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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, MERCED

The Influence of Race and Socioeconomic Status on Filipinx Educational Attainment

by Jay Colond

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor

of Philosophy

in

Sociology

By

Jay Z Colond

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2025

ABSTRACT

Filipino Americans cross race, class, and nativity hierarchies. Because of a colonial relationship between the United States and the Philippines, agrarian and working class Philippine nationals had freer passage to the US mainland, growing their US population much later into the 20th century than for other Asian origin groups. Upon the resumption of migration, immigration policy after 1965 created pan-ethnic Asian incentives for middle- and professional class individuals. Using US Census data, I show that US born Filipinos whose families arrived before 1965 have persistently lower rates of college attainment than those whose families arrive after 1965. Drawing on 34 in depth interviews with Filipinx Americans, I show that cultural embeddedness, cultural identity, and shifting racialized cultural status hierarchies for Filipinx may contribute to this divergence. My research contributes to empirical knowledge of Filipino Americans, a large but understudied group of Asian Americans.

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Introduction: A Brief History of Filipino Americans

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A Brief History

Filipina/o/x¹-American students are at the intersection of racial, class, and citizenship hierarchies. My research agenda for this dissertation is to learn how these various positions may shape Filipinx educational attainment. I pursue this research agenda with three papers on the educational attainment and racialization of Filipinx- Americans. I scaffold my investigation of migration policy, class status, and racialization in shaping Filipinx-American student educational attainment using IPUMS harmonized census data and quantitative methods. I then conduct in-depth interviews with the Filipino Americans impacted by these regimes. The three papers yield complementary findings for understanding the multiple forces that shape uneven patterns of college attainment among Filipinos across family migration histories, liminal racial identity and racialization, and community cultures around education.

My first paper, “Filipinx Educational Attainment and Income Before and After Hart-Celler” shows that a wide gap in college attainment opened between US-born and foreign-born Filipino Americans after the 1965 Hart-Celler immigration reforms gave preference to educated migrants. There are no prior systematic long-term surveys that directly measure Filipinx racial status position in education as Filipinx Americans are understudied despite being the third largest Asian-American ethnicity² (Forrest-Bank and Jenson 2015; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). My paper builds on general scholarship

¹ I use Filipina/o/x to acknowledge non-Western forms of nonbinary identification but use Filipinx hereout.

²US Census Bureau, “20.6 Million People in the U.S. Identify as Asian, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander” retrieved 3/17/2023 from <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2022/05/aanhpi-population-diverse-geographically-dispersed.html>

showing racial formation, socioeconomic status (SES), and immigrant integration are interrelated (Golash-Boza 2016; Valdez and Golash-Boza 2017).

Using this framework of interrelated racial formation, SES, and immigrant integration, I find that by 1990, around 40% of foreign-born Filipinos held college degrees compared to less than 20% among the US born. This gap between US-born and foreign-born Filipino college attainment is not mirrored among Asian Americans in general. I show, moreover, that the foreign-born to US-born gap among Filipinos is obfuscated by overall Filipino American college attainment rates being nearly as high as those for the pan ethnic Asian racial category. This high overall rate, however, is largely driven by the foreign-born Filipino American population outpacing the growth of US-born Filipino population following Hart-Celler. To make sense of these patterns, my first paper traces how agrarian and laboring class migrants to the US were permitted until 1934 under the US-Philippines colonial relationship, long after the US had clamped down on migration from other nations. Concentrated in California and helping to found the United Farmworkers with Mexican American farmworkers, the US born Filipino population thus remained more agrarian and working class than other Asian Americans. This began to shift after Hart-Celler opened the door to migration of educated Filipino migrants after 1965.

My second paper, “Inequalities in College Attainment Among US Born Filipinos Between Descendants of Pre- and Post Hart-Celler Migrants,” examines inequalities among US born Filipinos. This paper considers how immigration policy may inadvertently create distinct Filipinx-American socioeconomic subgroups that persist in future generations (Fishman 2020; Ong and Liu 1994). The gap between US and foreign

born Filipinos has closed in recent decades, with US-born Filipino college attainment increasing to around 40% with foreign-born degree holding around 50%. This paper finds, however, that the descendants of pre-Hart Celler migrants have not seen comparable increases in college attainment to the overall average for US-born Filipino Americans. Instead, increases in college attainment among US-born Filipinos appear to be driven by college attainment among the children of educated Filipino immigrants since 1965.

My third paper, “Neighborhood Segregation, Monocultural Embeddedness, and Racialization in Educational Paths of Filipinos Descended from Agrarian and White-Collar Migration Waves,” employs in-depth interviews to understand how different contexts shaped different educational paths reflected in the quantitative findings of my second paper. Over the period of time that my first paper covers, the content of anti-Asian racial prejudice shifts (Agbayani-Siewert 2004; Espiritu 1992; Feagin and Ducey 2018; Zhou and Gonzales 2019). In-depth interviews with my sample groups give voice to some of the Filipinx residents of California’s under-studied Central Valley; many individuals of the ‘Bridge Generation’ who grew up in the 1930s and 40s (Jamero Sr 2011) have yet to be adequately recorded in large scale surveys or in existing academic scholarship.

In my third paper, I find that individuals from pre-1965 families more commonly experienced residential segregation and they more frequently describe the effects of segregated neighborhoods. Pre-1965 individuals’ interpretations are based in an understanding of segregated US racial status hierarchies. They speak at greater length about Filipino monocultural embeddedness than their post-1965 counterparts. In contrast

to the earlier wave, post-1965 families settle in more racially diverse, often suburban, neighborhoods. For these families, monoculture is created largely for migrating parents, driven to achieve economic security in socially uncertain environments. Post-1965 individuals clearly perceive US racial hierarchy, but they do not have direct experiences of being placed into it as Filipinos. Instead, their expressions are shaped by experiences of anti-Asian sentiment and occasionally model-minority racialization. They describe a Filipino immigrant *culture of mobility* (Neckerman, Carter, and Lee 1999). Immigration scholars, skeptical of explaining attitudes using only assimilation, have observed *minority cultures of mobility* by which non-white migrating groups employ cultures from their immigrant community towards economic mobility (Jones 2019:11). These cultural values, adopted in their families, may tie heritage to social mobility via medical career paths. Some interviewees report feelings of resistance to pressures from this culture, desiring opportunities for mobility and class security via other educational and career paths. Tensions thus arise within Filipinx embedding culture.

In the remainder of this introduction, I briefly review connections of my overall dissertation to existing theories and knowledge (relevant prior knowledge and theories are engaged more deeply within each of my three papers). I then summarize the combined theoretical and empirical contributions of my dissertation papers.

Colonization, Agrarian Migration, and Labor Exploitation

Although there were Filipino Americans in the United States prior to the Spanish American war of 1898, Spain's ceding of governorship marks the beginning of a formal colonial relationship (Constantino and Constantino 1975; Lee 2015). The Philippines has ongoing strategic geopolitical value for the United States, but it has also historically been

exploited for labor (Glenn 2004; Ngai 2014). From the conclusion of the Philippine-American war through the Johnson-Reed Act of 1923³, while other Asian nationalities were adjudicated legally non-white for migration purposes (Fox 2012; Glenn 2015; Okamoto and Mora 2014), Filipinx migration continued because of the *US national* status granted by colonization. Among Asian American subgroups, a steady supply of agrarian workers created a growing working-class Filipino American population well into the 1930s—much later than the Chinese- and Japanese American laborers who preceded them.

The twentieth-century US colonial project in the Philippines portrayed public education as a means to enable Filipino Americans self-governance; the resulting colonial bureaucracy replicated US primary and secondary school systems with American educators, often white women (Choy 2003; Strobel 1997). The colonial socialization project extended US gender and culture status hierarchies into the Philippine sending context of the early twentieth century. Further, the colonial bureaucracy employed American women and missionaries as educators and nurses. White women's presence in the "uncivilized" Philippine Islands created Filipina women as *uncivilized* and created a remedy of *civic maternalism*, implying a "white woman's burden," (Choy 2003; Glenn 2004). Some evidence of gendered respectability as a controlling image for Filipinas remains (Espiritu 2001). This colonial image of ideal femininity may, together with sexual overtones of Philippine exoticism (Fojas 2014) produce unique pressures of

³ <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act>

‘enforced morality’ that are tied to Filipino American cultural “authenticity,” (Espiritu 2001:433).

The migrating wave leaving the Philippines for Hawaii and the US West Coast consisted primarily of men (Lasker 1969; Min 2006). Though granted entry to the United States, migrating men were met with xenophobia and emerging anti-Filipino racism, driven in-part by the great depression and scarcity of working-class jobs (Jamero Sr 2011; Lee 2015; Min 2006). The emerging anti-Filipino stereotypes held that these men were childlike, docile in labor, and sexually promiscuous (Ngai 2014). Thus, in the Philippines, gendered controlling images for Filipina women incited a puritanical civic maternalism, while in the US a subordinated masculinity emerged for Filipino men, constructing a gendered racial status hierarchy in the US. These stereotypes may be result in a comparable racialization of the Filipino *manongs* as others have observed for Mexican American *braceros* of a similar or slightly-later era (Ana 2016; Fox 2012).

When civil rights era reforms changed immigration policy to prefer more-educated individuals, including healthcare professionals and nurses, the class composition of Filipino Americans sharply changed. The earlier predatory commodification of agricultural labor is not unique to Filipinos; unlike the *braceros*, however, the combination of early migration and policy change uniquely shapes the social position of a new wave of Filipino families in the 1960s and 1970s, in comparison to earlier individuals.

Post-1965 Immigrant Selectivity, Assimilation, and Cultural Integration

The 1965 Hart-Celler Act eliminated racist quotas and reopened migration from Asian and Central and South America, a key piece of civil rights era reform. As a product of

Cold War political compromise (Hing 1993; Hong 2019) it was also intended to recruit skilled professionals to the United States. This force shaping the US Asian populations as relatively higher in status is described as *selectivity* or *hyper-selectivity*. The resulting wave of migrating individuals brought greater human and social capital than prior waves.

Post-1965 selectivity exerted gendered pressure for some populations. As a result of colonial era education programs, discussed above, Philippine nationals had relatively high English fluency, and in the 1960s they were heavily recruited as nurses (Baldoz 2020). However, *sojourning*, or Filipino workers who intend to return (Offshore Foreign Workers or OFWs) occupy a subordinate status position in a broader Asian diaspora (Parreñas 2015). Both in global and national status hierarchies, Filipina women were stratified into lower status positions.

Further, family reunification and (colonial) images of the *American Dream* opened the floodgates. Since the 1970s and tapering off only recently, a significant proportion of the Filipino American population has been born abroad. Immigration reforms had the intentional or unintentional effect of creating anti-Black and anti-Asian *model minority* racial comparisons. Because data, including mine, reflect broad trends for migrating individuals to achieve college at relatively high rates, compared to other racialized groups, stereotypes of cultural or racial academic ability became naturalized. Rather than essentializing cultural values towards education, scholars conceive of these model minority stereotypes as creating cultural capital, particularly *educational* (ethnic) cultural capital, which becomes an asset for Asians in schools (Lee and Zhou 2014, 2017, 2020). Further, “positive” racialization, as with Latinos, is linked to their perceived

assimilability. These forces may also shape expectations and performances of model minority behaviors in schools and other institutions.

Neighborhood Segregation and Ethnic Monocultures

The pre-1965 wave of Filipino American settlement followed available agricultural jobs in Hawaii, and then up and down the West Coast, including in and around the cannery industries of Alaska. Settling in an era of legal segregation, individuals lived in camps and communities where they felt safe and were tolerated. Filipino American families experienced legalized segregation, shaping education (Ngai 2014; Ocampo 2016).

Filipino American students *interpret* race using neighborhood knowledge and cultural cues, and at the same time racial neighborhood segregation physically shapes ethnic monocultures. Filipino students, along with other Asians, undoubtedly perceive, receive, and perform *model minority* stereotypes (Wu 2014) as they navigate racialized institutions.

Post-1965 migrants follow family settlement patterns, with family reunification and social networks driving selection – to a greater degree than availability of relatively-lower skilled labor, which shaped the pre-1965 patterns. In addition, there is a strong contrast between the enforced segregation the pre-1965 wave encountered and the often suburban, SES-driven, neighborhood selection of the post-1965 wave. The social and cultural capital this provides – in addition to the direct social and economic capital – mark a difference between waves.

Differential Racialization of Filipino Cultural Capital

Because of shifts in the value of Asian cultural capital, shifts that may be sharper for Filipinos, the value of racialized cultural capital is harder to track. Further. For Filipinos and other migrating groups, a *minority culture of mobility*, or ‘cultural elements’ strategically deployed to navigate group disadvantage (Jones 2019; Nakano 2023; Neckerman et al. 1999), may make social and economic mobility an important facet of social identity. Even as individuals resist essential, monolithic, Asian racialization, post-1965 groups, including Filipinos, experience less consistent and less intense racism (Kibria 2003). Shifting racism, increasing panethnicity, and less group cohesion may weaken cultural embeddedness – even as Asian racialization conveys cultural capital. In sharp contrast, the pre-1965 wave of Filipino Americans have closure and belonging reinforced by exclusionary legal and social structures – that are focused on creating a (subordinated) Filipino social identity (Jamero Sr 2011; Mabalon 2013).

Contribution

For reasons of colonization, racialization, and shifting cultural capital, Filipino Americans present an interesting case with which to analyze changes in American racial status hierarchies. Filipino status over time, however, is understudied. I show distinctly lower rates of Filipinx college attainment among US born individuals whose parents arrived before 1965. I show that the positive association between college attainment and Filipinx status is eliminated in the pre-1965 group; in fact, those Filipinos whose families emigrated before 1965 are *less* likely to attain college than post US born post-1965 White and other- Asian individuals. This is interesting because controlling for this effect reveals

post 1965 Filipino Americans attain college at even higher rates than predicted for the aggregate number.

Regardless of nativity, income for Filipina women trailed white women before 1965, however after Hart-Celler both US-born and immigrant Filipina women superseded their white counterparts. Filipino men, regardless of decade and nativity, never achieve the same average income as their white counterparts. This is a unique empirical contribution which directly reflects socioeconomic status position and also reflects the relative connection between educational attainment and income (although the theoretical nature of this connection is out of scope for this paper).

The convergence of educational attainment between pre-1965 and post-1965 Filipino Americans may indicate either favorable (but racialized) model minority prejudices and the concomitant educational cultural capital are having an effect on the Filipino community. Conversely, the delay in this convergence may directly reflect racialized Latinization of Filipino Americans – the panethnic grouping of Filipino Americans with Mexicans based on contextual cues (Ocampo 2016:24). Instead, the delay in converged attainment reflects both a more professional migrating population and lingering barriers to earlier wave's attainment.

My findings provide context on immigration regimes that bear on Filipinx educational outcomes together with Latinization. Ocampo (2016:177, 193) observes that Filipinos track out of prestigious majors or graduate education. At the transition to college, some Filipino students come to feel less “Asian” because they perceive they and their families value education less than Asian peers (Ocampo 2016:163). At the advanced degree level, Gambol finds Filipino Americans do not supersede parental education – a

Filipino penalty on professional degree attainment (Gambol 2023:900). These authors show that the effects of racial Latinization depress educational outcomes, even while Filipinx attainment remains high. My work shows that embeddedness in local Filipino cultural context, which shifts depending on immigration regime, may also condition students' attainment.

I also show that Filipino Americans experience drastic post-1965 advantages, showing a far greater positive shift in attainment than any other race-ethnic group. My regression analyses cover the decades when US born Filipino American college attainment supersedes that of their white counterparts. Overall, my work thus contributes to our understanding of how non-Asian stereotypes may be reflected in Filipino educational attainment.

Finally, taken together, my findings add to existing knowledge by showing how processes of cultural embedding differentially benefit students. Because pre- and post-1965 wave Filipino respondents differ in attainment, my findings may connect accessibility of cultural identity to deployment of cultural capital (as it is available). In addition, I am able to show divergence in US born Filipino attainment, and that it may be shaped by shifting cultural status hierarchies.

Filipinx Educational Attainment and Income Before and After Hart-Celler

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Introduction

Filipinx ethno-racial identity does not fit neatly into theories of US racial hierarchies. Categorized as pan-ethnic Asian by state and cultural schemes (Espiritu 1992; Mora 2014; Okamoto and Mora 2014), model minority stereotypes may drive an Asian identity for some. For Filipino-Americans tracing their roots to the 1920s *Manong*-era, migration may be influenced by the heavily agrarian racialization of their forebears (Espiritu 1996; Jamero Sr 2011; Nadal 2020). More recently, scholars such as Anthony Ocampo (2016) have argued that Filipinos interpret the educational pathways they occupy (racialized educational tracks) and peer affinities they develop as personal evidence of Latinization. Elements of this liminal ethno-racial identity may shape Filipino-American economic and educational attainment favorably or unfavorably relative to white European Americans and other racial and ethnic groups.

We can further examine liminal Filipino ethno-racial identity by comparing Filipino Americans immigration waves before and after changes to immigration policy. I engage race and immigration theory to explain trends in educational attainment and economic mobility before and after the 1965 passage of the Hart-Celler act and to start to explain apparent contradictions. The 1965 Hart-Celler Act was an important change in nation-level immigration quotas that may have altered the class composition of Filipinx migration with implications for Filipino racialization. It eased exclusionary restrictions on individuals from many Asian origin nations. The law shaped the size and composition of Asian American populations (Hing 1993; Hong 2019; Min 2006) because the US had previously enacted a succession of restrictive nation-specific exclusionary immigration

laws, beginning with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882⁴. Though legal violence against Asian origin immigrants is less prominent than in previous eras, immigration policy continues to reinforce the reception of Asian American groups as predominantly immigrants—thus also shaping their racialization.

Prior to Hart Cellar, the great majority of Philippine migrants were agrarian and working-class men who arrived in the 1920s to Hawaii and the US West coast (Dhingra and Rodriguez 2021; Glenn 2004; Min 2006). This generation is referred to as the Manong generation, taking an *Ilokano* (a Filipino ethnic group) term for kinship and respect (Jamero Sr 2011). These migrants arrived in response to a demand for agrarian labor; this process created a racialized occupational segregation in the US context (Balce 2016; Baldoz 2020; Ngai 2014). Simultaneously, the gender disproportionality of this wave together with anti-miscegenation laws shaping racial stereotypes of “labor docility and sexual promiscuity” (Ngai 2014:134). At an individual level racialized violence, residential segregation, and stereotypes of low intelligence and sexual deviancy othered the Manongs (Ana 2016; Bulosan 1943; Mabalon 2013).

