AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

<u>Claire Oliveros</u> for the degree of

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Title: The Role of a Filipino American Student Association at a Predominantly White

Institution: A Critical Ethnography

Abstract approved:

Larry D. Roper

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of a Filipino American college student organization at a Predominantly White Institution, and uncover elements of the organization that influence or limit the development of critical consciousness of its members. This study focuses on the aspect of critical consciousness that shapes "indepth understanding of the world" and is told from the student perspective. The focus of this study is on the importance of understanding the impact of social conditions on Filipina/o Americans in the United States from a historical-materialist perspective, the importance of higher education in addressing the social conditions of Filipina/o Americans, and the importance of student organizations in the development of critical consciousness as a central strategy in addressing the social conditions of Filipina/o Americans.

The qualitative research design includes the method of critical ethnography to tell the story of the role of a Filipino student organization through its members and provides an interpretation of how the members are influenced or limited in developing their own critical consciousness. The two research questions that guide the study are:

1) what is the role of a Filipino American Student Association at a Predominantly

White Institution? and 2) what elements of the Filipino American Student Association influence or limit the development of critical consciousness of its members? The data analysis reveals four major clusters of themes that students give significance to and include: 1) the role of the Filipino American Student Association; 2) the Filipino American Student Association programs and activities; 3) Meaning students give to critical consciousness; and 4) the impact the Filipino American Student Association has on student identity and consciousness.

The critical ethnography includes unstructured in- depth interviews with four student leaders, and participation in the programs and activities of the student organization over eight months in the field. This study is a portrait of the role of the student organization, and an interpretation of the students' experiences in developing their critical consciousness. The site for the study is a mid-size, urban Predominantly White Institution located in Portland, OR. The study concludes with a discussion of the interpretation of student experiences within the organization, implications for student affairs practitioners, and the role of the institution in supporting and enhancing student development and leadership training opportunities toward creating more socially just programs for students of color.

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The Role of a Filipino American Student Association at a Predominantly White Institution: A Critical Ethnography

by Claire Oliveros

A DISSERTATION

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Oregon State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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Dedication In loving memory of my grandmother "Baba" Pearl.

SECTION I: FOCUS AND SIGNIFICANCE

"The paradox of education is this – that as one begins to become conscious one begins to examine the society in which he [she] is being educated" (Baldwin,1961, p. 32).

Why study the role of Filipino American college student organizations and the influence of the development of critical consciousness of their members? My personal biography impacts my scholarly research and community involvement in this area. As a second generation, mixed-race Filipina American who grew up in Portland, OR with a single white mother, I was the first in my family to complete high school and go on to receive a college education. Higher education has provided me with a context to examine and work toward ending forms of oppression, specifically racism, sexism, and classism in the context of postsecondary education.

My father migrated to the U.S. from Manila, Philippines in 1972 just after the former U.S.-supported dictator President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law. My father was faced with dismal options for schooling and employment. He met my mother, a white woman of Jewish ancestry from the U.S., in the Philippines through mutual friends and they married as teenagers. It was within the educational system that I first experienced institutional racism and classism through discrimination and stereotyping. This predicament was the impetus to seek refuge in support from an ethnic student organization and multicultural student services at the Predominantly White Institution I attended in western Oregon. The multicultural student organization provided a safe and nurturing environment. I engaged with other students of color and felt free to speak about injustices I witnessed or experienced and had permission to

question the status quo without retaliation from the dominant culture. We organized students on campus to combat racism and discrimination through student-led programs and campaigns.

It is within the context of a Predominantly White Institution of higher education that I began to develop a critical consciousness of oppression specifically related to race, class, and gender. Critical consciousness or *conscientização* in Portuguese, is a an educational concept developed by the Brazilian critical social theorist and educator, Paulo Freire to address a state of in-depth understanding about the world and freedom from oppression (Freire, 1970).

In 1998, I began coordinating the Multicultural Center at Portland Community College and became immersed in community-based Filipino American organizations. My community involvement strengthened my campus commitment to serving Filipina/o American youth and students, among other diverse populations. I witnessed the pain, struggle, and hardship of isolation and alienation that Filipina/o American students experienced in school from the dominant culture at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs).

A wave of youth and student organizations emerged within the community college, four-year university setting, and community-based organizations. For example, at the community college, the Filipina/o American (Fil-Am for short) youth and student group emerged out of a desire to create informal social networks, celebrate cultural pride, speak a common language, and explore and examine the political history of the Philippines directly related to the U.S. occupation and colonialism.

Meanwhile, I was deepening my analysis and involvement in community activism in

support of the national-democratic struggle in the Philippines in the Pacific Northwest. In a 2008 report produced by the Philippine human rights organization, Karapatan, it states that since 2001, under the U.S.-backed President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (GMA), there have been nearly 1000 extrajudicial political killings. This is due in part to the Philippines being named the "second front on the war on terror" after September 11 by the Bush Administration. The GMA regime has failed to conduct human rights investigations into these killings. For Filipinos and allies in the U.S. it is urgent to become aware of the worsening human rights violations in the Philippines and influence policy makers to stop sending U.S. tax dollars to support death squads (Karapatan, 2008).

In the summer of 2005, I joined an International Solidarity Mission to participate in a fact-finding investigation to uncover human rights violations in the Philippines. After returning from the International Solidarity Mission, I helped form a collective made up of youth, students, and allies and launched the Portland Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines (PCHRP), which is an affiliate of the U.S. Chapter of Bagong Alyansan Makabayan or BAYAN USA, an alliance of 14 Filipino organizations across the United States.

My biography and professional interests are the impetus to conduct research and examine the role of Filipino American college student organizations at PWIs. I am aware of my positionality as a researcher who is a member of the "cultural group" of interest, and must examine my class privilege as a Filipina in the U.S. that has moved from working class to middle class, and whose first language is English.

Moreover, my Filipino family members have been separated by three continents

because of unemployment and lack of jobs in the Philippines forcing them to take low-wage, low-skilled jobs that do not match their educational degrees obtained in the Philippines. It is through this lens that I view the world and in turn this research study. My aim is to conduct original research that is by, for, and about Filipinas/os living in the U.S. from a historical-materialist approach in a sociopolitical context.

The qualitative method of critical ethnography is applied to tell the story of a Filipino student organization through its members and offer a description of how the members are influenced or limited in developing their own critical consciousness. Moreover, an exploration of the Filipina/o Diaspora is essential to place the Filipina/o students in a historical-materialist context. According to San Juan (2006) there are nearly ten million Filipinos scattered around the world as cheap labor in North America, Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East mainly as domestics and semiskilled workers. The Philippines has become the supplier of human capital for minimal pay or work largely unpaid, producing enormous profit for transnational corporations and affluent families in Europe, the United States, and the Middle East (San Juan, 2006). Overseas Filipina/o Workers (OFWs) send billions of dollars in remittances to the Philippines. San Juan (2006) asserts, despite the subalternity and marginalization, Filipinos have developed a rich and durable revolutionary tradition that informs their everyday acts of resistance and survival. It is in this spirit that I interrogate the role of a Filipino American Student Association and the experience of Filipina/o students.

I believe students become keenly aware of the social and political conditions impacting Filipinos in the U.S., the Philippines, and around the world through collective participation in a Filipino American student organization which claims

space to examine their lived experience and understanding of race, class, and gender in a PWI. I believe Filipino American student organizations empower students to take action against oppression in their own lives and collectively as Filipinos, and work in solidarity with other groups to change the educational environment to be socially just for all.

The examination of the role of Filipino American college student organizations and the influence the organization has on developing critical consciousness of its members are central to this study. This study focuses on the aspect of critical consciousness that shapes "in-depth understanding of the world" with the goal of "freedom from oppression" leading to social change (Freire, 1989). This study will focus on the former aspect of critical consciousness through the eyes of students within the Filipina/o student organization. The aspect of critical consciousness which leads to "freedom from oppression" toward social change will not be addressed in this study but further exploration is recommended for future research studies.

In the following paragraphs, the focus of the study and justifications for significance are discussed. Furthermore, research questions are outlined as a guide to explore the elements of the organization that influence or limit the development of critical consciousness as a worldview within a Filipino American college student organization.

Focus of the Study

The focus of this study is on the importance of understanding the conditions of Filipina/o Americans in the United States, the impact of social conditions on Filipina/o Americans in the United States, the importance of higher education in addressing

social conditions of Filipina/o Americans, and the importance of student organizations in the development of critical consciousness as a central strategy in addressing the social conditions of Filipina/o Americans.

It is important to place Filipina/o Americans at the center of this research to give agency to the lived experience and historical and material social conditions in the context of U.S. culture and society, and higher education. After all, according to San Juan (2004) Filipinos do not fit the narrow paradigm of the Asian immigrant:

The Filipina/o experience as colonized/neocolonized subjects is singular and cannot be dissolved into the archetypal immigrant syndrome. It cannot be altered so as to lump Filipinas/os with the Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Indian communities with their own historical specificities. (p.5)

San Juan (2004) posits Carlos Bulosan as the first organic intellectual of the Filipina/o community in the 1930s to have understood the Filipinos as subjects occupying a unique position: participating in the class struggles of citizens in the U.S. for justice and equality, not just for competition for a "place in the sun," while at the same time demanding freedom and genuine sovereignty for the Philippines as a necessary condition for their being recognized fully as human beings. Therefore, it is important to understand Filipinos' situation and conditions within U.S. culture and society.

Research Purpose

I propose the main purpose of this study is two-fold: 1) to examine the role of a Filipino American Student Association at a Predominantly White Institution, and 2) to provide an analysis of the elements of a Filipino American Student Association that influence or limit the development of critical consciousness among its members.

Research Questions

The research questions that will be explored are:

- What is the role of a Filipino American Student Association at a Predominantly
 White Institution? The aim of this question is to explore the role of Filipino
 American college student organizations and to examine the organization's
 programs and practices. Furthermore, it is necessary to understand the context of
 Predominantly White Institutions as a site where Filipina/o American college
 students develop their identity and understanding of the world.
- What elements of a Filipino American Student Association influence or limit the development of critical consciousness of its members? The rationale for this research question is to provide a critical analysis of the factors that impact or limit the development of critical consciousness of the organization's members.

Significance of Study

There are six central reasons for this study: (a) there are some significant challenging social conditions that exist for Filipina/o Americans in the U.S.; (b) community colleges and universities have an important role to play in assisting Filipina/o Americans and other groups in addressing these social conditions; (c)

development of critical consciousness is a sound place to start with student leaders and leadership training to deal with above social conditions; (d) ethnic student organizations in higher education, with their focus on leaders and leadership development, are a strategic means for higher education to carry out its responsibilities in this area; (e) there is little known about the role of student organizations in the development of critical consciousness, and there is little critique of the impact on Filipina/o American students; and (f) a personal desire to give voice to the Filpina/o American college student experience and contribute original research in this area.

There are Significant Challenging Social Conditions that Exist for Filipina/o
Americans in the United States

Today, the Filipina/o American community is the second largest Asian American group in the United States. Filipina/o migration from the Philippines Islands, an archipelagic nation of 7,000 islands and over 100 languages located in the South China Sea, is due to transnational capitalist interests and globalization. Seventy percent of the population of the Philippines are landless peasants. The United States 2000 Census counted 2.4 million Americans who identified as Filipina/o. The Filipina/o American community accounts for nearly 22% of the Asian American population. San Juan (2004) posits a critical perspective on the status of Filipinos in the U.S.:

Possibly the largest of what is denominated the Asian group in the U.S., Filipinos number close to 3-4 million of which 106,000 to 700,000 are undocumented due to overstayed visas. Of this total, 70-75% are immigrants,

while 25-30% are Filipino Americans born in the U.S., ethnically defined Filipino. Although lumped together with Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Indians in the category of "Asian Americans" (now 11 million, due to triple to 33 million by 2050), Filipinos so far have failed to reach the status of the "model minority" in terms of income, prestige positions, and other indicators, for reasons that inhere in the colonial and neocolonial subjugation of the Philippines and in the class-divided structure and social metabolic process of racialized reproduction of the U.S. polity. (p. 6)

Filipinos living in the U.S. face critical challenges here and abroad. In the post-September 11 U.S. climate, Filipinos are impacted by changing U.S. immigration laws, policies, and procedures. According to Chua (2004) a national report from the Critical Filipina and Filipino Studies Collective asserts Filipina/o immigrants and U.S.-born Filipinos are impacted in several ways. For example, they are viewed as perpetual outsiders and a security threat by law enforcement, and the local and state police enforcement of federal immigration and national security laws result in detaining and racially profiling non-terrorist and law-abiding Filipina/o immigrants and U.S.-born Filipinos.

Community Colleges and Universities Have an Important Role to Play in Assisting Filipina/o Americans and Other Groups in Addressing these Social Conditions

Historically, community colleges have often been viewed as the model for democratic ideals of higher education. Rhoads and Valadez (1996) posit the necessity for change in recognizing and understanding the significance of border knowledge and

its relationship to culture and identity. The concept of "border knowledge" (Rhoads & Valadez, 1996) derives from one's cultural identities and backgrounds. Such change within postsecondary education requires recognizing and understanding the significance of border knowledge and its relationship to culture and identity. A critical multicultural perspective calls attention to the role of education as a powerful force in situating student identities as privileged or marginalized (Rhoads & Valadez, 1996). Higher education has the potential through a critical multicultural paradigm to address social conditions impacting Filipina/o Americans.

Development of Critical Consciousness among Student Leaders to Address Challenging Social Conditions

The role of adult and higher education in teaching for critical consciousness and social change, and in responding to the educational needs of a multicultural society has been discussed in various adult education circles (Tisdell, Hanley, & Taylor, 2000). Social transformation and emancipation as a goal of critical theory and pedagogy are influenced by theoretical discourse (Brookfield, 1987; Shor, 1996), feminist theory and pedagogy (hooks, 1994, 2003), and critical multicultural perspectives on education (Banks, 1996; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995; Rhoads & Valadez, 1996). While each paradigm has a different analysis, all are concerned with the role of education in working for critical consciousness and social change (Taylor, Tisdell, & Hanley, 2000). The development of critical consciousness in education is further explored by Giroux (2006) who writes about the need to develop pedagogical practices that create opportunities "for students to take up subject positions consistent

with the principles of equality, justice, and freedom rather than with interests and practices supportive of hierarchies, oppression and exploitation" (p. 55).

A Role for Ethnic Student Organizations in Higher Education

Student organizations provide an avenue for student leaders to take action on campus and within their community to demand higher educations' responsibility to eliminate challenges for Filipina/o American college students. Student organizations play an active role in addressing the social, cultural, and political needs of students in a postsecondary educational setting. The phenomenon of Filipino American student organization is not a new one. According to Louie and Omatsu (2006) the first Filipina/o Student Association was formed after the development of the Black Student Union and Chicano Student Union of 1967 in California. The Filipino Student Association provided a gathering place for Filipinas/os to come together during the turbulent times of the 1960s and 1970s. The Filipino Student Association known as Philippine American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE) at San Francisco State College still exists today.

Student organizations positively affect the campus climate and support student diversity. Since the late 1960s and early 1970s, student activism has taken hold and student organizations were formed to address social injustices on campus and in the community. Moreover, Filipina/o student activism led the charge against the Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, the anti-martial law movement, and linked the struggle to justice for Filipinas/os in the United States (Louie & Omatsu, 2006). Student organizations address various student needs and issues. There is limited research related to the impact the role of student organizations have on the

development of critical consciousness.

There is Little Known About the Role of Student Organizations in the Development of Critical Consciousness, and a Critique of Their Role on Filipina/o American Students

Education for critical consciousness is discussed primarily within curriculum and teaching techniques (Tisdell, Hanley, & Taylor, 2000). There is little research related to the role of student organizations and their impact on the development of critical consciousness of oppression. According to Chang (2002) student organizations on predominantly white campuses can be platforms for advancing the interests of groups that continue to be targets of racism; however, Chang does not explain how the role of student organizations influence or limit the development of critical consciousness. The proposed research aims to explore this topic in greater detail.

Personal Desire to Give Voice to the Filpina/o American College Student Experience and Contribute Original Research in this Area

As declared in the introduction to this study, I have a personal and political interest to conduct qualitative research to serve the Filipina/o community. I am committed to working with and on behalf of Filipina/o and Filipina/o American students. This research aims to provide a resource for emerging student leaders in hopes to inform their practice and process of becoming critically consciousness of their world around them. The time is ripe to conduct original research that will work in solidarity with the student participants, provide a platform for Filipina/o student

voices to be heard, and learn from the critical perspective of students in a Predominantly White Institution of higher learning.

Summary

The purpose of this research is to provide a critical perspective of the role of Filipino college student organizations and what elements influence or limit the development of critical consciousness of its members. The two primary research questions that will be explored are: (a) what is the role of a Filipino American Student Association at a Predominantly White Institution? The aim of this question is to investigate the role of a Filipino American college student organization and examine the organization's programs and practices; and (b) what are the elements of the Filipino American Student Association that may influence or limit the development of critical consciousness of its members? The rationale for this research question is to provide a critical analysis of the impact the Filipino American Student Association has on its members.

Six central reasons underlie the significance of this study: (a) there are some significant social conditions that exist for Filipina/o Americans in the U.S.; (b) community colleges and universities have an important role to play in assisting Filipina/o Americans and other groups in addressing these social conditions; (c) development of critical consciousness is a sound place to start with student leaders and leadership training to deal with above social conditions; (d) ethnic student organizations in higher education, with their focus on leaders and leadership development, are a strategic means for higher education to carry out its responsibilities

in this area; (e) there is little known about the role of ethnic student organizations in the development of critical consciousness; and (f) a personal desire to give voice to the Filipina/o American college student experience and contribute original research in this area.

SECTION II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

"A people without a collective consciousness that transcends national boundaries--without the sense of a larger community than their own group---can have no effect on
history...We can only be repressed if we stop thinking and stop fighting" George
Jackson (San Juan, 2004, p. 6).

