasons why they felt it was important for their children to assimilate as fully as they possibly can to the culture of the 'dominant minority' that is widely propagated in U.S. schools and society. They do

not want their children to stand out as different and risk being ostracized or excluded.

They believe that their race already defines them as being different, and they do not want

this to be compounded by their children's inability to speak the dominant language. This

is the reason why they are more willing for their children to learn English as soon as

possible even if it means losing their native Filipino. Moreover, the low-scoring mothers

argued that only through excelling academically could their children hope to 'level the

playing field' and avoid being perceived and treated as inferior by their school peers.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, and RECOMMENDATIONS

The Problem Revisited

The purpose of my study was to investigate selected factors that influence the manner in which Filipino immigrant parents and families socialize their children for successful family membership in the socio-cultural context of American society, which is often incongruent, if not in direct conflict, with values and practices of the home.

The following questions guided my research study:

1) What factors influence the socialization goals of Filipino immigrant families as they come into a cultural contact situation brought on by their migration to the United States?

2) How do these factors influence the manner in which Filipino immigrant families adhere to or adjust their socialization goals?

2a) How do some of these factors positively influence the socialization goals of Filipino immigrant parents vis-à-vis their children's development and formation of cultural identity?

2b) How do some of factors negatively influence the socialization goals of Filipino immigrant parents vis-à-vis their children's development and formation of cultural identity?

I used both descriptive and in-depth qualitative research methods to study the problem, as I was concerned not only in trying to establish the present situation of Filipino immigrant families but also in gaining a better understanding of the social and cultural landscape of their experiences in the United States. I surveyed 100 mothers of

children who were enrolled in two elementary schools within the San Francisco Unified School District. The schools were selected because of their relatively large Filipino-American student population. The survey consisted of 25 items that reflected the five major influences on socialization goals among Filipino immigrant families in my conceptual framework drawn from the research literature on Filipino families. These were: (1) Ethnic Identity/Cultural Orientation; (2) Personal Beliefs regarding Family Roles and Relationships; (3) Parental Beliefs about the Ideal or "Modal Filipino Person"; (4) Language Option/Usage; and (5) "Colonial Mentality"/Perceived Racial Discrimination. The participants indicated the degree to which they agreed or disagreed, from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) with the 25 statements in the survey. Each item was scaled in the direction of Filipino cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty, so that a high score reflected socialization goals that were more aligned with traditional Filipino values and orientation, that had a higher degree of cultural loyalty, and that espoused a stronger emphasis on Filipino cultural identity. The highest possible score was 125 while the lowest possible score was 25.

From the 100 survey respondents, I randomly selected five mothers from among the ten highest scorers and another five mothers from among the ten lowest scorers. I conducted in-depth interviews with these mothers to verify the findings of the survey data as well as to provide a qualitative context for interpreting the survey results.

The survey was designed to answer the first research question regarding the socio-cultural influences that impinge on the socialization goals of Filipino immigrant parents. The in-depth interviews were designed to respond to the second research question regarding the issues that relate to problems that families and children encounter and the

ways that Filipino immigrant families are helped or hindered in their task of socializing their children.

The Findings Summarized

I have organized and summarized the findings according to the five socio-cultural factors that influence parental socialization goals of Filipino immigrant families.

Ethnic Identity/Cultural Orientation

The survey findings of the cluster on Ethnic Identity and Cultural Orientation indicate that majority of the mothers agree with traditional Filipino child-rearing practices and would like to continue to raise their children as they themselves were raised back home. They also prefer to orient their children toward the Filipino cultural heritage and imbue them with a distinct Filipino identity.

While most of the interviewees expressed a common desire to preserve the Filipino cultural heritage and identity among their children, many of them also expressed concerns regarding the ways in which external environmental factors such as schools, neighborhoods, peers, and media, could hinder their traditional child-rearing efforts and strategies. They differed, however, in the ways that they responded to these potential influences. The low-scoring mothers saw the need for a certain degree of compromise and accommodation toward the various assimilative pressures around them. They accepted the notion that immigrants have to adjust to the demands and requirements of the host country, even if it means compromising their deeply held beliefs about how they can best raise their children. Some of them also chose to live in neighborhoods or apartment complexes that were not predominated by other Filipino families in order to

expose their children to people of other cultures. In contrast, the high-scoring mothers realized that they had to be more conscious, proactive, and consistent in implementing cultural socialization strategies and practices that will help their children to preserve and maintain their Filipino cultural heritage and identities. Cultural heritage, values, and identity were non-negotiables for many of the high-scoring mothers. This uncompromising attitude was evident in the ways that they adopted traditional child-rearing strategies as well as in the effort they took to expose their children to as many cultural models in their everyday lives. Most of them also chose to live in apartment complexes and neighborhoods that had a high concentration of Filipino families so as to enable their children to mingle with other Filipinos and to become more familiar with Filipino cultural practices on a regular basis.

Parental Beliefs on Family Roles and Relationships

The survey findings of the cluster on Parental Beliefs on Family Roles and Relationships indicate that most of the mothers agreed with traditional Filipino beliefs about the roles that parents play in the lives of their children. They agreed on (1) how they perceive their roles as their children's primary teachers and role models, (2) how they delineate family roles and relationships, and (3) how they define the parameters of their parental duties and responsibilities.