For some Asian subgroups, notably East and South Asians, socioeconomic mobility appears to occur (Dhingra and Rodriguez 2021). Selectivity and hyper-selectivity theory explain that this apparent mobility is actually due to relative privilege of individuals in their sending context, which may constitute human and/or cultural capital for these groups (Gambol 2023; Hing 1993). Recruitment of Filipina nurses in the 1960s (Baldoz 2020) creates a distinct occupationally-driven, gendered, stereotype of

⁴ <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/chinese-exclusion-act>

Filipinas as nurses (Parrenas 2000). This both incents educated healthcare workers to migrate from the Filipinos and shapes Filipino strategies for social mobility in the US. Racially, in the decades past Hart-Celler, this selectivity may also create *model minority* racial stereotypes for these groups (Hong 2019; Kibria 2003; Wu 2014). This may further benefit educational and economic attainment for those Asian Americans who match these stereotypes, while still maintaining racial othering (Lee and Zhou 2020; Zhou and Gonzales 2019). For Filipinas, among Southeast Asians, and Asians broadly,

Because of the tension between these racializing forces, I ask if distinct patterns emerge in Filipino American integration and racialization after the Hart Celler Act. Using US census and ACS data harmonized by IPUMS USA, I find support for my arguments. Using eight decades of census data, I show that large inequalities in educational attainment among Filipinx Americans emerged around changes in their distinct treatment by US immigration policy under Hart Celler. These inequalities contextualize the model minority racialization Filipinx people have received in relationship to white, Black, Latinx and other Asian ethno-racial groups. At the bottom of status hierarchies, agrarian Filipino migrants and their descendants trailed whites and other Asians in education throughout the 20th century. Migrants since the 1965 Hart Celler Act, however, have surpassed whites in educational attainment. US-born Filipino American womens' educational attainment trailed whites until 1995, while US-born men's college attainment trailed counterparts up until 2020. These amount to a convergence in educational attainment between US born and 1st generation immigrant Filipinos over time.

Regardless of nativity, income for Filipina women trailed white women before 1965, however after Hart-Celler both US-born and immigrant Filipina women superseded

their white counterparts. Filipino men, regardless of decade and nativity, did not ever achieve the same average income as their white counterparts. The creation of Philippine national women as uncivilized in the pre-1965 era, and were generally excluded from migration to the US (Choy 2003; Min 2006; Strobel 1996). Post 1965, recruitment incentives gendered nursing migration (Parrenas 2000). I conclude from these trends that the Hart-Cellar Act marks a policy-driven boundary between racialization and migrant integration regimes, and that lasting harm occurred well into the twenty-first century. Convergence of these lines may indicate either favorable (but racialized) model minority prejudices are coming to the fore, or that consequential identity has “delayed” full integration for US born Filipino-Americans.

In the prior knowledge sections that follow, I first review the historical trends documented for the Manong generation, then outline theories of selectivity, model minority racialization, and durable ethnicity. I conclude this section by building my hypotheses using these theories. I present a full data and research design section to describe both the IPUMS datasets and how I use them. Finally, I present my results and briefly discuss the potential theoretical implications of these findings.

Existing Knowledge

Racialization and Agrarian and Working-Class Migration Before Hart-Celler

From the 19th century through the Johnson-Reed Act of 1923⁵, courts denied successive Asian ethnic groups admission, determining Asian nationalities were legally non-white (Fox 2012; Glenn 2015; Okamoto and Mora 2014). Uniquely among Asian national

⁵ <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act>

origins, Filipinx migration continued to be permitted because of the US colonial occupation of the Philippines. Filipino migration was finally cut off with the Tydings McDuffie Act of 1934, ostensibly granting Philippine Independence. As a result, most Filipinx-Americans were descended from pre-1934 migrating individuals, up until the 1965 passage of the Hart-Celler Act.

Prior to 1934, relatively free passage and the pull of apparent economic opportunity drew agricultural- and working- class Filipinx migrants (Glenn 2004; Ngai 2014; Philip Q. Yang 2010) to the US. In the post-civil-war, post-emancipation period, Cooley- style indentureship contracts answered Hawaiian landowners' need for laborers. This drew Filipino *sakadas*—young men seeking opportunity—to Hawaii (FitzGerald and Cook-Martín 2014; Glenn 2004; Lott 2006). Many of these *sakadas* relocated to the continental US West coast, upon satisfaction of their contracts. Through the early 1920s, Filipino men also emigrated directly to the US West coast, drawn by American messages of equal opportunity (Jamero Sr 2011; Min 2006). Because of their special US national status (shared with Guamanians and Puerto Ricans), Filipinx did not fall into exclusionary Asian quota groups, up until 1934. These relatively permissive policies were enacted in tension with nativist public sentiment, driven in-part by the great depression and scarcity of working-class opportunities (Jamero Sr 2011; Lee 2015; Min 2006).

At a macrostructural level, US / Philippine geopolitical relations were historically distinct from other Asian- origin groups, and this also contributed to the early socioeconomic composition of migrating individuals. The 1899 US victory in the Spanish-American war led to an immediate US / Philippine war, concluding in 1902. This both created *US national* status for Filipinos and US colonial administrative structures in

the Philippines (Balce 2016; Baldoz 2020; Fojas 2014; Reyes 2019). Colonial transition from Spanish to US governance upset economic and political relations between Philippine-domestic elites and workers (Constantino and Constantino 1975; Root 1997), pushing agrarian Filipinos away from their home villages.

At the same time, the US pursued colonial goals of Americanizing Philippine education (Constantino and Constantino 1975; Jamero Sr 2006; Strobel 1997), pulling many Filipinos towards the promise of education-driven social mobility. As a result, pre-1934 migration was dominated by indentureship contracts for agricultural laborers and the pull of economic opportunity in Hawaii and the US West coast (Glenn 2004; Min 2006). A relatively small proportion of wealthier Filipino *pensionados* emigrated to the United States directly to pursue undergraduate education; it is notable, however, that many migrants to the US continental West coast also carried educational aspirations to the US, driven by Americanization policies in the Philippines (David and Nadal 2013; Eisenhower 2012; Strobel 1997). Both *pensionados* and agrarian class migrants faced educational and occupational segregation in the US, as I discuss below.

For Latine groups, notably Mexican Americans in the American West, integration into a US middle class and status position in social hierarchies was historically impacted by negative racialization as inassimilable (Fox 2012). Over time, the emergence of a *consequential* ethnic identity (Ortiz and Telles 2017; Telles and Sue 2019) may also be a factor in differential attainment for successive generations. These trends and theories are relevant for the educational attainment and mobility of Filipinx migrants on the West coast, who share similar agrarian backgrounds and racialization as inassimilable (Ana 2016; Fishman 2020).

Some Asian migrants, including the Filipino *Manongs* and (few) *Manangs* of the 1920s-30s, both migrated with relatively less social, human, and economic capital *and* occupied an agrarian/working- class location in the US occupational structures once they arrived (Baldoz 2020; Jamero Sr 2011; Mabalon 2013; Min 2006). The Manong generation of Filipino migrants were born in the Philippines before 1945, emigrating to the United States in search of economic opportunity in the 1920s (Jamero Sr 2011). For this generation, experiences of direct racial hostility as well as housing and occupational segregation shaped life chances. US racial characterizations for these Filipinos included the stereotypes of being dangerously sexual and backwards – unable to govern themselves individually or in the Philippines (Baldoz 2020; Mabalon 2013; Root 1997). Some scholars see these stereotypes as evidence of dominated racialization similar to that established for Latinx workers of the time (Ana 2016; Fox 2012). Newer work asks if this racialization may continue, particularly in comparison with non-Filipinx Asians and more recent Filipinx arrivals (Mabalon 2013; Ocampo 2016).

Because of these historical factors, the predominantly agrarian background of pre-Hart- Celler Filipinx migrants created well documented occupational segregation and social exclusion for the Manong generation. Limited opportunities and marginalized social status should dampen college-going; I expect to find lower rates of college attainment in the migrant first-generation. I thus form **Hypothesis 1:** Overall educational attainment rates for foreign-born (immigrant 1st generation) Filipinx adults will be below those of whites before Hart Celler. I also form **Hypothesis 2:** Educational attainment rates for immigrant 1st generation Filipinx will be higher than those of whites after Hart Celler.

Post Hart-Celler hyper selectivity regime

Broad advocacy for change informed the immigration policy regime emerging from the civil rights era (Hong 2019); we can contextualize Hart-Celler as one of many social justice-oriented reforms addressing *de jure* racism in the law (Alexander 2012; Delgado and Stefancic 2017). Scholars have since challenged positive outcomes from Hart-Celler as, at-best symbolic, and at-worst unintentionally *hyper selective* of some immigrant groups (Dhingra 2020; Hing 1993; Hong 2019), meaning it effectively created barriers for working class migrants, including those from the Philippines. Further, as Hong, Ong, and others note, solely focusing on immigrant assimilation may ignore the broader geopolitical context in which policy was established. Numerous scholars describe a historical US credibility gap of pushing a “free world” agenda abroad while failing to establish racial equity domestically. Because of this, I look at a broader context for post 1965 racialized policy impacts.

The Hart Celler Act had the explicit goal of eliminating national quotas and adding categories for migrants from the Philippines and other Asian nations and their families. In addition, the Act ‘carved out’ space for “qualified members of the professions, or who because of their exceptional ability in the sciences or the arts will substantially benefit prospectively the national economy, cultural interests, or welfare of the United States.”⁶ These groups, by nature, held more human and social capital than their peers from more agrarian backgrounds.

⁶ An Act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes, Public Law 236, U.S. Statutes at Large 79 (1965): 911-922. <https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/STATUTE-79/STATUTE-79-Pg911>.

Educated Filipinx and other Asian groups took advantage of the allocation of visas to professionals (Hing 1993). Because the law still imposed an overall limit on admission, this carve-out for professional individuals effectively created a regime of class-based admission *selectivity*. The Filipinx first generation arriving under this new regime was wealthier and better educated than earlier Manong- era migrants, although family reunification became an important pathway for Filipinx migration beginning in the mid-1970s (Hing 1993:93). This effect of immigration can be described as *hyper selectivity*, whose net result is the gradual shifting of the Filipino American first generation's modal socioeconomic status from agrarian (historically) to professional.

Immigration reform was not intended to institute anti-Black and anti-Asian model minority racial logics. However, for impacted groups, the unintended consequence of model minority ethnic comparisons shapes US racial experiences. The Hart-Celler Act and civil-rights-era immigration reform advocacy (Hong 2019) were a product of competing factors: symbolic criticism of US imperialism (noted above), resistance to the war in Vietnam, and also the need to organize and cohere a 'domestic' Asian-American political identity (Catron 2016; FitzGerald and Cook-Martín 2014; Liu, Ong, and Rosenstein 1991; Ong, Bonacich, and Cheng 1994). Model-minority logics and racial stereotypes emerged, favorably comparing new immigrants to domestic-born Black and brown communities (and also politically activating a generation of Filipinx) (Dhingra and Rodriguez 2021; Kibria 2003).

The racialization of this and previous waves of Filipinos is closely tied to their perceived ability to integrate into- and 'do well' in American society. Some recent evidence suggests Filipinx-Americans are also racialized as smart and hard-working,

particularly in comparison to Black and Latinx Americans—*model minorities* (Kibria 2003; Wu 2014). Alongside some other Asian groups, post Hart-Celler, Filipinx were still subject to ongoing nativism and xenophobia (Ancheta 1998; Kim 1999), but thus may also be increasingly racialized along with others as model minority Asian (Ancheta 1998; Dhingra and Rodriguez 2021; Feliciano 2005; Iftikar and Museus 2018).

Model minority racialization, in-turn, may cause *ethnic* or *symbolic capital* to accrue for some Asian groups (Lee and Zhou 2014, 2017, 2020). This becomes a factor in educational attainment, and in the better educational outcomes for Asian American students, relative to white peers. It is important to note, however, that despite academic achievements, as I note above, evidence shows all immigrant generations of Asian Americans are subject to ongoing stereotyping as foreign and alien (the so-called *forever foreigner* stereotype), leading to microaggressions and othering. This is notable because, for some Asian ethnicities, there are significant numbers of individuals who are in the second, third, or fourth generation from migration to the United States. For these individuals, educational attainment is well removed from the process of migration and social integration. Although indicators such as educational attainment are closely tied to assimilation and social integration for migrating groups, it may be important to also see the creation of this stereotype as a process of racialization for some Asian American groups.

I ask if these distinct, generational, racialization regimes pre- and post-Hart-Celler constitute distinct moments of Filipinx educational and economic attainment. Because pre-Hart Celler Filipinx individuals were racialized as backwards, sexually deviant, and unassimilable, alongside Latinx groups (Fox 2012; Ngai 2014; Telles and Ortiz 2009;

Telles and Sue 2020), model minority stereotypes may not completely account for Filipinx racialization patterns. Ample evidence exists that racial stereotypes create barriers to social integration and inform anti-Latinx racism (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; O'Brien 2008; Vasquez 2010). I note, for Latinx groups, an inassimilable stereotype drove the denial of public benefits (Fox 2012) and also drove educational segregation (Lacayo 2017; Ochoa 2013) which contributes to disparities in academic attainment.

Also for Latinx groups, varying and limited access to relatively higher-status ethnic identities may be an agentic mechanism creating disparate social outcomes (Telles and Ortiz 2009; Vasquez 2010). The concept of *flexible ethnicity* adds to racialization-based explanations of educational disparities by explaining heterogeneity within dominated groups. For example, Vasquez (2010) predicts a bimodal ethnic identity, based on availability of 'whiteness' to impacted Latinx individuals. Telles and Sue (2019) build on observations of educational stagnation or decline in the immigrant third generation to conceive of a *durable* or *consequential ethnicity*. This is a racially salient ethnic core that informs group social identity despite other indicators of social integration into dominant white middle-class society, and despite being removed in time from the moment of individual or family migration.

Ethnic identity shapes educational stereotypes and experiences of belonging (Pan 2017; Vasquez 2010) including among Asian Americans (David 2013; Wu 2014). Concepts of durable or consequential ethnicity, drawn from Latinx literature, may also be useful in theorizing Filipinx educational attainment because i) limited emerging empirical evidence of successive (third-) generation stagnation or decline from Gambol (2023), Fishman (2020), and Ong and Viernes (2012) neatly aligns with Telles and Ortiz's (2009)

observations and ii) racialized explanations of Asian American educational performance (relative to whites) often theorize cultural features or cultural performances (Lee 2023; Root 1997). Notably, Telles and Sue note two racial boundary- makers for Mexican Americans, “phenotype and culture,” (Telles and Sue 2019:13).

Hart-Celler Act driven *selectivity* increased the socioeconomic status of the average Filipinx migrant. However, US domestic racism and xenophobia before Hart-Celler contributed to the subordination of Filipino-Americans. Existing and new racialized stereotypes may have created a context where Filipino ethnic identity was *durable*. If this is the case, Filipinx in the 2nd+generation may find their integration and social mobility to be stagnating or declining, which we may understand as a racialization trend and not necessarily solely as segmented assimilation (Gambol 2023). Second-generation Filipino Americans both before and after Hart-Celler will have experienced racialized othering. Because of this, I form my **Hypothesis 3**: Educational attainment rates for *US born* Filipinx adults will be below those of whites both before and after Hart-Celler.

Educational Attainment Before and After 1965

The passage of the 1965 Hart-Celler Act provides an easy demarcation between distinct immigrant racialization regimes, these racialization regimes may place Filipinx-Americans distinctly in occupational and educational status hierarchies. I present and analyze educational attainment and income over time and ask if Filipinx in the US show lower income and educational attainment than white Americans. If this is the case, I suggest it is evidence of *durable ethnicity* (Telles and Ortiz 2009) emerging for Filipinx,

adding to arguments that their racialization is following a distinct integration/assimilation pattern from other ‘co-ethnic’ Asian-American groups.

However, over time, the direct result of improved human and social capital for post Hart-Celler migrants should steadily improve the attainment of *subsequent* US-born Filipinx students. If racial stereotypes shift towards model minority veneration, the development of educational capital may improve Filipinx students’ position, relative to whites. Over time, *US-born* Filipinx should have higher educational attainment. I form **Hypothesis 4:** There will be some convergence in educational attainment rates between US born Filipinx and first generation Filipinx adults in the 21st century as more US born Filipinx adults will have parents who immigrated with college degrees after passage of the Hart-Celler Act.

As noted above, for groups whose racial placement is affected by migration and integration into the American mainstream, both a distinct (non-middle class, European-American) ethnic identity and racial othering may shape social outcomes such as educational attainment. A distinct pre- 1965 Filipinx ethnic identity (Agbayani-Siewert 2004; David and Nadal 2013) may shape distinct educational attainment patterns. Simultaneously, distinct pre- 1965 racialization will shape educational attainment patterns. Non-Model Minority racialization of Filipino-Americans (observed in the US-born 2nd+ generation) together with an emerging durable ethnicity may limit Filipino-Americans’ access to symbolic capital (linked to Asian ethnicity) and create barriers between Filipino students and existing opportunity structures. I thus form my final hypothesis (**Hypothesis 5**): Both first generation and US born Filipinx adults will have incomes below those of whites, both before and after Hart Celler.

It is a limitation of my current data that it is hard to discern racialization driven- from ethnicity driven- processes of marginalization. Post Hart-Celler, limiting *forever foreigner* racial stereotypes, together with nativism, may continue to racially other Filipino-Americans; it is hard to discern if these processes produce outcomes independently of durable ethnicity. However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze the predictive factors for attainment. I emphasize my descriptive hypotheses, above, to better structure the interpretation of shifting educational attainment, over time. I summarize my theorized factors shaping Filipinx educational attainment, and income, in Table 2.1, below.

TABLE 2.1 ABOUT HERE

Data and Research Design

I use IPUMS USA harmonized samples of US Census Bureau data from 1940 – 2020. I use the 1% census samples for 1940, 1950 and 1960. For 1970, I retrieve the *Form 1 State* sample because it contains the variables I need for my analyses. I again use the 1% samples for the decades 1980, 1990, and 2000. Because the 1% samples are not yet available for more recent censuses, I retrieve ACS samples for 2010 and 2020. Because IPUMS harmonizes variables across these samples, I treat these multiple extracts as a single time-series dataset. The total number of raw observations in this dataset is 20,289,710. I weight these observations using the IPUMS/census- supplied *perwt* variable, to estimate a total number of observations across all censuses/ACS samples as 2,049,686,315. This number is larger than the estimated population of the US in 2020 (329,504,815) because the dataset is effectively repeating individuals over each census

period. I describe the conceptualization and cleaning of primary independent and dependent variables in this study below; I report the distribution across decades/sub-samples in Table 2.2.

Variables

I use the detailed census race variable, *raced*, to identify all individuals who identified themselves as Filipino either solely or in any combination of other races. I attach mother and father's detailed race data, which allows me to identify additional individuals who identified a Filipino mother or father. I classify the children of multiracial Filipino mothers or fathers as Filipino; in other words, to affect the individual's Filipino status, mothers or fathers may identify as Filipino solely or in any combination of races. For reference, I identify 4,288,443 weighted Filipino-Americans in the 2020 ACS sample.