The purpose of the review of literature is to explore literature related to key concepts central to this study such as Filipina/o Americans, ethnic student organizations, postsecondary education, and the development of critical consciousness. The survey of published scholarly literature related to the research topic provides a description, summary, and critical evaluation of the body of knowledge related to Filipina/o American college student organizations and the development of critical consciousness.

The review of literature was guided by a central question: What has been written about the topic of Filipino American college student organizations and the development of critical consciousness? An issue that emerged from the literature review is the need to examine the role of Filipino American college student organizations and the elements that influence or limit the development of critical consciousness of its members. Furthermore, the review of literature determines what literature supports the purpose and research questions of the study, justifies the need

for further scholarly research on this topic, and guides the design of the study focused on the role of Filipino American college student organizations and the development of critical consciousness of its members.

Approach to Review of Literature

My approach to conducting the literature review included an electronic search of educational databases, which included ERIC FirstSearch, EBSCOhost, Education Full Text, Academic Search Premier, Dissertation Abstracts, and Alternative Press. Additionally, I searched within Google and Google Scholar, the on-line Oregon State University Valley Library search engine, SUMMIT, Inter-Library Loan, and relied on my personal collection of books on critical race theory, cultural theory, Marxist theory and feminist theory, Filipina/o and Filipina/o Americans, and student development in higher education.

While conducting the on-line database searches, I used key words such as Filipina/o Americans, Filipina/o American students, students of color, people of color, community colleges, higher education, adult development, student development, racial identity development, critical consciousness, student organizations, student leadership student activism, student movements, and third world nationalism movements.

Furthermore, I searched for materials relevant to the topic and located works by such authors as Paulo Freire, Epifanio San Juan, Jr., Antonio Gramsci, Karl Marx, and Delia Aguilar to name a few.

The criteria used in selecting appropriate articles included: (a) all studies focused on the Filipina/o population that included history, migration and globalization, imperialism and colonialism, and student development; (b) studies that occurred in

North America and the Philippines to provide a richness of the conditions impacting Filipinas/os here and abroad; (c) studies that focused on racial identity development of Filipina/o Americans; and (d) studies that included aspects of culture, critical consciousness, critical ethnography, national identity, activism, and social change. Moreover, the criteria remained limited to articles written in English as it is my first language, the primary language of instruction in the Philippines and U.S. schools, and the primary language of the audience who will read this research study.

Organization of the Review of Literature

The review of literature is organized around three main areas relevant to the research study. Several themes emerged from the related research. To further understand the background information for this study, the review of literature is organized around three major headings with related sub-headings for depth and understanding of the research topic. The three headings are: (a) historical and present context of Filipina/o Americans in the United States; (b) development of critical consciousness as a means to address social conditions; and (c) role of ethnic student organizations in the development of critical consciousness at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs).

The reason for the first major heading is to investigate the literature related to colonial education, Filipina/o migration to the United States, and the current social conditions of Filipinas/os in the U.S. The second major heading explores the literature related to the development of critical consciousness as means to address social conditions. The rationale for this section is to examine the primary authors and their work related to the meaning of critical consciousness. This section is divided into

three sub-headings: a) critical pedagogy; b) class consciousness; and b) Filipino cultural theory. Finally, the third major heading explores the role of ethnic student organizations in developing critical consciousness at Predominantly White Institutions. This section assists in understanding PWIs as sites of struggle for Filipina/o American college students, racial identity development of Filipina/o students through participation in ethnic student organizations, and Filipina/o American student activism in higher education.

Historical and Present Context of Filipina/o Americans

Filipina/o Americans make up the second largest Asian group in the United States, yet very little research is published about the experience and conditions of Filipina/o Americans. Therefore, it is important to explore aspects of the colonial, socio-political, and historical background of Filipinos in the United States.

This section provides a colonial, socio-political, and historical context for the research study, gives agency to the often overlooked voices of Filipinos in the United States, and sets the backdrop for understanding the development of critical consciousness as a worldview. This section is divided into three sub-headings: (a) colonial education; (b) Filipina/o migration to the U.S.; and (c) current social conditions of Filipinos in the U.S.

Colonial Education

The brief examination of colonial education in the Philippines in this section is a primer for understanding the deterioration of a nationalist identity, the development of colonial mentality, and forces of migration of Filipinos to the United States. This section is provides an introduction to the entangled history of the U.S. and the

Philippines. The colonial relationship between the United States and the Philippines dates back to the 1898 Treaty of Paris, when the United States bought the Philippines from Spain for \$20 million. American education was a major influence in the colonization process of Filipinas/os both in the Philippines and the United States (Constantino, 1982).

A critical Philippine historian, Renato Constantino, argues in his seminal article entitled, "The mis-education of the Filipino," that the educational system of the Philippines was a means of pacifying a people who were defending their newly-won freedom from an invader who had posed as an ally. The education of the Filipino under American sovereignty was an instrument of colonial policy (Constantino, 1982). Constantino (1982) believes that education served as a tool for cultural assimilation using English as the primary language of instruction and teachings about American heroes and American view of history.

The American view of history used "education for pacification" to crush Filipinos'growing sense of nationalism and subsequently ended the war of conquest (Timtiman-Cordova, 2003). Furthermore, the Americanization of Filipinos took place within schools that were first established by the Catholic Spanish ruling class in their campaign to Christianize the indigenous Filipinos. The characterization of Filipinos included being "savage" or "heathen." The American characterization of Filipinos included labels such as "Flips," "Brown-monkeys," and "Little Brown Brothers." English was and still is the primary language of instruction within the schools in the Philippines.

Constantino (1974) contends that the colonial educational system "de-

Filipinize(s)" the youth teaching them to regard American culture as superior to any other, and American society as the model par excellence for Philippine society. In Timtiman-Cordova's work (2003) she cites a passage by San Juan (1991) that states "[L]ong before the Filipina/o immigrant, tourist or visitor sets foot on the U.S. continent, she – her body and sensibility – has been prepared by the thoroughly Americanized culture of the homeland" (p. 117).

For Filipina/o Americans, the legacy of imperialism, colonization, and alienation is further complicated by institutional biases within the educational setting. In the dissertation research of Timtiman-Cordova (2003), the goal of "education for pacification" evolved into the goal of "Americanization" in the context of U.S. military occupation and war. Timtiman-Cordova (2003) states the goal of education for pacification required the U.S. to create a new educational system for the Philippines modeled after U.S. schools.

In the Philippines, the shaping of Filipina/o minds to conform to American ideas was prevalent through the Americanization of the school system and further developed through industrialization of the country that became what San Juan (2000) calls semi-feudal, semi-colonial society from 400 years of Spanish colonization and 50 years of U.S. occupation. These articles and studies provide a critical perspective of colonial education in the Philippines. A brief overview of colonial education provides a backdrop for examination into the economic and imperialist forces of Filipina/o migration to the U.S. and in understanding the challenging social conditions Filipinos face in the U.S.

Filipina/o Migration to the United States

This section provides an overview of key factors impacting Filipina/o migration related to economic and labor forces controlled by U.S. immigration policy and anti-immigration practices. Although Filipinas/os established small communities in California and Louisiana beginning in the sixteenth century, their presence within the American cultural landscape has been largely ignored (Cordova, 1983). Cordova (1983) states, that between 1700 and the 1830s, Filipinas/os were forced to work aboard the Spanish ships as slave labor, and escaped the harsh conditions to southern Louisiana where they established the village of St. Malo. The Manila village had a population of about 1,500 people most of whom lived by shrimping, fishing, and fur trapping.

San Juan (2000) identifies key factors impacting Filipina/o migration to the U.S. He states, "After the defeat of the first Philippine Republic in the Filipina/o-American War of 1898-1902, the Philippines became a source of raw materials and reservoir of human capital" (p.124). Recruitment of peasants by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association as cheap contract labor occurred when the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908 cut off the Japanese supply (San Juan, 2000). San Juan (2000) further explains that the "feudal oppression and colonial brutality drove rural Filipinas/os from their homes, while the lure of adventure and easy wealth blurred the hardships formerly endured by Mexican farmhands restricted by the Immigration Act of 1924" (p. 124).

San Juan (2000) notes that about 400 students called *pensionados* on U.S. government scholarships are often cited as the first wave of immigrants (1903-1924).

In contrast, San Juan (2000) claims:

The new rulers invested in their education so that they could return to serve as the middle stratum of loyal natives who, subordinated to landlords and compradors, would legitimize U.S. domination. From this segment would come the bureaucrat capitalists of the Commonwealth and the postwar Republic. (p.124)

Further exploration of the development of ethnic student and Filipino American college student organizations is discussed in the third major heading of the review of literature.

In the review by San Juan (2000) of migratory patterns of Filipinas/os, he identifies an influx of "brain drain" professionals such as doctors, nurses, and technicians during the 1960s and 1970s that function today as part of the "buffer race," displacing tensions between whites and blacks. This perspective further explains that the political exiles and economic refugees during the Marcos dictatorship of 1972-1986 returned home to further reinforce Filipina/o subalternity and promote the massive export of Filipina/o "overseas contract workers" (p.124).

This selection of scholarly writings provides an understanding of the history of colonial education, Filipina/o migration, and provides a context for exploring the current challenging social conditions impacting Filipinos in the U.S.

Social Conditions of Filipinos in the United States

In the United States, the Fil-Am community was built on the demand for cheap labor and migration, causing various waves of immigration to the U.S. which include exploited laborers, domestic workers, military connections, "war brides," students,

professionals, and overseas contract workers. The experience of racism, prejudice, discrimination, and hostile and brutal exploitive working conditions exist for Filipinas/os since their first documented arrival in 1587 when indigenous Filipinas/os escaped the Spanish conquest. The stories of experiences with classism, racism, prejudice, and discrimination have been shaped by historical stereotypes, antimiscegenation laws, race riots, and labor exploitation and discrimination.

Min (2006) describes a stereotype of Filipinos as "houseboys" or "stewards" and states that before the 1965 wave of immigration, many Filipinos worked as personal servants, predominantly in Hawaii to the elite. During the period before WWII, the U.S. Navy began to recruit Filipinos and placed most as stewards. Min (2006) goes on to state that a more recent stereotype of Filipina women is that of the Filipina nurse. A limitation to Min's characterization of Filipinos is the exclusion of a class analysis.

Ancheta, in Tiongson, Jr., Gutierrez, and Gutierrez (2006) states that the color lines that divide whites and nonwhites "belies the true complexity of U.S. race relations" (p. 31). Ancheta's inquiry into historical and contemporary discrimination against Filipina/o Americans demonstrates that there have been several color lines dividing not only by race but also by national origin, language, culture, and citizenship. Ancheta elaborates:

Anti-Filipino discrimination has created hierarchical divisions between the more powerful and less powerful, subordinating Filipino Americans, like African Americans and other minorities, to reinforce notions of racial superiority and inferiority. But anti-Filipino discrimination has also created

divisions along a different set of axes, separating citizen from noncitizen, American from foreigner. (p. 90)

Ancheta identifies this problem using the term "foreigner discrimination," which encompasses forms of discrimination that have assigned to Filipinas/os the role of foreigners in U.S. society, no matter their family history in the U.S. Foreigner discrimination encompasses laws that have restricted the immigration and citizenship of Filipinas/os; anti-immigration policies that have allocated employment and government benefits on the basis of U.S. citizenship; public and private limits on the use of Filipina/o languages in deference to the use of English; and individual discrimination that has subordinated Filipina/o Americans based on language, accent, and noncitizenship.

Throughout much of the twentieth century, Filipinas/os were impacted by racial segregation and economic discrimination through housing, employment, education, and absence of voice in public policy and democratic political process.

Racial violence was a common occurrence and the "no Filipinos allowed" banner was often seen in California and other states with large Filipino populations (Tiongson, Jr., Gutierrez, & Gutierrez, 2006).

Foreigner discrimination is manifested in a variety of ways, from individual interactions to laws and institutional structures. Ancheta describes that the verbal assaults or acts of violence are tinged with U.S. nativism. "Go back to your own country" is a common refrain. Citizenship and loyalty is questioned by white dominant culture.

The following statement by Oscar V. Campomanes in Tiongson, Jr., Gutierrez,

& Gutierrez (2006) explains the "unassimilability" of Filipina/o Americans in the U.S. transforms liberal notions of assimilation and immigration:

U.S. Filipinos and their indeterminate forms critically pose the problem of "unassimilability" and unrepresentability to a range of U.S. discursive fields, or more importantly, cannot be so "assimilated" without these discourses themselves being disrupted or transformed altogether. (p. 3)

Therefore, the unrealistic expectation that Filipinos will fully assimilate is affirmed and reinforced through oppression in social and political context, and upheld through anti-immigration laws, labor exploitation, and racial and gender discrimination.

The historical and social context of Filipinos has been greatly impacted by imperialism and colonial education, forced migration caused by semi-feudal and bureaucrat capitalism in the Philippines, and the current social conditions of racism, sexism, and classism that manifest through racial discrimination, prejudice, stereotypes, and hostile and exploitive working conditions in the U.S. Therefore, a study that addresses the lived experiences of Filipina/o American college students based on an understanding of the historical and sociopolitical context is needed and supported by the research.

Further discussion of the historical and contemporary discrimination of Filipina/o Americans in the U.S. sets the stage for understanding the experiences of Filipina/o Americans in education and the formation of student organizations as a cultural space for the development of Filipina/o American college student organizations that work to develop critical consciousness of its members within higher education.

Summary

In summary, the first section of the literature review provides an overview of colonial education, Filipina/o migration to the U.S., and the historical and social conditions impacting Filipinos in the U.S. Moreover, this section provides a link between the history of discrimination of Filipina/o Americans in the United States to U.S. imperialism and colonialism, Filipinos as cheap labor for capital interests, stereotypes of Filipina/o domestic workers and servants, a racialized labor force, and the state-sanctioned practices and policies that result in disenfranchisement and disempowerment of Filipinos in the United States. This body of evidence provides a backdrop for understanding the historical and sociopolitical context of Filipinos in the U.S. Furthermore, the research points to the need to address these social conditions, development of a critical consciousness, and link to Filipina/o American college student organizations in higher education.

The literature points to the need for a critical research study that examines the role of Filipina/o American college student organizations and the development of critical consciousness of its members. A limitation of the research studies is the lack of information related to student experiences with organizing on campus to resist the oppressive conditions in the U.S. and the Philippines. Moreover, what is the role of Fil-Am students in addressing these social issues through their student organizations?

Critical consciousness is an adult education concept and popular education tool described as the ability to perceive social, political, and economic oppression and take action against the oppressive elements of society. The next heading addresses the literature related to the development of critical consciousness as a means to address

social conditions.

Development of Critical Consciousness as Means to Address Social Conditions

The following section focuses on the production of knowledge through the lens of critical pedagogy and the educational concept of critical consciousness, and provides an analysis of the scholarly literature related to a historical-materialist approach and Filipina/o cultural theory.

Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy has its roots in critical theory of the Frankfurt School, whose influence is evident in the emancipatory works of Paulo Freire (1970, 1989). Freire (1970) was concerned with critical pedagogy and the concept of *conscientization* which refers to a type of learning focused on perceiving and exposing social and political contradictions. Critical pedagogy as an educational theory traditionally relates to a teaching approach that helps learners question and challenge domination and the beliefs and practices that dominate. Conscientization also includes taking action against oppressive elements in one's life as part of that learning. Furthermore, critical pedagogy is the theory and practice of helping students achieve critical consciousness, the ability to perceive social, political, and economic oppression and to take action against the oppressive elements of society. Freire (1970) developed the concept of consciousness (*conscientização*) through his work with Third World Brazilian adults, helping them gain an awareness of world conditions while teaching literacy.

The research study takes on the first definition of *conscientization* and focuses on learning that perceives and exposes social and political contradictions. This is a limitation to the proposed research study. Recommendations for further studies

focused on Filipina/o American college student organizations related to taking action against oppressive elements are needed. Moreover, Mayo (1999) characterizes Paulo Freire as "widely regarded as one of the leading figures in the area of critical pedagogy which is concerned with issues concerning social difference, social justice, and social transformation" (p. 58).

Critical pedagogy is particularly linked with reconfiguring the traditional student/teacher relationship of the "banking concept of education" where the teacher is the active agent, the one who knows, and the students are the passive recipients of the teacher's knowledge. In its place, the classroom becomes a site where new knowledge, grounded in the experiences of students and teachers, is produced through meaningful dialogue also called the dialogical method (Freire, 1970).

According to Freire (1970) the dialogical approach to learning abandons the lecture format and the banking approach to education in favor of dialogue and open communication among students and teachers. In this method, all teach and all learn. The dialogical approach is different than the hierarchical framework that falls in line with domination and oppression that leads to silencing the experiences and knowledge of students. Furthermore, social transformation requires a cyclic process of theory and praxis, the act of reflection and action, which in turn informs the theory.

A limitation of Freire's work on critical consciousness is the absence of a discussion of social differences. Mayo (1999) provides a critique of Freire's theory that it is missing a dialogue across gender, race, and sexual orientation. Yet Freire's work has been expanded upon by influential contemporary theorists (McLaren, 1989; Giroux, 2006), Black feminists (hooks, 1994, 2003), Chicana feminism (Anzaldúa,

1990; Moraga, 2000) young women of color (Hernandez & Rehman 2002), and more recently by Filipina women (de Jesus, 2006).

Class Consciousness

A critical consciousness of racial oppression emerged decades earlier among Filipino Americans. San Juan (1995) asserts, Bulosan expressed the inexhaustible material that could be written on the subject of Filipinos as products of two distinct but intersecting histories (the Philippines and the United States). Bulosan stressed that this subject should always be written from a historical materialist perspective and "for the people, because the people are the creators and appreciators of culture" (p.144).

A historical materialist orientation rejects the notion that U.S. history is comprised of unique, accidental, and unpredictable events resulting from conflicting desires in human beings (Viola, 2006). The historical-materialist approach originates from Marxist theory and is applied by contemporary scholars in relation to Filipino identity and difference (San Juan, 2000, 2003; Aguilar, 2006; McLaren & Scatamburlo-D'Annibale, 2004). Historical-materialist approach views human labor as essential to a critical transformation of society. It is within this context that the following studies are highlighted.