The interviewees' responses explain how the influence of traditional notions and beliefs about parenting are challenged once Filipino immigrant families are transplanted in U.S. soil. The mothers discussed the difficulties that that they face as they try to live out these culturally-defined role perceptions amidst the different socio-cultural context that surrounds their families. Their difficulties stem from two sources: (1) differences in

perceptions regarding parental discipline and familial hierarchy, and (2) lack of social support for their families. Most of the mothers expressed their concern and mounting insecurity at not being able to exercise their full authority because American laws forbid them to discipline their children in ways that are regarded as necessary and acceptable back home. Moreover, in the United States, children are seen as having individual rights. The elevation of the child's status in the U.S. has led to tensions within their families as this is in direct conflict with the vertical familial hierarchy with which they are more familiar. They claim that schools teach their children to assert themselves and to fight for their rights. They also note that their children's peers often model behavioral examples that reflect the values that U.S. schools espouse. Because of this, they observe that their children are prone to argue with their decisions and question their authority.

Most of the mothers also spoke about the need for support when it comes to taking care of their children. Many of them had parents and/or other siblings who lived with them. Most of the mothers commented that they would not be able to survive the demands of full-time work and childcare without the support of their own families. Again the high- and low-scoring interviewees did not differ in their perceptions regarding the need for social support for their families. They differed, though, in the way that they responded to this need. The low-scoring mothers remained isolated, either by choice or circumstance, from other families or agencies that could provide them with physical, emotional, logistical, and financial support. In contrast, the high-scoring mothers actively sought out Filipino families, community networks, and other organizations in an effort to create the support systems that their families needed.

Parental Definitions of the Modal Filipino Person

The survey findings of the cluster on the "Modal Filipino Person" indicate that most mothers agreed with the idealization of a Filipino person as being religious, obedient, respectful, group-oriented, and well-educated.

Most, if not all, of the interviewees also reiterated the desire for their children to acquire the traits and attitudes that were indicated by the survey. For example, all of them emphasized the importance and value of education and the high premium that they place on their children's education. However, the mothers were also cognizant of the inherent conflict between the Filipino definition of a modal person who is respectful of one's elders, obedient towards one's parents, and collectivistic in one's orientation, versus the American idealization of a person who asserts his rights regardless of age, expresses his ideas regardless of status, and is individualistic to the core. Again, high- and low-scoring mothers differed in their responses to this perceived clash in cultural paradigms. The low-scoring mothers were more willing to redefine their notions and reposition their benchmarks of respect, collectivism, and familial dependence in order to accommodate to the U.S. social context that encourages and rewards self-expression, assertiveness, and independence in children. The high-scoring mothers, however, insisted on being as faithful to the traditional ideals as they possibly could, by resisting the pressure to pare down their expectations. This unwavering stance and uncompromising attitude is reflected in their child-rearing practices and manifested in the rules that they set in their homes and the behavioral standards that they continue to uphold among their children.

Language Option and Usage

The survey findings of the cluster on Language Option and Usage indicate that although majority of the respondents agreed with the importance of using the native language at home and exposing their children to Filipino media and literature, and although many of them were supportive of Filipino bilingual programs in schools, nearly half disagreed with or were indifferent to the idea that native language loss among their children could lead to serious cultural identity problems later on.

The interviewees' responses clarify the reasons and justifications for their insistence on or resistance toward native language preservation among their children. All the high-scoring mothers believed in the enduring link between language and culture. Moreover, they felt that it was only by insisting on maintaining native language practices within their homes that their children could hope for a certain degree of success not only in preserving their native language but also in successfully acquiring the cultural traits and attitudes that the mothers wanted to instill. In other words, they were firmly convinced that the attainment of their socialization goals hinged on their continued use of their native language. Many of the high-scoring mothers not only believed in the merits of having a Filipino bilingual program at the elementary level, but were also looking ahead at how they can work toward the establishment of a continuous and coherent Filipino bilingual program that would extend to the middle and high schools.

For their part, most of the low-scoring mothers decided to 'allow' the shift from Filipino to English to take place within their homes for the sake of communicative efficiency, utility, and practicality. Since all of them spoke and understood English, they felt that intra-familial communication was not hindered, nor did it reach a breakdown –

when their children suddenly shifted from their native Filipino to English. The low-scoring mothers also felt that they had little control over the impact that external influences such as playmates, neighborhoods, and schools had on their children's language shift and consequent language loss. Moreover, most of them believed that continued use of Filipino in schools was not only confusing their children but also retarding their acquisition of English fluency. Many of the low-scoring mothers see their children being faced with an either-or scenario – either they acquire English fluency, even at the expense of losing their native language, or they keep their first language and lose everything else that they came to America for. Finally, most of the low-scoring mothers did not believe in the language-loss/identity-loss connection. However, most of them noted that this was more of a hope, rather than a certainty, as they could not yet foretell the effects of language loss on their children's future lives.

"Colonial Mentality"/Perceived Discrimination

The survey findings of the cluster on "Colonial Mentality" and Perceived Discrimination indicate that majority of the mothers agree with the notion that complete assimilation to the American cultural mainstream was the way to gain social acceptance and to avoid racial prejudice and discrimination.

The in-depth interviews clarify how the mothers' perceptions of cultural inferiority as well as their experiences of racism and discrimination continually transform their child-rearing goals and the subsequent child-rearing strategies that they adopt. Only the high-scoring mothers expressed their concern regarding the insidious effects of the Filipino 'colonial mentality'. Most of them argue that this psycho-social tendency to devalue their own culture threatens parents' continued ability to inculcate a solid sense of

identity in their children. Inherent in the mothers' argument is a fundamental appreciation for their own cultural heritage and a firmly held belief that there is as much to be admired and learned from the Filipino culture. They also believed that critical reflection, on their part, helps them to resist feelings of cultural inferiority and enables them to help their children become more conscious of this historical legacy in order to break away from its debilitating effects. The lack of response from the low-scoring mothers could be interpreted in three ways. First, it is possible that giving up Filipino culture and identity is a choice that they are willing to make. In this regard, the argument against Filipino "colonial mentality" is moot because they do believe that their culture is indeed inferior to that of the U.S. Hence, in their view, it is in their best interest to assimilate as completely as possible to the American way of life. Second, It is also possible that the low-scoring mothers see themselves and their children as being faced with bi-polar choices. They accept the social requirement of having to give up their Filipino culture and ways in order to succeed in American society. They see themselves as having no choice in the matter. Third, the low-scoring mothers may not be aware of the possible repercussions that could result from feeling culturally inferior. Many Filipinos, both here and back home, do not consciously think about the ill effects of 'colonial mentality'. But whereas the societal institutions of the homeland are able to provide a stable Filipino cultural foundation despite the prevalence of Western influence and despite the national preference for things American, Filipinos living in the U.S. do not have the luxury of such support and find themselves losing the very foundation of their cultures when they give up their Filipino way of life in exchange for the American dream.

