NARRATIVES ON THE IMPACT OF COLONIALISM ON THE LIVES

OF MODERN-DAY FILIPINO AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE WORKPLACE

by

Fatima Bustos-Choy

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of

the California Institute of Integral Studies

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Transformative Leaning and Change

California Institute of Integral Studies

San Francisco, CA

2009

UMI Number: 3354490

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

I certify that I have read NARRATIVES ON THE IMPACT OF COLONIALISM ON THE LIVES OF MODERN-DAY FILIPINO AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE WORKPLACE by Fatima Bustos-Choy, and that in my opinion this work meets the criteria for approving a dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy in Transformative Learning and Change at the California Institute of Integral Studies.

<div style="text-align:right">

_____
Joanne Gozawa, Ph.D., Chair
Faculty, Transformative Inquiry Department

</div>

<div style="text-align:right">

_____
Urusa Fahim, Ph.D.
Faculty, Transformative Inquiry Department

</div>

<div style="text-align:right">

_____
L.M. San Pablo Burns, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor, Department of Asian American Studies
University of California Los Angeles
on-leave 2008-2009
2008-2009 Andrew Mellon/Woodrow Wilson
Career Enhancement Fellow

</div>

Fatima Bustos-Choy
California Institute of Integral Studies, 2009
Joanne Gozawa Ph.D., Committee Chair

NARRATIVES ON THE IMPACT OF COLONIALISM ON THE LIVES OF
MODERN-DAY FILIPINO AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE WORKPLACE

ABSTRACT

This qualitative dissertation offers an investigation of the impact on and

implications of colonialism for modern-day Filipino American women.

Centuries of Philippine colonization by Spain and the United States have

produced colonial beliefs and behaviors called *colonial mentality*, which as a

specific form of internalized oppression among Filipinos is characterized by

unconscious rejection of anything Filipino and uncritical preference for anything

American (David & Okazaki, 2006; Pheterson, 1986). Filipino Americans, the

third largest Asian ethnic group in the United States, continue to be invisible and

underrepresented in significant social positions and to lag behind other Asian

American groups in attaining management positions in organizations (Cordova,

1983; Root, 1997; de Jesus, 2005).

Filipino American women were selected as the focus for this dissertation

because there have been few studies about them and their careers. A narrative

approach to the study was appropriate, as the research objectives concerned

gaining an understanding of the participants' lived experiences shaped by a

colonized culture (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Six Filipino American women

who immigrated to the United States and are working in corporate organizations

participated in the research. The research method was Narrative Inquiry, which involved in-person interviews with the participants about their childhood in the Philippines, their challenges living and working in the United States, and their visions for the future. Findings from the narratives revealed beliefs and behaviors of colonial mentality, such as inferiority, of which participants were not aware, nor did they recognize the career-limiting implications on their lives.

Given changing workforce demographics, the presence of colonial mentality in the workplace is inevitable, as more employees come from colonized cultures such as the Philippines. Unrecognized, colonial mentality can have significant implications for employees and leaders alike. This study is significant to corporate executives and managers, as well as human resources, organizational development, and diversity practitioners, as it raises awareness and understanding of colonial mentality and provides ideas to minimize the negative effects and thereby release employee potential.

Acknowledgments

This doctoral program was more than an academic undertaking; it was also a journey into the depths of my colonial heritage, into the forgotten chapters of Filipino history. The journey was long and arduous, the path strewn with unexpected twists and some demons along the way, until finally the clearing was in sight. I emerged from the experience a more enlightened and compassionate human—one who now sees with an open heart and mind the impact of our colonial past. The doctoral program was indeed a transformative learning and life-changing experience. I thank the California Institute of Integral Studies (CIIS) for providing a doctoral curriculum that allows students to explore subjects holding passion and personal connection for them, such as mine, while maintaining academic rigor and high standards of learning. Looking back on my journey, I see that I was not alone; in fact, I could not have traveled on my own.

I am deeply grateful to my Chair, Dr. Joanne Gozawa, who has been a guide, teacher, and sage from my first day of setting foot at CIIS for the interview meeting. I am blessed for having been under Joanne's tutelage for the full doctoral program. Her calm, reassuring, and sensitive presence has been my anchor in times of confusion and doubt. The depth of her knowledge and understanding of my research topic supported by her cultural sensitivity provided me with insights, questions, and solid grounding. I hope to emulate her sense of equanimity and unpretentious wisdom.

To my committee members, Dr. Urusa Fahim and Dr. Lucy Mae San Pablo Burns, my sincerest gratitude and appreciation for agreeing to be on my

Dedication

To my family, my country, and my soul

This dissertation is dedicated to my family, whose unconditional love, support, and encouragement made it possible for me to dream, to embark on, and finally to complete this doctoral journey.

To my country, may I be a positive force for other Filipinos and Filipino Americans in raising awareness and understanding of our colonial heritage, and in the process find the courage to re-create an integral, postcolonial consciousness.

This doctoral journey would not have begun had I not listened to my soul's yearning for something profound and meaningful at this stage in my life. I dedicate this work to my soul in gratitude for awakening and reconnecting me to a hidden part of my Filipino history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter One:

Introduction to the Inquiry

As a young Filipino immigrant to the United States, I was filled with hope

and excitement to set foot in the Promised Land of America.[1] I brought with me a

set of beliefs and images of America: home to the good life; anything and

everything American is great; the future of Filipinos is not in their country but

elsewhere. It was a natural progression for young educated Filipinos to leave the

Philippines for the United States to pursue the American dream and make life

better for the rest of their families. The first-born of five children, I believed going

to the United States was an opportunity to fulfill a family obligation. Baptized a

Catholic, God and family were most important to me; from my earliest

recollection, I grew up with these cultural values that mapped the course of my

destiny. Much later in life, I came to understand that these beliefs defined the

"colonial mentality," an inevitable condition among colonized people (de Jesus,

2005; David & Okazaki, 2006).

Armed with a college education and teaching experience, fluent in the

English language, and with God at my side, I was ready to start life in the United

States with Los Angeles as my destination. My parents' friends in Los Angeles

promised to help me, and in the beginning things seemed to work out as planned,

but not for long. Soon I experienced the reality of being in a foreign land: not

---

[1] I have chosen to use "America" and "American" in this dissertation because that
is the terminology used by the participants; the glossing of United States and U.S.
for all of North and South America reflects the colonial mentality that is the focus
of this study.

everything American was as great as I had imagined; Americans were not as helpful as I had believed them to be; one manager refused to hire me because I spoke English with an accent; and some Filipinos were hostile, when I had thought they would be compassionate to a newcomer such as myself. After a month, I landed my first job. I was happy, yet I felt alone amongst people of different cultures—Los Angeles was much bigger than I had ever imagined, and I was lost with no one to turn to.

Soon the images and beliefs that brought me to the Promised Land began to shatter. Life in the United States was not what I thought it would be, yet I stayed because of love for my family, a need to fulfill an obligation to them, and a belief that God will take care of me. For most of my early years in the United States, life was filled with ambiguity and anxiety. There were times I felt proud to be in America; there were more times I felt inferior coming from the Philippines. Pride, shame, and guilt enveloped me all at once. Why was this so? I neither liked nor understood my feelings—I knew the term *colonial mentality* (de Jesus, 2005) but did not realize what it fully meant, let alone think I had it. Over time, I learned to overcome obstacles and survive on my own amidst feelings of inferiority, fear, and insecurity.

Not until I began the literature search for my dissertation topic did I make meaning of the lasting impacts of Spanish colonialism and U.S. imperialism (Cordova, 1983; Root, 1997; de Jesus, 2005; Kwok, 2005; David & Okazaki, 2006). This newfound information impacted me deeply and raised my anger toward the former colonizers. I felt torn between loyalty to my country and

resentment toward being a U.S. citizen. I also felt helpless to avenge the trauma of colonialism and to change the course of our history. There were moments when it was painful to keep reading about the victimization of Filipino women under Spanish rule and the migration of Filipinos to the United States. I cannot recall when I felt an inner shift, but I did—what I felt was a spiritual, emotional, and psychological catharsis, a gentle process of surrender from being angry and resentful to feeling enlightened, compassionate, and empowered.

This new freedom gave me renewed energy to continue with the dissertation topic. I felt impassioned to learn more about the effects of colonialism on other Filipino American women. What were their experiences of colonial mentality? Were they aware of its presence or were they incognizant as I was? How were their careers impacted if any, by our colonial history? I also wanted to share my own experiences and realizations about colonialism and colonial mentality. The possibility of raising awareness about colonialism and its lingering impact in the postcolonial era was compelling.

Research Topic and Problem Statement

Asian Americans are proportionately the fastest growing minority group in the United States, and Filipinos are the third largest subset of Asian Americans, due in part to recent immigration from Southeast Asian countries (Kim, Yang, Atkinson, Wolfe, & Hong, 2001). The 2001 Statistical Abstract of the United States, published by the Census Bureau, shows that Asian Americans as a whole are the fastest-growing of all the major racial/ethnic groups, both from 1980–1990

and 1990–2000; among the top five Asian ethnic groups are Chinese, Indians, Filipinos, Vietnamese, and Koreans (Le, 2009b). By many standards, Asian Americans, Filipinos included, have done well in achieving the American dream of having a good education, working at a good job, and earning a good living (Le, 2009a).

However, despite their presence and long-time relationship with the United States, Filipinos remain invisible (de Jesus, 2005), often regarded as the "Forgotten Asian American" or the "invisible minorities" (Cordova, 1983, p. xiii; Cimarusti, 1996, as cited in David & Okazaki, 2006, p. 6). From my own experience as an organizational development and leadership consultant for twenty-five years, I have seen fellow Filipino American men and women who are highly educated, hard working, qualified, and intelligent, lag behind other Asian Americans in attaining management positions in corporate organizations. When asked about their career aspirations, many expressed their desires to move up in their organizations but said they felt less qualified and not ready—though by objective measure they were qualified. Others feared their families would suffer were they to take on demanding careers, and there are those who simply settled for lesser positions or gave up. This situation was disconcerting, particularly among Filipino American women who felt the double-edged sword of being "contingently visible, as overseas contract workers, mail order brides and objects of a sexist ideology, yet remain[ing] invisible as subjects and agents" (de Jesus, 2005, p. 3).

I resonated with the sentiments of fellow Filipino Americans. Inasmuch as I achieved my career goals in the corporate world, it was not without struggle to overcome feelings of being less-than, inferior, and not good enough—mindsets that described colonial mentality. I wanted to understand the phenomenon that caused many Filipino Americans to not pursue careers in higher levels of management or to not see themselves in parity with other Asian Americans.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this narrative study was to understand the ways colonialism has impacted the lives of modern-day Filipino American women who immigrated to the United States and the ways it has manifested in the work environment. For this study, *colonialism* was largely defined as

> a practice of domination which involves the subjugation of one people to another, and generally involves the transfer of population to the new territory dominating the resources, labor, markets of the colonial territory and may also impose socio-cultural, religious, and linguistic structures on the conquered population. (Bullock & Trombley, 1999, pp. 138, 418; Kohn, 2006)

Research Question and Subquestions

The primary research question was as follows: "What was the impact of colonialism on the lives of modern-day Filipino women who immigrated to the United States, and how did the impact manifest in the work environment?"

The subquestions were as follows.

1. What did the participants think of the Spanish colonization of the Philippines?

2. How did they feel about being under Spanish rule for three hundred years?

3. What did the participants think of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines?

4. How did they feel about being under U.S. rule?

5. What experiences have been shaped by coming from a colonized culture?

6. How were their lives influenced by religion? What were some examples?

7. How did they feel about authority in the workplace? Where did these feelings come from? What were the consequences of these feelings in the workplace? How did they deal with these feelings?

8. What cultural values were strongly experienced in their personal and professional lives? What were some examples?

9. What were the participants' experiences when they first arrived from the Philippines to the United States?

10. What values and beliefs were important which guided their decisions and actions?

11. What were some "turning points" in their personal and work life?

12. What challenges and successes defined who they are today?

13. What changes (if any) would they make about their lives going forward?

14. What insights and lessons have they learned that they can share with others?

Purpose and Significance of the Study

Filipinos are among the top five fastest growing Asian groups in the United States, yet despite their large numbers and long-standing relationship with the United States, Filipinos remain invisible and underrepresented in American society culturally, socially, and politically (de Jesus, 2005). This study examined the impact of Spanish and U.S colonialism in contributing to present sociocultural and psychological conditions of Filipinos in the United States, particularly as manifested in the corporate work environment.

As an organizational development consultant for twenty-five years and a facilitator for various leadership programs for Asian American managers, I was deeply disturbed that Filipino men and women continued to lag behind other Asian Americans for promotions to higher management positions. Many lacked recognition and visibility in corporate organizations despite their qualifications. From my own experiences in the corporate world, there were various reasons. However, one factor that was often overlooked and least considered was the role of cultural inferiority, "the trauma associated with colonization that fragments and fractures the essence of our being and self-knowledge" (Root, 1997, p. xi).

Through my study, I intended to achieve the following objectives:

1. Contribute to the current limited body of literature predominantly written by Filipino authors on the psychosocial, cross-cultural, and organizational development impacts of colonialism and its manifestations on Filipino American women in the workplace.

2. Draw on my personal experiences as a Filipino American woman immigrant who navigated the corporate world, and apply my twenty-five years of management and consulting experiences in a scholarly work.

3. Raise awareness and understanding of the role of colonialism in meeting the challenges of globalization, workforce diversity, and global leadership.

4. Provide a springboard for continued study on Filipino colonial consciousness and its consequences in contemporary times.

This narrative study was intended for business and corporate leaders, human resources professionals, community leaders, and Asian / Filipino American women in corporate, education, and nonprofit organizations, as well as scholars and readers in the fields of organizational development, diversity, and cross-cultural psychology. A desired outcome for the research study was to serve as a catalyst for challenging the current colonial consciousness of modern-day Filipino American women and imagining postcolonial images of self-empowerment and transformation. I envisioned the study as a resource for Filipino / Filipino Americans engaged in community development efforts. I wanted the study to increase organizational and leadership awareness and understanding of the colonized history of Filipino American employees and the colonial beliefs and behaviors at work that have prevented them from pursuing careers in higher management.

For the purpose of this study, *colonialism* is largely defined as

a practice of domination which involves the subjugation of one people to another, and generally involves the transfer of population to the new territory dominating the resources, labor, markets of the colonial territory and may also impose socio-cultural, religious and linguistic structures on the conquered population. (Bullock & Trombley, 1999, pp. 138, 418; Kohn, 2006)

In this study, *colonial mentality* is defined as a form of internalized

oppression characterized by a perception of ethnic or cultural inferiority, believed

to be a specific consequence of centuries of colonization under Spain and the

United States (David & Okazaki, 2006).

Culture is defined here using the definition from Merriam (2002):

"Culture is acquired knowledge, including beliefs, concepts, and standards,

organized by cognitive structures that people use to function properly in a cultural

context" (p. 41).

Filipino adult women immigrants are defined as women born in the

Philippines and who immigrated to the United States as adults, over eighteen

years of age. *Filipina* is a term used for a Filipino woman. *Filipino American* is

defined as a Filipino who was born in the United States or who was naturalized as

a U.S. citizen.

Filipino cultural values refer to the collective beliefs, values, behaviors,

and norms exhibited by Filipino people.

Filipino feminism is used to refer to a specific form of feminist theory

"rooted in the Filipina American experience—an experience very different from

the implicit (and thus explicit) subject of white liberal feminism" (de Jesus, 2005, p. 5).

For the purposes of this dissertation, *mestiza* or *mestizo* is defined as a person of mixed European and indigenous ancestries.

Glass ceiling is used in this study to refer to a perceived (real and imagined) barrier to executive positions in corporate America. The glass ceiling is often the invisible demarcation line that separates those who are in the "good old boys" network and those who are not, or those who are in the executive suites and those who are not.

For the purposes of this study, *American cultural values* are the collective beliefs, behaviors, values, and norms exhibited within an American / Western corporate environment. This includes corporate values, which are written and unwritten, spoken and unspoken, explicit and implicit.

Executive and senior managerial positions refers to the highest and second-highest job positions in an organization or company, for example, CEOs, COOs, CFOs, and their direct reports. *American corporations* refers to U.S. companies that are private and for-profit organizations operating in the United States and internationally.

Narrative Inquiry is a qualitative method of discovering, understanding, and representing lived experiences of participants (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Narrative Analysis is a process of gathering, transcribing, analyzing, and codifying data from participants' narratives (Merriam, 2002).

Personal Relationship to the Study

I have a deep connection to the study, as a Filipino woman raised in a colonized culture, who immigrated to the United States as an adult and who has experienced the challenges of the corporate world. The journey for Filipino Americans, particularly women, is long and daunting. Through the preliminary research, I came to realize that many of my early struggles to have a voice in the workplace, yet finding myself unable and afraid to do so, were likely the result of my having a colonial mentality (David & Okazaki, 2006). I wondered how many modern-day Filipino American men and women were aware of the long-lasting effects of colonialism in their personal and professional lives. Through the participants' narratives, these long-lasting effects of colonialism and its manifestations in their lives and work were discovered and shared.

Chapter Two:

Literature Review

This literature review addresses the socio-historical, psycho-cultural, and organizational development disciplines surrounding the research question on the impact of colonialism on the lives of modern-day Filipino American women in the United States and how that impact manifests in the work environment. These disciplines are reflected in three distinct yet interconnected topics, namely, (a) colonialism and imperialism, (b) cross-cultural psychology, and (c) organizational development. Accordingly, the chapter is divided into three sections.

The first section provides an overview of colonialism and imperialist ideologies and their socio-historical and psycho-cultural influences on Filipinos. Specific aspects include a historical and cultural perspective of the Filipino people before and during colonial times as well as the life of early Filipinos in the United States. Additionally, this section presents religion, colonial mentality, and Filipino feminism, all of which stemmed from colonialism and have profoundly shaped the lives of Filipinos, the research participants included.

The second section discusses cross-cultural psychology, which reviews the relationship between Asian / Filipino and Western cultural values (many of which were evident in the interactions of research participants with coworkers, management, and clients) as well as an acculturation coping strategy called biculturalism.

The third section examines the intersection of colonialism and organizational development in the workplace with implications for leadership,

diversity initiatives, and career development efforts for Asian / Filipino

Americans.

Colonialism and Imperialism

Much of the current literature presents the devastating effects of

colonialism and imperialism on colonized people economically, politically,

culturally, spiritually, and psychologically. However, mainstream literature on the

Filipino people and the impacts of colonization particularly on modern-day

Filipino American women is scarce. Considering that Filipinos comprise a large

percentage of the American workforce, there is a paucity of literature on the

effects of colonial beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors in the workplace, and few have

explored the depths of colonialism's impact on Filipino American women and

their careers. In addition, despite the rise in the Filipino American population in

the United States, there is "minimal transmission of knowledge, ideas, and values

about Filipino Americans in American schools" (Cordova, as cited in Root, 1997,

p. ix); consequently, prevailing negative stories and stereotypes of Filipinos are

perpetuated in all sectors of American society. Thus, a deeper understanding of

the enduring legacies of colonialism and imperialism present to this day is

needed.

The *Dictionary of Modern Thought* describes colonialism as "the practice

of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another" (Bullock

& Trombley, 1999, p. 418). The *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* further

characterized colonialism as generally involving the transfer of population from

the colonizing nations to the new territory, dominating the resources, labor, and markets of the colonial territory and imposing sociocultural, religious, and linguistic structures on the conquered population. Imperialism is distinguished by this source as the exercise of control informally (via influence) as well as formally through military control or economic leverage (Kohn, 2006). Both are essentially systems of direct and indirect political, economic, and cultural intervention by a powerful country in a weaker one. These definitions of colonialism and imperialism define the phenomena under which the Filipino people were subjugated for several centuries.

Kwok (2005) indicates that, "about five hundred years ago, Africans, Asians, people in the Americas, the Caribbean, and Pacific peoples were forced to join the emerging world order with Europe as the center" (p. 53). Colonialism spread like wildfire when Europe was in desperate need of new markets and raw materials, a need aggravated by industrialization and revolution. Moreover, driven by economic, political, and social forces, Europe changed its old free-trade attitude and informal political relations in favor of "trade monopoly and direct political and financial control or colonial imperialism" (Boahen, 1987, p. 26). These forces led to what has been called the "European Scramble"—a worldwide phenomenon accelerated by the European imperial powers of Britain, Spain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, and Italy that went beyond Africa into the whole of Southeast Asia including Burma, Indochina, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, and the Philippines (p. 29).

Colonialism as a worldwide phenomenon is described by Sartre (2001) as

a system in which, "the foundation is economic, but it is also social, psychological

and political" (pp. 36–37), a complex web of relationship between colonizer and

colonist. Neither imperialism nor colonialism is a simple accumulation and

acquisition of territories; both colonizer and colonized support the condition by

their ideological underpinnings including the concept that domination of certain

peoples considered inferior is inevitable and necessary—an overarching theme of

colonization (Said, 1994). As an example, with the colonization of India, the

colonial discourse is often described in the service of "civilizing, rescuing, and

idealizing or demonizing the Indian subjects as 'others'" (Singh, 1996, p. 2). The

colonial system in Africa, which lasted from the 1880s to 1970s, existed for the

main purpose of the "ruthless exploitation of the human and material resources of

the African continent to the advantage of the imperial powers" (Boahen, 1987, p.

62). In describing the colonization of Africa, Memmi (1965) acknowledged the

economic aspect of colonialism as fundamental, but also added that:

> Colonial privilege is not solely economic. To observe life of the colonizer
> and the colonized is to discover rapidly that the daily humiliation of the
> colonized, his objective subjugation, are not merely economic. Even the
> poorest colonizer thought himself to be and actually was, superior to the
> colonized. (p. xii)

Colonizers inculcated a belief in the natives that colonialism was

necessary and beneficial for them. The impacts of this colonial belief and its

systems of knowledge become deep-seated layers of colonial patterns that persist

over time, long after the colonizers are gone (Kwok, 2005). Moreover, McFerson

(2002) regards colonialism as a power relationship in which European and white

American colonizers successfully imposed their Eurocentric and Western racial

traditions on the colonized throughout the world over many centuries. As a result, "white bias" is still "a salient feature of many Western and non-Western societies, regardless of phenotype and genotype makeup of the society" (p. xiv). Indeed the impacts of colonialism are felt throughout history. Its effects are irreversible as Memmi (1965) expresses:

> Colonized society is a diseased society in which internal dynamics no longer succeed in creating new structures. Its century-hardened face has become nothing more than a mask under which it slowly smothers and dies. Such a society cannot dissolve the conflicts of generations, for it is unable to be transformed. (pp. 98–99)

Said (1993) offers another perspective on colonialism when he quotes noted historian D. K. Fieldhouse:

> The basis of imperial authority was the mental attitude of the colonized. His acceptance of subordination—whether through positive sense of common interest with the parent state, or through inability to conceive of any alternative—made empire durable. That durability of the empire was sustained on both sides, that of the rulers and that of the distant ruled, and in turn each had a set of interpretations of their common history with its own perspective, historical sense, emotions and traditions. (p. 11)

Colonialism is a complex phenomenon. Though colonialism has largely ended in modern times, its legacies linger in the cultural, social, political, ideological, economic, and religious spheres of the colonized people. The impact of colonialism on the Filipino people continues through modern times. Root (1997) in the anthology *Filipino Americans: Transformation and Identity* aptly describes colonialism's psychosocial and psycho-cultural devastation for Filipinos:

> Spanning five centuries, colonization ravaged the souls and psyche of the indigenous people of the archipelago dubbed Las Islas Filipinas by Spain in 1565. The traumas associated with colonization that lasted almost four hundred years scarred us all, regardless of our nativity, language, class or gender. (p. xi)

Likewise, de Jesus (2005) describes the aftermath of U.S. imperialism as "feelings of alienation, dislocation, and lost identities and histories that have left an indelible mark on the Filipino American psyche" (p. 3). Furthermore, de Jesus cites:

> Many Filipino Americans still regard their own culture as inferior (that is, compared to America's), which further reinforces the Filipino's invisibility. It is no wonder that second and third generation Filipino Americans feel they are neither here nor there, perambulating between a culture that alienates them and a culture they know nothing about or are ashamed of. (Gamalinda, 1996, as cited in de Jesus, 2005, p. 3)

The next section discusses the sociocultural aspects of the Spanish colonization of the Filipino people.

Filipinos Under Colonial Rule

Spanish colonization of the Philippines spanned over three centuries, from 1565–1898. U.S. imperialism in the Philippines lasted from 1898–1946 with a brief interlude of Japanese occupation from 1942–1946, though after 1946 the United States continued to exercise control formally via military control and informally via economic leverage, which exists to this day. Much of the pre-colonial political life of the Filipino was overpowered by the 375 years of Spanish colonial domination, in which the church and Spanish government colluded to dramatically transform the Philippine political economy.

In 1571 the colonial capital was moved to Manila and by the turn of the 16th century, most of its surrounding areas had been brought under Spanish jurisdiction, which was primarily accomplished not so much by force, but by the efforts of missionaries in baptizing souls and persuading natives to build

churches, pay tribute, and fight Spanish wars. The paucity of Spanish settlers in the archipelago prevented the colonizers from using force or sheer coercion, thus they relied on evangelization to establish and validate their power. However, the scattered configurations of the native villages proved challenging for Spaniards' attempts at colonization and conversion. To resolve this dilemma, both Spanish missionaries and officials sought to reorganize the patterns of native settlements into administrative units similar to those that had been established in other territories. The reconfiguration of the native settlements and relocation of the people caused them to be identified in Spanish political and religious terms, which validated the thrust of Spanish colonization as both political and a moral undertaking that reconstituted the natives as subjects of divine and royal laws (Rafael, 1993).

This reconfiguration and resettlement of the Philippine natives was a strategy of colonizers to control their subjects, as evident in African colonization also. Between 1880 and 1900, all of Africa except for Liberia and Ethiopia was seized and converted into colonial and dependent subjects of European powers. In the 1900s, in place of the numerous African independent states and politics, Africa was partitioned into a completely new and numerically smaller set of 40 artificially created colonies, which were administered by governors and officials (Boahen, 1987).

In establishing their colonial rule, the Spaniards co-opted native Filipino chiefs and their descendants into the colonial state bureaucracy by extending to them special privileges, such as access to land and other resources, as well as

18

exemptions from colonial exactions. A native ruling class—which became known as the *principalia*—then imposed colonial policies on the communities they governed (McGovern, 1997; Root, 1997). This formation of an intermediary class led to divisions among women (McGovern, 1997); for instance, women members of the *principalia* were usually exempt from working in the fields, while the majority of Filipino women were doing both farm and household work (Eviota, 1985, as cited in McGovern, 1997). Eventually this small class of women began to emulate the Spanish women of the colonial ruling class: they began to associate prestige with not doing manual work, and like the Spanish women; they had servants (Eviota, 1985 as cited in McGovern, 1997). Class formation thus allowed some women to enjoy comfort and wealth produced by the sweat of other Filipino women. Gender and class formation became a colonial strategy and a way of life for the Filipinos (McGovern, 1997).

Historically, the term *Filipino* derives from the Spaniards in 1543, when the whole archipelago was named Las Islas Filipinas in honor of the prince of Spain who was to become King Philip II, though at that time it was not applied to the natives and indigenous people of the islands who were then called *Indios* (Andres, 1989). Toward the close of the 19th century a group of pioneering nationalists who struggled to achieve equality and assimilation with the Spaniards started using the term *Filipino*. According to Andres (1989), on October 31, 1896, the term *Filipino* was officially used to refer to all the inhabitants of the Philippines when a proclamation, "To the *Filipino* People, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," appealed to all Filipinos as they rallied around the revolutionary

banner (p. 4). McFerson (2002) notes that in pre-colonial Philippines, tribal, geographic, and social distinctions existed, but the idea of racially superior or inferior groups emerged only with Spanish colonization and was reinforced by U.S. imperialism's own "brand of intense racial prejudice of the time" (p. xi).

The United States acquired the Philippines for $20 million as a result of the Treaty of Paris 1898, when a defeated Spain had to relinquish colonies, one of which was the Philippines (McFerson, 2002). Generally speaking, Americans influenced the Filipino mind starting in 1792 during the China trade. According to Karnow (1989), "In contrast to the Europeans, the Americans were uniquely benign, almost sentimental imperialists. As a result, Filipinos today feel a closer affinity for America than, say India do for Britain or Vietnamese for France" (p. 13).

The Filipino's admiration for anything American intensified when American forces led by Dewey ousted the Spanish Armada. Furthermore, their belief in American superiority was reinforced by the resounding victory of the Americans in the Pacific during World War II (Andres, 1989; Cordova, 1983). From the outset, the United States had a totally different colonial intention for the Philippines—it sought to assimilate the whole archipelago by educating the Filipinos in anything American (Del Rosario, 2003).

U.S. imperialists believed in the importance of using the English language as a powerful colonization strategy (Constantino, 1975, as cited in Del Rosario, 2003), since there were "too many" Philippine dialects, none of them adequate for use as a common vehicle for communication, and English was fast becoming the

language of commerce in the Far East. With U.S. colonization, the Philippines was endowed for the first time in its history with "a lingua franca, English, which discouraged the development of a national language" (Karnow, 1989, p. 15). Nonetheless, Filipinos looked for American patronage. Just as Filipinos believed Spanish sponsorship had assured them wealth and prestige, so American support was seen as the key to modern-day success (Karnow, 1989).

These were factors that solidified U.S. imperialism and its subsequent effects on the Filipino psyche. Unfortunately, with American textbooks, Filipinos began learning not only a new language but also a new culture, one that taught Filipinos to look up to American heroes, to regard American culture as superior to native culture, and to view American society as the model par excellence for Philippine society (Del Rosario, 2003). The American textbooks gave Filipinos a strong dose of American history while distorting or at least ignoring their own culture and history. Thus, the seeds of colonial mentality sown during Spanish colonization were reinforced.

Even as U.S. imperialists invested in the education of Filipinos, the American racial tradition's concern with "white racial purity" was at the heart of America's colonial belief. Racial practices and classifications that evolved in the United States were carried out to the colonies, and the Philippines was no exception. As an example, McFerson (2002) accounts that beginning with the 1903 census conducted by the Americans in the Philippines, the different socio-racial groups among Filipinos were lumped together, without distinction, under the heading, "Black." This was an indication that the general view of Americans

toward Filipinos was consistent with the widespread Negrophobia in the United States, which was reinforced by the administration of prejudiced military men who regarded Filipinos as "niggers," not fit to associate with (McFerson, 2002).

Under the American regime, the promotion of public higher education was an imperialist strategy, which also partly exacerbated class and gender division. American policy and image-makers in the Philippines soon "exempted from the disparaging stereotypes the wealthier, better educated, and mixed-race class, such as the *mestizo*," and reinforced the "white bias" which that Filipinos have come to internalize (McFerson, pp. 26–27). Education contributed to the formation of a small elite class of men and women embracing Western-oriented development. Because of their education and privileged status, they obtained positions in the economy and the government (McGovern, 1997). Even a few women, especially those from the landed class or *ilustrados*, were able to acquire some professional training (Eviota, 1992, as cited in McGovern, 1997).

This new American-bred class, who differed from the working class in their level of education and in the fact that they did not do manual work, eventually occupied positions of economic and political leadership when the Philippines was granted pseudo-independence in 1946 (Constantino, 1975, as cited in McGovern, 1997). The United States' neocolonial control of the Philippine political economy was then ensured.

Overall, Spain and the United States had similar motives for colonizing the Philippines, namely the economic exploitation of the Philippines (del Rosario, 2003); however, their strategies differed. Spain's colonization was through

Christianization, which was "preparing the Filipinos for life in heaven rather than citizenship on Earth, while US imperialism was through education using the English language, to prepare them for democracy and the American way of life" (p. 90). Neither superpower focused on the indigenous language, customs, and culture—everything Filipino was obliterated from Filipino consciousness and replaced with the colonizers' culture, customs, and beliefs. From centuries of colonization and imperialism, the Filipino is said to be suffering from value crisis and a general inferiority complex (Andres, 1989), which is inherited and passed on from one generation to another in both men and women. This passage from Andres (1989) aptly describes the Filipino:

> As a human being, the Filipino is like all other human beings in that he partakes of the universal human nature. However, as a product of a particular culture, the Filipino is different. The Filipino is struggling to be himself. This value-struggle started during the pre-Spanish times to the present days. While accepting the fact that he is a product of Eastern and Western cultures, he must liberate himself from the dominion of the colonial rule. (p. 4)

Thus a broad picture of colonialism and imperialism provides a lens from which to view the Filipino people, their identity, cultural values, and experiences as a colonized people. Karnow (1989) notes that few countries have been more heavily fettered by the past than the Philippines, and after one of the longest periods of Western imperial rule in world history, Filipinos are still freighted with what they lament as their "colonial mentality" (p. 25).

The Filipino People

As a Filipino woman, I took my ethnicity at face value; intellectually, I was familiar with our textbook history but did not understand our psychosocial

and psycho-cultural history. From this literature review, I came to see Filipinos

from a new dimension and a renewed sense of appreciation, and came to a deeper

understanding of what it means to be Filipino. In this section, I discuss the

Filipino identity, cultural values, and experiences during colonial times and life in

the United States.

The Filipino individual is a complex amalgamation of many cultures, "a

race of races" (McFerson, 2002, p. 15) including Negrito, Indonesian, Indian,

Chinese, Japanese, Arab, European, and American "bloods," of which the main

foundation and basic building block is Malay ancestry (McFerson, 2002).

According to Andres (1989), the Malay is known for his ability to adapt to new

situations, willingness to accept new concepts or new masters, eagerness to

reconcile with his old customs, and his desire to be nice. The research participants

certainly exhibited these traits, particularly during their early years in the United

States. However, Andres (1989) also describes the Malay as conditioned to expect

and accept defeat, which is manifested in the Filipino as a nation having a

defeatist attitude—the participants' narratives told a different story, discussed in

Chapter Four. From my years of corporate experience and conversations with

Filipinos in the workplace, the defeatist attitude may be an unconscious reason for

why many choose to stay in nonmanagerial positions, or if they are in

management positions, why they opt to not pursue higher levels of management.

They may not easily give up, but are content to be second best (Andres, 1989).

Before the Spanish conquest, the Philippines, rich in natural resources

such as forests and minerals such as gold, had predominantly been a subsistence

economy, where Filipinos produced for their own needs (Salgado, 1985, as cited in McGovern, 1997). The pre-colonial Filipinos demonstrated technical ingenuity in extracting and producing finished products from those local resources to meet their needs. In this pre-colonial economy, property was for the most part held communally and other means of production were rarely owned privately (Constantino, 1975, as cited in McGovern, 1997). In pre-colonial times, Filipino sociopolitical life was not rigidly stratified. The village or *barangay* was administered by a chief who achieved his position by rendering service valuable to the survival of the community, where he did not have absolute powers and could be deposed by the people (McGovern, 1997). The chiefs therefore did not really constitute a separate politically elite class such as we find in the Philippines today. There was "consultative decision-making among *barangay* elders," making the administrative system relatively democratic (Wurfel, 1988, as cited in McGovern, 1997, p. 24).

Since this dissertation focuses on the experiences of women, it is necessary to consider the particular situation of women in the pre-colonial Philippines. In the pre-colonial system of governing, women did not have the same access to positions of power as men. Although female members of the chief's family shared his privileges, a woman could inherit his position only if there were no male heirs (Colin, 1903, as cited in McGovern, 1997,). Some women who possessed special skills and knowledge (e.g., herbal medicines) gained public influence and power over the reproduction and health of the community as priestesses called *babaylanes* or *catalonas* (McGovern, 1997).

They not only cured the sick and presided over such rituals as weddings, births, and funerals, but also served as advisors to the chiefs by "foretelling the outcome of political events" (Mangahas, 1987, as cited in McGovern, 1997). McGovern further notes that men and women participated equally in the community ownership of land, and women also had equal access to parents' property and equal rights to use land. Thus, the Philippines were more egalitarian and less stratified before the Spanish conquest.

Filipino Cultural Values

It is not clear whether the roots of Filipino values sprang from pre-colonial, colonial, or imperial times, a confusion which has contributed to the Filipino value crisis (Andres, 1989)—the Filipino is an Asian brought up in a Western context with conservative Spanish values and liberal American values. As one visiting scholar observed, "the Philippines is a vibrant country of contrasting images that resonates from its dual colonial past" (McFerson, 2002, p. 1). Distinct Filipino values or traits that permeate Filipino American actions are *pakikisama* (smooth interpersonal relations), *hiya* (shame), *utang na loob* (gratitude), and *bayanihan* (neighborliness) (Andres, 1989; Jocano, 1997, 2001). Jocano (1997) acknowledges that the differences in Filipino ethnic lifeways are few; most of them are linguistic and tribal specializations or community adaptations to specific local conditions. Jocano asserts that psychologically, Filipinos are a highly sensitive people who reason more with "our hearts than with our minds" (p. 9).

26

Pakikisama or "smooth interpersonal relations" requires that the Filipino go along with the wishes of the group even if it is against better judgment. In the quest for smooth interpersonal relationship, Filipinos are concerned with what other people might say about them; they conform to the wishes or expectations of the group because it is considered embarrassing not to go along (Andres, 1989).

Hiya (shame) is a painful feeling or emotion resulting from consciousness of guilt, shortcomings, and impropriety for having done something unworthy (Andres, 1989). Shame is a deep-seated value among Asians. Because of misdirected *hiya* or too much *hiya,* Filipinos are pictured as meek, spineless, and timid, people who would readily conform to the wishes of their master (Andres, 1989). The notion of *hiya* includes being polite, tender, compassionate, and considerate, but *hiya* is a Filipino trait with emphasis on fear of losing face and fear of rejection. Arising from a relationship with a person of authority or with society, *hiya* is an emotion inhibiting self-assertion in a situation perceived as dangerous to one's ego; to be argumentative is to lose face before one's peers. Filipinos in an organization would work hard to prevent themselves from being put to shame. A strong cultural force to achieve social acceptance that engenders behavior towards smooth interpersonal relationships, *hiya* sums up the Filipinos' long standing cultural complex brought about by years of submission to foreign rule mainly Spanish and American (Jocano, 1997).

The value of *utang na loob* (sense of gratitude) demands that a Filipino repay the favor that was done for him (Andres, 1989); Filipinos are willing to give up whatever they have in the name of "gratitude," and this is what makes the

Filipino a Filipino (Andres, 1989). *Utang na loob* is particularly experienced with children toward their parents, to whom they owe a sense of gratitude for being born into the world. The Filipino has been coaxed by society to do things against his will for the sake of these values.

A Filipino value that can play a big role in team building is *bayanihan* or "neighborliness" (Andres, 1989), the Filipino value that denotes camaraderie among the people in the community and connotes helping one another in time of need—the essence or spirit of cooperation and camaraderie. *Bayanihan* is the Filipino counterpart of the Japanese "collectivism"; it is a collaborative spirit that creates synergistic results manifested symbolically in community participation. The value clearly opposes individualism, materialism, and lack of team spirit because it is directed toward the welfare of the whole or the team, and the welfare of the whole includes the welfare of the individual members (Andres, 1989). The materialism and individualism of Western colonizers have influenced the Filipino's spirit of *bayanihan* in that though the value of *bayanihan* still remains in every Filipino, "the initiative of intensifying and expressing it has become so dormant that we seem to care only in times of crisis and calamities" (p. 117). It is interesting to note a study by Leny de Jesus (cited in Jocano, 2001) of Filipino workers' aspirations, which highlights the following hierarchy of aspired needs: (a) having a happy family; (b) having or owning a house; (c) being financially secure; (d) having successful children; and (e) doing fulfilling type of work.

It is clear from these priorities that the satisfaction of physiological needs is not greatly emphasized by Filipinos (as it is by Anglo Americans oriented to

Maslow's hierarchy of needs); rather, the satisfaction of physiological needs is subsumed under the satisfaction of social needs. The emphasis on the social rather than physiological is further revealed in the high premium given to sharing and involvement in one another's affairs (e.g., preoccupation with gossip), which many observers of Filipino behavior find annoying if not out of place (Jocano, 2001).

From my personal experience and observations, Filipino American men and women in the work environment exhibit these deeply ingrained cultural values with positive as well as negative outcomes. As Jocano (1997) notes, there are no negative Filipino values; there are only wrong uses of values. The interpretation of cultural values also depends on the culture of the environment and the people with whom Filipinos interact. According to Strobel (2001), "the Filipino understanding of *loob* or inner being or self is always in relation to others, in the involvement of the whole self with the other" (p. 60); *loob* also refers to the rootedness that was lost under colonization.

Filipinos in the United States

Among Asian groups, the Philippines had the most unique relationship to the United States, having been under U.S. colonial rule from 1896 to 1946. Filipinos were the earliest Asians to cross the Pacific Ocean for the North American continent because of the Manila Galleon trade between Mexico and the Philippines from 1565 to 1815 during the Spanish colonization. The Spanish-speaking Filipinos or "Manilamen" as they were commonly called were the very first Asian immigrants to settle in Louisiana, after jumping ship because of harsh

29

treatment from their brutalizing Spanish masters and escaping into the bayous and marshes to build their own villages on stilts and fish for their livelihood (Cordova, 1983).

Pido (1997) recounts that Filipinos first set foot in the United States with the entry of a Spanish Galleon in Morro Bay, California on October 21, 1587 where a party, four of whom were Filipinos chronicled as *Indios Luzones* (Luzon Indians), claimed the area for Spain. However, a few days later, Indians attacked them, two of the Filipinos were killed, and the rest of the party returned to the ship, which sailed out of Morro Bay. The first Filipino settlement in the United States was established in 1765 near New Orleans, Louisiana (Espina, 1988, as cited in Pido, 1997), but it was an all-male settlement, which eventually died out. Pido (1997) also notes that both California and Louisiana were not U.S. territories then, and the "Morro Bay incident occurred before there was a United States, about a century before the Mayflower" (p. 22).

According to Cordova (1983), the real first wave of Filipino immigrants to the United States was the seafaring exiles and working sojourners who found refuge in Hawaii and Alaska—they called themselves "Pinoys" (p. 17). Immigration of Filipinos to the United States in large numbers took place from the early 1900s to 1935 when the United States conducted a massive recruitment of Filipino farm labor, complete with round-trip fares (to the United States and back to the Philippines) (Pido, 1997). Whole families were recruited for the Hawaiian plantations. However anti-Filipino attitudes began to harden during the Depression, which had forced Filipinos to compete with Whites for the few

available jobs; Filipinos, it was claimed, brought down the standard of living because they worked for lower wages (Cordova, 1983). Conflicts with Filipinos grew into demands for their exclusion. May 1934 was a pivotal year for the Philippines since it was elevated from a territory of the United States to a commonwealth and was guaranteed independence in 10 years. This also meant that all Philippine-born Filipinos were declared aliens, which restricted their immigration quota to the United States (Cordova, 1983).

The journey of Filipinos to the United States reached its greatest heights in total numbers after the enactment of the Amendment to the Immigration Nationality Act on October 3, 1965, which abolished the 1924 "national origins" quota system designed to preserve the ethnic "balance" of the U.S. population, which had favored Nordics (Cordova, 1983). The 1965 law overturned the exclusionary regulations of previous immigration laws and allowed the Philippines and other foreign nations each up to 20 thousand immigrant entries a year (Cordova, 1983). The Filipino workforce in America was comprised of all kinds of workers: plantation workers, agricultural workers, farm workers, cannery workers, and domestic workers; however, these workers were regarded as menial, servile, unskilled, migrant, and transient. There were also self-enterprising workers who opened their own small businesses like barbershops, pool halls, restaurants, dance hall, and groceries (Cordova, 1983).

According to records of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA), a total of 126,147 Filipinos came to Hawaii indentured to a three-year contract with the HSPA, from 1908 to 1946—they called themselves *Sakadas*

(Cordova, 1983). The *Sakada* generation in Hawaii is the root of Filipino

experience in that territory. As Filipino workers were recruited for contract labor

from the Philippines (then a U.S. territory) to Hawaii, fieldwork always had

meant to them sweaty, backbreaking, stoop-labor in the plantation camps

(Cordova, 1983). In those camps, first-generation Filipino men and women and

their children were treated as the lowliest of lowly unskilled, common, and

manual laborers (Cordova, 1983). *Sakadas* were the first among Filipinos outside

of the Philippines to experience economic oppression, overt racial bigotry, labor

exploitation, social rejection, and political disenfranchisement (Cordova, 1983).

Amidst frugal existence, abandoned dreams, and empty promises, the early

Filipinos struggled to beat the heavy odds against them. This condition was

summarized by one of Cordova's interviewees:

> Essentially, it was because we had been conditioned by circumstances to think only in terms of what our social and economic status could allow. In the Philippines, only the very rich could aspire to a college education. In Hawaii, the children of plantation laborers were not encouraged by plantation management to aspire to a higher education. It was anticipated that these youngsters would eventually go to work for the plantation anyway and plantation management could not see how any extended formal education could make them more productive in the cane fields. In fact, the plantation recruiters had made certain that only those who were uneducated and thus used to hard manual labor in the Philippines would be allowed to come to work on Hawaii's plantations. As a result, only the most illiterate and the least educated were selected. A few who had more years of formal education than the rest managed to slip through the screening process and from their ranks emerged some of the most effective labor leaders Hawaii has ever had. (Menor, n.d., as cited in Cordova, 1983, p. 31)

As in Hawaii, the Filipinos in California suffered cruel indignities and

humiliation because White society viewed them as being at the bottom of the

working masses. From the time of their arrival through 1946, Filipinos could not

vote, hold elective office, own land, start commercial businesses, or marry white

women (Cordova, 1983). They were perennial victims of exclusionary ordinances,

economic exploitation, and social ostracism. Filipinos were called "Little Brown

Monkeys" which later became "Little Brown Brothers" when their loyalties were

needed during World War II (Cordova, 1983). Filipino Americans were

unquestionably loyal to America and her institutions despite hostile treatment and

racism (Cordova, 1983). Filipinos were classified in jobs that were "traditionally

unskilled, segregated, and piecemealed with no avenues open toward promotion

into semi-skilled, skilled, trade, mechanical, technical, professional, and

managerial levels" (p. 66).

These experiences of early Filipinos in the United States are summed by

another Cordova interviewee:

> At school, my schoolmates as young as they were wouldn't talk to me.
> Mostly every other day we fight. They don't address me directly. They tell
> me, "Hey, where did that monkey come from?" All we thought about
> American when we came here was that it was a very good
> country...everything we had read, heard, or talked about. But we found
> out it was different. It turned out to be the opposite...These Caucasian
> people came around. They burn and shoot. What recourse did we have?
> We didn't have any. We tried to talk to the people in power, but it was like
> talking to a wall... not only in California... in Chicago too. You fight with
> Caucasians. No questions asked; you go to jail. I spent several months in
> jail just for that. I'm small. I can't tackle someone six-four, so I use
> whatever means. I used knife. There was no trial. You get kicked and put
> in jail. (R. E. Corpuz, n.d., as cited in Cordova, 1983, p. 121)

The history of Filipinos in the United States is marked with challenges,

hostilities, and unexpected maltreatment and discrimination. Exposure of

Filipinos to American ways of life, images and propaganda of the "Land of the

Free," affluence, and opportunities led many of the first immigrants to believe that

they would find financial, social, and political security by living in the United

States. Instead, the majority of the immigrants became a cheap labor source for the agricultural industry and faced rampant societal and governmental discrimination (Lott, 1976, as cited in Austria & Austria, 2005). Despite the harsh treatment and humiliation, Filipinos persevered and maintained their loyalty to anything and everything American. Because being inferior has been inculcated in the Filipino consciousness, it is possible that many of the immigrants blamed themselves for their fate rather than seeing the reality of their injustice. This blind faith in the United States is an indication of colonial mentality, a deep and long-lasting impact of colonialism discussed in the next section.

Role of Christian Religion

As Sartre (2001) describes, colonialism is a system; religion is an integral component of that system and needs to be institutionalized to achieve colonial goals. The Spaniards institutionalized Christianity effectively and creatively by using Catholic doctrines as the bedrock politically, economically, socially, culturally, and psychologically. As part of the colonial machinery, Catholicism became a way of life for the colonized Filipinos, so much so that a century later after Spanish colonization, Catholicism continues to be the predominant religion of Filipinos. Indeed, the process of colonizing Asian minds continued, "even long after the colonizers had packed up their bags and gone home" (Kwok, 2005, p. 41).