The scholarly works written about the relation of human labor and capital include (Marx, 1973; Gramsci, 1991; Mayo, 1999). The following section synthesizes a discussion of influential adult educators and provides the background for understanding the literature that has influenced critical consciousness. First, an overview to understand key concepts of cultural hegemony is provided. Second, an analysis of scholarly research to understand the development of critical consciousness

is outlined. Lastly, a discussion of the limitations of the literature is provided.

Gramsci's influential work (1971) describes cultural hegemony to be a diverse culture that can be ruled or dominated by one group or class, and where everyday practices and shared beliefs provide the foundation for complex systems of domination (Mayo, 1999). Mayo (1999) claims, that for Gramsci, the place where hegemony can be challenged is the very place that supports it, specifically, society, which is conceived as a site of struggle. Moreover, Gramsci posits the need for popular workers' education to encourage the development of intellectuals from the working class.

In the dissertation research among school parent leaders of color, Furumoto (2001) outlines the concept of hegemony based on the ideas of McLaren (1989) who posits the concept of hegemony is synonymous with dominant white culture and is carried out through the moral and intellectual leadership of a dominant society over subordinate groups:

Hegemony refers to the maintenance of domination not by the sheer exercise of force but primarily through consensual social practices, social forms, and social structures produced in specific sites such as the church, the state, the school, the mass media, the political system, and the family. (p. 173)

The concept of cultural hegemony is central to the research topic as it relates to the role of Filipina/o student organizations which provide a social structure where power relations arise, and social forms provide and give legitimacy to specific social practices. The act of establishing a Filipina/o student organization is a project in counter-cultural hegemony at a Predominantly White Institution. In contrast, Mayo

(1999) describes Gramsci's analysis as the working-class need to develop a culture of its own, which would overthrow the notion that bourgeois values represented "natural" or "normal" values for society, and would attract the oppressed and intellectual classes to the cause of the proletariat. According to Mayo (1999) Gramsci's writings convey the idea that different sites of social practice can be transformed into sites of adult learning. Gramsci (1971) developed the concept of 'counter-hegemony' to describe the process for building a revolutionary culture as an alternative to the dominant-class capitalist values, and to overthrow the state on the basis of that revolutionary culture (Cipolle, 2004). Counter-hegemonic activities consist of grasping a critical view of reality through problem-posing and dialectical thinking, and taking responsibility for rethinking and changing social conditions.

Filipina/o Cultural Theory

There is scholarly evidence which Viola (2008) asserts to "filipinize critical pedagogy: to link critical pedagogy with the transformative activities of Filipinos in a global diaspora." (p. 212). The "filipinization" of critical pedagogy situates the Filipina/o experience in a historical-materialist context and is eloquently articulated by scholars such as (Aguilar & Lascamana, 2004; San Juan, 2007; and Viola, 2006). The scholarly works of Filipina/o cultural critic San Juan (1998, 2000, 2004, 2006) cover the fields and disciplines from cultural studies, comparative literature, ethnic and racial studies, postcolonial theory, to philosophical inquiries in historical materialism.

San Juan is distinguished for applying a Gramscian approach and a critical Marxist lens on cultural events and texts in the Philippine historical process of national liberation. It is for these reasons that this research study applies a historical-materialist

approach as a context for understanding Fil-Am student experiences in a student organization. San Juan (2006) posits that "Filipinos uprooted and dispersed from hearth and communal habitat...will find our true home if there is radical systemic change in the metropole and more crucially, a popular-democratic transformation in the Philippines" (p. 13). San Juan (2004) offers a beginning to make systemic change in the metropole possible. A start is by affirming the centrality of racial and ethnic problems as the key to elucidating the nature of the current ideological debates, the crisis of hegemonic standards whose symptoms are the "culture wars" and various kinds of accommodative canon revisions.

Furthermore, in the study of literary texts and popular cultural expression, questions of institutional racism, gender inequality, social justice, and hierarchical power relations in a pluralist or multicultural society should be addressed conscientiously (San Juan, 2004). San Juan (2004) challenges us to critique our own understanding of the total picture to include the need to historicize the contours of political economy and its institutional practices to expose the "fallacies of panethnicity and culturalist nostrums" (p. 19).

According to San Juan (2004) the world-wide scattering of ten million Filipina/o bodies, mostly women, is one of the most instructive byproducts of globalization, the new transnationalizing adaptation of the South to the model of the North. Furthermore, the Philippines now occupies the position of the chief supplier of low-wage migrant labor mainly, female domestics for metropolitan and developing nation-states. Regardless of this historic change, San Juan contends postcolonial discourse fails to grasp this new model of subordination and subalternization. San

Juan initiates a review of the counter-hegemonic narratives of the Filipina/o diaspora as an implicit critique of the postcolonial complicity with neoliberal, "civilizing" cosmopolitanism (p. 36).

The Philippines is a concrete example of how transnational or global corporate strategies reinforced through the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have continued to maintain the economic backwardness and political stagnation of that of a U.S. neocolony. Moreover, neoliberal terms of "structural adjustments" imposed on a Third World country like the Philippines have intensified class, ethnic, gender, and other social divisions, nurturing the seeds of individual acts of resistance and mass revolt (San Juan, 2004).

San Juan (2004) illustrates that there are models to draw from for social change and justice based on the Philippine legacy of revolution and resistance to imperialism. San Juan states, the Filipina/o tradition of anti-imperialist resistance is mediated through diverse cultural forms and contests the overt and covert strategies of U.S. imperial domination. Filipina/o popular consciousness emerges to a popular-democratic collection of ideas, styles, and modalities of experience with a distinctive experience out of exile and diaspora. A coalition of the oppressed in the Philippines-women, indigenous minorities, youth, middle strata, workers and peasants in a national democratic insurgency advancing a socialist program are mounting a united front to block destructive moves by transnational global hegemonic imperialism (San Juan, 2004). San Juan's critique of transnational global hegemonic imperialism and feminist Marxist critique of Overseas Filipina/o Workers (OFWs), who are predominantly women, provides theoretical underpinnings of the complex history and

sociopolitical context of the Philippines as a U.S. neocolony, with implications for the Filipina/o diaspora.

Moreover, Aguilar (2006) argues few researchers fail to interrogate the materialist perspective of labor. Notably, there are an estimated 3,000 Filipinos leaving the country each day, 70% female, with the majority landing jobs as domestic workers, and their remittances totaling over \$12 billion in 2005 that enable the government's debt servicing to international financial institutions.

Summary

The second section of the literature review provides an overview of existing evidence that suggests critical pedagogy, a historical-materialist approach, and a Filipina/o cultural theory provide a theoretical backdrop for understanding the educational concept of critical consciousness. The educational concepts are the basis for understanding the status quo and dominant culture, and for how people can make change through critical pedagogical practice to serve as agents against oppressive classist and racist social conditions.

Moreover, Filipina/o cultural theory from a nationalist perspective is central to this research study. San Juan (2004) provides a critique of critical factors impacting the Filipina/o diaspora: (a) affirming the centrality of racial and ethnic problems as the key to elucidating the nature of the current ideological debates; (b) the study of literary texts and popular cultural expression require conscientious questioning of institutional racism, gender inequality, social justice, and hierarchical power relations in a pluralist or multicultural society; (c) challenge ourselves to critique our own understanding of social conditions; and (d) with the Philippines as the chief supplier of low-wage

migrant labor mainly female domestics for metropolitan and developing nation-states.

The scholarly evidence points to the need for further studies that apply Filipina/o cultural theory to the role of Filipina/o American college student organizations in the U.S. In this research study, I attempt to apply the critical factors outlined above to question institutional racism, gender inequality, social justice, and hierarchical power relations in PWIs, and to challenge our own understanding of social conditions.

Higher education serves as a space where these ideals play out and support the examination of Filipina/o cultural theory in support of the development of a critical consciousness. The opportunity to develop and explore critical consciousness as it relates to power and oppression are introduced in various settings including Ethnic Studies, Asian American Studies, Filipina/o American Studies, and Gender Studies departments. Moreover, membership within ethnic student organizations is necessary to explore relations of power, oppression, privilege and difference. The role of ethnic student organizations and Filipina/o American student organizations at Predominantly White Institutions are explored in the third and final section of the literature review.

Role of Ethnic Student Organizations in Developing Critical Consciousness at

Predominantly White Institutions

Mohanty (2006) asserts the role of education as a central terrain where power and politics operate out of the lived culture of individuals and groups situated in asymmetrical social and political spaces (p.195). A number of scholars (Mohanty, 2006; Freire, 1970, 1989) argue that education represents both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations. It is within the borders of higher education that

students of color specifically Filipina/o American students experience isolation, marginalization, and alienation from the dominant white culture. PWIs serve as a site for struggle where individuals and groups claim and take up space to assert their right to exist and change the status quo.

Predominantly White Institutions: Site of Struggle for Filipina/o American Students

Vast disparities in degree attainment exist among different racial/ethnic groups attending PWIs. In a study conducted by Museus (2008) he posits one explanation for low graduation rates is the inability for students of color to find membership within the culture of their respective campuses. Kuh and Whitt (1988) define campus culture:

persistent patterns of norms, values, practices, beliefs, and assumptions that shape the behavior of individuals and groups in a college or university and provide a frame of reference within which to interpret the meaning of events and actions on and off campus. (p. 12)

There is evidence that the culture of PWIs can be problematic for students of color because they convey messages of unimportance, devaluation, and exclusion (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Moreover, there is existing literature that suggests campus environments exert an important influence on the experiences and outcomes of college students (Cabrera, Nora, Pascerella, Terenzini, & Hagedorn, 1999; Hurtado & Carter, 1997). According to Museus 2008 ethnic student organizations can influence the cultural adjustment and membership of students of color at PWIs. Specifically, in this study Asian American students felt pressures to conform to assumptions and stereotypes that they were academically superior, causing barriers to student

engagement both in and out of the classrooms at PWIs.

In contrast Mohanty (2006) argues carrying out an emancipatory collective practice in the institution leads to a rethinking of patriarchal, heterosexual, colonial, racial, and capitalist legacies toward envisioning democracy and democratic collective practice. It is important to understand the role of ethnic student organizations in higher education as it provides a context for understanding the central theme of the proposed research study related to the development of critical consciousness.

Ethnic Student Organizations

Evidence that suggests ethnic student organizations are important in understanding college student experiences. Attinasi (1986) found that Latino students at large universities coped with the overwhelming size of their campus through participation in a student organization which helped to scale the university down into a smaller and more manageable environment.

A general understanding of ethnic identity is relevant and useful when discussing the emergence of ethnic student organizations. Hurtado and Gurin (1987) analyzed the processes by which Chicano identity became politicized during the late 1960s and 1970s, transforming the terms of comparison with the dominant group from negative to positive. Moreover, political consciousness arises as members reinterpret and affirm the previously denigrated identity. This new consciousness also provides motivation for collective action to change group inequalities (Hurtado & Gurin, 1987).

In an article by Chang (2002) he posits that the evolution and particularly the structure of student organizations have been both remarkably sensitive to enrollment shifts and instrumental in shaping campus racial dynamics. Furthermore, student

organizations can be platforms for advancing the interests of groups that continue to be targets of racism. Chang (2002) argues the lack of such organizations on campus makes it more difficult for students to challenge discrimination and incidents on campus that they view as racially offensive. Astin (1985) consistently found in his research that failing to become more involved on campus has negative effects both on students' ability to persist in college and on their level of college satisfaction, among other outcomes.

The role of higher education in teaching for critical consciousness and social change as a way to respond to the educational needs of a multicultural society is discussed in few adult education circles (Tisdell & Taylor, 2000). What is missing is a discussion of the development of critical consciousness and the role ethnic student organizations, more specifically, Filipina/o American college student organizations, play in the development of critical consciousness.

In a dissertation by Furumoto (2001) she conducted a qualitative study to examine the meaning that a group of eight working class Mexicanas and one Filipina-Mexicana made of their lives and work as parent leaders in two elementary schools in southern California. Furumoto's (2001) study investigated the historical, social, material, and cultural conditions that contributed to the women's leadership development, as well as the nature of their social and cultural capital in the school setting. A case study approach with ethnographic methods was conducted. Furumoto (2001) developed a "Working Model for Transformation to Critical Consciousness" to describe the phases the women passed through and the social interaction that supported their transformation to critical consciousness. The women's collectivist

leadership practices supported their individual and collective identities, critical consciousness, creativity, and ability to fight oppression. Further research using the model of transformation developed by Furumoto (2001) would add to the field of research related to the development of critical consciousness of Filipino American students.

What this research fails to investigate are specific types of student organizations such as Filipina/o American student organizations. Moreover, this study lacks exploration in the area of student organizations' impact on the development of critical consciousness. Further research in the area of ethnic student organizations and the development of critical consciousness in higher education is needed.

Filipina/o American Student Organizations

Over the last decade there has been an increase in scholarly writings related to Filipina/o Americans. The scholarly writings are focused on Filipina/o American studies (Bonus 2000, 2002); Filipina/o American identity (Root, 1997; Nadal, 2001); racial discrimination (Tiongson, Gutierrez, & Gutierrez, 2006); critical Filipina theory (de Jesus, 2005); and Filipina/o American student organizations (Mamaril & Lim, 2000; Lawsin, 1998). More recently dissertation research has been conducted on topics related to Filipina/o Americans and activism (Timtiman-Cordova, 2003).

There are claims by some of the above mentioned theorists that the *pensionados* resisted colonial education. In the dissertation research of Timtiman-Cordova (2003), she asserts that *pensionados* created a legacy of resistance to Americanization and "de-Filipinazation" and states, "historians must acknowledge the pensionados' resistance to Anglo-American supremacy and domination, despite the

contradictions of a colonial system" (p. 53).

A chronology of historical events impacting the college student movement is outlined and serves as the backdrop for the conditions and situation of Filpina/o college students in the U.S.

Table 1
Timeline of the History of Filipino Students in the United States

Year	Description
1870	Filipinos studying in New Orleans form the first Filipina/o Association
	in the United States, the "Sociedad de Beneficencia de los Hispanos
	Filipinos."
1906	Approximately 200 Filipina/o "pensionados" are brought to the U.S.
	for formal American education with the goal of returning to the
	Philippines to influence Philippine society with American education.
1967	The Philippine American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE) founded by
	Pilipino American students at San Francisco State College.
1968	San Francisco State students, [Led by the Third World Liberation Front
	(TWLF), of which PACE is a part] go on a five month long strike, the
	longest student strike in American higher education.
1969	The San Francisco State Student Strike ends resulting in the creation of
	the first and only Ethnic Studies [School] in the nation which includes a
	Filipina/o Studies Program and an Asian American Studies
	Department.
1977	Students in various colleges and universities, such as San Francisco
	State College and the University of California Berkeley, participate in
	all out strike against the demolition of the International Hotel, a hotel
	situated in a former "Manilatown" area of San Francisco, that provided
	low income housing for the elderly. At least 41 Manongs (Filipina/o
	elders) were evicted from the hotel.

Note. From "History of Filipina/o Americans," Chronology and Timeline, by Ernie De Paz, 2007. Adapted from the San Francisco State University website. http://userwww.sfsu.edu/~runamuck/history of Filipina/o americans.htm\

The US-Philippine *Pensionado* Act was the federal government program which qualified elite wealthy Filipina/o students to be sent to the United States to further their education with the goal of returning to the Philippines to influence society with American education. On scholarship by the U.S. government, these students were called *pensionados*. According to San Juan (2006) the new rulers invested in students' education so that they could return to serve as the middle stratum of loyal natives who, subordinated to landlords and compradors, would legitimize U.S. domination.

Not all Filipina/o students in the United States were *pensionados* (Cordova, 1983). Furthermore, Cordova depicts the early formation of "social clubs" for early immigrant men and later women who entered the U.S. Social clubs provided a sense of belonging, a cultural space and community for early Filipina/o immigrants who faced daily harassment, intimidation, and discrimination in education, employment, and housing (Cordova, 1983).

Moreover, Lawsin (1992) examined Filipina/o students' resistance to racism in American education through an analysis of the *Filipina/o Student Bulletin* (Cordova, 2003). Lawsin (1992) explains how Filipinos formed student networks and organized conferences that became catalysts of change, celebrated Filipina/o identity, and created churches (Cordova, 2003).

Anti-immigrant and anti-Asian laws were prevalent depending on the labor forces and economic conditions within the U.S. To limit immigration from the Philippines, the U.S. government sponsored and supported a small select group of

national scholars called the *pensionados* from the Philippines to become educated in the states as long as they planned to return to the Philippines. This effort served to propagate American interests and influences in the Philippines. In 1903, the first 100 *pensionados* arrived in the U.S. and studied in high schools and universities in Oregon, Washington, Illinois, and New York.

The *pensionados* were followed by the non-sponsored students who left the Philippines with hopes of a better life through education. These students received partial support from the government and institutions, and minimal support from their parents, relatives, or friends. Almost two-thirds were self-supporting students (Cordova, 1983). Many worked in hotels, restaurants, and private homes as domestic helpers, cooks, gardeners, and live in maids (Mamaril & Lim, 2000).

According to the *Filipina/o Student Bulletin*, "there were 2000 brown collegians attending universities and colleges from 1920 to 1925. However, the increases in tuition and the depression lessened Filipina/o enrollment from one thousand in 1928 to eight hundred in 1932 to five hundred in 1935 to three hundred in 1939" (Cordova, 1983).

Filipinos faced racial discrimination when looking for employment as college graduates and were forced to work as domestic helpers or restaurant servers. During the 30s, 40s, and 50s, Filipinos were not welcome to patronize white-owned restaurants and barbershops and were told, "We don't serve Filipinos." A sign on a merchant's door in Stockton read, "Positively No Filipinos Allowed" (Cordova, 1983). Housing was segregated and the educational environment was often hostile to Filipina/o students, often segregating them into special classes. Faced with racial

discrimination and economic hardships, many Filipinos did not finish high school or their university schooling and were forced to work as cheap labor in the agricultural fields of California, Oregon, Washington, and the fish canneries of Alaska (Cordova, 1983).