Both the high- and low-scoring mothers expressed their concern regarding the various external assimilative influences that were bearing down on their children. They all mentioned the ever-growing "Westernizing" influence of schools, peers, media, the Internet, and pop culture. However, the mothers differed in the way that they responded to these external pressures. Whereas the low-scoring mothers seemed to accept this encroachment on the home culture as an inevitable outcome of their migration and a steep price which they had no choice but to pay, the high-scoring mothers believed that their unflagging efforts at instilling cultural awareness and pride in their children at the present time will help the children deal with these pressures later on.

Most if not all of the interviewees recounted personal experiences with racism and discrimination. It is in light of these experiences that they find themselves continually re-examining and re-configuring their roles and assigned places in U.S. society, as well as their children's. On one hand, the high-scoring interviewees felt that there was a need to face discrimination head-on. They recognized the importance of teaching their children about what to expect from a society that tends to discriminate against people of color. Moreover, they felt that instilling cultural pride and a solid sense of self-worth and identity among their children can counter the debilitating effects of prejudice and racism. They also realized they had an important role to play in the school arena, in order to advocate for their children's educational and social rights. On the other hand, the low-scoring mothers responded to their perceptions and experiences of racism and discrimination by accepting these as part and parcel of American life. For many of them, this reality justifies the necessity for their children to fully assimilate to the culture of the dominant majority in U.S. schools and society. This is also one of the main reasons they

give for wanting their children to attain English fluency even if it is at the expense of their native language. Speaking the dominant language, and better yet sounding like native English speakers, would mean a greater likelihood of inclusion into the cultural mainstream. Moreover, the low-scoring mothers argued that only through excelling academically could their children hope to 'level the playing field' and avoid being targets of further prejudice and discrimination.

Conclusions

I have found in this study, that the socialization goals of many Filipino immigrant mothers in the San Francisco Bay Area are highly influenced by traditional notions and cultural definitions of best practices in child-rearing. Many mothers still prefer to align their child-rearing goals and strategies with those that they have learned from their own parents or those that they consider to be most culturally familiar and desirable. Given a choice, they would prefer to raise their children according to traditional Filipino customs and traditions and imbue their offspring with a uniquely Filipino identity. They see themselves as their children's first teachers and would like to be able to fulfill their parental duties in the exercise of their authority and the enforcement of parental discipline. Their idealizations and expectations for their children find common themes in religiosity, respect, obedience, group-orientation, and education – the same cultural idealizations that have been propagated in Filipino families from past to present day generations.

Having said that, however, it is evident from the survey findings and interview data, that the mothers often run into real-world issues and challenges that threaten their efforts

at successfully achieving these idealized child-rearing goals. The first and most important challenge is the one that faces each and every immigrant family in America – walking the fine line between assimilating to the norms and codes of the American cultural mainstream without losing their cultural bearings. The major task parents face is that of easing the considerable social and cultural dislocation caused by immigration and, by serving as intermediaries to the host society, enable their newcomer children to adapt. Oftentimes however, their culturally preferred and personally idealized child-rearing goals are overwhelmed by external socio-cultural pressures that force them and their children to fully and irrevocably assimilate to the American cultural mainstream. The basic American paradigm of individualism and self-expression is one that runs counter to the Filipino cultural paradigm of collectivism and respect. Schools, peers, media, and the pop culture of materialism and sexual liberalness constitute these external contexts that hinder the mothers' efforts in trying to attain the child-rearing goals that they set out for themselves as well as for their children.

The other major challenge is one that many minority groups in America have faced– that of confronting the racial divide, of living as disadvantaged persons and coping with lower status, of being on the losing end in unbalanced power-relations, and of becoming daily targets of prejudice and discrimination. In a sense, the challenge is exacerbated for Filipino immigrants by their assumptions of American superiority and their perceptions of themselves as vanquished inferiors, sentiments that have not only been indelibly stamped onto their collective memories but continue to influence the way they see themselves as Filipinos and as Filipino Americans in present-day American society.

These conflicting issues and negative influences manifest themselves in the manner in which the mothers find themselves compromising their cultural standards and behavioral expectations, and living with the repercussions of such a compromise. The attainment of the highly-prized goal of 'making it' in America is paid for at the high cost of breakdown in family ties and intergenerational communication, disruption of familiar relationships and cultural roles, native language loss among their children, and eventual psycho-social and emotional difficulties among their adolescent children as they continually re-configure their roles and positions in the social hierarchy of American society.

Implications

As the survey and interview findings suggest, some mothers seem to be more successful at dealing with the assimilative challenges and social pressures than others, as evidenced by their continued ability to maintain the Filipino culture, language, and identity in their children despite seemingly insurmountable odds. What then differentiates those mothers who are able to translate their child-rearing goals into strategies that help their children develop and maintain their traditional Filipino identity and values from those who find themselves in a no-win situation?