I use the IPUMS birthplace variable, *bpl*, to identify US or Philippine nativity. Any Filipino-identifying individual reporting birth in the US is coded as 2nd+ generation or US born, and any Filipino-identifying individual reporting birth abroad is coded as a 1st generation immigrant (regardless of Philippine- or other nativity). For reference, I code 2,092,252 total weighted 1st generation Filipino immigrants in the 2020 ACS sample. In comparison, I code 2,196,191 total, weighted, US-born Filipino Americans in the same 2020 ACS sample. The high ratio of foreign- born to US-born Filipino Americans reflects a high overall rate of migration, beginning with the passage of the Hart-Celler. Although Filipino-Americans can and do establish families, I also note that over time, the proportion of second generation to first generation remains stable due to this high rate of migration. The ratio of first-generation to US-born individuals is

important because comparisons of attainment by Filipinx ethnicity need to account for this replenishment.

I code two multilevel race variables, using both the IPUMS *race* variable and the IPUMS *rachsing*, which harmonizes race and Hispanic origin for samples after 2000 (Irizarry 2015). I do this to incorporate Latine individuals into a single multilevel race measure. In order to compare outcomes by Filipinx nativity, I also code one of these race variables with additional levels for US-born and 1st- generation immigrant Filipino Americans. I retain and clean a variable for respondent gender. Noted above, I retain IPUMS- provided *cluster*, *strata*, and *perwt* weighting variables to create more accurate population estimates.

Finally, I retain and clean a variable indicating state of residence (I use *statefip* because ICPSR coding has idiosyncrasies in the 1980 sample, dropping observations that report this information is missing). Quantitative models of Asian-American academic achievement, relative to whites, have variously tried to isolate social class- and “culturally” driven effects (Fishman 2020; Kim and Sakamoto 2014; Liu and Xie 2016). It is out of the scope of my descriptive methods to try and control for these hard-to-observe factors. Nevertheless, I take steps to describe and account for geographic distribution of the Filipinx population precisely because previous work indicates place may significantly intervene in educational outcomes.

Descriptive Methods

I use *educd*, an IPUMS harmonized multilevel education variable, to estimate the maximum level of education. I create a dummy indicator variable for each of four levels of education, across all decades: *less-than-high school*, *high school*, *4 years of college*,

and *grad school*. I do this to model inequality at both high and low levels of attainment because previous work suggests unique penalties for Asian Americans who fail to meet class- or educational attainment- motivated stereotypes of *model minority* racialization (Kim and Sakamoto 2014). I code educational attainment as missing for those who report they are still in school using the IPUMS *school* variable (Yang 2004; Zeng and Xie 2004). I adjust the IPUMS individual income indicator to constant 2010 dollars, meaning reported individual income is comparable over time. For income, I focus on working age individuals -- those individuals under 25 years of age or over 65 years of age. Although this is a standard practice (Zeng and Xie 2004), there is some evidence this may overestimate income for earlier samples of Filipino immigrants, who pursued a more agrarian pattern of education and employment, and were supporting themselves at earlier ages and later ages.

I first report the total number of immigrating Filipino individuals over time. I then report proportion by gender, as early Filipinx migration is heavily gendered (Glenn 2004; Jamero Sr 2011). I present educational attainment, over time, by the multilevel race variable coding a composite Filipino-American category. I next break down results by reporting attainment for US born vs. 1st generation immigrant individuals. Finally, I repeat this process for adjusted individual income.

Table 2.2 shows the relationship between US born and foreign-born Filipino individuals from the 1940s through the 2020s. The number of 1st gen Filipinx increases, showing a steady increase in migration from the Philippines from the 1940s through the 1960s. I note that, although this period has extremely restrictive immigration policies, a cohesive population of Filipinx individuals migrated as a result of World-War II related

marriages (the so-called *war brides*). We can see much faster growth in migration, beginning with the change from the 1960 to 1970 censuses. This period marks the beginning of the post Hart-Celler regime of more liberal immigration policy, relieving the nation-based quota barring Filipinx migration.

In comparison, census figures show the existence of a sizeable US born, second-generation, of Filipino American individuals beginning with the change from 1940 to 1950. Up until the 1970 census, it is highly likely these US-born individuals belong to families (primarily men from the *Manong* generation) that emigrated prior to 1934. Beginning in the 1980 census, the number of US born Filipino Americans increases rapidly between periods. While this also includes the third- and fourth generation immigrant members of Manong wave families, it is more likely that this increase is due to births in those families drawn from the post Hart-Celler wave. Because (after Hart-Celler) migrating Filipino Americans were less divided by gender; it was more common for spouses of migrating individuals to accompany them. I note this change is visible in the relationship between overall proportion by sex; a peak disparity of 83% men in 1940 has equalized by 1980 (48%) and begins a slight but stable ‘reversal’ around 54% throughout the 2000s.

TABLE 2.2 ABOUT HERE

Results

As I note briefly above, adding the 1st gen and US born Filipino lines on Table 2.2 shows my estimated population of 4,288,443 Filipino-Americans in 2020. For the three decades preceding 1970, we can see the effect of exclusionary immigration policies, as the

proportion of 1st gen to US born slowly decreases. However, reflecting the easing of nation-based exclusions, beginning in 1970 the number of 1st generation individuals (dashed blue line) supersedes US born individuals (dashed black line). I show the total individuals, over time, and broken down by gender, in Figure 2.1.

FIGURE 2.1 ABOUT HERE

I show educational attainment at the 4-year college level, broken down by gender and race—adding a level for Filipinx—on Figure 2.2. The results show an overall positive pattern of Filipino educational attainment. The high rates of college education for Filipina women and slightly less exceptional rates for Filipino men, relative to other race/ethnicities, suggest Filipinos are doing well. Their sharp change in proportion of Filipinos attaining college (the dashed blue line) between 1970 and 1980 may reflect a delayed effect from the passage of Hart-Celler (the vertical dashed line between 1960 and 1970). The college attainment proportion appears to change at distinct rates before and after 1965 for both Filipino-American women and men.

FIGURE 2.2 ABOUT HERE

I test Hypotheses 1-3 by breaking down proportional college attainment into separate levels for first-generation and US born Filipino-American categories. Results are mixed for my Hypothesis 1; while there are lower rates of college attainment for first-generation Filipino men before Hart-Celler, first-generation Filipino women attain college at a higher rate than all other race/ethnic groups (dashed blue line vs solid red line for white women, for example). Results for Hypothesis 2 are conclusive, after Hart-Celler first-generation Filipinos regardless of sex attain college at rates above those of White Americans. Results for Hypothesis 3 are also consistent: Figure 2.3 shows US born

Filipino women and men attain college at lower rates than white individuals (dashed black line vs solid red line) up until approximately 1995 for women and approximately 2015 for men. Finally, Figure 3 appears to show the blue dashed line and black short-dashed lines—Filipino educational attainment—converging over time, indicating support for Hypothesis 4.

FIGURE 2.3 ABOUT HERE

I repeat my modeling strategy to analyze inflation-adjusted income (constant 2010 dollars) as shown on Figures 2.4 and 2.5. Figure 2.4 shows the breakdown by gender by race/ethnicity including a single level for Filipino-Americans (dashed blue lines). Comparing both left and right panels, we see that starting in 1965, Filipina women have a higher average income than all other women, with other Asians catching up only in 2020, white (solid red line) and Asian (solid green line) women have higher income up until that point. For men, we see a similar inflection in change near 1965, however although Filipino men surpass Black and American Indian men's average income, they surpass Latinos in 1970 and never surpass white men. They are surpassed by other Asians beginning in about 1955. Filipino (dashed blue), Asian (solid green), white (solid red), and Latino (solid brown) men have a higher average income than all women, until about 1985 when Latino men are surpassed by Filipina women. Latino and Black men are all surpassed by white, Asian, and Filipina women, beginning around the year 2000. However, this is produced by a combination of both decreased income for men and increased income for women, respectively. The impact of deindustrialization and systemic racism that contributes to this bifurcation of income for men is out of scope for this paper.

FIGURE 2.4 ABOUT HERE

I test my Hypothesis 5 by breaking Filipinos into 1st generation immigrant- (dashed blue lines) and US born (dashed black lines) individuals as shown on Figure 2.5. Similar overall patterns emerge between Filipino generations as with the aggregate Filipino trends in Figure 2.4. First-generation Filipina women have higher average income than all other women from 1965 until 2020, when US born Filipina women surpass them. Across all decades, both US and foreign-born Filipino men have lower income than Asian or white men, though they have higher income than all women. As with results for education and Hypothesis 3, there is partial support for Hypothesis 5. First-generation Filipinas do lag white (solid red line) and Asian (solid green line) women until about 1965, however Filipina women regardless of nativity surpass whites and Asians thereafter. Regardless of nativity, Filipino men's income lags behind white (solid red line) men's, and beginning in 1960 a steadily increasing gap opens between Filipino men (again, regardless of nativity) and Asian (solid green line) men's average income.

FIGURE 2.5 ABOUT HERE

Discussion and Conclusions

I asked if there were meaningful differences in educational attainment and income between US born and first-generation immigrant Filipino Americans. I hypothesized first-generation Filipino Americans' educational attainment would be higher than whites after Hart-Celler, but below white attainment before the 1965 Hart-Celler Act. While this was borne out for Filipino men in my results, Filipina women had higher rates of college attainment than white women, across all decades. However, a sharp growth in college

attainment rates occurred between 1960 and 1980, which could directly reflect the selectivity effects of Hart-Celler and nursing recruitment on the Filipino first-generation. I also hypothesized that US-born Filipino Americans' educational attainment would trail whites before and after the Hart-Celler Act. This was also borne out in a gendered way, US born Filipina women trailed their white counterparts up until 1995, while Filipino men trailed their counterparts up until 2020. Though professionalized, Filipinas are historically constructed as subordinate to white women (Glenn 2004; Ngai 2014) and are continue to occupy relatively-lower strata in occupational prestige hierarchies (Parreñas 2015). This delayed trend may reflect lingering racialization and/or disparities in high/low end, gendered, inequality (Browne and Misra 2003). Parrenas observes disproportional male unemployment in the broader, international, Filipinx diaspora (2015). It is a limitation of this study's design that I cannot differentiate between the older US- born second generation, and their children who inherit greater social and economic capital. It is also possible that these "delayed" trends are confounded by subsequent immigrant *third* generations attaining college, and that trends of recently- higher male college attainment are misleading.

Further, I hypothesized there would be a convergence in educational attainment between US born and 1st generation immigrant Filipinos over time. I found evidence that this convergence is happening, US born rates of college attainment steadily increase over time. There is also a slackening or flattening of growth rate for college attainment in first-generation immigrants after 1980, contributing to convergence. I note this aligns with Gambol's (2023) observation of flattening generational mobility in educational

attainment; my findings may add to recent evidence arguing for nuance in interpreting positive Filipino American social integration.

I finally hypothesized that Filipino Americans, regardless of nativity, would trail white Americans in average income before and after Hart-Celler. This was true before 1965, however in subsequent decades (after Hart-Celler), both US-born and immigrant Filipina women superseded their white women counterparts. Filipino men, regardless of decade and nativity, did not ever achieve the same average income as their white men counterparts.

I looked to two theoretical explanations for improved US born educational attainment: that a) selectivity improved the social and human capital of post Hart-Celler Filipino parents and/or b) the shifting racial stratification of Filipino Americans improved the social and cultural capital of all Filipinos. Improved attainment and income for US born Filipinos support both of these theories. However, the flattening rate of improvement in income and attainment for first generation immigrants is more compatible with negative, non- *model minority*, racialization.

Descriptive methods such as the cross-tabulations I use here may inappropriately and atheoretically normalize trends in attainment over time. Scholars of immigration have already problematized the logics of linear assimilation that venerate integration into a white middle class (Brown and Jones 2015; Jones 2019; Ribas 2016). Future work should investigate first-generation Filipinos' rate of improvement to better model selectivity mechanisms in immigration policy. Theoretically, within the curve of rate-of-improvement is a net effect of American racialization.

Some scholars take evidence of non - Asian racialization as a possible *Latinization* of Filipinos (Gambol 2023; Mabalon 2013; Ocampo 2016). This would limit Filipino access to modal Asian *ethnic capital*, as theorized by Min Zhou and Jennifer Lee (Lee and Zhou 2014; Zhou and Xiong 2005). A limited ethnic benefit is compatible with the segmented trends I see in this data. Yet theories that put forward a subordinated racial status for Filipino Americans must also contend with ample evidence of Filipino socioeconomic success (Dhingra and Rodriguez 2021; Min 2006).

A position of intermediate racial subordination might also predispose Filipino Americans to a *durable ethnicity* instead of the ethnonational identity formation associated with traditional integration into a US white middle class. In the words of Telles and Sue, “The extent to which some groups or individuals are more ethnic than others is not merely a personal choice but also a product of one's individual situation as well as interactions with the ethnic core; this process is shaped by the historical, political, geographic, and social contexts in which groups and individuals exist.” (Telles and Sue 2020:21). Future work to analyze Filipinx educational attainment may benefit from theorizing intervening factors, such as durable ethnicity, in modeling the factors that shape it.

The elements of contradicting data in my findings are at the intersection of gender and nativity—Filipina women consistently attain college at better rates than their white female counterparts, however Filipino men fail to supersede white or Asian men (though they supersede all women) regardless of immigration policy selectivity (or racialization). As noted above and in the existing knowledge section, Filipinas have always been constructed in a subordinate, historically colonized, position (Choy 2003; Espiritu 2008;

Strobel 2001). Whether or not Filipinos are Latinized is outside the scope of this paper, however, my results may recommend a more granular examination of within-group results for other studies. Because there is some direct evidence of an interactive domination effect over Filipinos at the population level, it may be fruitful to pursue interactive methods for other less studied Asian ethnicities. These and future results would then complement theories that emphasize agentic mechanisms of identity in racial placement (Lee 2023; Qian 2002), for example intermarriage and espoused ethnicity.

Regardless of broader racial status position, my findings highlight Filipino Americans' complex social position at the intersection of gender and nativity hierarchies. The overall positioning of Filipino men between white women and white men may direct study towards mechanisms maintaining racial hierarchies— for example, Adia Wingfield-Harvey describes professional Black men's position of “simultaneous privilege and disadvantage” at the organizational level (Wingfield 2013). Future work should investigate processes of differential Filipino racialization—the gendered positioning shown here allows Filipinos to be dominated simultaneously as aggressive, ambitious ‘tiger’ moms and nerdy, socially inept, ‘technically proficient’ dads. It is hard to imagine such logics are not deployed elsewhere.

Inequalities in College Attainment Among US Born Filipinos Between Descendants of
Pre- and Post Hart-Celler Migrants

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Introduction

Pan ethnic, aggregate, Asian American college attainment rates are higher than those of any racialized group in the 21st century. When disaggregated, Filipino American college attainment rates are nearly as high as those of the pan ethnic superset. My first paper, however, showed that a wide gap in college attainment between US-born and foreign-born Filipino Americans opened after the 1965 Hart-Celler immigration reforms gave preference to educated migrants. In 1990, around 40% of foreign-born Filipinos held college degrees compared to less than 20% among the US born. The gap has since closed, with US-born Filipino college attainment increasing to around 40% with foreign-born degree holding around 50%. But it is unclear whether the descendants of pre-Hart Celler migrants have seen comparable increases in college attainment to the overall average for US-born Filipino Americans. Instead, it could be that increases in college attainment among US-born Filipinos is driven by college attainment among the children of educated Filipino immigrants since 1965.

This paper thus analyzes college attainment for the descendants of pre- and post-1965 immigration among US-born Filipinos and other racial groups. Existing theories provide multiple reasons for why pre-1965 migrant descendants may trail the descendants of more recent Filipino migrants. First, the post 1965 migrants may have more social capital derived from education to pass on to their children (Min 2006; Tran, Lee, and Huang 2019). Second, pre- and post-1965 (Hart Celler) immigration waves may constitute distinct racialization regimes that families pass along to their children differently (Ancheta 1998). In the case of Filipino Americans, racialization of families

and communities may have varied over time with shifts in 1) the immigration policies and patterns under the unique and direct colonial relationship of the Philippines and the US (Dhingra and Rodriguez 2021; Ngai 2014) and 2) historical pressures of integration (Espiritu 1996, 2008; Strobel 2001).

I complicate prior work finding that more recent racialization processes apply *model minority* stereotypes to Asian Americans, including Filipinos. The image of Asian students as hard working and studious, applied to some Asian subgroups, can benefit them in educational settings, and thus support college attainment for Filipino Americans. Model minority racialization, however, may be more intense in Filipino communities of more recent, educated migrants than in Filipino communities arising around earlier agrarian and labor migration. At the same time, more recent Filipino migrants from the Filipino professional class are likely to have carried with them gendered cultural frames about education shaped by the US colonial relationship. As part of US colonization in the early 20th century, colonial discourse characterized American women working as missionaries and nurses as civilized and civilizing in relationship to *uncivilized* Filipina women (Choy 2003). Colonial racial discourses in the US receiving context disparaged the early 20th century male agrarian migrants to the US as docile.

To assess potential related disparities in US-born Filipino college attainment, I harmonize IPUMS US census data from the 2000, 2010, and 2020 decennial census samples for more 5.6 million respondents, including 56,423 respondents identifying as Filipino. Using logit models with average marginal effects, I find that college attainment is 13 percentage points lower for US born Filipinos who are descended from migrants that arrived before 1965 (33%) than for post-65 descended Filipinos (47%). Filipinos

descended from pre-1965 migrants thus have college attainment that is comparable to those of US born whites, and 10 percentage points lower than those for US born Asians. US born Filipinos from post-1965 migrant families meanwhile attain college at even higher rates than other US born Asians from post-1965 migrant families.

I also find that there is no college attainment advantage for Filipina American women descended from pre-1965 migrants over their pre-1965 male counterparts. Pre-1965 descended Filipinas also have a larger college attainment gap with post-1965 descended Filipinas (13%) than the pre-post 1965 gap for Filipino men (8%) or than pre-post 1965 gaps for women in any other racial group. In this respect, pre-1965 descended Filipinas occupy a different position in educational stratification than is suggested by the emerging college attainment advantage for US women over men across racial groups.

These disparities are net of controls for gender, age, census year, and state of residency. Because of strong patterns of Filipino West coast settlement, these results contribute to knowledge of patterns of Filipino education, beyond geographic location (Forrest-Bank and Jenson 2015; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). The findings also suggest that racialization of pre-1965 Filipino migrants as Latinized and unassimilable may be sticky over generations. We can say, at least, that the descendants of these migrants have educational attainment patterns that are dissonant with *model minority* stereotypes that may clash less with the educational attainment experiences of post-1965 migrants' descendants. My findings thus contribute to our understanding of how non-Asian stereotypes may be reflected in Filipino educational attainment.