During the 1960s and early 1970s, colleges and universities across the U.S. witnessed a swell of political activism stemming from the Civil Rights Movements of the 1960s ignited by the Black Power Movement which was followed by the other social movements including the Asian American, American Indian, Chicano, Feminist, and Gay Rights Movement for social justice. In California, the development of Filipina/o American organizations such as the Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (translated to the Union of Democratic Filipinos or KDP) and the League of Filipina/o Students were most visible and worked in solidarity in the U.S. with the anti-imperialist movement in the Philippines.

Today, major Philippine and U.S. solidarity groups exist in the Pacific

Northwest and around the country in support of national democracy for the

Philippines. These organizations are members of BAYAN-USA and include Portland

CHRP, a human rights alliance, ANAKBAYAN, focused on youth/students, and Pinay
sa Seattle, empowering Filipina women and girls.

Summary

Higher education plays a critical role to create space to examine how power and politics operate out of the lived experience of individuals and groups. Education provides a platform for the development of student leadership and implementation of social change models of leadership. Moreover, the evolution of ethnic student

organizations support racial identity development, enhanced college experience, improved racial dynamics on campus, and connection to community. Attention to the emergence of Filipina/o American student organizations is central to this research study.

After a review of literature related to Filipina/o American student organizations and the development of critical consciousness what has been revealed is the need for further studies discussing the role and impact of Filipina/o American college student organizations on the development of critical consciousness. Filipina/o American college student organizations provide a venue to learn and explore cultural identity, create a sense of belonging, and claim space to resist the status quo and discrimination, and respond to unjust social conditions.

Summary of Review of Literature

The comprehensive review of literature revealed that research and theories exist related to the historical and present social conditions of Filipinos in the United States, that the development of critical consciousness serves as a means to address social conditions, and higher education and ethnic student organizations play a role in the development of critical consciousness, specifically Filpina/o American student organizations.

The historical-materialist approach to understanding the present context of Filipina/o Americans in the U.S. is a direct result of the entangled history of colonialism, colonial education, migration patterns caused by globalization, and social conditions of discrimination and racism. The framework of critical pedagogy, historical-materialism, and Filipina/o cultural theory provide a context for

understanding classism, hegemony, and the educational concept of critical consciousness as a means toward social change. Finally, the body of literature related to PWIs as a site of struggle for students of color, ethnic student organizations, and Filipina/o American student organizations reveal the lack of research studies aimed at Filipina/o American college students' experience in developing critical consciousness within student organizations.

This research study aims to tell the story of the role of Filipina/o American college student organizations and their influence or limit on the development of critical consciousness of its members. To add depth and perspective to this study, I employ the method of critical ethnography to conduct qualitative research.

SECTION III: DESIGN OF STUDY

"Processes are expected to be respectful, to enable people, to heal and to educate. They are expected to lead one small step further toward self-determination" (Smith, 1999, p.128).

The purpose of this section is to present the philosophical approach for the study, a description of the role of Filipina/o American college student organizations, and their impact on the development of critical consciousness of its members. It also includes a personal disclosure and a description of the research method and study procedures (i.e., site selection and study participants, data collection procedures, strategies to ensure soundness of data, and strategies for protection of human subjects).

Philosophical Approach: Critical Social Science

The philosophical approach of this research study is critical social science from

a historical-materialist approach. Viola (2006) states:

a historical materialist orientation sees antagonisms in U.S. society as rooted in a conflict of two main classes: the capitalist class and the working class. These two classes have a completely different relationship to the production process. The working classes are the producers of wealth but do not benefit from its creation. The capitalist class controls the means of production, and therefore this small group of people are the direct beneficiaries of the wealth created. (p. 2)

A historical materialist approach is crucial to understanding Filipino's position in the U.S. The purpose of critical social science research is to emancipate from oppression, empower, liberate, and create social change.

For this research study, critical theory from a historical-materialist approach provides the philosophical underpinnings to critique the role of Filipina/o American college student organizations impact on the development of critical consciousness within Predominantly White Institutions.

Critical Social Science

A further discussion of critical social science is required to understand the historical context. Critical social science (CSS) has roots that trace back to Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), and was later further developed by Habermas and the Frankfurt School in Germany. Early critical theorists, such as Max Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse were concerned with the dominance of positivist science and the degree to which it had become a powerful element in twentieth-century ideology (Carr & Kemmis, 1986).

Additionally, Habermas advanced critical social science in his *Knowledge and Human Interests* (1971). A concern of the Frankfurt School was to articulate a view of theory that has the central task of emancipating people from the positivist "domination of thought" through their own understandings and actions also labeled critical theory (Carr & Kemmis, 1986). Habermas argues that the method required for critical social science is that of critique. A critique is aimed at revealing to individuals how their beliefs and attitudes may be ideological illusions that help to preserve a social order which is unfamiliar to their collective experiences and needs (Carr & Kemmis, 1986).

Additional theorists influential to the research study include Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1970, 1989) and French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (1998). As noted earlier in the review of literature, Freire introduced the concept of critical consciousness and critical pedagogy of adult education. The research methods of Freire consisted of involving, as partners in the research process, the people he studied as subjects. He immersed himself in their ways of thinking and modes of perception, encouraging them all along to begin thinking about their own thinking. All involved in Freire's critical research, not just the researcher, joined in the process of investigation, examination, criticism, and reinvestigation – everyone learned to see more critically, think at a more critical level, and to recognize the forces that subtly shape their lives (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). My intent is to implement the practice of Freire's research strategies in the research study with Filipina/o American college students.

According to Neuman (2003) the reason for research from a critical perspective is to smash myths and empower people to change society radically.

Critical social science "unveils illusions" and "supplies people with the tools needed

to help liberate people from oppressive relations and change the world" (p. 84). The critical researcher is action-oriented. CSS puts the theory into practice and uses the outcome of applications to reformulate theory. *Praxis* means that explanations are valued when they help people really understand the world and take action that changes it. In Neuman (2003) Sayer argued, "Knowledge is primarily gained through activity both in attempting to change our environment (through labor or work) and through interaction with other people" (p. 13).

Assumptions and criteria for truth

Critical social science argues that the nature of social reality is conflict filled and governed by hidden underlying structures. Standards of critical social theory include the assumption that social reality is made up of structured power relations that keep many people oppressed, and is governed by hidden underlying structures (Newman, 2003).

The work of Freire is useful in understanding the criteria for truth in critical social science research. Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) provide a context for the critical researcher as one that attempts to get behind the curtain, to move beyond assimilated experience, to expose the way ideology constrain the desire for self-direction, and to confront the way power reproduces itself in the construction of human consciousness. Patti Lather (1991, 2007) developed the notion "catalytic validity," in which research moves those it studies to understand the world and the way it is shaped in order for them to transform it. Research that possesses catalytic validity will not only display the reality-altering impact of the inquiry process; it will also direct this impact so that those under study will gain self-understanding and self-

direction (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005).

The scope of critical social science has expanded over the last forty years to include critical race theory, feminist theory, and postcolonial theory. This dissertation study is from a critical social science approach influenced by historical-materialism (Gramsci, 1971; San Juan, 2000; McLaren & Scatamburlo-D'Annibale, 2004), which "considers human labor as the key to the critical transformation of society" (McLaren & Scatamburlo-D'Annibale, 2004). Historical materialism is a methodological approach to the study of society, economics, and history, first articulated by Karl Marx.

Strengths and limitations

There are strengths and limitations to critical social science theory. A few of the strengths of this theory include the ability to uncover myths, reveal hidden truths, and help people to change the world for themselves (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). Moreover, this philosophical approach provides a critique of social conditions and offers theory-praxis-theory as a standard unique to critical social science theory. Finally, a strength of critical theory is that it is action-oriented, and implies a plan of change to seek dramatic improvements. Moreover, this approach values reciprocity and gives back to the participants and community.

There are limitations to critical social science theory that include the subjective and value-laden nature of the issue or topic of concern. The goal of changing the social conditions may be uneven – extremely slow for long periods, then suddenly speed up. Additionally, social change and conflict are not always apparent or

observable. Critical social science theory from a historical-materialist perspective provides a critique of the dominant paradigm with a class analysis.

Personal Disclosure

As noted in the introduction to this study and the case for significance, critical theory from a historical-materialist approach reflects my world view and desire to conduct this research study among and on behalf of Filipina/o American college students. My philosophical approach provides a framework for this research focused on the role of Filipina/o American college student organizations and how students give meaning to the educational concept of critical consciousness.

My desire to conduct critical research stems from my biography as a second generation, mixed-race Filipina American, living in the United States, and my scholarly interests to reveal the social conditions and harsh realities of oppression impacting the Filipina/o community. According to Smith (1999) the critical issue with "insider research" is the constant need for reflexivity. Insider researchers have to have ways of thinking critically about their processes, their relationships and the quality and richness of their data and analysis. Reflexivity is a vital method to this study that ensures that I am ethical, critical and responsible as a member of the community illuminated in this study.

I am most interested in examining the role of the Fil-Am student organization through critical ethnography to uncover the meaning Fil-Am college students give to critical consciousness. The educational concept of critical consciousness is a central theme to this study and stems from my desire to address a state of in-depth understanding of the world, how we experience the world, and what results in freedom

from oppression.

It was within the walls of postsecondary education that I first became familiar with the language to describe my particular experiences with racism, classism, and sexism in higher education as a Filipina American. A multicultural student organization at a four-year liberal arts college provided the context for me to understand social power relations based on race, class, and gender. I was engaged in critical conversations that centered on the experience of being a student of color at a Predominantly White Institution in Oregon. All too often, the experience of isolation, alienation, and the perception as "other" manifested in my then low self-esteem. I often questioned why I was in college and doubted my ability to succeed in higher education.

It was through the direct exposure to ethnic student organizations, supportive professionals of color, educational conferences, readings on critical pedagogy (hooks 1994, 2003; Freire 1970, 1989), essays focused on Filipinos in the United States (Bulosan, 1946; San Juan, 1995), and the opportunity to coordinate events and programs focused on race, ethnicity, and culture that I began to develop a critical consciousness of oppression.

Many years later, as the coordinator of the Multicultural Center at an urban community college campus, I direct a leadership training program for students of color. I believe there is an urgency to provide meaningful opportunities for students of color to develop deeper understandings of forms of oppression and to develop ways to critically analyze power, privilege, and oppression in the world in hopes to empower individuals to participate in social change. I desire to conduct research in the area of

critical consciousness and Filipina/o American experience because of the impact of critical pedagogy within higher education on shaping my understanding of oppression.

I find motivation in the words of James Baldwin, "the paradox of education is precisely this - that as one begins to become conscious one begins to examine the society in which he (sic) is being educated."

Critical Ethnography

The method I have selected for conducting this study is critical ethnography. As a research method, it resonates and aligns very well with a qualitative approach to critical social science from a historical-materialist approach to research. According to Creswell (2005), critical ethnographies are a type of ethnographic research in which the author is interested in advocating for the emancipation of groups marginalized in our society. In the case of this study, critical ethnography will provide the data to describe and critique the role of the Filipina/o American college student organization and their impact on the development of critical consciousness of its members. In order to understand critical ethnography, I will first give a brief description of its research method.

According to Fetterman (1989), traditional ethnography is the art and science of describing a group or culture. Typically, the data description is of a group's culture and is illustrated through investigative writing and reports about the routine and daily lives of people. Traditional ethnography is interested in understanding and describing a social and cultural scene from an insider's perspective (Fetterman, 1989). Critical ethnography evolved from ethnography and incorporates the tenets of critical social theory in order to critique the culture (Thomas, 1993). Critical ethnography is

premised upon the assumption that culture can be a dominant ideology in which power and oppression become taken-for-granted 'realities' or ideologies. In this way, critical ethnography goes beyond a description of the culture to action for change, by challenging the dominant ideologies exposed through the research (Thomas, 1993).

Thomas (1993) states critical ethnography refers to "a type of reflection that examines culture, knowledge, and action.....Critical ethnographers describe, analyze, and open to scrutiny otherwise hidden agendas, power centers, and assumptions that inhibit, repress, and constrain" (pp. 2-3). While "conventional ethnography *describes what is*, critical ethnography *asks what could be....*Conventional ethnographers study culture for the purposes of describing it; critical ethnographers do so to change it" (p. 4).

The key characteristics of critical ethnographic design include: cultural themes; a culture-sharing group; shared patterns of behavior, belief, and language; fieldwork; description, themes, and interpretation; context or setting; and research reflexivity.

Each of these characteristics will be described in further detail. The following paragraphs outline major elements of critical ethnography for the study.

Critical ethnography has an ethical responsibility, a sense of duty, a

Purpose

commitment based on moral principles of human freedom and well being, and a compassion for the suffering of others. Critical ethnography addresses the processes of injustice within a particular lived domain (Madison, 2005). In this way, critical ethnography goes beyond a description of the culture to action for change, by challenging the status quo and ideologies exposed through the research.

The purpose of critical ethnography is to speak to an audience on behalf of the participants in the study as a means of empowering participants to give voice to their own authority to make changes in their lives. Critical ethnography challenges the status quo and is concerned about power and control. Critical ethnographers are usually politically-minded people and seek to change society. Their ethnographies are conducted so that studies do not further marginalize the individuals being studied. Researchers collaborate, actively participate, negotiate the final written report, use care in entering and leaving a site, and reciprocate by giving back to study participants (Creswell, 2005).

Critical ethnographers identify and embrace subjectivity in research. Critical ethnography attempts to address an inequity in society or schools, to use the research to advocate and call for changes, and typically identifies specific issues. In the case of this research study, examples of issues might be oppression, dominance, equality, and empowerment.

Method

The criteria to carry out a critical ethnography method include: locating a research site using purposeful sampling procedures and identifying a gatekeeper to provide access into the group. I guaranteed provisions for respecting the site and asked for permission to participate in activities. The aim of critical ethnography was to collaborate with participants by actively involving them in data collection.

Additionally, I collected multiple forms of data that individuals were willing to provide. In ethnography there are six types of information useful for collection: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-

observations, and physical artifacts. For purposes of this research study I focused on three of the recommended types of information that include interviews, participant-observation, and documentation.

Moreover, Creswell (1998) suggests a thorough analysis of the data to develop an overall understanding of the information. Following this format, I developed a detailed description of the student organization to establish a context for the group being studied and developed clusters of organizing themes from the in-depth interviews that relate to the research questions of the study. As a critical ethnographer, my goal with this study is to identify and advance a plan for change among and on behalf of the Filipina/o American student organization within a Predominantly White Institution.

The critical ethnography was conducted during eight months of immersion within the student organization and relied on participant-observations which included attending meetings, events, and activities; and in-depth interviews with four students of the organization. In addition, I collected and examined the organization's documentation for context and meaning about their programs and practices. With field notes and personal reflection, I examined the group's observable and learned patterns of behavior, and constructed meaning from the role of the student organization within a Predominantly White Institution through its members. I attended regular meetings to understand the day-to-day activities, visited the organization's office for informal conversations, and scheduled formal conversation through one on one interviews to gain a deeper understanding of the role of the student organization and the impact on its members.

Procedures

The qualitative research of critical ethnography included a combination of unstructured in- depth interviews and participant-observations in order to write a complex, rich portrait of the role of Fil-Am college student organization and the development of critical consciousness of its members. The concentrated conversations allowed for the development of trust and collaborative relationships with the four self-identified student leaders of the selected Fil-Am student organization.

Site Selection

The site for the study is a mid-size, urban Predominantly White Institution located in Portland, OR. This site was chosen for its proximity to the researcher and access to a Filipina/o American Student Association. The selection site criteria included a postsecondary institution with an active Filipina/o American college student organization also called Filipina/o American Student Association (FASA). This student organization served as a "representative" sample of a culture-sharing group and provided a site for the researcher to conduct the study. The researcher required access through a gatekeeper (a student leader) to gain confidence of the potential participants of the study.

Based on Creswell (1998) recommendations, I provided the gatekeeper with written information about the research study which included: why the site was chosen for the study; what will be done at the site during the research study; minimal disruption with the researcher's presence; explanation of how the results will be reported; and what the gatekeeper will gain from the study.

Participant Selection

For participant selection, Fetterman (1989) recommends proceeding with a "big net approach" (p. 42), where at first the researcher mingles with everyone. As an ethnographer, a wide net was cast for the sample size to see what interest emerged from the student group, based on the context of the research questions. I used purposeful sampling for selecting whom and what to study. This form of sampling is based on gaining perspective for a time in the social life of the group, people representative of the student group in terms of demographics, and the contexts that lead to different forms of behavior (Creswell, 1998).

Data Collection and Techniques

The data collection strategy and technique I used to conduct this critical ethnography included interviews, participant-observation, and documentation. The information was recorded through audio recorded interviews and observational protocols. Based on my two primary research questions, the following chart was useful in analyzing the data (Table 2).

I coordinated the schedule of interviews with four student participants by telephone and email. To concentrate on the conversation, each interview was audio-recorded and conducted in person, lasting two-hours. The interviews were conducted on campus at a location selected by the participants. I followed up by email and in person with each participant to fact check and request their review and impressions of the original transcripts. The audio files of each interview were transcribed by two different professional transcribers for accuracy and efficiency with the research study timeline.

Table 2
Research Questions and Intent

Ouestion	Methods	Purpose	Interview Questions
1). What is the role of a Filipina/o American college student organization at a Predominantly White Institution?	Participant- observations, interviews, documents, personal reflective notes	■ To explore the role of Filipina/o American college student organizations and examine the organization's programs and practices. ■ It is necessary to understand the context of PWIs as a site where Filipina/o American college students develop their identity and understanding of the world.	 Please tell me more about your educational and career goals. What is your experience joining a Filipina/o American Student Association? How were you first drawn to participate in FASA? What is your role within FASA? Describe the main purpose of FASA at your university. Describe the membership of FASA. How are FASA members recruited? Describe the role of FASA on campus. Describe how participating in FASA has shaped your own experience as a Filipina/o American college student. How have you been impacted by FASA?
2). What elements of the Filipina/o American college student organization influence or limit the development of critical consciousness of its members?	Participant- observations, interviews, documents, personal reflective notes	• To provide a critical analysis of the factors that impact or limit the development of critical consciousness of the organization's members.	 What is your understanding of the educational concept of critical consciousness? Describe the programs and activities of FASA. How does FASA determine the content of its programs and activities?