First, these mothers possess a deep conviction about the fundamental value and importance of their culture, and the key role that it plays in their immigrant lives and acculturative experiences. However, as many of them explained in the interviews, they did not just come upon these convictions, nor were they quite as aware about the personal, social, and political ramifications of 'cultural maintenance and preservation' on their children's lives prior to emigrating. Indeed for many Filipino immigrants, the

overarching economic need obscured the possible negative consequences of migration. This economic motivation often outweighs the personal and social costs that migration exacts on families through separation and disrupted lives. However, as previously noted, many of the mothers who were surveyed and interviewed do not have the privilege of hindsight or past experience to guide their child-rearing choices and decisions since their children are still young. Most of them are unaware of the alarmingly high rate of teenage suicide among second generation Filipino youth in the U.S. Without the necessary social intervention, their children, this next generation of Filipino immigrant adolescents, are bound to face the same identity issues and problems that are plaguing the present generation.

Second, what differentiated the relatively successful mothers from the relatively unsuccessful ones were the conscious effort and proactive stance that successful mothers took in order to advocate for their children and their families. They sought out other families, neighborhood centers, community networks, and various social agencies that catered to the physical, social, and cultural needs of Filipino immigrant families. They were able to build a social system that could support them and make them feel less isolated and more empowered. As one mother put it, it is important to "build critical mass among Filipino immigrant families." Indeed, there seems to be truth to the adage that there is strength in numbers. The fact still remains, however, that for many other Filipino immigrant families, these social networks and agencies that can help them are difficult to find and even more difficult to use. Full-time and even double-time jobs, as well as physical isolation, prohibit them from finding and using these networks. Those families who are lucky enough to find these community organizations get the help that they need,

but what happens to the rest who are not fortunate enough to gain access to these social services?

Third, almost all of the relatively successful mothers spoke about the important role that the former Filipino Education Center played on their transformations from passive and submissive American "wannabes" to critical advocates and Filipino community supporters. It was only through participation in parent workshops and family seminars at the FEC that they learned about the importance and need to be conscious about their child-rearing choices and decisions if they want to propagate and preserve Filipino culture within homes. It was at FEC where they learned about research studies and real-life examples of immigrant children who could learn to be fluent English speakers without having to lose their native language. It was at FEC where they met young Filipino American college students who had lost their language and identities in the assimilation process, and who were then actively trying to reclaim their cultural roots. It was at FEC where they learned that parents and families had to work for solutions to their problems from within the system, by actively joining school councils and organizations where they could influence political decisions that could benefit their children's educational lives. Most of the mothers decry the fact that unlike FEC, the school their children attended did not seem as committed to serving their children's and the Filipino community's needs. However, this does not stop them from positioning themselves in parent committees and school organizations because they know that this is their only means for making their children's needs heard and felt. Unfortunately, this group of mothers represents only a small percentage of the Filipino immigrant parents with children who are enrolled in California's public schools. For hundreds of other Filipino

immigrant families, this sense of self-representation and self-empowerment is not seen as a right and an obligation. Coming from a country whose educational policies are mandated by a central governing agency, Filipino immigrant families have been culturally trained to accept educational laws as mandates that cannot be challenged. They have not been trained in the art of American educational politics and advocacy. Without community support, the strength and viability of Filipino immigrant families are further weakened by their unfamiliarity with the channels for parent participation in the governance of their children's schools.

As a final implication, it is relevant to note that even for the relatively successful mothers, there is no guarantee whatsoever, that their efforts will pay off in the long run. They are not certain if their children will be able to succeed in navigating through the demands of living as immigrant minorities in the U.S., achieving economic and social mobility, and at the same time being able to preserve their Filipino cultural identity and values. They realize that their children face seemingly insurmountable odds and overwhelmingly strong assimilative pressures. They fear that their children will fall prey to peer pressure, gang-violence, sexual-liberalness, moral degeneration, consumerism, and racial prejudice. In this regard, they are not alone. All of the interviewees reported increased levels of stress and anxiety due to these worries and concerns about their children's futures. Indeed for many Filipino immigrant families, the thought of what could happen to their children in the future is not something that they dismiss as inconsequential. They have read or seen many such stories about Filipino adolescents in U.S. based Filipino newspapers and TV shows. However, it seems that many Filipino immigrant families fail to make the connection between their own child-rearing choices

and decisions and the key role that these could play in determining a successful acculturative experience or in exacerbating identity and cultural problems, with lifelong and life-threatening repercussions.

Recommendations

As this research study has revealed, there is no singular experience that describes the Filipino immigrant family's sojourn. Every immigrant family has its own story, and each one bridges the physical and cultural "Pacific Divide" according to its cultural resources, social supports, economic means, and personal attributes. On the macro-level, a combination of pre-migration factors and the post migration economic and political context impact the immigrant family's ability to connect with U.S. mainstream society. The receiving community context – together with its social institutions and structural domains determine the adaptive patterns of these immigrant families. Prejudice, discrimination, and historical relations, all influence the manner in which the families regard and re-align their previously held child-rearing notions. Within the domain of the family, the prevailing structures, values, beliefs, socioeconomic status all affect the adjustment for both parents and their children. These factors collide, combine, confuse, and converge to determine the socialization goals and child-rearing strategies of every Filipino immigrant family.

Regardless of premises and differentiated outcomes, the indisputable fact remains that the family is the key to the future generation's personal, social, and educational success. It is important to recognize that the home, together with the immigrant community, is the last defense –the only defense and yet still the best one – against cultural atrophy and language loss that are threatening to extinguish the lifeblood of the

next generation of Filipino Americans. It is important to realize that families cannot do it alone. Despite the number of Filipino immigrant families who have the social support and material resources to provide their children with a solid cultural foundation, there are many more families who are barely able to meet the demands of physical and economic survival, let alone enjoy the privilege of time, money, and social access.

It is with this in mind, that I make the following recommendations.