In the sections that follow, I first present existing knowledge on Filipino colonial arrangements involving gendered labor and immigration policy that may contribute to

different resources and cultures around education in pre-1965 and post-1965 descended Filipino communities. Second, I discuss how assimilation and integration pressures may differ across pre-1965 and post-1965 descended communities with implications for educational attainment. Third, I theorize how Filipino racialization around education may be shaped together by colonial arrangements and assimilation and integration pressures, contributing to persistent educational disparities among US-born Filipinos descended from pre- and post-1965 migrants. Fourth, I explain my methods for harmonizing multiple decennial census surveys and identifying migrant waves from which US born Filipinos are descended. After presenting the results of my analysis, I discuss how the analyses point to the need for more qualitative research to understand potential differences in racialized and gendered cultural capital that would align with the educational disparities I find between pre-1965 and post-1965 descended Filipinos. I also note discuss how further iteration of my quantitative models could assess if these disparities operate through spatial divides in the location and separation of pre-1965 and post-1965 communities in the US.

Existing Knowledge

In this section, I begin with a subsection on colonization, labor exploitation, and immigration policy. This subsection reviews work describing the historical colonization and labor exploitation that shaped both the Philippine sending and US receiving contexts for migrating individuals. The first subsection then connects these factors to changes in historical immigration policy. The second subsection reviews theories of racialized integration, including work theorizing the construction of immigrant cultural capital in

the US context. Because the factors that push Filipinos to migrate are gendered and because their incorporation is gendered, I briefly review existing knowledge on how these factors change before- and after 1965. The final subsection reviews how Filipino cultural capital, specifically, may be racialized in different ways.

Colonization, labor exploitation, and immigration policy

Filipino American educational status in the US is historically shaped by macro-level factors such as the US colonization of the Philippines (Espiritu 1992; Ngai 2014; Reyes 2019). Predatory immigration policies, economic disinvestment, and the long shadow of cultural chauvinism (Constantino and Constantino 1975; Espiritu 1992; Glenn 2004) pushed and continue to push Filipino nationals to migrate to the United States in search of education and economic opportunity. Because of the colonial relationship, US borders remained open for Filipino nationals long after other groups from Asia were denied entry. As a result, among US groups of Asian descent, a steady supply of less wealthy, less skilled laborers created a population of migrating individuals throughout the 1920s and 1930s—much later than other Asian American sub-groups. Migration did not finally stop for these early Filipino migrants, called *manongs* in a gesture of vernacular respect, until 1934 (with exceptions for a small number of spouses for returning World War II era armed forces members).

After the Spanish American war of 1898, Spain ceded colonial governorship of the Philippines to the United States along with Guam and Puerto Rico (Constantino and Constantino 1975; Lee 2015). These territories became a source of natural and human resource exploitation (Glenn 2004; Ngai 2014). The US project to “uplift” Filipino Americans to self-governance included an intentional or unintentional regime of colonial

education, replicating US primary and secondary school systems with American educators in the Philippines (Choy 2003; Strobel 1997). While the US stated a purpose of educating a subset of Filipinos to return and self-govern “responsibly,” most migrating Filipinos were relatively-lower skilled agricultural workers seeking opportunity in Hawaii and along the continental West coast. The result of this shared, crafted, hope in US educational and economic mobility is the geopolitical projection of power into the Philippines (Fojas 2014; Reyes 2019).

Filipino migration prior to 1965 consisted primarily of men (Lasker 1969; Min 2006). During US colonization of the Philippines, White American women working in the Philippines were recreated as civilized by their distinction from uncivilized Filipina women (Choy 2003). At the same time, in the US, imagery of Filipinos’ childlike nature characterized migrating Filipino men as docile and sexually promiscuous (Ngai 2014). This created a racialized gender hierarchy for Filipinas in the Philippines, where work is valued only outside the home (Glenn 2004). Sexualized stereotypes for Filipino *men*, in the United States, created a controlling image of these men as having a deviant, subordinated masculinity in the US.

Further, racial stereotypes generated by strong trends in occupational segregation shape reception in institutions including educational institutions for other groups (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Melville 1988; Okamoto 2014). For US nationals such as Filipinos, US citizenship—with concomitant promises of economic belonging in US society, becomes a commodity that entices individuals as laborers and consumers (Ngai 2014). The predatory commodification of agricultural labor is not unique to Filipinos, but

unlike the Mexican American laborers with whom they organized in the 1940s and 50s, the shape of new arrivals changes sharply for Filipinos in the 1960s and 1970s.

Along with opening immigration generally for Asian and Latin American sending countries, the 1965 Hart-Celler Act preferred admission for those individuals with education or skills that would aid the United States in the Cold War (Hing 1993; Hong 2019). The resulting effect on US populations is described as *selectivity* or *hyper-selectivity* in immigration. For Filipino Americans, this policy and resultant selectivity should drive relative US Filipino SES up (Hong 2019; Ong and Viernes 2012), resulting in generally higher rates of college attainment. However, ongoing racialized occupational segregation, the impact of decolonial practices resisting historic messages of Americanization, and the long-term subordination of Filipino cultural capital may be reflected in relatively lower Filipino American attainment among the pre-1965 wave of individuals. Controlling for family wealth (including that brought from the Philippines), it is possible that Filipino Americans may attain college at relatively poor rates.

Hart-Celler made recruitment possible, and in the 1960s Filipino nurses were heavily recruited for their English fluency and because of racialized stereotypes of Filipinas as caregivers (Baldoz 2020). Selectivity for Filipinos, among Asian subgroups, was increased in 1976 when changes to law imposed language testing requirements on health professionals (Min 2006). Within the broader diaspora, employment is easier for migrating Filipinas compared to male offshore foreign workers (OFWs) (Parreñas 2015). The gendered character of post-1965 Filipino labor, on an international stage, is further confirmed by the feminized nature of call-center work sent to the Philippines (Fabros 2016).

Filipino migrants are pushed from the Philippines in a class and occupationally segregated way. This may result in their lasting racialized reception, including in educational institutions. However, changes to immigration law as part of civil rights era reform resulted in sharp changes in the class composition of migrating individuals.

Assimilation and cultural integration

Filipino American educational attainment is shaped by both macroeconomic and cultural factors. Acculturation into preferred modes of interacting with schools can directly advantage college attainment – whereas the relative value of (unassimilated) Filipino cultural performances may change over time. There may be differences between pre-1965 and post-1965 Filipino attainment that show both sides of segmented assimilation (“downwards” and “upwards” from the White middle-class). Because of this, I briefly review work discussing cultural integration, and the strategic deployment of culture by Filipino Americans and other racialized migrating groups.

Since the 1970s and tapering off only recently, census data show a significant proportion of Filipino Americans are born abroad. Filipino and other Asian American families from this post-1965 period show trends of achieving more education than their parents. To initially explain this, scholars theorize a process of *segmented assimilation*, by which migrating groups adopt mainstream US culture at varying rates, explaining their disproportionate status attainment (Lee and Zhou 2014, 2017; Zhou and Xiong 2005). Though linear models of assimilation are out of favor, the adoption and performance of privileged forms of culture is undeniably associated with institutional benefits. Because of this, it is important to understand access to those benefits (Vasquez 2010). However, for demographic work, modeling acculturation necessitates the use of available empirical

indicators such as intermarriage (Gambol 2016a, 2023) to measure espoused identity (Jiménez, Park, and Pedroza 2018; Lee 2019). These theories conceive of educational attainment as caused by the aggregate individual behaviors and attributes of Filipino Americans and may underrepresent those factors outside of the individual or ethnic community (such as racialized occupational, residential, and educational segregation).

Because macro-scale theories conceive of processes at a purely structural level, they may: 1) understate individual agency of Filipino migrants and families and 2) overstate the impact of observed processes (such as colonization and status replication) while ignoring unobserved processes such as the liberalization of immigration policy (Hing 1993; Hong 2019) and cultural stratification (Bourdieu 1973; DiMaggio 1982; Wallace 2018).

A more theoretical problem with using assimilation indicators to indicate group progress is that individuals' espoused ethnicity is socio-politically constructed (Nagel 1994; Telles and Sue 2019); a performance that is constrained by culture and opportunity (Song 2003; Vasquez 2010). Mediating factors may thus shape assimilation indicators. Theories of social identity now incorporate biculturalism and cultural hybridity (Glenn 2015; Maramba 2008; Strobel 2001) as concepts that better describe what an espoused *ethnonational* identity (*Filipino - American* as opposed to Filipino) feels like to the migrant. As the relative value of Asian, and indeed Filipino cultural capital shifts, educational attainment becomes more achievable and simultaneously institutions begin to seductively celebrate Asian American achievement as diversity. In navigating these forces, it is possible that pre- and post-1965 wave Filipino individuals will reach towards educational attainment at different rates.

Racialization of Filipino cultural capital

Analytically, theories of cultural construction seek to explain how individuals navigate pan-ethnic cultural status hierarchies. These theories may predict Filipino American racial stratification. Asian American educational attainment and occupational prestige, relative to whites, may create ethnic expectations in educational institutions, contributing to their racial placement over time (Fine 1991; Li 2005; Wallace 2023; Wu 2014). In addition, scholars increasingly show that group members agentially deploy cultural features to navigate and resist domination (Carter 2005; Ogbu 1994; Wallace 2023; Waters 1999). These explanations also offer the advantage of problematizing the concealed racism of ethnic hierarchies. However, variation within pan-ethnic groups (Lee 2009; Lee and Zhou 2014) as theorized by disaggregation scholars often relies on class-based arguments to explain relatively lower attainment, for example explanations that analyze sending context capital for Southeast Asian refugees, or high value East Asian and South Asian professionals.

However, because of sharp shifts in the value of Asian cultural capital, theories of identity may be less useful in predicting Filipino migrant college attainment, when considering social class or other statuses, over time. I engage previous work that describes migrants' racialized incorporation to improve culture-based theories. Espoused, symbolic identity becomes consequential when reinforced by exclusion (Telles and Ortiz 2009; Telles and Sue 2020), ethnoracialization describes the interactive process of identity formation (Brown and Jones 2015; Valdez and Golash-Boza 2017). In contrast, a minority culture of mobility (Jones 2019; Nakano 2023) describes how migrants' navigate their reception by mainstream America in performing social identity and

prioritizing socioeconomic achievement. Further, cultural explanations of status hierarchies often conceal racialized thinking (Bashi Treitler 2013; Goldberg 1993; Wallace 2023) -- it's easier to naturalize as innate the cultural differences and subsequent stratification of Filipino Americans born abroad as many sociologists have problematized (Wu 2014).

As I did in my first paper, I turn to migration policy regimes and broad Filipino American migration waves to apply theories of racialized cultural stratification and predict college attainment. Post-1965 Asian American assimilation is politically useful in maintaining white supremacist racial hierarchies (Hong 2019; Wu 2014). Further, education alone as an assimilation indicator is complicated by both the diversity of Asian American individuals and by the actions of Asian students navigating racialized stereotypes of educational exceptionalism (Hinnertshitz 2020; Zhou and Bankston 2020). To better describe Filipino educational status position, relative to other ethnicities, I predict likelihood of college attainment relative to other Asian, Whites, Latino, and Black individuals. My analyses of IPUMS data should replicate others' findings that Filipino Americans attain college at overall high rates.

Socioeconomic shifts in the composition of Filipino American community pre- and post- 1965 drive model minority cultural hierarchies, which should shape college attainment. As the relative number of college-educated parents increases, racial ideologies for Filipinos (and other Asians) come to normalize educational attainment. As cultural hierarchies shift to accommodate portrayal of Asian Americans as studious, the construction of model minority educational capital (as beneficial to college attainment) should also increase college attainment rates. However, pre-1965 wave Filipino Americans

may not have been racialized as Asian Americans, the generational lack of educational capital should suppress attainment rates.

Finally, model minority racialization may impart educational capital which had been absent prior to the shift in Filipino American socioeconomic status. Pre-1965 Filipino communities may retain non-model-minority racialization. If so, Filipino Americans in the post-1965 wave should have higher college attainment rates mirroring other Asians, and higher than those of other racial groups.

Data and Research Design

Data

Data for all US-born respondents are pooled from IPUMS-harmonized ACS samples, 2020, 2010, and decennial census sample 2000. Because I am interested in the potential lasting and intergenerational impacts of migration under the pre-1965, pre-Hart Celler regime, foreign-born are excluded from my sample. This allows for comparison of educational attainment among the US born descended from those migrating before 1965 to the US born whose families migrated post 1965. My primary independent variable is a five-level race variable, to which I code and add a Filipinx level. For this race variable, individuals are coded inclusively as Filipino American, meaning they are coded as Filipinx both if they directly report as Filipinx, or if either parent reports as Filipinx. Because the race variable is multilevel and because my procedure includes every possible Filipinx individual, mixed race individuals are coded as Filipinx and not as any other race. I do this to capture all predictive influence of Filipinx status; however it is an analytic limitation of this strategy that variation within mixed-race Filipinx status (for

example, a Filipino father and Mexican mother) is lost. The other levels of the race variable use IPUMS coded race self-identification (I combine *race* and *rachsing*). IPUMS generates a race-ethnicity level for Hispanic ethnicity, which I label Latine. Separate multi-racial status is not captured in the source variables and samples I use.

Because the census geographically stratifies sampling, I use IPUMS/census provided weights in my estimates. I show the *unweighted* number of raw observations in the pooled samples on the first line of Table 3.1. Table 3.1 also compares the estimated distribution of primary predictor variables across levels of the race-ethnicity variable, including Filipinx. The numbers should be interpreted as averages by race-ethnicity for each level of the displayed variables—for example, considering the line *College*, among White Americans (shown in the first column), 68% (.680) reported a HS diploma/equivalent or less education, while 32% (.320) attained a BA. Similarly, considering *Immigration after 1965*, 5.5% (.055) of White American respondents report their family arrived in America after 1965, while 94.5% (.945) report their family arrived before 1965.

Table 3.1 shows college attainment varies by race-ethnicity. As reported in many other studies across disciplines, Other-Asian Pacific Islander Americans (*Other Asian PI*) obtain college degrees at higher rates than all other race-ethnicity (BA or more = 49.6%). The lowest average rate of BA attainment is among American Indian respondents, with a weighted average in the pooled samples of 13.3%. Filipino-Americans attain BA degrees at the second-highest rate, among all race-ethnic groups, at 47.1%.

I focus on the impact of the 1965 Hart Celler Act and so code a variable *Immigration after 1965* to distinguish between when individuals' parents arrived in the

United States. IPUMS provides a birthplace variable (*bpl*) and makes available a parental birthplace variable for those individuals reporting parents' birthplace (*bpl_mom* and *bpl_pop*). This parental birthplace data is available for between 32-42% of the full sample for each year. IPUMS also provides a year of immigration variable (*yrimmig*), together with parental year of immigration (*yrimmig_mom* and *yrimmig_pop*). I use these variables to identify individuals who were born in the United States and whose parents were both born abroad and arrived after 1965. Because I am focused on US born Filipino Americans, I do not code any individuals who report being born abroad in the immigration wave variable – this variable only includes US born Filipino Americans. I code these as *Family post-1965*. Those individuals whose parents were born in the US, or whose parents arrived before 1965, are coded *Family pre-1965*. A small but measurable population of Filipino American families are blended across migration wave; *Manong* era men in their 50s and 60s married post-1965 emigrés. In these cases, I code the individual as *pre-1965* to capture all possible predictive influence of that status.

As shown on Table 3.1, in my three samples, *Filipinx-* and *Other Asian PI-*Americans are disproportionately represented by people whose family emigrated after 1965 (*Family post-1965*). In contrast, Latine Americans, commonly stereotyped as immigrants, are more evenly distributed at 53.7% post-1965 vs 46.3% pre-1965. Because I attempt to capture every migrating family, I code responses “post-1965” if either parent emigrated. Because of this, there is 19.6% minority of American Indian individuals who are coded as post-1965.

TABLE 3.1 ABOUT HERE

Research design

I use person-level logit models to test hypotheses predicting college attainment differences between pre- and post-1965 immigrant waves, using fixed effects for each decennial census sample. Following Eaton and Gibadullina (2025), estimates are reported as average marginal effects (Breen, Karlson, and Holm 2018). This makes effects easier to interpret as equivalent to percentage point effects on probability of college attainment net of controls. All models include controls for sex, US state of residence, respondent age, and the particular decennial census of the the observation.

Results

Overall, I find that US born Filipinos whose families migrated before 1965 attain college degrees at much lower rates than US born descendants of post-1965 migrants, net of controls. This is the opposite of the pre-post 1965 relationship within other Asians and Latinos. The pre-post 1965 disparity for Filipinos is also larger than the disparity for US-born white and Black Americans. Figure 1 plots the overall regression adjusted likelihood of college attainment for each race-ethnic group. The figure includes two bars for each race-ethnic group. Each bar represents the 95% confidence interval for likelihood of attaining a BA degree. The first bar for each group represents US born descendants of pre-1965 group migrants, while the second bar for each group represents US-born descendants of post-1965 migrants. The *pre-1965* group includes those whose parents may have migrated at any time before 1965. These are estimated using adjusted likelihoods and an interaction between each level of race-ethnicity and the indicator

variable for *immigration before 1965* and controls for gender, decade, respondents' age, and US state.

Figure 3.1 shows a 13% difference in likelihood for college attainment between the post-1965 Filipinos descendants and the pre-1965 Filipino descendants. This difference, reflected in the distance between bars for the *Filipinx* category, is larger than for any other race-ethnicity. The Filipinx pattern between pre- and post-1965 groups' attainment mirrors that of White and Black Americans. Although overall US-born Latinos and Other Asian-PI groups attain college degrees at very different rates, the post 1965 second generation of both groups are *less* likely to attain a BA than their pre-1965 counterparts. In contrast to Filipino Americans, *Other Asian PI* and *Latine* groups experience a “penalty” for after-1965 status.

The post-1965 advantage among Filipinos is more similar to a post-1965 advantage we also see for white and Black US born individuals. Unlike white and Black US born residents, however, we saw in Table 3.1 that a super majority of US born Filipinos are descended from post-1965 immigrants. The post-1965 advantage is also larger for US born Filipinos than for whites or Black individuals. It is also true that the college attainment rate for pre-1965 Filipino descendants is much higher than that of Latine individuals; at least demographically, this complicates previous portrayals of Filipinx as the “Latinos of Asia” (Ocampo 2016).

College attainment rates for Filipino Americans whose parents emigrated after 1965 are higher than for the pre 1965 group. With the exception of the significant shift in Filipinx attainment, despite reversals due to family arrival wave, the relationship between

other race-ethnic groups remains relatively fixed. Post-1965 Filipino American college attainment is higher than all other groups and matches that of pre-1965 Asian Americans.