Data Analysis

As a critical ethnographic study, I engaged in a cyclical process of developing a description of the organization, analyzing data for themes and clustering the information to provide an interpretation of the meaning of the information based on each research question. I considered a balance among description, analysis, and interpretation; and actively reflected back on what information exists in the literature to advance how this study adds to the understanding of the identified themes and clusters among the participants of the study. The description, analysis, and interpretation of data were shaped by the central research questions of the study, and

an interpretation of the findings may advocate for and recommend institutional changes.

I developed a systematic way to analyze the data which included organizing files of data; reading through the text; analyzing data for themes and patterned regularities; and interpreting and making sense of the findings augmented by tables and figures.

Strategies to ensure soundness

Techniques to ensure soundness included prolonged engagement in the field from August 2008 through March 2009, the *triangulation* of different data sources and methods to establish credibility, writing with detailed description, and taking the narrative back to participants for member checking (Creswell, 1998). *Triangulation* involves confirming or cross-checking the accuracy of data obtained from one source with data collected from other different sources. *Triangulation* is critical to the validity and reliability of ethnographic research (Madison, 2005). Additionally, as part of critical ethnography I looked for patterns of thought and behavior as a form of reliability and analysis. Fetterman (1989) states that as soon as the ethnographer finishes analyzing and identifying one pattern, another pattern emerges for analysis and identification allowing the fieldworker to compare the two patterns. Furthermore, key events provide a lens through which to view a culture.

Strategies for protection of human subjects

I followed the required process of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and Human Subjects policy and procedures, and completed the Course in the Protection of Human Research Subjects (CITI) online tutorial through Oregon State University. Careful

consideration was given in the development and distribution of a consent form to all participants (See Appendix C). All of the participants of the study were given consent forms to sign, and remained anonymous in the study. I used pseudonyms that the participants selected with the exception of one that I chose for a participant. The name of the university is anonymous, and the student organization was given a pseudonym to ensure confidentiality and protect the identity of the participants. The pseudonym for the university FASA is *lakas* the Tagalog word for "strong, powerful." The institution will be referred to as the "University."

Furthermore, the Interim Dean of Students of the university was informed of the research study and my on-going participation with the student organization on campus. Essential to the study was developing trust and rapport with the participants to open up and share during the interviews. I ensured extra care in the handling and security of data collection to protect the anonymity of the student participants.

SECTION IV: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

"It is not the consciousness of humans that determines their existence it is their social existence that determines their consciousness" Karl Marx (Madison, 2005, p. 51).

This section provides a description of the data collection and analysis of the Filipina/o American college student organization and participants. The data collected consists of transcripts from the four audio-recorded in-depth interviews; participant-observation during meetings, events, and activities; and documents from the organization. This section is divided into four parts: a) coding and logging of data; b) description of the organization; c) student profiles; and d) clustering of like-minded

pieces of data complemented by excerpts from the interviews. This section provides a comprehensive understanding of the data collection and brings all of the pieces together in a systematic way.

The following section is an overview of the coding and logging of data, description of the organization, and student profiles. Madison (2005) states, coding and logging data is the process of grouping together themes and categories that you have accumulated in the field. The process of grouping is not only about putting similar categories together; the very selections and act of grouping is creating a point of view or statement. Carspecken (1996) asserts, "Coding with analysis in mind...Themes emerge from your coding, these themes guide your analysis" (p.146). Later in this section, I explain in more detail the major clusters derived from threads of ideas that emerged from the interviews.

Coding and Logging Data

The technique of coding and logging the data provided a systematic way of organizing, sorting, interpreting, and analyzing the data for meaning and importance. The data collected and analyzed during the research study is outlined in Table 3.

Table 3
Coding and Logging of Data Collected

Type of Data	Logging Techniques	
Interview Transcripts	 Professionally transcribed. I read transcripts thoroughly. Re-read transcripts for themes and common threads. Grouped threads into clusters. Relied on quotes to support clusters. 	
Participant-observation field notes	 Attended regular meetings, major events, and workshops. Interacted informally and socially 	

	 with student members. Recorded notes for context of what was taking place in the meetings. Kept a research journal for personal reflection and to log reactions, insights and ideas after each meeting, major event, and workshop. Writing and reflection allowed me to draw on my experiences, reactions, and knowledge through the research study. 	
Documents	 Collected organization's handouts which included meeting agendas, event flyers or posters, and electronic and hard copy announcements. Analyzed all the documents for meaning and significance to the primary research questions. 	

A brief description of the organization is required to give context to the student profiles and major concepts that appeared from the in-depth interviews. This FASA was formed by students at the University nearly seven years ago. The following is a description of the organizations history, mission, vision, and program during the 2008-2009 academic year.

Description of Organization

The Lakas Filipino American Student Association was formed by a few students who had an idea to form a club which grew out of the need to support Filipina/o college students while attending the University. The idea grew and flourished into the establishment of a vibrant and dynamic student leadership program and model student organization for Filipina/o students and their allies. Ligaya describes who allies are to Lakas:

An ally to [Lakas] would be someone who is not Filipino, someone who has power in the institution, like our administrators. We have a lot of white

friends, and some of our members are not Filipinos. For example, they are Chinese and Cambodian...they become connected to Lakas.

The University Lakas consists of predominantly Filipino immigrants (Fil-Im for short) and Fil-Am students in leadership roles working alongside student allies from other Asian and Pacific Islander communities in part because there is not an Asian Pacific American Student Association. The leaders creatively chose the name of Lakas to distinguish it from FASAs at other college institutions. The mission, vision, and history of Lakas are visible on all of the student organization's outreach and recruitment materials. The 2008-2009 website of Lakas states,

...the Filipina/o American Student Association whose purpose is to unite and empower Filipina/o American students at the university through educational, cultural, political, and social activities, while celebrating the Filipina/o American experience...

The historical background and vision statement of the organization includes,

...Founded by Filipina/o American students of this university during the school year of 2002-2003. Having founded Lakas in the principles of progressive values and ideals, they came together with a vision to form a student organization that works to advance the educational, cultural, social, and political development of Filipina/o students through collective organizing towards social justice and social change...

When listening to Paul describes his experience within Lakas the following sentiments were expressed:

Our mission is to unite and empower Filipino American students and we do this through cultural, educational, political, and social activities while celebrating the Filipina/o American experience. I was a part of the founding individuals that pioneered this group. Our vision was to start a student organization that worked to advance the political development, cultural development, social development, and educational development of our members. And, we did that through collective organizing toward social change.

In this context, Paul outlines the framework for which the organization's culture and goals for social change become evident. Paul's statement is reinforced by the overview of Laka's structure outlined in Table 4. Lakas blends hierarchical structure with committee formation to conduct their programs and activities collectively. Lakas consists of officers who receive minimal stipends per term, a volunteer base of approximately 20 active members, and nearly 90 confirmed members on their website and listsery.

Table 4
Organizational Structure of Lakas FASA



Executive Officers	Membership
President Vice-President Secretary Treasurer Political Chair Social Chair Educational Chair Cultural Chair	Open to anyone interested in learning more about the culture and heritage of Filipina/o Americans, and the important issues facing Filipina/o Americans today: a) Official Members – All students who have filled out, signed a membership form, and fulfilled membership obligations; b) Unofficial Members – All students

Communication Coordinator Publicity Coordinator Recruitment Coordinator Fundraising Coordinator Advisory Board who have filled out and signed a membership form but not fulfilled membership obligations; c) Honorary Members – All non students who signed a membership form and fulfilled membership obligations; and d) Lakas is a member organization of the FASA Alliance. Membership dues: \$5 per year.

The Lakas FASA consists of an executive board of officers who work in partnership to create and implement programs and activities reflective of the four aspects of the organization which are political, education, cultural, and social programs. Over the last seven years, Lakas has actively advocated for budget increases to improve and enhance the programs and practices of the organization. In the beginning, Lakas started out with an estimated \$500 as a new student group.

Lakas has increased their budget a sizable amount over the years to nearly \$43,000.00 serving as a model student organization for the university.

The executive officers are para-professional leadership roles that students must be nominated for, apply, and then selected during the spring quarter prior to the academic year of service. The executive officers receive nominal stipends for the year. The university has one professional staff member who serves as the advisor and support to over a dozen multicultural student organizations. Lakas is forced to operate autonomously and receives minimal professional staff or administrative support.

Lakas relies on informal networks, peer to peer mentoring, and campus and community partnerships to develop and implement their annual programs and events. Lakas experiences institutional challenges. For example, access to professional staff and administration, delays in processing payments for vendors, lack of a comprehensive student leadership and training program, and difficulty scheduling and accessing venues due to the demand for space from different student organizations.

During late-summer, the officers convene for an on campus two-day intensive training and an overnight weekend retreat at the coast to gear up and prepare for the academic year. The four aspects of Lakas are put into practice and led by committee chairs that work together to develop a comprehensive program for the year. The executive board and input from the members helps to shape the types of events and activities available.

The Political Program includes sending Lakas members to the Northwest FASA Alliance Regional Conference; and intentional alliance building with the Portland Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines (PCHRP) and Seattle-based AnakBayan, a progressive youth and student organization working to end global oppression of Filipinos toward national democracy in the Philippines. The Education Program consists of directing the annual Book Club discussion meetings and coordinating the Lakas Scholarship program. The University Lakas Scholarship was created to support Filipina/o students to stay in school at the university. The Book Club adopted the American Studies canonical text, *America is in the Heart* by Filipino intellectual Carlos Bulosan and hosts regular discussion meetings.

The Cultural Program provides leadership for learning cultural dance and exposing members to language workshops, and gives direction for the annual spring Pilipino Cultural Night. The fourth aspect of Lakas is the Social Programs which includes quarterly gatherings and activities to bring members together in diverse social settings such as game nights and potluck food meetings. Lastly, the Advisory Board provides a connection between current members and alumni to serve as informal mentors and resources for the planning and coordination of Lakas events.

Furthermore, the Executive officers work collaboratively to provide year-long programs and events highlighting the four aspects of Lakas and celebrating the accomplishments and achievements of the organization with a graduation ceremony in early June.

An overview of the major functions of the organization, roles, curriculum, and methods applied to the members is provided in Table 6. The students design the curriculum and learning methods to put into practice their understanding of Filipina/o history and culture, and to raise political awareness of the social conditions impacting Filipinas/os in the U.S. and Philippines.

Table 5 Leadership and Program Model of Lakas

Major Functions	Role	Curriculum	Methods
Executive Board	Attend weekly Executive Board meetings. Attend and support all other events, activities, general members' meetings, workshops, conferences, and other functions. Act as ambassadors of Lakas by upholding mission, vision, and purpose at all times.	Develop materials for Fall Retreat, two-day Training, and weekly meetings.	Icebreakers, Teambuilding activities, Games, Role play activities, one-on-one check-ins as needed. Office hours. Weekly meetings.
Political Chair	Meet and report back to the President weekly. Work closely with all committee chairs to organize events and programs during the National Filipina/o American History Month (October) and Pilipino Cultural Night (second weekend of May). Provide leadership on writing press releases and resolutions on certain issues (i.e. Coca-Cola, Nestle boycott, No to HR 4437 resolution, slate endorsements, and letters to legislators).	Topics include: Mobilizing Filipino Immigrants, Immigration rights, Human Rights Violations, Philippine Society and Revolution, and Gender and Labor. Campaign work includes: Get Out the Vote, Filipino WW II Veterans Equity, and Stop the Killings in the Philippines/GMA Watch.	Facilitated student-led meetings. Reading materials, Digital presentations, guest speakers, group activities, and icebreaker games.
	Serve as a liaison to Portland		

	Committee Human Rights in the	Attend NWFASA	
	Philippines (PCHRP) and	Alliance Regional	
	AnakBayan Seattle (AB Seattle).	Conference.	D 12 4 1 4 1 1
Educational Chair	Meet and report back to the President weekly. Facilitate the Educational Committee meetings.	Select author and identify book to read for the term. Field trips to learn more about the author.	Facilitated student-led meetings. Book selection and distribution to members. Begin book club regular meetings.
	Work closely with all committee chairs to organize events and programs during the National Filipina/o American History Month (October) and Pilipino Cultural Night (second weekend of May). Take leadership on Book Club,	Facilitate Introductory Workshop, Bi-weekly Facilitate Book Club meetings	
	reading activity series, and workshops. Be a liaison to the Foundation Office to manage the Lakas Scholarship Program. Organize workshops or events that will promote academic achievement within Lakas including study skills, time management, or test taking		
Cultural	strategies. Meet and report back to the President weekly. Facilitate the Cultural Committee meetings. Work closely with all committee chairs to organize events and programs during the National Filipina/o American History Month (October) and Pilipino Cultural Night (second weekend of May). Organize workshops and events that promote Filipina/o cultural awareness including Filipina/o American History, Filipina/o traditional dances, Alibata, Parolmaking, etc. Serve as chair person for the Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN) planning committee.	Workshops on: traditional folks dances and pre-Spanish script called <i>Alibata</i>	Facilitated student- led workshops. Interactive, hands-on activities, demonstrations, and lessons.
Social	Meet and report back to the	Annual Showkase (fall	Student-led meetings.

Chair	President weekly.	term)	Coordination of social
	Facilitate Social Committee meetings.	FASA Formal (winter term)	games, events, and fundraiser activities,
	Work closely with all committee chairs to organize events and programs during the National Filipina/o American History Month (October) and Pilipino Cultural Night (second weekend of May). Take leadership on the planning and coordinating of social events and activities.	Filipina/olympics and Shield Games. Suggested Activities: Memorial Day Barbecue. Movie nights, Potluck gatherings, Game nights, Karaoke nights	
	Organize events and activities that promote interaction and bonding between members		
Advisory Board	Open to former Executive Board members who are University alumni. The Executive Board will		Promote, support, and uphold the purpose of Lakas.
	appoint three to five alumni to become members of the Alumni Advisory Board at the beginning of		Act as moderator during conflict resolution.
	each academic year. Advise current Executive Board members.		Serve as the main representatives of the Lakas Alumni.
	Be available for questions and other consultations.		Serve on the University Foundation Scholarship Selection Committee (maximum of 2 representatives).
			Take leadership on organizing Lakas Alumni events.

Student Profiles

The interviews were conducted between August and November 2008 at the University at locations the students selected in the Student Union, which included the Lakas FASA office, student lounge, a conference room, or outdoors in the park blocks. The interviews took place in the late afternoon and evenings. The Lakas FASA office is vibrant with expressions of cultural pride such as Philippine flag, inspirational

posters including one of Carlos Bulosan, and past posters of cultural shows and educational events. The bookshelf is full with copies of the text *America is in the Heart* and other materials. While the interviews were structured with open-ended questions, once we began they turned into conversations with ease. The interview questions gleaned more specific information about each of the student's experiences with the FASA organization and their understanding of the educational concept of critical consciousness. Moreover, as a researcher I gained a better understanding of the context of the major aspects of Lakas, and learned more about the breadth and scope of their student-led programming and activities.

The student participants were assured confidentiality and chose their own pseudonyms with the exception of one name I chose for a student. The following paragraphs include the characteristics and background information about each of the students along with key themes that emerged from their individual interviews. The pseudonyms for the participants are Paul, Angelica, Ligaya, and Anthony. The students chose their names based on a relative's name, a famous actress in the Philippines, or a favorite cousin. I chose the name Ligaya for one participant because in Tagalog it means *joy* or *happiness*. This particular student exudes this personal quality in our interactions.

The four students include two women and two men between the ages of 20-27. Three of the students identify as heterosexual and one male is gay-identified. Paul and Angelic were born in the provinces in Central Luzon north of the metropolitan city Manila, and Ligaya was born and raised in a province south of Manila, Philippines.

Anthony is second generation Filipino and was born and raised in southern California.

He moved with his parents to the Portland area at age 9 because they wanted to be closer to his extended family. English is Anthony's first language. He recalls some Tagalog spoken at home among his parents and grandparents. When asked if he spoke Tagalog Anthony replied:

I always heard it when I was growing up, at the dinner table. I am trying to learn, actually. There's a book I have on Tagalog. I really do want to learn. But, I can understand some here and there, I know a few words.

For the three other participants Paul, Angelica, and Ligaya, Tagalog is their first language. Tagalog is one of several major languages in the Philippines. Paul immigrated to Portland, Oregon at age 12, Angelica came with some of her family at age 6, and Ligaya was 17 when she moved to Portland with her family. Ligaya began schooling at the community college six months after her arrival to Portland and the U.S. Harklau (2003) uses the term 1.5 generation for youth born in the Philippines who immigrate to the U.S. as children or young adults. The 1.5 generation immigrants are children of first generation immigrant parents to the U.S. Each of the students immigrated to the U.S. with only some of their family members because of the prolonged and complicated immigration petition process. Some other family members are still waiting for the immigration petitions to be processed. Angelica describes the motivation for her family to leave the Philippines.

My mom came first in 1990 to 1991. Me and my older sister and older brother came in 1992. She brought us here to have a, you know, better life for her and our family. Also there is better education here. She lived in poverty all throughout her life and she just wanted a better life for her kids. You know, and have a better career.

While living in the U.S., Paul, Angelica, and Ligaya have managed to retain speaking Tagalog fluently at home, and among their Tagalog speaking peers.

Anthony's comprehension of the Tagalog language is limited with memories of hearing his parents speaking Tagalog to his grandparents.

All of the students live at home with either their parents and siblings, or grandparents in the Portland metropolitan area. Two participants graduated from public high school, one from a private, Catholic high school, and the other graduated from high school in the Philippines. Two of the participants have Associate of Science degrees from the local community college, and were student leaders in a multicultural leadership training program and interactive social change theater project. Ligaya describes her experience of first becoming involved with a Filipino American Student Association:

I'd been here in the United States for only six months, and I did not really know anybody. I saw a couple of students that actually looked like me. I was kind of surprised, and I wanted to meet them but they were all leaving to go to this other room. I asked, "What's going on?" A Filipina girl said, "Oh, everyone's going to the FASA meeting." And I asked, "What is that?" And she just dragged me to the meeting. That's where I met everyone else. That's how I got started in FASA.