For Schools

Immigrant children spend a great portion of their day, and of their young lives, in schools. Schools, therefore, have a great responsibility to help and support these children and their families. The ever-increasing influx of immigrant and minority children into California's schools lays no doubt into the future demographic representation of this state's, and America's, next generation. It would be well, therefore, for schools to pay greater attention to the plight and needs of these students who comprise the future of this nation.

It is imperative for schools to become multiculturally sensitive and proactive in their commitment to serving the needs of immigrant and minority families. Schools can respond on the structural and local levels.

On the structural level, districts must hire more Filipino American teachers who can serve as cultural bridges and models to Filipino immigrant students. In the San Francisco School District, for instance, where Filipino students rank third in terms of population, next to Latinos and Chinese students, there should be a greater effort on the district's part to encourage and include Filipino teachers in their teaching staffs. Districts must include Filipino student counselors on staff in middle- and high-schools who can help Filipino

immigrant adolescents cope with the increasing social, cultural, academic pressures. Intake offices must keep constant track of the entry of Filipino immigrant students within the district. Instead of distributing these children to the different mainstream schools, there must be an efficient and systematic protocol that can help these newcomer families to find the appropriate schools. Instead of closing newcomer schools like the FEC, districts must work towards beefing up the physical and social resources of these centers as they are in the best position to provide immediate support to these newly-arrived children and their families.

On the local level, it is important for schools to recognize that immigrant parents play a crucial role in determining the academic success of their children. They must begin with the premise that parents know what is best for their children and are committed to procuring a bright future for their offspring. In light of this, schools must do all that it can to help parents help their children face the many socio-cultural pressures inside and outside the school walls.

Second, schools must find ways and means to encourage parents to be collaborators with the school. Schools must not only communicate the importance of maintaining the native language at home. Educators must design and implement activities that necessitate and support first language interactions among family and community members. Parents need to be assured that despite popular beliefs, often fomented by political interests, about the negative consequences of maintaining first language, there is no scientific evidence that supports this myth. In fact bilingualism, (and even multilingualism), is a socially accepted reality in many other parts of the world. Immigrant children do not have to forfeit their mother tongue in order to 'gain' English.

Third, schools must ensure that parents have access to the political and educational arenas. After all, it is they and their families who are the biggest stakeholders and those who have the most to gain and to lose in the long run. Coming from a country wherein societal and educational laws are often considered non-negotiable, Filipino immigrants arrive in the U.S. thinking that the same rules apply here. Their acquiescence may be misconstrued as 'apathy' or 'uninvolvement' rather than as a need to 'learn the ropes' at becoming more proactive in their participation on behalf of their children's education. Again, implicit here is the need for school officials to invite parents into the educative process and to gain their trust and support so they can take on the task of advocacy for their children. These can include small informal 'class get-togethers' or the more formal PTA meetings that can bring parents and families together and provide dialogue opportunities as well as foster unity among language minority families.

For Institutions in the United States

The stronger the support system that is available to Filipino immigrant families, the greater their chances for a successful acculturative experience. Unbeknownst to many Filipino immigrant families, there are numerous agencies and networks that provide different kinds of support to Filipino families in cities such as San Francisco with large Filipino immigrant communities. In San Francisco, there is, for example, The South of Market Philippine Neighborhood Association (SOMA), United Pilipino Organizing Network (UPON), Fil-Am Development Foundation (FADI), West Bay Filipino Multi-Service Center, San Francisco Veterans' Equity Center, Manila Town Heritage Foundation, Bessie/FEC Galing Bata, and SOMA Employment Center (SOMEC). The

challenge, therefore, is for such agencies and institutions to become more visible and accessible to the families who may have neither the time nor the resources to find them. It is important for Filipino community networks and social agencies– to actively search out the Filipinos in their communities and to provide these families with the physical, social, and logistical support that they need in order to make a smoother transition into the American mainstream without losing their cultural bearings and footing. They must provide leadership and initiative in informing and educating Filipino immigrant families about the importance of preserving and maintaining the heritage culture and traditions within the homes, and backing this up with community events that can foster unity and pride among the Filipino immigrant community. Just like those in Chinese, Japanese, or Mexican-dominated enclaves, Filipino community centers can offer heritage language classes and cultural programs that could provide multiple contexts for native language usage and intra-cultural interaction among its member families.

For Institutions in the Philippines

Given a choice, many Filipinos would not give a second thought when asked where they would choose to live or raise their children. There is, after all, no place like home. However, dire economic conditions in the homeland, coupled with a seemingly hopeless future have placed the Philippines on the world map as the undisputed leader in human labor export. The exhaustive 'brain drain' permeates all segments of the work force and take Filipino workers to all parts of the world: from nurses in Saudi Arabia and New York to construction workers in Dubai and Barbados, domestic caregivers in Italy and Israel to elementary and high school teachers in Texas and California. Because the Philippine government has much to gain, in terms foreign income from the millions of

Filipino overseas workers and expatriates, it too bears a great responsibility in helping these migrant workers and their families prepare for the challenges that they and their children are bound to face.

In the case of U.S. bound Filipino immigrants, government agencies must provide them with enough information about the receiving country, potential cultural clashes between the Filipino and American cultures, conflicting social expectations, agencies that can be contacted for social and logistical support, U.S. laws and social policies regarding issues like discipline and childcare, and the like. Governmental agencies must collaborate with local institutions like the Philippine Social Science Council and the Philippine Migration Research Network in order to provide educational workshops and seminars for Filipino immigrant families that can help them better prepare themselves for the life-altering changes that are going to occur with their choices and decisions to migrate. These agencies and institutions must inform prospective immigrants of the psychosocial problems that are plaguing Filipino immigrant adolescents as well as the irrevocable and irretrievable repercussions of native language loss on their children's cultural identity and their family's unity. Armed with sufficient and correct information, Filipino immigrant parents will, one hopes, have a more solid foundation and a greater sense of motivation to uphold their personal and cultural child-rearing choices and decisions.