FIGURE 3.1 ABOUT HERE

Table 2 reports average marginal effects of logit models as key covariates are added to the model, with the “interaction” model 3 corresponding to the same model that estimates regression adjusted likelihoods in Figure 3.1. Together, these models show that the estimated pre-post 1965 migrant gap exists both before and after controls are added to the model. Model 1 is a *base* model and includes only race-ethnicity variables without covariates for gender, census sample, respondent age, and state. The second model adds the indicator variable for being descended from families that migrated before 1965 and interactions by race-ethnicity. The third model adds covariates for gender, census sample, respondent age, and state. Models 2 and 3 show that US born Filipinos descended from families migrating before 1965 have college attainment rates well below their post-65 descended counterparts. Model 3 shows an 11-percentage point gap net of controls, consistent with estimates in Figure 3.1.

TABLE 3.2 ABOUT HERE

Finally, the gendered controlling imagery for Filipina and Filipino Americans shifts between the backwardness and docility of the pre-1965 colonial period to the nursing-dominant imagery of the post-1965 period. Because of this, I estimate separate models stratified by sex to assess whether the pre-post 65 gaps are consistent across birth sex. I present these results in Figure 3.2, below. Figure 3.2 plots the 95% confidence intervals for post-regression margins for sex-restricted margins using the full *interaction*

specification above. This is similar to Figure 3.1, but each panel is restricted to the Women's and Men's subsamples.

When stratified by sex, we see the post-1965 attainment disparity for Filipinx involves gains for both men and women, but with larger gains for women. The post-1965 Other Asian PI penalty, in contrast, is driven primarily by penalties for women. Unlike what we see with Filipina women, the post-1965 disparities for Black and white US born residents are driven by particularly higher attainment rates for men, not women.

Sex stratified models add complexity to my findings. Although the disparity is reduced for men, both men and women attain college at higher rates if their family arrives post-1965. Filipina women in the post-1965 wave attain college at higher rates than any other group except for pre-1965 other-Asian women with whom there is some overlap. However, post-1965 men, while still attaining college at higher rates than Black and Latine men, do not attain college at higher rates than white men. The effect for women exacerbates the trend for Filipino Americans to supersede all-other Asian college attainment rates, and this group attains college at rates that are statistically the same as post-1965 other-Asian men (the highest predicted rates among all groups).

Figure 2 reflect contrasting sex-driven effects for Filipinx and Asian individuals. For both groups, pre-1965 attainment rates are relatively equal between men and women (comparing the yellow bars for Filipinx and Other Asian PI across Figure 3.2), post-1965 predictions show stronger benefits for Filipinas and penalties for Other Asian women. This drives the patterns shown in the unrestricted models of Figure 3.1. This increasing disparity between Women and Men's college attainment is mirrored for Black and to a

lesser degree White individuals – but the difference by sex is relatively flat for Latine individuals.

FIGURE 3.2 ABOUT HERE

Limitations

Though robust, this data does not directly observe racialization or cultural capital. I theorize these factors shape the patterns I observe; this points to the need for original data gathering on both processes. I lack data on parental education, which is particularly constraining in modeling cultural capital. Because of this, I conduct in-depth interviews in my next chapter.

Mixed ancestry Filipino Americans are modeled solely as Filipinx for the purposes of this regression. Because of this, those Filipinos with historically marginalized Black and Latino ancestry and those with historically privileged White and Other Asian ancestry may add variation to the overall predictions. My modeling strategy emphasizes Filipino identity as a quasi- master status; because my research question prioritizes the predictive impact of Filipino ancestry I include all possible cases in analysis.

I start my pool with the 2000 US Census. While there is a strong representation of pre-1965 individuals, however the earlier immigrant generations of this population are advancing in age towards the end of this period; for example, the US born children of 1920s migrants are approaching 80 years old by the 2020. I control for survivorship by including individuals' age in my regression models. The larger challenge to comparing 'like' immigrant generations, is the lack of data on older post-1965 wave individuals; not enough time has passed for these individuals to be much older than 50.

Finally, as has been amply shown in other research (Lee 2023; Ngo and Lee 2007) pan ethnic Asian groupings inappropriately aggregate very different racialized educational attainment trajectories. Because of this, attainment for *Other Asian* may either be under- or overstated, depending on the strength of effects for other subgroups. Nevertheless, I suggest that the relatively small size of confidence intervals – the size of the bars in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 – reflects low variation in predicted effect of Other Asian status. Further, pre-1965 Other Asian is the group showing the most variation, and this group should not be impacted by the dramatic shifts in migration path created by the US war in Vietnam.

Discussion and Conclusion

I asked if Hart-Celler immigration policies would structure disparities in college attainment between the US born descendants of pre- and post-Hart Celler (1965) migrants. I find that, distinct from other groups (theoretically) racialized as Asian American, US born Filipino Americans show lower college attainment if their families migrated pre-1965, and a greater relative shift in attainment between waves than any other group. I suggest here that it is the relative magnitude of this shift that makes the case of Filipino Americans unique among racialized migrating groups in the United States.

Recall Figure 3.2 which shows substantial penalties for pre-1965 Filipinos of both sexes, but a particularly strong “benefit” to post-1965 Filipina women. The relatively high attainment of Filipina women to other Asian and White women may draw on model minority racialization. Previous work shows Southeast Asian female students pursue

higher education at lower rates than all other students, regardless of race ethnicity (Jang 2018). However, post-1965, migration and racialization pressures may drive Filipina women into healthcare professions requiring college degrees. Simultaneously, as shown for other racialized groups, non-white men benefit less than White men in feminized professions such as nursing (Wingfield 2009), establishing a complex position of privilege for men of different races in feminized occupations. Further work capable of specifying occupation may help reveal if these patterns of gendered, racialized, occupational segregation shape college attainment.

Some possibilities also exist for extending my quantitative models to assess if educational disparities among Filipinos operate through spatial divides in the location and separation of pre-1965 and post-1965 communities in the US. I have theorized how early racialization of these communities may create disparities in racialized cultural capital that is sticky across generations. This stickiness could in part involve different and separate average spatial locations of pre- and post-1965 Filipino communities. These spatially separate communities may isolate the development of racialized cultural capital. Spatially separate communities may also situate the descendants of different migrant waves in different contexts of neighborhood wealth and school resources with bearing on educational attainment. Future modeling of my current data could examine if adding controls for census block, city, are metropolitan statistical area reduces the estimated effect of descending from pre- or post- 1965 migrants. If so, this would fit with some of the migration wave effect flowing through spatial location.

It is interesting that the college attainment of Filipina women in the post-1965 wave matches other Asian men, both groups superseding the college attainment all other

groups. In contrast, Other Asian women are positioned between White men and White women. The historic position of Filipinas as subordinate to white women has been understood to be shaped by colonial processes (Choy 2003; Strobel 2001). These findings may suggest Filipino Americans experience gendered impact from their concentration in feminized and racialized fields, such as nursing (and call-center work abroad). Previous work by Parrenas (2015) and Fabros (2016) describe the complex position of Filipina Offshore Foreign Workers (OFWs) in a globalized status hierarchy. Future research might productively compare the stratification of Filipino Americans, who occupy a distinct position in a global Philippine diaspora, to these Filipina OFWs.

I also asked if Filipino Americans would attain college at rates matching their, unambiguously *model minority- racialized*, pan ethnic Asian peers. Sex restricted models show the effect is driven largely by attainment of Filipina women. Filipino American men attain college at distinctly lower rate than their other Asian peers. This may be more remarkable, when we consider this aggregate Asian group includes other Southeast Asian subgroups with historically lower attainment.

I suggest further research into this sex-stratified effect is worthwhile. Racial *Latinization*, or the emergence of Filipino racial ideologies matching Mexican American and Latino groups, is theorized by Ocampo and others working to understand differential racialization. If Latinization is happening for Filipinos, processes that produce sex-stratified outcomes for Latine college students may apply. Latinas persist better than their male counterparts, partly driven by the desire for independence from the family (Ovink 2014). As Wallace (2023), Rios (2011; 2017), and others show for racialized cultural groups, tracking mechanism generally apply distinct stereotypes to male and female

students resulting in distinct racializations and paths. We know that controlling imagery of Filipino Americans as healthcare workers, particular in nursing, is emerging (Parrenas 2000). It is possible that unique harms of not meeting model minority expectations have gendered effects (Takei, Sakamoto, and Kim 2013).

Finally, as discussed among Asian American subgroups, Filipinos count a broad professional class later than Chinese, Japanese, South Asian, and other groups. Because of this, the unique intersections of the controlling image for Southeast Asian men (Espiritu 2008, Kim and Sakamoto 2014) may be emerging but delayed for Filipino American men. If Filipino American men are becoming model minority racialized, they may come to attain rates of college attainment similar to the Other Asian men in my study. However, depending on the durability of non-model minority racialization for men in the pre-1965 cohort, a sharp division should remain between immigration waves for Filipino American men and the pre-1965 men's attainment rates should remain closer to those of Latino individuals.

From Labor Camps to Subdivisions: Divergent Contexts for Filipinx American Education
and Racialization

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Introduction

Compared with other Asian American subgroups, US-born Filipinos with families migrating before 1965 (pre-Hart Celler) tend to have lower educational attainment. Some of this disparity is a result of lower parental education levels among US-born Filipinos among the pre-1965 families. Hart Celler immigration policies increased Filipino migration after 1965, but only for those with high levels of education. This in, in turn, afforded those families the cultural and social capital to support college attainment for their US-born children. Pre-1965 families arrived under the more open immigration policies of the US colonial period. These pre-1965 policies supported agrarian and working-class migration, filling labor demands in Hawaii and along the continental West coast during the 1930s – long after the US had tightened restrictions on other Asian nations.

However, the educational pathways of post-1965 migrants are shaped by more than cultural and social capital advantages at the household level. I investigate how racialized experiences in schools, neighborhoods, and communities varied between pre- and post-1965 periods. Drawing on interviews with 34 Filipino Americans, I observe how individuals make sense of their educational aspirations, preferences and obstacles around: 1) neighborhood segregation, 2) monocultural embeddedness, 3) heritage affirmations and 4) heritage injuries.

My data indicate individuals from pre-1965 families more commonly experienced residential segregation and they more frequently describe the effects of segregated neighborhoods. Pre-1965 individuals' interpretations are based in an understanding of

segregated US racial status hierarchies. They speak at greater length about Filipino monocultural embeddedness than their post-1965 counterparts.

In contrast to the earlier wave, post-1965 families settle in more racially diverse, often suburban, neighborhoods. For these families, monoculture is created largely for migrating parents, driven to achieve economic security in socially uncertain environments. Post-1965 individuals clearly perceive US racial hierarchy, but they do not have direct experiences of being placed into it as Filipinos. Instead, their expressions are shaped by experiences of anti-Asian sentiment and occasionally model-minority racialization.

Racially minoritized students navigate schools and other institutions by deploying cultural capital strategically. My current findings add to existing knowledge by showing how processes of cultural embedding differentially benefit students. Because pre- and post- 1965 wave Filipino respondents differ, my findings may show how accessibility of cultural identity mediates motivation to deploy cultural capital (as it is available). In addition, my data adds directly to our understandings of how educational institutions reproduce cultural hierarchies for Asian Americans – particularly Filipino American students, who are under studied.

The following sections start with an *Existing Knowledge* section in which I review work on 1) Asian *neighborhood segregation*, 2) the formation of ethnic *monocultures*, and 3) cultural *heritage affirmations and injuries*. I then briefly present my data and data collection methods. The *interview findings* section is divided into *pre-1965* and *post-1965* subsections, reflecting the two cohorts in my study. For each subsection, I summarize findings on segregation, ethnic monoculture, heritage affirmations/injuries, and I

conclude each subsection with the impacts on education. I finish with *conclusions and limitations* for my study.

Existing Knowledge

Civil Rights Era housing protections attempted to address legalized segregation and reshape areas of disinvestment and concentrations of ethnic poverty. Yet Filipino American families fall on both sides of White Flight. I first review prior knowledge of how neighborhood context, impacted by segregation, may help Filipino American families interpret racial hierarchies. Because they are still aware of segregation, and because many Filipino Americans formed supportive ethnic enclaves, I then review how shifts in the form of these enclaves may either aid or impede cultural embeddedness and the deployment of Filipino and/or Asian American cultural capital. Finally, consider existing theories' implications for how varied experiences with segregation and monocultural embeddedness might shape educational paths through either cultural affirmation or injury.

Neighborhood Segregation Among Asians

While the pre-1965 settlement patterns of Filipino Americans have been amply analyzed and described by Mai Ngai (2014) and Yen Le Espiritu (1996), among many others, the post- 1965 scholarship tends to study Filipino Americans as among many pan ethnic Asian immigrants, or sometimes among Southeast Asian immigrants (and refugees). Because pre-1965 migrants were primarily working class and agrarian laborers, their settlement patterns followed available farm labor in Hawaii, and then up and down the West Coast, including in and around the cannery industries of Alaska. Because of

exclusion they formed camps and communities where they were allowed. Post- 1965, concentrated neighborhoods of Filipino Americans are rare. Further, post- 1965 families often have the wherewithal to resettle in wealthier suburban communities.

Settlement and neighborhood segregation has and continues to be a significant shaping factor in education for other racialized subgroups such as African American and Hispanic students (Lewis and Diamond 2015; Renzulli and Evans 2005). Some evidence suggests Filipino American settlement was segregated in ways that would shape access to preferential neighborhoods and schools (Ngai 2014; Ocampo 2016). But Filipino students are not widely studied (Maramba and Bonus 2013), their family's navigation of neighborhood schooling options even less so. Early work on post-1965 populations suggests Filipino students are less protected by civil-rights era protections and desegregations because anti-Filipino animosity tends to present itself as xenophobia (Ancheta 1998).

Where racialized students, including Filipino American students from either pre- or post-1965 wave of migration, encounter racialized neighborhood contexts, local knowledge and cultural cues heavily shape their meaning making around school quality and race relations; this process is documented for African American students navigating segregated cities and neighborhoods (Shedd 2015). Because of this, it is important to understand how Filipino American students and families interpret racialized neighborhood and school segregation. It is likely that the existing racial dynamics shape their response even as they interpret the messages of racial hierarchy they consume in the US and that their migrating parents may have consumed abroad.

Culture and Monoculture

Neighborhood segregation by race and nation-of-origin strongly influenced the formation of ethnic monocultures. Theorizing innate academic advantage for some cultures is problematic – the comparative value of various marginalized cultures is shaped by politics and domination. However, we also know that specific student cultures can produce advantages in educational attainment; at the least, it is reflected in student effort and attitude towards education (Clark 1983; Kao and Tienda 1995). Yet for some groups, the values, attitudes, and performances – *cultural capital*—becomes racialized in the US context. As received by dominant groups, this cultural capital exists in a racialized economy of production and consumption (Banks 2024).

One theorized process is that racially generated, model minority, *cultural capital* provides an advantage in school settings, specifically, as *educational capital* (Lee and Zhou 2014). This happens because model minority racialization perpetuates a stereotype of Asian Americans as academically capable and focused (Museus and Kiang 2009; Wu 2014). Noted above, individuals navigate this system agentically (Banks 2024). Asian Americans, perhaps including Filipino Americans, may thus perceive and receive *model minority* stereotypes (Wu 2014) as they jockey for preferential racial position.

We also know that Filipino students express their ethnicity as part of their navigation of perceived racial hierarchies (Gambol 2016b; Gonzalves 1997). Students engage in cultural performances to maximize belonging and to navigate institutional and staff expectations. Among other migrating groups, Filipino students may have greater flexibility as scholars find Asian ethnicity is *thin* and can be expressed symbolically (Kibria 2003; Lee 2023). However, they may also have limited or differential access to

the preferential stereotypes conferred by educational capital (Museus and Maramba 2010; Ocampo 2016).

Whether they do not feel able to deploy educational capital, or because it is not conveyed to them, Filipino students and families – as with other Asian subgroups – deploy resources strategically when navigating systems perceived as racialized (S. Lee et al. 2017). The institutional context, which ascribes cultural value disparately (Wallace 2023), imposes racial hierarchies on these tactical decisions. The case of Filipino students as Asian Americans is less studied – less is known about how the connection to Filipino cultural identity benefits students. Their case is interesting because cultural narratives shift between migration waves and because differences in sense of cultural embeddedness may produce different expressions of educational capital. At the same time, freedom to express identity and engage in cultural performances is constrained by the racialized backdrop Filipino Americans emerge against.

Heritage Affirmations and Injuries

Asian Americans process model minority racialization in reference to Black and White positions in racial status hierarchies (Wu 2014). Individuals also sense that Asian racialization is not monolithic; they resist panethnic labeling because experiences of (generic anti-Asian) racism may be less consistent and less intense (Kibria 2003). Due to this, at least for more recent post-1965 Filipino Americans, racialization may provide less group cohesion. In contrast, pre-1965 Filipino Americans encounter legal and social structures that are both more formal (or explicit) and directed at Filipino individuals specifically (Jamero Sr 2011; Mabalon 2013).

Among Filipino Americans of both immigration waves, either 1) experiences of heritage affirmation mediates a sense of belonging or 2) pressure to belong in predominantly white spaces may injure sense of heritage group membership (Museus and Maramba 2010). Asians when sensing dissonance with model minority racialization experience educational barriers (Li 2005; Ocampo 2016). For other students groups who perform culture to navigate racialized school tracks, the perceived boundaries of culture can shift students' response to perceived racialization whether beneficial or damaging (Warikoo and Carter 2009). Dominant racial regimes, assigning relative value to Filipino ethnic culture, thus affect how and when Filipino American students seek and deploy belonging to Filipino heritage.

Tying mobility to heritage culture may further have also an alienating effect for youth. Having received and processed messages from mainstream US society on the position of cultural performances in racial status hierarchies, Asian subgroups may come to express a *minority culture of mobility* (Nakano 2023; Neckerman et al. 1999) emphasizing economic status as a strategy for navigating discrimination. For Black and Latine students, members of racialized groups historically placed at relatively lower strata of racial status hierarchies, a key element of this is valuing education as a means to achieve social mobility (McMillan Cottom 2016; Smith 2014). It is possible, however, that the ascription of mobility to culture may be alienating to students seeking belonging and social embeddedness – they may seek a culture that is about more than academic achievement as a means to achieve status.

Guiding Question

For dominated students, escaping their racialized educational position is a strong motivation to achieve academically (Tyson 2011). Coupled with lingering messages of colonial hierarchy, preferring US cultural capital in the sending (Philippine) context, migrating Filipino individuals may receive strong messages to think of education as an investment in social mobility. However, the relative cost/benefit of this investment also depends on these students' racialized expectation (calculation) of capitalizing on beneficial, model minority, cultural capital. Because messages about their racial position shift, and because the relative accessibility to credential shift between my two observed waves of Filipino Americans, they may show different attitudes towards educational credentialism.