For the community college graduates, they experienced a richness of student leadership while attending the community college. The other two participants began college at the university and learned about the Filipino American Student Association through relatives. When Angelica was a freshman, she was recruited as a member by a sibling who happened to be the president, and Anthony's cousin attending another public, four-year university suggested he connect with FASA when he starts Fall term since he'll be new to the university. Anthony's cousin was actively involved in the FASA at his institution as well.

All four students described their educational and career goals, and plan to

graduate from the University within two years. Their academic majors range from business administration, health sciences, to community development. Several students are exploring the possibilities of pursuing graduate degrees in higher education, student affairs or public health. The students are enrolled full-time and rely on a collection of Financial Aid, part-time employment, and diversity scholarships to meet the rising cost of college expenses. Additionally, the students are involved in other organizations and departments on campus such as the Pacific Islander Club, Associated Students of the University, the Cultural Center; and within community organizations. The major concepts that emerged from the student interviews are categorized by how many times a thread of information appeared in each of the interviews. The threads were grouped into themes, and then clusters were created by topics in the next section. I paraphrase the student input and list the themes as major concepts in Table 6.

Table 6
Major Concepts from Student Interviews

Student's	Concept Appeared in Four	Concept Appeared in	Concept Appeared in
Name	Interviews	Two Interviews	One Interview
Paul	 Organization's culture Sense of community and connection to campus Sense of identity and culture Student leadership opportunities Personal impact: Meaning of critical consciousness 	 Organization's development and history Empowerment to take action 	Retention of Filipina/o students
Angelica	 Organization's culture Sense of community and connection to campus Sense of identity and 	 Raise awareness of Filipina/o culture and identity on campus Going to the 	Speak the language with peers

	culture • Student leadership opportunities • Personal impact: Meaning of critical consciousness	Philippines	
Ligaya	 Organization's culture Sense of community and connection to campus Sense of identity and culture Student leadership opportunities Personal impact: Meaning of critical consciousness 	 Organization's development Empowerment to take action Raise awareness of Filipina/o culture and identity on campus Going to the Philippines 	Dealing with conflict and problem- solving
Anthony	 Organization's culture Sense of community and connection to campus Sense of identity and culture Student leadership opportunities Personal impact: Meaning of critical consciousness 	 Access to higher education FASA's programs and activities (workshops, conference, major events) Going to the Philippines 	Conservative, Catholic influence

In summary, the major concepts that appeared in all four interviews required primary focus for this analysis because of the meaning the students give to their lived experiences within the organization. For example, the organization's culture and sense of community were recurring threads that supported students to share their feelings about joining Lakas and becoming a part of something bigger than themselves while in school. The major concepts that appeared in two or more interviews were also notable because of the impact they have on their identity development and understanding of critical consciousness. Lastly, the major concepts that appeared only

one time in an interview were not explored fully here but are important to acknowledge because of the impact these ideas have had on the student's world view and experience within Lakas. Moreover, these concepts may be of interest for future research studies.

By coding and logging the data and providing a descriptive analysis of the student organization and student participants, I was able to conduct an inventory of information to draw from in order to create *clusters* or *organizing themes* of information. An *organizing theme* or concept is a single category by which loose threads of data can be unified into a clearly imaged tapestry (Thomas, 1993). Moreover the description of the organization and student profiles provided a rich context to draw from in developing the major clusters of concepts.

In reviewing the different forms of data, major concepts emerged which informed the development of clusters of like-minded pieces of information. The major concepts which materialized from the in-depth student interviews will be explored in more detail throughout this section. Furthermore, Chapter 5 will provide a fuller discussion about the relationship the themes have to the primary research questions of the study.

I identified four major clusters based on the themes that materialized from the student interviews. The major clusters are: a) The Role of Lakas; b) Programs and Activities of Lakas; c) Meaning Students Give to Critical Consciousness; and d) Impact of Lakas on Identity and Consciousness.

Cluster I: The Role of Lakas

The following cluster is focused on the role of the Filipino American Student

Association at the University. This cluster is significant because students described how they view the role of Lakas at a Predominantly White Institution. During the interviews with students, one of the early questions asked was to describe the main purpose of this FASA at the University (see Appendix A).

As the officer with the most institutional memory of the organization, Paul spoke eloquently about the role of Lakas on campus. Paul expressed a strong commitment to the cultural values, beliefs, and vision of the organization. Moreover, Paul was instrumental in the development of the group's mission and vision over the years. Paul first joined a FASA organization just as he was graduating from a community college, and has continued his involvement in student leadership on campus and within the community. What stood out about Paul's experience is that he began student activities as a high school youth in a community organization in search of understanding Filipino history. He reflects on his motivation for joining Lakas FASA:

So in addition to friendship and social, I also had that internal desire to learn more about my Filipino heritage and my history. It's just that I never had the chance to discover and learn about the history of Filipinos and their stories of immigration and lives in the U.S. And it was through my involvement in the Filipino American National Historical Society in high school and FASAs in college that I was able to attend conferences that have helped to make me more aware of my ancestors' stories.

For the students Lakas FASA serves as an entry point or continuation for deepening one's own understanding of identity and student activism. Lakas FASA provides a space for students to explore, learn, connect, and build community for Filipina/o students on campus. Paul describes his experience entering Lakas first to learn more about Filipino history to now wanting to help shape the minds of current leaders.

Paul has assumed several leadership positions, including past President. Paul describes the importance of student leadership and being involved on campus:

I feel more equipped and know the tools and resources I need to organize students and take action around issues. I'm able to bring my experiences in my position with Lakas to organize events and workshops so other members can share in what we've learned leading workshops or events.

While attending the community college two student participants received comprehensive student leadership training, anti-oppression, and theater of the oppressed trainings. More specifically, they learned popular education teaching strategies and techniques that included social change models of leadership, facilitator trainings, and event planning and implementation.

Paul goes on to share what keeps him motivated to continue student organizing. Paul is also in a leadership role with the regional FASA Alliance, which is made up of 16 different FASAs and remains involved in the community as a cofounder and collective member of a progressive Filipino community organization. He says:

It is through my passion in making a difference that continues to drive me to stay involved. And it is also inspiring to see the new Lakas officers develop their own leadership skills too. They realize how rewarding it is to see good results from hard work of planning and organizing.

Angelica has been a member since her freshman year of college and was greatly influenced and mentored to join by her *ate* (older sister) who was the President at the time. Now in her third year of college and with Lakas, she serves in a major leadership position and describes the role of the organization emphasizing its purpose:

The main purpose is to unite and empower Filipina/o Americans and raise awareness on campus and in the Portland community about our activities.

Everything that we do has a purpose and that is raising awareness and learning about the Filipina/o culture.

Ligaya's point of entry was as a member as well. Ligaya describes the role Lakas plays to respond to the needs of Filipina/o American students on campus. Lakas emerged from the ground up as did all of their signature events and programs.

I think sometimes student groups form because there are things that the departments on campus should be doing but they're not doing, so we feel that the burden is on us to do it. So for example, we feel that there is a need to have a Tagalog class, but if we are not bringing it up then they're not going to do it for us, you know. I think that's one thing, because we really pushed for that to happen. So I guess when there are things that we think should be tackled, when there are things that we want to see that we don't see because the administration won't initiate it, then we feel that, though it's really not our job, we feel that it's kind of our job to start it. Because if we don't start it then nobody's going to start it.

This type of initiative is necessary in other departments. I developed a new seminar course on Filipino women and migration with the support and mentorship of a faculty of color in the Women's Studies department. In the Fall of 2008 the seminar course was piloted. The course attracted twenty students with a large number from Lakas. Ligaya described the ways in which students' needs well up from within and the students lead the charge to address the needs with minimal institutional support. Moreover, the institution greatly benefits when students of color take on and initiate diversity programs.

As the newest member to Lakas and recently elected as an officer Anthony describes his introduction to the organization. He states:

I think Laka's role is to educate, get the word out, and express what the Filipino culture is all about. It's just to educate about what the culture is, and it's also just to meet new people. Just to meet good people, make new friends. [Laughs.]

Anthony continued to describe how connecting with Lakas supports his academic focus as well. Transferring to this university and becoming involved with the student group has helped him focus on his academic studies. Anthony says:

I found something that I enjoy...I've got Lakas and responsibilities with them for workshops and whatnot. I was kind of looking for that structure. And I was very lucky to find it at this school, to refocus on what I need to do academically. It puts everything in perspective, I would say.

Anthony's reflection was on the difference he has experienced in college life this year now that he has returned home. He feels a sense of belonging on campus which was a major element missing last year when he was attending a small, liberal arts public institution in rural Oregon.

The second cluster derived from the themes highlighted from respondents' interviews about the Lakas FASA Programs and Activities. What was apparent was the significance of the four aspects of Lakas which inform and shape the programs, meetings, events, and activities of the organization on and off campus. The curriculum and methods for Laka's programs and activities are described in more detail in the second cluster.

Cluster II: Programs and Activities of Lakas

Recruitment and outreach. Outreach efforts are the lifeline for Lakas to become a successful and vibrant student organization. Moreover, outreach is also often the first point of entry for student leadership. Ligaya describes the method employed to draw new members into the organization. She says:

We table at this event in the Park one day during the first week of the term. That's when a lot of new students are there, and other booths for departments

and clubs. People stop by our table, and we have freebies and stuff like that. We tell them more about the club. That's when we get a lot of people to sign up. In the past we've done class raps where we go into the classes to give a brief presentation about Lakas, too.

We have our own office now and it's really visible. It says "Lakas" and it has a big Philippine flag so people who know about the Philippines, or people who are Filipino knock on our door and ask more about us.

Ligaya's statement depicts the sense of connection students may feel when they see something they can identify with through Lakas.

Anthony was recruited as a new member during the event in the Park. He explains,

I met some of the officers. It's a good way to learn and actually connect with kids my age and meet new friends. That's why I'm here, really, just to learn about the Filipino culture, because I didn't have really too much education. Just here and there from my parents, but nothing really in-depth like this.

Anthony's quote provides evidence that event in the Park is an effective way to recruit new members and raise visibility of Lakas. Moreover, it was a great way for Anthony to feel connected to university life through introductions to student groups and organizations during the first week of school.

Once members join the organization, they are invited to regular meetings. At the first meeting the officers give a presentation about Lakas and the four essential aspects of the organization. The four aspects include: educational, cultural, political, and social. The need to focus on these areas is to help increase awareness and knowledge about Filipino history, culture, and politics.

Four aspects of Lakas. During the Executive Officers training they develop guidelines and a process for determining programs and activities for the year to further develop their members' understanding of the four aspects of Lakas. Paul explains:

Before organizing the event, the organizer would have to ask does the event meet the purpose and the mission of Lakas. Advancing the political development of our members is one of our goals. We want to have a balance among the four aspects and not have too much social or too much educational or what not. We ask our officers, "how do you know if it is balanced?" They responded with how much money they allocate per aspect or how much energy was allocated per aspect. We also check with our members.

Aneglica describes her involvement with the topics or campaigns selected for Lakas. She says:

We have organized political activities where we support existing campaigns to raise awareness about issues facing Filipina/o American students here in the United States. We support campaigns like Stop the Killings in the Philippines and have held workshops and encouraged signing on-line petitions. We work with other organizations to support these campaigns.

Lakas aims to connect their political activities with social change efforts locally, nationally, and internationally. However, they begin locally and have hosted workshops on ballot measures and immigrant rights.

In addition to encouraging the development of student activism, the student participants also expressed the value of social interactions and time to get to know others better, and build relationships with students. Angelica says, "we do social things to take time to relax and get to know each other personally." Ligaya continues by saying:

I think that the reason why we keep the social aspect of it is that it's definitely the first step into Lakas. That's why at the beginning of the term we have a lot of meet and greets, we have a lot of social events because that's the initial event to draw people into the club. And then after that, after we got them interested with food and a lot of games and stuff like that, icebreakers and they're serious members, then we start discussing that we're not just all about social. We also do educational, political, and cultural stuff, too. We make it all balanced.

Ligaya goes on to describe how they ask for membership input as well. She says, "and we ask them on their membership form to check which aspects they are most interested in." When Ligaya was sharing her thoughts about the strategies Lakas

employs to retain members, she expressed the intention to meet students where they are at with regards to bringing them into the organization. She says:

I think we are all at different levels. So we make sure that we do workshops and activities every term so it balances those four aspects. So we will see a lot of people who go to social events and maybe less attend the educational or political events. We attract different numbers based on the events. I guess there are different interests, and we try to serve all of them.

The students experience struggles attending a Predominantly White Institution.

Angelica expresses the need to know more about Filipino history and the lack of representation of Filipinos in higher education. She says:

Some of the struggles I see are about finding a way to teach more about our history. Right now we don't really have any courses on the history of the Philippines. And like being recognized in higher education on campus and getting more subjects on Filipino history or culture. I think learning about that and hearing people's stories is good. Its empowering.

In November 2008, the country voted on important ballot initiatives and made history by marking their ballot to elect the first African American male to be the next United States President, which made a positive impact on the psyche of Filipino and other students of color to imagine another world is possible. Moreover, in an effort to respond to the local and national issues on campus, Lakas hosted Get Out the Vote activities and held a political education workshop about the impact some of the local measures would have on the Asian American and Pacific Islander communities.

Anthony recalls his experience,

We had a facilitated workshop and went over different measures and what's going to be on the ballot. We worked in groups to discuss the pros and cons about the specific measures, and explained to each other so we know what the measure was all about. We had to teach it to each other in small groups.

Student-led, interactive workshops and meetings provide the leadership training

ground and skill development for Lakas officers. Moreover, these workshops are an opportunity to think critically about their experiences on campus and social conditions as Filipinas/os in the U.S.

The student participants shared their own definition of the concept of critical consciousness and discussed how it relates to their work with Lakas. The third cluster is the meaning students give to the concept of critical consciousness. The students responded to the interview question "What is your understanding of the educational concept of critical consciousness?" (see Appendix A). The definition of critical consciousness used in this research study focuses on the aspect of critical consciousness that shapes "in-depth understanding of the world" (Freire, 1970).

Cluster III: Meaning Students Give to Critical Consciousness

Paul describes critical consciousness as "my basic idea of critical consciousness is for someone to be aware of and understand the meaning or the reasons behind what we do or the things we do or experience. It is an understanding or self awareness of what goes on around you." He continues by saying:

As far as Lakas goes, consciousness is to understand why we do what we do within our organization. Why do we have a political aspect? To be critically consciousness about that is to understand that Filipinos go through and experience multiple forms of oppression. Why do we have a social aspect is because a lot of Filipinos on a White campus could feel disconnected. Why do we have an educational component? It is because a lot of Filipinos don't have the opportunity to attend or receive a higher education and won't have a chance to learn about their cultural identity.

Paul's wisdom is contrasted with Angelica's personal definition. She describes her definition of critical consciousness as:

Critical consciousness for me is getting a better understanding of oppression

and classism. Just seeing it from day to day and knowing when and if it is something that happens to you or someone you know. Either you say that person is oppressing someone or you're being oppressed. And understanding it and finding a way to stop it or bring awareness about it.

Ligaya provides a fuller description:

It means just acknowledging that oppression exists and that there is a system that exists, and all these isms: racism, sexism, homophobia, all these types of oppression exist. Knowing that they exist, people have different experiences with it. And since it still exists, then there is a work that needs to be done, and actually work to end it. I think that ultimately that's what it means. Acknowledging that it exists and then doing something to end it. Whether that be by speaking against it, by being part of Filipino organization to learn more about it, by being part of other groups going to rallies, peace rallies, May 1 rallies, and stuff like that. Doing something, actually doing something to end it.

Ligaya continued by expressing her desire to travel back home to connect with organizations there to deepen her understanding of the root causes of poverty in the Philippines.

But because I have this understanding now then I really want to connect with the community back home to know what's going on first hand. It's in our home country, and back home they really experience all these horrors first hand. It's really sad, and I want to be able to help out or see what I can do, or what they do at least on a day to day basis.

When probed further, Ligaya described her sadness about the root causes of poverty in the Philippines as unjust and unfair.

Anthony is just beginning to develop an understanding of oppression and the social conditions of Filipinos in the United States. He relates his understanding of critical consciousness to growing up in Portland as the only Filipino in his class while attending predominantly white schools. Also, growing up with bilingual, immigrant parents he felt pressure in school to do well. He describes his situation:

I think just growing up throughout middle and high school surrounded by not too many Filipinos, I felt like it was a little bit more difficult to connect, even express what I'm trying to say. Because growing up, both of my parents spoke Tagalog, and I always heard it when I was a kid, and I always found it when growing up it was hard for me to express and to speak, even to write properly. And it's kind of hard being in a social situation in school where you feel kind of a little bit behind from the rest. So it was kind of hard to connect to other students.

What Anthony was feeling was the pressure to fit in and excel academically. This made it difficult for him to connect socially with peers during his early schooling. In this section, the respondents provided a personal understanding of the meaning of critical consciousness.

The final Cluster VI grouped the themes that emerged from listening to the students describe their personal impact Lakas has made on their lives. The student participants expressed their search for identity and capacity to grow and challenge themselves in new ways.

Cluster IV: Impact of Lakas on Identity and Consciousness
Paul begins by describing how Lakas has shaped his life.

It shaped my life significantly in the sense that I'm able to learn more about my culture and history. I didn't really learn a lot about my heritage and history while going to elementary school in the Philippines. Because in elementary school the history curriculum is not really as intensive, and mostly basic introduction to history.

Paul expresses that the school system in the Philippines does not teach from a Philippine perspective.

It was not until I was involved with Filipino activities where I learned about Filipina/o American history, and current issues that Filipina/o Americans are facing here in the United States and that helped me to be able to understand more about my identity as a Filipina/o student, as a man, as a gay man.