Many religions exist in the Philippines, but Catholicism is the dominant with more than 71 million devotees, making the country the third largest Catholic

nation in the world, after Brazil and Mexico (Cheney, 2005). I was born in the Philippines, baptized Catholic, and educated Catholic; I attended Catholic girls' schools for primary and secondary school as well as college. A residue of Spanish colonialism, it was considered a 'privilege' to attend private Catholic schools; my parents sent all their children to Catholic schools. This is not surprising with Philippine colonialism camouflaged as salvation through Christianity.

The Spaniards observed the natives' practice of their pre-colonial indigenous religion and described it as animism, which consists of beliefs and rituals about the world inhabited by spirits and supernatural entities, both good and bad, and that respect be accorded to them (Manansala, n.d.; OMF Serve Asia, 2003). Natives worshipped nature, prayed to the spirits of their ancestors, and also offered sacrifices to them; magic and superstition were common forms of religious expression. In addition to the indigenous religion, the missionaries saw the natives' way of life as contradictory to civilized living—through their Christian eyes, the Spaniards saw the natives as infidels, influenced by the devil and needing salvation from their evil ways.

The Spaniards proclaimed the conquest coming from a divine order, with God as the prime leader, savior, and Father. The Filipino people, a hybrid of various races, are by nature adaptable to any situation (Andres, 1989); perhaps this was one reason why Christianity was accepted, albeit with resistance. Colonization through religion was an effective and powerful strategy.

Catholicism as colonial strategy. Religious conversion was crucial to the consolidation of Spanish power in the Philippines. "Catholicism not only exercised a profound impact on the patterning of notions of authority and submission in a colonial society; it also furnished the natives with a language for conceptualizing the limits of colonial and class domination" (Ileto, 1979, as cited in Rafael, 1993, p. 7). Catholicism provided Spain's colonial enterprise with its ideological foundation and it also institutionalized colonial rule with the practice of religious conversion (Rafael, 1993); thus, religion played a key role in sustaining colonial dialogues (Kwok, 2005).

As stated earlier, one of the tenets of colonialism is the view that the colonized needs salvation; as such, European Christians saw indigenous peoples as infidels to be incorporated and cajoled into the Christian community. Boahen (1987) accounts Christianity's role in changing African culture with the preaching of the gospel, translation of the Bible into various African languages, promotion of agriculture and vocational skills, and promotion of literacy and Western education. Colonization led to the stratification of African societies into a relatively small, Christian-educated elite and a large, traditional illiterate group, as well as rival factions of converts and nonconverts. Kwok (2005) notes,

> there was little respect for the cultures and wisdom traditions of the
> African peoples, the missionaries created alienation and confusion in the
> Africans, for their culture and identity were to be erased and supplanted by
> a foreign religious tradition that belonged to colonizers. (p. 155)

The Philippine experience was little different.

Spanish friars replaced Philippine indigenous religions with Christianity, such that evangelization emerged as a distinct and important objective of Spanish

sovereignty. The bishops were of the opinion that the Indios were of such "barbarous disposition, so blind and forgetful of God because of their sinfulness" and so "lacking even in natural law" that their laws, "if they had any, were from the Devil, the father of lies" (Rafael, 1993, p. 155). Thus, the project of evangelization took priority over the execution of imperial authority. According to Rafael (1993), by the first half of the 17th century the Spaniards had converted more than half a million Filipinos through the work of fewer than three hundred missionaries in the field and the help of far less military force than they had used in the other colonies. An account of a Spanish missionary in 1640 described the native conversion:

> They readily receive our religion. Their meager intelligence does not permit them to sound the depths of its mysteries. They also have little care in the fulfillment of their duties to Christianity they have adopted; and it is necessary to constrain them by fear of punishment and govern them like schoolchildren. (Diego de Bobadilla, as cited by Rafael, 1993, p. 84)

Spanish conversion was not without difficulty. Two primary factors challenged the missionaries and hindered the immediate spread of Christianity throughout the archipelago: first, the number of missionaries was inadequate for the native population, which made it difficult to reach all the people and harder to convert them; and second, the geographical dispersion of the Filipinos and their multiple varieties of languages and dialects presented difficulties for the colonizers. Nonetheless, over time, Christianity prevailed. Rafael (1993) explains that conversion occurred because for the most part, the people did not, from the missionaries' point of view, seem to understand the faith or have a clear idea of the belief system they were joining. Rafael adds, "the natives who accepted Christianity, many of them enthusiastically thereby submitted to colonial

authority; something about submission appealed to them" (p. 136). This statement reflects the culture of submission that has developed over centuries of colonization.

Catholicism as a means of effecting Western ideas of gender. The gendering of Catholicism and the act of confession were two elements of Christianity that were integral to the colonizing process and shaping of Filipino women's consciousness during the colonial period and through contemporary times. The impact and implication are evident in modern-day Filipino American women's personal and professional lives.

As stated earlier in this review, some Filipino women during pre-colonial times possessed special knowledge and skills in the spiritual realm and were considered healers, shamans, and priestesses, called *babaylanes* or *catalonas*. They were respected, gained public influence, were called upon to cure the sick, and presided over certain rituals such as weddings, births, funerals, and other special occasions. Some were also advisors to the chiefs, for they were regarded as able to predict the outcome of future political events (Mangahas, 1987, as cited in McGovern, 1997). Pre-colonial Filipino culture was matrilineal, and women had power and influence in the social, religious, and cultural lives of Filipinos (Kwok, 2005).

However, Spanish colonialism and U.S. imperialism marginalized women and diminished their parity; Catholicism in particular was instrumental in exacerbating gender inequality (McGovern, 1997). Kwok (2005) attests that

imperial Christianity destroys other religious expressions that it considers inferior and "marginalizes women's claim to sacred power" (p. 163). Although it did not start out as a male-centered patriarchal religion, by the time Christianity reached the Philippines in the form of Spanish colonization, biases toward men and against women were an integral aspect of the religion taught in the Philippines (Kwok, 2005).

Christian literature had also adopted the common language of the male gender, such as the image of God as the Father of all, the idea that man was made in the image and likeness of God the Father, God's omniscience and benevolence, God the Almighty Father, and Jesus Christ as the Savior of Mankind. As Kwok (2005) eloquently put it, "language shapes consciousness and has the power to constitute reality" (p. 129). Gender inequalities were also essential to maintaining the structure of colonial racism and imperial authority; in addition, the monitoring of the sexual activity of women, reproduction, and intermarriage were designed to signify imperial power and maintain distinctions between the colonizers and colonized (Stoler, 2002; McClintock, 1995; both as cited in Kwok, 2005).

The role of Jesus Christ in Catholicism further solidified colonial rule. His suffering and crucifixion, highlighted during Holy Week, symbolize the values of obedience, loyalty, and submission to God the Father—during colonial times, this was translated to the Filipino people as showing obedience, loyalty, and submission to Spain and a passive acceptance of one's fate. Christ's resurrection is seen as salvation, which one receives after obedience, loyalty, and submission. Thus, the religious symbols of God the Father and Jesus Christ solidified the

power of the patriarchal role over the matriarch and humanity at large. With these images, women were exhorted to model themselves after the sacrifice and obedience of Christ to the Father and to internalize passive and resigned endurance of their own pain and suffering like that of the Virgin Mary.

The image of the Virgin Mary, the dominant feminine symbol in the Catholic tradition, is portrayed in dualistic and idealistic ways. During the crucifixion scene, the Virgin Mary, mother of Christ, is seen as standing in front of the cross, heart-stricken, as any mother would be. She is seen as helpless and resigned to the fate of her son, the gentle and docile mother resigned to God's will. But Mary is also regarded as the protector of the conquistadores against the infidels and as an advocate for the poor. Thus, her dual nature of weak and strong, helpless and powerful, active and passive, protector and protected presents a confusing vision for women. In a colonial world where male images dominate, the image of Mary as a subservient servant of God becomes prominent. Maria Clara, the heroine in Jose Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere*, is the Catholic Virgin Mary: much like Mary, Maria Clara epitomizes beauty and faithful acceptance of her role as prescribed by culture, religion, and society. She is demure, modest, devoutly religious, cultured, and submissive, a repressed woman whose weakness and despair over a lost lover (symbolic son or Christ) overwhelm her (McFerson, 2002).

Paradoxically, the Virgin Mary is revered and loved by Filipinos. She is constantly called upon for intercession in various kinds of personal, familial, and societal challenges and problems; during the People Power movement, people

held rosaries in their hands and prayed to the Virgin Mary as they marched facing the squads of soldiers and artilleries. One possible reason for the power and influence of the Virgin Mary among Filipinos is the pre-colonial matrilineal culture of the Philippines, which makes it a natural fit for Filipinos to honor and give power to the feminine. I was baptized Maria Fatima Bustos; a number of Filipino girls' names start with Maria, paying homage to the Virgin Mary.

Another method of gendering can be seen in the Bible, an integral part of Christian scripture that contains the dogmas of right and wrong. Missionaries preached the Bible as the revered and revealed Word of God, and a prized possession of the West; as such, the Bible signified the colonists' "heathen" cultures and reinforced their inferior and deficient natures. Kwok (2005) notes that the introduction of the Bible to other cultures was a mixed blessing for women. In order to teach women to read the Bible, missionaries established girls' schools, catechism classes, and women's Bible study classes; however, the curriculum of these Christian girls' schools instilled the colonizers' ideology of "true womanhood" and reinforced the domesticity of women. As an example, the written canon had effectively left out many of the voices of women, one notable example of which was the exclusion of the Gospel of Mary, a 2nd-century text in which Mary of Magdala received special teaching from Jesus and became a leader among the disciples. As stated earlier, the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus Christ, remains in the background, an observer of her son's life—in the Bible curriculum, women were told to follow the example of the Virgin Mary so that they could

overcome the penalties of sexuality and marriage associated with the sin of Eve to become worthy brides of Christ (Kwok, 2005).

A colonial mind without question readily accepts the colonizer's ideologies, and Filipinos during colonial rule accepted Catholicism as a means of salvation. The gendering of Catholicism as an integral part of colonial dialogue was passed on from one generation to the next. On the surface, Christ and Mary have distinct roles in the Catholic religion, and Filipinos accept and venerate Christ and Mary for what they symbolize, not recognizing the inherent gendering of Filipino women and the long lasting and deep implications of that gendering in their everyday lives.

The role of confession. Growing up Catholic, I was expected to go to Holy Mass every Sunday and receive communion; however, I could not receive communion unless I went to confession. To attend Mass and not receive communion was frowned upon—thus, whether I sinned or not, I had to confess so I could receive communion. Like other doctrines of the faith, the sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist were sacred and not to be questioned.

In *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule*, Rafael (1993) gives a detailed account of the sacrament of Penance or confession, its origin, and how it was administered to the native Filipinos during colonial times. Rafael traced the oral nature of confession from its beginnings in the 8th century to its becoming a required part of Catholic religion. It was deemed obligatory by the Fourth Lateran

Council of 1215 to partake of penance at least once each year, and the Council prescribed auricular confession because speech was seen as crucial in the submission of one's sins for judgment. Moreover, the Council of Trent in 1551 affirmed this rule and insisted on the divine origin of confession and its necessity for salvation. Catholic education describes confession as proclamation of one's faith, admission of one's sinfulness and guilt, and a desire for God's mercy. Confession in its oral nature must be ascribed to a priest, "the role of a judge who must have knowledge of the case to exercise the office of judge inherent in the sacramental process" (p. 97); hence, confession is a juridical relationship between a judge (the confessor) and a plaintiff (the convert / colonized), whereby the plaintiff is presumed guilty of sin.

Confession reinforced the colonizer's ideology of the colonized as a sinner and infidel in need of forgiveness and salvation. During colonial times, it was not enough to elicit confession from the converts; the confession had to be a "good confession"—thus the converts had to be instructed in the thoughts, emotions, and words appropriate to confessional discourse (Rafael, 1993). I find the following description of confession in colonial times fitting in modern-day Catholicism:

> The Spanish demand is that nothing be held back in confession. It required the convert to remember and account for everything. Yet this is an impossible task, as one cannot remember everything. What one forgets becomes another sin and needs to be added to the original list. Thus in itself, the process of accounting and recalling inherently begets another sin that of forgetting. Consequently, the convert never runs out of sins. (pp. 101–102)

The manner in which one confesses is equally important to the sins being confessed. Rafael notes the following from an account of a Spanish friar:

If you want to be forgiven by God, you should confess well and say everything (*oobosin sabihin*) now, including all your evasions, and the number of times you committed them, and leave it to me to show mercy, and to pass judgment that may be to your benefit. (Totanes' *Manual Tagalog*, cited in Rafael, 1993, p. 102)

Statements such as this reflect the power dynamics of the colonizer-colonized relationship.

Long after colonial times, Catholic education in the Philippines continues to adhere to these rules. I remember attending classes to receive specific instructions on proper confession: like a child, one must disclose everything to the Father, express deep sorrow, and promise to not sin again—only then is one worthy of absolution. The confessor, as a sign of absolution, gives a series of actions such as saying the "Our Father" 10 times every day as penance for the sins. One leaves the confession feeling worthy again, forgiven of one's sinfulness, and redeemed from the damnation of hell—a feeling of being "whole" sets in. Confession was another maneuver for the colonizers to inculcate a belief in the natives of their unworthiness and in colonialism as necessary and beneficial for the natives' salvation (Kwok, 2005).

Colonial Mentality

In my early years in the Philippines, I recall many Filipinos, myself included, behaving in ways that I took for granted as "just the way we are." Among these were: a strong preference for foreign, particularly U.S.–made, goods over native or local ones; a feeling of awe and admiration for Americans; a feeling of superiority when one is fair-skinned over dark-skinned people; a feeling of superiority if one comes from Spanish heritage; an unquestionable positive

attitude toward the United States; an overwhelming desire to leave the Philippines for the Promised Land of America or anywhere outside the country for a better future; the notion that it is better to associate with foreigners than with other Filipinos; and a feeling of being ashamed to be known as Filipino. These behaviors are ingrained in the Filipino psyche so much so that we do not question them, but unbeknownst to many Filipinos, these behaviors are the product of early messages inculcated into the minds of the colonized.

The early messages of inferiority of the colonized and superiority of the colonizer translate into a condition of internalized oppression and internalized domination (Pheterson, 1986; Strobel, 2001; David & Okazaki, 2006) termed *colonial mentality*, an inevitable legacy of colonialism. In her work, Pheterson (1986) describes internal oppression as:

> The incorporation and acceptance by individuals within an oppressed group of the prejudice against them within the dominant society. Internalized oppression is likely to consist of self-hatred, isolation, powerlessness, and gratefulness for being allowed to survive. Internalized oppression is the mechanism within an oppressive system for perpetuating domination not only by external control but also by building subservience onto the minds of the oppressed groups. (p. 148)

David and Okazaki (2006) conducted a rigorous study of colonial mentality in Filipino Americans, conceptualizing colonial mentality among Filipinos as a specific form of internalized oppression characterized by a perception of ethnic or cultural inferiority believed to be a specific consequence of centuries of colonization under Spain and the United States. The authors concluded that colonial mentality involves the automatic and uncritical rejection of anything Filipino and automatic and uncritical preference for anything American or foreign. Colonial mentality manifests in various ways, such as:

(a) denigration of the Filipino self in the form of feelings of shame, inferiority, embarrassment, resentment, or self-hate about being of Filipino heritage; (b) denigration of the Filipino culture or body in the form of the perception that anything Filipino is inferior to anything white, European or American (e.g., culture, physical characteristics, language, material products, and government preference for "made in USA") and the perception that white physical characteristics are more attractive, advantageous, and desirable; (c) discrimination against less Americanized Filipinos and Filipino Americans; and (d) toleration of the historical and contemporary oppression of Filipinos and Filipino Americans as an appropriate cost of civilization, and the belief that dominant group maltreatments are well-intentioned. The authors' study pierced like a straight arrow into my heart—I finally recognized these behaviors in myself, not with nonchalance but with deep sorrow and compassion for the psycho-cultural devastation to our Filipino consciousness.

In "Colonialism's Legacy: The Inferiorizing of the Filipino," Rimonte (1997) articulated similar observations and noted, "the violence of the conquest and the oppression it engendered have been normalized, or minimized when acknowledged at all, as the natural cost of progress" (p. 40). Filipinos' experience of a classic case of the victim blaming and identifying with the aggressor, the sin of not loving themselves enough, and the resulting "inauthenticity of their culture" (p. 41) are all legacies of colonialism. David and Okazaki's (2006) study gave me an understanding of my own personal experience with Filipinos when I first arrived in the United States and encountered hostility, a feeling of being

second class as a new arrival, and the "old timers" as better because they felt more Americanized.

Most Filipinos consider color of skin as a class determinant—fairer means 'better' and 'more privileged,' while dark-skinned means 'less than' and 'relegated to lower class status.' I myself harbored mixed feelings of colonial mentality, having felt inferior compared to white people as well as to other Asian groups such as Chinese and Japanese, while at the same time feeling superior to other Filipinos because I had a fairer complexion. My personal feelings as well as observations from other Filipinos support additional theories about colonialism. According to David and Okazaki (2006), a colonized mind: internalizes the inferiority about oneself and one's culture group; desires to distance oneself from such inferior traits and may act out by behaving and looking like the colonizer; views colonizers as well-intentioned, civilizing, liberating, or noble heroes; and may feel a sense of what Rimonte (1997) calls "colonial debt." While David and Okazaki present valuable data, the authors also acknowledge the need for more empirical data on how colonial mentality affects the psychological experiences of Filipino Americans.

In the Philippines, Spanish racial tradition was later supplanted by U.S. racial tradition, both of which were integral aspects of colonial policies in the Philippines and contributed to the legacies of colonial mentality remaining strong to this day (McFerson, 2003). This heritage has had a significant influence on Filipino racial attitudes and images toward the "white bias" evident today among all groups, especially among the upper class. Colonial mentality is particularly

exhibited in preferences for aesthetics and beauty as prescribed by colonial rulers, as the dominant group has the power to influence aesthetic preferences and standards of beauty. Both the Spanish and Americans imposed their own image of beauty—an image different from that possessed by the Malay majority. Such imposed aesthetic preferences are initially social constructions that eventually take on a life of their own, even after the formal end of colonialism. As examples, height and size also determine attractiveness for both men and women; in part, this results from associating taller stature with foreign (colonial) ancestry and smaller size with the diminutive stature of natives and "negritos" (p. 14). Typically, after decolonization, these standards tend to persist in former colonies and thus perpetuate the artificial phenotypes of "racial superiority" (p. 15). As evidence, the stereotyping of the natives as undesirable was seared into the minds of Filipinos and remains pervasive in the culture of the country (McFerson, 2003).

Because colonialism is an act of domination, the colonized is a creature of oppression, and as such, at the heart of the colonized is a fundamental need for change (Memmi, 1965). Two conflicting forces motivate the change: the desire to belong and be accepted by the colonizer, an act of assimilation; and the desire to be free from the colonizer, an act of rejection. It is a mixed feeling of admiration and disgust, a love–hate dynamic. The colonized attempts to assimilate by behaving and resembling his role model, the colonizer, to "the point of disappearing in him" (p. 120); this form of assimilation is evident in Filipinos' attitude toward Americans. McFerson (2002) observes the large number of young Filipinos now dyeing their hair blonde and bleaching their skin white despite the

health risks associated with both procedures. American clothing, food, habits, and overall way of life are copied and regarded as superior to the native way—there is an inherent desire to become whiter. McFerson (2002) observes another telling evidence of Filipinos' wanting to assimilate into the white world:

> I noticed that brown Filipinas of Malay phenotype were not the ideal of feminine beauty in the eyes of many Filipinos. Front desk personnel and other employees of high-status establishments, including airlines personnel, sales clerks, and the myriad of employees in the financial district of Ortigas Center, for example, were light-skinned, mixed-race *mestizos* and were distinctly non-Malay in physical appearance. (p. xv)

On the surface the colonized mind desires to resemble the colonizer, which appears to be positive and a sign of approval of the order; however, the colonized soon realizes rejection from the colonizer. The constant feeling of inferiority coupled with the ambition to be equal with the colonizer soon wears out the colonized, who starts to reject his colonial situation and himself. He wants to break free from the colonizer to whom he feels drawn—he suffers from mixed feelings of hate and love, adoration and resentment toward the colonizer, but because he wants to identify with the colonizer, he turns these feelings toward himself. Memmi (1965) from his personal experience observes that, "rejection of self and love of another are common to all candidates for assimilation" (p. 121).

Memmi (1965) describes why colonial mentality arises in the colonized mind. From his African colonialism, he notes the entire bureaucracy, entire court system, and all industries hear and use the colonizer's language; likewise, highway markings, railroad station signs, street signs, and receipts "make the colonized feel like a foreigner in his own country" (pp. 106–107). Everything is different, nothing is familiar, all belonging to the colonizer, none of his own—

even his language, his mother tongue, is replaced by the colonizer's language. Consequently, the colonized feels lost, angry, and confused. Memmi (1965) believes that the crushing of the colonized is included among the colonizer's goals. He eloquently analyzes the psychological drama that plays in the subconscious mind of the colonized:

> In what he hopes to become, he sets his mind on impoverishing himself, tearing himself away from his true self. In order to free himself so he believes, he agrees to destroy himself. This phenomenon is comparable to the Negrophobia in a Negro. A Negro woman tries desperately to uncurl her hair, which keeps curling back, and torture her skin to make it a little whiter. The colonized is told his music is like the mewing of cats and his paintings ugly. Thus he repeats that his music is vulgar and his paintings disgusting. He becomes indignant with himself, conceals it from strangers' eyes. (pp. 121–122)

Colonial mentality as a legacy of colonialism continues to linger in modern-day Filipino Americans, a condition that has shaped Filipino women and subsequently Filipino feminism.

Filipino Feminism

The evolution of Filipino feminism is influenced by the evolution of Filipino women and conversely, the evolution of Filipino women is shaped by the evolution of Filipino feminism. The two are twin sisters of the Filipino woman psyche, inseparable and deeply intertwined. In this section, I address the beginnings of Filipino feminism and its progression through Spanish colonial and imperial regimes up to contemporary times, as well as the ramifications of Christianity and colonial mentality on its development.

In discussing Filipino feminism, it is helpful to view the movement within the larger framework of Asian feminism. According to Kwok (2005), feminist

consciousness in the Third World emerged within the landscape of national struggles against colonialism and economic exploitation, and the search for cultural identity and self-definition. Moreover, the rapidly changing social and political circumstances enabled women to "step outside their domestic spheres and experiment with new roles traditionally denied them" (Kwok, 2005, p. 152).

The nature and essence of Filipino feminism reflect much of Asian feminism, and on its own merit Filipino feminism shows a complex, rich, and multidimensional quality. It is an amalgamation of cultural, political, social, economic, and religious dynamics of strengths and weaknesses, triumphs and defeats, spiritual and material, positive and negative, light and dark, hope and despair. By no means static, it is continually evolving from the influences of dual colonialism and globalization.

The early roots of Filipino feminism at the broadest level can be traced in pre-colonial times where women occupied influential roles in social, religious, and civic spheres as priestesses, shamans, *babaylanes,* and advisors to village chiefs. However, with Spanish colonization, women's role devolved and evolved depending on political and religious influences. McFerson (2002) notes the Spanish period as largely a negative era pushing back women's status in all spheres with the introduction of patriarchal values of the Iberian culture and Christianity depriving women of their once powerful roles as priestesses, making them subordinate to men, and denying them any form of leadership.

A powerful and enduring representation of the Filipino woman, born out of Spanish colonial rule and a testament to the success of Spanish influence on

women's status, is the character of Maria Clara in Jose Rizal's novels, portrayed as the idealized Filipina woman who was beautiful, passive, sweet, shy, reticent, demure, religious, and timid (Mananza, 1987, as cited in McFerson 2002, p.163). Jose Rizal, the national hero, was educated in Europe and subscribed to Eurocentric role-images. His writings are replete with idealization of the white *mestiza* ideal and illustrate the evolution of the image of the Filipina from the pre-colonial brown beauty of indigenous folklore, to the 1800s image of Maria Clara, the prototype for the *mestiza* image. The "*mestiza* ideal" planted the seed of colonial mentality, in which lighter skin and non-Asian features were highly desirable (McFerson, 2002).

The passive persona of Filipino women is not uncommon; the religious symbol of the Virgin Mary as the passive and docile mother of Jesus Christ is a powerful role model. Moreover, prior to 1863, females were not given any education or training above primary grades. Only well-to-do families were able to provide some basic reading, writing, arithmetic, and needlecraft lessons for their daughters; some schools were only for daughters of Spanish and other local elites. Moreover, McFerson (2002) notes that even elite women were barred from participation in public and professional life, and were kept in the domestic sphere, with the exception of performing Church functions and participating in religious processions. With their role primarily in the home, Filipino women became the "moral guardians" (p. 165) responsible for the upbringing of young children.

However, with the eventual Filipino unrest against Spanish rule, Aquino (1994) writes that Filipino feminism can be seen as early as the 18th century. The

best-known early Filipina activist was Gabriela Silang of the Ilocos Region in northern Philippines, married to Diego Silang, a rebel leader who was assassinated by a Spaniard. Gabriela continued the struggle after Diego's death, setting up headquarters for the Free Government of the Ilocos region; however overpowered by the Spaniards, Gabriela was the last of her group to be hanged in the public square on September 20, 1763 (Aquino, 1994).

The political climate generated by the struggle against Spain opened opportunities for women to go beyond their traditional roles in society. Katipunan, the secret society founded by the revolutionary leader Andres Bonifacio, recruited Filipino women to enlist mass support against Spanish oppression (Aquino, 1994). The women came mostly from upper-class families. The famous "21 Women of Malolos" defied the laws prohibiting the opening of schools for women by petitioning the governor general to allow the establishment of a school where they could learn Spanish, because this ability was crucial to educational mobility (Aquino, 1994). The Philippine revolution is a landscape for the intersection of women's dual (and sometimes contradictory) images of *katulong* (helper) of the male-dominated revolutionary discourse and as agents of change. As agents of change, women were quite inevitably drawn into the revolution, playing roles from soldiers, couriers, and spies, to nursing the wounded and shielding *katipuneros* or soldiers from the enemies (McFerson, 2002).

By the time the U.S. colonial regime began, a significant core of educated Filipino women had emerged. Nuns had established a normal school for women

in 1877 (Aquino, 1994). Next came the establishment of the *Instituto de Mujeres* (Women's Institute) in 1900; an exclusive school for girls called the *Centro Escolar de Senoritas* (now Centro Escolar University) in 1907; and the Philippine Women's University in 1910. The founding of the University of the Philippines in 1908 and the transformation of the Philippine Normal School and the University of Santo Tomas into coeducational institutions enabled more women to develop professional careers (Aquino, 1994).

American imperialism markedly differs from Spanish colonialism: the Spaniards colonized through religion, while Americans colonized through education. Spanish friars discouraged Filipinos from learning and speaking Spanish, and painstakingly ensured that only elites spoke the colonizer's language and received education and training—Spain wanted the exclusivity of their language so that only they knew what was happening (del Rosario, 2003). This policy kept most Filipinos, particularly women, in the dark and prevented them from being educated and participating in social and civic affairs, a strategy that undoubtedly impacted Filipino feminism negatively. America's colonial strategy, on the other hand, was through education and investment in teaching Filipinos the English language (del Rosario, 2003).

The policy responsible for the most profound change in women's status was education for both sexes. Thousands of teachers and missionaries found their way from the United States to the new colony. In time, there were a number of women's groups devoted to advancing education, securing better conditions for working women, assisting poor mothers and children, seeking prison reform, and

promoting charitable causes and other social concerns. The momentum for this

organizational activity may be attributed to developments that were put in motion

by the arrival of the Americans (Aquino, 1994). The colonial government soon

realized that one of the best means to secure the cooperation of the townspeople

was through women, according to early feminist Maria Paz Mendoza Guazon

(Aquino, 1994). The introduction of the public school system for both boys and

girls, the opening up of university education for women and even university

education abroad as government *pensionados* (students on scholarships), allowed

women to qualify as professionals for the first time (McFerson, 2002). Holy

Ghost College (now called College of the Holy Spirit, my *alma mater*) is one

example of colleges uniquely administered for the education of women.

The American educational policy gave women opportunities for the first

time to enter professions and become doctors, nurses, lawyers, and journalists just

like men. The most popular degrees enrolled in by women were in the fields of

education and pharmacy, both considered closely associated with female

occupations (McFerson, 2002). Aquino (1994) accounts that the creation of

educational opportunities for women was a landmark development which led to

the next logical step of the right to vote and run for public office—this struggle

began in the 1920s. The men in government and the professions at the time

vigorously opposed women's suffrage, ridiculing it in the *Manila Press*, calling

the suffrage movement a consequence of higher education, which tended to limit

the birth rate and thus would depopulate the country (Aquino, 1994).

Inasmuch as women were given educational opportunities, the majority of poor men and women were unable to acquire higher education. Women who were not absorbed into agricultural work, migrant work, or the small manufacturing sector turned to either domestic service or prostitution (Eviota, 1985, as cited in McGovern, 1997). Today, domestic work is generally the most common option for poor and undereducated women from peasant families.

Prostitution became an option for poor Filipino women when American entrepreneurs began to take control of women's sexuality and turn it into a source for profit. By setting up cabarets (dance halls)—which were considered fronts for prostitution (Brown, 1917, as cited in McGovern, 1997)—these entrepreneurs made women's sexuality a form of organized business. As cabarets became popular among the more affluent classes, poor women experienced greater exploitation. Organized control of sexuality thus became entangled with American capitalist control of the Philippine economy (McGovern, 1997). This dark side of Filipino women's experience during American imperialism contributes to present-day negative images of Filipino women; despite their numbers, Filipino women continue to be known as "nameless, faceless overseas contract workers, sex workers, and mail-order brides scattered across the globe, seen as objects of a sexist, imperial ideology, yet remain invisible as subjects and agents" (de Jesus, 2005, p. 3).

Ironically, another dimension of Filipino feminism during American imperialism was women's obsession with beauty pageants. McFerson (2002) accounts that in the printed media of the American period, women's most

prominent profile was that of the beauty queen, the most prestigious of which was the Carnival Queen or Miss Philippines. Many Filipino women believe that a route to upward mobility is enhanced enormously by winning local and international beauty pageants; being a beauty queen was the pinnacle of all that was considered feminine and an image of female power in the postwar years (McFerson, 2002). One of the participants in the present study was a beauty queen for several years in her hometown who consistently won beauty contests because she was fair skinned and beautiful. Beauty pageants were an interesting phenomenon, given that American racial tradition has mixed views of Filipino women: some were considered "as beautiful as the divine creatures who impart so great a charm to American society, while a majority belong to a lower grade of civilization, and are but little above the condition of beasts of field and forest," (p. 25), according to some American sentiments at the turn of the century and notwithstanding the sexual exploitation of poor women.

Moreover, Filipino feminism's own brand of colonial mentality unwittingly exacerbated the exploitation of poor women. The strength of the "white bias" among Filipino middle and upper-middle class women is manifested by the general attitude of "the paler [the skin] the more one is accepted and seen in high regard" (McFerson, 2002, p. 33). Many of the beauty queens were *mestizas,* a testament to the preference for paler / lighter skinned women. Consequently, those with fairer / lighter skin were apt to achieve better opportunities than the less educated, darker skinned women.

Given the different status and achievements of Filipino women, a pivotal

moment for them was the People Power revolution, which was catalyzed by the

assassination of Senator Benigno Aquino and toppled the twenty-year rule of

Ferdinand Marcos. According to Aquino's (1994) account, women of all

classes—affluent matrons, journalists, poor urban workers, faculty, students from

public and private universities, colleges, vendors, and factory workers—

converged at Epifanio de los Santos Avenue, commonly referred to as EDSA,

during the four days and nights of the People Power revolution. The nuns were

the first to answer the call for people to proceed to EDSA to give support to the

revolution. Women negotiated with the soldiers not to roll tanks into the crowd—

they brought food, water, cigarettes, cookies, flowers, and rosaries to the

beleaguered soldiers, who relented and the tanks rolled back. In sum, women

played key symbolic and practical roles in an unusual political upheaval that gave

Southeast Asia its first woman president, Corazon Aquino (Aquino, 1994).

Once proclaimed "traditional women," these women then proceeded to

redefine the parameters of feminine duties to become leaders in the public

spheres. They reworked traditional women's roles so that the "modern" Filipina

they have become could be accepted by a colonial society still grappling with

Americanism. Perhaps because they did not overtly challenge cultural

constructions, they were able to permeate Philippine society successfully and new

spaces quickly opened to them in the public sphere largely supported by society

as a whole, including most of the men. Thus the developing modern Filipina

defined herself both as the traditional woman (beauty queen, guardian of morals,

civic worker, religious figure) and as one performing leadership rather than auxiliary roles in education (as presidents of universities) and civic work (as presidents of women's clubs), while slowly permeating the domain of men in business and politics (McFerson, 2002). The modern Filipina woman spoke English, received American-style education in the Philippines or abroad, and was interested in a role outside the domestic sphere, though preferably in civic work, education, the arts, or business (Aquino, 1994; McFerson, 2002). Once politics became a priority, in the late 1920s, women explored both official and unofficial power as avenues toward female empowerment (McFerson, 2000).

Women in this period were enthusiastic about exploring all the opportunities available to them as quickly as possible—and yet, they did so without offering a radical definition of women's roles. The beauty queen just reinvented herself into a suffragist, the housewife into her husband's most avid campaigner, the teacher and mother into the president of a university, and the charity worker into a patroness. However, the changes were more dramatic in essence than they appeared to be on the surface; before the end of the colonial era, women were definitely occupying spaces in the public sphere (McFerson, 2002).

Filipino feminism developed beyond colonial Philippines; it followed and grew with Filipino women who immigrated to the United States. The heart and soul of the development of Filipino women's experiences were personified in *Pinays* (Filipino women), particularly first-generation (including those separated from their men), and their second-generation daughters who tried to emulate their mothers and in many instances were more educated than their husbands. *Pinays*

spoke candidly for their families before persons of authority such as school officials, landlords, bill collectors, medical doctors, lawyers, and other officious whites in the institutional and commercial spheres. They were the first professionals in large numbers among immigrants of the second wave of Filipino immigration to the United States from 1906 to 1934, and the first teachers of Filipino ancestry in California. The first *Pinay* nurses were found in New York City, and *Pinays* were the first Filipino Americans to enter office work and other nontraditional employment denied to Filipino men, who had been relegated to culinary and custodial work in various cities. (However, many *Pinays* did perform janitorial and cleaning chores.) *Pinays* were vanguards of cultural retention in Filipino American communities—because of them, the art of Philippine folk dancing was not only preserved but also propagated. It was never out of the ordinary to have *Pinays* take an active role in Filipino American community affairs; it is to their credit that communities managed to sustain themselves, as the women drew in the money, being good fundraisers (Cordova, 1983).

For Filipino Americans, the legacy of imperialism, colonization, and alienation is further complicated by the patriarchal bias of both Asian American and Filipino American studies, which has dictated the marginalization of Filipina voices and concerns and ignored their attempts to transform these disciplines through incorporating feminist or queer theory (de Jesus, 2005). One such attempt at transformation was the naming of Filipino feminism *Peminism*. I encountered the term *Peminism* in an anthology of Filipina American feminist theory by Melinda de Jesus (2005) called *Pinay Power: Peminist Critical Theory*; she in

60

turn first heard the term as a graduate student at the University of California-Santa

Cruz when a classmate of hers used it to describe a specific form of feminist

theory rooted in the Filipina American experience. De Jesus (2005) describes

Peminism as:

> A feminist theory of Filipina American consciousness, theory, and culture, with the *p* signifying specifically *Pinay* or *Pilipina*, terms used in referring to ourselves as American-born Filipinas. It demarcates the space for Filipina American struggles against the cultural nationalist, patriarchal narratives that seek to squash our collective voice in the name of "ethnic solidarity." It describes Filipina American struggles for decolonization, consciousness, and liberation. Peminism thereby signifies the assertion of a specifically Filipina American subjectivity, one that radically repudiates white feminist hegemony. (p. 5)

Another view of Filipino feminism is presented by Allyson Goce

Tintiangco-Cubales (2005) as *Pinayism.* The author delineates what Pinayism is

not:

> It is not one single epistemology or having a set definition or rendition. It is not meant to divide *Pinays* and *Pinoys* though Pinayism will not ignore abuse from *Pinoys*. It is not just a Filipino version of feminism or womanism. Pinayism draws from a potpourri of theories and philosophies, including those that have been silenced and/or suppressed. (p. 139)

Acknowledging Filipino Diaspora, Pinayism is localized in the United States,

although it tries to provide a forum for issues of Filipinas and Filipinos in places

outside of the United States.

Pinayism or Peminism seeks to address issues of tradition, sexism, and

negative stereotypes; it moves beyond gender politics as the major focus and aims

to examine the complexity of the intersections where race/ethnicity, class, gender,

sexuality, spirituality/religion, educational status, age, place of birth, diasporic

migration, citizenship, and love cross (Tintiangco-Cubales, 2005). What is

significant is that Pinayism is not something between the continuum of white

feminism and black womanism (de Jesus, 2005)—it is about creating a space for Filipino American women outside the continuum, although it is important to engage in feminist/womanist dialogue and create allies (Tintiangco-Cubales, 2005).

Filipino American women continue to struggle with the wounds of the past, which for some present deep and ever-present scars. These struggles manifest themselves in ways that sabotage and prevent Filipino American women from achieving their highest callings, and in many ways perpetuate that which they strive to overcome: colonial mentality, cultural inferiority, sexism, racism, negative stereotypes, and love/hate relationships among Filipina Americans, to name a few (de Jesus, 2005; Tintiangco-Cubales, 2005).

Filipino Feminism, Peminism, and Pinayism symbolize the evolving nature of Filipino American women in postcolonial times. Notwithstanding the deep colonial patterns in the Filipino American consciousness, the movement continues to define itself and find its voice and place in Filipino American society and the world at large.

Cross-Cultural Psychology

Cross-cultural psychology is the study of diversity of human behavior, which takes into account the ways in which individual behavior is influenced by cultural context and the cultural environment in which it occurs (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 1992)—a complex and vast topic. In this section of the literature review, I focus on specific aspects of cross-cultural psychology relevant to the

research topic and to the narratives of the research participants. These aspects include relationships between Asian and Western cultural values and behaviors as manifested in the workplace, and acculturation strategies, particularly biculturalism.

Asian and Western Cultural Values

For several centuries, the U.S. workforce has been overwhelmingly comprised of individuals of European descent (e.g., Anglo-Saxon), though in recent years the workforce has become considerably more diverse in terms of race and ethnicity, as well as other factors (Stockdale & Crosby, 2004). An important consideration of these changes is the cultural element that different people bring to the workplace and the subsequent implications for organizations and the people themselves. Moreover, according to Berry et al. (1992), inasmuch as culture and behavior are distinct and one cannot be subsumed within the other, culture–behavior relationships are reciprocal in that individuals produce culture and individual behavior is influenced by culture.

Before discussing relationships between Asian and Western cultural values, it is helpful to set the context of culture and values, which are interwoven. Culture can be described as "the shared life of a group of people" (Berry et al. 1992, p. 2) or "shared knowledge people have of themselves and of their natural, social, and cultural environments" (Jocano, 2001, p. 4). Berry et al. provide various definitions of values with similar meanings, such as: "inferred constructs, whether held collectively by societies or individually by persons" (p. 59);

conceptions held by an individual or collectively by members of a group, of that which is desirable, and which influences the selection of both means and ends of action from among available alternatives" (Kluckhohn, 1951, as cited in Berry et al., 1992, p. 59); "a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others (Hofstede, 1980, as cited in Berry et al., 1992, p. 59). Furthermore, Jocano (1997) describes values as "assumptions and beliefs, which our culture endorses as appropriate bases for responses to events, facts, and states" (p. 16).

Cultural differences and challenges are best described in Hall's (1976) cultural contexts, which are applicable to organizational cultures; organizational culture consists of norms and values that guide and channel people's behavior (Dessler, 1998). According to Hall (1976), cultures are either high context or low context, with Western organizational cultures by and large being low context and Asian cultures deemed high context. Three specific areas demonstrate these cultural differences as follows.

First, with regard to social roles, in low context cultures behavior is unpredictable and role expectations are less clear, while in high context cultures (i.e., Asians) an individual's behavior is predictable and in conformity to role expectation. As indicated in the values survey conducted by Reyes (1976), Filipinos value "authority" defined as "approval by the authority figure and by society" (p.1). There was a tendency to shape one's behavior according to the thinking of the person considered important, and to avoid creating conflict with "people who count." The "authority" value among Filipinos is a contributing factor in their inability to question management under any circumstance.

Second, with regard to interpersonal relations, in low context cultures status is more subtle and distinctions between insiders and outsiders are less important. Human interactions are functionally based, and approach is specialized. Interpersonal bonds and human relationships are fragile, fragmented, and short-term due to geographic mobility; individuals are first, and groups come second. In high-context cultures group is paramount, and within the group there are clear status distinctions (e.g., age, rank, position). Human interactions are emotionally based and person-oriented, and there are stronger personal bonds and bending of individual interest for the sake of relationships. The emphasis is on cohesive, high-interrelated human relationships and completed action chains: members of group are first and foremost (Hall, 1976). Once again, Filipinos place high regard on interpersonal relationships—their values of *pakikisama* (getting along) and *bayanihan* (neighborliness) prevail when conflicts arise, and they tend to compromise their individual needs over that of the group (Reyes, 1976).

Third, with regard to personal law and authority, in low context cultures procedures, laws, and policies are more important than whom one knows. Written contracts are binding, and policy rules and legal procedures are paramount in unresponsive bureaucracies. People in authority try to pass the buck; relationship is impersonal. In high context cultures, customary procedures and whom one knows are important, and oral agreements are binding. In the face of unresponsive bureaucracies, one must be an insider or have a "friend" to make things happen (e.g., going through the "back door"). People in authority are personally and truly responsible for the actions of every subordinate.

Research has shown that culture-based values influence individuals'
attitudes, intentions, and behaviors (Stone & Stone-Romero, 2004). In view of the
research setting for the present study, I chose the following cultural dimensions
(Berry et al., 1992, p. 64; Stone & Stone-Romero, 2004, pp. 82–89; see Stone &
Stone-Romero, 2004, for a detailed list of supporting sources) relevant to the
workplace environment and organizational behavior:

1. Individualism versus Collectivism—Individualism is a value
   concerning the strength of ties existing between individuals and the
   notion that individuals should look after themselves and their
   immediate family. In contrast, collectivism is a value concerning
   people believing that they should belong to in-groups or collectives,
   which should look after them in exchange for their unconditional
   loyalty.

2. Power Distance is a value that reflects the degree to which the less
   powerful members of a social system (e.g., work organization) believe
   that power should be distributed in an unequal manner in the system
   and accept this distribution. Power Distance is the extent to which
   there is inequality (a pecking order) between supervisors and
   subordinates in an organization.

3. Achievement versus Ascriptive Orientation—In achievement-
   orientation cultures, accomplishment serves as the basis for an
   individual's identity and the status he or she is accorded by others. In
   contrast, ascriptive-oriented cultures tend to attribute status on the

basis of factors that are not controlled by individuals, including gender, family connections, and inherited wealth or title.

4. Universalist versus Particularist Orientation—Universalist cultures (e.g., European Americans) tend to follow a set of universal codes of practice and rules that are applied uniformly to all people, valuing literal adherence to contracts and favoring rational decision-making. In contrast, particularist cultures (e.g., Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, African Americans) place more emphasis on relationships, and are willing to "bend the rules" to accommodate particular circumstances and individual needs. In addition, individuals from particularist cultures feel that decisions about others should take into account friendships with them.

5. Time Orientation refers to a culture's views about time, which can represent two variants: monochromic and polychronic. Cultures with monochronic time orientation have a linear view of time and emphasize schedules, segmentation, and promptness, placing great emphasis on efficiency and punctuality. Cultures with polychronic time orientation are characterized by several things happening at once and stress involvement of people and completion of transactions rather than adherence to preset schedules (see Hall, 1976).

6. Communication Styles—In collective cultures (e.g., Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans) maintaining harmony and saving face are important goals of communication. In

contrast, members of individualistic cultures (e.g., Anglo-Americans) are more concerned with communicating facts and using rational arguments. People in collective cultures often use indirect forms of communication, and tend to "beat around the bush" rather than getting directly to the point, as well as place great importance on silence or nonverbal communication. However, people in individualistic cultures typically emphasize verbal and direct communication styles.

7. Value Placed on Emotion or Neutrality—People from individualistic cultures often emphasize calm, unemotional forms of communication, even when there are disagreements about issues. However, members of several collective cultures often display their emotions freely when communicating with others, and exhibit considerable passion when discussing issues. Asians and Asian Americans, on the other hand, have relatively reserved display of emotion and tend to restrain their emotions for fear of losing control.

8. Use of Sources—There are cultural and subcultural differences in terms of attributing credibility to communication sources. People in collective cultures tend to impute greater credibility to elders, family members, and high status persons. In contrast, people in individualistic cultures tend to impute greater credibility to people who are experts, are intelligent, and have a record of high achievement (Berry et al., 1992, p. 64; Stone & Stone-Romero, 2004, pp. 82–89; see Stone & Stone-Romero, 2004, for a detailed list of supporting sources).

In *Breaking the Bamboo Ceiling*, Hyun (2005) describes a 1999 study by University of California Santa Barbara psychologists Bryan S. K. Kim, Donald R. Atkinson, and Peggy H. Yang, in which 14 Asian values were identified. Though these researchers acknowledged that Asian Americans comprise an extremely diverse group of people with significant differences within Asian ethnic groups, they found that traditional Asians tend to emphasize the following cultural values: collectivism, maintenance of interpersonal harmony, reciprocity, placing others' needs ahead of one's own, deference to authority figures, importance of family, avoidance of family shame, educational and occupational achievement, ability to resolve psychological problems, filial piety, conformity to family and social norms, self-effacement, self-control or restraint, and respect for elders and ancestors.

According to Hyun (2005), the study also revealed that these values were not found to differ significantly across generations since immigration. Hyun theorized that Asian Americans may seem to readily adopt Western ways of living, but their deeply ingrained Asian values are so fundamental to who they are that they and the generations to follow are very slow to change.

Hyun (2005) claims that the teachings of Confucius, a Chinese philosopher and scholar (551–479 BC), had a profound impact on Asian religion, government, and social structure that is evident even today. For example, Hyun notes that Asians tend to value the group's interest over their own individual interest, often crediting the team for a job well done rather than taking the credit themselves, and shying away from standing out too much or making any waves,

particularly in large group settings. Hyun adds that in Asian culture, there is a

strong emphasis on self-control, dogged perseverance, and hard work, and a

general dislike of self-promotion. With regard to decision-making, Asians often

prefer consensus-building for the good of the group over individualistic thinking,

a preference that tends to require more time and is often considered slow by

Western standards. Working hard for the sake of the family and producing a lot—

without complaining—is considered the norm. In my consulting work, I have

personally observed these Asian traits, which by and large are positive; however,

when carried to the extreme in Western organizations, these behaviors have

become career-limiting for Asian Americans.

Filipinos / Filipino Americans exhibit similar behaviors as noted in

Hyun's (2005) research. For Filipinos / Filipino Americans, the underlying cause

for these behaviors is not necessarily Confucianism, but rather the influence of

colonialism and indigenous values. Nonetheless, Hyun's work supports the

aforementioned research on cultural dimensions and describes Asians' cultural

values accordingly.

As indicated in the participants' narratives, Filipinos have always avoided

conflict because of their values of *pakikisama* (getting along with others), *hiya*

(shame), and *utang na loob* (indebtedness) (Jocano, 1997, 2001). Showing

emotion is often discouraged in many Asian cultures and may even be seen as a

sign of weakness; consequently, it is difficult for those from certain Asian

cultures to publicly disagree and people may refrain from expressing their true

sentiments even if they have strong feelings about the issue under discussion (Hyun, 2005; Jocano, 1997, 2001).

Stone and Stone-Romero (2004) note that although subcultural groups may, on average, differ from one another on one or more culture-based dimensions (e.g., individualism vs. collectivism), there may be considerable variability within subcultures on the same dimensions; gender, socioeconomic status, historical background, and religion often influence the values of individuals within a given culture or subculture. The variability within subcultures could be attributed to different cultural histories, for example, colonization. Asian Americans have the same capacity for achieving success despite cultural differences—what is important for Asians is to know, acknowledge, and share their values not as deficiencies or negatives but as integral aspects of their culture (Hyun, 2005).