I ask how the cultural embeddedness of pre- and post-1965 waves of Filipino Americans may lead them to understand educational mobility differently, in relation to their racialization experiences and the defining Filipino culture they encounter. I trace how cultural affirmation and cultural injury (charges of Filipino *inauthenticity*) affect individuals' meaning-making around education. In doing so, I seek to explain the apparently divergent educational paths of the two broad waves of emigrating Filipino Americans before and after the 1965 Hart Celler Act.

Data and Methods

I interviewed 34 Filipino American individuals, whom I categorize into two immigration regimes corresponding with when their family arrived in the United States, and corresponding with the categorization in the rest of this dissertation. Those whose

families, or who themselves, arrived in the United States after 1965 are categorized in the *Post Hart Celler* category (N=16). Those whose families arrived in the United States prior to 1965 are categorized in the *Pre Hart Celler* category (N=18).

These individuals were recruited from the mailing lists of Filipino American organizations such as the Filipino American National Historical Society – Stockton and Central Valley Chapters (FANHS Stockton and CVC), as well as the Filipino American Women’s Network of Minnesota (FAWN), the Philippine Study Group of Minnesota (PSGM), and Filipinos for Immigrant Rights Minnesota (FIRM).

Respondents first completed an online or interactive screening to determine their nativity, ethnicity, and self-described Filipino ancestry. I pursued an early focus on second-generation individuals, meaning those whose parents were born in the Philippines, but who themselves were born in the United States. Because of this, and because 1965 is a long time ago, the average age of the *Pre Hart Celler* category is approximately 20 years higher than that of the *Post Hart Celler* category (shown in Table 4.1, below).

As mentioned, I emphasized a focus on the second immigrant generation, however the age gap between second generation individuals between waves may introduce bias. In order to balance this, I do interview older, first-generation individuals in the *Post Hart Celler* wave. Five (5) of these individuals are Philippine born. In the *Pre Hart Celler* Wave, I expand my sample to include the children of the second generation (the third immigrant generation). Thus, in the *pre-Hart Celler* Wave, US born indicates both US born to immigrating individuals and US born to US native Filipino Americans. In the *Post Hart Celler* Wave, six (6) reported female gender, six (6) reported male

gender, two (2) reported nonbinary, and two (2) did not report gender. In the Pre Hart Celler Wave, eleven (11) report female and seven (7) report male.

TABLE 4.1 ABOUT HERE

I pursued a modified grounded, abductive, process following Timmermans and Tavory (2012). I identify 25 initial codes; the complete list is available upon request. However, this preliminary coding scheme may not have been granular enough to capture analytic differences (Deterding and Waters 2021) between similar data across waves. Because this data is intended to enrich explanations of second generation difference between Filipino American groups, I focus on the contexts in which a racialized identity emerges as a result of boundary setting from others occurs. These accounts are coded as *heritage affirmations* and *heritage language injuries* in my scheme. There is no theoretical reason that US-born, second-generation, Filipino Americans would encounter challenges to their authenticity at different rates; the descriptive findings of heritage language injuries are primarily empirically driven.

In order to model the shifting role that Filipino American social spaces play, I initially code for *impact of neighborhood segregation* and *value of Filipino cultural capital*. In order to sharpen the comparison, I fold these codes into a *monoculture* code that captures meaning making where respondents encounter pre-existing Filipino communities. This sharpened code distinguishes between encountered and sought-out community. I do this to isolate respondents' description of identity formation from possible expressions of symbolic ethnicity. I share examples below.

Finally, I share the breakdown for impact of neighborhood segregation, to serve as a cross check. This code captures descriptions of racially concentrated neighborhoods and schools and the impacts of these segregations. This should capture respondents' experiences that are shaped by historic, pre-1965, de-jure segregation. The following table shows the pre- and post-Hart Celler wave breakdown of select revised codes. Table 4.2 shows a breakdown by code and by wave showing number of coded accounts. Table 4.3 shows a similar breakdown by code and by wave showing number of individuals. In both Tables, percentages describe the distribution between Post- and Pre Hart Celler waves.

TABLE 4.2 ABOUT HERE

TABLE 4.3 ABOUT HERE

Interview Findings

The pre-1965 wave of migrating Filipinos started with 1920s era, rural agrarian laborers, pursuing economic opportunity in Hawaii and along the continental US West coast. These men were later called *manongs* by their descendants, which is an Ilocano (a Philippine dialect) term of respect. Because the US conquered the Philippines, the manongs were able to migrate to the United States after isolationist immigration policies blocked entry for other Asian subgroups. I find that the children of the manongs understand segregation and the physical division of race in America distinctly from the post-1965 migrant descendants. Children of manongs report supportive camaraderie in the ethnic monocultures they formed. They encountered affirmation of their heritage without

occupational or educational expectations, and racial/ethnic injuries generally came from whites and other out-group individuals.

In contrast, the post-1965 wave has a large professional component, with the changes in immigration law providing incentive for skilled individuals to migrate. This wave encounters and understands segregated neighborhoods differently; they often have the resources to settle directly in economically more privileged areas. The Filipino cultures and heritage affirmations that emerge are often conditioned on economic and educational mobility. This wave also report model minority racialization, and pressure to enter healthcare careers – at times, alienating them. Table 4.4 summarizes these findings.

TABLE 4.4 ABOUT HERE

I present these interview findings in two broad sections that follow: one for pre-1965 interviewees and one for post-1965 interviewees. Within each section, I present findings in subsections for: 1) neighborhood segregation; 2) the emerging ethnic monoculture; 3) how monoculture produces heritage embeddedness and affirmation or cultural alienation, with a subsection on monocultural injuries and boundaries and; 4) I finally conclude each section by presenting how these experiences shape education.

Pre-1965 Migrant Descendants: An Uncle Holding Me

For children (and sometimes grandchildren) of the manong generation, meaning these respondents are all US born, individuals describe life under legal segregation, and in fact I hear more about this than I had anticipated. They describe a socially isolated but loving environment created by the manongs. Further, with US culture having no use for them as a straw dog for domestic-born Black and Latino populations, my pre-1965 respondents do not describe the toxic pressures of model minority controlling imagery. However, they

recount direct anti-Filipino racial hostility. This shapes their school experiences. Because he speaks clearly about conditions under Jim Crow segregation and the supportive embrace of the manongs, we roughly follow *Arnel's* story through the pre-1965 wave.

Segregation: No Filipinos Here

The pre-1965 wave of immigrating Filipinos see and speak about neighborhood segregation in terms of racial demographics, observing and at times experiencing formal and strict racial boundaries. The oldest respondents share experiences of living in legally segregated neighborhoods. Several mention the historic racial dividing lines of cities with historic urban enclaves of Filipinos from the manong generation. Cities such as Stockton, San Jose, and San Francisco were historic congregation points for the agrarian workers in that earlier generation. I share the following accounts which reflect the awareness of *race and place* held by these pre-1965 wave individuals.

Although an outlier for his age, Arnel is emblematic of his wave and generation and so I follow him through these accounts. Arnel is in his nineties and the son of a manong and (rare) manang. He grew up in the Central Valley, his family founding a labor camp. His lived experience allows him to understand how the pre-civil rights legal regime constructs a *yellow peril* style pan ethnic threat (Espiritu).

I mean, there was already a lot of discriminatory things. But in terms of the legal, the law, the seed was right here. ... you gotta know that there was already a history of anti-Asian things, okay? Before my time, the Chinese came and then they were excluded, okay? The Japanese came and they got

so successful that they again included (in exclusion). ...there are signs on 99 Highway, 'no Japs wanted' ... So we piggybacked on that. They excluded the Chinese, they excluded the Japanese, now it's the Filipinos turn. (Arnel)

Many of my respondents share similar family histories. Many stories converge in Stockton; however, other families settled in the Bay Area, Pacific Northwest, or California's Central Valley. In all cases, Filipinos knew what neighborhoods other races occupied, and where *they* were supposed to be. Blasa shares her understanding of the division of Stockton.

But predominantly, North Stockton was White. South Stockton was Mexican and Filipino and Asian. East Stockton was kind of, I can't think of a better term than that, like our Okies, you know, kind of the lower income White. ... And then African Americans that were sprinkled throughout Southeast and that kind of thing. (Blasa)

Blasa's educational story crosses the end of legal segregation, and the beginning of bussing. Crisanto is older, and his education and youth took place entirely before desegregation. He shares a similar awareness of the racialized neighborhoods of the California Bay Area.

In San Jose, there was the, what they called the North side of San Jose, was the Japantown, Chinatown, and some of the

Filipinos lived there. But in our part of town, like I said, it was mainly Hispanic and Italian. (Crisanto)

This wave also directly reports family experiences with redlining and residential segregation. Returning to Arnel, I share below his and Rizal's stories of how direct Filipino residential exclusion shaped their family histories. Rizal is closer in age to Blasa, about 15 years younger than Arnel, but in the same rough geographic region of Central California. Following Arnel below, Rizal describes the lasting effects of these redlined boundaries.

I know that before I was born, they had to be living in this area because they got evicted in Small City because they were living in the city limits and Filipinos were pushed out or they were pushed out nastily. (Arnel)

...it got better, but the whole thing is there was still prejudice, especially to the Filipinos. Like I remember, we were like ... a segregated area because we used to live in Beauregard. All the Filipinos did. It was ... one, two, three, four, five, six, seven families lived in Beauregard Avenue. (Rizal)

Arnel and Rizal grow up in neighborhoods that Filipinos, specifically, were put into. Although legal redlines were being challenged, racialized neighborhood exclusion made imposed geographic groupings relevant. Though not entirely voluntary, the racial enclaves this created were welcoming for Filipino Americans. Sebastian recalls his neighborhood in San Francisco as safe.

...discrimination is when you go out into the primarily White society. That's where you got the discrimination. But within our community, we're primarily Asian, Black, Latino. We had no problems. We all got along well together. (Sebastian)

While the external White world had rules, the social boundaries were not rigid. Crisanto recalls the rules of San Jose and how class and prestige insulated his family to a degree (among Filipinos).

There's a certain area that no Filipinos, no minorities were allowed beyond that, but our parents were allowed to go there because he (dad) became good friends with the mayor. The mayor really respected him, I guess because of the fact that he was trying to save his own culture, you know. ... my father was trying to save, you know, the Filipinos. (Crisanto)

Monoculture: Supportive Embeddedness for Pre-1965 Descendants

Segregation and neighborhood boundaries shaped an ethnic Filipino monoculture within them. Many of the pre-1965 generation grew up in proximity to the agricultural labor camps. As discussed above, the social stratification of Filipino Americans from White America at the time was enforced by legal residential discrimination, creating boundaries it was unsafe to traverse. However, being embedded in this, often supportive, ethnic setting created a strong sense of belonging and social identity for these respondents. I return to Arnel's story, where he describes childhood in the camp.

And actually, in terms of child rearing, I really remember feeling being raised by the manongs. I mean, they had no other families. ... when the manongs came back from work, they were free. So we'd go over there, we'd hug them, welcome them back, and help them peel off their clothes sometimes. And we became a family. In the early days, they would have campfires outside. They would sit around, gossip, talk, sing songs. And we were part of that. I remember as they were talking, an uncle holding me, laughing with me, playing with me, this kind of thing. (Arnel)

Sebastian describes austere conditions, but with a similar, strong, sense of belonging.

...we lived in a camp with all the manongs. We had a little ... like in Concord, you know, one room. ... there was four in that one room. No heat, no nothing. You know, it was the bare essentials. Same thing in Pescadero, but it's cold. If you've ever been there, especially like in the winter, it's cold. And so, you know, I think my brother came up with asthma. You know, he got asthma. But, you know, we got along well with all the manongs. Were the only boys, you know, young kids. So we looked upon them as uncles and they treated us as a part of their family. In fact, we were all family, you know, everybody helped each other, you know. (Sebastian)

Undoubtedly the manongs sought connection, I note these connections were reciprocated by Sebastian's family.

Even when my dad worked in the city of San Francisco, we would always go back and spend time with the boys. They would come to the house. They used our house as a safe house, you know, place they could go. So we had a place. So they were welcome any time they would come. (Sebastian)

Among the manongs there was broad, ethnic-specific, emotional support with few demands. There is also a strong boundary between this space and the outside world. All respondents sense that this Filipino space is both physically and *culturally* distinct from the wider, White, world. Darna describes the boundary from her childhood.

It actually was a totally different life from the outside world or the White world because the world that mom and papa created was ... not only was it a labor camp, it was also a social gathering point, not only just for the manongs that lived with us or the men that boarded with us, but also for local families who came to the pool hall... on the weekends they would have sabongs or chicken fights, right? So it was a gathering place, a social gathering place... (Darna)

In school in the 1950s, Daniela talks about the boundary she felt between these worlds. Daniela describes both sides of this boundary as traversable and does not describe discomfort.

But I sort of like had two sets ... I had my Filipino group that was all the pioneer families that I grew up with ... and a lot of my social activities were with them ... and then I had my education friends. It was like two different lives. (Daniela)

Affirmations: The Nest is Safe

The monoculture and boundaries created a strong sense of belonging. Returning to Arnel, he is clear about his reluctance to leave the camps.

...I didn't want to go to school I remember really fighting it. Yeah, it was scary for me. I'm surrounded by these Filipinos, very comfortable, nice way of life, not knowing what the White man's world was ... (Arnel)

Diwa did not grow up in the camps; slightly younger than Arnel, her manong father retrained as an electrician (Sebastian's father also switched occupation). We can see the manong generation maintained close social ties, which their children (my respondents) remember. These ties create a sense of belonging, even after families leave the camps.

My dad went to the Daguhoy almost every weekend. So the elders, they all knew who I was, of course, because I was the tag along. ... So I always felt safe anywhere I went. I knew if I ever saw them, I could run to them. (Diwa)

The manongs are happy about Diwa going to college. It is interesting, however, that she does not share a sense of expectation or investment from this environment.

*They were all laborers. You know, they were all laborers.
When I did go to school, it was a big deal. It was like, 'Diwa's
going to college, 'you know? (Diwa)*

Injuries and boundaries: You Son of a Gun Flips

Neighborhood segregation was structural for these respondents. However, specific encounters of Anti-Filipino sentiment can also be personal. Daniela shares her bewilderment coming to San Francisco from California's San Joaquin Valley.

*So we called another cab and then that cab came and we got
it. And then the original cab came and he goes, 'Oh you son
of a gun Flips,' you know, because we got on the -- I think
that was the only time I felt that way in San Francisco, you
know, like, 'What is a Flip?' You know? But I guess that's the
term they used for Filipinos in the late fifties. (Daniela)*

While the Central Valley setting Daniela left behind may appear to preserve civility, underneath the rural setting, the same racial status hierarchies were perceptible to those respondents who remained. As is often the case with racially concentrated neighborhoods, multiple hierarchies intersect. Rico describes this as a caste system.

*I was trying to give you like an idea, the caste system part of
it. You have to kind of think of it like when people looked at
White folks and they used to call them poor White trash.
Well, when people looked at us, whether they were Filipino
or whether they were Mexicans, it was like we were poor*

brown trash. ... they treated us okay ... But I knew, I was aware. ... they were respectful, that kind of thing. But I can feel that sometimes they're just ashamed to be around us.
(Rico)

Rico notes of relatively lower SES, there's always someone to look down on. Common to Rico, Rizal, and Arnel is the rural setting. Perhaps, having established neighborhood boundaries, and in relatively sparser contact, Filipino racial boundaries required less social maintenance. We can see from Daniela's story in San Francisco, however, that specific anti-Filipino racial prejudice still defines geographic boundaries in urban locations.

Pre-1965 Conclusion: Your kind go to shop

The broad impact of neighborhood segregation was felt by Filipino Americans in school. The racialized boundaries they perceive and deploy co-constitute their social experiences at school. A younger member of the pre-1965 wave, and Arnel's niece, Elsa describes growing up in post-segregation Seattle.

Back then, Bellevue was really, really lily White. When I went to school, you could count the number of people-of-color. And they would always try to match me up with the Mexican-American guy, someone that looks brown like you. So it was quite different. But now the East side, Bellevue area is a lot more diverse. (Elsa)

Elsa is acutely aware of not being White. She is also racialized as a generic ‘pan ethnic brown,’ which we may contrast with reports below from the post-1965 wave who report a proximity to pan ethnic Asian.

Elsa’s account of racialization may be classified as a microaggression. Older members of this wave describe direct experiences of racial domination in school. Describing being moved from his predominantly Mexican, Filipino, and Black elementary school into High School, Rizal talks about his experiences in transferring from general math into Algebra. Although Rizal is a generation ahead of Elsa, they are only about ten years apart in age.

You know, you’re Brown and all the White kids doing all the other shit. And we call the Brown kids on this. Black kids are all in this one class. The ‘ding dong club’ we call it. I says, ‘What are you putting me in this goddamn class?’ We transferred to algebra ... Then the next step was after that was geometry. ...now you’re going into different territory. You’re going to where all the White kids are now. That’s where they put them. They figure they’re smart, I don’t know, because maybe they got them in better schools. (Rizal)

The very oldest members of this wave have more direct reports of racialized ability groupings in school. Daniela and Huwan are among the oldest of my respondents. Both describe predominantly White schools, with racialized tracks.

I think most of the Swedes went to college prep. ... So I don't think that—the Swedes, I don't think their families were immigrants. And then a lot of the Portuguese were immigrants. (Daniela)

Daniela did not graduate from college but does not attribute her work aspirations to racialized tracking in school. It is interesting she contextualizes the tracking as due to immigration. Elsewhere in his account, Huwan shares similar attitudes as Daniela about integration. However, he is more blunt about his experiences with staff and faculty.

When I was a junior, you know how you go to an advisor or faculty person to see what your plans are? So I had filled out this piece of paper and I said it was college prep. This guy says, 'No, what are you doing that for? It's a waste of time. Your kind go to shop or agriculture.' (Huwan)

Amara is in the same immigrant generation and wave, but significantly younger than Daniela, Huwan and even Rizal. Her age puts her in a different historic period of desegregation, but it is interesting that she shares similar experiences in her school. Amara is, as is Rizal, of mixed ancestry with a Mexican American mother and Filipino American father. This, together with their rural setting and family occupational background, may shape her reception. Nevertheless, the racialized occupational tracking is clear.

...I think there were (college prep classes) ... but they weren't told to me so like I would go in and I would see a counselor.

And they, so let me give you an example, because my background, my parents were farmers, well my dad, a farm labor worker ... I was in a typing class, and they took me out of the typing class... they took me out and put me in FFA (Future Farmers of America), and I'm like, why am I in FFA?
(Amara)

Post-1965 Migrant Descendents: ...Not Necessarily For Me

The post-1965 wave of Filipino Americans entered under migration policies that specifically incited professional and middle-class individuals. These respondents inherit neighborhoods that are legally desegregated, but still racially divided by ‘white (and Asian) flight.’ My respondents are predominantly the children of those arriving in the late 60s and 70s, under the auspice of visa incentives for professionals, resulting in relatively higher socioeconomic status. Their parents create monocultures of their own, but many report ambivalence or estrangement from the cultural values communicated around healthcare and education. Where they encounter racism, it is most frequently anti- (pan ethnic) Asian. Though not immune to racial hostility, this wave also at times encounters model minority racialization, which conveys educational capital. As with Arnel in the pre-1965 wave, I try to trace the story of one respondent through the post-1965 wave. Jose is the son of a Filipina woman and white man, both professionals; he is himself a professional. Because he clearly describes the suburban experience, cultural alienation, and model minority racialization, we follow Jose through this wave. He is approaching 50 and so in the older half of my post-1965 respondents.