So it helped me to understand more about my identity. But at the same time, being involved in FASA helps me feel connected and empowered to do something about it and to work on issues that we've learned.

Attendance at the Regional FASA Alliance conference has made a positive impact on students identity development and consciousness creating a shared Filipino identity within postsecondary education. Angelica describes her experience attending her first conference. She says:

I learn that the ancient writing of the Philippines, Alibata. I never knew we even had that. I thought it was all Spanish influenced with Tagalog. Because in high school my friends who were Asian had you know Chinese writing or Vietnamese writing. And they would ask me what is your language? Do you have any characters? And we would always tell them "no it is like the English alphabet." I can tell them now that there are actually characters!

Angelica continues to describe how Lakas has impacted her experience attending a Predominantly White Institution.

It shaped as far as being a college student, enjoying college. That is one of the biggest things. Being a part of FASA has helped me enjoy the college experience. It isn't about learning and getting your degree and then leaving, but also giving you a chance to be a part of the college experience. Having time to meet people and learning about Filipino history is something you can't get from your classes. It's very important.

Angelica continues to share the sense of pride she feels about being Filipina.

It makes me be proud of who I am and being Filipino. Learning about our history and our struggles has really kind of influenced me. I take pride in that.

When Angelica was asked if she thinks the programs and activities help bring awareness about oppression, she expressed:

Yes, especially with topics on issues like 'mail order brides' who are mostly Filipinas. This topic exposed sexism and the socio-economic reasons of why Filipinas are forced into becoming 'mail order brides.' At first they want a better life to support their family, thinking that they can come here and you know, make money, and send it back to their families in the Philippines. But, we also know that they experience domestic violence. Those are some of the things we try and raise awareness about to help with critical consciousness.

Ligaya shares the distinction between growing up Filipina in the Philippines around all Filipinos to living in Portland and being part of a Filipino group in a Predominantly White Institution.

I thought coming here that I already knew about my culture, because I had those basic things I know from my country. When I came here I think that it was like totally different. Because in the Filipino group I learned more about my history and I learned that the things that I was taught in the Philippines may have been changed or shaped in the way that the government wants to show things. So a lot of the real history I learned in the Filipino group. I learned more about what's going on politically in the Philippines with the current administration, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, like all the human rights violations, and what's going on back home. And even here, like the terrible conditions of mail order brides in the U.S. or the Filipino WWII Veterans Equity Campaign. I think it's made me more conscious of what's going on around me. Back in the Philippines I did not know that oppression exists.

Ligaya continues to reflect on her development as a student leader and about her involvement in the student organization.

I'm thankful that FASA has made a positive impact on me and my life. It has definitely helped me to be more conscious. And I think my approach before would have been just to focus on myself, because that's what we were taught as a kid. That's what I was taught by my parents. They just wanted me to succeed, make a lot of money and just focus on myself.

This awareness she described of individualism has been transformed into a deeper value of being a part of a social change efforts in her community, described here through her reflection about her involvement in student leadership programs:

After joining FASA and working in the community or working at the Center, or being part of social justice type theater group, it helped me to want to serve my community, the people. It helped me to not just focus on myself. It helped me realize that I can be in school creating change in my community. There is a need for it. FASA really helped me in this realization that there is work that needs to be done and I can be useful in that work.

In contrast to Ligaya's advanced development, Anthony is exploring the possibilities

of stretching his imagination to take on new challenges and experiences through his leadership role within Lakas. Anthony says:

Well, in the past year I've been really interested in the Filipino culture, because growing up and going to school with the majority of Caucasians and not too many Filipinos I could relate to, I found it a little hard. And then even in college, same thing.

I believe it is through education to inform people like me, who don't know too much and are looking for that connection or feel something's missing. You're Filipino, but do you really know what you are? It educates you in that way. This is your history, this is what your ancestors did.

I asked Anthony to describe how Lakas has shaped his own experience as a Filipino American college student. He shared a personal story about when he attended an event at a university in Washington called the FILIPINOLYMPICS, a friendly competition between FASA alliance organizations. He met young men who were members of a fraternity who place Filipino cultural values first in their organization. Anthony expressed interest and excitement to make this personal connection because he identifies with the term *kuya*, "older brother" to his younger sister, and likes what the young men of the Filipino brotherhood stands for. Anthony is exploring the possibility of forming a chapter at his university.

I would say [Lakas] has motivated me even more just to learn, you know, and be appreciative of what being a Filipino is and trying to express that. I really was interested in The Kuyas, because my sisters call me kuya, and it's kind of interesting that there is a group called The Kuyas. I asked one of the [Lakas] officers why we don't have [The Kuyas] in Portland. One of The Kuya members asked me if I would be interested in the brotherhood, and I was like, wow, just meeting him that first time, I could see the older brother watched out for us to oversee and protect. I could understand that, you know. I am definitely interested, because I just want to keep on learning about what being part of The Kuyas is about, you know I am just interested in Filipino culture and learning right now.

There are leadership opportunities within Lakas to take on new projects and encourage students to design and lead meetings and workshops. This is a fundamental aspect to the programs and practices of Lakas. Anthony expressed his desire to keep learning:

I hope to just keep on learning. Like about Carlos Bulosan, what he has to say. I keep on hearing he did great things, so I've been trying to read up and try to educate myself before I can educate other people about him. So I think one goal I would like to have is just to have a lot more people come to my workshops, and have it interactive, have it where people can meet new people, and kind of help build. And of course the education part, educating others about Carlos Bulosan.

Anthony explored his ideas for continuing to learn more about Filipino culture and identity while gaining a better understanding of Lakas at the university.

In summary, the fourth and final cluster provided an interpretation of how student's identity has been shaped and their consciousness raised by participating in Lakas. The student narratives bring into focus the way in which they have been a part of and continue to be influenced by Lakas.

Summary of Data Description and Analysis

This chapter provided an overview and analysis that included coding and logging the data, a description of the organization, student profiles, and four major clusters of themes illustrating each student's experience with participating in Lakas FASA at the university. The analysis and findings illuminated the significant role of the Lakas organization on campus, explored the programs and activities, gave meaning to the concept of critical consciousness, and described the personal impact Lakas has had on shaping their identity development and consciousness of Filipino culture.

Triangulation improved the quality of data and the accuracy of the findings.

The student participants were credible sources and their statements were backed up by

the interactive website, Facebook page, and documents distributed during meetings which included flyers, agendas, and event posters. Moreover, I identified patterns of information after collecting and reviewing data including the interviews. These patterns were identified and explored for meaning more thoroughly as major clusters. My thoughts became crystallized and fell into place after coding and logging the data, identifying the major concepts from the interview transcripts, and retrieving supporting excerpts from the interviews, which all helped to reinforce the clusters of themes and major findings of the study. The analysis and findings were developed from investigating the two primary research questions through structured interviews which culminated in the four clusters of themes.

The two research questions that guided the study are: a) What is the role of a FASA at a Predominantly White Institution? and b) What elements of FASA influence or limit the development of critical consciousness? The interview questions enabled the students to share their stories of attending the university and participating in Lakas. Moreover, the students expressed their understanding of the meaning of critical consciousness as it relates to their own identity development. In summary, the four major clusters are a result of the data description and analysis of the organization and student profiles includes: a) The Role of Lakas; b) Programs and Activities of Lakas; c) Meaning Students Give to Critical Consciousness; and d) Impact of Lakas on Identity and Consciousness. The goal of the first research question was to illustrate the role of Lakas at the university from the students' perspective.

A response to research question one is in the findings of Cluster I: The Role of Lakas and Cluster II: Programs and Activities of Lakas. The following is a summary

of the findings from Clusters I:

- Recruitment and retention of Filipina/o students at the university;
- Building a sense of connection and community for Filipina/o students;
- Ease transition to college;
- Increase awareness of Filipino culture on campus;
- Student leadership positions; and
- Community service and student activism through partnerships with local and regional Filipina/o American organizations and community groups.

The findings of Cluster II: Programs and Activities of Lakas presented the following result:

- Recruitment and retention of Lakas members;
- Training and leadership skills development through event planning, meetings, workshops, events and activities;
- Comprehensive programming focused on the four aspects of Lakas including political, educational, cultural, and social programs;
- Exposure to educational and other leadership opportunities on campus;
- Experience traveling and attending regional conferences; and
- Informal mentoring among peers and networking with other student leaders.

The second research question aimed to investigate what elements of FASA influence or limit the development of critical consciousness. In Cluster III and IV, students first described their understanding of the meaning of critical consciousness and next shared personal experiences of their own identity development and consciousness. The results of the findings include students' perspectives about:

- Exposure to learning about oppression and the social conditions of Filipinas/os;
- Examining their own lived experience as Filipina/o immigrants and Filipina/o
 Americans attending the university;
- Learning about and understanding the root causes of poverty in the Philippines;
- Learning about ways to work toward social change in our community;
- Affirmed that Lakas has helped to shape a more positive college experience;
- Participation in Lakas has increased their own understanding of identity and consciousness;
- Recognize that Lakas fills a void in the institution; and
- Student-led initiatives to develop curriculum which reflects Filipina/o
 experience. E.g. Tagalog language course.

The elements that limit the development of critical consciousness appeared in the students' critique of the institution, and showed up in relation to meeting students 'where they are' in their own development when they enter Lakas. Students expressed the following themes:

- Acknowledged a lack of administrative support;
- Identified a lack of presence of Filipino professional staff, administrators, and faculty;
- Students have different ideas and understanding about the educational concept of critical consciousness;
- Within Lakas, learning about critical political issues are not viewed as popular

- and there is a limited draw of members to political workshops;
- There is a lack of institutional resources and support devoted to student training and leadership development; and
- Pressures of status quo seem too great to challenge at times.

This chapter revealed the findings based on the data description and analysis.

A fuller discussion of the findings in relation to the research questions is present in the final chapter which offers implications for practice and for further research in the area of Filipino American Student Associations and their influence on critical consciousness.

SECTION V: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

"Education...becomes 'the practice of freedom', the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world" (Freire, 1998, p. 16).

The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of a Filipino American Student Association at a Predominantly White Institution and uncover elements that influence or limit the development of critical consciousness of its members. The study provided a genuine and empathetic understanding of the purpose and role of Lakas through the eyes of four student leaders. The students shared their stories and experiences about their involvement with and leadership in the programs and activities of Lakas. The student leaders discussed their personal meaning and understanding of the concept of critical consciousness. The final chapter provides a discussion of the study findings in relation to the review of literature, speaks to implications for practice and future research, and concludes with my self-reflection.

Discussion

The synthesis of key themes related to the research questions provided a response to the research questions of the study. The research questions of the study are:

- 1. What is the role of a FASA at a Predominantly White Institution?
- 2. What elements of FASA influence or limit the development of critical consciousness?

In regards to the research questions, the discussion of the findings explains how this study addresses the gaps identified in the literature review. The methodology of critical ethnography was applied to examine the role of Lakas at the University and give voice to the experiences of student leaders. The data collection and analysis included four student interviews, participant-observation of meetings and events, and the collection of documents from the organization over an eight month timeframe. *Research Question 1: What is the role of a FASA at a Predominantly White Institution?*

The data analysis revealed that within the university there is a vibrant student organization that formed from the ground up by a few Filipina/o students who developed leadership opportunities and creative programming to enhance the campus climate for all Filipina/o students within the university setting. The literature review presented in Chapter 2 provided an understanding of the current challenging social conditions impacting Filipinos in the U.S. (San Juan, 2004) and described Predominantly White Institutions as a site of struggle (Mohanty, 2006) for students of color, specifically Filipina/o American students. The findings in Chapter 4 are

consistent with the research of Mohanty (2006) which states that collective practice within the institution leads to rethinking of structures of power and dominance that oppress to democracy and democratic collective practice. Furthermore, Chang (2002) describes the lack of organizations on campus makes it more difficult for students to challenge discrimination. The student interviews further supported this claim. The literature points to the gap in research focused on the specific role of Filipina/o college student organizations at Predominantly White Institutions. While there has been substantial literature written in the area of Filipina/o American identity and culture (Bonus, 2000, 2002; Nadal 2001; Root, 1997) little research has been conducted on the impact the role Filipina/o American Student Associations have within Predominantly White Institutions. By investigating the structure and model of Lakas what was revealed was the institution greatly benefits from the role of Lakas at the university.

The findings illustrated the "fabric of the organization" through the in-depth student interviews. In learning from and listening to the student participants the role of Lakas has served to create a sense of community and connection to campus for Filipina/o students. The visibility of Lakas has helped to increase the awareness of Filipina/o culture for its members and the campus community, while raising the consciousness of its members. Students validated the vital role Lakas plays in efforts to recruit and retain Filipina/o students at the university. Meanwhile, students experience meaningful leadership opportunities and skill development through the various programs and activities. A retention program of Lakas is the Foundation Scholarship which students initiated in an effort to help lessen the financial burden of

college while acknowledging the academic accomplishments of its members.

Moreover, Lakas affords students the opportunity to engage in student activism through partnerships with national progressive Filipino American organizations in this region such as PCHRP and AnakBayan to name a few. Based on the membership and goals of Lakas it serves to function as a multi-racial, intergenerational, immigrant and student of color organization in solidarity with Filipinas/os for national democracy and sovereignty in the Philippines and abroad.

Research Question 2: What elements of FASA influence or limit the development of critical consciousness?

The rationale for this research question is to provide a critical analysis of the factors that impact or limit the development of critical consciousness of the organization's members. Through the analysis of data gathered from the interviews, participant-observations, and analysis of documents elements that influence and limit the development of critical consciousness were identified. This study addresses the gap in the literature (Cordova, 1983; Lawsin, 1998; Timtiman-Cordova, 2003) that there is a need to give voice to the lived experiences of Filipina/o American college students based on a historical-materialist approach and understanding of the sociopolitical context supported by the research of San Juan (2004, 2006).

The analysis of the student profiles illustrates that Filipina/o immigrants and Filipina/o Americans are affected by the colonial and neo-colonial subjugation of the Philippines in the class-divide structure reproduction of the U.S. (San Juan, 2004). The interviews uncovered the basic motivation for their families to leave the Philippines for a "better life" in the United States. What the student revealed were the

hardships, isolation, and discrimination experienced in the school system and employment that does not match the degrees obtained in the Philippines.

Finally, the research points to the need to address these social conditions, development of critical consciousness, link to Filipina/o American college student organizations in higher education, and to conduct critical research that examines the role of Filipina/o American college student organizations in the development of critical consciousness of its members.

The interview findings revealed that students gave a personal definition to their understanding of critical consciousness. This study focuses on the aspect of critical consciousness that shapes "in-depth understanding of the world" (Freire, 1970).

Students linked understanding critical consciousness with the notions that oppression such as racism, sexism, classism, and heterosexism exists. Students also related critical consciousness to learning more about oppression of Filipinas/os and its impact on the Filipina/o community. Two of the student participants described in their interviews doing something about oppression. They linked action with the role of Lakas to educate and raise awareness of social and political issues in the community and on campus.

The University Lakas FASA is influenced by the teaching approach of critical pedagogy (Freire1970; hooks 1994, 2003) which has been learned and adopted by attending Regional Conferences, participation in prior comprehensive leadership programs at the local community college, and leadership within community-based organizations. The student leaders who transferred from the community college to the university were prepared to organize and develop a student-led Filipina/o American

Student Association with comprehensive leadership and training opportunities. The findings presented elements that helped influence critical consciousness. The Lakas FASA is influenced by the popular education teaching method. I observed this strategy being utilized during meetings and workshops to help raise the consciousness of its participants and allow them to become more aware of how an individual's personal experiences are connected to larger societal problems.

For example, during the Lakas educational workshop led by the student member Ligaya, she facilitated workshop about voting and ballot measures. She led a group icebreaker that encouraged participants to reflect and write their thoughts about the question "why vote?" She called the activity speed dating where one person from each group had to move around on her cue. She employed popular cultural ideas within a political framework to interrogate how Filipina/o and Asian Pacific American communities are affected by voting. She continued to lead the workshop with a slide show and handouts. Ligaya received community support from a local Asian Pacific American non-profit organization to host this interactive workshop. Ligaya held a temporary field organizer position with the community- based organization.

I observed how participants were encouraged to take ownership and become empowered to act to effect change locally by voting and understanding the ballot measures that would have devastating affects on immigrant communities. When the group of participants were surveyed more than half were eligible and registered to vote. The Lakas FASA provides an avenue for students to become more informed in a safe and nurturing environment about the challenging social conditions impacting Filipinas/os.

The findings helped to crystallize my understanding of the important role

Lakas plays at the university and among Filipina/o students and their allies. I believe

Lakas helps to develop and shape a unique "Lakas consciousness" rooted in identity

and consciousness of the struggle for Filipinas/os living in the United States. Lakas

student leaders shared their interest and understanding of becoming more informed

about the growing Filipino movement in the U.S. in solidarity with the Philippines.

The mission and vision of Lakas illustrates their values toward social change, and their

programs and activities model ways to influence critical consciousness.

The findings allowed me to develop an analysis of the elements that help to influence the development of critical consciousness. The elements include: a) educational opportunities to learn about systems of oppression, and the root causes of poverty in the Philippines through conferences, workshops, and leadership programs; b) participation in on-going anti-oppression or Filipina/o leadership trainings; c) a safe and nurturing environment to examining their own lived experience as Filipina/o immigrants and Filipina/o Americans; d) student leadership roles within Lakas to develop campus organizing skills; and e) mentorship and support from alumni, community leaders, and alliances.

The findings also highlighted the elements within Lakas FASA that may limit the development of critical consciousness in the context of higher education. The elements include: a) lack of administrative support; b) lack of the presence of Filipino mentors on campus in professional staff, administrators, and faculty roles; c) students have different ideas and understanding about the educational concept of critical consciousness; d) within Lakas, learning about critical political issues are not viewed

as popular and there is a limited draw of members to political workshops; e) lack of institutional resources and support devoted to student training and leadership development; and f) pressures of status quo seem too great to challenge at times. The pressures of status quo include the mainstream consumer culture, prevalent ideas of individualism to be successful rather than collectivism and democracy, and the liberal, multicultural attitude of the university to be grateful that there is a FASA that has a budget and office space. The critique here is that the university may exploit the success and accomplishments of Lakas by relying on its members to take on functions of recruitment and retention that serves the university more than the identity and critical consciousness development of the students.