Process of Acculturation

Acculturation can occur at the individual or cultural group level. At the individual level, it is a process that individuals undergo in response to a changing cultural context and to the changes that an individual experiences as a result of being in contact with other cultures (Graves, 1967, as cited in Berry et al., 1992). At the group level, acculturation frequently involves changes in social structure, economic base, and political organization, often bringing about population expansion, greater cultural diversity, attitudinal reaction (prejudice and discrimination), and policy development. One result of the contact is the

transformation of aspects of the nondominant groups in a way that cultural features are not identical to those in the original group at the time of first contact. Similarly, individuals in the nondominant groups undergo psychological changes as a result of influence from both their own changing group and from the dominant group. I have experienced my Western values becoming more dominant over the years.

Berry et al. (1992) present two key elements in acculturation. First, the contact or interaction between cultures is continuous and first-hand; this does not include short-term, accidental contact, and it rules out diffusion of single culture practices over long distance. Second, the result is some change in the cultural, psychological phenomena among the people in contact, usually continuing for generations down the line.

As shown by the research participants, people adopt different acculturation strategies. Some of them made new friends with non-Filipinos when they first arrived in the United States, while others stayed mostly with their relatives. Not everyone seeks out contact with the other culture, and even among those who do, not everyone seeks to change their culture and behavior to be more like the other culture, which is often the dominant group. According to Berry et al. (1970a, 1974b, 1980a, all as cited in Berry et al., 1992), acculturation strategies involved two dimensions: (a) having a relative preference for maintaining one's own heritage culture and identity, and (b) having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups. Orientation to the two

dimensions can vary along a bipolar continuum of positive or negative views

depending on which group (dominant or nondominant) is being considered.

From the nondominant group perspective, acculturation strategies are as

follows. *Integration* occurs when the nondominant group has positive or strong

needs for maintenance of cultural heritage and identity and also has a positive or

strong relationship developed among other groups. *Separation* occurs when the

nondominant group has a positive or strong need for maintenance of cultural

heritage and identity, but has a negative or weak relationship among other groups.

Assimilation occurs when the nondominant group has a negative or low need for

maintenance of cultural heritage and identity, yet has a positive or strong

relationship developed among other groups. *Marginalization* occurs when the

nondominant group has a negative or low need for maintenance of cultural

heritage and identity (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss) and also has a

negative or weak relationship among other groups (often for reasons of exclusion

or discrimination).

In the case of many Filipinos, their mode of acculturation is primarily

assimilation, due to their strong colonial mindset with its negative image of

Filipino heritage and strong identification with the American colonizer image.

It must be noted that the powerful role of the dominant group plays into

the acculturation strategies (Berry et al., 1992). Multiculturalism becomes the

strategy when integration and cultural diversity is an objective of the society and

the dominant group as a whole, while a melting pot results when assimilation is

sought by the dominant group. Segregation occurs when separation is demanded

73

and enforced by the dominant group, and exclusion is the result when marginalization is imposed by the dominant group (Berry et al., 1992).

There are considerations that must be present for true integration to take place with the nondominant group, such as the dominant society's orientation of openness and inclusiveness toward cultural diversity (Berry et al., 1992). True integration also requires the nondominant group to adopt the basic values of the dominant group or society, while at the same time, the dominant group must be prepared to adapt national institutions (e.g., education, health, labor) to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in the plural society (i.e., the multicultural view of a plural society). Berry et al. emphasize that the integration strategy can only be pursued provided certain preconditions are present, which include: the widespread acceptance of the value inherent in a society of cultural diversity, or the presence of a multicultural ideology; relatively low levels of prejudice (i.e., minimal ethnocentrism, racism, and discrimination); positive mutual attitudes among ethnocultural groups (i.e., no specific intergroup hatreds); and a sense of attachment to, or identification with, the larger society by all individuals and groups.

An important consideration in the acculturation process is the notion of *cultural identity*, a complex set of beliefs and attitudes that people have about themselves in relation to their culture group membership, which usually come to the fore when people are in contact with another culture rather than living entirely within a single culture (Berry et al., 1992). Just as there are two dimensions in acculturation strategies, recent research shows a consensus that how one thinks of

cultural identity is also constructed along two dimensions: (a) identification with one's own heritage or ethnocultural group, and (b) identification with the larger or dominant society. These two dimensions are independent of each other, meaning that more of one does not imply less of the other; they are also nested, meaning that one heritage or ethnic identity may be contained within a larger national or civic identity, for example, Filipino American.

Berry et al. (1992) discussed these two dimensions' similarities with the acculturation strategies as follows. When both identities (identification with one's own heritage and with the larger or dominant society) are asserted, this resembles an integration strategy. When one feels no identification with either, this resembles a sense of marginalization. When one is strongly emphasized over the other, then identification resembles either assimilation or separation strategies.

Acculturation strategies and cultural identity dimensions are manifested in the individual's behavioral changes, which have two components: culture shedding and culture learning (Berry, 1992, as cited in Berry et al., 1992). *Culture shedding* involves either the deliberate or accidental loss of existing cultural or behavioral features over time following contact, while *culture learning* involves the deliberate or accidental acquisition of novel ways to live in the new contact setting. These two processes rarely involve the complete range of existing activities; more often they are selective, resulting in a variable pattern of maintenance and change (Berry et al., 1992).

In relation to the four acculturation strategies, high culture learning and high culture shedding could result in assimilation; low culture learning and low

culture shedding could result in separation; high culture learning with low or minimal culture shedding could result in integration; and low culture learning (often denial of full access to participation and opportunity through discrimination by the dominant group) and high culture shedding (often demanded by the dominant group) could result in marginalization (Berry et al., 1992).

One other element to consider in the acculturation process is the concept of *cultural distance*, which refers to how apart two cultural groups are on dimensions of cultural variation. In general, the greater the differences (e.g., language, religion), the more difficult are the processes of acculturation (Ward, 1996, as cited in Berry et al., 1992). When cultural distance is great, behavioral changes pose a greater challenge since the amount of change required (of both groups, but usually more for the nondominant group) is greater.

Overall, acculturation involves the contact and interaction between cultures that results in a change or transformation of some aspects individually or collectively. According to Berry et al. (1992), there are generally four acculturation strategies, depending on the intersection of two bipolar dimensions, (a) maintaining one's culture, heritage, and identity and (b) contact with other social groups, as well as a third dimension, which is the role of the dominant group. Within the context of acculturation strategies, the concepts of cultural identity and behavioral changes are also strongly considered along with cultural distance. All these factors are interconnected and need to be considered when understanding the process of acculturation.

The research is rich in identifying acculturation factors, but insight is lacking into cultural histories such as colonization as influencing factors on how nondominant groups acculturate into the dominant group.

Biculturalism

The research of Cheng, Lee, and Benet-Martinez (2006) on "Assimilation and Contrast Effect in Cultural Frame Switching: Bicultural Identity Integration and Valence of Cultural Cues," shed light on Asian Americans as biculturals. Filipino Americans are biculturals like other Asian Americans, meaning that they "possess two or more cultural interpretative frames or schemas, defined as networks of discrete, specific constructs" (Hong, Morris, Chiu, and Benet-Martinez, 2000, as cited in Cheng et al., 2006, p. 742). A significant characteristic of biculturals is their engagement in a process called *cultural frame switching* (CFS), where they shift or modify between their cultural constructs depending on the cues or signals they observe from the social environment (Cheng et al., 2006). Hong et al. used a continuum called "bicultural identity integration (BII), or the degree to which ethnic and mainstream cultural identities are perceived as compatible or in opposition to each other" (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002, cited by Cheng et al., 2006, p. 743). Biculturals can have high or low levels of BII.

Specifically, biculturals with higher levels of BII identify with both ethnic and mainstream cultures, see them as compatible and complementary, and see themselves as part of a combined, blended culture that encompasses elements of

both. Biculturals with lower levels of BII also identify with both mainstream and ethnic cultures, but they are more likely to feel caught between the two cultures and prefer to keep them separate (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005, as cited by Cheng et al., 2006,).

Biculturals' process of CFS is different depending on their levels of BII (Cheng et al., 2006). Their quantitative study indicates that higher levels of BII exhibit an assimilation effect, whereas lower levels of BII exhibit a contrast effect. Assimilation effect shows congruence with the primes being presented, for example, pictures representative of a culture, such as a Chinese dragon (Cheng et al., 2006). When exposed to American primes, Chinese American biculturals with higher BII behaved more like Americans; when exposed to Chinese primes, they behaved more like Chinese. However, in contrast, Chinese American biculturals with lower BII behaved more like Chinese when exposed to American primes and behaved more like Americans when exposed to Chinese primes (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002, as discussed by Cheng et al., 2006). (It is important to note that the authors did not include Filipinos in their sample.) Though to a certain extent, high levels of BII would indicate assimilation, meaning identification with the dominant culture, based on Berry et al. (1992), high BII indicates an acculturation mode of integration more so than assimilation.

Cheng et al. (2006) note several factors related to BII such as number of years in the mainstream culture, mainstream language proficiency, positive or negative acculturation experiences, and response to stress. By and large, their study indicates biculturals with higher BII have spent more years in the

mainstream culture, are more proficient in the mainstream language, and have stronger mainstream identity. They were also more open, less neurotic, and had less anxiety and depression than those with lower levels of BII. Those with lower BII tend to experience stress from several fronts: linguistic (difficulty communicating in the mainstream language), relational (conflict between being perceived as "too ethnic" or "too mainstream") discrimination possibly from feelings of being mistreated because of one's "Chinese-ness" or "American-ness," and cultural isolation from being in a community that is not multiculturally diverse (Cheng et al., 2006). The study supports the concept of cultural distance presented by Berry et al. (1992).

Cheng et al.'s (2006) study is significant to my research in that BII and CFS could very well be factors behind why some Asian Americans and Filipinos manage cultural conflicts more effectively than others and succeed in their career aspirations, while others fail to advance or succeed. When presented with primes, biculturals with lower levels of BII tend to overanalyze and react to the primes, causing them to spend more energy analyzing and lose energy for more meaningful tasks (Cheng et al., 2006). Given the sociohistorical backgrounds of Filipino Americans, BII and CFS are areas to consider in the ongoing acculturation process, particularly as they are applied in the work environment.

Understanding culture is more significant than ever because the composition of the world's labor force has changed dramatically in recent years; this change will accelerate with globalization. Certain theorists believe that the effect of globalization is the flattening out of cultural differences as nations and

individuals are subsumed into a single global culture. Others believe that the dominant flow of commodities from Westernized nations to developing countries is resulting in cultural imperialism. Other theorists, however, take a more optimistic view that globalization rather highlights cultural diversities with the mindset of thinking globally and acting locally (Bullock & Trombley, 1999).

Globalization and the changing demographics in the business world will require organizations and their leadership to pay attention to cross-cultural differences and find ways to understand, appreciate, and leverage these differences so as to create collaborative work environments and achieve desired goals. The next section investigates organizational development as it pertains to the topic of this dissertation.

Organizational Development

As discussed above, in today's rapidly changing business environment where both the workforce and consumer base are increasingly diverse, any organization that is composed of members from different cultures, has affiliates in more than one country, or provides products and services across the globe, is likely to encounter some challenges in managing cross-cultural relations. Workers in organizations are often the products of many different cultural and subcultural backgrounds, and there are a number of important consequences of this cultural heterogeneity for behavior and organizational settings (Stone & Stone-Romero, 2004). To this end, the function of organization development and role of leadership become paramount; moreover, as the setting of the present research

question is the workplace in U.S. organizations, it is worthwhile to consider the interrelationship between organizational development and colonialism. To this end, this section of the literature review discusses the nature and goals of organizational development, the kind of leadership called for in a global and multicultural business environment, the purpose and benefits of diversity, and proposed career development strategies for Asian / Filipino Americans at large.

Organizational culture involves the shared beliefs, values, attitudes, norms, symbols, and behaviors that make up an organization (Szilagyi & Wallace, 1990). Culture can influence communication, cooperation, commitment, and careers, and organizational development is integral to the health and well being of an organization and its culture. Rothwell, Sullivan, and McLean (1995) describe organizational development as a planned organization-wide process and strategy initiated by management to increase organizational effectiveness and health through various interventions using "behavior-science knowledge and methodologies" (p. 6).

A desired outcome of organizational development efforts is positive, constructive, and creative change involving cultural beliefs, attitudes, values, structures, processes, and systems to achieve organizational goals and adapt to the marketplace's changing needs. As such, the primary emphasis of organizational development is on relationships and processes between and among individuals, both employees and management or leadership (McLagan, 1989, as cited in Rothwell et al., 1995).

Integral to organizational development is the identification, utilization, and development of people as human beings first and human resources second. To this end, it is imperative for leadership to know people from all aspects: cultural, emotional, mental, intellectual, physical, sociohistorical, psychological, and spiritual. However, most mainstream organizations focus primarily on functional job-related aspects of people and hardly at all on a more holistic view. For example, Asians who grew up straddling two very different cultures (Asian and Western) may face internal conflict dealing with these strong cultural influences, a conflict that may manifest in certain behaviors in the workplace (Hyun, 2005). The Filipino cultural value of respect for authority manifests in politeness, deference to authority, and meekness—behaviors that are often perceived as lack of assertiveness and leadership in a Western cultural environment. Hyun (2005) notes that although some of these traits are considered positive, they can also be hurtful or negative, especially if used to exploit Asian Americans; for example, if Asian Americans are perceived as hardworking, uncomplaining, and loyal, a manager or coworker could take advantage of this and have the Asians do all the grunt work and receive none of the credit. From my experience, most Asians in the workplace do not recognize these implications for their careers until it is too late.

A review of relevant literature shows that relatively little research in industrial and organizational psychology and related disciplines (e.g., human resources management, organizational behavior, organizational management, leadership development) has focused on the effects of cultural diversity on

organizational behavior (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Early & Erez, 1997; Erez & Earley, 1993; Stone-Romero, Stone, and Salas, in press; and Triandis, 1994; all as cited in Stockdale & Crosby, 2004). Because of the paucity of research on the relationship between cultural diversity and organizational behavior, these authors have argued that many organizational theories are underdeveloped, failing to consider the critical role that subjective culture plays in organizational behavior. Subjective culture as defined by Stone and Stone-Romero (2004) considers such variables as social norms, roles, beliefs, values, communication patterns, affective styles, and orientations toward time—I would add cultural history, such as colonization, to this list. Consistent with the views of the authors, I believe that it is critical to gain an understanding of the issues faced by organizations employing workers from different cultures.

When workers come from different cultures or subcultures, they often have experienced different types of prior socialization; as a result, they are prone to enact different types of behavior. This behavior can be both verbal and nonverbal in nature. For example, punctuality is part of the typical American work script (a written or unwritten set of expected behaviors or actions)—people are expected to arrive on time for meetings, and lateness is regarded as disrespectful and wasteful of the time of others. Furthermore, Anglo American work-related scripts stress efficiency and the rapid completion of tasks. In contrast, members of other subcultures such as Hispanic Americans, African Americans, and Native Americans have work-related scripts that place a relatively low level of emphasis on punctuality. Instead, the scripts of Hispanic Americans

dictate that a person should spend time forming relationships and being a nice person. Likewise, Asian Americans stress that workers should take their time on tasks and focus on work quality and processes rather than short-term outcomes (Stone & Stone-Romero, 2004).

Because members of different cultures or subcultures often work in accordance with very different scripts, a number of negative consequences may ensue, including: (a) conflict between individuals from different subcultures; (b) perceptions about the work performance of individuals from different subcultures (e.g., working slowly can be interpreted as a sign of laziness); (c) individuals from nondominant cultures being accorded out-group status; and (d) reduced overall organizational efficiency and effectiveness. Stone and Stone-Romero (2004) emphasize that culture must be taken into account in understanding the behavior of role incumbents who come from different cultures.

As I consider the confluence of colonialism and organizational development in corporate settings, the following questions come to mind. How do colonial patterns manifest in the workplace? How can colonial patterns be recognized for what they are? What impacts do colonial patterns have on Filipino American women's careers and on the organization itself? What implications are there for leadership? In what ways can an understanding of colonial patterns help diversity efforts in organizations? What possible interventions can help recognize, understand, and manage colonial patterns that manifest in organizations? Given Filipino Americans' presence in the workplace, it is worth exploring how Filipino American women's colonial patterns manifest in corporate America and the

subsequent consequences and implications to their careers and the organization as a whole.

To date, Filipinos and Filipino Americans are the third largest Asian ethnic group in the United States. Their presence, albeit not as evident as with other Asian ethnic groups such as Chinese or Indians, can be seen in various sectors of society: business, education, civic, private corporations, and nonprofit organizations, to name a few. As a people of colonized origin, they bear the legacies of colonialism, mostly at an unconscious level. Modern day Filipino Americans know of their colonial history and about colonial mentality, which they often attribute to other Filipinos but not to themselves. As such any possible negative legacies of colonialism are left unacknowledged and unrecognized; consequently, behaviors rooted in colonial mentality are unattended and perceptions are formed on these behaviors.

During my twenty-five years in the corporate sector working in various capacities, I recall fellow Filipino Americans and myself exhibiting colonial behaviors, though I did not identify them as such—instead, I attributed the behaviors as inherent to Asian culture. For example, a common colonial pattern exhibited by Filipino Americans in the workplace is fear of authority, for example, a manager, supervisor, or a person who is perceived as powerful. Inasmuch as fear of authority is common in the workplace, what makes this power dynamic different for colonized people like Filipino Americans is the root cause of the fear; for colonized people, authority is identified with and symbolic of the colonizer who must be feared. To compound the situation, Filipino Americans

who are mostly Catholic, are indoctrinated with religious messages of fear in God the Father, fear of Spanish friars, and fear of going to hell, fears that are deeply ingrained and passed on throughout generations.

Additionally, colonial and imperial rules emphasized the colonized subservient, passive, and inferior self who must not have a voice. Memmi (1965) notes that, "the colonized enjoys none of the attributes of citizenship; neither his own, which is dependent, contested, and smothered, nor that of the colonizer" (p. 96) and "colonization weakens the colonized and that all those weaknesses contribute to one another." (p. 115). For Filipino Americans in the United States, a colonial mentality of accepting everything American as great and powerful, and regarding everything Filipino as weak and inferior (David & Okazaki, 2006) exacerbates this power dynamic in the workplace.

Fear is a common aspect of this power relationship. I recall one Filipino American woman who, when I asked her why she said she absolutely feared her manager of eight years, blurted unexpectedly, "She's like God," then caught herself and said she did not know why she was afraid. She admitted to being afraid to call and talk to her manager when she would be late for work, even when her lateness was for legitimate reasons. Although she professed her manager's benevolence and expressed respect for her, fear nonetheless defined their relationship. For myself, overcoming fear of authority was one of my personal struggles while I was in the corporate world. Regardless of my managerial level and professional achievement, I still feared those whom I perceived had power over my destiny—that fear was the dragon I longed to slay. Pheterson (1986)

described colonialism's oppressive nature eloquently; in her words, "oppression seems to breed a package of psychological processes that distort reality and weaken personal strength" (pp. 158–159).

Fear of authority is a colonial pattern that manifests beyond power relationships in various ways with consequences that are often detrimental. For Filipino Americans, fear of authority unconsciously plays out in forms of compliance, unquestioning loyalty to the establishment (noted in the early days of Filipino laborers and still existing in modern times), and subservient demeanor. The self-image of being inferior and weak, particularly with regard to American management, policies, and ways of doing business, becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. On the other hand, indignation toward other Filipinos, another indicator of colonial mentality, is also exhibited in the workplace. Instead of helping other Filipinos, there often is intrigue, envy, and gossip—several research participants referred to this as *crab mentality*. The Filipino cultural value of *pakikisama* or "team spirit" (Andres, 1989) is overshadowed by the colonial mind. From the Western, dominant world of colonizers, Filipino American colonial behaviors perpetuate the colonial images of imperial rule.

From my years in corporate America and in my work as an organizational development consultant, one evident undesirable outcome I have observed is the persistent stereotyping of Filipino Americans as passive and submissive, good followers but not good leaders, content in their current positions and not aspiring to advance in the organization. These stereotypes are reinforced by behaviors such as being quiet at meetings, not offering new ideas that might be perceived as

contradictory, avoidance of conflict, refusal to take on leadership roles when it might jeopardize time with family, or being content with current roles where they feel comfortable and secure rather than venturing into new territories. As discussed in Chapter Four, the research participants exhibited similar behaviors in their work environments and confirmed that they had observed similar behaviors from other Filipinos. Andres' (1989) picture of the Filipino Malay ancestry as content with being second best seems to validate the prevailing perceptions of Filipino Americans.

Consequently, Filipino Americans remain invisible and unrecognized in the workplace, mostly occupying behind-the-scenes, supporting rather than leadership positions—their voices are silent and their presence is inconsequential. Strobel's (1997) "Coming Full Circle: Narratives of Decolonization Among Post 1965 Filipino Americans," quotes studies about Filipino Americans "as lagging behind when compared to Chinese American, Japanese American, and lately Korean American groups in areas such as economic mobility, representation in higher education, community development, and political clout" (p. 62). Strobel puts the studies in a larger context that offers a more accurate perspective, and indeed there are other contributing factors beyond the focus of this study; nonetheless, the current state of Filipino Americans in the workplace reflects these results.

Filipino American behaviors at work and the less-than-desirable consequences are shared by other Asian Americans. Hyun (2005) points out that colleagues at work perceive Asian Americans as: quiet, submissive, good at math

and science, good producers, hardworking, smart, well educated, unquestioning, not involved with the community, cliquish with other Asians, not fluent in English, foreigners, loyal, and apt to stay with one company a long time. Hyun adds that these perceptions were often based on behaviors exhibited by Asian Americans such as: not speaking up in meetings, or waiting to be asked before speaking, rarely complaining about policies or initiatives, forming Asian cliques, not having direct eye contact, being risk averse, and not socializing enough for others to know them. The one aspect that differentiates Filipino Americans from other Asians is their fluency in the English language; nonetheless, Filipino Americans are still perceived as hard working but not "leader material."

These value judgments by Western coworkers and organizations are based on behaviors without an understanding of the root causes of these behaviors or the values that drive them. Decisions are often made based on these perceptions and judgments; therefore, it is important for Asians to share their values with non-Asian people, not as deficiencies or negatives but simply as aspects of Asian culture (Hyun, 2005). Hyun chose the title *Breaking the Bamboo Ceiling* because it acknowledged that Asian Americans do indeed face obstacles in the workplace, and it asserts that there are cultural barriers that play a role in impeding career advancement. Hyun points out that Asian Americans must play a role in combating the problem and acknowledges that barriers could also stem from self-limiting cultural influences on their behavior, attitude, and performance in various social and professional settings. At the same time, organizations are recognizing

their responsibility toward a more inclusive culture, as discussed in the following sections.

Valuing and Managing Diversity

Given the changing composition of the workforce and impact of globalization, diversity is an inevitable and integral aspect of organizational life. The challenges facing Filipino Americans and Asian Americans at large in organizational settings point to the importance of assessing diversity initiatives and approaches, so that organizations may harness the potential of their Asian American workforce and achieve their business goals. It is timely that organizational leaders are putting greater emphasis on the need to leverage a diverse workforce and to foster inclusion as a basis for organizational development.

Diversity programs were introduced at some companies as early as the 1980s largely due to Johnston and Packard's (1987) influential report, *Workforce 2000*, which alerted organizations to the dramatic changes in demographics that were transforming the North American workforce (Johnson & Packard, 1987, as discussed in Prasad, Mills, Elmes, & Prasad, 1997). More recently, organizations have been promoting and developing more formal programs and initiatives that strive for inclusive environments and provide development opportunities for professionals to realize their full potential. I have been personally involved in such diversity efforts. Comprehensive diversity programs make good business sense because groups of people with diverse backgrounds and experiences are

now commonly recognized as producing rich ideas and innovative solutions (Hyun, 2005); nonetheless, such programs are not enough to make cultural changes.

Managing diversity involves systematic and planned commitment by the organization's management to recruit and retain employees from diverse demographic backgrounds, plus awareness and appreciation of the growing multicultural nature of contemporary organizations (Thomas, 1992; Cox, 1991; both as discussed in Prasad et al., 1997). Progress has been made with diversity initiatives, but valuing, managing, and sustaining diversity and inclusion in organizations can be a Herculean task. Holvino, Ferdman, and Merrill-Sands (2004) provide three key elements of a diversity initiative: (a) shared vision and outcome, (b) change process strategy, and (c) effective interventions and best practices to bring about the desired vision and change.

In addition to the three elements, effective diversity efforts require a multi-level approach that includes structural, cultural, and behavioral changes and a variety of specific interventions that reinforce and augment each other (Ragins, 1995, as cited by Holvino et al., 2004). Important diversity interventions have been identified in benchmarking research with corporations in the United States, including such practices as personal involvement of top management and leaders, recruiting efforts, internal advocacy, tracking diversity profiles, inclusion of diversity in performance appraisals, diversity training, and career development and advancement, to name a few (Morrison, 1996, as cited in Stockdale & Crosby, 2004).

Although I found Holvino et al.'s recommendations on diversity efforts significant and worthwhile, based on my experience with various diversity initiatives, they may still fall short—often the ideas are sound, but their implementation is fragmented and shallow. The concepts must be developed, implemented, and followed-up as a whole system, not as separate and distinct events. All three levels of change must embody the shared vision, the organizational strategies, and appropriate interventions; for example, does the organizational structure reflect cultural diversity at the most senior levels of management, or is senior management primarily comprised of the dominant group?

Asian Americans are absent in higher levels of management: according to Hyun (2005), various studies confirm the low percentage of minorities in the executive suites of U.S. companies. In 1995, the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission stated that of the top 1,000 industrial firms and 500 largest businesses in the United States, only 3% of senior managers were professionals of color. The situation for Asian women is even more serious. A 2003 study by Catalyst, a nonprofit advisory organization seeking to advance women in business, focused on Asian women in the workforce and revealed that although Asian women represent an important and growing source of talent, they are not well represented in senior management ranks. Out of 10,092 Fortune 500 corporate officers in 2002, only 30% (0.29%) were Asian women. According to Catalyst, Asian women have difficulty moving into senior management positions because Asian cultural values, whether learned or reinforced by family, work

against their ability to successfully navigate the corporate landscape (Hyun, 2005).

Additionally, the process of creating a shared vision and an inclusive organizational culture must reflect a deep understanding of multiculturalism and pluralism, lest the vision and culture reflect mainly the dominant worldview. From my experience, education and training interventions are often regarded as the mechanism for cultural change, but these interventions in and of themselves are by no means sufficient, and quite honestly, do not change organizational culture. Training programs raise awareness but do not change behavior or the culture.

Moreover, much of the research in diversity hardly addresses indigenous values and cultural histories, of which colonialism is an integral component. Being part of the Asian American ethnic group, Filipino Americans share many similar core values with other Asian cultures; however, Filipino American colonial history is not taken into account, and the issues associated with colonial mentality as they affect Filipino Americans in the workplace remain unrecognized. By the same token, it is important to acknowledge the progress that has been made toward diversity.

In essence, a multicultural, inclusive organization is one in which the diversity of knowledge, perspectives, experiences, skills, histories, values, beliefs, and worldviews that members of different groups bring to the organization have informed and shaped its vision, strategy, work, management and operating systems, and core values and norms for success. Furthermore, members of all

groups are treated fairly, feel included and actually are included, have equal

opportunities, and are represented at all organizational levels and functions

(Holvino et al., 2004). In this way, diversity and inclusivity are woven into the

fabric of the organization and embodied by its management and employees. The

role of leadership is extremely critical in making this phenomenon a reality.

Diversity is often discussed on the important aspects of race, gender,

religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, age, disability, social class, and so on.

Significant and complex as these are, I would consider them the outer layers of

the phenomenon. What about the more intangible, deeper layers of indigenous

values, cultural histories, and worldviews? Perhaps they are subsumed under the

major headings—but there is a need for caution, as the possibility of glossing over

the core could miss or neglect the underlying causes, which when examined could

shed more light, understanding, and compassion. These underlying, core factors

are not meant to be excuses, but rather important mirrors from which we can

reflect who we are and touchstones from which to move forward with grace and

dignity.

In addition to these concerns, most diversity texts still focus on white and

black. Hispanics/Latinos are coming into the foreground, but Asians are still

trailing far behind. Hyun's book was a breakthrough—more are needed.

Leadership Development

Research and personal experience have shown time and time again that

senior management buy-in and leadership are critical requirements for advancing

diversity management in the workplace. Only when a company has a number of visible, highly respected senior executives championing and advocating diversity can diversity initiatives begin to show results; otherwise, the interventions become isolated events that are short lived. From Hyun's (2005) research, senior management must effectively communicate the goals of diversity both internally and externally. While senior management needs to be at the helm of diversity initiatives, most organizational leaders continue to be white males and the few women and people of color who find themselves in leadership positions face significant barriers as they bump up against or break through the glass ceiling (Chrobot-Mason & Ruderman, 2004). Leaders play a pivotal role in formulating diversity vision, strategies, and interventions as well as implementing change in organizational structure, culture, and behavior (Holvino et al., 2004), and they need to be role models in the organization to ensure collaboration among minority and majority employees.

Chrobot-Mason and Ruderman (2004) acknowledge that although there have been several efforts to promote diversity; few have been successful at managing it. Their research notes some managers have adopted the colorblind perspective, which ignores differences and treats everyone in the same way, a policy based on the belief that race should not and does not matter. However, the authors claim, "research shows those who hold racial colorblind attitudes are more likely to hold racial and gender prejudices" (p. 102). Another approach indicated by the authors that managers have used is the Golden Rule—"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" (p. 102). Given what we know of

cultural differences, this approach does not take into account the unique needs and orientations of people and cultures that are different; the approach is simply one-sided. Thus, both perspectives are problematic in that they attempt to minimize or ignore differences and treat everyone the same. The authors note that managers who practice these approaches are likely to be perceived as not valuing their employees and their unique needs, backgrounds, and heritage. From my experience, employees see these managers as paying lip service to diversity but lacking sincerity in their efforts.

Moreover, Chrobot-Mason and Ruderman (2004) cite the work of various researchers and make an important note that traditional leadership theories operate under the assumption that followers are a homogeneous group. With the increasingly diverse workforce in today's organizations, leadership theories developed in earlier years are now recognized as flawed. There is a movement to look at leadership behavior in organizations from a more pluralistic perspective in order to take into account different beliefs, values, needs, and cultural experiences. The authors claim that leaders who understand both the potential advantages and challenges of a diverse workforce will be better equipped to take a more active role in managing diversity. Moreover, even among the emerging leadership models, many are really Western-based in thought and design; Chrobot-Mason and Ruderman believe that for theories to be truly pluralistic, they must take into account the preferences and needs of a broader group of employees, so that the theories better reflect the demographics of the workforce and employees' varied personal and cultural experiences.

Chrobot-Mason's and Ruderman's belief supports the work of Mark Maier (1997) with regard to managerial masculinity: Maier contends that as organizational scholars have also discovered, the values that undergird bureaucratic functioning and managerial styles in the United States are similarly "masculine" (Ferguson, 1984; Kanter, 1977; Maier, 1993b; all as cited in Maier, 1997). He cites additional research (e.g., Powell & Butterfield, 1989) discovered in a review of the literature that "managerial identity remains as masculine as it ever was" (Maier, 1997, p. 230); the cultural ethos of organization has been described as following the norms of a "white male system" (Wilson-Schaef, 1981, as discussed in Maier, 1997, p. 230). Maier asserts that because corporate masculinity has been unconsciously assumed and largely uncritically accepted as the organizational behavior standard, little attention has been devoted to exploring its implications for managerial dysfunction in the workplace and diversity.

Maier (1997) uses the launching and tragic disaster of the space shuttle Challenger as the case from which to demonstrate the "largely taken-for-granted" (p. 227) features of conventional managerial practices and how they are inherently "gendered" (e.g., coincide with a masculine ethos), and demonstrates how these features were at work in the organizational dynamics and decision processes that led to the tragic space shuttle Challenger launch decision. Maier's goal was to raise awareness of the masculine ethos in organizations, question assumptions, and challenge masculine "white male" managerial styles that largely go unquestioned in organizational environments.

Maier's (1997) work is significant to managing diversity. As he notes, in a society that differentiates sharply between males and females from birth and that accords greater status and worth to males, the experiences and perspectives of women as a group are distinguished from, and usually subordinated to, the experiences and perspectives of men as a group, with significant implications for women and people of color and non-white cultures. Maier referred to four metaphors identified by David and Brannon (1976) that underlie masculinity in organizational settings (see Table 1).

Table 1

Metaphors Underlying Masculinity in Organizational Settings

Metaphor	Symbolism
No sissy stuff	The stigma of anything vaguely feminine
The big wheel	Success, status, and the need to be looked up to
The sturdy oak	A manly air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance
Give 'em hell	The aura of aggressiveness, violence, and daring

Note. Author's table; data quoted from David and Brannon (1976), as presented by Maier (1997, pp. 241–250).

These four metaphors all parallel the elements of the While Male System presented by Schaef (1981, cited in Maier, 1997).

Reading Maier's analysis of the Challenger tragedy and how it could have been prevented had a different management style prevailed, inspired me to think about the masculine ethos in organizations and how it is taken for granted. I also wonder to what extent organizational masculinity perpetuates the "good old boys"

network and glass ceiling or bamboo ceiling (Hyun, 2005) dilemma women and

people of color bump up against and cannot seem to break.

Maier (1997) asserts a point that strikes at the central dilemma in the

diversity debate:

> By focusing on white males' relative ease of success in the White Male
> System, attention has been diverted away from the more fundamental
> issue of whether we should be encouraging anyone—including white
> males—to assimilate to (and hence replicate, maintain, and perpetuate)
> that system. (p. 251)

It stands to reason that questioning the normative foundations upon which

organizational and individual success have been predicated is beneficial to non-

dominant groups, Maier somewhat optimistically also suggests that re-examining

white privilege will lead to self-improvement for white males in particular as they

work through their cultural biases. Questioning the status quo means changing the

culture of corporate masculinity, or moving beyond MANagement.

Maier's (1997) work has profound implications for organizational

development, leadership, and diversity. Maier contends that the analysis of the

masculine mindset does not assume that men are inherently "bad," but that the

norms by which they are expected to pattern their lives can be dysfunctional to the

point of disaster, as indicated in the Challenger tragedy. Masculinity, as it is

currently conceived, is both inherent in organizations and problematic. Maier

hopes by

> making corporate masculinity (the implicit and unquestioned norm of
> organizational life) both visible and problematic, that organizations and
> the people (i.e., men) who run them will commit to adopting alternatives
> (e.g., empowerment over dominance; participation and linking over
> authority and ranking; connection over confrontation; intimacy over
> intimidation; egalitarian and inclusion over stratification and exclusion).
> (p. 252)

Maier concludes that to adopt such alternative managerial approaches requires more that just the "will"—it also require a "way," an altogether different form of organizational culture and structure than the ones, which dominate today.

What are examples of alternative managerial and leadership processes that can be developed and implemented? What competencies are needed for multicultural leadership? What can leaders do to demonstrate their commitment to the development of a diverse workforce? Given the rapidly changing business environment and ongoing challenges of globalization and technology, there is a critical need for individuals who can anticipate change, recognize new challenges and opportunities, and adapt to them effectively. There is also a need to hold contradictory perspectives in tension and learn from each of them, and do all this without losing sight of one's own values and perspective (Gentile, 1996). In other words, there is a need for individuals who not only can and will take a leadership position in moving organizations and employees toward a new organizational development paradigm, but also to manage diversity in such a way that organizational barriers and bias against minority employees can be lessened and eventually stopped (Chrobot-Mason & Ruderman, 2004).

Multicultural leadership is no easy challenge, particularly for leaders from hegemonic groups. It requires a set of multicultural competencies that involves knowledge and understanding of cross-cultural differences, worldviews, and behaviors; ability to motivate a diverse and often virtual workforce; proficiency in diagnosing diverse cultural issues; ability to resolve diversity-related organizational, group, and individual conflicts; and ability to provide mutually

satisfying solutions for all parties concerned. Additionally, multicultural

leadership entails having the skills to deal with conflict in a culturally sensitive

manner, develop interpersonal communication that takes into account cultural

contexts, give and receive feedback, and be a role model in appreciating, valuing,

and managing diversity (Chrobot-Mason & Ruderman, 2004).

From personal experience working with various leaders, I would add that

an essential capacity for multicultural leadership is self-awareness of one's biases,

prejudices, and attitudes toward others who are dissimilar. To heighten self-

awareness, leaders must be willing to have honesty and humility to recognize

cultural conditioning about others that is negative. With increased self-awareness

and willingness to change cultural conditioning, leaders are more able to "walk

the talk" and model cultural intelligence and sensitivity. Chrobot-Mason and

Ruderman contend that "developing the skills needed to effectively manage a

diverse workforce will not only be a benefit to leaders in the new millennium, but

will likely become a necessity as the workplace continues to diversify" (p. 121).

Career Development Strategies

According to Hyun (2005), without a doubt, corporate America has always

been a tough terrain for professionals of color to navigate. Various studies

confirm the low percentage of minorities in the executive suites of U.S.

companies; as stated earlier, in 1995, the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission

stated that of the top 1,000 industrial firms and 500 largest businesses in the

United States, only 3% of senior managers were professionals of color (Hyun, 2005).

Research has identified key factors that present barriers and challenges to diversity and inclusion. Stockdale and Cao (2004) analyzed the barriers at three levels: individual, interpersonal and group, and organizational and occupational. On the individual level, barriers include stereotypes, social identity perceptions, prejudice, discrimination, and unsupportive attitudes: for example, stereotypes such as Asians are good workers but not leaders; Asians are quiet, passive, and hard working; or Asians are the "Model Minority." These perceptions, though positive on the one hand, have been detrimental to Asian American employees. On the interpersonal and group level, barriers include lack of group cohesiveness, homophily processes and networking barriers, and cultural miscommunications; examples include exclusive membership clubs or employee work groups, and recruitment, selection, and attrition processes that favor a certain group of people. At the organizational and occupation level, barriers include stratification, lack of top management support, and lack of access to power and resources; examples are class and job level tokenism, and the presence of "good old boys" networks.

In the workplace particularly, perception is often reality—what people do not know about Asians can hurt them, because often career decisions are made based on perceptions and assumptions. Behaviors based on deeply ingrained cultural values passed down for generations may be tough to alter quickly enough to make a difference in a current job situation (Hyun, 2005). In light of Stockdale and Cao's (2004) research, a focus on individual and organizational levels is

proposed for developing career strategies for Asian Americans. From the present study's findings and other readings, three aspects at the individual level stand out as important considerations for Asian Americans and Filipino Americans alike: self concept, attitudes and behaviors toward conflict, and attitudes and behaviors toward leadership and authority.

Self concept. The work of Berry et al. (1992) includes a two-dimensional conception of self in social context as advocated by Markus and Kitayama (1991), who postulated that people in various cultures have strikingly different construals of the self, which have consequences for how persons experience themselves and others, and for cognition, emotion, and motivation. Markus and Kitayama's research supports the general Western value of individualism, wherein conception of self is of an individual who is separate, autonomous, and atomized (made up of a set of discrete traits, abilities, values, and motives), seeking separateness and independence from others. In contrast, Eastern cultures of collectivism where relatedness, connectedness, and interdependence are sought, are rooted in a concept of the self not as a discrete entity, but as inherently linked to others.

The independent construal of the self further means that persons see themselves as unique, promote their own goals, and seek self-expression, whereas interdependent construal of self implies that persons seek to belong and fit in, to promote others' goals, and to occupy their proper place. These differences have implications for Asian Americans' career development; from my experience, in the workplace with Western corporate values of individualism, competition

among individuals is predominant, even as organizations speak of teamwork. As a

consequence, Asian Americans who see themselves as interdependent with others

in their team and want to collaborate are often conflicted and do not thrive in

highly competitive environments. Asian Americans also feel awkward in touting

their individual accomplishments, often crediting the team and not acknowledging

themselves (Hyun, 2005); as a result, they are often invisible. Organizations with

independent construal of self-identity reward and recognize those who self-

promote, while persons with interdependent construal of self, such as Asian

Americans, are overlooked.

Thus, it is important for Asian Americans to be cognizant of these

corporate self-construals, the ways they are embodied in the workplace, and their

impact on career decisions. Asian Americans / Filipino Americans need to be

more confident in advocating for themselves and their needs, which competitive

and individualistic persons rarely hesitate to do. Additionally, they need to be

comfortable in sharing their successes and accomplishments in a team manner,

without negating their personal role and contribution to the team's efforts. These

bicultural behavioral shifts will enhance Asian Americans' opportunities for

career advancement, particularly in Western cultural settings (Cheng et al., 2006).

First impressions are another consideration for Asian Americans, and for

Filipino Americans in particular as it relates to self-concept and colonial culture—

research shows that impressions matter. Hyun (2005) notes that research indicates

that many professionals in job searches or other business meetings make hasty

judgments about people they meet for the first time based on their first

impressions or what is called the "halo effect." If the initial first impression of a person is positive, everything else about the person will be viewed as positive; conversely, if the initial impressions are negative, judgments about the person will be negative and few people will take the time to discover the person's positive attributes.

The concept of first impression has profound implications for Filipinos' careers in that although several decades have passed since colonialism, many of us are still subliminally devoted to the colonizers' ideas that we are inferior (David & Okazaki, 2006; de Jesus, 2005; Jocano, 1997; Root, 1997; Strobel, 2001). The inferior self-image may unwittingly present itself in first encounters with others, possibly creating negative impressions, which may be difficult to overcome. Hyun (2005) contends that because Asian Americans are visible minorities, it is important that they make the right first impressions and maintain good rapport afterward. Furthermore, Hyun reminds Asian Americans that:

> You may already know that your Asian background is integral to your identity. But not fully realizing how that background manifests itself in your attitudes and behaviors may cause misunderstanding in a western corporate setting. Your Asianness does not have to work against you, however. In the process of deciphering your Asian cultural values and integrating them into your workplace persona, you can leverage your natural talents and learn new skills. (p. 5)

Attitudes and behaviors toward conflict. Interpersonal relatedness is integral to collectivist cultures and persons with interdependent self-construal; Asian cultures have always avoided conflict because of their emphasis on harmony (Hyun, 2005; Berry et al., 1992). Hyun gives an example during an extremely contentious meeting, where an Asian person may refrain from

105

expressing his true sentiments even if he has vehement feelings about the issue under discussion; however, if he is allowed to write down his questions or challenges in a situation anonymously, he will be open about his feelings. He may also discuss his feelings with a friend or colleague outside or after the meeting. Research shows that this influence differs dramatically from the Western school of thinking, particularly in the approach to interpersonal relations, where there is direct confrontation and argumentation (Hyun, 2005). Asian cultures with Confucian influence emphasize the importance of self-control, study and education, a sense of order, harmony, and respectability in human relationships over conflict and discourse. For Filipino Americans, confronting conflict goes against deep indigenous values of kinship, *pakikisama* (getting along), and *hiya* (saving face); thus, they will often avoid conflict at all cost because of the perceived negative ramifications to themselves and their families (Jocano, 1997, 2001).

As Hyun (2005) notes, it is especially difficult for those from certain Asian cultures to publicly disagree. This is true for Filipinos, primarily because of our cultural values and our colonial history as colonized people who were taught to follow and not question. As researchers note, the dual colonization of Spain and the United States had been "a continuous process of enslavement, brutality, greed, and injustice, where native Filipinos were intimidated into submission, compelled to assume silence, were maligned in the classrooms, and taught to not think but follow" (Agoncillo, 1969, as quoted in Austria & Austria, 2005, p. xxv). These deeply ingrained beliefs drive Filipinos' attitudes and behaviors toward

106

nonconfrontation and conflict avoidance. In competitive work environments, these behaviors have yielded less-than-desirable consequences for Filipinos where they are viewed as passive and as timid followers and not leaders.

Another factor that prevents Asians from engaging in conflict is fear of failure, which can stem from a shame-based culture; according to Hyun (2005), shame-based cultures operate on the principle that your failures are not just your disappointments but are also public shame, which further reflects on your parents and perhaps even your entire community. As part of a collectivist culture and also persons of interdependent self-construal, the belief is that because you are part of the community, you let the community down with your failure. Hyun contrasts this with Western culture, which is individualistic and is quite different— Westerners may experience the same failure but see it as something unrelated to who they are as people, and they may also bounce back faster, knowing that they can correct the mistake and move on.

On the individual level, it is important for Asian Americans and Filipino Americans to recognize that quality and hard work are not the sole criteria for performance assessment. How they relate and interact with others—particularly in conflict situations—is paramount to their career development and success. Hyun (2005) notes that when observing Asians in both academic and corporate settings, it is clear that on a continuum of assertiveness, even the most aggressive and outspoken Asians fall into the "moderately assertive" (p. 31) category when compared to their non-Asian peers. It would help Asian and Filipino Americans to reframe the way they view conflict. One way is to not take conflict personally as

an attack on their person, but rather to see the conflict in relation to their role or function in the organization; this reframe allows them to remain engaged in the process without taking on the burden personally such that they become overwhelmed or too defensive (Gentile, 1996). It would also help Asian Americans to present their ideas and arguments as organizational and business needs rather than personal needs. This reframe helps them to present their case in a logical and rational fashion, the preferred ways of communicating in a Western cultural context. Asian Americans could also benefit from acquiring conflict resolution and negotiation skills, so they can have more confidence in advocating for their case and not revert to avoiding or acquiescing in conflict situations.

The workplace is riddled with conflict, and indeed, conflict is inherent in any group dynamic; conflict management and conflict resolution skills are critical in organizational work settings. For Asian Americans to succeed in the Western workplace, they can capitalize on Asian cultural values of interpersonal relations skills, collaboration, and inclusion, which are now much needed in a diverse workplace, while at the same time, learn to shift their attitudes and behaviors toward conflict and acquire skills to deal with conflict effectively.

Attitudes and behaviors toward leadership and authority. Having been in corporate organizations and now as a consultant to businesses, I have observed that Filipino Americans tend to lag behind other Asian ethnic groups, but it is not for lack of abilities, knowledge, skills, or experience. Many Filipinos are qualified and capable for greater responsibilities and higher management positions, as

evidenced by a number of high-ranking Filipinos in various settings; however, compared to the number of Filipinos in the workforce, the ratio of those in high-ranking, visible, management positions is low. Several factors influence this situation, with Filipino self-concept and attitudes and behaviors toward conflict at the top of the list. Moreover, Karnow (1989) contends,

> Filipinos have been taught since childhood to respect authority, not to rebel or to question, and they are passive, even fatalistic. The poor believe that they are destined to be poor, and the rich assume that their wealth was ordained. (p. 22)

Indeed, disinclination to pursue higher management positions is a missed opportunity for both the Filipino American people and the organizations in which they work.

In *Breaking the Bamboo Ceiling: Career Strategies for Asians*, Hyun (2005) comments on various studies confirming the low percentage of minorities including Asian Americans in the executive suites of U.S. companies. Hyun contends that Asian Americans have the same capacity for achieving success despite cultural differences. However, one possible reason for the low percentage of Asian Americans at the executive levels is that many Asian cultures tend to emphasize the importance of higher education and graduate degrees, and Asian Americans therefore may not focus enough on the business and management skills that are not taught in schools—skills that propel professionals to more senior positions and help them succeed in those positions (Hyun, 2005).

In addition, the Confucian influence found in many Asian cultures places a tremendous emphasis on respect for elders, which can profoundly reduce assertiveness in Asian employees when dealing with their bosses, coworkers, and

clients, and also affect how their colleagues interpret this behavior. For Filipino Americans, however, it is not the Confucian influence as much as it is the colonial mentality that creates fear of authority. To achieve success, it is fundamentally important that Asian Americans understand how the different cultural lenses affect the way they do business, for example, the way they present themselves, the way they interact with management and colleagues, and the way they compete every day (Hyun, 2005).