Segregation: Gentrifying Neighborhoods

The post-1965 wave of Filipino Americans inherits neighborhood diversity. This is an overall younger wave and grew up well after residential segregation was outlawed. For some respondents, courts had determined ‘mission accomplished’ on desegregation and officially shut down bussing programs for respondents’ school districts. As my younger pre-1965 wave respondents observe, long after residential segregation is made illegal, neighborhood segregation persists.

What is interesting is there is greater variety in neighborhood settlement patterns in this wave. Among the older respondents in this wave, US-born Jose is approaching 50, meaning he has early memories of school in the 1970s and 80s. Mixed ancestry respondents appear in both waves of my data. As with several respondents in this wave, Jose has a White father and Filipina mother. Though this shapes his reception from Filipinos, it does not detract from his expressed racial boundary setting. Here he describes growing up in the suburban Midwest.

Suburb was, Suburb was a pretty white place. It was, you know ... my friends were all like mostly Swedish, German. Although my mom has always been very active with the Philippine, Filipinx community, so I did go to a lot of community events. (Jose)

Paloma, as with Jose, also grew up in the suburban Midwest, though she is younger. Her account may suggest Filipino settlement has distinct patterns.

...the neighborhoods that I was living in were also very white too. I don't know. There was a South Asian family, Korean family down the block. But it was like, my family had a lot of family friends that were around in the suburbs. (Paloma)

Outside the Midwest, the neighborhood context is more diverse, but distinct racial patterns emerge for where Filipinos are being raised. Consuelo describes growing up in the Bay Area.

... like I remember growing up in Bay Area Town feeling like, wow, our school is very diverse. You know, like the boys I had crushes on they were all Asian, like it wasn't like white boys, like okay, maybe one or two. (Consuelo)

I share Consuelo's story for her description of diversity. These neighborhoods can be contrasted with respondents such as Rico and Rizal from the pre-1965 wave. The post-1965 neighborhoods Jose, Paloma, and Consuelo encounter are also racially mixed, but they are mixed with white and other pan-ethnic Asians.

Monoculture: Urban Melting Pot

The post-1965 wave of migrants also formed Filipino monocultures. As documented elsewhere (Espiritu, Ngai, others), these often germinate where new occupational migration patterns reunified families in the United States. The post-1965 monocultures are distinct from the pre-1965 forms for their urban nature, and because they are formed with intention. Anti-Filipino stereotypes have largely disappeared; for better and worse, cultural boundaries must be defined and asserted actively. Jose describes the work his

mother has put into creating community. I note both that this is his active cultural boundary work, and that he brings up family.

...well, definitely the group Cultural Organization of Filipinos that my mom hangs out with is a very tight Filipino community. And they have a lot of events. I think I always, and of course, when I'm with my family in California ...

It is true that this wave is characterized by the greater education and wealth of migrating individuals (parents). Because of this, the post-1965 first generation sometimes has the option to settle in suburbs and other economically privileged areas. However, not all stories describe generational wealth. I share Consuelo's experience of extended family and casual, non-intentional Filipino community. She describes hanging out at the salon her grandmother (Nana's) worked at.

We also sometimes went to Daly City, because Nana had the salon she worked at. And sometimes I would end up going there to just like spend the day. ... And we would hang out sometimes, cousins would be there mostly just like family friends, you know, like in the salon. ... I also found the salon kind of boring. ... some of the times when we would go the kids would be there too. And then we'd play make believe whatever ... hide in the rooms that we could ... Yeah it was definitely more fun when they were there. But overall, this salon was like, kind of boring to be at. (Consuelo)

Consuelo is not uncomfortable but does not develop the same sense of easy attachment that Diwa, Arnel, and Daniela describe with the manongs. I note that Consuelo's family is economically mobile, her parents both professionals as is she – though Nana worked in service.

The post-1965 wave parents established relationships with other Filipinos, and thus their families were able to experience monoculture. In contrast to the loving belonging described by the pre-1965 wave, respondents in this wave describe the encountered monoculture with some ambivalence. US-born Marasigan is among the older respondents in the post-1965 wave, though not the oldest. I share a slightly longer excerpt from his interview to offer a sense of who and how these post-1965 monocultures form and *whom they serve*. Though not hostile, the ambivalence of this wave is in strong contrast with the broad sense of easy belonging reported by the pre-1965 wave.

...they (my parents) always had their Filipino friends. So it was like all the other officers or their families, they were just all Filipino and they just grouped together, which kind of makes sense because as I said, as kids, we were always diverse, but my parents and their friends, they're always together, the Filipinos. And that's what I noticed when I go back to visit, like in Vallejo, their military families, they're all together as Filipinos. ... Though my dad never really talked about any discrimination in the service, but maybe he was just trying to protect me from it, my uncle as well. ... I mean, this memory sticks out in my head when we go to my

other family friends party or something like that. And then they'd invite other military people in and not just exclusively Filipinos. But I remember this one instance where all the Filipinos were in the garage, were in the food, and all the other non-Filipinos were in the living room. So it's really weird. This was maybe when I was maybe 15 or 16 years old. But to this party, it was like, well, this is kind of different. And also growing up where my parents would say, oh yeah, they look American. They always just refer to Americans as White people. So that's the color. White is American.
(Marasigan)

Astillo is close in age to Marasigan. His father also served in the US military, marking his childhood with regular relocation. Here he describes finding himself in Filipino spaces.

It was mainly Filipinos (when I was little). You know, I think once in a while there would be a white guy or because my dad loved to play guitar. And he was in a lot of bands. So everyone we hung out with was mainly Filipino. And then once in a while there, you know, there'll be a black or a white guy. *(Astillo)*

Marasigan and Astillo both perceive clear boundaries, creating a Filipino space racially as well as ethnically. Just as with Darna, Daniela, and Arnel in the pre-1965 wave, both Marasigan and Astillo perceive a White America outside this space. In describing the

monocultures, however, these individuals seem to describe embeddedness for their parents and not for themselves. None are unwelcome, but none describe the same effortless community closure and belonging. For these Filipino Americans, culture is not immediately comforting. I note my respondents never report hostile parents; rather, many respondents speak of how hard their parents work to support them. It is possible, however, that in meeting the higher priority needs of integrating socially and economically, these families unintentionally delegate the cultural embeddedness to chance or to the schools.

Affirmations: (Estranged) Cultural Capital

Returning to Jose's story, this ambivalent racialization may push respondents into a sense of pan-ethnicity. There is not always direct hostility pushing this, although I will return to examine within-Filipino injuries in the next subsection. I share Jose's experience of advocacy at work.

Certainly when I'm you know, when we're doing things as we will be tomorrow with the group of Asian employees, I feel ... Well I guess, I would say I probably do feel more Asian American than Filipino. (Jose)

Post-1965 respondents report cultural occupational stereotypes. Pre-1965 Filipino-specific stereotypes were negative with patterns in what is affirmed as 'Filipino' by others. The culturally affirming path for post-1965 has specific prescribed roles. Tania talks about the messages she received about school. We can see there is a sense of expectation in the imagery of what is more authentically Filipino. This is in contrast with

the pre-1965 wave, which did not share expectations for a distinct occupational pathway (though with messages about broad class). Tania is given a map for how to be Filipino.

...I think the narrative was definitely ingrained as like going to USF for nursing. And that was really – that's the only path I knew to follow. ... so I graduated with my bachelor's but right after I graduated I never to the NCLEX licensing test. And I ended up actually falling in love with teaching. But I always knew I didn't want to do nursing. (Tania)

This wave is often taught about the manong generation in ethnic studies. They also contend with strong occupational segregation into nursing fields. Tania now teaches biology in a public school district. To unpack this emerging cultural role, I trace Tania's story further as she theorizes why there are few Filipinos teaching in the sciences. She speculates that the collective longing for a more supportive Filipino culture may have shaped this outcome.

*There was like one guy ... he taught math. ... I think most Filipino teachers that I've met have either taught social sciences or English. ... I think because the pathway into education, at least for Bay Area City, has kind of been through ... ethnic studies, I think **a lot of millennial Filipinos because we had so much lacking in our education**, I think there's that kind of renaissance. (Tania)*

Returning to Fernando's story, I share his own near approach to healthcare. Although he doesn't describe being pushed into a healthcare career path, he clearly is happy to escape it.

And so Southern University ethnic studies department is kick-ass, and the international studies department allowed me to kind of apply what I was learning in my ethnic studies classes in a more global lens. ... it matched what I enjoy doing and what I'm good at doing, certainly more than if I had attempted a pre-optometry track and what would have been miserable and awful all at the same time. (Fernando)

Paloma has similar healthcare plans. While she has academic success, she ultimately decides to switch to anthropology.

I think I just--- like always was like, in high school, I was like, 'I'm going to be a doctor.' So I'm going to take all, so obviously biology minor. So that's like all I did for two years, biology and chemistry and physics and ... a few humanities. ... I was still kind of studying to be a good student. But I think what I discovered, Jay, was I was actually just really good at standardized testing. And I wasn't necessarily good at like, the other kind of thinking. (Paloma)

I probe for any sense that Paloma was pushed out by racialized tracking mechanisms, as described for the pre-1965 wave. She returns to the idea that pre-med isn't a good fit for her.

Those classes ... really challenging. And I was like—I don't know, by the end of my first two years, I was like, I just don't think I'm cut out for this-- kind of, like this, this kind of intellect, you know? (Paloma)

Affirmations for this, post-1965, wave are intertwined with racialized occupational expectations – and I note these are not confined to nursing, specifically. Combined with the intentional, institutionalized monoculture they encounter, this wave may experience less shared belonging.

Injuries and boundaries: 'What are you?'

If affirmations are tepid, at least the reports of racialization and hostility are fewer and never specifically anti-Filipino. This is in stark contrast to the pre-1965 wave, which reports anti-Filipino hostility. Where injuries **do** contain Filipino stereotypes, they are within-group. I return to Jose. He senses an in-group barrier to belonging.

But there's still times we get together and there's Tagalog jokes. I can't think of anything specifically ... I think it was just kind of always a constant sort of feeling when we're with my mom's friends that, you know, there's just parts of it I'm not going to really get. Were not going to be, not necessarily

for me. And it still happens. I mean, it's still ... I still get that feeling often. (Jose)

Jose's account is both personal and painful. However, it is not racism nor a racial microaggression, technically. While reports of race-specific hostility are fewer, they are not absent, and I do not intend to minimize them. Where this wave encounters racial hostility, it is often simple white supremacist or pan ethnic hostility. Sonya reports feelings of misgiving going into a bar in the rural Midwest.

I swing that door. It was noisy ... I walk in that door ... and the whole room just got quiet and everybody turned and looked at me. I thought, 'oh shit, this is what they say. I'm going to die here.' (Sonya)

Much younger, US-born Galit casually shares his more direct experiences of growing up in the suburbs of a large city on the East coast.

You know, I was called chink a bunch of times growing up. You know, people, you know, didn't understand some of the food that I ate. I didn't, I was like one of the kids that excelled academically ... So I think that also contributed to a little bit of the bullying ... (Galit)

Galit and Sonya confront racial hostility. Though undoubtedly intimidating (and not better), neither experience involves the direct anti-Filipino sentiment that Daniela and Huwan encountered. While Galit describes anti (pan ethnic) Asian slurs, mixed ancestry

Filipinos also report more broadly misdirected hostility. Jose, again, shares his experience in the Midwest.

No, I mean, I guess I've felt discrimination or racism, but it's usually from someone who ... more think of me as Latinx or Native American even. ... It's mostly stupid, ignorant stuff. And it's been a while. (Jose)

Julie, also of mixed ancestry, reports what might be considered microaggressions or micro-invalidations. It is undeniable that none of these individuals were racialized as white. Julie and Jose, however, both have one white parent and are not reliably placed into a pan ethnic Asian category.

But yeah, I feel like in both, in like more White spaces, people would be like, 'Oh what are you?' Or like other, you know, people would be like, 'Oh, you're a Latina. You're part Black.' Like people would ask lots of other questions like other, I don't know. People would just be like, 'what is, what's going on with you?' (Julie)

These, at-times acute, but misdirected experiences likely send messages of racial stratification, but do not necessarily assign a value to Filipino cultural capital for respondents. If the message before 1965 was about where Filipinos belonged, the collective post-1965 racial message is about where individuals do and don't belong.

Post 1965-Conclusion: Model Minority Educational Capital

In addition to the healthcare-related messages of Filipino identity, respondents in this wave also detect their racialization conveys cultural capital in the form of *educational capital*. Respondents identify and report the model minority side of pan ethnic racialization. Jose describes the experience very clearly.

But I guess I would say that some of the decisions I made and life choices probably were just like. All the positive reinforcement you get as an Asian American in the fields of science and math, like. Maybe you see yourself represented, maybe that's the expectation society has of you so. ... I might have felt weirder and out of place in theater or creative writing ... (Jose)

Fernando grew up in the Bay Area, which continued to have Filipino-specific racial stereotypes far into the 1990s, when he was young. The broader Bay Area's racial ideologies for Filipinos did not specifically extend into the school context for Fernando. It is interesting to note that Fernando, as with Jose, Juan and Julie, has one White parent – however his experience and the ideologies shaped by place are inevitably shaped by the high concentration of Filipino Americans in the region.

...it never felt like there was a—like, a stereotype or an expectation that, as a Filipino, you'd be in particular classes or in particular tracks. Not as a Filipino, but as an Asian

American. I feel like we were lumped all together in that.

(Fernando)

Fernando and Jose grew up in very different regions of the US. Both describe both being collected with other Asians, and an accrual of academic expectations that scholars have described as uniquely Asian educational capital (Lee and Zhou 2017).

Conclusion and Limitations

I asked how cultural embeddedness for pre- and post-1965 waves of Filipino Americans led them to understand educational mobility differently, in relation to their racialization experiences and the defining Filipino culture they encounter. To answer this, I compared how Filipinos from pre- and post-1965 waves of migration experienced racialized boundaries, specifically as described in formally and informally segregated neighborhoods. I examined how this shaped their experience of belonging in Filipino heritage, how Filipino-only spaces (Filipino monocultures) shaped the way they experienced cultural embeddedness, and attitudes towards educational mobility. I find strong evidence that Filipino Americans from both pre- and post-Hart Celler waves of emigration strongly value education. However, the context of cultural capital formation for the pre-Hart Celler wave is less transactional, lending itself less to educational credentialism that may alienate Filipino students. Individuals in the post-Hart Celler wave benefit both individually and structurally from institutional reforms seeking to value Filipino cultural capital. In addition, they benefit, *sometimes*, from model minority educational capital. However, the experience of deploying this capital is shaped by the commodifying context which shapes their Filipino ethnic spaces.

It is a limitation and an opportunity for further study that I haven't attended to how the experiences of segregation and monocultural embeddedness differ across gender. Intersectional scholarship of Filipino occupational segregation emphasizes the gendered domination of Filipino *Offshore Foreign Workers* (Hwang and Parreñas 2021; Parreñas 2015); for Filipino Americans, Choy and others analyze racialization within gendered occupations—nursing—that Filipino-American migrants are imagined as occupying (Choy 2003). Gender analysis of Filipino American history often emphasizes the overwhelmingly male composition of 1920s agrarian migration (Espiritu 1996; Ngai 2014). Contextualizing US imperialism presents an opportunity to address racism's “presentism,” (Go 2018:5), particularly for colonized groups such as Filipino Americans. The projection of colonialism and postcolonialism as imperial projects (San Juan 1998) is deeply intertwined with explanations of how gender impacts Filipino racial stratification. Future work should address this; as Choy (2003:7) notes “the origins of Filipino nurse migration to the United States are not new, but rather, lie in early twentieth-century U.S. colonialism in the Philippines.”

My findings contribute to and enhance previous analyses of how devalued heritage culture harms academic attainment. Specifically, theories of *cultural suicide* – the pressure to distance oneself from devalued heritage culture in predominantly white spaces (Museus and Maramba 2010) – may understate injuries in belonging due to cultural estrangement. Seeking to maximize cultural capital in post-1965, model minority racialized, school contexts, post-1965 respondents distance themselves from the *culture of mobility* their parents create in monocultural spaces. Instead, they directly leverage the model minority educational capital they are presented with. The pre-1965 wave describes

less of this culture of mobility in their agrarian, working-class parents. Combined with less access to educational capital, the pre-1965 wave has no incentive to commit *cultural suicide*, the severing of heritage cultural values to navigate predominantly white institutions (Yosso 2005; Yosso et al. 2009). Instead, this wave expresses much greater ambivalence about the white educational world.

Similarly, characterizations of *bicultural identity* (Warikoo and Carter 2009) within the post-1965 wave of respondents may oversimplify how the US born Filipino experience fits into model minority racialization. Although they may deploy educational capital, they do not necessarily identify *as* model minorities. Instead, confronted with *culture of mobility* messages that affirm ethnic identity only under conditions of economic mobility and commodification, these individuals describe seeking deeper connections to Filipino identity. In contrast, pre-1965 individuals encounter neighborhood segregation presenting them with clear racial status positions.

These limitations are enhanced by my comparison with the pre-1965 wave. The post-1965 wave expresses ambivalence and even at times an emerging opposition to what could be characterized as their **parents'** minority culture of mobility. In comparison, the pre-1965 wave describe a no-strings-attached sense of Filipino belonging. Not unexpectedly, without the promise of model minority educational capital and the presence of nursing tracks, the pre-1965 wave is more interested in education as a means of escaping agrarian roots than performing social mobility.

Together with evidence that Filipino Americans are experiencing divergent paths, depending on the wave of their migration, I suggest these findings could constitute evidence of differential racialization for individuals in either wave. Further, the post-1965

wave describes a minority culture of mobility in their foreign-born parents. The US born generation of the post-1965 wave are more likely to begin life middle-class, and do not have the same motivation to escape agrarian racialization. However, they resist the control of healthcare racialization, and not middle-class status per se. Comparatively, the greater racism and stronger sense of heritage embeddedness convey a sense of Filipino belonging in the pre-1965 wave. Their perceived value of Filipino cultural capital may be racialized in a non-model minority way. Together with the lack of educational pressure, these individuals report a strong motivation to escape agrarian work, but not pursuit of social mobility in itself.