The Lakas FASA provides evidence that there is more than window dressing and lip service to diversity efforts on campus. The Lakas FASA and its student leaders share an important story of the coming of age of the organization and its leaders while providing a strong voice for student organizations to lead efforts in developing the identity and consciousness (Constantino, 1982) of its members toward social change on campus and in the community.

Implications for Practice

The student voices were intertwined to tell the story of Lakas and their lived experiences as they participate in leadership roles within the student organization. The findings from this study present opportunities to improve Lakas FASA and programs and practices within the institution for Filipina/o students and other students of color in higher education. Moreover, the study raises critical questions for further research in the area of Filipina/o college students attending Predominantly White Institutions.

I believe it is the institution's role to support student leadership training and development. The two students who graduated and transferred from the community college to the university were prepared to assume the responsibility of developing an organizations and assuming leadership roles. The impact of meaningful student leadership and training opportunities early in a student's career in college make a difference in their persistence to achieve their educational goals and aspirations in school. Two of the respondents give their personal testimonies to the positive and long lasting impact the community college anti-oppression leadership trainings have on their transfer readiness, success in college, and motivation to serve as agents of change on and off campus.

It is my belief that ethnic student organizations specifically Lakas play a vital role in shaping students racial identity development and consciousness of the world, and have the potential to develop student leadership and organizational skills. Social change leadership skills are life skills that are essential for collective democratic change both in school and beyond. Staff and administrators must rethink the neutral approach to student development, and revolutionize their thinking to develop comprehensive student leadership orientations from an anti-oppression and social change analysis. Currently, the rural, public research university in Oregon offers this type of curriculum in a course for campus student organizers.

A comprehensive anti-oppression training curriculum that integrates techniques of popular education and student organizing skills will help students become more aware of how their personal experiences are connected to larger social problems. Furthermore, this would complement student development theories to meet

students where they are in their development process and encourage and challenge critical thinking within education.

Additionally, popular education as a tool supports individuals to become empowered to act and to effect change. Lastly, a comprehensive leadership training will support the recruitment and retention of students of color in para-professional roles on campus and build community for all students to make social change on campus and in our communities possible. Moreover, Lakas FASA would benefit from access to Filipina/o staff, faculty, and administrators to serve as professional mentors and support.

The lessons that may be drawn from this study also have implications for Lakas FASA and community organizations. Lakas has a solid history of nearly seven years at the university. The Lakas FASA organization serves as a model for other student organizations because they integrate four aspects of programs (political, educational, cultural, and social) into their practice. This is a critical juncture for Lakas as several long-time members will be graduating and new officers will assume leadership roles. How will Lakas sustain the elements that influence the development of critical consciousness in their organization beyond this year? How will Lakas challenge the elements that limit the development of critical consciousness in the organization? How will former Lakas members influence the continued legacy of the organization once they have graduated? Will the "Lakas consciousness" continue after graduation? Where will alumni find support to continue to develop their identity and consciousness after graduation?

The Lakas FASA is effective in mentoring new members and evaluating and

reflecting on their policies, procedures, programs and practices. I recommend and encourage the leadership to consider conducting regular assessments of the organization to inform the strategic planning and direction for the coming years. By conducting an assessment, Lakas will be able to identify strengths and limitations in their organization, programs, and activities. Furthermore, this will allow the leaders to create programs and activities that are congruent with the lived experiences of the members based on age, class, sexual orientation, language, and religion. Moreover, through alliance building, Lakas will draw strength from the growing progressive national Filipino movement led by BAYAN USA to deepen their understanding of the national democratic struggle for sovereignty of the Philippines.

The Filipino movement is a dynamic community made up of national organizations that include the Pacific Northwest region of organizations such as Portland CHRP, National Alliance for Filipino Concerns in California, AnakBayan Seattle, Pacific Northwest BAYAN USA, Pinay sa Seattle, and the Seattle Philippine/U.S. Solidarity Organization (PUSO) to name a few. There is strength in unity for social change. It is my assessment that the time is ripe for a "rites of passage" program for Filipina/o youth and students in the Portland area to claim a shared Filipino identity and consciousness to work on campaigns with other Filipinas/os in the U.S. that are linked to the struggle for national democracy in the Philippines.

Implications for Future Research

An analysis of the concrete conditions of class struggle is required for "Filipinos and other oppressed groups . . . to understand how they can transform their conditions decisively" (San Juan, 2006, p.43).

This study points to the need for further research among Filipina/o students and other students of color related to the second aspect of critical consciousness--or: "freedom from oppression" which leads to social change. This was not explicitly addressed in this study, but further interrogation of this topic is recommended for future research studies. I also believe there is a need for further examination of how student organizations use a collective model in the context of higher education to work toward social change. While this study raises the awareness of the role of Lakas FASA and the elements that influence or limit the development of critical consciousness, my curiosity is piqued to know more. Other critical questions have come up that require ongoing interrogation and attention. Some of these questions are:

- How do student leaders integrate critical consciousness into the programs and practice of their organization?
- How do FASA organizations respond to the limitations of developing critical consciousness in the context of higher education?
- What are the differences between gender roles of Filipina and Filipino student experiences? Why do they exist?

This study may be applied to other ethnic student organizations at Predominantly White Institutions. In future research, I recommend expanding the study to interview more Filipina/o students, provide a stronger gender analysis and discuss the differences between gender and sexual orientation, and include more postsecondary education sites to compare and contrast student experiences. Moreover, consider expanding this research to institutions with high numbers of Asian Pacific American

students to compare and contrast to the context of PWIs. Additionally, a study that compares and contrasts FASA organizations at different colleges and universities in the region would be of great interest. Furthermore, the community college setting offers a rich environment to conduct a research study among Filipina/o student experiences, and to compare and contrast the experiences of Filipina/o university students.

In conclusion, Chapter 5 presented a discussion of the findings of this study in relation to the review of literature, and offered implications for practice and future research. In the spirit of critical ethnography and writing what you know deep within, I will conclude with my self reflection about my participation with students in the research study.

Self-Reflection

At the forefront of this research study was my aim to provide an authentic description of the Lakas FASA student organization and claim space for student voices to emerge and be heard in relation to their own identity development and consciousness raising. It is my hope that this effort came through with genuine empathy and care for the lived experiences of Filipina/o students attending this university. Throughout the process an interesting paradox emerged in our experience as co-researchers. The students created Lakas FASA out of the search for a template or model to understand university life. This parallels my experience in searching for a template or model to apply critical ethnography to this research study. The absence of a template for conducting a critical ethnography of the student organization and its

members forced me to rely on finding my voice as a writer and creating a new template to tell the story of Lakas FASA and its dynamic members.

A beautiful and unexpected outcome of this study led to the development of ideas that cultivate a "Lakas consciousness." Moreover, there is a spirit of joy in the struggle for raising critical consciousness within Lakas. Moreover, the students show up at their best at the university and in turn gain the most from Lakas FASA. My research point of view was influenced by class consciousness and a Filipino nationalist perspective to understand the economic conditions in the U.S. and the Philippines. The convergence of my own political development as a second generation, mixed-race Filipina American alongside the development of Lakas, and the identity and consciousness of its members was profound in consolidating my own understanding of the Filipino movement and its application here living and working in Portland, OR.

As I reflect over my role as an "insider" conducting research with Filipina/o students that I am in community with, I gained a deeper appreciation for my role in student development and of the history I have with some of the respondents. We were able to come together with this study as co-researchers. In contrast, knowing some of the respondents prior to this study also made the interviews challenging because at times I felt unsure of when to push back and encourage the students to explore more deeply aspects of critical consciousness. Moreover, I sensed their interest to support the research and apprehensive to be critical of the interview questions or the study.

This research study created a space to think about our reality as Filipinas/os within higher education in the U.S., the opportunity to speak our truths, and listen to stories of transformation and growth. The students in this research project affirm Filipina/o

cultural theory is valuable and that my voice, their voice, our voices matter. I am grateful for the opportunity to share the knowledge of the students. The student voices are a testament to the idea that there is no one keeper of knowledge, we all have knowledge and wisdom; and that there is no one answer, but more questions to pursue. This research affirms that the students stories are important enough to take up space, to open up more exploration of thought, and to interrogate themes and ideas illuminated in the study.

The journey of writing and exploring these complex, personal and political themes have caused the welling up of a mixture of emotions within me that include times of chaos, frustration, angst, outrage, joy, and compassion. I found comfort in the poetry of Maryanne Radmacher who writes:

Writing is a process one follows to learn what is already known deep within: it sharpens the spirit, disciplines the mind and leads to solutions. In the spaces between words of solitude observe what happens when words and silence meet. Words matter. Pay attention. Write to learn what you know.

This poem brought me great inspiration as I embarked on the winding journey of the writing process. I hope to join a community of critical scholars and activists toward creating change and building a movement through critical pedagogies, curriculum, and student leadership for social justice. Through the dissertation process I have found a renewed inspiration and strength to reach for justice through scholarly writing and to let my voice come through while in community with the Filipina/o students, colleagues, friends, and my major advisor and dissertation committee as we venture to link theory with practice to improve conditions for all in higher education.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1. Please provide a personal introduction about yourself including your name, age, and where you grew up.
- 2. Please tell me more about your educational and career goals.
- 3. What is your experience joining a Filipina/o American Student Association?
- 4. How were you first drawn to participate in FASA?
- 5. What is your role within FASA?
- 6. Describe the main purpose of FASA at your university.
- 7. Describe the membership of FASA.
- 8. How are FASA members recruited?
- 9. Describe the role of FASA on campus.
- 10. Describe how participating in FASA has shaped your own experience as a Filipina/o American college student.
- 11. How have you been impacted by FASA?
- 12. What is your understanding of the educational concept of critical consciousness?
- 13. Describe the programs and activities of FASA.
- 14. How does FASA determine the content of its programs and activities?

APPENDIX B

Recruitment Letter



Department of Adult Education and Higher Education LeadershipOregon State University, 403 Education Hall, Corvallis, Oregon 97331
T 541-737-4317| F 541-737-9044

June 30, 2008

Dear Filipina/o American Student Association Member:

I am writing to solicit your interest in participating in a study I am conducting for my doctoral research as a student in the Oregon State University Community College Leadership Program. The proposed topic of my dissertation is The Role of Filipina/o American College Student Organizations in Developing Critical Consciousness. For the purposes of this research study, the definition of critical consciousness (CritCon) is based on the work of Brazilian educational theorist Paulo Freire. CritCon is a popular education concept to address an in depth state of understanding about the world and resulting in the freedom of oppression. The study will provide a critical perspective on the role of Filipina/o American student organizations through in depth interviews with members of the organization. I am seeking access to stories of up to six Filipina/o American student organization members through a series of individual interviews, participant observation of the organization's activities, and follow up interviews.

There is a lack of original research on the role of Filipina/o American college student organizations and the development of critical consciousness in higher education. If you agree to be a participant in this study, you will be working with me to contribute to the research on Filipina/o American college student's experience within student organizations in higher education.

Your participation in this study would involve a maximum of 4 hours. Our first contact will be by phone at which time we will make arrangements for an interview, which will last a maximum of 90 minutes and will be audio-taped. The second contact will be an in person interview lasting approximately 60-90 minutes in length. The participant will receive the transcript of the interview within two to three weeks of the original interview. The third contact will be via telephone, in which you will be given the opportunity to clarify, verify, or expand transcribed information from the first interview, will last approximately 60-90 minutes in length. A follow up telephone interview or a second face-to-face interview may be required and if so, would last a maximum of 90 minutes and be audio taped.

If you are interested in voluntarily participating in this research study, please contact me at claire.oliveros@gmail.com or 503.869.2361. After confirming your interest, I will ask you to sign and return an Informed Consent Document that describes your role and protection as a participant, and will schedule the first interview with you.

By sharing your experience as a Filipina/o American college student you have the potential to contribute greatly to the understanding of the role of Filipina/o American college student

organizations in developing its members understanding of a worldview of freedom from oppression and critical consciousness. I hope you will consider participating in this research and sharing your unique experience as a member of a Filipina/o American college student organization in higher education.

Thank you,

Claire Oliveros Doctoral Candidate Oregon State University College of Education

APPENDIX C

Consent Form



Department of Adult Education and Higher Education Leadership

Oregon State University, 403 Education Hall, Corvallis, Oregon 97331 T 541-737-4317| **F** 541-737-9044

Project Title: The Role of a Filipina/o American Student Association at

a Predominantly White Institution: A Critical

Ethnography

Principal Investigator: Larry Roper, School of Education
Co-Investigator: Claire Oliveros, Student Researcher

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

This is a dissertation research study. The focus of this study is on the importance of understanding the conditions of Filipina/o Americans in the United States, the impact of social conditions on Filipina/o Americans in the United States, the importance of higher education in addressing social conditions of Filipina/o Americans, and the importance of student organizations in the development of critical consciousness as a central strategy in addressing the social conditions of Filipina/o Americans. For the purposes of this research study, the definition of critical consciousness (CritCon) is based on the work of Brazilian educational theorist Paulo Freire. Critical consciousness is a popular education concept to address an in depth state of understanding about the world and resulting in the freedom of oppression. This research study places Filipina/o American college students at the center of the research to give agency to the lived experience and social conditions in the context of U.S. culture and society, and higher education.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS FORM?

The purpose of the consent form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether to be in the study or not. Please read the form carefully. You may ask any questions about the research, what you will be asked to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When all of your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in this study or not. This process is called "informed consent." You will be given a copy of this form for your records.

WHY AM I BEING INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?

You are invited to participate in this research study because your name emerged as a student member of a Filipina/o American college student organizations at a public university in Oregon. The total number of subjects expected to participate in the study is maximum of 8. There is a lack of original research on the role of Filipina/o American college student organizations in developing critical consciousness in higher education. If you agree to be a participant in this study, you will be working with me to contribute to the research on the

experience of Filipina/o American college students as it relates to developing a critical consciousness as a member of a student organization.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN DURING THIS STUDY AND HOW LONG WILL IT TAKE?

Open ended and semi structured interviews will be scheduled with the participants involved. The first interview with the participant will be face-to-face at a location determined by the participant and will last approximately 90 minutes in length and will be audio taped. The second contact will be via telephone, in which participants will be given the opportunity to clarify, verify, or expand transcribed information from the first interview. The second contact will be maximum of 90 minutes. A third telephone or second face-to-face interview may be required and if so, it is expected to last no more than 60 minutes. In person and telephone interviews will be audio taped. Maximum time commitment will be 4 hours.

The following procedures are involved in this study.

- Approximately two weeks following the first interview, you will receive a typed transcript of the interview. Upon receipt of the transcript, Claire Oliveros will contact you by telephone to clarify or verify or expand upon transcribed information from the first interview. The telephone contact will last a maximum of 90 minutes.
- If a second interview is needed, Claire Oliveros will contact you by phone to schedule the face-to-face interview. The interview will last approximately 60-90 minutes and with your permission will be audio taped.

WHAT ARE THE RISKS OF THIS STUDY?

Participants may have discomfort with audio taping of the interviews. Keeping the names of participants and their institutions confidential will minimize risk. Pseudonyms will be given to each participant and the names of institutions, locations, and organizations directly linked to participants will be changed.

WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS OF THIS STUDY?

There may be no personal benefit for participating in the research study. However, the potential for greater understanding for you about how the role of Filipina/o American college student organizations impacts one's development of critical consciousness will exist. In addition, there is potential benefit to other Filipina/o American college students as this research study may offer a critical lens in viewing the role of Filipina/o American college student organizations based on the sharing of your experience.

WILL I BE PAID FOR PARTICIPATING?

You will not be paid for participating in this study.

WHO WILL SEE THE INFORMATION I GIVE?

Records of participation in this research project will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law. However, the Oregon State University Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves research studies involving human subjects) may inspect

and copy records pertaining to this research. It is possible that these records could contain information that personally identifies you. Records of participation in this research project will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law. A transcriber hired by the student researcher will transcribe audiotapes verbatim. The transcriptionists' professional ethics require confidentiality. All written and recorded information, including interview notes, gathered during this study will be kept in a locked storage cabinet in an office. Claire Oliveros, the student researcher, and Dr. Roper, primary investigator, will be the only ones to have access to the keys and the securely stored data. The assignment of pseudonyms will be given to each participant of the study. The primary investigator and student researcher are the only individuals who will have access to the list. In the event of any report or publication from this study, your identity will not be disclosed. Results will be reported in a summarized manner in such a way that you cannot be identified.

Participants will be identified on audiotape by their pseudonym. Audio tapes will be transcribed by a professional transcriptionist whose professional ethics require confidentiality. He transcriptionist will never hear the name of participants. All tapes will be kept in a locked storage cabinet in an office. Further, the student researcher, and Dr. Larry Roper, will be the only ones to have access the key and the securely stored data in the office.

DO I HAVE A CHOICE TO BE IN THE STUDY?

Taking part in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate at all. If you agree to participate in this study, you may stop participating at any time. During interview sessions, you are free to skip any questions that you would prefer not to answer. If you decide not to take part, or if you stop participating at any time, your decision will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise be entitled. Should you decide to withdraw, some data collected prior to your withdrawal may be included in the study results.

WHAT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?

Questions are encouraged. If you have any questions about this research project, please contact: Claire Oliveros, PO Box 2593, Portland, OR; Email: Claire Oliveros at colivero@pcc.edu or Dr. Larry Roper, School of Education, (541) 737-2759; Email: larry.roper@oregonstate.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, please contact the Oregon State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) Human Protections Administrator, at (541) 737-4933 or by e-mail at IRB@oregonstate.edu.

Your signature indicates that this research study has been explained to you, that your questions have been answered, and that you agree to take part in this study. You will receive a copy of this form.

Participant's Name (printed):	
	,
(Signature of Participant)	(Date)