Just as it would be helpful for Asian Americans to reframe their view of conflict, it would also be useful to reframe their view of leadership as a way to overcome their discomfort or reluctance toward leadership as well as to develop their inherent leadership potential. Reframing leadership for Asian Americans involves having a broader definition of leadership—one does not have to be a CEO or have a "manager" title to be a leader. A leader can be anyone at any level, in any function, who has a vision or aspiration for a desired future, such as better working relationships among team members, improved customer service, or the achievement of personal and departmental goals. Gentile (1996) expands leadership to include any individuals "who actively work to define and refine for themselves, fair and effective and respectful models of interaction across identity differences, and who attempt to put those models into practice; he or she does not have to be the CEO of an organization to lead in this way" (p. 475). Asian Americans are sensitive to cross-cultural dynamics and can certainly be leaders in this context. Furthermore, Gentile views leadership as having the ability and the desire to learn and grow, to learn to embrace differences, to welcome

discomforting data that others may share, and to see these as opportunities for learning and growth both personal and organizational.

As Asian Americans place a high premium on family and community values, it would help them to view leadership as a way of helping the Asian community to be a more visible and powerful voice in organizations and society at large. This way, they can connect leadership to Asian cultural values rather than perceiving it as something separate from or in competition to family and community. The cultural value of interpersonal relatedness can be extended to develop partnerships and collaborations, particularly with other cultures. Leaders work with people as partners and supporters to achieve desired results—Asian Americans need to debunk the myth that leaders are solo entities, who alone must shoulder the whole burden of a family, group, organization, or community. Hyun (2005) provides a number of action steps for Asian Americans to develop and increase leadership capacity, stating that Asian Americans must: share the richness and nuances of Asian culture with colleagues, management, and other people with whom they interact; examine their unique identity as Asian Americans; and take stock of their ethnic culture, gender, personality, religion, sexual orientation, and personal values. Lastly, Hyun (2005) reminds Asian Americans that they do not have to leave their culture behind, and that although important, Asian background may be only a small part of their identity.

Summary

In light of the present research study on the impact of colonialism on the

lives of modern-day Filipino women in the workplace, the literature review

focused on three interconnected themes: colonialism, the research topic itself;

cross-cultural values, in which Filipino Americans' and Asian Americans'

cultural values are juxtaposed with Western cultural values; and organizational

development, which involves the workplace setting where impacts of colonialism

are manifested and observed, and the implications for leadership development,

diversity, and career development strategies for Filipino Americans and Asian

Americans at large.

The literature review illuminated the psychological and psycho-

sociocultural aspects of Philippine colonial history and the differing colonial

strategies employed by Spain and United States, both of which created colonial

mentality and ingrained deep-seated negative impacts on the Filipino psyche. An

amalgamation of various races, Filipino identity is complex, multidimensional,

and difficult to comprehend with the long lasting and deeply ingrained legacies of

centuries of dual colonialism from Spain and the United States. This chapter also

provided a deeper understanding of how colonial mentality is manifested in the

attitudes and behaviors of Filipinos and myself, and how those attitudes and

behaviors are exhibited in daily life and the workplace, with negative

consequences. Religion and education, the two distinct colonization strategies by

Spain and the United States, contributed to the colonial mentality prevalent

among modern-day Filipinos. The development and growth of Filipino feminism,

which plays a critical role in the ongoing transformation of Filipino consciousness in postcolonial times, continue to evolve. Today, with the Philippines being the third largest Catholic country in the world, religion continues to be a core value among Filipinos and a strong influence in their decisions and actions. Education has also had a lasting impact on Filipinos much like religion—through education, Filipinos learned the English language, which had been both a blessing and a curse.

As narrative inquiry was selected as the research methodology to learn and interpret the lives of Filipino women who immigrated to the United States, it was important to understand cross-cultural values between Filipino / Asian values and U.S. / Western values. It was also important to learn the cultural histories that impact cultural values, for example, the impact of colonialism on Filipino core values and the ways they are manifested. The literature review examined acculturation processes and the positive and negative implications for Asian / Filipino Americans, particularly in the workplace. It was helpful to consider an acculturation strategy called *biculturalism*, which Filipinos inherently yet unknowingly use to cope with the challenges and tribulations of being in a foreign land and to navigate the corporate terrain. From the literature review, I inferred connections between colonial history and colonial mentality, and success or difficulties with acculturation strategies.

Finally, the discussion turned to the workplace, the research setting from which legacies of colonialism are mostly evident but rarely discussed. Indeed, the challenge involves organizational development interventions that raise awareness

113

of colonialism and its impact on colonized people, like Filipinos, in organizations. Literature on organizational development and aspects of leadership and diversity provided insights on how the rapidly changing workforce and customer demographics are impacting organizational life. Given the complexities and challenges, diverse work groups can either be productive or counter productive to organizational success.

A lot depends on the role of leadership: research shows that active and authentic advocacy by top leaders is needed for diversity to be institutionalized and not become a one-time event, and globalization is also requiring leadership to develop multicultural competencies in order to lead a diverse workforce effectively. Leadership and diversity initiatives are critical to positive career development strategies for Asian Americans, but at the same time, Asian Americans must also take responsibility for managing and growing their careers in corporate America. Foremost is for them to understand Asian cultural values and how they are manifested in their behaviors and attitudes at work. It is also important for Asian Americans to learn and understand Western corporate values and adapt accordingly, without giving up their core values. Indeed, the changing business landscape is requiring organizations and their leadership as well as employees to learn and appreciate cross-cultural values and to develop multicultural competencies in order to grow and thrive individually and organizationally.

On a personal note, the literature research on Filipino colonialism was a catalyst for my own internal quest for enlightenment and liberation from the

114

legacies of colonialism that I had not known until this study. From this research I have come to know more and appreciate my own culture and people, a unique Asian ethnic group. Through this study, I hope to help increase awareness of colonial patterns that exist among modern-day Filipino American women as well as organizational leaders. With heightened awareness comes understanding and compassion that can lead to action—action toward enlightenment, liberation, and integration of a postcolonial consciousness that acknowledges and embraces the past and possesses the courage and power to envision a different image of what Filipino American women and men could be.

Chapter Three:

Methodology

Filipino American women by virtue of their heritage come from a colonized culture and bear the ingrained legacies of colonialism. I wondered to what extent modern-day Filipino American women living and working in the United States experienced the aftermath of colonialism, or if they were even aware of it. Thus the research question was: What is the impact of colonialism on the lives of modern-day Filipino American women in the workplace? To this end, the study focused on the lived experiences of Filipino women and used a narrative method to gather their stories and to make meaning of them.

Overview of Narrative Inquiry

This qualitative study falls in a social constructivist paradigm as the research seeks to understand the participants' lived experiences shaped by a colonized culture. With this in mind, an appropriate research methodology for first-person accounts of experiences and the telling, retelling, interpreting, and making meaning of these experiences is Narrative Inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). With Narrative Inquiry, participants recount past events and actions in their personal lives to reclaim identities and reconstruct lives. In this case, "human agency and imagination determine what gets included and excluded in narrativization" (Riessman, 1993, p. 2).

Narrative Inquiry aligns with a social constructivist paradigm as participants' stories do not mirror a world "out there"; instead, they are

116

"constructed, creatively authored, rhetorical, and replete with assumptions and interpretive" in nature (Riessman, 1993, p. 5). Personal stories are not merely a way of telling someone (or oneself) about one's life; they are the means by which identities may be fashioned (Rosenthal & Ochberg, 1992b, as cited in Riessman, 1993). Narratives structure perceptual experience, organize memory, "segment and purpose—build the very events of a life" (Bruner, 1987, as quoted in Riessmann, 1993, p. 2).

Narrative Inquiry is about accepting the uncertainty, ambiguity, and paradox inherent in stories (Vickers, 1981, cited in Brahms, 2003); ultimately, participants become the autobiographical narratives by which they tell about their lives. I found Narrative Inquiry was a "natural" research method for my study as I inquired through interviews, about the participants' past growing up in the Philippines, their present lives in the United States, and their visions for the future. As Reissman (1993) notes, personal narratives refer to talk or stories organized around consequential events where participants recount a "past time" or "world," reconfigure what happened, and often make a moral point. Narrative Inquiry is about engaging in a journey of "(re)connecting with self through (re)visiting and (re)connecting stories from the past that cross time and situation and speak to who one is becoming in the present" (Shields, 2005, p. 186). As researcher, the journey was mine as well.

For participants, narratives also feel "natural," as telling stories about past events seems to be a "universal human activity, one of the first forms of discourse we learn as children" (Nelson, 1989, as cited in Riessman, 1993, p. 3). Narrative

form is a primary way in which individuals make sense of experience (Bruner, 1990; Gee, 1985; Mishler, 1986a; all as cited in Riessman, 1993). According to Clandinin and Connelly (2000), Narrative Inquiry is "a way of representing and understanding experience; it is experience that we study, and we study it narratively because narrative thinking is a key form of experience and a key way of writing and thinking about it" (p. 18). Narrativization tells not only about past action but also about how individuals understand those actions, that is, their meaning (Reissman, 1993).

One of the areas the study addressed is the intersection between colonialism and organizational development. McClintock (2004) notes that narrative methods represent a form of inquiry that has potential for integrating narrative data into ongoing organizational processes to aid in program planning, decision-making, and strategic management. Since narrative inquiry relies on storytelling, the stories can be used to focus on particular interventions, such as diversity efforts, career planning, and employee development.

Moreover, storytelling lends itself to participatory change processes because participants make sense of their own experiences and environments (McClintock, 2004). People actually need stories to help them organize their experiences in order to create a sense of meaning about their lives (Dyson & Genishi, 1994, as cited in Brahms, 2003). Telling our stories help us not only feel a sense of belonging in a community but also may be a vehicle for creating and transforming community (Heller, 1994; Bateson, 2000; both as cited in Brahms, 2003). Storytelling offers rewards toward a greater understanding of diversity

(Blayer & Sanchez, 2002, as cited in Brahms, 2003). "Stories... like the lives they tell about, are always open-ended, inconclusive, and ambiguous, subject to multiple interpretations" (Denzin, 1989, as quoted by Wilson, 2007, p. 29).

As a Filipino woman, I found myself experiencing and exhibiting colonial patterns in my professional and personal life; as such, I located myself in the study as both a researcher and a participant. As the researcher, I regarded myself as a key instrument of the data collection process through my interviews with the participants (Creswell, 2007), and as a participant I shared common cultural background and experiences with the other participants. From this perspective, Narrative Inquiry as a methodology brings about "a collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place of series of places, and in social interaction with milieus" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 20). Moreover, Narrative Inquiry allows the researcher to more deeply understand a phenomenon or an experience, such as colonialism, rather than to formulate a logical or scientific explanation—the object of narrative inquiry is understanding (Kramp, 2004, as cited in Wilson, 2007).

Research Design

As a qualitative study, the overall research design was emergent and flexible (Patton, 2002), allowing for openness and flexibility as I engaged and understood more deeply the participants' lived experiences. As a qualitative research method, narrative inquiry allows the researcher to provide "a rich description, contextual understanding, and explanation of the person, place, or

119

event rather than observation" (Wilson, 2007, p. 26). At the same time, while the design was open and flexible, it was important to provide participants a structure from which they told their stories. Accordingly, the narrative structure followed Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) use of a three-dimensional research framework of: (a) continuity or temporality, which considers the past, present, and the future; (b) interaction, which includes personal and social; and (c) situation, which means specific place or sequence of places. The narrative structure also supported the multidirectional focus of Clandinin and Connelly (2000), namely: inward focus, which is toward the directions of participants' feelings, hopes, aesthetic reactions, and moral dispositions; outward direction toward existential conditions, that is, the environment; and backward and forward focus, which means temporality and continuity of the past, present, and future. Therefore the researcher

> asks questions, collects field notes, derives interpretations, and writes a research text that addresses both personal and social issues by looking inward and outward, and addresses temporality by looking not only to the event, but to its past and to its future. (p. 50)

With Narrative Inquiry, there is no one method of analysis; the process has to do more with "how protagonists interpret things" (Bruner, 1990, as quoted by Riessman, 1993, p. 5). As stated earlier, narrative approach gives prominence to "human agency and imagination, and is well suited to studies of subjectivity and identity" (Riessman, 1993, p. 5). In addition to the narrative structure, the research design included the following elements:

1. Research participants

2. Setting

3. Researcher

4. Data Collection and Research Techniques

5. Research Procedures

6. Findings

7. Analysis and Interpretation

8. Conclusion

Research Participants

The research participants were six Filipino American women who immigrated to the United States as adults and are working in corporate American organizations. The research participants were required to have lived in the United States and worked in corporate organizations for at least a span of five years or more, so as to have substantive breadth and depth of personal and professional experiences from which to draw their stories. They represented various levels and positions (not restricted to management) in corporate businesses and had at least a bachelor's degree.

Their role was to share their lived experiences through field texts in the forms of interviews, journals, and other forms of data that captured their stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The sample size was limited to six participants, as the study required a great deal of attention to the subtlety and nuances of the stories, the participants' idiosyncrasies, the organization of their responses, and nonverbal messages, to name a few. Moreover, Narrative Inquiry is not appropriate for "large numbers of nameless, faceless, subjects" (Labov &

Waletsky, 1967, as cited in Reissman, 1993). In addition, a sample of no more than six was appropriate as the research method was slow and painstaking.

Filipino American clients and colleagues connected me with the research participants. I knew two of the participants from previous Filipino community meetings; the other four participants were new faces. It was serendipitous that the participants represented a range of three generations of Filipino women: one Traditionalist, two Baby-Boomers, and three GenXers. Each one was truly unique in her own right. As a group, they were intrigued and interested in the research project, and overall they were very supportive and cooperative throughout the research process. Detailed descriptions of the participants are included in Chapter Four: Narratives and Findings.

Research Setting

The primary context for the study or the situation (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000) was the workplace environment of the participants. I chose the workplace because I wondered to what extent the manifestations of colonialism were exhibited in this setting, and if so, what the impacts were organizationally. I had initially planned to conduct fieldwork in the form of interviews with the participants and their managers or peers, and observations at participants' workplaces. However, five participants were not comfortable being interviewed at their work or being observed, for various reasons. Only one participant agreed to be observed at her work and also to an interview with her manager; the other interviews were conducted at her home. With the other five participants, the

interviews were conducted at various locations most convenient and comfortable for them, at participants' homes, at restaurants, at a community park, and one in my vehicle.

Researcher

I was the primary researcher for the study and conducted the fieldwork and data collection with research participants. I came into the research process as a fellow Filipino woman who immigrated to the United States as an adult and who worked in corporate America for twenty-five years, now with my own consulting practice in leadership and organizational development. My experience working with people in various capacities, asking questions, and conducting numerous interviews has enhanced my listening and relationship-building skills. Personally, as a Filipino American woman immigrant, I could relate to the participants and had my own lived experiences to share. My cultural background helped me immensely to connect and relate to the research participants; there were also times, however, when I felt my background and experiences interfered with my ability to actively listen to their stories without bias, judgment, or preconceived ideas. This awareness of self helped me to be fully present and mindful of my own behaviors throughout the interviews, which provided for a more open, comfortable, engaging, and nonthreatening environment for the participants and for an authentic connection between us.

Data Collection and Research Techniques

Field texts used in Narrative Inquiry are ways of collecting data and "of talking about what passes for data and as such are imbued with interpretation" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 93). Examples of field texts from Clandinin and Connelly include: interviews, autobiographical writing, journal writing, letters, conversation, research interviews, family stories, documents, photographs, memory boxes, and other personal-family-social artifacts. For the research study, I chose three field texts with the research participants: in-person interviews, observations in their workplaces, and journal writing. I also asked participants for additional field texts, such as photographs, newsletters about them, and personal-family-social artifacts that they felt comfortable sharing.

The in-person interviews were conducted over a series of three to four two-hour meetings with each participant. All interviews were recorded with the permission of the participants, using a digital recorder. Only one participant felt comfortable being observed at her workplace as well as having me interview her supervisor; the other five participants chose to be interviewed outside of their work environments. Three participants shared newsletters featuring them, and two shared family photographs. None of the participants had time to do journal writing.

The nature of qualitative research requires "an inquiring mind during data collection" (Yin, 2003b, as quoted by Wilson, 2007, p. 29). To this end, the interview questions were general, probing, and open-ended for the most part, to give participants more latitude to tell their stories and so that almost any question

could generate a narrative (Riessman, 1993; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Some closed-ended and specific questions were combined with open-ended ones. A self-administered questionnaire (Appendix B) was given to participants before the interviews to obtain their demographic information.

Mindful of my own excitement going into the interviews, it was important for me as the researcher to give up control and approach the interviews as conversations so that the participants felt at ease with me and with the inquiry process. Informed by interviewing guidelines (Wilson, 2007), I asked participants when they got stuck with a question, "to reconstruct, not remember; as reconstruction is based partially on memory and partially on what the participant now senses is important about the past event" (Seidman, 1998, as quoted by Wilson, 2007, p. 31).

The interviews were conducted over a series of three to four meetings, and each meeting averaged two hours in length. My goal for the first interview was to establish rapport and connection with the participant as well as to give her the context of the research study. The subsequent interviews were devoted to finding out more depth and details about the participant's lived experiences within the context of the study. I communicated with the participants on a regular basis via emails and telephone calls, and kept them informed of my progress and any action steps in the research process.

It was interesting to note that during the course of the interviews, the participants wanted to meet each other; they expressed curiosity as to who the other participants were and what they were like. To satisfy this interest, when all

the interviews were completed, I hosted a "Thank You" dinner for the participants

at a restaurant. All except one attended, and they appreciated meeting each other.

It was a memorable occasion for them and me.

After the interviews, I personally transcribed the field texts from the

recordings. I had originally planned to obtain clerical assistance for this task, but

the cost became prohibitive. I also researched digital voice transcription software,

designed to convert voice to a word document. However, the software was not

error-free and did not guarantee accuracy; it would have taken more time to verify

the data. Given these constraints, I decided to personally transcribe the interviews.

The transciption process took an average of four hours per interview. With a

minimum of three interviews per participant, it took an average of twelve hours to

transcribe each participant's data. Though the process was incredibly painstaking

and laborious, it was also immensely rewarding. As I listened and transcribed, the

participants' stories came alive for me and gave me deeper understanding and

appreciation for their lived experiences. I would recommend this time-consuming

but most enriching transcription method to any researcher of narrative inquiry.

Once the interviews were transcribed, I read and reread them for their

meaning. I analyzed and interpreted the data using the three-dimensional

framework by Clandinin and Connelly (2000): (a) continuity or time, which

represented the past, present, and the future; (b) interaction, which included

personal and social; and (c) situation, the specific place of study. According to

Riessman (1993), analyzing the data presents several aspects and challenges for

the researcher technically and personally; this was true of my experience as I

made choices and decisions regarding what to include or exclude and about the

form and flow of the analysis.

When I felt connected with the data, I wrote the participants' meta-

narratives. As researchers have noted,

> In the end, the researcher creates a metastory about what happened by
> telling what the interview narratives signify, turning it into a hybrid story,
> 'a false document;' the original story is transformed and evolves into
> another story, which includes the researcher's values and interpretations.
> (Behar, 1993, as discussed in Riessman, 1993, pp. 13–14)

I read and reread the meta narratives, and then emailed them to each

participant and asked for their reflection and feedback. I asked the participants to

review and comment on the meta-narratives to ensure the accuracy and validity of

the data from their own perspectives. Did the meta-narratives capture the essence

of their stories? Were the facts accurate? How did they feel about their narratives?

Were there any questions, issues, or concerns? Was there something they wanted

omitted? Did they want to use a pseudonym, or were they comfortable with the

use of their real names as the dissertation will be in the public domain?

Research Procedures

The research procedures, aspects of which were detailed in the Data

Collection and Research Techniques section above, consisted of activities

grouped in four phases: (a) preparation, presented in Table 2; (b) investigation,

presented in Table 3; (c) analysis and documentation, presented in Table 4; and

(d) presentation of findings, presented in Table 5. The following tables provide a

breakdown of each phase with corresponding completed activities and action

steps as well as modifications where needed. Note that additional details of

Table 2

The Preparation Phase of the Research Process

Activity	Action steps
1. Reach out to potential participants.	a. Identified clear criteria for research participants.
	b. Contacted past and current clients, colleagues, and network; shared my dissertation topic and participant criteria; and asked for potential participants.
2. Identify research participants.	a. Obtained a list of Filipino / Filipino American women who met research criteria.
	b. Made initial contact with potential participants by phone and email and discerned their qualifications and willingness to participate in the research study.
	c. Finalized the list of research participants.
3. Contact research participants.	a. Made follow-up phone calls to research participants.
	Sent invitation letters along with the overview of the research study, Informed Letters of Consent and Confidentiality, and Participant Demographic Questionnaire. Asked participants to review documents, and if they agreed, to sign LoC, complete a participant Demographic Questionnaire (see Appendix B), and send back to me.
4. Develop project management plan.	a. Developed timeline for completion and consulted with Chair on a regular basis to ensure timely and quality completion of research study.

Table 3

The Investigation and Fieldwork Phase of the Research Process

Activity	Action steps
1. Conducted fieldwork with research participants. Fieldwork planned to consist of personal interviews, observations at work, and journaling.	a. Collected completed participants' Demographic Questionnaire via email or in-person.
1. a. Conducted personal interviews.	a. Conducted in-person interviews with research participants one-on-one at the agreed upon locations, which included at participants' homes, at a restaurant, at a community park, once in a participant's office, and once in my vehicle. The locations were chosen and agreed upon by the participants and myself, and we did our best to meet where it was quiet and with no or minimal noise and interruptions. b. Connected with participants and got to know them and their personalities. It was easy to be comfortable with one another. c. Clarified theirs expectations and mine before proceeding on the journey together. d. In-person interviews were recorded using a digital voice-recording instrument. Interview questions consisted of open-ended, broad-based, unstructured questions, such as, "Tell me about a time when you first arrived to the United States," so the interviews were more like conversations that evoked participants' stories. Close-ended and / or specific questions were asked as needed, i.e., to give an example or to clarify a point. e. The in-person interviews were conducted over a series of meetings, as many as three to four meetings, to gain better depth and breadth of the participants' lived experiences. The interviews lasted an average of two hours each. There were between three and four interview meetings with each participant.

Activity	Action steps
1. b. Visited participants' workplaces and observed them in their work environments, akin to "a day in the life of" field notes.	a. Planned on conducting one or two workplace observations for each participant. However, only one participant was comfortable being observed at work, so I conducted only one work observation. The same participant was also willing to have me interview her supervisor, which I did.
1.c. Asked participants to do journal writing.	a. I asked the participants to journal, preferably after the interviews, on their experience or if they had any questions or insights. I asked them to send me their journals either by regular mail or email. However, only one participant emailed me with her thoughts after an interview and her notes were cryptic. For all intensive purposes, the participants did not write journals, perhaps because of time constraints.
2. Collected additional data from participants depending on their stories, personalities, and occupations.	a. I asked participants, depending on their personalities, occupations, and stories, for additional information or other sources of their narratives, e.g., family photos, artwork, poetry, or other media that expressed their stories. Three participants showed me newsletters, which featured them and their accomplishments. Two participants shared their family pictures. I decided to not include these data in the report.
	b. However, I do have a group photo of the participants, with the exception of one who missed the gathering. Inasmuch as the photo is not included in the dissertation material, it was an important capstone for me as the researcher, symbolizing the completion of a major milestone and the beginning of a new circle of sisterhood.
3. Met with participants one-on-one and as a group (if possible).	a. After completing all in-person interviews, I hosted a "Thank You" dinner gathering for the participants at a restaurant, since they also expressed interest in meeting each other. It was a memorable time of closure and camaraderie for the participants and me.
	b. As for the one-on-one feedback meetings, these did not take place. Instead, I emailed the meta-narratives to each participant and asked for their reflection and feedback. With one participant, we had a follow-up phone conversation.

Table 4

The Data Collection, Analysis, and Documentation Phase of the Research

Process

Activity	Action steps
1. Collected and transcribed interview data.	a. I personally transcribed field notes from all in-person interviews, the workplace observation, and the meeting with one participant's supervisor.
2. Wrote participant meta-narratives. 3. Analyzed and made meaning of the meta-narratives.	b. I read and reread the transcriptions and when I felt connected with the data, I wrote the participants' meta-narratives.
	c. The meta-narratives were emailed to each participant and I asked for their reflections and feedback and for them to review and comment on the transcriptions, to ensure accuracy and validity of the data from their own perspectives.
	d. Participants emailed me back their comments and feedback. There were minor corrections from a couple of participants, which were made.
	e. Participants' Narratives are in Chapter Four: Narratives and Findings.
	f. As for analysis, I used Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) Narrative Analysis three-dimensional framework to analyze and make meaning of the data, which consisted of:
	a) Time, represented the past, present, and the future;
	b) Interaction, included personal and social; and
	c) Situation indicated specific place or sequence of places of study.
	Overall feedback from the participants was that their narratives accurately reflected what they shared with me. One participant said she cried when she read her narrative.
	g. Personally, I was happy and encouraged by the participants' feedback.

Table 5

The Presentation of Findings Phase of the Research Process

Activity	Action steps
1. Wrote the findings.	a. Wrote the analysis and findings.
	b. Shared and emailed the analysis and findings to participants, in addition to the meta-narratives.
2. Submitted dissertation to CIIS Chair and Committee.	c. Obtained their feedback and comments. Made final edits and incorporated them in the dissertation for submission to CIIS.
3. Prepared and defended dissertation.	d. Made copies of the findings for the participants.
	e. Submitted completed draft of dissertation to Chair and committee members for their review and feedback.
4. Submitted dissertation to CIIS.	f. Submitted dissertation for Technical Review to Anna M. Fitzpatrick.
	g. Incorporated all feedback into dissertation.
	h. Submitted final dissertation to CIIS.

phase three (analysis and documentation) are included with the participants'

narratives in Chapter Four: Narratives and Findings.

The fieldwork took six to seven months: data collection through

interviews occurred over a period of four months and transcription over a period

of one and one-half months. The meta-narratives were written in a month's time,

and data analysis and findings were completed over a period of two weeks.

Overall, as challenging as it was, I managed the research activities according to

the projected timeline as much as possible.

Validity Procedures

The literature on qualitative and narrative inquiry is rich with positive and noteworthy research as well as with concerns and skepticism about validity and reliability. In quantitative research, validity depends on "careful instrument construction to ensure the instrument measures what it is supposed to measure, i.e., test items, survey questions, or other measurement tools" (Patton, 2002, p. 14). In a qualitative study, "the researcher is the instrument" (Patton, p. 14; also supported by Bentz & Shapiro, 1998; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Creswell, 2007). Therefore, the research validity and credibility lies with the researcher's skill, competence, rigor in doing fieldwork, and reflexivity (Patton, 2002).

Moreover, narratives are dynamic and do not remain constant over time. There is no reason to assume that an individual's narrative will, or should be, entirely consistent from one setting to the next. "Traditional notions of reliability simply do not apply to narrative studies, and validity must be radically reconceptualized" (Mishler, 1990, as cited in Riessman, 1993, p. 65). One way to reconceptualize validity is to consider justifiability by Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) as an alternative to traditional validity and reliability measures. Auerbach and Silverstein posit that it is inevitable for a researcher to use her/his subjectivity in analyzing and interpreting data; this was true for me as the researcher, particularly in a narrative research project such as this study. However, it is not justifiable for the researcher to impose her/his own subjectivity in an arbitrary manner, that is, in a way that is not grounded in the data. Therefore, unjustifiable use of subjectivity is in effect the interpretation of data based on the researcher's

133

prejudice and biases without regard to the participants' experiences (Auerbach &

Silverstein, 2003), and in the case of my study, without the participants'

agreement. This concept led me to present the participants' narratives in the third

person with an empathetic viewpoint rather than with a critical interpretation.

Critical analysis of the overall narratives is discussed in Chapter Five: Analysis

and Conclusion.

Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) provide additional criteria for

distinguishing between justifiable and unjustifiable, namely transparency,

communicability, and coherence. *Transparency* means that the steps by which the

researcher arrived at the data interpretation are clearly outlined, and other

researchers can easily know the steps. It does not mean that other researchers need

to agree with the interpretation, only that they know how the researcher arrived at

that interpretation. In the case of this study, the steps I took as the researcher in

arriving at the findings, themes, and theoretical constructs are clearly outlined in

the Methods section above.

Communicability means that the themes and constructs can be understood

by, and make sense to, other researchers, and to the research participants

themselves. Again, this does not mean that other researchers would have to agree

with the constructs or come up with the same constructs—it only means that the

constructs can be understood (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). I emailed the

research findings, which described the theoretical constructs, to the participants

for their review, feedback, and understanding; therefore, I believe the theoretical

constructs that emerged from my study are understandable as supported by the participants' feedback.

Coherence means that the theoretical constructs must fit together and tell a coherent story; this does not require that the story be the only possible one, but rather that the story helps to organize the data (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). The theoretical constructs in this study are coherent and fit together logically as integral components in understanding the impacts of colonialism in the lives of Filipino American women in the U.S. workplace.

Lastly, Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) offer the element of *transferability* as an alternative to generalizability, by which the authors mean that the theoretical constructs can be extended or applied beyond a particular sample, at the same time being mindful and respectful of cultural diversity. The theoretical constructs are said to be transferable, in that the overarching concepts can be found in different subcultures, recognizing that the specific content of the concepts are subculture-specific. In the case of this study, I am convinced the theoretical constructs are not limited to Asian/Filipino culture, but are in fact applicable to colonized cultures and other cultures of color, while the specifics in how, for example, colonial mentality or core values are exhibited may be different in each subculture.

Given the additional parameters of justifiability and transferability, I undertook the following procedures to increase the validity of my study:

1. I sent each meta-narrative via email to the respective participant for their review, feedback, and affirmation. This procedure helped ensure

the data represented an accurate interpretation of the participants' stories and experiences. If the researcher's reconstructions are recognizable as adequate representations, credibility is increased (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, as cited in Riessman, 1993). The participants responded with their affirmation, feedback, and corrections as needed. Overall, there was positive feedback and accurate interpretation of their lived experiences.

2. I emailed the research findings, which described the theoretical constructs, to the participants for plausibility, relevance, meaning, and understandability to the research topic. Their feedback and reactions helped ensure the accuracy and authenticity of my interpretation of their lived experiences.

3. I provided detailed information that made it possible for the dissertation committee, participants, and other interested parties to determine the trustworthiness of the research work by describing the steps I took in analyzing the findings, constructing common themes, and developing the theoretical constructs—making visible what was done in the research process in the Methods, Narratives and Findings, and Analysis and Conclusion chapters of the study.

Aware of the challenges and potential pitfalls of narrative inquiry, I researched additional literature on the methodology and various procedures for data analysis to strengthen my competency and increase my confidence in data analysis and interpretation. I also continued to deepen my capacities for skillful

interviewing, active listening, and sensitivity, through self-mindfulness

particularly during the interviews, personal accountability for the research

process, availability and transparency to the participants, and ongoing reflexivity.

Delimits of the Study

I conducted the research study over a period of six months on my own,

without the help of a clerical assistant as I had initially planned. The field texts

data came primarily from narratives of the research participants, who are Filipino

American women immigrants living and working in the United States. Data were

collected through fieldwork in the form of a series of in-person interviews and

one observation at work. The in-person interviews were recorded with the use of

digital voice recorder with permission from the participants. I personally

transcribed all the interviews, read them, and from the transcribed data, wrote the

meta-narratives for each participant. The sample size was six research

participants.

Limits of the Study

As the study is narrative, it provides insights and themes relative to

colonialism and its impact on Filipino American women, but they are not

generalizations. Moreover, though the study is about lived experiences of Filipino

American women in the workplace, the study is not about self-help methods for

all Asian / Filipino women or women of color; however, the limited data suggest

ideas for career management strategies for Filipino / Asian women in the workplace.

It is very important to note that the study does not include concepts or interventions for decolonization of Filipino / Filipino American consciousness. Additionally, though Filipino feminism, cultural values, diversity, and organizational development are addressed in the context of colonialism, the study is not about feminism, diversity, organizational development, or sexual harassment and discrimination in the workplace. Though not generalizable, the themes and insights are transparent, communicable, and coherent enough to be sources for further reflection and future study.

Other Considerations

There are two considerations that I believe are worth noting in this section. First, inasmuch as I came into the research study with years of organizational development and management experience, I considered myself a novice to the research methodology of Narrative Inquiry. Therefore I committed to deepening my skills as a Narrative Inquiry researcher through additional reading of articles and books on the methodology and the practice of storytelling, and actively listening to colleagues, friends, and strangers. I feel confident that I have fulfilled this commitment.

Second and more important, as a Filipino American woman, I was sensitive to the close-knit nature of the Filipino community in Los Angeles where the research participants live and work, the research setting. As such, I had to be

particularly mindful of the participants' backgrounds, preferences, privacy, and confidentiality needs. One participant preferred to use a pseudonym for herself and for other names of people and universities in her narrative. Going forward in presenting and sharing the findings to Filipino community groups, I need to exercise caution with the "what and how" of the findings as things could be perceived differently than intended, taking into consideration our cultural values, cultural sensitivities, and potential for colonial thinking.

Once this dissertation is published, I plan to share the findings with Filipino American community-based organizations such as Search to Involve Pilipino Americans (SIPA), the Filipino American Library, and Filipino feminist groups like Gabriela, as well as with organizations like Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics (LEAP) and Asian Pacific American Leadership Institute (APAWLI) for possible publication and inclusion in their leadership programs.

Summary

I chose Narrative Inquiry for the research methodology because I wanted to connect with other Filipino American women and directly hear from them their stories about being Filipino and how colonialism may have (or not) impacted their lives. From the literature research, I knew the impact of our colonial history on me; however, I could not make this assumption of other Filipinos. Using Narrative Inquiry gave me a process for discovering other Filipino American women's lived experiences relative to the research question: "What is the impact

of colonialism on the lives of modern-day Filipino American women in the workplace?"

Narrative Inquiry provided a structured approach to the research process as outlined in this chapter; however, as much as I followed the research procedures, the process was by no means linear or predictable. The fieldwork, which consisted of series of in-person interviews, had its own set of surprises. There were times when participants came to the interviews anxious and stressed from problems at work or personal problems they were dealing with, so that it took time before we could start the interviews. During those times, I was mindful of my own feelings and the participants' state of mind, and made sure they felt comfortable and able to go forward with the interviews. In addition, finding an appropriate location to meet was a challenge with one participant because of her work schedule.

The process was much more organic in the sense that as I transcribed the participants' narratives, I was not certain as to what the narratives would reveal and how the narratives answered the research question. However, as I reflected on and analyzed the findings from the narratives, a rich array of themes bubbled up to form theoretical constructs that I did not anticipate but that were directly linked to the research question. Throughout the research process and particularly during the interviews, the practice of mindful inquiry as described by Bentz and Shapiro (1998) was most helpful in keeping me fully present and aware of the interpersonal and emotional dynamics of the research process.

Chapter Four:

Narratives and Findings

This chapter presents the participants' narratives, the process for

organizing the findings from the narratives, and common themes from the

findings "as they are," culled without analysis. The common themes generated

three over-arching theoretical constructs, which are analyzed and presented in

Chapter Five: Analysis and Conclusion.

As the researcher, I chose to present the participants and their narratives in

the third person with an empathetic review so as remain true to their sense-

making experiences as much as possible. I felt it was important for the reader to

experience the participants as I have experienced them in order to appreciate the

nuances of their lived experiences in relation to the research topic of colonialism.

Furthermore, I was guided by literature on Narrative Inquiry and intuitively chose

to present the participants in a manner aligned with my cultural background and

sensitivities, which was to present the participants the way I experienced them so

as to preserve the integrity of their lived experience as much as possible. Later, a

critical analysis of their lived experiences along with the common themes from

the findings and theoretical constructs that emerged is presented (see Chapter

Five: Analysis and Conclusion).

Participants' Narratives

The narratives as field texts were obtained through a series of in-person

interviews that I, as the researcher, had with the participants. As mentioned in the

Methods chapter, the interviews were conducted at various locations agreed upon by the participants and myself. Though we talked on the phone about the research study, and participants expressed interest and support, I still felt nervous and awkward during the early minutes of each first meeting. My sense was that both the participant and myself tried to find a zone in which we could put our discomfort aside and come together for the intended purpose, and I was aware that as the researcher, it was my role to set a space for openness, comfort, and authenticity. It was important that I connect with them as another Filipina who was eager to know them, hear their stories, learn from them, and who was grateful for their participation in my study. It did not take long for the barriers of self-consciousness and shyness to disappear after a little small talk, I found an opening and the interviews began.

There were six participants. Following the research criteria, all six participants immigrated to the United States as adults, had worked in corporate American organizations for a minimum of five years, and had at least a bachelor's degree. Each participant was unique and had stories to tell. Some were very open and shared deeply personal experiences; in others, there was a sense of guardedness. All were easy to work with, flexible, and accommodating, and true to Filipino fashion, everyone was warm, hospitable, and dependable. The fieldwork was a rich and rewarding experience, and I learned much from each of them. It was serendipitous that the participants represented a span of three generations: one Traditionalist, two Baby-Boomers, and three Generation Xers.

All participants' names have been changed to respect their privacy and confidentiality.

As stated in the Methods chapter, the narratives follow the three-dimensional framework of Clandinin and Connelly (2000). Continuity (which signifies past, present, and future) is represented by the participants' past stories of growing up in the Philippines, their current lives in the United States as the present, and their visions and directions going forward signifying the future. Interaction is represented in the participants' social interactions and relations with others in the workplace, and place (which represents the research setting) in this study is the workplace.

Adelaida—"Makabayan" Activist

Adelaida, one of two Baby Boomers in the research group, was the first of six children born in the northern province of the Philippines. Adelaida is dark skinned with dark brown hair and big brown eyes. Diminutive in stature, she is an intellectual giant and critical thinker. She is a community organizer by heart and training, and her deep love and loyalty to the Philippines and everything Filipino is astounding and inspiring. She called herself *makabayan*, a Tagalog term meaning "of the country."

Growing up in the Philippines. Adelaida recalled her childhood years with amusement and joy. She spoke candidly about the challenges, chaos, and confusion that surrounded her daily life as a child growing up very poor with an

alcoholic father. Her mother married young and gave birth to Adelaida as a

teenager. Adelaida recalled growing up with her extended family of aunts, uncles,

and grandmother, with whom she was the closest. While in elementary school,

she walked home from school and stopped by her grandmother's house every day.

She recalled her parents had a very contentious relationship and fought with each

other a lot. She remembered growing up poor was very hard.

> There were times we went to bed hungry—there was nothing to eat—we were really poor; sometimes it was just rice and salt for dinner. It was tough in our home because my dad was alcoholic. With six kids and an alcoholic dad, it was really chaotic because when my dad would be drunk at night—it was really chaos. My mom would wake us up at midnight because my dad would be going nuts and my mom would take us to my grandmother's house ten blocks away.

With six children, Adelaida's mother did not work regularly; she did odd

jobs to help out, but it was Adelaida's father who worked full time. He painted

signage and also had a small business fixing transistor radios, and was known as

an excellent radio technician. In spite of her father's fortune, so to speak, because

of his alcoholism, Adelaida grew up poor. Adelaida remembered at an early age

helping her mother with household chores, cooking breakfast, taking care of her

siblings, cleaning house, running errands, and going to the market. During

summertime, in order to make money, she sold shaved ice and other goodies.

With her money, she bought paper, pencils, and candy and sold them to her

classmates. She always thought of how to make money because she did not have

any. Adelaida was also a sickly child. She had asthma attacks once a month.

> I remember my mom when the attacks would get really bad. My mom would rouse our neighbor who had a horse carriage at midnight and it would be raining very hard and the winds blowing hard. Our neighbor—he was a good man—would oblige. He would take his carriage and my mom and bring me to the provincial hospital—because I could not breathe.

Despite all the hardships, Adelaida had many sweet memories of her childhood in the Philippines. One that stood in her mind was during every town fiesta, her father brought all the children to the town plaza to watch *zarzuela* (a Spanish form of theatrical entertainment alternating spoken words, music, and dance) and bought them cotton candy. The other thing Adelaida really enjoyed about growing up was going to the river, where she and her siblings played in the water, caught fish, and brought mangoes and vinegar. For her it was heaven. She also remembered how much fun she had with her neighbors and playmates; on weekends, they found all sorts of things to entertain themselves.

> Somehow we would just gather together in the weekends and we would just find ways to just play—we enjoyed our youth. I also remember the times when it rained hard—everybody went out and we just enjoyed the rain—oh my God, I had so much fun growing up in the province—I would not exchange that because it was so rich—We had fun growing up though we were poor.

Adelaida recognized she was born with a competitive spirit, so while in elementary and high school, she studied hard regardless of the chaos in the house, to make sure she was at the top five of her class. In school, Adelaida was active with extra curricular activities; she attended weekly Girl Scout events and wrote for the school newspaper. Because of her family conditions, she was an introvert and had a low self-image, but she tried to excel academically. There were times when she did not go on school outings because it required spending money. She felt like a second-class citizen when she couldn't attend one conference in another city because she did not have the money.

> I found ways to go to school even without money because I really wanted to finish school, because if I could finish school, then I would get out of being poor.

145

One event that was really memorable for Adelaida was when she ran for office in the student government organization and won.

> When it was time for the election for student government, which was for the whole school and not just for your class year, I really wanted to win the election—because I said this is a test of my ability to make it in life. So I worked hard to campaign for myself. I made small flyers out of my pad paper and distributed to everybody and it paid off and I won! I was so happy! My opponent was rich—so I felt really good about myself when I won the election!

Adelaida felt strongly about her God-given drive. Adelaida attended high school on a scholarship. She remembered insisting on taking the exam even when she was having an asthma attack, and placed ninth out of only ten students who received the scholarship without which Adelaida would not have been able to attend high school.

> I believe I was born with it—It is God-given—that's the only way I can explain it. I don't want to be lazy—I have this desire to be productive—to be in the mainstream. I don't want to be sidelined.

When it was time for college, Adelaida was very clear about her goal—to go to the University of the Philippines (UP), considered the most prestigious university in the country. She believed a UP degree was the only way to get out of poverty. In her last year in high school, UP introduced for the first time a scholarship program called UP Government Scholarship, a comprehensive scholarship that paid for everything—tuition, housing, food, transportation, books. Adelaida thought this would be her passport to UP. She took both the entrance and scholarship exams. Adelaida read her name in the newspaper as having passed the entrance exams, but received no word about the scholarship. A week passed and the classes had started when she received a telegram from UP—the most important one she received in all her life.

I still remember what the telegram said—it said: Passed UP government scholarship test. Report to Registrar immediately! I was so EXCITED!! So my mom and dad and myself—we all went to UP to the Registrar's office and as they said—the rest is history. I realize that it was God's design for me to get to UP.

Adelaida's first year at UP was more challenging than she imagined. UP was a big ocean and her high school was a small pond, and she was overwhelmed. Adelaida wondered how she would make it through. Then she found a Bible study group organized by Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, which became a lifesaver. The chapter at UP, State Varsity Christian Fellowship, was student-led and Adelaida made lifetime friends within the group. Her involvement was a turning point in her life; the chapter became her community and she emerged a leader.

I stayed in the Diliman Bible Church. And that was another lifesaver for me. I was elected as the president of the Diliman chapter at a time when it was not kosher or politically correct to have women leaders.

Through the State Varsity Christian Fellowship, Adelaida was exposed to all kinds of leadership opportunities, many of which shaped her worldview and cultivated her character. At the same time her liberal UP education sharpened her critical thinking and community organizing skills and roused her national activism.

I am what I am today because of training at UP—it was very pivotal in my development as a person—the way I think, the way I approach life, the way I solve problems, would always go back to my training.

Life in the United States. Unlike many Filipinos, Adelaida never imagined herself living and working in the US.[2] She was content with her life in the Philippines teaching at UP, being a single mother, and being involved in community organizing. Adelaida got to the US by way of her maternal grandparents who were among the early Filipino migrants in the 1920s, and who gave birth to their first child, Adelaida's mother's sister, in the US. Being a U.S. citizen, Adelaida's aunt was able to petition for her siblings; Adelaida's mother got to the US, and then petitioned for all her children. By the time the petition was granted, Adelaida's father had passed away.

Adelaida did not have specific expectations coming to the US, though she knew that most Filipinos came to the US as the only option for a better life. Adelaida did not view the US as an alternative to the Philippines—when her US petition was granted in 1981, she left her teaching position at UP with a heavy heart. Adelaida arrived in the US in 1981 with her son and stayed until 1985. During that time, Adelaida pounded the streets in search of jobs to support herself and her son. Finding meaningful work was a challenge: her first job was doing clerical work for her mother's friend in the garment industry. She felt restless, displaced, and disillusioned with not being able to use her education.

In 1985 Adelaida decided to go back to the Philippines with her son for good. She was determined to finish her Master's degree and teach again at UP, where she was hired back while finishing her Master's degree in Community

---

[2] I chose to use the term "the US" for the United States in the narratives and narrative summaries, to preserve the flavor of participants' speech. Periods were not used, to distinguish between this nonstandard noun usage and the adjectival usage "U.S." standard in APA format.

Development. In 1990 when Adelaida was to be tenured as a faculty at UP, she decided to return to Los Angeles because the pollution in Manila jeopardized her son's health. Her return to the US became more challenging. She wasn't sure where to situate herself. She felt dislocated. "I had my roots and did not know where to place them. I felt like my roots were dangling—where would I go to establish myself?"

Adelaida had to put food on the table, so she took all kinds of jobs: she was a bank teller, a receptionist at an accounting firm, a salesperson with a financial services firm, and an administrative assistant in the advertising department of a painting company. One meaningful job was as a contract consultant with a nonprofit organization serving the Filipino community in Los Angeles. In this position, Adelaida conducted workshops for recent immigrants to help them acclimate in the US. She really enjoyed the project because it was about sharing life stories with new immigrants. When the funding ran out, Adelaida looked for another job, and she was hired as a field evaluator for a federally funded prevention program for two years. Thereafter Adelaida worked with another consulting firm doing similar activities. It was through these organizations that Adelaida networked with funders and heads of foundations.

> This story reflects my determination to be part of mainstream. If all I can only do in America is admin work, forget it—I might as well go back to the Philippines. All odds were against me—because I wasn't trained here.

Being Filipino. Adelaida referred to herself as a GI meaning Genuine Ilokano (coming from the Ilocos province), an acknowledgement of being a true-blooded Filipino. Growing up poor in a rural province limited Adelaida's

exposure to foreign and material goods. As the firstborn of six children, she was expected to help her parents in every way. These circumstances shaped Adelaida's cultural and family values. At an early age Adelaida felt her strong desire to be involved in community transformation and development; she remembered mobilizing her classmates in high school to plant and beautify their school. Her urge to help others came from seeing her mother help their neighbors.

> A neighbor would come and ask for rice—and my mom would give half of whatever we had in spite of our poverty. I remember her doing that and in many ways she was influential in this giving and sharing.

> Religion was also an important part of Adelaida's life. Her involvement with Inter-Varsity Fellowship, a more conservative movement, greatly influenced her discipleship, evangelism, and personal growth as a Christian. Growing up Catholic, Adelaida participated in many religious activities such as processions during Holy Week, Mass on Sundays, and Novenas on Wednesdays, and she listened to Christian programs over the radio. To her, God was always present; despite the poverty, she felt all her needs were met by God.

> I think because of my being poor, I really had to rely on God to provide, so I think my being poor contributed to my staying close to God—because I didn't have anything else but God. I had to rely on him otherwise I would be in trouble—what would I do?

Adelaida felt God had told her to be something and she knew what it was: she felt her calling was to help communities, and the Filipino nation in particular. At the time of the interview Adelaida was working on getting back to the Philippines to be part of some major project or movement to help solve the country's problems. She is restless. She knows the US is not her place; she never felt settled in Los Angeles, unlike her siblings who felt the US was their home.

150

Family was another important value to Adelaida, and one of the things she regretted was being away from her family while going to UP; her family was in the province so she couldn't share her experiences with them, and this she regretted the most. Her dream was to make a million dollars so she could be a philanthropist and be a big player in the Philippines so she could bring about social change.

Adelaida was shocked to see third-generation poor Filipinos in the United States who lived in what Adelaida called "nasty" apartments and worked doing odd jobs. Filipinos in the US are very focused on succeeding financially, so they work two jobs; they maintain their close ties to the mother country by sending money and other goods. Adelaida felt that Filipinos have both feet in two countries because of economic realties.

She saw Filipinos were not politically-minded as other cultures, such as Hispanics; she considers Filipinos driven and competitive but not necessarily entrepreneurial like Chinese, Koreans, and Vietnamese people.

> They're [Filipinos] just here to earn a living, just to save for retirement. They're here to buy a nice car or buy a house. Most of them are very conservative.