For Future Research

The grim statistic on high suicidal rates among Filipino immigrant teenage girls and boys is reason enough to look further and deeper into the lives and experiences of Filipino immigrant families. More quantitative and qualitative

research on the experiences of Filipino immigrant families, in general, and Filipino immigrant children in particular, can help enlighten and motivate civic agencies and educational institutions to seek better ways to help families and their children. Since migration and adaptation are highly complex social processes, long-term and intergenerational studies can further illuminate the extraordinary complexity and diversity of immigrant families' experiences and can lead to a better understanding of the interconnections between social structures, culture, and social interactions.

Final Word

I hope that this study can contribute to further understanding that can translate into social services, educational programs, and pedagogical practices that will enable Filipino immigrant families and their children to become active designers of their 'social futures' and proactive members of a multicultural society that they now call their own - successful in their efforts at becoming culturally adapted yet holding fast to their identities as uniquely Filipino American.

> *On stage that night, I had experienced the most gratifying event of my life. I, the little Filipino American Jazz player, had done something great. The saxophone that I was playing was the same one you had once played; it was my heritage and your legacy. I had taken the opportunities that you had fought so hard to give me. For that night I was you and you were me. I had given you America and you, in turn, had driven away my American indifference. You had given me Asia and I, in turn, had driven away your Asian burdens. When the crowd had at last applauded and when the cold became warm and the stone became soft, I told you, "Grandfather, I am your sacrifice. I am your pride. I am the product of your bravery. I am your promise fulfilled. I am your America. I am your Asia. Salamat. Mahal kita.*

Christopher A. Bautista, age 16
On Stage
2nd prize – Essay Category: Growing Up Asian in America
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Appendix A

Letter of Consent

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY

BERKELEY · DAVIS · IRVINE · LOS ANGELES · RIVERSIDE · SAN DIEGO · SAN FRANCISCO   SANTA BARBARA · SANTA CRUZ

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION   BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

March 20, 2002

Dear Parents,

My name is Cecilia Palma-Del Rosario. I am a doctoral student at the University of California at Berkeley. I would like to invite you to take part in my research. It concerns socialization practices among Filipino immigrant families. I am interested in your views and experiences of raising your children here in the United States.

If you decide to take part in my study, you will answer a short questionnaire. You will be asked to rate your answers from a scale of 1 to 5. A small sample of parents will be selected for a follow-up interview. If you are one of the parents who will be included in the follow-up interview, I will come and explain to you what will be involved and how the interview will be conducted.

There are no foreseeable risks to you from participating in this research. There is no direct benefit to you, however, I hope that this research will benefit other immigrant parents and help them make their own experiences a more successful one. There will be no costs to you, other than your time involved.

All the information that I obtain from you during the research will be kept confidential. I will not use your name or other identifying information in any reports of the research without your additional consent on this form.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. You are free to refuse to take part. Whether or not you participate in this research will have no bearing on your child's standing in school.

If you have any questions about the research, you may call me at (415) 584-4597. If you agree to take part in the research, please sign the form below. Please keep the other copy of this agreement for future reference.

If you have any questions about your rights or treatment as a participant in this research project, please contact the University of California at Berkeley's Committee for Protection of Human Subjects at (510) 642-7461, or e-mail: subjects@uclink4.berkeley.edu.

Thank you very much.

I have read this consent form and agree to take part in this research.

_____   _____
Signature   Date

I also agree to allow my name or other identifying information to be included in all final reports and publications resulting from my participation in this research.

_____   _____
Signature   Date

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY

BERKELEY · DAVIS · IRVINE · LOS ANGELES · RIVERSIDE · SAN DIEGO · SAN FRANCISCO   SANTA BARBARA · SANTA CRUZ

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION   BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

Ika 1 ng Abril, 2002

Mahal kong mga magulang,

Ako po ay si Cecilia Palma-Del Rosario. Isa po akong doctoral student sa University of California, Berkeley. Inaanyayahan ko po kayong sumali sa aking research project. Ito ay tungkol sa karanasan ng mga Pilipinong magulang ukol sa pagpapalaki ng kanilang mga anak dito sa Amerika. Interesado po akong malaman ang inyong mga opinyon at pananaw tungkol sa sariling karanasan ninyo.

Kung sumali po kayo sa aking research, kakailanganin lang po niyong sagutin ang isang maikling questionnaire. Pipili lamang po kayo ng sagot mula sa 1 – 5 na bilang. Mayroon pong ilang mga magulang na kakailanganing lumahok sa isang follow-up interview. Kung kayo ay isa sa mga magulang na mapipili para sa follow-up interview, kakausapin ko po kayo at ipapaliwanag ko sa inyo kung ano ang magiging laman ng interview.

Wala naman pong maaaring masamang mangyari sa inyo sa pagsali sa aking research. Wala din pong direktong benepisyo sa inyo. Pero isa sa mga pakay ng research na ito ay ang matulungan ang iba pang mga Pilipinong imigranteng magulang upang maging matagumpay sa kanilang karanasan ng pagpapalaki ng kanilang mga anak dito sa Amerika.

Lahat ng mga sagot ninyo ay mananatiling kompidensyal. Ang katauhan ninyo ay hindi rin makikilala maliban kung pumayag kayo at kung pirmahan ninyo ang pangalawang linya sa baba nitong sulat na ito.

Nasasainyo ang pasya na sumali sa proyektong ito. Malaya po kayong tumanggi sa pagsali. Hindi po maaapektuhan ang kalagayan ng inyong anak sa paaralan ng inyong pagsali o di-pagsali.