Adelaida thought being a Filipino woman was a good thing because Filipinos are very charming, winsome, and engaging—she would not have it any other way. Adelaida believed she was able to persevere and stay on course because Filipinos are survivors, regardless of how difficult the circumstances are. For her, coming to America heightened her awareness of being a Filipino.

> I thank God I was born a Filipino—when I go home I feel like I am human again. I feel like I am alive again—because Filipinos are different—we're

so unique in many ways, the way we carry ourselves, the way we approach life, the way we look at the world—it's so different.

She believed Filipinos have core values, even those who have been in the US for over fifty years; they may have acclimated to Western values to survive, but deep down they still have Filipino values. She felt sad when Filipinos hated or distanced themselves from their own ethnicity. Her strong desire to go back and be part of something big will not go away; for Adelaida, it was not about politics—it was about helping communities.

Cultural values at work. Adelaida's core values were seen at work in the way she approached her function and the way she engaged with people. During performance reviews, Adelaida's manager always commented on Adelaida's ability to work with different kinds of people. He had a saying that "Adelaida levitates," because no matter how difficult the situations, Adelaida managed to rise above it all. She did her work without getting on the bad side of anyone. She approached her work as a community organizer and was inclusive.

Adelaida encountered cultural differences and conflict between her desire to be inclusive and Western society's tendency to be individualistic. She found herself reacting to people who cared mostly about their ideas and not the group. She also observed that some of her team members had difficulty listening to other peoples' ideas. Adelaida dealt with this situation by not attaching herself to her ideas. "Okay, here's my two cents—so I try to separate myself from the idea—take it or leave it is fine. So far, it has worked for me—it opens up dialogue."

Adelaida has felt discrimination at work many times from various people, though she has always dismissed it. She knew consultants, academics, and others initially discounted her because she was a woman of color and diminutive in stature. In meetings, she was often ignored or dismissed by people who did not realize who she was. However, their behaviors changed once they heard Adelaida and discovered her role and influence.

> I think people assume that because I am small and dark and I don't look like them—I have inferior ideas—that's my feeling—they don't see me. I'm not seen. It doesn't really bother me because in my mind, it's their loss.

Impact of colonialism on life and work. Adelaida described colonialism as being captivated by anything Western, anything American: it was always seeing American as better than anything else. She believed colonial mentality was alive and well, and the reason why Filipinos came to America, because the Philippines is poor. She is not sure if the new generation felt differently. She certainly saw it in her mother's and her siblings' generations—it was very strong.

> It's part of the Filipino psyche. It's how we are defined, how we were raised as Filipinos. The media plays a role—the history is so ingrained. Because we're a poor country and the way they see the Philippines is really 'yak'!

She mentioned a niece who was in her mid-20s and raised in Hawaii, whose Filipino friends did not want to be known as Filipinos. Adelaida could not believe this attitude. She thought of creating an educational DVD for Filipino children in the US and in the Philippines, focusing on basic things about the Philippines and their Filipino heritage. Adelaida believed that if the children were educated about their heritage, they would grow up stronger and more competitive

in life. She talked about young Filipinos in the US who think and act like Americans; once they entered college, they were exposed to many perspectives and realized they were not Americans, yet they did not feel like Filipinos either, which was confusing.

Adelaida lamented witnessing many examples of colonial mentality among Filipinos, such as not wanting to speak the native language, Tagalog. When she was a bank teller, she had Filipino customers with whom she was eager to talk in Tagalog. They answered her in English; she figured they did not want to be known as Filipinos. To Adelaida, this was the worst manifestation of colonial mentality—wanting to be like an American by behaving and acting like an American.

She acknowledged the high value placed on anything imported by many Filipinos—as long as it was made in the US, it was seen as good product, but if it was made in the Philippines, it was inferior. She strongly upheld the fact that the US had minimal impact on her, though she liked American movies.

In the workplace, Adelaida was not clear whether Filipinos acted the way they did because of colonialism, because of survival, or because they were just trying to be good workers.

On the whole, Adelaida saw a need to change consciousness among Filipinos because very few recognized the existence of colonial mentality and the challenges of coming from a colonized culture. She thought it was not healthy for Filipinos to not recognize colonial mentality, because they would not then see problems associated with it and the connection between having a colonial

mentality and its relevance in their daily lives. As an example, Adelaida

mentioned that Filipinos are generally quiet in discussions because they do not

believe that what they have to say is important or significant.

> There is a feeling of disempowerment. For example, we once had a script
> called Ali Bata. But when we were colonized, they took that away from
> us. That's why colonialism—the occupation of US in a way has its
> benefits—but in general—it means in my mind—DEATH of a culture
> because when you impose your culture on others—it means DEATH of
> the colonized culture—it's a violent process.

> She thought it would take another generation to have a slight shift in

consciousness.

> In my mind, the colonial mindset will disappear if you now have a mindset
> that believes in the inherent goodness of being a Filipino. But as long as
> the thinking persists that I am inferior, I'm not as good, that my white
> colleagues are better than me—I don't think we'll make a dent on the
> problem of colonial mentality.

The future. Having been in the US for almost twenty years, Adelaida sees

no significant changes with Filipinos in the near future. For her, the same patterns

still exist among Filipinos: they come to the US to find work; in the first five

years, they buy a car; they save for a down payment on a house; they buy a house;

they work 20-30 years and raise a family; and they don't engage in political

issues, but engage only in social activities.

On the other hand, Adelaida thinks the Filipino population in the US will

grow with the migration of more Filipino teachers, computer technicians, and

other tourists because of the continuing poverty conditions in the Philippines and

the pervasive colonial mentality of thinking the US is the Promised Land.

For herself, Adelaida sees her future back in the Philippines, and plans to give up life in the US mainstream to pursue her dreams. She feels herself at a plateau in her career, and wants very much to be part of national development efforts in the Philippines.

> I reached a plateau. Why am I here? Just to receive a paycheck? For what? What's the meaning of that—I think what's meaningful for me is really to go back and to be a part again of all these efforts in the Philippines. It's a rich heritage, our culture, our fabric—it's so rich and though I've seen many places in the Philippines, I feel I've just scratched the surface. It's time to go back. There's this nagging calling within me that I have to follow.

Adelaida has many dreams and visions for the Philippines: helping overseas workers; being involved with more job creation; and helping emerging small and medium-sized entrepreneurs to expand their businesses and partnering with them. Adelaida believes there are so many more opportunities in the Philippines for young and educated Filipinos other than working at call centers.

As for Filipino women, Adelaida would like to see them be more progressive in their thinking instead of being conservative and simply accepting the status quo. She would like them to see beyond their family needs, broaden their sights, and give back to community and global needs.

> I think ultimately the question for everybody is—what is my relevance to the community or society, because we were designed to live as a community. Nobody is designed to be alone—God designed humanity to exist as a community.

At the same time, she recognizes the reality of poverty, injustice, and marginalization of many Filipinos. Her hope is for Filipino women to start seeing how they can help the Philippines become a stronger nation and contribute to nation-building. One other wish is for Filipino women to organize themselves and

maximize their opportunities through a nationwide Filipino women's organization. Adelaida urges Filipinos to go back to understanding their cultural identity and not get jaded when they see corruption, poverty, and injustice. Adelaida believes there is so much about being Filipino, and that once Filipinos see and believe in this value, colonial mentality will start to fade away. Adelaida urges Filipinos in the US and the Philippines to find common ground and leverage the country's cultural diversity. She likes to use the quilt metaphor for Filipinos.

> What's a good metaphor for different but comes together like a quilt—The quilt is not a monotonous pattern—it comes together beautifully. One of the things I learned from my community organizing work is that you have to work with what you have—that's a very simple formula but very effective.

Among the research group, Adelaida was by far the participant with the least attachment to the United States. Her liberal education from the University of the Philippines tremendously shaped her worldview of Filipino nationalism and her strong disassociation from Americanism. She showed the deepest understanding of colonialism, and its impact was not as evident in Adelaida compared to the other participants. Nonetheless, she still followed her mother's wishes in moving to the United States. She also avoided conflict much as the other participants did, and though she was capable, she did not pursue higher levels of management or responsibilities in her chosen field.

Anna—Beauty Queen with a Heart

Anna, one of three Generation Xers among the research group, was born in Olongapo City, Philippines. She was third of four children and her parents were

both doctors; her family immigrated to the United States in 1988 when Anna was eighteen years of age. Anna is an oncology nurse at an oncology center.

A beauty queen since childhood, Anna is in her late thirties with long brown hair, bright brown eyes, and a fair complexion. Being *mestiza*, Anna always stood out among her dark-skinned classmates. Her maternal grandmother was Spanish American and her upbringing was influenced by both Spanish and American cultures.

Growing up in the Philippines. Anna described her growing up years as typical. Her mother worked in the family clinic, while her father, also a practicing physician, was home with the children most of the time. As with other middle-class Filipino households, Anna grew up with servants, though she and her siblings were still expected to help with household chores. Anna went to St. Joseph's Catholic School from elementary to high school. After school, she went to her mother's clinic and helped out; at an early age, she was exposed to medicines and a lot of U.S. servicemen.

> Now that I think of it—it was not really the most conservative atmosphere because dealing with military guys coming [to the clinic] for some kind of STDs [sexually transmitted disease] and I used to be the one—Mom would make cultures to find out what kind of disease and I was the one to bring the dishes of cultures to the lab.

Olongapo City was the site of a U.S. Navy base, and Anna felt it was pretty normal to see bars and a busy nightlife. When the U.S. Navy ships came in, the whole city came alive and got busy; this meant more money, more business,

and access to imported goods, like chocolates. Anna remembered these as good

times.

> I really liked this as a young child—had fun, went to the base to eat there.
> I remember that food tasted better there. Had Baskin Robbins ice cream. I
> remember saying, "That's really good ice cream." Hamburgers were
> better.

> Being close to the U.S. Navy base, it was normal for Anna to see

American servicemen at her mother's clinic getting diagnosed and receiving

antibiotics. She always wondered and felt awkward when she saw American men

going out with prostitutes who looked so young. She had classmates whose

parents worked for the base; it was a big thing when they got supplies, especially

pens and pencils that had "Property of US Government," which had that imported

feeling. "It felt kinda neat. You want to use that stuff because you think it's

better."

Overall, Anna did not experience any major challenges growing up. With

both parents as doctors, they were financially well off. One thing memorable for

Anna was being a popular muse and beauty queen—from elementary to high

school and through college. She described herself as shy, quiet, and pretty, and

because of her fair complexion, she was elected as muse rather than for other

school officer positions. Soon her beauty queen status carried into the community,

specifically for fundraising purposes.

> I was forced into a beauty competition, which was really a fundraising for
> Ms. Olongapo—I was 14—I hated it but my mom said I had to do it
> whether I liked it or not. I won that contest in 1983 or 84. I hated the
> whole thing.

Though she did not like being in parades, she liked being known as Ms. Olongapo; this was a big honor in Filipino communities, and in fact, a swimming pool in their city was named after her.

She recalled her Catholic education as very regimented—strict with school uniforms and all kinds of rules for boys and girls. Priests and nuns ran the coed school. What stood out for Anna from St. Joseph's was a lot of punishments.

> If you didn't do your homework, you stayed out in the sun. Teachers threw your notebook if you didn't do your homework—pretty cruel. I remember in grade school—one teacher would hit you with a ruler.

No one particular person influenced Anna. Her parents both being doctors and the time spent at her mother's clinic made an impact on Anna. Anna described her mother as the "alpha dog"—head of the pack. Her father was the nurturer of the two and the parent to whom Anna was closer because he spent more time with the children. Both parents were active in the medical community, which influenced Anna's volunteerism and community activism.

Unsure of whether she was going to pre-med or not, she enrolled in pre-dental school after she met a man who was taking up dentistry. Anna was in her third year of pre-dental school when she received the petition to go to the United States. Anna was to stay in the US for a couple of months just to get her green card, then return to the Philippines to continue her schooling. Anna and her sister left for the United States in April 1988. She talked vividly about her first trip to the US.

> Took Japan Air Lines. Stopped in Japan—so impressed because they had cherry blossoms coming out. It was April. Like it was going from a black and white world into color. Everything was so vibrant. More so when I landed in LAX. When I got out of the airport—wow! It was so airy and

colorful compared to the Philippines! That's how I felt. I remember that the first time.

Life in the United States. Deep inside, Anna felt she and her sister were

not going back and this was the last time they would see their house again.

> But when I came here I was pregnant and didn't tell my parents. My parents found out I was pregnant when they got here like a month later. So my parents said—the guy was left there in the Philippines. My parents said to stay here—you're not going back anymore. It was through my diary—I had a diary and my mom noticed I was acting—very to myself, very sad—that's what clued her in to looking at my diary—she knew I had a diary. She saw the paper in there—my pregnancy test. That's when all hell broke loose for me for two years. She got so mad at me. That was May 1988—then she left—she left me here with my two brothers. She was so mad at me—she didn't leave me any money. The first two years here were hard—really hard. Mom punished me by telling me—"you're on your own now."

Anna stayed with her brothers who had come to Los Angeles two years

prior. With no money, she looked for a job, which she had not done before in her

life; she wanted to continue school but could not because she was still waiting for

her green card. She went to an employment agency and got different part-time

jobs: she had a job as a stock person for a department store and after a few

months, she worked as a customer service representative for a carpet store for a

few months until the store closed down. She was the last employee to go.

> I was the last employee—they did not want to let go of me, because I was a single mom at 18; they felt bad for me and so it was just my boss and me until the door closed on the last day.

When the carpet store closed, Anna was seven months pregnant with no

medical insurance. A cousin told her to look into social services. Anna got into

the system: she went on welfare for a year, though she did not receive food

stamps. In December 1988, Anna had her baby, Alexandra, in the car, as she did

not get to the county hospital in time. Her father and cousins were with her. In the delivery room, the doctor said something to Anna that became her destiny: "You should go to nursing. You should take up nursing. You're so young. There's a nursing program here at the County. You should look into it."

Anna remembered that moment, and in 1992 she started the process of getting the prerequisites for nursing, which took two to three years to complete. She finally ended up at a state university and went to nursing school full time; it took another three years to finish her Bachelor's degree.

In 1991, life changed for Anna when she met her husband through a friend. By then her daughter, Alex, was three years old. To Anna, her turning point was meeting her husband, who supported her through nursing school—for her, it was destiny. Anna graduated from the nursing program in 1998 and had been working as a nurse since.

As an oncology nurse, Anna was working with 100% cancer outpatients who are ambulatory. Prior to her current job, Anna worked for a chemotherapy clinic. She prayed for a job closer to home, where she would no longer give chemotherapy and would have health benefits. Anna got her wish—her job today—with a small price to pay.

> Had to take a pay cut when I first took this job. I came from a private practice office who was paying me a lot of money—so the motivation for taking this job was to be closer to home—and eventually really to stay in oncology nursing because I realize I do help people at the most important point in their life—not probably the most important but one of the very difficult times in their life. It's a unique position. It's the best decision in my life—the best thing I did in my life.

Anna saw a variety of patients from all cultures. She provided them with education about the side effects of cancer treatments, how to manage the side

effects themselves, and when to call the doctor. I observed Anna do an intake with a woman with breast cancer who was accompanied by her husband and sister. She was gracious, methodical, and thorough; she had an easy way about her that made the patient comfortable.

Because Anna lived and worked in the same community as her patients, one drawback was seeing them in the mall, bookstore, or grocery store—sometimes this made her feel awkward. Anna loved her work and patients loved her because she went out of her way to help them; most patients called Anna before they called their doctor because they felt comfortable with her. Her manager, described Anna this way:

> Anna is high achieving and unusually caring. She has excellent training background and high ability. Takes initiative. Best person to work with. She takes active role. As an example, she made arrangements for spiritual care, where there was none two years ago. She proactively contacted chaplains for patients.

The road to oncology nurse had not always been smooth for Anna. Her first job as a bone marrow transplant nurse was emotionally hard. Anna said that by the time a cancer patient got the transplant, they were knocking on death's door—it was the last hope. Anna was in that job for five tough years, and she eventually burned out.

> The most challenging part—the first few years—for me—I was burning out fast—seeing all those people dying—coding, crashing, people with high fevers like 105 that would not go down—people just dying and couldn't do anything about it. I've seen horrible deaths—most challenging nursing job I've ever had.

From this hospital, Anna went to outpatient care and gave chemotherapy to cancer patients, which to her was a lot less intense because the patients were not as sickly as the bone marrow transplant patients. However, she did not really

like giving chemotherapy every day because of the chemicals, so she left the chemo clinic for her present job. Her challenge at the time of the interviews was how to accept death as part of life and be sensitive, rather than jaded or numbed.

Anna always wanted to get a Master's degree in nursing, and talked about it in her undergraduate graduation speech. However, she has not pursued this dream because she thought an advanced degree would put her in an administrative role away from patients. She liked working closely with patients and caring for people, and believes patients come first. "There's no other job where you hear— "you saved my life"—where else would you hear that other than this or other medical profession?"

Being Filipino. Anna was proud to be a Filipino, and when she told people of her ethnicity, she always received good remarks. Anna embodied the Filipino cultural value of love of family; as the mother, she was the pillar that held the family together. Growing up in the Philippines, she saw how women were respected and revered. She saw her role as a mother and caretaker of the family, and she liked that her husband and children were also focused on the family. She admitted to being clannish, frequently participating in large family celebrations and gatherings. Her manager commented on Anna's love of family and that she was constantly doing some kind of party or celebration for her family.

> I remember in the Philippines when we would have celebrations at my dad's province, it was always a big feast—we had so much fun! I think that's part of being a Filipino—to celebrate and to spend time with family and friends.

She and her family belonged to a ministry in their community with many

Filipinos. She felt Filipinos were warm and she liked them a lot, feeling that there

was great kinship among them. However, she was aware of Filipinos' propensity

for gossip; for Anna, good gossip was fine, but she downplayed negative gossip.

Religion was an integral part of Anna's life. Baptized Catholic, she

attended Mass on Sundays, went to confession regularly, and went to retreats as

part of the school curriculum. Anna prayed and conversed with God a lot, and

more so since coming to the United States.

> Prayer is the only thing that carried me through my toughest times here in
> the US—the first few years where tough. I came here I was pregnant with
> my first one—and my parents did not know that at the time. The only
> thing that helped me through that was my faith and being close to family.

Cultural values at work. Anna's Filipino cultural values of family, faith,

and compassion were evident in how she related with her patients. She noticed

that patients who were non-Asians often came for consultation by themselves,

whereas most Asian patients came with family members; she felt sad for those

patients who didn't have family members with them and had to bear the tragic

news alone. Cancer treatment is a big ordeal that is scary for most people, and

when she saw patients who were alone, her heart ached for them. She wanted to

do more.

> I see patients suffering all the time and you feel it—even if they don't tell
> you—even if they're not saying anything—I could feel it. It's just the
> nature of my job.

Anna saw quite a few Filipino patients with breast cancer. Some of them

never saw a doctor, thinking it would go away or be healed if they just prayed

about it; she got mad at them, though she did not show it. She spoke one Filipino

woman whose breast was already eaten up by cancer for two years.

> I was almost mad at her! The husband was there. I wanted to ask the husband—why did you not? But I didn't. She just said—she knew something was wrong—she was in denial—she was fatalistic about it—if it was something that would take her life—so be it—she was praying about it until it got so uncomfortable, odorous, and painful. They won't talk about it—you know how Filipinos are—like to sweep things under the rug and not put it out in the open—very cultural.

At work Anna was warm and hospitable, which she acknowledged are

definitely the Filipino in her. She organized get-together events like birthdays,

potlucks, or once-a-month lunches for the staff. She made sure her coworkers as

well as her patients were comfortable. She usually gave out samples, especially to

patients she felt sorry for. Though it was hard for her, she was up front with

patients when hospice was the next step. She tried hard to please people, which

backfired on her a few times—because her patients had access to her, some called

for every little problem, even when it was not within her area.

> I don't mind going out of my radiation nurse role. However, it is kind of dangerous in a sense of—instead of going to the hospital or calling their doctor, they call me because they trust me so much.

Anna regarded herself as very detail-oriented while some of her coworkers

were not; this frustrated Anna because she followed through on things, almost to a

point of annoyance to other people. She noticed another Filipino coworker was

also detail-oriented and attributed this to a rigorous Filipino education. There

were times when she saw coworkers disregard patients' complaints and patients'

feelings got hurt; she talked to her coworkers and asked them not to treat patients

that way. Anna appreciated her job because of the psychosocial support she has

with patients.

Impact of colonialism on life and work. Anna's maternal grandmother was

Spanish American, so she was exposed to Spanish influences. She heard many

Spanish words growing up, though Spanish was not spoken in her immediate

family; she grew up being told that they were *mestizas.*

> That we're kind of higher class than darker Filipinos—like we're mestizas
> that's why you're so light—we're some special kind of Filipinos—this
> was inferred, just understood. There was a connotation that was better—
> higher society.

As for American influence, growing up near a U.S. Navy base

environment, there was a sense that money flowed in with the ships. There were

Welcome banners, and Americans were very visible for big gatherings like the

beauty pageants. They were very much welcomed; they were the bread and butter

of the town.

> When I won the Miss Olongapo contest, the escorts were all marines. The
> guest of honor was the Admiral of the ship. High-ranking officers sat next
> to the Mayor. They were very visible. Anything imported was supposedly
> better, like chocolates, chips, and beauty products. When you see the bar
> code it's imported, you think it's better. It's colonial mentality.

Anna grew up watching American television shows, and she believed this

influenced much of her thinking that life in the US was so much better.

> I knew at a young age that I was not going to spend my life forever in the
> Philippines—I knew I was going to go eventually in the US—I had that
> notion that my life is going to be better in the US and then as far as goods
> and food, and everything else is better because it was imported.

Having been in the United States for more than twenty years, Anna now

reflected on colonial mentality as brainwashing that everything imported was

better. She claimed that was not true now. Anna acknowledged that she herself

exhibited colonial mentality because of how she felt about everything imported,

including life in the US, as being better. She saw an advantage of having been once under American rule and being able to speak English, though the accent may still be there. Overall, Anna did not see anything wrong coming out of a colonized culture.

Anna respected authority and believed that whatever her manager said was fine with her. Anna's current manager liked her a lot because Anna was different from her predecessor, and Anna did whatever her manager asked of her—she did not disagree.

> I treat my manager like above me—a superior and that when she asks my opinion, I would tell her—it's up to you because you're the doctor, you're my boss—whatever you say you want me to do, that's what I'll do. I know she appreciates this a lot.

Anna feared authority, which she thought came from her parents and school. She talked about the punishments at school, which included squatting under the sun if you did not bring your homework, or being slapped with a ruler on your hand or backside, or getting pinched in the ear, having your hair pulled, or being handcuffed to the flagpole. Anna never got any of those punishments; nonetheless, they made a mark. She also acknowledged that her politeness and fear of authority had downsides. She was not vocal about things she did not agree with, and sometimes she did not say no to extracurricular activities even when she needed to. As for other Filipinos, one thing Anna recognized as colonial mentality was the emphasis on having brand names, like wearing designer outfits from head to toe. This bothered Anna a lot; she admitted being guilty of liking brand names too, though she did not feel that she was excessive.

The future. Anna planned to stay in the nursing field for some time, as her children were still in school; at some future point, Anna planned to volunteer for nonprofit groups like the American Cancer Society. One thing Anna wanted to change was being self-critical and her tendency to constantly compare herself to others—a challenge for her, having been raised to always look good for other people.

As for Filipino American women, Anna wished for them to continue being good role models for other Filipino women in the United States and in the Philippines. She wanted Filipino women to instill in their children love and respect for elders and not to forget their roots. She knew Filipinos were smart and friendly people and therefore used these traits to establish good relations with other cultures. She wanted Filipinos to be proud of their own cultural heritage and to not be ashamed to share it and educate others about the deep love for the Catholic faith.

Anna embodied many of the Filipino cultural values of love of family, respect for authority, and hard work. She also recognized that growing up in a city with a U.S. Navy base had inculcated in her a colonial mindset that greatly influenced how she saw the world. Fear of authority (a strong tenet of Spain's colonizing strategy) and conflict avoidance were beliefs that drove Anna's behaviors at work, which have not necessarily impacted her negatively; however, her manager mentioned these as development areas for Anna to work on.

Marilyn—Renaissance Woman

An American missionary couple who adopted Marilyn gave her the name. Marilyn lived with the adoptive missionaries for a year but the adoption did not formally take place, and therefore Marilyn did not have the necessary papers and passport. When the couple finished their missionary work and were ready to go back to the United States with Marilyn, her mother, grandmother, and extended family had second thoughts about the adoption. They took Marilyn back.

Marilyn, a GenXer, is in her late forties with brown eyes and long light brown hair. She considers herself blessed, especially by her having three sons. Her stories reflect someone who sees the glass half full rather than half empty.

Growing up in the Philippines. Marilyn was born an only child but grew up with a very large extended family. For her it was the best of both worlds because she had many cousins to talk to and play with, but at the same time she could go home and be alone in her own space when she wanted. Being around aunts, uncles, and cousins, Marilyn had many beautiful memories of her childhood like going to the beach, getting together on Sundays and holidays, going out of town as a group, and many activities typical of Filipino Spanish families.

> I was fortunate in a sense that I grew up in a very large extended family— so I grew up very close to my cousins—and I never experienced being an only child because I had many cousins—so I always had people to play with and talked to. At the same time I had the advantages of an only child in that I always came home to my own room, always had my own things—it was the best of both worlds.

In addition to her extended family, Marilyn was fortunate to have a lot of friends both in high school and college; being an only child, growing up around different people was an opportunity that helped Marilyn later in life.

> I think I was very fortunate because I also had a lot of friends—great group of high school friends and great group of college friends—I've always been blessed in my ability to relate to people.

Baptized a Catholic, Marilyn went to private Catholic girls' schools from elementary to high school. Most memorable for Marilyn were her high school years at St. Theresa College, which was also her mother's alma mater. At St. Theresa, two programs in particular had significant impact on Marilyn: social work with different institutions, and an individual instruction program for select, high potential students.

Every Friday during the four years of high school, Marilyn and her classmates were bussed to different institutions to do social work in the community. Marilyn's group was assigned to Hospicio de San Jose, an institution for orphaned children; the students were encouraged to stay with one institution to show commitment to and form a bond with the children. Marilyn recalled the time when Hospicio de San Jose burned down, twenty years later—she was deeply impacted by the incident.

> When Hospicio de San Jose burned down twenty years ago—I was really impacted—I cried even if I didn't know any of the kids there anymore—I was still impacted, especially, having been adopted, having gone through something, being able to identify to some extent.

The individual instruction program was an experimental program for select, high potential students, which Marilyn participated in. It was a form of individualized, self-paced, self-managed learning. Marilyn liked being part of the

171

individual instruction program. She went further on her own and felt confident

within herself.

> What that did was it taught me to teach myself—so even if I had
> opportunity to work at various different fields, I can walk and feel
> confident into an assignment and learn it. I will create my own
> curriculum—what is it that I need to know, how do I go about learning it
> and have the initiative and discipline to address that.

These two school programs had tremendous impact on Marilyn. She credited her

education at St. Theresa College as most influential to her worldview and values.

> The most influential determinants in terms of who I am today—I would
> say my education at St. Theresa's—those four years and that kind of
> program really made a huge impact on my worldview and what I think is
> important.

One of the more memorable times during her high school years was

Marilyn's strong connection to one particular nun who taught philosophy and had

Parkinson's disease; Marilyn recalled having long discussions with the nun on

philosophy, existentialism, and spirituality. It was during this time that Marilyn

felt a strong desire to explore spirituality, and she spent many hours in the school

chapel. One other influential teacher for Marilyn was her mother's teacher who

taught students to question and always ask—why. She imprinted in their minds to

not just focus on what happened, but more importantly to ask why it happened.

This made a deep impression on Marilyn.

It was not all serious matters with Marilyn; she admitted doing all kinds of

wild and crazy activities that many other teens did at that age. Marilyn always

pushed the envelope and stretched the boundaries—she cut classes, jumped over

fences, and was the ringleader of her group.

> Of course, I also did the other stuff kids do—I drank, I smoked, I
> partied—I disobeyed almost all the rules that were there. At the same time,

I kept good academic grades—I was also exploring the other side of life. I was involved in a lot of sports—very active—I was very competitive—I have a social personality—But I also had a more quiet side and sometimes, I would just disappear from the large group and be by myself.

After high school, Marilyn went to the University of the Philippines for college. However, she did not finish at UP because she got married and became pregnant.

Marilyn's maternal grandmother took care of her while she was growing up and was a big influence in her life; Marilyn's mother, who was then single, was often away at work. Marilyn admired her grandmother very much.

My grandmother was very giving, very quiet—I don't think I ever remember her saying anything negative about anyone else. I always admired her—she didn't have a high school education but she was smart in ways not academically—she couldn't probably spell correctly—but she was smart in that she understood people—she understood life.

Marilyn learned much about life values from her grandmother and was particularly close to her; when she passed away, Marilyn was at her bedside. Two pictures were always with Marilyn: one of her three boys and the other of her grandmother.

Marilyn's mother, on the other hand, was an interesting challenge in Marilyn's life. She saw many similarities with her mother, something she was reluctant to admit.

My mom was interesting—my mom and I were probably very similar— although I probably would not want to admit it—my mom was very driven, very smart. She suffered from mental instability—she died very young at 44. She smoked a lot and died of emphysema. Her personality was very volatile. I was most of the time the parent—had more of a mature sense than she did.

As for her father, Marilyn never met him. Growing up without a father was hard for Marilyn, particularly given the Filipino culture.

It was uncomfortable—people would ask and I have to tell them. After a while, especially in Filipino culture, people are not always tactful. At times I wish I had a dad—but I've been mostly a practical person. I always felt God's presence in my life—and turned to him as my father.

Life in the United States. Marilyn and her husband came to the United States when she was seven months pregnant; they wanted their first child to be born in the US to give him opportunities later on in life. They had planned on returning to the Philippines after the birth; however, the conditions in the Philippines were unstable, so they decided to stay. They lived with her husband's parents in the beginning, along with his aunt and grandmother: there were six adults and a baby in a two-bedroom, one-bath house. The living arrangement was a major adjustment for Marilyn along with doing housework and caring for a newborn baby. "I cried and felt like going back home but that was not an option. We just toughened it out. Went to work and finished college here."

The first two years in the US were really hard for Marilyn. She stayed because of her marriage. She also described herself as naïve, unaware, and unprepared—not knowing how to drive, she took public transportation to get around, which was an eye-opening experience. It was very tough for Marilyn to adjust to a completely different way of life.

My first two years here—I hated it. Yes, the first few years were really the toughest—because of the adjustment. I really wanted to go back home. The only reason I stayed was because my husband wanted to stay. If I had a choice I would have gone home with the baby and lived with my grandmother.

There was indeed a lot of uncertainty: leaving home, being pregnant, moving to a new environment, being newly married—it was all pretty scary for Marilyn, especially without her immediate family around to give her support.

Tough as it was during the first few years in the US, Marilyn had some positive experiences as well. She met some wonderful people who were not Filipinos, yet were kind and helpful. She had a coworker who gave Marilyn a ride home from work every day, which saved her a two-hour bus ride, and a manager who saw her potential and gave her all kinds of career opportunities. Marilyn did not associate with many Filipinos because of her work and school schedule. In the late 1990s, Marilyn and her husband started going to a Filipino Christian church and began developing ties with the community.

Marilyn's work experiences in the US demonstrated the talents and skills she inherently possessed and the values she developed from her Catholic education in the Philippines. In almost every job she had, it was in a male-dominated environment. Her first job was in the computer department of a former financial services company.

> I worked graveyard shift and going to school during the day. My first job was as a computer operator. I used to run the computers at night from midnight to eight in the morning—then I would go to school after—I would sleep whenever I could.

Her next job was with a major insurance company, where she was fortunate to have a mentor who saw her potential and gave her career opportunities. Marilyn left the insurance company and worked for another financial services organization in their mortgage system, a position with a lot of responsibilities. She worked hard and was soon promoted to her first supervisory

position; within a month, Marilyn had to lay off people who were her former peers and friends, which was very difficult for her.

Marilyn then moved to a gas company as a technical person. At this point in her career, she did not want management responsibilities—her goal was to do her job well and go home at the end of the day. However, when her manager was promoted to a higher position, Marilyn had no choice but to take her place and was back in management. Marilyn left the gas company and started a challenging and rewarding career with a well-known investment company, where Marilyn was part of cutting edge activities. With her strong project management skills, she got things done.

> I've always been given jobs that were challenging almost like a swat team approach. At the investment group, a lot of new things were given to me because I have strong project management skills and the ability to get things done. Those were really my strengths.

However, the higher up she went in the organization, the more her job became political and demanding, with long hours and an extensive travel schedule that took time away from her children. The organization also got bigger with a new wave of management. The political dynamics became more challenging, as Marilyn focused on doing the right thing instead of playing political games; eventually, Marilyn resigned.

During this time, Marilyn also turned 40 years old, and she started to question her life's purpose and her future. She ventured into the nonprofit world and took a mini-MBA in nonprofit management to start her own foundation, while being a stay-at-home mom. She also got into consulting, started her own company, and then shut it down while going through a divorce.

176

In her consulting practice, Marilyn enjoyed the financial benefits and she

also recognized that it led to complacency. For Marilyn, loneliness was the

biggest challenge being an entrepreneur.

> The loneliness of not being part of a big corporate culture is tough to get
> used to. It's nice to have that security—that infrastructure around you.
> Being an entrepreneur, you have to do a lot of things that you take for
> granted being part of a large organization.

Marilyn thought there was no better country than the US when it came to

giving people abundant opportunities and available resources; overall, Marilyn

was grateful for her career.

Being Filipino. Marilyn felt extraordinarily blessed being born and raised

in the Philippines and having the Asian perspective as well as Spanish, German,

and U.S. Because of her cultural background, she felt able to look at things from

multiple viewpoints. She regarded being a woman and Filipino as blessings.

> I consider myself blessed because of the multiple perspectives of the
> world as a Filipina—the Filipina American perspectives have definitely
> enriched my ability to view different situations—as opposed to having—if
> I just grew up here in the US. I think my perspective would be narrower.

As a Filipino mother, Marilyn was proud of her three sons, Chris, Nathan,

and Andy; she acknowledged she did the best she could to raise them the right

way. For Marilyn, there were many great things about being Filipino.

> The extended family values—how much we enjoy life, our ability to just
> sing and dance at the drop of a hat—laugh and forgive. We're probably
> the most forgiving culture—resiliency. By and large we have a positive
> attitude.

For Marilyn, religion played an important role in her life. She explored

many paths—existentialism, Buddhism, and other traditions. A most difficult time

177

in Marilyn's life was losing her mother and then her grandmother six months later; she had to tackle all the medical bills and funeral arrangements by herself on top of the emotional pain she was going through. After the death of her mother and grandmother, Marilyn joined the born-again Christian movement and stayed grounded in that faith for some time.

Commitment to being the best person she can be was one of Marilyn's deepest values. She believed her Catholic education in the Philippines formed her values of doing your best, building yourself academically and physically, and being well rounded.

Marilyn regarded Filipinos as hard working, caring, forgiving, and family-oriented people; at the same time, she thought Filipinos were not politically savvy because they disclosed too much, to their detriment. Family-orientation was sometimes misconstrued in the corporate world as lack of dedication for the company. Marilyn had both positive and negative experiences with Filipinos in the United States. She observed a common occurrence in the workplace—that there were not many Filipinos in senior management positions.

> I feel Filipinos as a whole are hard working, caring people, family oriented, forgiving, open—all these values—everything good. However, there aren't many Filipinos in senior positions—those who are in senior positions are typically weary of other Filipinos—because that commonality—is used to get favors.

Cultural values at work. Having spent years in the corporate world, Marilyn had experienced differences and conflicts in cultural values. Marilyn's approach at work was usually nonconfrontational, and she preferred to let things

go, an approach that had negative ramifications for Marilyn when she was involved in political controversies.

> My approach is usually non-confrontational—so I prefer to just let things go rather than confronting them sometimes—and that has had less than stellar ramifications like being involved in the political controversies where I should have taken a firmer approach—so there were Filipino values –like being more forgiving, not confrontational, and maybe it's not always for the best.

Marilyn's religious belief that God would take care of everything had also backfired when a former manager told lies about her, and yet Marilyn did not confront him. From her religious belief, she expected God to take care of it and He didn't, which made Marilyn question God and her faith.

In another incident, Marilyn's cultural value of *utang na loob* or "indebtedness and loyalty" created problems. She was loyal to one of her managers because she felt indebted to him, covering up for him even when he was not supportive of her; but when a political situation arose where Marilyn counted on his protection, Marilyn was left on her own. Nonetheless, she did not fight back, and thought it was the right decision to let things go.

> Yes, I could have done things differently—but then again, had it not been for those things—I would not be where I am today. Maybe at that moment—it looks bad—but it could be leading you down the path that turns out to be good. Maybe our culture is not to fight—maybe that was an option too—not to fight—just let it go and maybe that's what I did.

Marilyn did not consider herself discriminated upon at any time in her career. However, she acknowledged the typical male–female dynamics at work, to which she did not pay attention; she believed that allowing herself to see it made her ineffective.

> It may have existed but I chose to not see it that way—There's nothing to be gained by it. I think your best option is to ignore it and just keep doing

your job and pretend it's not there. Keep ignoring it and just keep doing your job. Because how else will it go away? How else will you disprove it?

It was interesting to note how Marilyn saw conflicts at work as blessings in disguise, with the view that in the long run, things turned out for the better and there were lessons to be learned. Whether this was true or not, for better or worse, Filipinos somehow always saw the positive side of challenges, failures, and even discrimination.

Impact of colonialism on life and work. Marilyn was a *mestiza*, having come from a family of Spanish and German descent. She experienced what she called *mestizo* racism when she married her husband who was Filipino; her family commented that he was not *mestizo*, which meant he was not good enough for Marilyn. She regarded many *mestizos* as lazy, spoiled, and weak with a sense of entitlement and unfounded superiority. However, Marilyn attributed her appreciation for the finer things in life like food, wine, and other social aspects to her Spanish heritage.

With regard to colonization by Spain and the United States, Marilyn thought this had resulted in Filipinos being submissive and passive. At the same time, Marilyn did not think that Philippine colonization was brutal; it was a comfortable colonization, unlike other countries, which were brutally colonized, like the Belgian Congo.

> Yes, we were taken advantage of—but at the end of the day, we were not tortured; neither Spain nor the US tortured us. So it resulted in a culture of complacency—had our colonizers been more brutal, I think we would have more of a fighting spirit. As Filipinos, we tend to blend in and accept.

Marilyn claimed there was no escaping colonial mentality—it was evident

in many ways. She knew many Filipinos who considered themselves better off

because they lived in the US or Canada rather than the Philippines.

> There's the "I'm in the US and not in the Philippines" mentality—I'm
> better off—there's the stratification of where you live—the preference for
> American goods—don't know if that's a function of colonial mentality or
> the educational system. Again, it's not a bad thing.

Marilyn also noted the positive aspects of colonialism, particularly that of

the United States, which included: ability to speak the English language, which

made Filipinos competitive in the global market; adoption of business practices;

appreciation for music and arts; and the evolution of cosmopolitan culture in

comparison to other Asian countries. All of these aspects enabled Filipinos to

work easier and more effectively in the US and Canada.

> The reason we're here, the reason we're called Fil-Am is because we are
> both—we're not solely Filipino or solely American—but we're both and
> that's a good thing. That's why we get along so well with other people and
> cultures.

Marilyn thought coming from a colonized culture made Filipinos well rounded,

able to laugh at themselves, and able to bounce back more quickly from disasters.

Marilyn acknowledged her own sense of entitlement, which she considered a

good thing in the corporate world.

> Maybe I do carry some of that entitlement mentality which probably is a
> good thing in the corporate world—that I look at it as I have an education,
> a college education and I am just as entitled as anyone else to manage this
> place and I know I can do a better job than most people so let me do it.

At the same time, Marilyn thought colonialism resulted in timidity and

feelings of inferiority for Filipinos, her included. She had seen many Filipinos

stop at mid-level management positions because they were content with having

their homes and did not aspire any higher in the workplace. "I think it has resulted in some timidity sometimes—not that I don't have that—I do also. I think it has resulted in feeling inferior to some extent."

However, she did not see the drive, the hunger to push; consequently, Marilyn saw that Filipinos were often viewed as good contributors but not as executive material. Filipinos were good-natured, forgiving, and by and large, they did not have the cutthroat mentality that at times was needed; as a result, Filipinos did not compete for the higher senior management positions even when they were qualified.

As for the impact of colonialism at work and in daily life, Marilyn saw both positive and negative outcomes, and felt it was important for Filipinos to be aware of the colonial mentality present in the psyche.

The future. As for Filipino American women, Marilyn wished for them to recognize their unique beauty, not just physically but from a holistic sense—she wanted them to be proud of who they were and to be their best. There was much that Filipino women offered that was special and unique.

> Recognize your unique beauty—I don't mean that in a physical sense but in a holistic sense—what you bring to an environment is unique and special—don't be too quick to throw it away and adapt another persona that you're not.

As for herself, Marilyn looked forward to the close of one chapter in her life and the opening of another twenty years and the opportunities ahead. By the same token, Marilyn was aware of her weaknesses being a perfectionist, which

she considered an impediment for entrepreneurs; she also wanted to overcome her stubbornness, to make learning easier for her.

Marilyn believed the impact of globalization on Filipinos was very strong, and that twenty years from now, globalization will have a far greater and more significant impact than colonization.

> I think the impact of globalization on Filipinos is very strong today and I think twenty years from now—this would have a far more significant impact than what we've gone through from colonization. It's a very different mindset.

Marilyn's upbringing as a *mestiza* has shaped her worldview and is manifested in conflicting ways. One the one hand, as a *mestiza*, there is a certain colonial entitlement that comes with the feeling of superiority having Spanish ancestry, and this was manifested in Marilyn's self-concept as a very capable person, equally entitled to positions of high level responsibilities. This was positive for Marilyn given the competitive nature of corporate business. Despite the aristocratic self-concept, Marilyn exhibited inferiority in dealing with conflict and organizational power and politics. Coming from a colonial culture, these behaviors stem from the colonized fear of alienating the colonizer. In the end, Marilyn made some career choices that had less than desirable consequences for her, though despite this, she saw the positive side of the experience.

Marina—Queen of Quality

Marina is a middle-aged woman of mixed Chinese Filipino heritage. She is of medium built with brown, slanted eyes and a warm smile. She had an easy way about her and a sense of authenticity as she shared much about herself, her

family, and especially about her father. The middle child of five children, Marina exuded strength of character and conviction while being soft and gracious.

Growing up in the Philippines. Marina was born and raised in the suburbs of Manila, Philippines in a conservative household with a Chinese father and a Filipino mother; she had good memories of growing up with hard working and loving parents. Marina spoke Chinese to her father, Tagalog to her mother, and a combination of both to her siblings; by and large, she grew up more in traditional Chinese culture. Her father, a migrant from a southern province of China, came to the Philippines and built a successful shoe factory from the ground up.

Marina grew up with traditional values of hard work, respect for parents, and fairness. Her father was very strict but kind and generous—Marina recalled those times when her father always brought treats for the children and found time to take them places on weekends, no matter how busy he was. Marina and her siblings were taught to be diligent and conscious of time; they were expected to wake up early to go to Chinese school, and on weekends they were not allowed to sleep late. Though they had servants, Marina did household chores, and also helped in their shoe factory.

> During summer, my dad made sure we helped in our shoe factory. I remember splitting the leather so it will be soft enough to fold for the shoemaker to put in the shoe machinery. I remember delivering shoes to different shoe stores in Manila.

Despite her parents not having college education, it was ingrained in Marina and her siblings to study hard and finish college so that they would not have to undergo the same hardships. Marina's parents worked very hard to send

their children to private colleges as well as to Chinese school. Marina described her childhood as "hard work and lots of patience."

> We woke up early when we went to Chinese school. The school started at 7:00 in the morning and we had to wake up at 5:00 and we start to commute—we had a driver who brought us to school. In the morning was the English school and in the afternoon was Chinese school.

With strict parents, there was hardly any time for socializing or play. Marina was expected to help with family matters either at home or at the shoe factory. Moreover, Marina and her siblings enjoyed going out with their parents; she remembered her father bought expensive fruits and American candies.

> Even though we were not that well off—still my parents found time to make us happy. We also went to the movies at nighttime, after we had finished all the things we needed to do like study and help with the factory—my father still found time to bring us to the movies when we were young. So I have great memories with my dad and mom.

Growing up, Marina always wanted to get good grades, which was one reason why she did not find time to go out. She had always been on the honor roll. For her, education was most important; it was also important to her father, who was a great influence. Marina remembered how her father—who did not have formal education—taught himself how to read with the daily newspaper, and if he did not understand something, he would ask Marina. She saw her father's tenacity and drive to better himself and his family.

> My dad could hardly write—he taught himself by reading the newspaper every morning. I saw him learn how to read as days went by—and trying to improve the English language—if he didn't understand something, he called one of us.

Marina also admired her father's character of fairness and how he did not have any favoritism among the children. One story Marina never forgot:

My dad would buy two pounds of lychees for us. We also adopted a cousin so that makes us six. So he divided the lychees to six equal groups—he would not give the whole sack to just one person—he will be the one who will divide it into six groups—that is the demonstration of the most fair process—that amazed me.

Marina was greatly influenced by her father. She recalled how her father treated their factory workers with care and respect: he was generous and provided food when they worked overtime. Marina recalled her mom as more frugal. Having spent much time at their shoe factory, Marina learned quality control and customer satisfaction from her father, who inspected the shoes before they were packed in the shoebox and delivered. Marina remembered her father being upset when customers returned the shoes because of some slight problem. Marina did not want to see her father angry, so she and her mother made sure they were part of the quality control process.

Seeing my dad upset, we made sure we were part of the quality control— this is something I learned from my dad—quality control is very important and customer satisfaction.

Marina thought her father was also a good teacher who used metaphor to teach a lesson. The time that she remembered was when Marina complained about their old car.

When it rained hard and there was no driver, my father would drive us to school. He would park in the bus stop, just like Confucius—he would say, "See how lucky you are—you're complaining of the ugly van—don't you realize how lucky you are instead, you're not standing in the street and getting wet with the rain. Always find how lucky you are with every little thing."

Marina grew up in a mixed religious environment with a Catholic mother and a Buddhist father. She went with her mother to processions and other Catholic services; however, she resonated more with other Christian beliefs. Marina did

not practice strict Catholicism, and she had not influenced her children with any specific religion as long as they believed in God. Marina considered herself a God-fearing Christian, and God had a big role in her daily life.

> There's always God telling me what's right or wrong. God played an important role in my daily life. Like I said, I can talk to God anytime I want. I don't have to go to church; going to church is a symbol that you respect the day of rest.

Marina shared that the saddest times for her were when she was ashamed that her parents were not educated; she felt inferior each time she was asked about her father's profession, to which she replied, he was a businessman.

> I can tell you that the saddest part is sometimes I'm ashamed that my parents are like this—so it motivates me to study hard this is where I had inferiority complex when they ask what's your dad's profession—I say, he's a businessman.

Moreover, she found it hard to mingle with the ultra rich students. She also thought it would not be good to send her children to very expensive schools for fear they would develop an inferiority complex like her.

> I'd say we were middle class, but there's a higher middle class. We had a car, but not as nice as their cars—they had Cadillacs. We were considered second class because we were considered mestiza—they were all pure Chinese—there was discrimination at that time.

To compensate for her perceived inferiority and ensure she got good grades, Marina studied very hard. She spent every free period and the time during the commute to and from school reading and studying instead of playing or listening to the radio, which was a favorite pastime in those days. During summertime, Marina enrolled in various courses instead of playing or vacationing like most of her classmates.

I think the way my dad and mom felt in their childhood life—they were poor and my dad started from the beginning in the Philippines. Whatever they did not have in their childhood, they did not want us to experience it.

Life in the United States. At first, Marina did not have any plans to come to the United States; however, while she was in college, everyone prompted her to go to America, and her internship at Clark U.S. Air Force Base gave her the incentive. At Clark, Marina saw the difference between Filipino-run hospitals and the U.S. Air Force hospital, where everything was modernized, clean, and automated. Marina did not see herself working in the Filipino hospitals.

After college, Marina decided to leave the Philippines for the US without telling her parents; she knew her father would not approve of her leaving the family. However, Marina was determined—she wanted to see another part of the world, and she had prepared for her big adventure.

I was applying for a tourist visa—it was a lot of stress—whether I would be able to come here—at that time it was strict already. I had to lie about being a college graduate—I felt very uneasy not to tell the truth just to get a tourist visa—if they knew I graduated as a med tech, which it would be probably easy to get a job in America, they might deny my visa.

When Marina got her visa, she told her family. Her father was very upset, but later both parents understood that the move gave Marina better opportunity for a brighter future.

Marina's early days in the US were challenging. She first stayed with her father's relatives who were Seventh Day Adventists, which was an adjustment for Marina who was more outgoing. The people she stayed with were very frugal with their money, and on Fridays, Marina was not allowed to watch television because they kept the Sabbath day tradition.

Marina knew what she wanted to accomplish as soon as she arrived in the

US, which was to consult with a lawyer on her visa, find a job, and live on her

$200 of pocket money from her father. She wanted to prove to her parents that

everything was fine and that she was not going to be dependent on them. Luckily

for Marina, she easily obtained a social security number, and she also found a job

very quickly, since medical technologists were in demand. "When I applied for a

job, they did not even ask for my immigration papers. They thought I was an U.S.

Air Force Base graduate or intern."

Marina started her full-time job at a California hospital on September 29,

1970. She was able to afford an apartment near the hospital where she lived for

two years, making it very convenient for her to go home for lunch or dinner and

to work overtime. Marina found her first weekend at the California hospital

working as a nurse the most memorable—that weekend, she was asked to draw

blood. In hindsight, it was a rite of passage for Marina.

> I still needed to draw blood from the patient and nobody told me that the
> patient was dead. So I went to the patient room and drew blood. I think he
> just died—When I left the patient room, the nurse was laughing because I
> drew blood from a dead patient. So I felt self-pity and said, "Gee, this is
> really hard." That was in the morning first shift and then they asked me to
> work at night. The same thing—happened—the patient died and I still had
> to draw blood—that I cannot forget!

After the two incidents, Marina was convinced nursing was a hard life. The first

months were a struggle. It was a big adjustment for Marina—the only thing she

wanted was to pass her license exam and make a good salary.

> To me, I have this motto: If you can do it—you can. I always have this
> goal—no barriers—if I want to do something. But I know it's a tough life.

When Marina first arrived in the US, the biggest obstacle for her was fear

of driving because she had a very bad car accident when she was a teenager. At

some point, she had to bring her children to school and that forced her to drive.

Her fear of driving hindered her from looking for better jobs. She often thought of

the places she could have worked had she not been afraid to drive the freeways.

> Now I'm getting old, it still goes back to my mind. I should have worked
> for the county or Kaiser and where I would be working for 38 years and I
> would have a lot of money. That time I did not think of retirement, we
> were still young. That was one of my regrets.

Being Filipino. Coming from a mixed marriage, Marina was more Chinese

than Filipino, perhaps because her Chinese father was the more dominant figure

in the family and her Filipino mother was more or less subservient. Regardless,

Marina was very proud of her mixed heritage and the values she inherited from

both cultures.

The one incident that upset Marina to this day was the time she and her

sisters had to stop going to Chinese school. At the time her father applied for

Filipino citizenship, Marina and her sisters were enrolled in a Chinese school; the

lawyer hired by her father suggested that they stop Chinese school to demonstrate

they were sincere about obtaining Philippine citizenship. Once they had obtained

the Philippine naturalization, they could resume Chinese education. So the

children stopped Chinese school, but missing Chinese school for two to three

years made it very difficult to catch up with learning Chinese all over again.

Marina fell behind in the Chinese curriculum, and the scheduling between college

classes and Chinese school became problematic; Marina eventually gave up

Chinese school, much to her dismay. "I'm very upset about that and I blame the Filipino government for not being able to complete my Chinese education."

For Marina, being Filipino had two sides: good and bad. As friends, Marina thought Filipinos were great; they shared food and helped each other in times of need. As far as work was concerned, Marina saw many Filipinos who were overworked with having two jobs and made needless mistakes because they were stressed and tired, and the quality of their work was negatively impacted.

> I'm very embarrassed to be identified when they're making mistakes—because they are hardworking with two or three jobs. They don't understand that if you have a job, you have to be committed to do the best of your capability.

Her other concern with Filipinos was their lack of involvement and volunteerism. If they donated anything, it was mostly for their families in the Philippines; more often, they were stingy and hardly gave to causes. For example, there were many Filipinos in the medical field, yet only very few donated blood in the hospital Blood Drive.

> I've been a volunteer with the bone marrow drive. They will only do that when their family member needs a bone marrow transplant. When you compare with other Asians, Filipinos have the worst participation in the Asian for Miracle Marrow Drive. That's very embarrassing.

When it came to Filipino clubs or associations, Marina experienced much infighting because each member wanted to become president; other Asians helped their own countrymen to be successful, but not Filipinos because of their crab mentality. However, when it came to food or potlucks, everyone participated.

As a Filipino, Marina was not bothered by her ethnicity but was upset by her discomfort with verbal communications. She had no problem with written communication; however, in person or verbal communication was hard for

Marina because she was shy and she thought her way of oral communication was different from the American way. When she got upset at work, she communicated in writing rather than dealing with the problem in person—she did not want to lose her cool because this made her look bad.

For Marina, her deepest value was quality of life; this superseded everything else, including financial challenges. According to her, she measured her success with her children's success in life. She was also known for her generosity: she liked to share her knowledge and whatever else she had in terms of material things. She was deeply grateful for her father's legacy of hard work, integrity, charity, generosity, fairness, and quality.

> I try to be charitable, not only at church—like the bone marrow drive—during my day off, I would still draw blood. Even when they don't need me to draw blood, I still draw blood.

Marina was honored with plaques displayed publicly—these were recognitions Marina received for her fundraising and volunteer work. At work, she donated her Personal Time Off (PTO) hours, which were equivalent to $2,000 dollars, for fundraising purposes. For Marina, giving back is an important value.

> I'm very particular with giving back. When I came to America and even though my parents are well off, I still send money because I know how parents feel—like you have to give something back to make your parents feel good that you show gratitude because family values are very important.

To Marina, she was grateful for the opportunity to have a job and thus felt the need to give back. She was happy with the recognition she received, but preferred not to be written up in Filipino newspapers.

Marina regarded her work as saving lives, which to her was very rewarding; she felt rewarded not because she was a supervisor but because her

work was about saving lives. She knew patients wanted to live—she understood their pain and their need to be treated with respect. Marina was a patient herself, having had three surgeries at one time.

> Though I'm not religious, I like to read the Bible daily and during that time, it struck me that morning of my surgery, the passage was about a person having a surgery. It said don't worry as long as you have faith in God. That helped me.

Cultural values at work. Marina's early involvement in her family's shoe factory gave her direct experience with challenges in the workplace. Her father's personal characteristics and business practices were deeply ingrained in her psyche. She has also carried out these core values and practices in her own workplace. She joked that the biggest regret in her life was becoming a supervisor—it was a lot of hard work. In fact, she blamed being a supervisor for cancer. "I think I got my cancer because I was so stressed for the first two years being a supervisor."

Marina had other challenges at work. Once she thought she was discriminated upon because she felt demoted and got very upset with her manager. Her manager talked to her and explained that was not the case, but Marina did not believe him because she wanted the prestige of being a supervisor, and she remained bitter toward her manager. Her performance was impacted. Several months later when her manager was about to leave the organization, Marina realized her manager was right and she was wrong about him. She felt terrible and cried upon realizing her mistake, and apologized to her manager.

> The worst decision I made was not to understand other people's opinion, reasoning and didn't value it. Lesson I learned from that behavior was not

193

to judge somebody right away—I should listen, evaluate, and understand first and not make an immediate judgment.

The one thing Marina wished to have changed at work was her entry point as a supervisor; she thought it would have been better had she started immediately as a supervisor rather than being promoted through the ranks from a regular technologist. In that way, Marina felt she could have avoided any casual relationships with the staff. Because she had been a peer with the staff, many did not take her seriously as their manager, making it difficult for Marina to enforce her role; moreover, there were Filipinos among the staff and they regarded Marina as one of their comrades. Counseling or disciplining staff was hard for Marina yet it was integral to her role as supervisor. Marina's transition to a supervisory role was difficult and challenging.

When it came to quality requirements with the Blood Bank, Marina always achieved high standards. Whenever there was an accreditation process, she did not have any problem meeting the regulatory standards. Ironically, her major concern was not the work itself but her relationship with the Filipino staff.

Impact of colonialism on life and work. The *mañana* habit—putting off tomorrow what could be done today—was one colonial legacy that made a negative impression on Marina. Marina believed tomorrow might not come, so she always did what needed to be done right away. She also attributed the *mañana* habit to the fact that many Filipinos had two or more jobs, so they did not always have the time. Marina was really bothered by this habit of doing things later.

> They always like to do it later—later-later—the mañana system—when you ask them to do something like the competency assessment I give them

194

when they do in service—they say, "ah, I'll do that tomorrow—I'm tired already."

A colonial legacy that Marina appreciated was language. Many Tagalog words had Spanish origin, which helped Marina in assisting her Spanish patients. According to Marina, the colonization process made it easier for Filipinos to assimilate into another culture while also maintaining family values. As for the U.S. colonization, Marina thought it was a great thing—it made Filipinos multilingual knowing the English language, Tagalog, and some Spanish. Marina related more positively with U.S. colonization in social ways, for example, the way of dressing, speaking English, liking American movies, going to American concerts, and reading American magazines.

With regard to colonial mentality, Marina had a different perspective. She attributed the greed she had seen among older Filipinos to their horrible treatment by the Spaniards. Marina also lamented the fact that Filipino women are known for prostitution and associated with sex exportation. For Marina, America was the most generous country in the world. As she traveled, she was always proud to be identified as an American: when asked of her nationality, she replied US.

The future. As for the future of Filipinos in the US, Marina thought Filipino immigration to the US will be stopped, and it will be harder for Filipinos to come to the US. There will be more fourth-generation Filipinos like her daughter, meaning that many Filipino traditions will disappear. However, with technology Filipino Americans will be watching more Filipino programs from

195

back home, and the improved telecommunications will increase contact with the Philippines.

With regard to her own future, Marina planned on teaching her grandson who was mixed Filipino, Chinese, and Mexican the family values she learned from her parents and which she also imparted to her children. At work, she planned on continuing to demonstrate her greatest asset of sharing whatever she had, such as food, knowledge, time, and money. "Work-wise, I continue to demonstrate my greatest asset of sharing. Maybe I will retire after 65 years. For now, I enjoy working."

Marina wanted to manage her emotions better when she was upset; she easily cried and got emotional and wanted to overcome both. Marina also wanted to improve her speaking skills and she thought of joining some form of public speaking group. "I'm not very happy with the way I talk over the phone. I don't like my voice—that's one thing I like to change—but it's too late."

Marina wanted to see Filipino women overcome their shyness: she thought one reason Filipino women were not in the CEO level was because they were shy and timid. She also believed they have to work on their speaking skills because they didn't express themselves very well and they needed to go to Toastmasters. From her experience, in order to be promoted to higher positions, it was important to have good speaking skills.

> Don't be shy—because if you are shy and timid—always express yourself and be honest—do more volunteerism—because I am ashamed of my Filipino workers who don't want to volunteer—it's a disgrace—don't just take and take—it must be a give and take philosophy.

At the same time, she wanted Filipino women to be themselves and be honest. Marina wanted to encourage them to create a better image for Filipino immigrants here in the US, to be more active especially when it came to voting rights, and to be more engaged in U.S. politics because once here in the US, it is the US government that is going to take care of them, not the Filipino government.

Marina's narrative was about her devotion toward her father, who had a tremendous impact on her; she embodied many of her father's characteristics and in many ways patterned her life from his. Marina was impacted by American imperialism with her internship at Clark Air Base in the Philippines, which greatly influenced her desire to come to America despite the opportunity of working or perhaps running her parents' shoe factory someday. At work, with her expertise and years of experience, Marina was still uncomfortable being in management and dealing with conflict in a direct manner, both of which need to be reflected upon as legacies of a colonial culture. Like the other research participants, she saw the legacies of colonialism (e.g., language) as positive and was not aware of the deeper psychological and cultural alienation created by a colonial language.

Madonna—Human Resources Queen of Fairness and Doing the Right Thing

Madonna was born in Manila, Philippines on the birthday of the Virgin Mary, whom she was named after by her Catholic mother. The youngest of the research participants, Madonna was a bright, enthusiastic, and confident GenXer.

Growing up in the Philippines. Being the firstborn child, Donna felt lucky to have experienced the firsts of everything her parents had to offer. The first eleven years of her life, she was the only child—so when her brother was born, Donna was already in sixth grade. For a long time, Donna was the only youngster during family gatherings.

> Being firstborn, my parents saw the difference. I was the first one they raised—showed me everything first—both my parents are firstborns too. I experienced everything my parents had to offer. For a long time, I was the only kid during family gatherings and I hung out with adults—and perhaps this also shaped me—I knew what they were talking about—I knew what was going on.

Donna recalled growing up in the Philippines as very laid back; coming from a well-to-do family, Donna was pampered and was given pretty much everything she wanted. Her mother's family had a security agency, which was a booming business at the time. When the school year started, she remembered buying new things—a new bag, new gadgets, new everything. Like most wealthy families in the Philippines, Donna grew up with housemaids, drivers, and people who took care of whatever she needed. Donna was educated in Catholic private girls' schools; in school, since everyone else was rich and able to afford material things, children grew up thinking, "I'm a better person than everyone else."

Growing up with privileges and luxuries were the means by which people were measured in Donna's world. It was interesting that these privileges and luxuries were the same factors that made Donna decide to leave the comforts of home and move to the United States.

> Growing up—it started when I was in high school, every other summer vacation, I'd come here to visit my cousins—went to Disneyland, stayed up all night, went shopping—you were on summer vacation. But I saw life here—I saw the future—I don't know how, but I did.

Donna regarded herself as a good daughter, obedient, and respectful of her parents. She acknowledged that in high school, she did not push herself too much; she was more average and not an honor student, though she could have been. While in college, she had many interests like theater arts, peer counseling in the psychology organization, meeting and helping people, and doing volunteer work.

> Looking back, I could have pushed myself more—being an honor student—but I did not want to be on the spotlight—okay to be average, just going out with friends—was more the high school thing.

However, she thought that if she stayed in the Philippines, where her life was easy and comfortable, she would not evolve as a person. She realized how people in her family were so content, and she felt limited; she thought of her alternatives, and the US was a possibility.

> I see people live here more independent—do your own thing—if you don't do it, nobody is going to do it for you. Drive your own car, drive whatever car you want as long as you work for it and pay for it. I'm more of wanting to be independent.

Donna did not want to leave her family, but at the same time she knew it was a risk she needed to take in order to grow. Her mother thought Donna always tried to be different; she did not conform to what most people did.

Among Donna's many memorable stories of growing up in the

Philippines, the most vivid memories were the road trips that Donna and her

family took on weekends to appreciate nature and be together as a family.

> Growing up, my parents did something during the weekends, after
> church—went to lunch. We also went on nature trips—road trips like
> going to the provinces to appreciate nature somewhere and enjoying the
> park, the trees, and that stuck with me. That really stuck with me—
> because we spent time together, hung out together and not always about
> buying toys—I really liked those road trips because they were building
> memories together—not just to do something –because we didn't have to
> do something, but we wanted to be together.

It was also important to follow what her parents wanted her to do because

she wanted to please them; she also felt the core Filipino value of *utang na loob*

or "debt of gratitude" that she owed her parents for raising and sending her to

school.

> It was important for me to please my parents, or actually to follow what
> they wanted me to do—I feel that I owe them because they sent me to
> school—raised me—a sense of obligation.

However, after a while Donna felt differently; what became more important for

her was growing, learning, and experiencing new things. She felt trapped in her

family dynamics. The older she got, the more she realized it was important for her

to grow as a person.

Her father spent a lot of time with Donna and her brother, and he had

influenced her to a certain extent; he taught Donna that there are other things

besides work that she could do, especially with the community. Donna was more

like her father in that he did not care what other people said, whereas her mother

was more conscious of other people. "I'm more like my dad in terms of making

decisions and not always being concerned with what people would say—but my mom was concerned."

Baptized a Catholic, religion was important to Donna, and she went to church regularly though she did not necessarily follow all the commandments. Nonetheless, religion was a major influence in Donna's decisions in how she treated people. For example, when Donna married much later in the US, she and her husband were not initially married in a church. This was the case for the first two and a half years of their marriage, but true to the Catholic religion, it was very important for Donna to have a church wedding.

> I made sure that at some point we would marry in church and I made sure that happened and not forget about it. So people might say—why bother getting married in church when you're already married legally—but for me, it's really important to me to be married in church and not leave it at the back burner. I made it a project to complete this and I worked hard at making it happen.

Donna lived a pretty sheltered life in the Philippines and did not encounter major hardships; however, one very difficult time for Donna was in college when she and her first boyfriend broke up. Donna had a hard time coping with the separation, and felt very sad and cried a lot. The relationship was something special, and their break up was unexpected though inevitable. Donna's world fell apart.

> I had a hard time with my first boyfriend—we were best friends—it was something that I was comfortable with and got used to—then we broke off—I had a hard time coping with it—cried a lot. I wanted to talk to a psychologist.

For Donna, it was like getting a divorce. She was lost with nowhere to go, and did not know how to start her life again. She still loved her boyfriend, and it hurt her very much. It was hard for Donna to tell her parents—when she did, she

201

also told her parents that she wanted to see a psychologist, to get help and to have a different perspective. Her parents did not understand why Donna needed to talk to someone else. "You're not crazy—so why do you want to talk to a psychologist, and you're not American—why do you want to do that?"

The breakup was really Donna's first major crisis. Donna had to move on; she managed to finish college and began to find her own identity. She realized there were a lot of things she was interested in but had not explored them because she followed what her boyfriend wanted her to be. She learned to move on with her life one day at a time.

Soon she told her parents she wanted to go to America. Her father could not understand how Donna could leave them after their sending her to school and giving her everything. Donna was determined. She told her parents that she understood what they had done for her and she appreciated everything; however, this was something she had to do and she asked for their blessing and support.

Life in the United States. Ironically, Donna's comfortable lifestyle in the Philippines compelled her to leave and take a chance in the United States—her intuitive sense wanted something different. Indeed, everything was different from what she was used to, and Donna had to adjust to a lot of things. She knew it would be hard and that it might or might not work out.

Her first two years were the hardest. She lived with an aunt and her family, whom she seldom saw and felt somewhat of a stranger. Without a car, Donna took the bus or relied on her aunt to get anywhere. She had no friends.

Though prepared and ready, she was naïve and realized there were indeed many

new, different, and unexpected things. It was a stressful time adjusting to life in

the US without her parents.

> It was hard because back then I had to live with my aunt and her family—
> which was hard, although they were family, I only saw them a few
> times—not often. I didn't have a car, no friends, had to take the bus—hard
> to live with different family you're not used to.

Having had no previous job experience except for an internship at a bank,

Donna learned how to deal with bosses and other people. There were no servants,

drivers, or people who took care of things for her. She was alone. Dating proved

to be a challenge, but missing her family was the hardest of all.

One of the memorable experiences for Donna was the time she took the

bus to work. She was at the bus stop at 6:30 in the morning.

> There was this old guy who always wanted to sit next to me at the bus,
> kept talking to me—then he grabs my hand and said—what time is it?

Eventually Donna no longer saw the old man; her parents helped with a down

payment for a car.

Through all the challenges, adjustments, and hard times, Donna missed

her family and friends the most. She managed to get through it all with

determination, perseverance, and faith in her goal.

> I was prepared for it. I talked to myself and said that this is hard for me
> right now, but I persevered. There were times when I thought if it doesn't
> work out, I may have to go back—but—when I stopped to think about it—
> my alternative there was not really better—so I really did not want to go
> back.

Sometimes Donna went to church and just sat talking to herself. She kept

reminding herself that this was what she wanted and that things will get better.

She prayed a lot and spent time alone to be quiet and think.

Donna's first job was an office manager with an interior designer family-owned business. Donna was comfortable with her work because she grew up in a family business at home.

> I had to learn, which I enjoyed, different personalities—new and different scenarios for me—which was different from going to school, just listening to lecture, taking an exam, etc. I was there for three and a half years.

From the interior design business, Donna went to work for a blood test laboratory as a human resources (HR) assistant to a woman manager who smoked and coughed a lot. There she had some Filipino friends with whom she got along; however, Donna realized she was not going to grow or develop in that particular job any longer, so eventually she left.

From the laboratory, Donna was hired at an attorney support services company, which served subpoenas and copied records. She was there for three years. What Donna found interesting and challenging was the corporate culture.

> The thing with that company though was that if you had a good relationship with him [the owner], then you're okay—he gives you more money, more title, more benefits than you can imagine. But if you go on his bad side, meaning you don't do what he wants you to do, then you're going to be fired.

Donna was hired to do payroll, and she reported to the Vice President of Finance; when her boss had a falling out with the owner, Donna became the HR manager. As HR manager, Donna talked with the owner, but when her ideas were contrary to or different from what the owner wanted, Donna was seen as negative and against him. Soon Donna was no longer part of the inner circle, and she decided it was time to move on.

Donna found employment with a nail polish company, where she had a Filipino boss; however, her role as an HR partner did not work out because her

manager was more concerned with finance than HR. Once again, the dynamics of

a one-owner company became challenging for Donna—she realized she was more

suited to an organization with a broader organizational structure. She also realized

that a job was not just about making money, but it had to be meaningful and

provide room for growth.

> After a while you have to be happy where you are, you have to be
> evolving where you are, you have to believe in what you're selling and
> believe what the company is there for.

After a short time with the nail polish company, Donna worked with a

nonprofit organization for a year and a half in the HR department. Donna felt

good about her role and the organization, and got along well with her manager

and her clients. Then her manager left and a new manager was hired;

unfortunately, Donna sensed conflict with the new manager. Donna spoke her

mind directly and honestly, and the new manager perceived it as a communication

problem—soon the political dynamics prevailed and Donna chose to leave rather

than stay at the expense of another employee.

> So they would get rid of the executive assistant—and put me in her spot. I
> just didn't think it was right—the person who would be let go though not
> my best friend—we worked a lot together—she did not have the greatest
> work ethic but we worked together. I did not want her to be let go and then
> slot me in her spot.

After leaving the nonprofit organization, Donna found a job with an

insurance company. Her current boss is African American, and she does not have

a problem with him unlike the former manager at the nonprofit organization; her

current work environment is good. Donna is trusted and treated as an adult.

> My boss and I don't talk about how different we are in color—we just talk
> about how we can serve our clients, how we are going to make changes
> and help the managers and that's all we need to do.

The company is well established with a distinct corporate culture. Donna reports to the Vice President of HR who in turn reports to the Senior Vice President of Finance, and he reports to the CEO / President. In her HR position, Donna deals with confidential issues like salary, performance reviews, and other HR matters.

Reflecting on all the jobs she has had, Donna thought the most challenging aspect was finding a good manager to work for. Donna believed that it was important to be connected with people with whom she could grow and not get dragged down.

Being Filipino. Donna was born and raised in the Philippines where she spent half her life, but she could not say she was proud to be Filipino.

> I don't think I can say, I'm proud to be Filipino—but I am proud to have experience or part of me is from that country and from that culture—my parents are big in religion, the values I'm glad I have those, the family connection, the way I treat people—that's part of the culture—I'm glad that I have that.

For Donna, being Filipino in America meant she was living in a different world. She was more independent now with no servants or drivers around. She commented on how she was unlike her aunts who were really attached to being Filipino; they have Filipino flags in their cars. Donna felt out of touch and no longer connected to this aspect of Filipino culture, which was one reason why she could not be proud to be Filipino. She could not deny she was Filipino—she looked like one.

Donna's experiences with other Filipinos during her first years in the US were both positive and negative. In search of friends during her first couple of

years, Donna turned to Filipinos because she felt a common bond with them; however, as she went out with them, Donna realized they were into material things like the car they drove.

> Of course, I sought Filipinos first as friends, just because I know how they are, I know what they like—but after a while, I didn't like the way it was—because they talked more about—getting a new car, buying brand name shirts, shoes, etc. though I grew up with all that, I had a different mentality when I came here.

Donna had other negative encounters with Filipinos who did things as if they were still living in the Philippines, such as trying to get away with things because of their personal connections. Donna disliked the feeling of entitlement other Filipinos had, a typical Filipino trait of disregarding the law because they knew somebody powerful.

Donna recalled her jobs where there were some Filipinos and they always spoke to Donna in Tagalog. She responded to them in English because there were non-Filipinos around. Donna's HR role greatly influenced her values of fairness, equality, and following the rules; unlike her experience in the Philippines where if you had money, you could break the rules. She recalled the time her father took her to get her driver's license.

> He told me—just sit there and 30-40 minutes later, he came back and gave me my driver's license. I didn't even do anything—like take a test—I didn't see anybody—all I did was take a picture and I said, "that's it?" In a way it's good because it's convenient and easy—but I don't like to do things like that—it's not fair to anybody else.

Things like this really bothered Donna. This was one other reason why Donna liked living in the US. Everyone was treated fairly.

Donna had many experiences with Filipinos in the workplace. Once she was hired because the hiring manager attended the same college that Donna went

to in the Philippines. Donna also worked for Filipino managers who because of their title and position were abusive and disrespectful to subordinates; once these managers had the title and power, they felt entitled to do whatever they wanted. She recalled one Filipino manager who belittled Donna in front of others instead of discussing things in private. Donna was not sure if the Filipino managers lacked managerial skills and needed leadership training, or whether they had poor personalities. One other observation was that Filipinos liked to gossip, which Donna curtailed as much as possible. However Donna noted one positive thing about Filipinos—they were hardworking, motivated, and were not lazy.

Cultural values at work. Donna thought many of her work and personal decisions were influenced by her family values. Being family-oriented, Donna always thought of the impact of her decisions on others; in her case, her husband's support and encouragement were invaluable. Donna grew up and was raised with the idea of giving it her all and if it did not work out, to accept that and not beat her head against the wall. She also learned the value of integrity—to stand for what she believed in. Such was the case when she told her managers what she thought was right at the risk of losing her job.

> It's like being committed to what you're supposed to do and giving it all you can and if it's not enough—don't take it on yourself and try to kill yourself or beat yourself up—Your work is not your life

Donna liked to get things done. Perhaps being firstborn, she grew up with a sense of responsibility. Her belief was there was more to life than the present situation. "I don't know if it's a personality thing or the way I was brought up—

but in my mind—there's always room to grow—you can't always be the way you are."

For Donna, her deepest value was to treat people with respect and avoid intervening in their personal matters. In her HR role, she gave people options and choices; she counseled them but in the end, it was their decision. She credited her parents for her acquiring these values and worldview. She acknowledged that religion influenced her way of treating people and that her HR background raised her awareness of diversity.

Impact of colonialism on life and work. Donna learned the politically correct view of colonialism in school, that Spain colonized the Philippines through religion and the United States colonized through education. Both strategies were accepted as blessings and were taught in schools as something Filipinos should be grateful for. She especially related to the positive aspects of U.S. colonialism because it enabled Filipinos to have other opportunities.

> The US colonized and opened up opportunities—a lot opens up for you and I saw that is was feasible. It was hard for the first year—because it was a big step.

However, Donna wondered if it was the other impact of colonialism that prevented Filipinos from achieving higher ground. She gave her aunts and uncles as examples: they were managers and had been working in their fields for a very long time, but didn't aspire for higher positions or were reluctant to manage people from different cultures because of their preconceptions.

For Donna, she saw aspects of colonialism in the way Filipinos adored brand names of products, especially those from the US. Everything and anything

coming from America was greater than whatever came from the Philippines, such as television shows, movies, and Hollywood. As a result, Filipinos imitated and bought foreign products. Donna and her family grew up having brand name shoes, clothes, purses, and other accessories. Donna was disturbed that Filipinos in the Philippines did not understand how hard people worked in America, and therefore remitting money to relatives was not that easy.

Donna thought her parents were influenced by colonial mentality. She recalled her mother went to a private Catholic school and her books were not about a Filipino dog named Tagpi—they were all about American life. Her mother loved American movies and American teen magazines, and wrote to her American idols in America. She saw everything the American way—trees were green and everything was all blue and red like in the movies. She was the first to say she wanted to live in America

The future. Donna saw a bright future for Filipinos in the US. She wished for Filipinos to keep growing and learning. She hoped the negative perceptions about Filipinos would change and that they would stop their colonial behaviors like bragging and focusing only on brand names and material things. She wanted to see Filipinos be proud of who they were and to be grateful for being in the US and their accomplishments.

> I see a lot more future for the Filipinos in the US—continue what they're doing here, be grateful for opportunities they have to grow and learn. I hope that those bad notions, perceptions about Filipinos would change, and for them to be really proud of who they are.

For herself, Donna planned on getting her HR certification. She knew her line of work was evolving from personnel to becoming strategic partners with the business, and she wanted to be prepared and ready for these changes. "I want to get my certification—to be focused on that goal for next year." She also wanted to have a family, to have children, though she was not sure of this possibility. She dreamed of being a life coach because she truly enjoyed helping people.

As for Filipino women, Donna urged them to connect with their core values and to use them to achieve their personal goals.

> Use values they have to be mindful of their personal goals. Most are hard workers—be open and brave enough to seek growth opportunities because there's a lot more out there. Be open to diversity and culture here in America.

She urged them to not be afraid to befriend people from other cultures because there was much to be learned from other people. She wanted Filipino women to be successful and have a seat at the executive table, to work smarter and be more proactive to achieve their goals. Donna wanted Filipino women to ask what else can they do to make a contribution in their organizations and to move up from clerical jobs to positions with greater responsibilities for which they are qualified. Donna advised Filipinos to not forget where they came from and not be conformists. She wanted them to stand up for what they believed in. She wanted Filipinos to value their cultural values and appreciate all the good things about them.

Donna was exposed to colonial culture and mentality more than she realized—her desire to leave the Philippines despite a comfortable lifestyle and

her perceptions of America as greater were indications of colonial thinking. She recognized colonial behaviors in other Filipinos, which she did not appreciate; however, some of her behaviors were subtle denigration of Filipinos. At work, she was not afraid to confront conflict, but she also did not push hard enough for her rights, which to some extent could be a sign of fear of authority, another possible impact of colonialism.

Maria—Champion Grant Writer

Maria represents the Traditionalist generation among the research participants. She has strong Filipino features with brown complexion, brown eyes, and natural silver hair. Maria embodies much of what Filipino American women have undergone and what they could become: hers is the story of many Filipino women who struggled with economic and social deprivations and who overcame all odds with intelligence, determination, perseverance, courage, education, and faith. Maria epitomized the Filipino cultural value of education, having earned a doctorate degree in nursing.

Growing up in the Philippines. Maria was the firstborn of five children to parents who were both teachers. She has one sister and three brothers who all live in the United Sates. Maria was born on the southern island of Mindanao, Philippines but grew up on the northern island of Luzon. Maria described her childhood and growing years in the Philippines as a hand-to-mouth existence;

during those times, teachers did not make much money, and with five children it was hard to make ends meet

> My parents were both teachers—so you know how teachers—it's basically—I consider us poor. It was never that we did not have food. We ate three square meals a day, but it's the discretionary income that was not part of the equation. I call it growing up poor—to me it was really a hand to mouth existence.

Maria grew up much like other children who were into all kinds of foolishness, although she was more oriented toward school—for Maria, a good education was the only way out of poverty. She was so focused that while in college, Maria did not date for fear this would distract from her goal.

> I was geared toward schooling. I think my parents instilled in us—that education was the only ticket—we all finished college from UP [University of the Philippines]. I'm sure that's something my parents are very proud of. In fact, in college, I really did not pay attention to boys—I will not let anything get in the way of achieving my college education.

Two particular teachers and her father greatly influenced Maria. Her father modeled integrity as a school supervisor; Maria often heard her father talk about getting resources for his faculty, and she has followed in his footsteps. Maria was also grateful to two teachers who helped her overcome her anxiety with math and science subjects, and made her realize her own intelligence. From elementary to college, Maria graduated at the top of her class. "Along the way, I realized I have something—there are some skills that I was good at—I have the brainpower—there is a pattern of achievement."

Religion had an interesting impact on Maria. She was baptized and raised Catholic, although she was exposed to different religions. Maria did not consider herself a very religious person, yet no matter where she was, she went to church every Sunday to attend Mass because she did not feel complete without it.

I'm not really a very religious person. I go to church every Sunday. I go to church for my comfort—I just feel it's part of me—part of my repertoire of activities and if I don't follow it I feel uncomfortable. This is very funny for a woman like me I feel that maybe in the back of my mind, God will punish me if I don't go.

Maria recalled a time when she did not go to church, and something happened with her sister which rattled her and made her think that God might be punishing her. So she started going back to church. Maria acknowledged that her going back to church was partly because of fear, but it also gave her an anchor since life in the US was stressful.

I can make fun of the foolishness of the Catholic religion but I can go beyond that of a higher meaning it gives me some kind of an anchor—I just feel there's something for me and I feel more stable.

Life for Maria in the Philippines was just getting by. There were fun times but in general, it was more about survival in stark contrast to the life of luxury her friends had, many of whom were daughters of high-ranking public officials. All Maria remembered was a life of struggle, which made her conscious of the class differences and economic disparity between her and her friends, and even her relatives. Growing up poor and deprived made Maria resent people of power and wealth.

Of course that kind of class status again pervades through with the colonial mentality—The effect on me was that I am distrustful of rich people because I see it in the Philippines, how they exploit the poor and I am very conscious of that. I could see that the ones in higher authority will always have the power—I don't like that. It's really interesting how I rebelled against the rich and powerful. To this day, I still have that rebellion in me.

A tipping point for Maria's decision to leave the Philippines was the unexpected price of toilet paper—one day it cost 25 centavos, and the next, it was one peso! Maria was shocked at the exorbitant jump in price of a basic need. She

became acutely aware that though she worked and earned money, she did not have any savings because she could not realistically save and survive. The economic inequities and struggles of average Filipinos became too much for her; her only choice was to leave the country to improve her economic status.

Around the same time she received a letter from the U.S. Embassy, reminding her to use a visa that had been granted five years earlier, or otherwise it would be revoked. The toilet paper incident was the impetus Maria needed to leave for the United States.

Life in the United States. Maria arrived in the US set for a new life she hoped would be better than what she left behind. With a Master's degree and extensive teaching and nursing experience, Maria was ready; however, she experienced a phenomenon she was not prepared for.

> The first months I was literally walking on air. It was the most bizarre feeling—I was walking on clouds—I was without equilibrium—I felt unstable. I did not know what it was.

This was a totally new experience for Maria; she could not name or diagnose it. She functioned in the classroom, but deep inside, she did not feel confident. Much later, Maria found out—it was culture shock! Everything was an adjustment, even food. "Oh my God! I thought I was already Americanized—that my outlook was more Western—but that was really something! I couldn't eat hamburger—that was awful! Boy, that was something!"

In dealing with peers, Maria exhibited her competence and subject matter expertise. It was the cultural adjustment that was challenging—it took two years for Maria to be comfortable in her new environment.

In Summer 1972, after passing the Board of Nursing exams, Maria came

to California to look for a teaching job. She applied at a state university and was

offered a part-time position because her credentials were from the Philippines.

Though disappointed, Maria took the position. Within a year, she was offered a

full-time position largely due to her students' overwhelming positive feedback.

Maria was outstanding in the classroom, yet she did not speak up or express ideas

in faculty meetings. She merely listened and observed, which she recognized as

typical Filipino behavior. In two years' time, Maria started to speak up in faculty

gatherings.

While waiting in Summer 1972 for the September classes to begin, a

cousin suggested that she work at a hospital on weekends to earn some money.

She did, and it was a fateful decision—Maria met a doctor at the hospital, who

later became her husband. On their first date Maria was sure it was going to be the

last, but to the contrary, they joined their lives together in 1976 and to this day are

happily married.

> One time he asked me why is it that there are so many Filipinos in the US?
> I was so pissed at that question! I said to him—I blame the US for it
> because you colonized my country. I found out later that he tried to
> validate my answer. He told me that he went to the library and read an
> encyclopedia to verify my answer. Sure enough, the encyclopedia stated
> that the US colonized the Philippines after it gained its independence from
> Spain. He admitted that US history accounts do not say that the US
> colonized the Philippines.

Maria encountered challenges as she navigated her career in higher

education; many times she was aware of subtle discriminations but chose to

ignore them. One incident had a lasting impact. In 1981, upon the

recommendation of a former student, Maria received a cablegram from a

prestigious international health organization asking her to come to India to teach a course for four months. It was an exciting opportunity, but before saying yes to the invitation, Maria obtained the approval of her Chair.

The week Maria was to leave for India, her Chair retracted her approval, which completely surprised Maria. She asked the reason for the reversal two days before her departure, and the Chair told Maria that she was needed to teach. Angry and confused, Maria did not know what to do. She sought her husband's advice.

> Basically my husband said—quit! They need you more than you need them. That was very hard—I was already tenured. But part of me said— what's all this knowledge for if I can't share it. I'm glad my husband was there. I don't know if I were single if I would have done that.

. Maria left the university and went to India. When she came back, there was an opening at another university, and she was hired to teach at the graduate level; however, Maria realized this was not the right environment for her and she left after six months.

During this time a friend who was with another university invited Maria to teach a course with her. This was Maria's first exposure to a religiously oriented university and she saw an opportunity to cowrite a proposal for another training program in nursing. The proposal was funded and Maria was offered a full-time job, although during the interview she almost did not get the job because of a difference with the university in how she approached Christianity. Maria talked to the Dean about the hiring process.

> I told her that if they were going to put me as a full time faculty, it would be on my own merit and experience, and not because of my religion. So you see, I was not meek. I have already changed. I told her I was not going

217

back for an interview and subject myself to their questions and quizzed again about my relationship with God. That's between me and God.

This training grant started Maria's career with the university, which was followed by many more grants funded for 11 straight years. Maria's success with grants gave her much confidence and independence—through serendipitous events, Maria discovered a talent for proposal and grant writing, which became her niche and leverage in a highly competitive academic environment. She became known as the queen of grants. "I wrote 17 grant proposals and 15 were funded! I know where my strengths are. By now, I know it's a gift."

Maria reflected on three turning points, which to her were significant in shaping her life in the US. Foremost was her marriage to an American, which Maria said was key in changing her shy behaviors to being more assertive and outspoken. Maria credited her husband with her personal transformation: "He really encouraged me to speak up—the Jewish trait of speaking up. He said: You speak! He helped me in that sense."

Second, her husband also helped Maria take stock of what she wanted in her career. When Maria wanted to learn more about grant writing, her Dean was not willing to pay for a followup workshop to the initial grantwriting session she attended; this upset Maria and she told her husband about the situation. Her husband asked if she really wanted to learn grant writing, to which Maria said, "Yes." Her husband then said, "Pay for it."

> At first I did not want to do that—because I said, this was not for me. But he said, "Do you want to learn? If so, pay for it. Invest in yourself.

218

Maria saw the wisdom in her husband's advice and paid for the workshop, which proved to be a worthwhile investment. She gained invaluable skills toward her career.

The third turning point was Maria's response to her Chair's retraction of her trip to India when she was at the state university. As she reflected on the incident, Maria thought it would have been best to have talked with her Chair to understand her rationale; instead, she fought back. She recognized that emotions directed her actions. Her underlying feelings of resentment toward people in power fueled her anger and pride—she saw her Dean as having the power and Maria rebelled. Her husband's counsel to quit was the green light to leave. In hindsight, Maria wished things could have been different because she had invested much toward her tenure. She admitted her resignation caused her dearly.

> I would have made an appointment with her and really talked it out as to why she changed her mind. I was very emotional at the time—I knew I was right and so I didn't care. Of course my husband reinforced that. Looking back, I was so angry then and I knew I lost a lot.

Being Filipino. Maria embodied the traits and core values of Filipinos: hard work, perseverance, integrity, family, faith in a higher power, and education. People who knew Maria trusted her word; she followed through and did not make false promises. Sometimes she intimidated people with her high standards and expectations, but at the same time, they also knew she was fair and took care of people. "It's just in my DNA—that you want to become the best you can be."

Before coming to the US, Maria was clear about one thing—she was not going to marry a Filipino, because after dating some Filipino men, Maria had seen

that they would feel threatened by her strong personality. She had dated Asian

men before and later realized it was a waste of time, so she resigned herself to

becoming an old maid.

> I decided early on, I was not going to entertain Filipino men—I'd rather be
> an old maid than be married wherein I'm expected to serve him hand and
> foot.

Being the firstborn and true to Filipino family values, Maria took on the duty of

ensuring her mother's welfare and worked with her siblings to provide her mother

with the best possible care back in the Philippines. Maria admitted it was a hard

decision to have her mother go back to the Philippines, but it was the best possible

solution for the family. "Family is important—no matter what—blood is always

thicker than water."

Maria did not associate with a lot of Filipinos and was mostly with her

family. She was not involved with many Filipino organizations, though many

wanted her to be included, because Maria saw how many of the Filipino officers

micromanaged and exerted too much control. Moreover, she felt there was

professional jealousy among Filipinos and with her accomplishments, Maria

believed people would be jealous of her.

> I have only a few Filipino friends—I don't like to have a large group of
> Filipinos because of the crab mentality—plus a lot of them, if they occupy
> positions of leadership, they don't know how to lead, they want control of
> everything.

Nonetheless, she said that she would always be close to Filipinos because

of a special bond with her countrymen. She claimed the kind of friendship and

support she got from Filipinos was entirely different than what she received from

Americans. She acknowledged doing more of the adjustments in her marriage and believed this to be a factor in her success.

Cultural values at work. From Maria's perspective, the Filipino cultural value of subservience to men put Filipino women at a disadvantage. She saw Filipino women hide their talents to satisfy male egos, and she admitted to having done herself when she was younger and resented it.

At work, Maria's cultural values of hard work, perseverance, and team spirit were evident—people who worked with her knew Maria did whatever was necessary to get the job done. As a leader she believed in the development of her people and sent them to conferences as well as included them in decision-making.

> I make sure that I do my part. I'm not just the leader—but they know that I can do things—that nothing is beneath me. I don't take advantage of anybody—if I have the resources, I make sure that people get the perks.

Maria was a leader in her own right though she did not want to be in higher levels of management. She was comfortable leading a small group but not dealing with different kinds of people, especially when it involved conflict.

Being Filipino, Maria valued cooperation and collectivism, which were often in conflict with Western corporate or academic values of individualism and competition.

> I would like to have more democratic governance—now it's the higher management who gets together and suddenly we hear their decisions. I'd like it to be more democratic and teamwork approach—a flatter organization.

The process of getting tenured brought out the cultural differences between Western values and Maria's Filipino/Asian values. The tenure process,

221

which was highly competitive, required a faculty who was up for tenure to submit a dossier, which to Maria was like a brag sheet. To most Asians, who value humility, this was unthinkable; she felt writing the dossier was like patting herself on the back, which Maria thought was inappropriate. In her mind, management should already be aware of what she did.

Maria was also perceived as a competitor by some of her colleagues because her students raved about her, which added to her discomfort with writing the dossier because she believed it fueled professional jealousy. She learned to keep things to herself, when she realized there were people she could not trust. In her later years, Maria began to speak her mind; at the same time, she realized the price of her acculturation.

> Because of my being acculturated to the American way of communicating, I know I've lost a lot—I realize the gut feeling and all—losing that—I'm trying to get back to my intuition while before I just wanted to objectify everything against my intuition and have been burned twice.

Maria was keenly aware of the differences and challenges in cultural values at work and at home. From her experiences, Maria learned to adapt, to be flexible yet firm, like bamboo. She went through tremendous transformation and acculturation; however, she was aware that there were times she reverted to certain Filipino behaviors that she had tried to overcome. At the end of the day, no matter how strong her acculturation into Western culture, Maria said she still had strong bonds with her Filipino culture. Her core values of love of family, personal growth, education, determination, and concern for the Filipino nursing community always prevailed.

Impact of colonialism on life and work. Maria shared similar thoughts about the loss of cultural identity because of colonization. For her, she has always been proud of being Filipino, which was one reason why she kept her name—so she would not lose her identity. She believed part of the Filipino culture was colonial mentality, which manifested itself in a lot of ways.

> We don't have a strong identity as the Koreans and the Japanese, the Chinese and the Indonesians. We don't have a strong sense of identity. We don't. We have some shame or timidity.

For Maria, colonial mentality was so strong that even if it were the law to speak up, Filipinos still would not speak up for fear of retribution—even when there was nothing to fear, they did not speak up and they did not say no. In her view, Filipinos do not have the capacity to be visionary because as a culture, Filipinos were not used to being visionaries. To Maria, respect for authority crushed creativity.

> Colonial mentality– it manifests itself in a lot of ways among a lot of Filipino women and men—it's part of our culture. Even for those Filipinos who have reached a certain level and a lot of managerial skills, they're still the doers.

At work, Maria thinks Filipinos are more passive because of having been colonized; it was also a way for them to survive.

> Maybe when I was younger, it [feeling coming from a colonized culture] was there—the feeling of vulnerability was there—because I was afraid I would not be able to stand on my own, not to have my own independence.

At the same time, Maria saw the benefits of colonial mentality in that it instilled flexibility and sacrifice for the future—a form of delayed gratification. To Maria, American colonialism was not all that bad because it allowed Filipinos to speak English, which can be used as a springboard to Western culture.

Another aspect of colonialism that impacted Maria was the lack of opportunities in the Philippines, and the fact that although her parents were both teachers, they were still poor.

> I felt that we were poor—and I said—I am not going to go this way. That's why I never deviated from my goal of getting a college degree and really going for it. I did not really let anybody stop me. I was so focused. Because in the Philippines you can see how poverty really affects the life of these women No way! No way! I would never be that poor again! Education was the thing.

For Maria, another remnant of colonial mentality was the martyr complex where Filipinos tend to subjugate themselves for the sake of others, like their families or children, to the extent that they neglected themselves.

> Part of me says—don't subjugate yourself for everybody else. You also have to take care of yourself so you can take care of others—much like a cup –until you fill up, you don't overflow. How can you help others, if you don't fulfill your own needs. It's a martyr complex— I think is a remnant of colonial complex.

A significant aspect of colonial mentality that affected Maria's career was her discomfort with handling conflict, where she experienced cultural tension. Maria knew she could be a good leader except for one aspect: when it came to conflict, she acknowledged that it was her downfall. She did not thrive in a conflict-ridden environment.

> Had I been more aware of my potential really as a leader, I would have gone towards that and be—I can see myself as a Dean, I can see myself as a Provost—go that route—had I planned out or become more aware of my capabilities. But there's a part of me that did not want that—because I cannot handle conflict and in administration, you have to deal with conflict. My equilibrium is so ruined when I'm in at a very emotional conflict. So I ask—Is it worth my having to go through that and I say NO—forget it.

As a result, Maria decided to stay where she was. Being in a Western culture, she felt she could not handle conflict; she acknowledged she did not have

enough preparation or training in dealing with conflict, so she settled in her comfort zone. She said no mentors or coaches to guide her or help bring out her leadership potential—had she known of these aspects, Maria lamented, she could have gone the leadership route.

The future. As Maria looked into the future, she hoped that more Filipinos attained leadership positions, because she believed that education was the only way other Filipinos could be brought up to the higher levels in society. Sadly, she noted that most Filipinos thought of the leadership position as the power base, instead of as an opportunity to help others. She wanted Filipinos to take advantage of the opportunities that America provided and look at improving themselves to move up and really reach self-actualization.

For herself, Maria did not think of retiring soon, especially with the economic downtimes; she wanted to slow down but still be productive. She saw the need to bring the younger generation along, share her skills, and give back through scholarships.

For Filipino women, Maria wished they felt their strengths and skills and power to make decisions for themselves and to take care of themselves. Maria wished that Filipino mothers instilled in their sons respect for women, the equality of men and women, and the fact that women were not subservient to men.

> I would like for Filipino women to find themselves—to feel that they have the strengths, the skills—they should feel empowered to make their own decisions. They should take care of themselves and not give up everything for others. They should get to a level wherein they can really self-actualize.

225

As for Filipinos in general, Maria wanted them to be aware of colonial mentality. She felt Filipinos needed to get out of the shadow of colonization, especially being here in the US where the culture was highly individualistic.