Kung nais ninyo ng mas marami pang impormasyon, huwag po kayong mahiyang tawagan ako sa (415) 584-4597. Kung papayag po kayong sumali, paki pirmahan po ang mga linya sa baba. Para sa inyo ang pangalawang kopya ng liham na ito.

Kung may katanungan kayo tungkol sa karapatan ninyo sa pagsali sa proyektong ito, tumawag lang po kayo sa University of California at Berkeley's Committee for Protection of Human Subjects sa (510) 642-7461 o mag-e-mail kayo sa subjects@uclink4.berkeley.edu.

Maraming salamat po!

- -

Nabasa ko itong consent form na ito, at pumapayag akong sumali sa research na ito.

_____   _____
Lagda   Petsa

Pumapayag din akong gamitin ang pangalan ko o ibang impormasyon na makapaghihiwatig sa akin, sa lahat ng materyal na magagamit sa paglilimbag ng proyektong ito.

_____   _____
Lagda   Petsa

Appendix B

Parent Socialization Survey

Instructions: The purpose of this questionnaire is to survey the preference of Filipino immigrant parents with regard to how they socialize their children in America. Below are some statements on certain beliefs and practices related to this process. Please indicate your choice in each item by encircling the corresponding numeral in the scale on the right. The numerals stand for: 1 – Strongly Disagree; 2 – Disagree; 3 – Neither agree nor disagree; 4 – Agree; 5 – Strongly Agree. **Important:** Please make sure you choose only ONE number per question. Please make sure that you answer EVERY item. THANK YOU!!!

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Our children should be raised the way they are usually brought up in the Philippines.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Filipino parents should teach their children our traditional values and customs.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Filipino families should continue to observe religious festivities and/or commemorate events (eg. Lent, Christmas, All Soul's Day, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
4. We should continue partaking of Filipino food, wear Filipino clothes, patronize Filipino goods.	1	2	3	4	5
5. If circumstances allow, Filipino parents should bring their children for regular homecoming trips to the Philippines to make them more aware of their cultural roots.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Parents are the first teachers and are in the best position to teach children about life..	1	2	3	4	5
7. Parents should be good models to their children and teach them more by example.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Parents should be firm and authoritative when it comes to disciplining their children.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Children should be made to value the family name and honor.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Children should defer to older siblings and adult relatives.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Children should be made to realize that a happy and secure family life is better than financial and social success.	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
12. Children should be raised in fear and love of God and observance of His laws and teachings of the Church.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Children should show respect and obedience to parents and older relatives and significant adults.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Children should put smooth interpersonal relationships over personal interests and needs.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Children should value education and stay in school until they finish college.	1	2	3	4	5
16. We should encourage our children to speak Filipino at home and with other Filipinos in the community.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Children should be exposed to reading materials, films, and TV shows in the Filipino language.	1	2	3	4	5
18. The school should teach Filipino language to Filipino children.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Filipino language is the best way to transmit Filipino culture to our children.	1	2	3	4	5
20. If our children lose the ability to use our language, they will eventually lose their Filipino identity and heritage.	1	2	3	4	5
21. Adopting the American way of life gives us status and helps us get accepted more readily.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Getting a good education is the best way to avoid exclusion/discrimination.	1	2	3	4	5
23. Our children should attend a school where students are predominantly White Americans.	1	2	3	4	5
24. Learning and using English gives them an edge and helps them get along with other Americans.	1	2	3	4	5
25. Excelling/doing well in school is a good way of being at par with their American schoolmates.	1	2	3	4	5

<u>Direksyon</u>: Balak malaman ng questionnaire na ito ang mga paniniwala at opinyon ng mga Pilipinong magulang ukol sa pagpapalaki ng kanilang mga anak dito sa Amerika. May 25 na pangungusap na nagsaad ng mga pananaw ng mga magulang. Paki sabi ang inyong opinyon/paniniwala sa pamamagitan ng pagbibilog ng <u>isa</u> sa limang bilang na sumusunod sa bawat pangungusap. Ang mga sumusunod na opinyon ay ang kahulugan ng bawat bilang: 1 – Tutol na tutol ako; 2 – Tutol ako; 3 – Wala akong opinyon; 4 – Sumasang-ayon ako; 5 – Sang-ayon na sang-ayon ako..

<u>Mahalaga</u>: <u>Pumili lamang ng isang bilang sa bawat item. Paki sagot lamang po LAHAT ng mga tanong.</u> SALAMAT PO!!!

Halimbawa:

* Madali ang buhay dito sa Amerika.   1   ②   3   4   5

	Tutol na tutol ako	Tutol ako	Walang opinyon	Sang-ayon ako	Sang-ayon na sang-ayon ako
1. Dapat nating palakihin ang ating mga anak tulad ng pagpapalaki ng mga bata sa Pilipinas.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Bilang magulang, dapat ay maituro natin sa ating mga anak ang kultura at gawing Filipino.	1	2	3	4	5
3) Dapat nating mapanatili sa ating pamilya ang mga koaugaliang pan-Relihyon tulad ng pagsimba, pagsamba, at pagdiwang ng mahahalagang araw ng Simbahan. (hal. Mahal na Araw, Pasko, Araw ng mga Patay, atbp.)	1	2	3	4	5
4) Dapat panaloy tayong kumain ng pagkaing Pilipino at tumangkilik sa mga bagay na Pilipino (damit, kagamitan, atbp).	1	2	3	4	5
5) Kung maaari, dapat maiuwi natin ang ating mga anak sa Pilipinas para bumisita sa ibang kamag-anak at para hindi nila tuluyang makalimutan ang kanilang kultura at pinanggalingan.	1	2	3	4	5
6) Bilang pangunahing guro ng ating mga anak, tayo ang pinakamabisang makapagtuturo sa kanila tungkol sa wasto at mabuting pamumuhay.	1	2	3	4	5
7) Bilang magulang, dapat maging mabuting huwaran tayo sa ating mga anak.	1	2	3	4	5
8) Bilang magulang, ako ay may karapatan at awtoridad na disiplinahin ang aking anak sa lahat ng oras	1	2	3	4	5