> Filipinos should not let our colonial culture rule themselves. They should be able to get out of its shadow. They should feel that they could manage their destiny that they can set their goals and they are as good as anybody else.

Maria acknowledged that she did not think much about colonialism and its impacts until the interviews, which made her think about colonialism in a deeper way. The impact of colonialism on Maria manifested at different levels and in different ways. Her strong negative feelings toward the rich and powerful, which signified authority, juxtaposed with her fear of conflict had tremendous impact on her career—these beliefs stopped Maria from pursuing her full potential as a leader. On the other hand, her strong negative feelings toward Filipino men were forms of denigration, which is one of the indicators of colonial mentality.

Summary

After reviewing the narratives and analysis, by and large the participants gave me a thumbs up and were impressed with how their narratives expressed who they were and their stories. Two participants had minor corrections. One participant said she cried when she read her narrative—she felt I captured the essence of her experiences and especially the love she had for her father. Her feedback touched me deeply. The following section presents the research findings from the narratives.

Findings

Based on the research questions and the narrative approach to the study, the research findings are discussed in two stages. This section presents the first stage: an overview of the rationale and steps taken to arrive at the findings, followed by the presentation of common themes from the findings as they are. Chapter 5: Analysis and Conclusion presents the second stage, critical analysis of three overarching theoretical constructs that emerged from the common themes, grounded in literature research and from my own professional experiences.

The findings are based on common themes that emerged from the narratives, and are organized and presented along the three-dimensional research framework of Clandinin and Connelly (2000). The three elements (continuity or timeline, personal and social interaction, and situation) are not distinct from each other; instead, they overlap and intersect, which more accurately reflects the participants' narratives. At the same time, these three elements provided me with a framework from which to reinterpret and analyze the narratives into a cohesive and dynamic whole. Narratives are not linear: with this in mind, for the purpose of organizing and analyzing the data, I took the liberty of regrouping Clandinin and Connelly's three-dimensional framework into four dimensions as follows.

I. Past—describes the participants' stories growing up in the Philippines and how their upbringing, family and school environments, and socialization shaped who they are today.

II. Present and Interactions—describes the participants' lives in the United States within the context of their behaviors and interactions at work toward their coworkers, managers, students, patients, and in the community at large with other Filipino Americans. Thus, for the second grouping, I combined Present and Interactions.

III. Situation—identifies the workplace in the United States (US), as the research setting for manifestations of colonialism and describes the workplaces of the participants and their reactions to it, as well as how the workplaces have impacted the participants.

IV. Future—represents the inward and outward directions of the narratives as described in the participants' visions and wishes for themselves and other Filipino Americans, the Filipino American community, and the Philippines at large.

From the data, I developed themes from each of these four dimensions (the List of Common Themes from the Narratives is included in Appendix C). From the themes, I developed theoretical constructs, discussed in Chapter Five.

This sections presents a summary of the findings, organized by the modified four-dimensional framework discussed above. The Past section summarizes participants' experiences growing up in the Philippines, while Present and Interactions describes life in the United States as experienced by these participants. The third subsection covers the situation, namely the U.S. workplace, and the fourth summarizes participants' perspectives on the future.

I—Past—Growing up in the Philippines

All six participants were born and raised in the Philippines. Three

participants were of mixed cultures (Filipino/Chinese, Filipino/Spanish, and

Filipino/Spanish/German). Four came from affluent families who grew up with

servants, drivers, and abundant resources, while two grew up in poor families.

Three went to private Catholic schools, and the other three to public, non-Catholic

schools. Their parents all valued education and instilled its importance in the

participants; all participants excelled academically, some more than others, albeit

each was motivated by different factors. One participant, who experienced more

poverty growing up, had an extremely strong drive to attend college at the most

prestigious University of the Philippines because she believed it was the only way

out of becoming a statistical number among the poor in the Philippines. All grew

up with their immediate families as well as extended families of aunts, cousins,

and grandmothers. The fathers of three participants in particular were the

dominant figures in their families and also had significant influence on the

participants' upbringing; grandmothers also had special roles in the lives of two

participants.

Religion was important to all of them and integral in their lives while

growing up in the Philippines and now in the US. Five were Catholic and one was

a nondenominational Christian. God was a strong presence in their lives: they all

went to church and participated in religious activities, and religion greatly

influenced their values and decisions. All were raised with the Asian/Filipino core

values of love of family, respect for parents, achievement of education, and faith

in God or religion. Other Asian/Filipino cultural values of hard work, perseverance, conflict-avoidance, resourcefulness, adaptability, and resiliency were markedly exhibited during their first few years in the US, though two participants in particular demonstrated these values while in the Philippines (one because she grew up very poor and the other because her parents expected it of her despite being financially well-off).

By and large, all participants had good memories of their childhood and adolescent years in the Philippines. Paradoxically, the participant who grew up poorest described her growing up years in the Philippines as filled with very rich and fun memories. With the exception of one participant, all were exposed to American products and American way of life through movies, television shows, school environments, and family possessions, and grew up valuing everything American. Half of the participants wanted and planned their departure from the Philippines for the United States; two left the country not of their own accord but because their petitions for the US had been approved, and one participant reluctantly followed her husband who wanted to come to the US.

Most of the participants' experiences growing up in the Philippines had evidence of the legacies of Spanish and U.S. colonialism but were not readily recognized as such by the participants. This was evident when they shared how they grew up with American brand names and how they thought these were so much better than Filipino products. Except for one participant, all believed life was better and brighter in the US than in the Philippines. The participants' parents, who had strong influence, also believed the US and other foreign

countries were better than the Philippines and undoubtedly passed on this mindset unto their children. One lone participant did not consider the US as the Promised Land; her liberal education from the University of the Philippines greatly influenced a negative view of the US, and in addition, she did not grow up with material things like American products that could have influenced her worldview.

II—Present and Interactions—Life in the United States

All participants came to the US as adults and arrived in Los Angeles, except for one who went to Minneapolis. None of them learned how to drive a car in the Philippines, so they took public transportation or relied on relatives to get anywhere. For a couple of participants, this was nothing new because they rode busses in the Philippines to go to school; for the rest, it was a major adjustment because they had had drivers in the Philippines who took them everywhere.

One common theme among all the participants regardless of their economic, social, and professional backgrounds was their experience of hardships, struggles, obstacles, and challenges during the first two years in the US. Though the US was no strange country to them, they were all surprised at the amount of cultural, social, emotional, physical, and economic adjustments they had to make—the images of America as the Promised Land did not quite reflect their new realities in this country. One participant who thought of herself as Westernized experienced culture shock, much to her surprise; another participant described it as feeling groundless. "I had my roots and did not know where to

place them. I felt like my roots were dangling—where will I go to establish myself?" (Adelaida).

The participants' upbringing, education, and core values learned from their parents came to the fore during the first two years of living in the US. In this period of cultural adjustment, each one had to persevere and work hard, be adaptable and resilient; their faith and trust in God gave them strength and courage to get through it all. Though all stayed with relatives, they found early life in the US lonely—many missed their immediate families, yet they did not leave to go back. Love of family, a sense of obligation and commitment, and pride kept them in the US.

It was interesting that all the participants found jobs very quickly once they arrived, though by no means were they all dream jobs; nonetheless, they found work and were able to support themselves. Four of the six participants had various jobs throughout their careers; one had different positions but in the same field of nursing, and one had been with the same hospital, her first employer, for 39 years. The participants' fluency in American English, albeit accented, and education helped them secure jobs and adapt to Western work environments. Difficult as it was, each one eventually found her own career niche. They were all bright, knowledgeable, hardworking, committed, dependable, passionate about their work, and caring of their patients, students, and clients.

Some were well liked while others were seen as competitors and given grief by their peers. They also encountered many challenges at work including discrimination, which they dismissed or ignored, and some did not admit to being

discriminated upon during the interviews. Their high tolerance for pain or adversity was a double-edged sword; it was a strength in that they persevered against all odds, and a weakness at the same time in that they did not know when or how to assert themselves. Many times they were silent and their needs were not addressed.

Organizational politics and power dynamics were difficult to handle for the participants and caused them great deal of frustration. It was interesting that the youngest participant dealt with office politics deftly and did not express angst over conflict. For one participant, organizational politics was her Achilles heel to the point where it became a barrier to her pursuit of higher position in academe.

Dealing with conflict, and especially conflict with authority, was another area of discomfort for the participants. The Asian/Filipino cultural value of harmony and the colonial culture of feeling inferior were factors in the participants' inability to confront conflict. In the interviews, most of them rationalized their behaviors toward conflict as "the right thing to have done at that time." Yet in many of the conflict situations, they chose to either acquiesce, ignore, or accommodate, rather than explore the source of conflict and come to a resolution, or assert their wants and needs. Though the youngest participant was not afraid to confront conflict, she also acknowledged that her quick action of leaving an organization had not always been the right decision.

All the participants learned from their mistakes and setbacks and grew from them; they achieved their positions, albeit not to the highest positions possible, because they knew what to do differently when confronted again with

similar problems or challenges. By and large the research participants were not cognitively aware of the impact of colonialism in their personal and professional lives until the interviews.

With regard to fellow Filipinos in the US, the participants had varied experiences and interactions; some were positive and others negative. On the whole, the participants were happy to see and connect with other Filipinos when they first arrived in the US. Because they missed home, finding other Filipinos in their new world was comforting. At the same time, more of the participants saw their relatives and did not make many new friends; others distanced themselves from their friends overtime because of differences in personal values. One participant purposely avoided joining Filipino groups because she felt professional jealousy against her. Another said there were too much infighting and control issues among Filipinos. Participants were irritated with Filipinos' propensity for gossip, penchant for designer labels, and proclivity toward status symbols. Two participants were disturbed by their Filipino coworkers' lack of involvement in political issues and volunteerism in community and civic affairs; they felt Filipinos only focused on the needs of their immediate families and were stingy when it came to donating time and money for other causes.

At the same time, all participants found Filipinos friendly and helpful in times of need. They had fun with them at potluck gatherings, and enjoyed eating Filipino foods together at work, especially when they brought rice. By and large, they thought Filipinos were culturally agile while being true to the values from home, which had both positive and negative consequences. The participants also

said that the Filipinos they knew were good listeners, and saw them as truly being

happy and grateful for living and working in the US. All participants commented

on how hard other Filipinos worked, most with two jobs, and how they did not

speak up much at work, which they believed was out of survival. All commented

on the colonial mentality exhibited by many Filipinos. In the end, one participant

made this comment about how great Filipinos were:

> The extended family values—how much we enjoy life, our ability to just
> sing and dance at the drop of a hat—laugh and forgive. We're probably
> the most forgiving culture—resiliency. I don't think you'll find many
> Filipinos who are manic-depressive. By and large we have a positive
> attitude. (Marilyn)

III—Situation

Situation represents the place or space in which participants' stories and

experiences occurred relative to the inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The

present study describes the situation broadly as the places of work of the

participants in the US. One participant worked for a government agency, one

worked at a cancer treatment center, another at a hospital, two were with private

corporate organizations, and one taught at a university. Their workplaces by and

large were white male-dominated, professional, and demanding environments.

Regardless of the organization size, the participants encountered a great deal of

organizational politics, power dynamics, and competition, conditions in which

they were not comfortable and were often challenged and frustrated.

For the most part, the participants navigated organizational terrains in their

own unique ways. All participants had positions of responsibility and were

perceived positively by their management. It was interesting to note that no one

expressed strong desire for higher positions in management: most were content with their present responsibilities; one felt at a plateau in her career, and one other had decided to leave her position since the time of the interview. One participant noted that from her experience, Filipinos were considered hard working, dedicated employees but were not seen as executive material; another participant commented similarly that Filipinos are hard working but naïve and not politically savvy. Perhaps this was one reason why many stop at first line supervision or mid-level management. I share these observations and experiences, having worked in corporate America for over twenty-five years in various capacities—I myself worked hard at dealing with organizational power and politics, being one of few Asian women in management at Citibank California. Furthermore, in my consulting practice where I teach leadership programs for Asian American managers in corporate businesses, few Filipinos are nominated to attend the programs, which indicate to me the scarcity of Filipinos in management positions. By and large, Filipinos are successful at the technical level but have difficulty working at higher levels of management in highly competitive and political environments; they tend to give up easily and see the political struggles as not worth their time, energy, and anxiety. Moreover, many of the participants I spoke with feel the long hours of being in management were not worth the family sacrifice.

As stated in the Present and Interaction elements, the participants often did not speak up at work, in staff meetings, faculty meetings, or the like. They did not express their feelings or opinions particularly when they were in conflict or

different from their managers; they did not say "no" when they wanted or needed to. The Filipino value of *utang na loob* or "feeling of indebtedness and being polite" also played out in the workplace with negative ramifications for one participant. Fear of authority and obedience to the rules prevented them from rocking the boat, with the exception of the youngest participant who spoke her mind to her manager, to the detriment of her career. They were generally nonconfrontational and chose to let things go than deal with the conflict. One participant said Filipinos were submissive, timid, and passive, and had an inferiority complex because of colonization. One participant did not pursue a higher position in academe when she could have, because of her negative views of people with wealth and power, views which stemmed from her negative experiences with powerful people in the Philippines.

At the same time, the participants believed they exhibited higher standards of performance and work ethic than the people they worked with. They followed through on commitments, were detail-oriented, quality-conscious, and disciplined; traits learned from their parents and teachers. The participants' core values and beliefs, which manifested at work, had both positive and less than desirable consequences. Their strengths were often carried to extremes that caused them to be perceived negatively. As one participant said, there were downsides to her being polite and loyal and to not being comfortable at competing and confronting, both considered leadership skills in her work environment. From my own experience in the corporate world and as a consultant, our Asian cultural values

often conflict with Western corporate values, without us being aware of the cultural differences and their career implications.

It was interesting to note how some participants saw conflicts in cultural values at work as blessings in disguise, such that in the long run, things turned out for the better. Whether this was true or not, for better or worse, Filipinos somehow always saw the positive side of challenges, failures, and sometimes even discrimination. As one participant commented: "Maybe our culture is not to fight—maybe that was my option too – not to fight—just let it go and maybe that's what I did" (Maria).

Participants also experienced interesting dynamics among their Filipino coworkers: four of them were expected to give special treatment or favors because they were Filipinos. As an example, one participant who was a manager was frustrated because her Filipino staff expected leniency from her and did not take her seriously because they regarded her as a comrade rather than as their manager. One participant also observed that her Filipino coworkers frequently spoke in Tagalog when they congregated together; she nicely told them this was inappropriate in a business setting. She felt they took her seriously because she was part of HR. On the other hand, one participant who worked in a financial services organization was excited to meet Filipinos and wanted to talk with them in Tagalog—to her surprise, they answered her back in English and pretended not to know how to speak the native language. The participant concluded these Filipinos had colonial mentality because they wanted to be Americans. One participant reported to a Filipino manager who abused her title and used her

power to belittle and humiliate her staff. Another participant was especially irritated with her Filipino coworkers who constantly showed the *mañana* habit and put off what they were supposed to do at a given time.

Overall, the participants encountered challenges as well as opportunities in the new world. For the most part, they had positions of responsibility and were respected by their management. Their ability to negotiate and navigate their work environments depended largely on their cultural identity, values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors.

IV—The Future

The Future represents the forward direction as described in the participants' visions and wishes for the future of Filipinos in the US, specifically Filipino women and themselves. Most participants expressed positive and inspiring futures, and two had more pragmatic and somewhat skeptical views. By and large, the future directions for Filipino American women and men centered on the following themes: cultural identity, leadership, cultural values, colonial mentality, and giving back and community involvement.

Cultural identity. As a group, participants wanted to see Filipino women be more progressive in their thinking instead of being conservative and simply accepting the status quo; they wanted women to feel their strengths and be empowered to make decisions for themselves. For example, if the marriage were not working, the woman would feel empowered to get out and not regard herself

as failure. They urged women to connect with their core values and use them to achieve their goals and fulfill their highest potential. A participant wished for Filipino women to be themselves in an honest way and to recognize their unique beauty, not just physically but from a holistic sense. She wanted them to be proud of whom they are and not be too quick to adapt another persona or to conform, because she believed Filipino women have much to offer the world.

Two participants hoped for a change in negative perceptions of Filipinos because they believe Filipinos are intrinsically good people. Two participants wanted Filipinos to stand up for what they believed in and encouraged them to create a better image for Filipino immigrants here in the US.

Leadership. Paradoxically, leadership was a common theme among the participants, though they themselves did not aspire to be in higher management positions; instead, they wanted to see leadership in other Filipinos, other than themselves. There was an overall aspiration to see fellow Filipinos grow and attain leadership positions, because as one participant noted, being in a leadership role would be a way to help other Filipinos achieve their potential and would also help Filipinos to move up and reach self-actualization. For Filipino women in particular, there was a common vision for them to be successful, to have a seat at the executive table, to work smarter, be more proactive in achieving their goals, and be brave and open in seeking the growth opportunities that are abundant and available to them. One participant wanted Filipino women to ask what contribution they can make in their organizations and to move up from clerical

240

jobs to positions with greater responsibilities for which they were qualified. She

knew Filipino women were hard workers, and she wanted them to move beyond

the status quo.

A number of the participants recognized the need for skills development

for Filipinos to achieve leadership positions. One participant wanted to see

Filipino women overcome shyness because she believed one reason Filipino

women were not at the CEO level was because they were shy and timid; she also

believed they have to work on speaking skills because they did not express

themselves very well. From her experience, in order to be promoted to higher

positions, it was important to have good speaking and presentation skills. The

participants also wanted Filipinos to take advantage of the opportunities and

resources this country offers, and to enjoy the finer things in life instead of always

having to work two or more jobs just to survive.

Cultural values. Aware that Filipinos often kept company with and limited

themselves to other Filipinos, participants wished for Filipino women to be open

to diverse cultures, because there were more similarities than differences and

there was much to be learned from other people. They also knew that Filipinos

were smart and friendly, and therefore encouraged them to use these traits to

establish good relations with other cultures. Two participants wanted Filipino

women to take care of themselves and not fall into the martyr syndrome, by which

they meant giving up everything for the sake of others, that is, children, husbands,

and family. Taking care of themselves would help them get to a level of self-actualization.

Two participants wanted Filipino mothers to instill in their sons: respect and equality for women, the idea that women are not subservient to men, love and respect for elders, and remembrance of cultural roots. Some wished for them to continue to be good role models for other Filipino women in the United States, be proud of their own cultural values, and use them to achieve their goals. Pride in cultural values was an interesting observation, in that one participant was explicit about the fact that she could not say she was proud to be a Filipino, because she felt out of touch with the latest Philippine cultural events (i.e., movies and actors). One participant wanted Filipino women to educate others about the deep love for the Catholic faith. Participants wanted Filipinos in general to honor and appreciate Filipino cultural values.

Colonial mentality. It was interesting to note that the participants spoke more about colonial mentality when asked about their wishes for Filipinos, than at any other time in the interviews. They readily identified colonial behaviors in others—but less in themselves—such as preferring brand names, designer labels, and anything American; wanting to be American by pretending to not know how to speak Tagalog; and being materialistic, for example, focusing on what car to drive, how much money one makes, or what title they have. The participants wished Filipinos would stop these behaviors. One participant was passionate about the need for Filipinos to be aware of colonial behaviors, to get out of the

shadow of colonial mentality and develop themselves without the heavy burden of colonialism, especially being here in the US where the culture is highly individualistic; however, that same participant did not offer action steps toward this need. Another participant wanted Filipinos to feel their own personal power, to manage their destiny, and to set their goals. The group wanted Filipinos to know they are as good as anybody else.

Giving back and community involvement. Participants acknowledged the need for Filipino women to broaden their sights beyond themselves and their family needs, and give back to community and global needs. They hoped to see more volunteerism among Filipino women as a way of giving back and not simply focusing on self. One participant stressed the need to look back, pull others along, and stop the "crab mentality," a term used among Filipino communities, to mean an attitude of bringing other Filipinos down instead of helping them. One participant saw a need for Filipino women to organize themselves via a nationwide Filipino women's organization as vehicle to become a powerful force in US and Philippine societies. Two also wanted Filipino men and women to be more active, especially with voting rights, because from their experiences, many Filipinos did not participate in political and civic affairs; they simply waited for whatever came down from those in office. The participants wished for a more proactive Filipino community because Filipinos represented the third largest Asian ethnic population in the country.

From a more pragmatic view, one participant foresaw the Filipino

population in the US growing with the migration of more Filipino teachers,

computer technicians, and other tourists because of the continuing poverty

conditions in the Philippines and the pervasive colonial thinking of the US as the

Promised Land. Nonetheless, even with the growth in population, she felt there

would not be any significant changes with Filipinos in the near future, primarily

because of sociocultural patterns, which have remained constant over time.

The perceived pattern among the participants was that Filipinos came to

the US to find work, buy a house and car, raise a family, and engage only in social

but not political or civic activities. The same participant believed that Filipinos,

unlike Chinese and Japanese, would remain on the sidelines rather than take the

lead for Asian Americans. On the other hand, another participant thought Filipino

immigration to the US will be stopped and it will be harder for Filipinos to

migrate; for her, this could mean more fourth-generation Filipinos like her

daughter, who is Westernized, which could result in the loss of Filipino traditions.

However, with technology she believed Filipino Americans will be watching

more Filipino programs from back home and telecommunications between

Filipinos in the US and the Philippines will improve and increase.

External and internal directions. For the participants themselves, their

futures represented what Clandinin and Connelly (2000) called internal and

external directions. Internal direction focuses on self-growth and development,

while external looks toward the highest good of others and society at large.

244

Looking toward an external direction, participants envisioned themselves reaching out to the larger community. Maria recognized the need to bring the younger generation along, to share her skills with them, and to give back in terms of scholarship funds. Marina planned on teaching her grandson (who is mixed Filipino, Chinese, and Mexican) the family values she learned from her parents and that she also imparted to her children. Anna planned to volunteer for nonprofit groups like the American Cancer Society and other organizations who work with children. Adelaida saw her future back in the Philippines, leaving the US to pursue her dream of taking part in nation-building efforts in the country; she believed that each person is part of the larger whole.

> I think ultimately the question for everybody is—what is my relevance to the community or society, because we were designed to live as a community. Nobody is designed to be alone—God designed humanity to exist as a community. (Adelaida)

The internal direction of participants focused on continuing self-development and growth. Donna planned on getting her HR certification, because she knew her function was evolving from personnel work to becoming strategic partners with the business, and she wanted to be prepared for the change. She dreamed of being a life coach for others because she truly enjoys helping people. Family being important to Donna, she also wanted to have children though she is not sure of this possibility. Marilyn looked forward to the close of one chapter in her life and the opening of another twenty years of opportunities ahead. She also wanted to overcome her stubbornness and being headstrong, which she hoped would make learning easier for her. Anna wanted to change from being self-

critical and constantly comparing herself to others, which has been a challenge having been raised to always look good for other people.

For the future, some participants focused more on internal directions and others on external. As a whole, the participants' directions encompassed a holistic future for themselves and the Filipino American community.

Summary

The narratives conveyed the unique lived experiences of the research participants, which consisted of positive, admirable, and inspiring stories of their lives. They depicted the participants' identities, which were largely shaped and developed by the indigenous and colonial values of their times. Narratives of research participants substantiate the research on cultural dimensions of collectivist cultures, power distance, and communication directness. Coming from a collectivist culture, the participants emphasized the value of their family and cultural values as basis for their decisions. Their response to conflict particularly with management, which was often avoidance or acquiescence, indicated a high degree of power distance and influenced their indirect manner of communication. I theorize our colonial history with the United States exacerbated the power distance felt by the participants. One interesting observation is that the participants, who came from a pluralistic culture, did not necessarily make decisions at work or try to "bend the rules" to favor Filipinos; to the contrary, they were aware of these behaviors among Filipinos and they made it a point not to participate.

The narratives also indirectly showed the impact of colonialism in participants' lives as manifested in their childhood years in the Philippines and in their social interactions at the workplace. The impact of colonialism, though not explicitly acknowledged, was evident in the participants' attitudes and behaviors toward life in the United States as better than that in the Philippines, their preference for anything and everything American or foreign-made over native products, the influence of religion in the inculcation of fear, and above all, a subtle denigration toward other Filipinos. At work, legacies of colonialism were unwittingly manifested in the participants' attitudes and behaviors toward their identity, authority, conflict, leadership, and careers.

With regard to careers, findings from the narratives revealed the participants' satisfaction with their present responsibilities and disinclination to pursue management positions, even when they were qualified and capable; each had reasons for not pursuing management positions. Ironically, in their visions for the future, they wished for other Filipino women to move up to higher levels of management from clerical positions. I theorize that the participants' career decisions are influenced largely by our deeply ingrained Asian values and colonial culture as well as by messages (explicit and implicit) from the work environment (e.g., managers, peers, or other employees) that discourage them from pursuing management positions. For Filipino participants, assimilation was the acculturation strategy, though some, as they gained more confidence in themselves, began to integrate both Filipino and American cultural values and heritage.

Chapter Five: Analysis and Conclusion provides critical analysis of the common themes described in this chapter, and presents the overarching theoretical constructs informed by those themes.

Chapter Five:

Analysis and Conclusion

According to research, narrative data can be broadly analyzed from the stories themselves, a chronology of unfolding events, and turning points or epiphanies (Creswell, 2007, p. 155). Within this broad lens, the researcher has several specific options from which to further analyze data collected from a narrative study. In "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis," Polkinghorne (1995) grouped data from narrative study into two types: paradigmatic and narrative, as described by Bruner (1985, as cited by Polkinghorne, 1995). *Analysis of narratives* describes the type of narrative study that uses paradigmatic reasoning in its analysis, while *narrative analysis* describes the type that uses narrative reasoning in its analysis. In paradigmatic analysis of narratives, researchers collect stories and the analyses result in descriptions of themes that hold true across the stories; whereas, in narrative analysis researchers collect descriptions of events and happenings and synthesize or configure them by means of a plot into a story or stories, such as a case study or biographic episode. In other words, analysis of narratives focuses the general stories into common elements or themes, while narrative analysis focuses the elements into stories (Polkinghorne, 1995).

Furthermore, narrative data can be analyzed according to the narrative structure or depending on how participants chose to tell their stories as paradigmatic (Labov, 1972, 1982; Labov & Waletsky, 1967; all as cited in Riessman, 1993) or dramatism (Burke, 1945, as cited in Riessman, 1993).

According to Reissman (1993), paradigmatic narratives have formal properties, which include: an abstract (summary of the substance of the narrative), orientation (time, place, situation, participants), complicating action (sequence of events), evaluation (significance and meaning of the action, attitude of the narrator), resolution (what finally happened), and coda (returns the perspective to the present). On the other hand, dramatism is a more classical approach, which includes: act (what was done), scene (when or where it was done), agent (who did it), agency (how they did it), and purpose (why) (Reissman, 1993).

Creswell (2007) describes two approaches to narrative analysis. The first approach is an analytic process designed by Yussen and Ozcan (1997, as cited in Creswell, 2007) that analyzes narrative data along five elements of plot structure: characters, setting, problem, actions, and resolutions. The second is the three-dimensional framework of Clandinin and Connelly (2000, as discussed in Creswell, 2007) that analyzes the data from three perspectives: interaction (personal and social), continuity (past, present, and future), and situation (physical places of the storyteller).

A review of these approaches indicates there are common properties or elements across the approaches in narrative research. As an example, Reissman's narrative structures align with Polkinghorne's paradigmatic analysis as well as with Clandinin and Connelly's three-dimensional approach to analysis.

Overarching Theoretical Constructs

From the themes in Chapter Four, I developed theoretical constructs, "abstract concepts that organize a group of themes by fitting them into a theoretical framework" (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, p. 67), which were reviewed against the literature and compared to my own personal and professional experiences. Theoretical constructs move the analysis from the descriptions of subjective experience as described in the themes to a more abstract and theoretical level.

To arrive at the overarching theoretical constructs, I followed Auerbach and Silverstein's (2003) steps for developing theoretical constructs from data, as follows:

1. Developed a list of themes from each of the four-dimensional framework and numbered them (e.g., 1, 2, 3).

2. Directed attention to the first theme, which is the starter theme. Read through the list of themes with the starter theme in mind. Each time I came across a theme related to the starter theme, I included it with the starter theme and made connections between it and the starter theme. I continued reading down the themes list until the list was exhausted.

3. Composed the first theoretical construct with the group of themes along with any notes and ideas that related together.

4. Developed the second theoretical construct from the reduced list in the same way that I developed the first one. I continued in this way all through the entire list of themes from each dimension.

5. Organized and coded the themes for each dimension as follows:

   I. Past—Growing up years in the Philippines;

   II. Present life in the US and interactions in workplaces and community;

   III. Place—Workplaces where participants worked;

   IV. Future—Desired directions and visions of participants going forward.

6. Identified theoretical constructs for each dimension and coded them as: I-A, I-B, II-C, II-D, and so on.

7. From the theoretical constructs for each dimension, three overarching theoretical constructs emerged that represented all constructs and all dimensions.

Not surprisingly, there are overlaps among the theoretical constructs, which signify a strong coherence among the themes from the narratives (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). The themes and theoretical constructs also fit together well in relation to the research topic on the impact of colonialism on modern-day Filipino American women in the workplace. From the common themes, three overarching and interconnected theoretical constructs emerged: (a) colonialism, which includes colonial strategies and colonial mentality, and their impact on cultural identity; (b) cultural identity, which focuses on the cultural value of kinship and its relation to interpersonal relationships and dealing with conflict; and (c) Filipino acculturation processes, which entail assimilation as the primary acculturation path taken by the participants.

Following is a critical analysis of the theoretical constructs, grounded in literature research and augmented with my personal stories as a Filipino woman and my professional experiences as an organization development consultant.

Colonialism

Colonialism as a theoretical construct for this study is directly related to the research topic and lays the foundation for the cultural identity and acculturation constructs. Historically, the Philippines was colonized several times—first by the Spaniards, then briefly by the Japanese during the Second World War, and later by the Americans. The most profound and dramatic experiences of colonization, however, took place during the Spanish and American colonial regimes (Jocano, 1997). During these regimes, the colonizers imposed their religious, social, and political systems on the Filipinos. For the Spaniards, their colonization strategy was to Christianize and save the colonized from eternal damnation, while the American plan was to establish a political-economic foothold in Asia, disguised as "benevolent assimilation," with education as a colonial strategy (Jocano, 1997; Strobel, 2001).

The participants' narratives reflected the Spanish strategy of Christianization in the power and importance of religion, which was integral in their lives growing up in the Philippines and still is now that they are in the United States; five participants were Catholic and one was a nondenominational Christian. "Catholicism not only exercised a profound impact on the patterning of notions of authority and submission in a colonial society; it also furnished the

natives with a language for conceptualizing the limits of colonial and class

domination" (Ileto, 1979, as discussed in Rafael, 1993, p. 7).

The participants took religion for granted as a way of life, and did not

recognize the deeper psychological, social, and cultural alienation from Filipino

indigenous culture and values. Similarly, the U.S. colonial strategy of education

proved to be just as powerful as religion, as evidenced in the way the participants'

parents all valued education and instilled its importance in their children's lives.

All participants attended notable schools in the Philippines and were proud of

their academic achievements. As with Christianization, the participants placed

high value on education and did not consider the cultural and social impacts, such

as the way that under the U.S. regime, the promotion of public higher education

as an imperialist strategy partly exacerbated class and gender division and

reinforced the "white bias" which Filipinos have come to internalize (McFerson,

2002). Christianization contributed to the formation of a small elite class of men

and women embracing Western-oriented development.

To understand how colonialism has impacted Filipino cultural identity, it

is useful to know that the colonizers passed laws and formulated civil service

rules to govern private and public behavior and likewise introduced their values as

standards for what was desirable, good, true, and beautiful in society (Jocano,

1997). Consequently, native customary ways were set aside as "primitive" and

"barbaric," and indigenous values and beliefs were described as "backward,"

"corrupt," and "superstitious" (p. 3). With this view, local knowledge, beliefs, and

practices became undesirable, and the values and practices of the colonizers—

presented as desirable alternatives to the native ones—were "accepted" as new standards and models for recognizing, expressing, and evaluating social realities and managing social behavior (Jocano, 1997).

The participants' themes indicated their exposure to U.S. products and ways of life through movies, television shows, school environments, and family possessions. With the exception of one participant, they reported that they grew up valuing everything American and considering products with American brand names much better than Filipino products. Their parents were also very influential in believing that the United States and other foreign countries were much better than the Philippines. Except for one participant, all thought life was better and brighter in the United States than in the Philippines. According to del Rosario (2003), with American textbooks, Filipinos unfortunately began learning not only a new language but also a new culture, one that taught Filipinos to look up to American heroes, to regard American culture as superior to native culture, and to view American society as the model par excellence for Philippine society. The American textbooks gave Filipinos a good dose of American history while distorting or at least ignoring their own culture and history. Thus, the seeds of colonial mentality sown during Spanish colonization were reinforced. From these themes, the legacies of Spanish and U.S. colonialism were evident but were not recognized as such by the participants.

According to research, colonial mentality is a state of mind that lacks critical awareness of the presence of the domination and oppression that shape attitudes, values, and behaviors in the colonized (Strobel, 2001). This lack of

awareness among colonized peoples results in their impersonation of the

colonizers' attitudes, values, and behaviors, and their denigration of their own

indigenous values, beliefs, and identities (Fanon, 1952; Memmi, 1965).

Participants manifested this lack of awareness in not recognizing the colonial

mindsets they grew up with, which greatly shaped their identities. It is a form of

intellectual captivity where the colonized people develop a warped sense of

values and a distorted picture of their own reality, resulting in lack of ethnic pride

and identity, and the production of a cultural inferiority complex toward the

colonizers (Constantino, 1974, as cited in Strobel, 2001). Moreover, Strobel made

a similar observation with regard to the lack of colonial recognition:

> There is a lack of cognitive knowledge among the post 1965 Filipino
> American population, about Philippine indigenous psychology and
> culture, owing to their own colonial (mis)education in the Philippines
> prior to immigration. (p.vii)

According to David and Okazaki (2006), a colonized mind internalizes the

inferiority about oneself and one's culture group and views colonizers as well-

intentioned, civilizing, liberating, or noble heroes; the colonized may feel a sense

of what Rimonte (1997) calls, "colonial debt." With the Spanish conquest,

Christianization inculcated a subservient role in the Filipino psyche in the role of

Jesus Christ: his suffering and crucifixion, highlighted during Holy Week,

symbolize the values of obedience, loyalty, and submission to God the Father.

During colonial times, this was translated to the Filipino people as showing

obedience, loyalty, and submission to Spain and a passive acceptance of one's

fate. Moreover, the sacrament of Penance was another insidious means of

inculcating sinfulness, inferiority, and incompetence into the consciousness of the Filipino people.

The post-1965 immigration group "has striven to make itself over in the image of the colonizer. The immigrant professional places the blame for lack of achievement on the individual rather than the colonial mentality and internal colonialism which constrain him from achieving" (Lott, as cited in Strobel, 2001, p. viii). Noted Filipino American social scientist Juanita Tamayo Lott (1980, as discussed by Strobel, 2001) described the colonial mentality of Filipinos in the United States as the cooperation of the colonized with the colonizer, reinforced by internal colonialism in the United States. Moreover, according to Strobel (2001), memory of punishment eventually teaches the oppressed to develop strategies for avoiding punishment; the system of reward and punishment is designed to make the colonized "behave" according to the master's rule.

These aspects of a colonized culture are deeply ingrained in the Filipino psyche and strongly influence Filipinos' attitudes, as evident in the participants' view of management in the workplace. To the participants, management was the primary source of authority, not to be questioned or challenged; instead, it was prudent to follow managements' commands. One participant did defy her manager at the instruction of her husband, but she later realized another approach would have been better for her.

Language was another aspect impacted by colonialism; several themes emerged surrounding language and its use. Jocano (2001) explains that language is not only the bearer of culture but is also "the medium through which events and

things cultural are made explicit, and that without it, we have limited ways of expressing our thoughts or of explaining how we understand things and events" (pp. 5–6). One participant described how her Filipino coworkers frequently spoke Tagalog when they congregated together, and she asked her fellow Filipinos not to speak the native language around non-Filipinos because it was discourteous, and the coworkers complied. On the other hand, another participant who worked in a financial services organization was excited to meet Filipinos so she could talk with them in Tagalog; to her surprise, they answered her back in English and pretended not to know how to speak the native tongue.

Colonial strategies differed in the use of language. Spaniards prohibited the use of Spanish for fear that the natives would become arrogant if they knew how to speak Spanish (Jocano, 1997; Strobel, 2001); thus, the friars learned and preached in the local vernacular. U.S. colonial strategy was the opposite—making English mandatory. By educating Filipinos in English, Americans standardized language for the fifty-two or more dialects of the Philippines; in this way, Americans were able to unify the people and impose their worldview on the colonized. Strobel (2001) quotes Renato Constantino, a noted Philippine historian and vocal critic of the American-patterned education system in the Philippines, who sees colonial education as the "best means of conquest," and comments that "through the imposition of English, Filipinos forgot their own language and in forgetting their own language, their consciousness changed" (p. 54). Constantino adds that the public school system with English as medium of instruction, together with the "glorification of the American way of life, its heroes and

institutions," (p. 54) produced an Americanized Filipino consciousness. The imposition of a foreign language implied the inferiority of the native language(s) of Filipinos, and under colonization the language was devalued, repressed, and negated, leading to "a sense of dislocation and ambivalence, the crisis of self-image and identity" (Strobel, 2001, pp. 64–65).

It was interesting to note from the participants' themes that fluency in U.S. English was regarded a positive thing—they credited their ability to find jobs and acculturate in the United States to their fluency with speaking and communicating in the English language. The participants saw the advantages and were not aware of the negative sociocultural consequences and implications of the English language as a colonial strategy.

Karnow (1989) notes that few countries, however, have been more heavily fettered by the past than the Philippines; after one of the longest periods of Western imperial rule in world history, Filipinos are still freighted with what they lament as their "colonial mentality" (p. 25). Indeed colonialism and imperialism as ideologies were powerful partners in the domination of Filipinos and the cultivation of colonial mentality, which have further alienated Filipinos from their indigenous identity.

Cultural Identity

According to McFerson (2002), the Filipino individual is a complex amalgamation of many cultures including Negrito, Indonesian, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Arab, European, and American. This is reflected in three of the

259

participants who are of mixed culture descent: Filipino/Chinese, Filipino/Spanish, and Filipino/Spanish/German. Looking at Philippine history, Karnow (1989) claims that Filipinos were easier to colonize than other Asians. He states that the Indians, Vietnamese, and Indonesians had a longer history of their own past grandeur and a sense of national character and pride, so that they exerted stronger force in resisting Western imperialism. By contrast, before the arrival of Spain, Filipinos had been an assortment of tribes without a central authority, a common religion, or a single language that united people together; thus, Filipinos were more receptive to foreign influence than other Asians.

From the start, Filipino cultural identity has been complicated and complex—it is a tapestry woven with layers of colonial histories. Nonetheless, integral to the Filipino identity are cultural values, and it is difficult to discern whether they sprung from pre-colonial, colonial, or imperial times (Andres, 1989). For cultural identity as a theoretical construct, I focus on cultural value of kinship and its impact on interpersonal relationships and dealing with conflict in the workplace. Literature research supports the notion that cultural values have informed and shaped Filipino way of life during and after colonial times.

Core values are the basic assumptions or postulates integral to the people composing a social group. Values are sources of reasons why people see and do things the way they do; they form the basis of the individual and collective consciousness, and the basic understanding of the world (Jocano, 2001). As stated in the colonialism construct, Filipino indigenous cultural values were devalued,

negated, and superseded by the imposed identity and values of the colonizers (Jocano, 1997, 2001; Strobel, 2001; Karnow, 1989).

Kinship is an indigenous value among Filipinos. Landa J. Jocano (1997, 1998, 2001), a Filipino anthropologist who has done extensive research and fieldwork on Filipino culture, states that the notion of kinship lies deep in the heart of Filipino community social organization. Kinship is the nucleus of Filipino society, and as such it affects if not dominates the shaping of local institutions, values, emotions, and actions. Jocano (2001) defines kinship as the relationship between individuals who identify themselves as kin because they are directly "linked together into a relationship through immediate family ties and symbolized by blood relations" (pp. 67–68). Reflecting on the participants' themes on cultural identity, all grew up with their immediate families and extended families of aunts, cousins, and grandmothers. Parents had strong influence on the children, raising them with Asian/Filipino core values of love of family, respect for parents, achievement of education, and faith in God or religion. Much of the participants' decisions revolved around and were influenced by their parents and other immediate family members like grandmothers and aunts.

Another study, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (Karnow, 1989), states that before the arrival of the Spanish, Filipinos belonged to no social group larger than the village, which was in fact their family, making them tied to these alliances since infancy. With Spanish colonialism, Catholic priests spread through the countryside, further sanctifying the family by exhorting

the Filipinos to identify with the Holy Family—God the powerful Father, the compassionate Virgin Mother, and Christ the Son (Karnow, 1989).

This family core value was evident in the participants' decisions to stay in the United States despite the hardships and challenges they encountered, in order to fulfill their obligation and commitment to their families. It is not unusual for Filipinos to endure hardships and sacrifice for the sake of their families—my experiences have been similar. At the same time, because Filipino indigenous values are intertwined with colonial values, it is hard to discern the root motivator for staying in the United States against all odds: the colonial mentality of anything and everything U.S. being better than the Philippines could be just as strong a motivator to stay as the indigenous value of family. Identification with the colonizer and his way of life could be an unconscious reason for staying, since going back to the Philippines would mean regressing to the colonized world.

With the emphasis on family and family values being very high, almost all activities center on the family. One of the participants exhibited this behavior a great deal, to the point that her manager mentioned how much the participant did for her family and how she was constantly involved in her family affairs. In the Filipino value system, family honor is at stake rather than the individual member of the unit when an individual member commits a mistake (Jocano, 2001). To be a good Filipino, one must see to it that she does not hurt other people's feelings, is a good member of his family, and maintains good relationships with most—if not all—people around her. She is also morally expected to be in the good graces of supernatural powers. Filipinos regard blood relations as an important idea in their

worldview, thus the common Filipino saying, "Blood is thicker than water" (Jocano, 2001).

In the Filipino worldview, fictive relations are similarly perceived and structured based on associations with the rites of marriage, baptism, and confirmation—thus, kinship is rooted on biological and ritual facts (Jocano, 2001). However, kinship is meaningless unless viewed in the context of social and moral sentiments. As such, it is a moral obligation to assist less fortunate kinsmen and it is also morally right to ask for assistance from those who are more fortunate. Filipinos view assisting kinsmen to get a job not as nepotism, corrupt practice, or lack of scruples, but as an act of moral obligation to help a kinsman. This idea of kinship could be one reason why some participants were expected to give special treatment or favors to other Filipinos just because they were Filipinos.

On the other hand, as strong as kinship is among Filipinos, Strobel (2001) asserts that people in various settings agree there is an identity crisis among Filipino American youth, due in part to the perceived parents' failure to properly educate and instill in themselves and their children cultural pride in being Filipino. This could explain why participants also wish for Filipino mothers to instill respect for elders and equality for women in their children.

Invisibility and lack of political clout resonated with participants who were disturbed by their Filipino coworkers' lack of involvement in political issues and volunteerism in community and civic affairs. They felt Filipinos only focused on the needs of their immediate families and were stingy when it came to

donating time and money for other causes. The core value of kinship may explain why Filipinos, at work or in the community, focus mostly on family and kinsmen and rarely on those outside of their circle. The belief that one's obligation is with the family of kin overrides other needs. Moreover, according to Jocano (2001), familism as a cultural value has to do with tendencies to promote small-group interests over those of the larger community. Collectivity is limited to family members, kinship group, and friends; if the larger community interests are considered, these are better addressed through the family, kinship, and friendship than through legal or bureaucratic contexts.

The value of kinship could have unintended negative implications for Filipino Americans at the workplace and societal levels. In the workplace, there is a tendency for Filipinos to form cliques and speak only in Tagalog or in their dialects (as one participant noted), unwittingly isolating themselves and excluding others. This leads to a perceived lack of involvement, interest, and participation in company- or organization-wide activities, which then results in lack of visibility and lack of interest and company commitment; both create negative perceptions of Filipinos and their careers. This same pattern exists in the larger community, where Filipinos tend to stay within the family circle or close neighborhoods of Filipinos. This demonstration of kinship is also related to the problems within the community in terms of perceived invisibility, lack of unity, and lack of political clout (Strobel, 2001).

Conflict and how to deal with it are highly influenced by cultural identity (Jocano, 2001). From the participants' narratives, there were several themes

around attitudes, behaviors, and coping mechanisms toward dealing with conflict, which was an area of discomfort for the participants. In many of the conflict situations, they chose to acquiesce, ignore, or accommodate, rather than to explore the source of conflict and come to a resolution, or to assert their wants and needs, particularly when the conflict was with a person of authority. Many times they were silent and their needs were not addressed. For example, one participant held back expressing her opinions during staff meetings when her opinions differed from her manager out of respect and not wanting to embarrass herself and her manager in public.

In Karnow's *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (1989), the author notes that Filipinos have been taught since childhood to respect authority and not to rebel or to question, and they are passive, even fatalistic. From my experience growing up, my parents and teachers drilled into my brain respect and fear of authority, which included parents, teachers, nuns, priests, and anyone older than me.

However, as noted in Chapter Two: Literature Review, in pre-colonial times, Filipino sociopolitical life was not rigidly stratified (McGovern, 1997). The village or *barangay* was administered by a chief, who achieved his position by rendering service valuable to the survival of the community, where he did not have absolute powers and could be deposed by the people (McGovern, 1997)— the chiefs therefore did not really constitute a separate politically elite class such as we find in the Philippines today. There was "consultative decision-making among *barangay* elders," (Wurfel, 1988, as quoted by McGovern, 1997, p. 24)

making the administrative system relatively democratic. Thus, the Philippines were more egalitarian and less stratified before the Spanish conquest; once again, the intersection of indigenous values and colonial mentality greatly influenced the participants' attitudes and behaviors of nonconfrontation.

From an indigenous value of kinship, it is best to avoid conflict altogether to achieve harmonious relationships. Jocano (1997, 1998, 2001) explains the influence of cultural values around conflict, particularly the value of *pakikisama* and *hiya*. *Pakikisama* refers to the commonly shared expectations, desires, or request to "get along" with someone if it is necessary for the good of the group. *Pakikisama* demonstrates a willingness "to subordinate one's own interest in favor of others, in the spirit of harmony, friendship, cooperation, and deference to majority decisions so that the group goals can be easily achieved" (Jocano, 1997, pp. 65–66). If conflict is unavoidable, it must be for good moral and social reasons; otherwise, it is better to remain in good terms with kinsmen neighbors. *Hiya* is a norm that involves being considerate of other people—taking their feelings into account before doing something. The notion of *hiya* includes being polite, bashful, tender, compassionate, and considerate, and thus *hiya* is one of the important norms governing good manners and right conduct, particularly in public places (Jocano, 2001).

For example, according to Jocano's *Filipino Worldview: Ethnography of Local Knowledge* (2001), it is expected that one does not let people lose face in public or in private—especially before their peers and loved ones. Doing so is not right and proper; it is also considered unethical. Sensitivity to others' feelings is

paramount to Filipinos in maintaining their relationships. Jocano adds that the importance Filipinos give to sensitivity as a mode of interpersonal communication is higher than in some cultures where winning the argument or debate is one source of social prestige and self-esteem. Participants' themes indicated that Filipinos are more nonconfrontational and choose to let things go for the sake of saving face and the good of the larger group. That is why euphemisms are used when talking to people, to avoid the use of confrontational verbal or body language; argumentation or debate is not the preferred style of communication (Jocano, 2001).

Moreover, Filipinos are said to be relational, preferring person-to-person or face-to-face interaction to written communication. They want to be part of the kinship circle; effective participation has to have personal touch, and so should leadership and problem solving, which are considered effective if handled through good personal relations rather than formal group discussions or debates. If one wishes to succeed in a group interaction, one has to personalize one's approach to the problem (Jocano, 2001). It is understandable, then, that even in meetings or public forums, Filipinos seldom ask questions or actively participate in the discussions; observers from other cultures, especially Western, have commented unfavorably on this behavior. However, participants were irritated with Filipinos' propensity for gossip and being overly concerned with others' well-being—the dark side of kinship.

From a colonial history and religious perspective, Filipinos by and large are not comfortable with conflict and avoid it at all cost. Fear of authority in the

persona of God the Father or the colonizer has been instilled in the Filipino

psyche, resulting in the need to acquiesce or be silent to avoid punishment

(Strobel, 2001). It was interesting to note the unconscious religious view

manifested in the way some participants saw conflict at work as blessing in

disguise, that in the long run, things turned out for the better and there were

lessons to be learned. For Filipinos, religion seems to be the answer to many of

life's dilemmas—"leave everything to God" is a common response of

powerlessness.

The participants dealt with conflict at work in their own unique ways;

however with the exception of one, by and large the participants acquiesced,

remained silent, or avoided the situation altogether. As stated earlier, all regarded

conflict as a blessing and believed that good things came from it. On the one

hand, this is a positive way of seeing conflict and the idea that direct

confrontation is not the only effective way to deal with conflict. There are times

when it is advisable to acquiesce or accommodate; however, the participants were

not cognizant of the driving force behind their behaviors, particularly the

influence of colonial thinking and influence of religion.

Given that the participants worked in Western organizations where

conflict is dealt with directly and often in a confrontational manner, it is likely the

participants will continue to avoid conflict and be viewed as passive and timid,

albeit hard-working. It is not likely that they will be viewed as leaders, because

they are perceived as not able to deal with conflict effectively. Participants'

themes indicate that overall, Filipinos are considered hard workers but not

executive material, but participants did not see this as applicable to their own careers.

As the study focused on Filipino American women, gender dynamics are also of interest in analysis of the narratives. As noted in the Filipino Feminism section of the Literature Review, the Spanish period was largely a negative era that pushed back women's status in all spheres, with the introduction of patriarchal values of the Iberian culture and Christianity, depriving Filipino women of their once powerful roles as priestesses (*babaylanes*), making them subordinate to men, and denying them any form of leadership (McFerson, 2002). This is particularly noteworthy because in pre-colonial Philippines, a matrilineal culture existed where women had power and influence in the social, religious, and cultural lives of Filipinos (Kwok, 2005); however, Spanish colonialism and U.S. imperialism marginalized women and diminished their parity. Catholicism was instrumental in exacerbating gender inequality (McGovern, 1997). Furthermore, as Christianity became more institutionalized, women were marginalized from their religious leadership roles and new relationships among gender, sexuality, and power had to be negotiated (Kwok, 2005). It is interesting to note that the participants chose to stay in their current positions and none wanted to pursue higher levels of management even when they were capable.

Filipino cultural identity has been deeply impacted and shaped by its colonial history. The cultural values integral to Filipino identity are an intersection of indigenous and colonial values—both are so deeply infused that it is hard to distinguish which is a stronger force in the development of the Filipino.

269

However, from the participants' narratives and literature review, it is not surprising that colonial culture and values have had a long and overpowering impact, to the extent that much of the indigenous values have receded in the background of Filipino consciousness, without them knowing it.

Acculturation Process

As the participants all immigrated to the United States, common themes from their narratives tell stories of acculturation to the Promised Land. Acculturation process describes the adaptation of an individual within a social culture (Agars & Kottke, 2004). Berry et al. (1992) suggest that an individual progresses through one of four modes of acculturation, which he calls assimilation, separation, deculturation, and integration; according to Berry, with assimilation, the culture of the dominant group becomes the standard. Assimilation is an approach that ignores differences and requires minority individuals to conform to the traditions, values, and norms of the majority (Bell, 1990; Cox & Nickelson, 1991; both as cited in Mighty, 1997).

Since Filipinos come from a country colonized by the United States, assimilation was not an uncommon acculturation path for the participants and many Filipinos alike since U.S. clothing, food, habits, and overall way of life were copied and regarded as superior to the native way. As colonized people, there is an inherent desire to get "whiter" (McFerson, 2002). Assimilation describes the negative or low maintenance of one's heritage, culture, and identity

and the positive or high relationships sought among other groups (Berry, 2001a, as cited in Berry et al., 1992).

The assimilation process for the participants was fraught with challenges. Regardless of their economic, social, and professional backgrounds, all the participants experienced hardships, obstacles, and challenges in the first two years in the United States. In as much as they were familiar with American ways of life, upon arriving in the United States they experienced culture shock, a form of anxiety that results from an inability to predict the behavior of others or to act appropriately in a cross-cultural situation (Jocano, 1997). Each participant had undergone her own process of acculturation to the new environment, which supports Berry et al.'s (1992) notion that not all acculturating individuals participate in the collective changes that are underway in their group to the same extent or in the same way. Nonetheless, the participants were surprised at the amount of cultural, social, emotional, physical, and economic adjustments they had to make—their images of America as the Promised Land did not quite reflect the new realities they experienced.

One possible contributing factor to the culture shock is the fact that while the United States left a more durable imprint on the Philippines, the impact was superficial; nevertheless Filipinos, because of colonial mentality, clung to the illusion that they share a common philosophy with the United States, when in reality the cultural values are dramatically dissimilar (Karnow, 1989). Consequently, it was not surprising that in the early years of life in the United States, the participants assimilated into Western culture to survive. A number of

271

participants mentioned that they have adopted Western values that have influenced them more than Filipino cultural values, and one participant acknowledge observing herself revert to some Filipino values.

The participants and many Filipino Americans, being fluent in the English language and familiar with Christian religion, have narrowed the culture distance, and the participants mentioned that this has helped them find jobs in the United States and assimilate more readily into the U.S. workforce; language is essential in the acculturation process. For Filipinos, unaware that use of the English language was a colonizing strategy, Karnow (1989) notes that "proficiency in English became a mark of distinction, many...looked back with veneration on their American education" (p. 18).

The assimilation process for the participants was most evident in the workplace, where diverse and polarized cultural values abound; in most cases, participants conformed to the dominant corporate culture. A possible attempt at preserving the Filipino culture was the forming of cliques with other Filipinos, speaking Tagalog or other dialects at work, and bringing Filipino food to work. Otherwise, the participants assimilated in various ways—they avoided conflict at all cost, and dismissed and ignored being discrimination upon. According to Cordova (1983), Filipino Americans were unquestionably loyal to America and her institutions despite hostile treatment and racism. Cases in point from the present study are the research participants who commented on dealing with conflict as one of their major challenges in the workplace; several of them did not seek management positions due to their strong discomfort with conflict. One

participant indicated her uneasiness in the organization because it was highly competitive, which discouraged her from pursuing greater responsibilities, even as she was qualified.

As indicated in the cultural identity construct, it was interesting to note that no participant expressed a strong desire to move to higher positions in management; most of them were content with their present set of responsibilities. Many remained silent and did not voice their needs; they did not express their feelings or opinions, and often deferred to authority in times of conflict. These behaviors largely driven by cultural identity and colonial mentality were forms of assimilation into Western workplace culture. From a colonized mindset, Filipinos unconsciously project the colonizer persona onto people of authority (e.g., management) and consequently would not dare to contradict "the master." The participants also commented on how hard other Filipinos worked, most holding two jobs, in order to survive. Karnow (1989) notes, "Filipinos yearned for American patronage. Just as Spanish sponsorship had assured them wealth and prestige in the 19th century, so American endorsement was the key to success" (p. 15). At a subconscious level, Filipinos opted to assimilate rather than lose American benefaction.

According to Hyun (2005), in workplace scenarios, perception is often reality, and what people do not know about being Asian can hurt their careers; people from different cultures, with stereotypes and preconceptions, often misinterpret behavior. At the most basic level, an underrepresented group like Asian Americans will stand out more, and by not fully realizing how their cultural

273

backgrounds manifest in attitudes and behaviors may cause misunderstanding in a Western corporate setting (Hyun, 2005). Filipinos seem to readily adopt Western ways of living, but their deeply ingrained Filipino core values are so fundamental to who they are, that they experience internal conflict with the process of acculturation.

I experienced this dilemma when I was new in the corporate world. On the outside, I exhibited Western behavior in managing people and dealing with organizational issues. As expected from Western management, I confronted poor performance, gave direct constructive feedback, expressed my opinions even when they were not popular, and took some risks in dealing with organizational politics. However, deep inside, I was conflicted and uncomfortable with my actions, which always required much effort to execute, even though I had held management positions for several years. Many times, I felt inauthentic carrying out what was expected of me (e.g., communicating certain policies and procedures) when it was different from what I believed to be true. It took some time before I reconciled the internal polarities between my own Filipino cultural values and Western corporate values.

Inasmuch as Filipinos have had the longest relationship with the United States among Asian ethnic groups, Filipinos' way of acculturation is still through assimilation; there are no signs of cultural integration where there is positive or high maintenance of one's heritage, culture, and identity, and positive or high relationships sought among other groups (i.e., Western culture and other nondominant groups). A potential implication of ongoing assimilation is the

perpetuation of colonial mentality where Filipinos see themselves as inferior, second-class citizens to the dominant Western culture, and the subsequent loss of Filipino indigenous values altogether. Over time, as one participant mentioned, with the increase in fourth-generation Filipino Americans, many traditional Filipino values could be forgotten, which would result in assimilation into the Western culture.

With regard to the participants' visions, it was interesting to note that their visions for the future centered around wanting to see fellow Filipinos grow and attain leadership positions, and in general to be proud of who they are and their accomplishments and not to forget their cultural roots. For Filipino American women in particular, participants wanted them to be more progressive in their thinking instead of accepting the status quo. The participants wanted Filipino women to take on leadership positions and to be at the executive table, because being in a leadership capacity was a way to help elevate other Filipinos to better standings in life.

On the surface, these visions seem logical and worthwhile; however, they signify something deeper. The participants' visions were incongruous with their current state and their own personal directions for the future: as stated earlier, no participant wanted to pursue higher levels of management or leadership positions whether in the community or in the corporate world. They wanted Filipino American women to be more progressive and to be at the executive table, yet they were content with their present situations; they wanted Filipinos to be proud of who they are and their accomplishments, yet they had expressed mixed feelings

about Filipinos, even denigration to some extent. Indeed, inasmuch as Filipinos are reluctant to be in leadership positions, there is an inherent need and desire to be leaders.

In exploring the reasons for this dichotomy, it is useful to consider Memmi's (1965) insight into the colonized mind. He noted that because colonialism is an act of domination, the colonized is a creature of oppression, and as such, at the fundamental level the colonized desires a need for change. Memmi describes that two conflicting forces motivate the change: the desire to belong and be accepted by the colonizer, an act of assimilation, which was what the participants and many Filipinos have done in coming to the United States; and the desire to be free from the colonizer, an act of rejection, which was symbolic of the visions of leadership, progressive thinking, and not compromising to the status quo.

The dichotomy between the participants' visions and their lived experiences in the United States symbolizes the colonized internal struggle—a mixed feeling of admiration and repulsion, wanting to belong and wanting to be free, a love–hate dynamic. The colonized attempts to assimilate by behaving and resembling his role model, the colonizer, to "the point of disappearing in him" (Memmi, 1965, p. 120), yet the constant feeling of inferiority coupled with the ambition to be equal with the colonizer soon wears out the colonized. According to Memmi (1965), he starts to reject his colonial situation and he wants to break free from the colonizer, yet he feels drawn to the colonizer. From the participants'

narratives, I infer that this form of assimilation and internal conflict is evident in modern-day Filipino American women.

Summary

The three overarching theoretical constructs—colonialism, cultural identity, and acculturation process—are deeply intertwined, with colonialism as a major force behind the formation of cultural identity, which influences the process of acculturation. As indicated in the literature, colonialism is a powerful and complex phenomenon, and though it has ended, colonial patterns permeate the cultural, social, political, ideological, economic, and religious spheres of the colonized people. Colonial patterns consist of deeply ingrained early messages about the colonized's inferiority, unworthiness, uncivilized nature, and need for salvation. These early messages have been accepted as "truths" and passed on from generation to generation; over time, the colonized acquires a colonial consciousness or mentality that sees the colonizer as superior and the colonized as inferior. Filipinos having been a colonized people for over four hundred years bear the wounds of colonization and the deeply ingrained colonial patterns or colonial mentality.

Filipinos' colonial mentality, an outcome of colonialism, was acquired and cultivated through systematic and purposeful strategies such as Christianization and education. Both strategies have been powerful forces in the negation of Filipino indigenous values and the development of Filipino cultural identity as largely influenced by colonial values.

277

According to research, colonial mentality is a state of mind, which lacks the critical awareness of the presence of domination and oppression that shape attitudes, values, and behaviors in the colonized (Strobel, 2001). This lack of awareness among colonized peoples results in their impersonation of the colonizers' attitudes, values, and behaviors, and denigration of their own indigenous values, beliefs, and identities (Fanon, 1952; Memmi, 1965). As indicated by the participants, they were aware of colonial behaviors in other Filipinos but not in themselves; the lack of awareness of colonial mentality in self has detrimental consequences, as one does not recognize the problems related to colonial mentality and the relevance to their daily lives and their careers.

Many Filipino Americans are not aware of these deep-seated, devastating, and debilitating effects of colonial heritage, as evidenced by the participants. Colonial conditioning is taken for granted, and thus there is no questioning of the past and current state of affairs culturally, economically, politically, socially, psychologically, and spiritually. The colonial worldview has defined Filipinos for generations, and though there have been economic benefits, the negative consequences continue to manifest in Filipinos' personal and professional lives. The literature review provided a deeper understanding of the genesis of colonial mentality and the economic and egoistic nature of Christianization and education as colonial strategies. The literature also provided theoretical grounding and deeper understanding of the themes and their implications for the participants as well as for Filipino Americans in general.

Conclusion

In this conclusion of the study, I answer the research question, "What is the impact of colonialism on the lives of modern-day Filipino American women in the workplace?" by theorizing that inasmuch as Spanish and U.S. colonialism have long ended, patterns of colonial beliefs and attitudes in the form of colonial mentality are present in modern-day Filipino American women, as exhibited by the research participants and recognized in others, but not in themselves. I also theorize that the continuing yet unrecognized presence of colonial mentality has profound implications for Filipino American men and women, for organizations, and for leadership and diversity efforts.

To substantiate my theory, this section presents a recap of colonialism as a point of departure, and from there, shows evidence of colonial mentality from the participants' narratives (albeit not explicitly recognized as such by the participants). Thereafter, I discuss the implications of the continuing, unrecognized presence of colonial attitudes and behaviors, and end the section with recommendations for future study.

Recap of Colonialism

Colonialism as a system has economics as its foundation, but it is also social, psychological, and political (Sartre, 2001). This study focused on the social and psychological impacts of colonialism as a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another, through the imposition of sociocultural, religious, and linguistic structures on the conquered population.

The results in colonial beliefs and systems of knowledge become deep-seated

layers of colonial patterns that persist over time, long after the colonizers are gone

(Kwok, 2005; Sartre, 2001). Early messages of the inferiority of the colonized and

the superiority of the colonizer translate into a condition of internalized

oppression called colonial mentality (Pheterson, 1986; Strobel, 2001; David &

Okazaki, 2006).

Colonial mentality among Filipino Americans as a specific form of

internalized oppression is characterized by a perception of ethnic or cultural

inferiority believed to be a specific consequence of centuries of colonization

under Spain and the United States. In the work of David and Okazaki (2006),

colonial mentality involves the automatic and uncritical rejection of anything

Filipino and the automatic and uncritical preference for anything American,

which signifies a denigration of the Filipino self as exhibited in feelings of

inferiority and shame, and a perception that anything Filipino is inferior to

anything white (i.e., language or material products).

Colonial mentality is also exhibited when such oppression is accepted as

an appropriate cost of civilization and it is believed that dominant group

maltreatments are well intentioned (David & Okazaki, 2006). Colonial mentality

is a state of mind, which lacks the critical awareness of the presence of

domination and oppression that shape attitudes, values, and behaviors in the

colonized (Strobel, 2001). In addition, colonial mentality is characterized by a

lack of awareness of its effects on the self, such that colonized peoples denigrate

their own culture and strive to mimic the culture of the colonizer (Fanon, 1952; Memmi, 1965).

Evidence of Colonial Patterns from Participants' Narratives

How do colonial patterns manifest in the workplace? How can colonial patterns be recognized? The following section provides examples of colonial patterns, beliefs, and behaviors from the participants' narratives. Inasmuch as participants did not directly articulate the connection between their experiences and colonial patterns, the literature review provided a rationale for the connection, and from my experience I inferred the relationships.

The imposition of sociocultural religious (Christianization by Spain) and linguistic structures (education by the United States) on the conquered population are two of the most powerful and lasting legacies of colonialism as evidenced by the impact of religion and the English language on all the participants. Religion is an integral part of the participants' lives from their childhood years in the Philippines to their present lives here in the United States; many of them avoided or did not confront conflict situations at work because they believed that God took care of them somehow. This religious belief was also supported by the cultural values of kinship, *hiya* (shame), and *pakilisama* (get along with others), and *utang na loob* (feeling of indebtedness).

All participants attested to the value and importance of speaking the English language, especially in the business world. Where there are indeed advantages for Filipino Americans to have learned the English language, the fact

281

there was no acknowledgement of its deeper sociocultural alienation to the indigenous Filipino language and dialects shows a lack of critical awareness of the continuing presence of colonial domination and a subliminal impersonation of the colonizers' attitudes, values, and behaviors (Fanon, 1952; Memmi, 1965). Moreover, a number of the participants expressed the benefits of having been colonized: they expressed gratitude for being in the United States and saw the United States as opening doors of opportunities for Filipinos, which they believed would not have been as possible in the Philippines. These indicate aspects of colonial mentality, namely accepting colonization as an appropriate cost of civilization and believing that dominant group maltreatments are well-intentioned (David & Okazaki, 2006).

The participants' narratives manifested colonial mentality among Filipinos as a specific form of internalized oppression characterized by a perception of ethnic or cultural inferiority, and as exhibited in automatic belief in and uncritical preference for anything American and the perception that anything Filipino is inferior to anything white. As an example, the participants' immigration to the United States was an indication of colonial mentality: with the exception of two participants, they came from middle- to upper-middle-class families with very comfortable lifestyles, yet they chose to come to the United States and endured the challenges and hardships of acculturation because they bought into the idea that the colonizer life style is better than their own. Four of the six participants grew up valuing and preferring American to Filipino native products. Growing up

with this mindset was a strong influence in pursuing the colonizer life style by coming to the United States.

Perhaps the strongest indicator of colonial mentality among the participants was the subtle yet controlling feeling of inferiority. Granted, there are other causes of inferiority other than colonial mentality; however, because Filipinos were colonized, colonial mentality is integral to the Filipino psyche. Hyun (2005) claims that Asian cultural values are derived from Confucianism—whereas this may be true for other Asian ethnic groups, it is not applicable to Filipinos. As such, though Asians share many similar behaviors (e.g., nonconfrontation, harmony, humility, family values, etc.), the underlying root causes of these behaviors differ among ethnic groups. For Filipinos, colonial mentality is one aspect of their cultural heritage that is at the root cause of many of their attitudes and behaviors.

Inferiority as an indicator of colonial mentality is manifested in the participants' narratives in various ways (see Table 6). Participants stated that many Filipinos were viewed as hard workers but not as leaders or executive material, mainly because Filipinos were perceived as timid, passive, and invisible.

One common finding from the interviews was the participants' lack of awareness and recognition of their colonial patterns until the questions and discussion during the interviews; even then, when asked about colonialism, they talked about colonial behaviors they observed from other Filipinos but did not connect these to themselves at a deeper level. On the surface, some acknowledged their fear of conflict or fear of authority, but they did not attribute these behaviors

Table 6

Beliefs or Behaviors Reflecting Inferiority in Participant Narratives

Related beliefs or behaviors	Associated possible "cause" feelings
Fear of authority (management) Not daring to question authority Doing as one is told Fear of conflict Avoiding conflict at all costs	Others are more powerful I'm not strong enough I don't have the skills to fight I deserve punishment, fear of punishment It's my fault
Choosing not to pursue greater responsibilities or higher management positions	I'm not good enough Others are better I don't deserve a better position Don't rock the boat Wait until I'm asked I'm not ready I will never be ready I won't succeed anyway It's too hard I'm not qualified It's not worth it I'm not a leader It's better to just follow
Not asserting oneself and one's rights Not expressing one's wants and needs Staying silent when one needs to voice oneself, for example when discriminated against	Don't rock the boat Save face

to having colonial mentality. Lack of critical awareness to discern internal oppression is a form of colonial mentality with profound implications (Strobel, 2001; Fanon, 1952; Memmi, 1965).

Implications of Colonial Mentality

What are the implications of colonial patterns on Filipino American women's careers? What implications are there for organizations, leadership, and diversity?

The six research participants exhibited colonial mentality in some shape or form, with varying intensity. Each of the participants' narratives was unique, but as a group they largely represented Filipino American women's colonial attitudes and behaviors. The lack of awareness of their colonial attitudes and beliefs can be problematic and career limiting for them and for other Filipino Americans as they continue to acculturate in the United States and navigate their way in the corporate world. Lack of awareness and recognition could result in perpetuating colonial attitudes and behaviors, which could lead to self-fulfilling images of inferiority.

Silence, invisibility, passivity, and timidity are perceived as career-limiting behaviors in Western corporate environments; consequently if Filipino Americans continue to exhibit these behaviors and management is not aware of colonial cultures, Filipino Americans could continue to lag behind other Asian American groups, misperceptions could remain unchanged, and Filipino Americans could be taken advantage of in negative ways. Furthermore, at a

societal level, lack of awareness means lack of change, which could mean that colonial patterns are passed on to the next generation, thus continuing the negative cycle of internal oppression among Filipino American people.

From an organizational level, the presence of colonial patterns must be acknowledged, accepted, and appreciated given the changing demographics, with many of the workforce coming from colonized countries like the Philippines, Africa, and India, to name a few. Colonialism creates colonized cultures that shape the core values, beliefs, and worldviews of the colonized people—employees from colonized countries bring with them, albeit unconsciously, colonial patterns, the manifestation of which in the workplace is inevitable, often creating negative perceptions on the part of the dominant culture, with subsequent career-limiting implications.

Moreover, unrecognized colonial patterns as exhibited in the participants' narratives deprive the organization and the employees alike of the potential contributions of the employees, which are often stifled or untapped. It is to the best interest of the organization to be aware of colonial patterns, and rather than resorting to "punishment" (e.g., poor performance evaluation of the employee), to provide interventions to explore the nature and indicators of colonial patterns.

Much of this work rests with leadership. Because leadership in Western organizations is primarily of the dominant group (Freire, 1970), it would be difficult for leaders to recognize colonial patterns. Nonetheless, most of the responsibility for change must be borne not by those who were marginalized but by those in positions of power and responsibility; as such, managers need to pay

particular attention to factors that may bias their efforts in developing others who have not been part of the traditional dominant group (Stockdale & Cao, 2004). One first step is for leadership to recognize that not all Asians are alike, and that within the Asian group are subcultural groups, each with their own unique cultural histories that influence people's attitudes and behaviors. Leaders need to know more about colonialism and colonized cultures and cultivate cultural sensitivity as critical competencies of multicultural and global leadership, engaging in dialogues on how to establish organizational support systems toward the understanding colonial cultures as part of workforce diversity.

Diversity initiatives also play an important role. As workforce demographics continue to change, the context of diversity must also change—the layers of understanding are many and deep. However, many scholars have expressed concerns about stressing self-improvement as a means of social change, in that such an approach runs the risk of implying that differences are deficiencies; additionally, concentrating on the individual can detract from a more appropriate focus on important systemic, organization-wide barriers that need to be removed (Stockdale & Cao, 2004). Kept in proper perspective, however, interventions at the individual level are an important component of many diversity initiatives, and most individuals (e.g., Filipino / Asian Americans) could benefit from some personal development to raise awareness and equip themselves for managing their own careers and for integrating (rather than assimilating) more effectively in the Western work environment. Although diversity initiatives have become more comprehensive and inclusive, by and large, work has been at the

outer layers of the construct and aspects of colonial histories and colonial mentality are among the innermost layers that are yet to be explored, discovered, and appreciated.

Recommendations

What interventions can help raise awareness, acceptance, and acknowledgment of the colonial patterns that manifest in people and organizations? As colonialism is a system, the process for addressing the phenomenon must also be systemic, and its components are open for exploration and inquiry. For the purpose of this study, I focused on the research setting of the workplace; going forward, I propose a deeper look at the individual, work-group, and organization dimensions. Recognizing the complexity and interconnectedness of the dimensions, each dimension can be an area of future study, of which this research can serve as a springboard. For example, with regard to the individual dimension, further research could be done on the multi-generational impact of colonialism, as demonstrated by the youngest GenXer participant being the least uncomfortable with conflict compared to the Baby Boomer and Traditionalist participants. The participants' narratives and findings can be stepping-stones on the path toward postcolonialism for Filipino American men and women and people of colonized cultures.

Through this doctoral research, I have come to acknowledge, accept, and appreciate at a deeper level the genesis of our deeply ingrained colonial mentality and the attitudes and behaviors resulting from it. Doing the literature research was

as painful an undertaking as it was liberating—it was painful to discover the dark side of our colonial heritage, which was hidden from my early education in the Philippines in which Spanish colonization was presented as our salvation and U.S. imperialism as our passport to economic freedom and prosperity. There were moments during the literature research process when I felt angry and resentful toward my second home, the United States. I wondered what I was doing in this country that robbed us of our indigenous language and gave us an illusion of what we could be at the expense of denying our true cultural identity. I questioned whether I could continue with the research study. At some point, I felt a shift from anger and resentment to understanding, acceptance, and compassion; our colonial history is an integral part of our culture and it must be acknowledged for all that it was. The choice for me was to move forward and use the research study as a stepping-stone toward a different future—this is my hope and vision for fellow Filipino Americans and people of other colonized cultures.

References

Agars, M. D., & Kottke, J. L. (2004). Models and practice of diversity management: A historical review and presentation of a new integration theory. In M. S. Stockdale & F. J. Crosby (Eds.), *The psychology and management of workplace diversity* (pp. 55–77). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Andres, T. D. (1989). *Positive Filipino values.* Quezon City, Philippines: New Day.

Aquino, B. A. (1994). *Women in Philippine society: A historical perspective.* In B. Nelson and N. Chowdhury (Eds.), *Philippine feminism in historical perspective: Women in politics worldwide.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Auerbach, C. F., & Silverstein, L. B. (2003). *Qualitative data: An introduction to coding and analysis.* New York: New York University Press.

Austria, A. M. A., & Austria, A. M. (2005). Reparations: Repairing the psychological harm; The case for Filipinos and Filipino Americans [special section]. In *Communique, Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs Public Interest Directorate* (pp. 25–29). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Bentz, V. M., & Shapiro, J. J. (1998). *Mindful inquiry in social research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Berry, J. W., Poortinga, Y. H., Segall, M. H., & Dasen, P. R. (1992). *Cross-cultural psychology: Research and applications.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Boahen, A. A. (1987). *African perspectives on colonialism.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Brahms, S. (2003) Systemic narrative inquiry (SNI) method: Theory presentation and application within the Israeli-Palestinian. In *Proceedings of the 47th Annual Meeting of the International Society for the Systems Sciences* (pp. 1–18). Hersonnissos, Crete, July 6–11, 2003.

Bullock, A., & Trombley, S. (Eds.). (1999). *The Norton dictionary of modern thought.* 2nd rev. ed. New York: Norton.

Cheney, D. M. (2005). Statistics by country by Catholic population. Retrieved March 14, 2009, from http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/country/sc1.html

Cheng, C., Lee, F., & Benet-Martinez, V. (2006). Assimilation and contrast effects in cultural frame switching: Bicultural identity integration and valence of cultural cues. *Journal of Cross Cultural psychology, 37,* 742.

Chrobot-Mason, D., & Ruderman, M. N. (2004). Leadership in a diverse workplace. In M. S. Stockdale & F. J. Crosby (Eds.), *The psychology and management of workplace diversity* (pp. 100–121). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Clandinin, D. J., & Conelly, M. F. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Cordova, F. (1983). *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans.* Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

David, E. J. R., & Okazaki, S. (2006). Colonial mentality: A review and recommendation for Filipino American psychology. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 12*(1), 1–16.

Deal, T. E., & Kennedy, A. A. (1982). *Corporate cultures: The rites and rituals of corporate life.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

De Jesus, M. L. (Ed.). (2005). *Pinay power: Peminist critical theory.* New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.

Del Rosario, M. (2003). The language of colonialism: The Philippines—under two empires. *Comparative and International Education, ITSF 4091,* 1–18.

Dessler, G. (1998). *Management: Leading people and organizations in the 21st century.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Fanon, F. (1952). *Black skin, white masks.* New York: Grove Press.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* New York: Continuum.

Gentile, M. C. (1996). *Managerial excellence through diversity: Text and cases.* Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.

Hall, E. T. (1976). *Beyond culture.* New York: Anchor Books.

Holvino, E., Ferdman, B. M., & Merrill-Sand, D. (2004). Creating and sustaining diversity and inclusion in organizations: Strategies and approaches. In M. S. Stockdale & F. J. Crosby (Eds.), *The psychology and management of workplace diversity* (pp. 100–121). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Hyun, J. (2005). *Breaking the bamboo ceiling: Career strategies for Asians*. New York: Harper Business.

Jocano, F. L. (1997). *Filipino value system*. Metro Manila, Philippines: PUNLAD Research House.

Jocano, F. L. (1998). *Filipino social organization: Traditional kinship and family organization*. Metro Manila, Philippines: PUNLAD Research House.

Jocano, F. L. (2001). *Filipino worldview: Ethnography of local knowledge*. Metro Manila, Philippines: PUNLAD Research House.

Karnow, S. (1989). *In our image: America's empire in the Philippines*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Kim, B. K., Yang, P. H., Atkinson, D. R., Wolfe, M. M., & Hong, S. (2001). Cultural value similarities and differences among Asian American ethnic groups. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 7*(4), 343–361.

Kohn, M. (2006). Colonialism. In Zalta, E. M. (ed.), *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (spring 2006 edition). Retrieved March 14, 2009, from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/colonialism/

Kwok, P. (2005). *Postcolonial imagination and feminist theology*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.

Le, C. N. (2009a). The model minority image. *Asian-Nation: The Landscape of Asian America*. Retrieved March 14, 2009, from http://www.asian-nation.org/model-minority.shtml

Le, C. N. (2009b). Population statistics and demographics. *Asian-Nation: The Landscape of Asian America*. Retrieved March 14, 2009, from http://www.asian-nation.org/population.shtml

Maier, M. (1997). We have to make a MANagement decision: Challenger and the dysfunctions of corporate masculinity. In P. Prasad, A. J. Mills, M. Elmes, & A. Prasad (Eds.), *Managing the melting organizational melting pot: Dilemmas of workplace diversity* (pp. 226–254). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

McClintock, C. (2004). Using narrative methods to link program evaluation and organization development. *The Evaluation Exchange, 9*(4), 1–4.

McFerson, H. M. (Ed.). (2002). *Mixed blessing: The impact of the American colonial experience on politics and society in the Philippines*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

McGovern, L. L. (1997). *Filipino peasant women*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Manansala, P. K. (n.d.). Indigenous religious beliefs and cosmology of the Filipino. Retrieved March 15, 2009, from http://www.geocities.com/tokyo/temple/9845/spirit.htm

Memmi, A. (1965). *The colonizer and the colonized*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Merriam, S. B. (and Associates). (2002). *Qualitative research in practice. Examples for discussion and analysis*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Mighty, E. J. (1997). Triple jeopardy: Immigrant women of color in the workforce. In P. Prasad, A. J. Mills, M. Elmes, & A. Prasad (Eds.), *Managing the melting organizational melting pot: dilemmas of workplace diversity* (pp. 312–339). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

OMF Serve Asia. (2003). Religion profile: Folk Christianity. Retrieved March 15, 2009, from http://www.serveasia.nl/document/pdfs/ Folk%20Christianity%202003.PDF

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pheterson, G. (1986). Alliances between women: Overcoming internalized oppression and internalized domination. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 12*(1), 146–160.

Pido, A. J. A. (1997). Micro / macro dimensions of Pilipino immigration to the United States. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Filipino Americans: Transformation and identity* (pp. 21–38). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1995). Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis. In J. A. Hatch & R. Wisniewski (Eds.), *Life history and narrative* (pp. 5–24). Bristol, PA: Falmer Press.

Prasad, P., Mills, A. J., Elmes, M., & Prasad, A. (Eds.). (1997). *Managing the melting organizational melting pot: Dilemmas of workplace diversity*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Rafael, V. L. (1993). *Contracting colonialism: Translation and Christian conversion in Tagalog society under early Spanish rule*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Reyes, F. V. (1976). A study on values among Filipinos living here in the United States. Paper presented at University of California Los Angeles, under Professor Miriam Goldberg.

Riessman, C. K. (1993). Narrative analysis. *Qualitative Research methods, 30*, 1–78.

Rimonte, N. (1997). Colonialism's legacy: The inferiorizing of the Filipino. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Filipino Americans: Transformative and identity* (pp. 39–61). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Rizal, J. (2006). *Noli me tangere* [Touch me not]. (H. Augenbraum, Trans.) New York: Penguin Classics.

Root, M. P. P. (Ed.). (1997). *Filipino Americans: Transformation and identity*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Rothwell, W. J., Sullivan, R., & McLean, G. N. (1995). *Practicing organization development: A guide for consultants*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Pfeiffer.

Said, E. W. (1993). *Culture and imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Sartre, J. P. (2001). *Colonialism and neocolonialism*. (Trans. A. Haddour). London: Routledge Classics. (Original work published 1964 in French)

Shields, C. (2005). Using narrative inquiry to inform and guide our (re)interpretations of lived experience. *McGill Journal of Education, 40*(1), 179–188.

Singh, J. G. (1996). *Colonial narratives: Cultural dialogues; Discoveries of India in the language of colonialism*. London: Routledge.

Strobel, L. M. (1997). Narratives of decolonization among post 1965 Filipino Americans. In M. P.P. Root (Ed.), *Filipino Americans: Transformation and identity* (pp. 62–79). Thousands Oaks, CA: Sage.

Strobel, L. M. (2001). *Coming full circle: The process of decolonization among post-1965 Filipino Americans*. Quezon City, Philippines: Giraffe Book.

Stockdale, M. S., & Cao, F. (2004). Looking back and heading forward: Major themes of the psychology and management of workplace diversity. In M. S. Stockdale & F. J. Crosby (Eds.), *The psychology and management of workplace diversity* (pp. 299–316). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Stockdale, M. S., & Crosby, F. J. (Eds.). (2004). *The psychology and management of workplace diversity*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Stone, D. L., & Stone-Romero, E. F. (2004). The influence of culture on role-taking in culturally diverse organizations. In M. S. Stockdale & F. J. Crosby (Eds.), *The psychology and management of workplace diversity* (pp. 78–99). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Szilagyi, A. D., & Wallace, M. J. (1990). *Organizational behavior and performance*. New York, NY: Harper Collins Publishers.

Tintiangco-Cubales, A. G. (2005). Pinayism. In M. L. de Jesus (Ed.), *Pinay power: Peminist critical theory* (pp. 119–129). New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis.

Wilson, R. A. (2007). Combining historical research and narrative inquiry to create chronicles and narratives. *The Qualitative Report, 12*(1), 20–39.

Appendix A:

Researcher Bio

FATIMA BUSTOS-CHOY
Gaia Flow Consulting

Fatima Bustos-Choy is founder of Gaia Flow Consulting, a leadership and organizational development consultancy. Her consulting practice is based on holistic principles and integrated learning that promotes human and organizational change and transformation. Programs and services include:

Train-the-trainer workshops, Group Facilitation, Executive and Management Coaching; Personal Mastery, Leadership and Supervisory Development, Change Management, Strategic Planning, Team Building and Collaboration, Behavioral Styles and Communications, Visioning, and Organizational Power and Politics, Organizational Scorecard Process, and Capacity Building.

Prior to founding her consultancy, Fatima held a number of management positions with Fortune 500 companies, which includes Director of Training for Citibank California and Executive Development Program Manager for former Hughes Aircraft Company. She was an adjunct faculty for the University of Phoenix. Her long-time corporate background and personal experiences of self-empowerment have proven invaluable to her consulting practice. Fatima's longtime relationship with clients is founded on her core values of service, action, and results. Her clients include private companies as well as non-profit organizations: The Aerospace Corporation, LEAP, INC. (Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics), Los Angeles Children's Planning Council, Los Angeles Best Babies Network, Philippine National Oil Company, San Diego Municipal Credit Union, SIPA (Search To Involve Pilipino Americans), Girls and Gangs, WRAP (Western Region Asian Pacifics) Family Services, Watson Pharmaceutical Company. Through her work with long-time client, LEAP, Inc., Fatima has designed and facilitated leadership development programs for IBM, Raytheon, Merck, Eli Lilly, Wells Fargo, to name a few.

Passion for continuous learning, belief in human potential, and focus on the positive are common threads in Fatima's life and work. She has a husband and a son. Fatima has presented at national trade conferences. She holds a Masters degree in Organizational Management and is currently a Doctoral candidate in Humanities with emphasis in Transformative Learning and Change at California Institute of Integral Studies.

Appendix B:

Demographic Questionnaire

DISSERTATION RESEARCH - DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE
Conducted by Fatima Bustos-Choy
Doctoral Candidate, California Institute of Integral Studies
San Francisco, CA

Name:
Home Address:
Telephone #s: Home: _____ Work: _____ Cell: _____ Email address: _____
Occupation / Position:
Length of time / Number of years in the United States workforce
Current Work Address:
Please check all that applies: Single _____ Divorced _____ Separated _____ Married _____ Widow _____

Year of Birth	Years of Schooling	Number of Years in the United States
Originally came to the US as a: Student _____ Immigrant _____ Tourist _____ Other _____ **At the age of:** _____		
Main reason for coming to the United States:		
Have your expectations concerning immigrating to the US been fulfilled so far?		

Thank you for your participation!

297

Appendix C:

List of Common Themes From Findings

I - Past—Growing up years in the Philippines

1. Their parents all valued education and instilled its importance on their children. All participants excelled academically, some more than others, albeit each was motivated by different factors.

2. All grew up with their immediate families as well as extended families of aunts, cousins, and grandmothers.

3. The fathers of three participants in particular were the dominant figures in their families and also had significant influence on the participants' upbringing. Grandmothers also had special roles in the lives of two participants.

4. Religion was important to all of them and it was integral in their lives growing up in the Philippines and still is now that they are in the US. Five were Catholic and one was Christian. Nonetheless, God was a strong presence in their lives. They all went to church, participated in religious activities, and religion greatly influenced their values and decisions.

5. All were raised with Asian/Filipino core values of love of family, respect for parents, achievement of education, and faith in God or religion.

6. Other Asian/Filipino cultural values of hard work, perseverance, conflict-avoidance, resourcefulness, adaptability, and resiliency were markedly exhibited during their early years in the US.

7. Exposure to American products and American way of life through movies, TV shows, school environment, and family possessions and growing up valuing everything American.

8. Legacies of Spanish and US colonialism were evident in their stories but were not in the participants' consciousness. Example: they shared how they grew up with American brand name products and how they thought these were much better than Filipino products.

9. Except for one participant, all thought life was better and brighter in the US than in the Philippines.

10. The parents were also very influential in believing the US and other foreign countries were much better than the Philippines.

II—Present Life in the United States and Interactions in the Workplace and Community

1. One common theme among all the participants regardless of their economic, social, and professional backgrounds was they experienced hardships, struggles, obstacles, and challenges in the first two years in the US.

2. They were all surprised at the amount of cultural, social, emotional, physical, and economic adjustments they had to make. The images of America as the Promised Land did not quite reflect their new realities in this country.

3. It was love of family, a sense of obligation and commitment, and pride that kept them here.

4. Their ability to speak English fluently, albeit with an accent, and being educated helped them secure jobs and adapt to their new environments.

5. They also encountered many challenges at work including discrimination, which they dismissed or ignored, and some did not admit to being discriminated during the interviews.

6. Many times they were silent and their needs were not addressed.

7. Organizational politics and power dynamics were difficult to handle for the participants and caused a great deal of frustration.

8. Dealing with conflict, especially with authority was another area of discomfort for the participants, except for one participant.

9. Most of them rationalized their behaviors toward conflict as "the right thing to have done at that time." Yet in many of the conflict situations, they chose to either acquiesce, ignore, or accommodate, rather than explore the source of conflict and come to a resolution, or assert their wants and needs.

10. By and large the research participants were not cognitively aware of the impact of colonialism in their personal and professional lives until during the interviews.

11. The participants had varied experiences and interactions with fellow Filipinos in the US some were positive and others negative.

12. On the whole, the participants were happy to see and connect with other Filipinos when they first arrived in the US.

13. Participants were irritated with Filipinos' propensity for gossip, penchant for designer labels, and proclivity toward status symbols.

14. A couple of participants were disturbed a great deal by their Filipino

    coworkers' lack of involvement in political issues and volunteerism in

    community and civic affairs. They felt Filipinos only focused on the needs of

    their immediate families and were stingy when it came to donating time and

    money for other causes.

15. At the same time, they all found Filipinos friendly and helpful in times of

    need. They had fun with them at potluck gatherings. It was also great when

    they ate Filipino foods together at work, especially when they brought rice.

16. All participants commented on how hard other Filipinos worked, most with

    two jobs, and how they did not speak up much at work, which they believed

    was out of survival.

III – Situation—American Workplaces where Participants Worked

1. Their workplaces were by and large white male-dominated, professional, and

   demanding environments.

2. Regardless of size of the organizations, the participants encountered a great

   deal of organizational politics, power dynamics, and competition, conditions

   that often challenged and frustrated them.

3. All the participants have positions of responsibility and overall are perceived

   positively by their management.

4. No one expressed a strong desire to have higher positions in management;

   most of them were content with their present responsibilities.

5. One participant noted that from her experience, Filipinos were considered hard working, dedicated employees but are not seen as executive material.

6. The participants often did not speak up at work, i.e., in staff meetings or faculty meetings, until later on. They did not express their feelings or opinions particularly when they were in conflict or different from their managers.

7. They were more non-confrontational and chose to let things go than deal with the conflict.

8. The participants believed they exhibited higher standards of performance and work ethic than the people they worked with.

9. It was interesting to note how some participants saw conflicts in cultural values at work as blessings in disguise, that in the long run, things turned out for the better and there were lessons to be learned.

10. Participants also experienced interesting dynamics among their Filipino co-workers. Four of them were expected to give special treatment or favors because they were Filipinos.

11. One participant also encountered her Filipino co-workers frequently spoke in Tagalog when they congregated together.

12. On the other hand, one participant who worked in a financial services organization was excited to meet Filipinos and wanted to talk with them in Tagalog. To her surprise, they answered her back in English and pretended not to know how to speak the native language.

IV – Future—Desired Directions and Visions of Participants Going Forward

1. As a group participants want to see Filipino women be more progressive in their thinking instead of being conservative and simply accepting the status quo, and feel their strengths and be empowered to make decisions for themselves.

2. To connect with core values and use them to be their best and to achieve their goals and fulfill their highest potential.

3. The participants want Filipinos be proud of who they are and their accomplishments and not be conformists, at the same time to not forget where they came from.

4. There was an overall aspiration to see fellow Filipinos grow and attain leadership positions because this would be a way to help other Filipinos achieve their potential.

5. Participants recognize the need for skills development to achieve leadership positions, e.g., improving presentation skills, joining Toastmasters, and overcoming shyness.

6. They also want Filipinos to take advantage of the opportunities and resources this country offers to improve themselves.

7. Filipinos are smart and friendly people and therefore use these traits to establish good relations with other cultures.

8. A couple of participants want Filipino women to take care of themselves and not fall into the martyr syndrome meaning, give up everything for the sake of others, e.g., their children, husbands, and family.

9. Being good role models for other Filipino women in the United States and in the Philippines and to be proud of our own cultural heritage and not be ashamed to share it.

10. It was interesting to note that the participants spoke more about colonial mentality when asked about their wishes for Filipinos than anytime in the interviews

11. They readily identified colonial behaviors in others and less in themselves, such as a penchant for brand names and designer labels.

12. Participants acknowledge the need for Filipino women to broaden their sights beyond themselves and their family needs and give back to community and global needs.

13. The participants wish for a more proactive Filipino community because they represent the third largest Asian population in the country.

14. Even with the growth in population, one participant felt there would not be any significant changes with Filipinos in the near future primarily because of socio-cultural patterns which have remained constant over time.

15. Continued connection with mother country via technology and retirees going back.

16. Participants expressed both internal directed as well as external directed visions.

Appendix D:

Human Research Review Consent Form, Confidentiality Statement,

and Participant Bill of Rights

Research Participant Written Consent and Human Research Review

I understand that I am being asked to be a voluntary participant in a dissertation research project entitled: *"Narratives on the Impacts of Colonialism in the Lives of Modern Day Filipino American Women in the Workplace,"* in which Fatima Bustos-Choy, a doctoral student at the California Institute of Integral Studies (CIIS) in San Francisco, CA is the researcher.

• I understand that the purpose of the research project is to understand the impacts of colonialism in the lives of modern day Filipino women by sharing my experiences and stories as a Filipino woman who immigrated to the United States, now working in a corporate organization, and how colonialism may or may not have shaped my life and how the impacts of colonialism may or may not manifest at my work. I understand that there may not be any direct benefit from participating in this inquiry.

• I understand that the researcher will conduct the research process with participants over a period of four months, which consists of personal interviews with me, observations of me at my workplace, and my journaling for a minimum of two weeks. I understand that I am not required to engage in any activity or story that I feel might put my emotional well being at risk.

• I understand that there may be a group gathering with the other research participants to share insights and lessons learned from the research project in addition to the one-on-one work with the researcher and that I am not required to participate in the group, or I may withdraw from the group if at any time I am uncomfortable with the process.

• I understand that I may voluntarily provide personal memorabilia or family artifacts, such family photos, as part of my story, and or write poetry or other forms of expressing my experiences. In all cases, I will choose which items, if any, to provide the researcher and will give written consent for use in the research project.

• I understand that I can withdraw from this research project at any time.

• I understand that during the period of the research project in which I am involved, I may contact the researcher for further clarification.

  Fatima Bustos-Choy

  [contact information deleted for privacy]

• I understand that if I have any concerns or am dissatisfied at any time with any part of the research project, I may report my concerns by phone or correspondence, anonymously if I wish, to the Chair of the Human Research Review Committee noted below:

Chairperson of HRRC

California Institute of Integral Studies

1453 Mission Street

San Francisco, CA 94103

Telephone: 415-575-6100

• I understand that my sessions with the researcher will be audiotape recorded and that the tapes will be kept in a secure locked box in the researcher's home office, and will be destroyed when the dissertation is published. I will safeguard my audiotape and do as I wish once the dissertation is published.

• I understand that if I so choose, my confidentiality will be maintained throughout the research project by the use of initials or pseudonyms.

• I understand that the results of the research project will be published, but I reserve the right to determine whether or not I wish my name to be revealed.

• I understand that there is no compensation for being a participant in this research project.

I understand all of the above and hereby give my consent to Fatima Bustos-Choy, to be a participant in this research project. I have received a copy of this consent form.

_____

Signature Date

_____

Print Name

_____

Principal Researcher's Signature

306

Confidentiality Statement

Your privacy with respect to the information you disclose during participation in this study will be protected within limits of the law. However, there are circumstances where a psychologist is required by law to reveal information, usually for the protection of a patient, research participant, or others. A report to the police department or to the appropriate protective agency is required in the following cases:

1. If, in the judgment of the psychologist, a patient or research participant becomes dangerous to himself or herself or others (or their property), and revealing the information is necessary to prevent the danger;
2. If there is a suspected child abuse, in other words if a child under 16 has been a victim of a crime or neglect.
3. If there is suspected elder abuse, in other words if a woman or man age 60 or older has been victim or a crime of neglect.

If a report is required, the psychologist should discuss its contents and possible consequences with the patient or research participant.

Participant Bill of Rights

You have the right to.....

- Be treated with dignity and respect;
- Be given a clear description of the purpose of the study and what is expected of you as a participant.
- Be told of any benefits or risks to you that can be expected from participating in the sudy;
- Know the research's professional background, training and experience;
- Ask any questions you ma have about the study;
- Decide to participate or not without any pressure from the researcher or his or her assistants.
- Have your privacy protected within the limits of the law;
- Refuse to answer any research question, refuse to participate in any part of the study; or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative effects to you;
- Be given a description of the overall results of the study upon request;
- Discuss any concerns or file a complaint about the study with Human Research Review Committee, California Institute of Integral Studies, 1453 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94103.