	Tutol na tutol ako	Tutol ako	Walang opinyon	Sang-ayon ako	Sang-ayon na sang-ayon ako
9) Dapat maituro natin sa ating mga anak ang kahalagahan ng pagtataguyod ng dangal at pangalan ng pamilya.	1	2	3	4	5
10) Dapat sumunod ang ating mga anak sa mga nakatatandang nilang kapatid at tao.	1	2	3	4	5
11) Dapat maituro natin sa ating mga anak na mas mahalagang makapagtaguyod sila ng masaya at matatag na pamilya kaysa sa magtamo sila ng materyal na kayamanan o 'social status'.	1	2	3	4	5
12) Dapat natin pairalin sa ating mga anak, ang kahalagahan ng pananampalataya sa Diyos at ang pagsasabuhay ng ating mga paniniwalang Katoliko/Kristyano.	1	2	3	4	5
13) Dapat maging masunurin ang ating mga anak sa atin. Dapat din silang magpakita ng respeto sa ibang nakatatanda sa kanila.	1	2	3	4	5
14) Dapat matuto ang ating mga anak na makisama sa iba sa halip na sarili lamang nila ang laging iisipin.	1	2	3	4	5
15) Dapat pahalagahan ng ating mga anak ang kanilang pag-aaral. Dapat ay makapag-tapos sila sa Kolehiyo.	1	2	3	4	5
16) Dapat ay kausapin natin ang ating mga anak sa salitang Filipino. Dapat gamitin din nila ang sariling wika sa pakikipag-usap sa ibang mga Filipino.	1	2	3	4	5
17) Dapat nating mabigyan ang ating mga anak ng maraming pagkakataong makapagbasa ng aklat, magasin, diyaryo, atbp.; manood ng palabas sa TV at pelikulang Pilipino.	1	2	3	4	5
18) Dapat ituro sa paaralan ang wikang Filipino sa mga batang Pilipino.	1	2	3	4	5
19) Ang paggamit ng wika natin ay ang pinakamabisang paraan para maturo natin sa ating mga anak ang kulturang Pilipino.	1	2	3	4	5

	Tutol na tutol ako	Tutol ako	Walang opinyon	Sang-ayon ako	Sang-ayon na sang-ayon ako
20) Kapag nakalimutan ng ating mga anak ang kanilang sariling wika, tuluyan din nilang makakalimutan ang kanilang kultura at pagiging Pilipino.	1	2	3	4	5
21) Ang paggaya sa pamumuhay na pang-Amerikano ay makakatulong sa pagtanggap sa atin dito sa Amerika.	1	2	3	4	5
22) Ang pagtamo ng isang magandang edukasyon ay ang pinakamabisang paraan para hindi maging biktima ng diskriminasyon dito sa Amerika.	1	2	3	4	5
23) Dapat mag-aral ang ating mga anak sa mga paaralan kung saan karamihan ng mag-aaral ay mga puting Amerikano.	1	2	3	4	5
24) Ang pagkakatuto at paggamit ng Inggles ay makakatulong sa pagtanggap sa ating mga anak ng iba nilang kaklase.	1	2	3	4	5
25) Ang pagiging magaling na mag-aaral ay isang mabisang paraan para mapantayan ng ating mga anak sa kanilang mga kaklaseng Amerikano.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX C

List of Content Validators

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APPENDIX D

Interview Questions

Interview Questions:

1) What brought your family to the United States? Personal? Economic? Political?
2) If you were to compare your experience in rearing your 'older' children back home in the Philippines to that of rearing your 'younger' children here in the United States, are these experiences similar or different? How so?
3) In your opinion, what are the major obstacles/difficulties that you face in trying to continue to rear your children the way you would have done so if you were back home?
4) What do you think are things that help you continue to rear your children in the traditional Filipino ways despite the differences in cultures and other assimilative pressures that you face on a daily basis?
5) What language do the following people use to speak/communicate with one another.

Please choose from the following answers:

Communicative Pairs	Language of communication				
Father to Mother (other adults in the family)	All Filipino	More Filipino	Equal	More English	All English
Father to child	All Filipino	More Filipino	Equal	More English	All English
Mother to child	All Filipino	More Filipino	Equal	More English	All English
Child to Father/Mother	All Filipino	More Filipino	Equal	More English	All English
Child to Older sibling(s)	All Filipino	More Filipino	Equal	More English	All English
Child to Younger sibling(s)	All Filipino	More Filipino	Equal	More English	All English
Child to other Filipino peers	All Filipino	More Filipino	Equal	More English	All English

6) Have language experiences changed for you and your children? If so, have these affected family relationships, changed family structures, and modified children's behavior towards you? How do you about these changed that are happening in your family?
7) How have your lives as a family and as Filipino parents been changed by your migration to the United States?

8) Do you think that compromising your own values and traditions is part of the reality of immigrant lives?

9) What are your greatest fears/worries/concerns for your children in your situation now? In the future?

10) In what ways do you think could you and your family be helped so that you could continue to rear your children in the Filipino cultural ways of speaking, living, and being?

11) How do you feel about the influences of other socializing agents here in the United States? (E.g. schools, peer, media, Internet, pop culture, etc – how are these impacting your children and how you want them to grow?

12) Have you experienced some form of discrimination or exclusion either directly or indirectly through your children? Can you describe these experiences? How do you feel about it? How are you coping with it?

13) As a parent, what are your goals or expectations for your children as they grow and develop as persons in your new milieu or environment?