It is one limitation of my study that I do not control for or directly observe Filipino physical variation. Scholars find, and my respondents describe, how different racial hierarchies assign authenticity – and thereby assign cultural capital. While I observe and systematically analyze those of my respondents who have mixed ancestry, I do not theorize nor control for this in a significant way. This variation may also present significant variability in how individuals' access and deploy cultural capital (Vasquez 2010).

Nevertheless, this data suggests that Filipino racialization changes between the two major waves of migration. Limited age controls, and cross-checking for understanding and description of racial segregation suggest that this shift is not due to historical period. While I cannot conclude that racialization is fully shaping cultural attitudes towards education, the context in which culture is formed suggests that individuals will see deploying it, and will navigate racialized educational hierarchies of culture, in different ways.

Conclusion: Race, Socioeconomic Status, Culture, and Filipino American Educational

Attainment

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The Influence of Race and Socioeconomic Status on Filipinx Educational Attainment

Across three separate studies, I investigated the historic educational attainment and income trends, the contemporary educational attainment trends, and the physical & cultural context of Filipino Americans. I find broadly, in the decades leading up to 1960, US born Filipinos and migrating Filipino men have lower educational attainment than their peers in the decades starting with 1970. Further, in the pre 1960 decades, US born Filipino Americans attain college at lower rates than whites, but US born women attain college at higher rates than whites starting in the 1990s (with men superseding whites in the 2010s).

I find Filipinos overall attain college at higher rates than whites, African Americans, and Latinos, (for the decades after the year 2000), when controlling for state, age, and gender. However, I find this is largely due to the educational attainment of US born Filipinos from the post-1965 wave of immigration. Although this wave attains college at very high rates, I find they show evidence of model minority racialization and opposition to perceived Filipino *minority cultures of mobility*. In contrast, their peers in the pre-1965 wave describe strong cultural embeddedness and belonging.

Contribution

The quantitative results in my work 1) provide a comprehensive historical portrait of Filipino American college attainment and 2) provide substantiating evidence of divergent Filipino racialization (as operationalized by educational attainment). This may support and begin to illustrate mechanisms for previous work describing the non-Asian racializations of Filipinos (Chutuaape 2016; Ocampo 2016) and conflicting work

describing segmented incorporation paths of these families (Nadal 2020; Ong and Viernes 2012; Takei et al. 2013).

As I mention in paper two, the shift in college attainment before and after 1965 is greater for Filipino Americans than for any other US born group. By comparing these waves via in-depth interviews, I offer additional empirical support to previous work constructing the post-1965 ethnicity struggle as one of decolonization (Balce 2016; Choy 2003; San Juan 1998; Strobel 2001). By showing, within Asian American racialization, how the resistance to minority cultures of mobility dampens *model minority* STEM and healthcare attainment modes in this wave, my work may suggest connections between cultural meaning-making and racialization.

Finally, I add to previous work showing a unique penalty of Filipino ethnicity (Gambol 2023). Resistance to Filipino cultural commodification may constitute a direct mediating process upon attainment. Among those working demographically to decompose the relationship between class, culture, and attainment (Lee and Zhou 2017; Zhou and Bankston 2020) some directly observe there is a weaker connection between culture and attainment (Liu and Xie 2016).

Discussion

The cohort of pre-1965 wave Filipino Americans, born to the foreign-born *manongs*, the immigrant second generation has been referred to- and refers to themselves as the *Bridge Generation* (Cordova 1983; Jamero Sr 2011; Jamero Sr and Colond 2024). This generation organized to bring support to the aging *manong* generation, and to preserve Filipino American history (Cordova 2020). Scholars in this generation, many first-

generation college students, analyzed and documented how the unique social, legal, and economic landscape shaped a cohesive shared identity (Lott 2006).

I briefly share the history of the early members of this wave for two reasons. First, because as US-born Filipino Americans, many in their 80s and 90s, they directly contest the painful *forever foreigner* stereotype for Asian Americans. Second, although my data show the demographic impact of this wave is slowly being engulfed by post-1965 families, they may have important lessons for navigating Filipino racialization. The dominated ethnic spaces that this wave encountered clarify the existence of stratified cultural hierarchies. Where domination makes clear the invisible weight of whiteness (Bonilla-Silva 2012), at times veneration – as can happen with *model minority* racialization of post-1965 Filipino Americans – can obscure the racializing nature of cultural stratification. The cultural performances and ethnic belonging relegated to Filipino history re-emerge in this post-1965 wave as academic charges of *symbolic ethnicity* without the power-aware corollary of a sociology of cultural production and consumption (Banks 2024).

Previous work documents non-Asian racialization and/or panethnic racialization in alignment with Latinos and not Asians (Ocampo 2016). My qualitative findings provide evidence pre-1965 *wave* Filipinos experience racialized ability grouping and tracking, supporting an element of this thesis for one Filipinx subgroup. My quantitative work shows post-1965 US born Filipinos attain college at very high rates, and respondents describe model-minority racialization. However, as I note below, it is possible more variation occurs within- professional tracks among Asian-American subgroups. Specifically for a Latinization thesis, push-out from more prestigious

professional pathways, for example from pre-medical to nursing, may support Ocampo's thesis.

Finally, though not a primary area of focus for this work, because of previous work describing gendered paths of migration, occupational segregation, and racialization (Espiritu 2008; Ngai 2014), I analyze college attainment for gendered results. Paper 2, Figure 2 clearly shows Filipina women attain college at rates higher than White women and men, but *not* clearly higher than Asian men. Yet as Paper 1, Figure 5 also clearly shows, the average individual income of these highly educated women (regardless of nativity) lags behind all men. As predicted by scholars analyzing the projection of US political interests into the Philippines, historically (Ana 2016; Baldoz 2020; Glenn 2004; Ngai 2014) and contemporarily (Fojas 2014; Parreñas 2015; Reyes 2019), this empirically constructs Filipina women in a complex social status position.

Colonial and racial imagery may continue to exert control over Filipina women, even where indicators such as relatively high college attainment indicate middle class status. The gendered history of colonialism in the Philippines begins with white female missionaries and bureaucrats establishing American-style education (Baldoz 2020; Choy 2003; Glenn 2004). This "civic maternalism," to use Evelyn Nakano Glenn's (2004) characterization, may create a stratified femininity of respectability that continues to control Filipina women; in the post-1965 context, there is still evidence of racialized boundaries enforcing "authentic" Filipino culture (Espiritu 2001). Conversely, paper 1, Figure 5 shows Filipino men's income lags behind white and Asian peers, while Paper 2, Figure 2 shows approximate or higher educational attainment than white men. My work adds to findings that model minority racialization results in gendered earnings penalty for

men (Kim and Sakamoto 2014), and may extend colonial controlling images over women. The net effect is a complex stratification of Filipinos in multiple status hierarchies.

Future Directions

Filipino Americans are among the fastest growing immigrant groups in the United States. Demographers and scholars of Asian incorporation both disaggregate the heterogeneity of educational attainment within panethnic Asian and show educational *mobility* varies among groups (Fishman 2020; Gambol 2023). The post-1965 US born generation (the second immigrant generation) of Filipino Americans is increasingly old enough to have children of their own. Repeating the design of Ong and Viernes (2012), but adding a comparison between “third-generation” of pre- and post-1965 waves may clarify long-term trends in attainment. However, this logic runs the danger of replicating old errors theorizing assimilation without modeling domination. Studies of the third generation may profit from mixed methods that replicate on a wider scale the connection that these young Filipino Americans make between culture and education-driven social mobility.

The pre-1965 wave of migrants were predominantly male, and for this reason some US-born descendants may have mixed ancestry. I discuss this briefly as a limitation in my third paper. Other quantitative analyses of Filipino (and other Asian) exogamy posit partner choice as an indicator of racial boundary making (Gambol 2016b; Lee 2019). A deeper study of how Filipino American mixed ancestry shapes educational attainment by non-Filipino parent race, by immigration wave, and by gender, may support these theories of Filipinx racial boundary making. Supplemental analyses of the

census data do not conclusively show that exogamy is increasing or decreasing. Further study of mixed ancestry status *as a predictive variable* may show how it shapes racialization – as predicted by scholars studying mixed African-American status (Irizarry 2015).

Further There are clearly observed gendered disparities in Southeast Asian women's attainment (Jang 2018; S. J. Lee, Park, and Wong 2017). Historically, Filipina women have occupied both a domestically racialized and a globally colonized position (Espiritu 2001; Ngai 2014). Future work directly building on these findings could more directly focus on gender differences in cultural embeddedness and racialization. If intersections appear, as have happened for other communities (Bettie 2014; Diprete and Buchmann 2006; Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005), it may help contextualize Filipina women's apparent educational advantage. Filipino family structures bear further investigation.

Finally, my limited qualitative work also does not investigate political attitudes or political behavior. Yet Filipino identity, as for all Asian American, and for all racialized groups, is political. If relative socioeconomic success moderates political identity, it may mask or co-occur with assimilation as indicated by symbolic ethnicity, as observed for other groups. Explaining injuries of cultural connectedness as a resistance to commodification and minority culture of mobility –as I begin to show – might productively be used to unpack what we have talked about as internal racialized oppression (*IRO*) (Trieu 2018; Trieu and Lee 2018) or colonial mentality (*CME*) (David and Nadal 2013; Eisen 2019) in Filipino Americans. If there are generational alienations due to mismatch between a Philippine-born *immigrant* culture of mobility and the sense

of cultural commodification that racialized, US-born, generations detect, it may shed light on characterizations of apparent regressive attitudes such as IRO and CME within the Filipino community. A logical next step may be to model and compare the development of *linked fate* attitudes as a form of political group consciousness (Nicholson and Mei 2022). My research may suggest starting points for a deeper theorization and analysis of politicization by showing cultural alienation of some members of the post-1965 US born generation. It is an old argument that the US born second generation picks up on the decolonization efforts of the post-1965 immigrant generation (Strobel 2001); as political consciousness forms in a contemporary cultural economy (Banks 2024) we could learn much for how this “new” (Lott 2006) second- (and now third-) generation makes sense of very old messages of postcolonial (San Juan 1998) consciousness.

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Tables and Figures

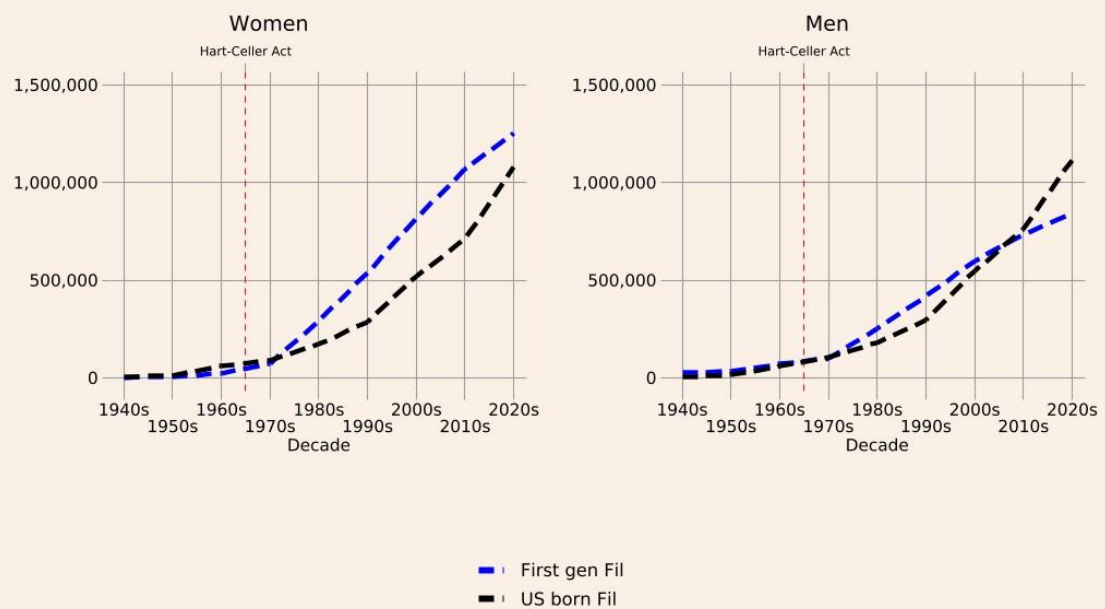
Table 2.1: Theorized Drivers of Filipinx Educational Attainment

Filipinx group	Pre 1965	Post 1965	<i>Factor</i>
Born abroad (1st gen)	Agrarian push/pull	(Hyper) selectivity	<i>Migration effects</i>
US born (2nd gen)	Inassimilable	Model Minority	<i>Racialization</i>
	Durable/consequential	Symbolic	<i>Ethnicity</i>
Hypotheses 1 and 2	H1: immigrant first gen Fil will have lower college attainment	H2: immigrant first gen Fil will have higher college attainment	
Hypothesis 3	H3: US born Fil will have lower college attainment	H3: US born Fil will have higher college attainment	
Hypothesis 4		H4: immigrant first gen and US born Fil will have converging college attainment rates	
Hypothesis 5		H5: immigrant first gen and US born Fil will have lower income	

Table 2.2: Estimated Filipinx Distribution and Education by Decade

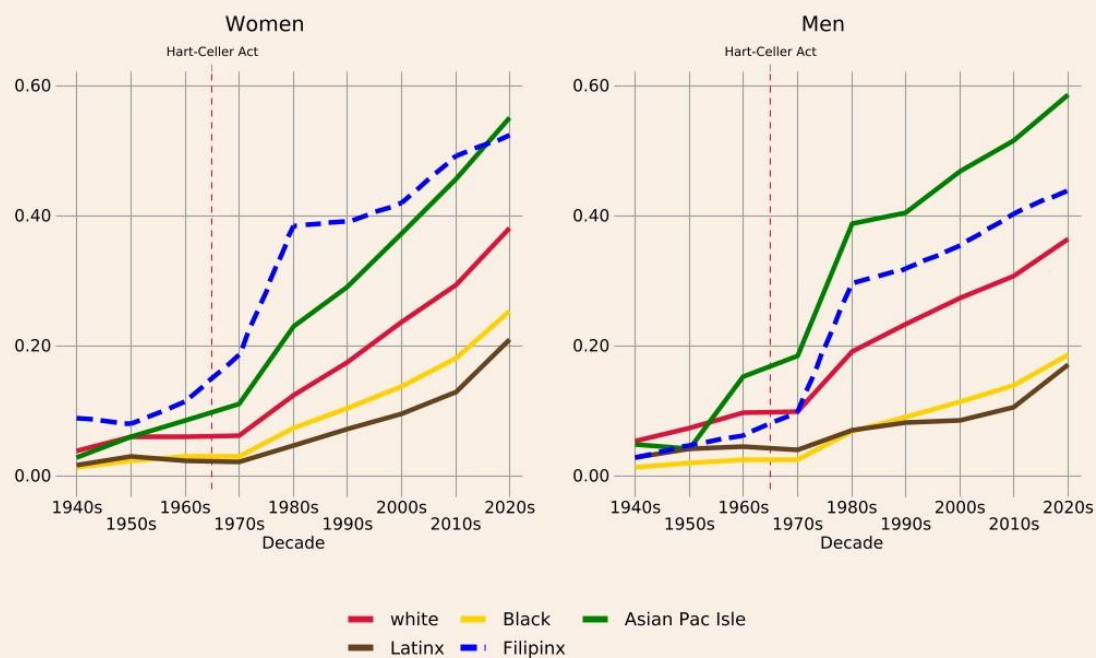
	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s	2020s
Count of									
1st gen Filipinx	28,214	42,521	95,959	172,700	543,800	960,232	1,415,152	1,804,110	2,092,252
US born Filipinx	8,976	30,342	121,529	198,800	354,000	584,329	1,068,910	1,472,770	2,196,191
% sex for Filipinx									
Male	0.828	0.712	0.607	0.552	0.483	0.464	0.461	0.457	0.456
Female	0.172	0.288	0.393	0.448	0.517	0.536	0.539	0.543	0.544
% education for Filipinx									
Less than HS	0.896	0.896	0.821	0.742	0.456	0.184	0.126	0.077	0.063
At least high school	0.104	0.104	0.179	0.258	0.544	0.816	0.874	0.923	0.937
At least college	0.033	0.051	0.079	0.138	0.344	0.359	0.391	0.454	0.487
Grad school	0.000	0.013	0.042	0.070	0.154	0.063	0.071	0.077	0.105
Income in 2010 dollars	8,028	12,286	18,274	26,533	31,678	34,760	37,826	38,463	42,285

Figure 2.1: Immigrant vs native-born Filipinx by decade



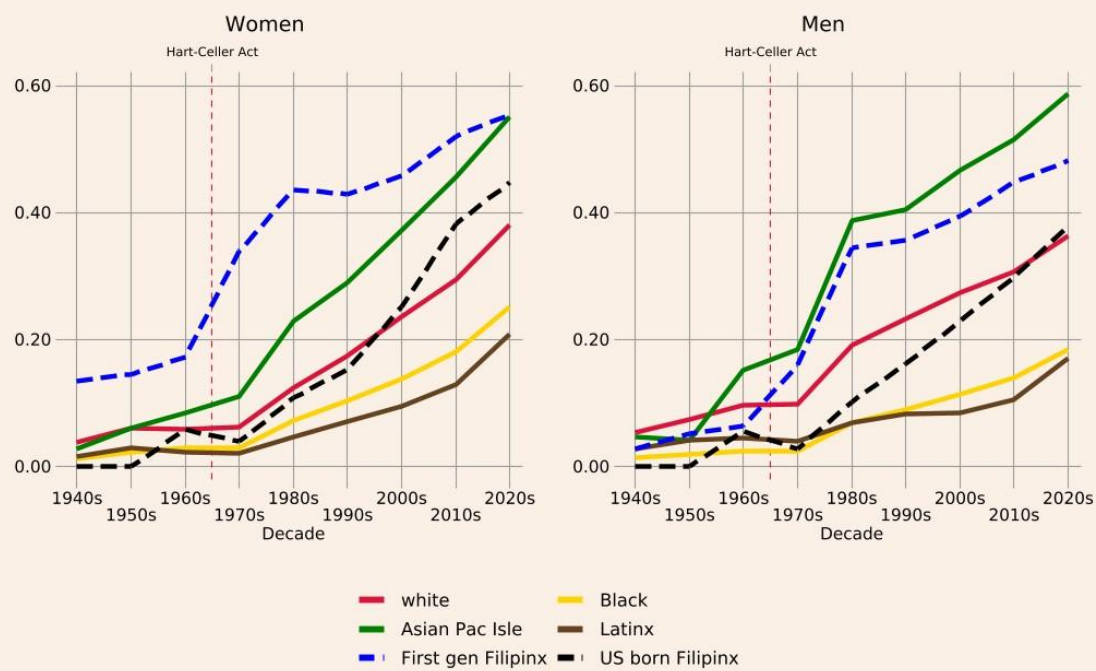
Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Matthew Sobek, Danika Brockman, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, and Megan Schouweiler.
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Figure 2.2: Proportion over 25 with college degree



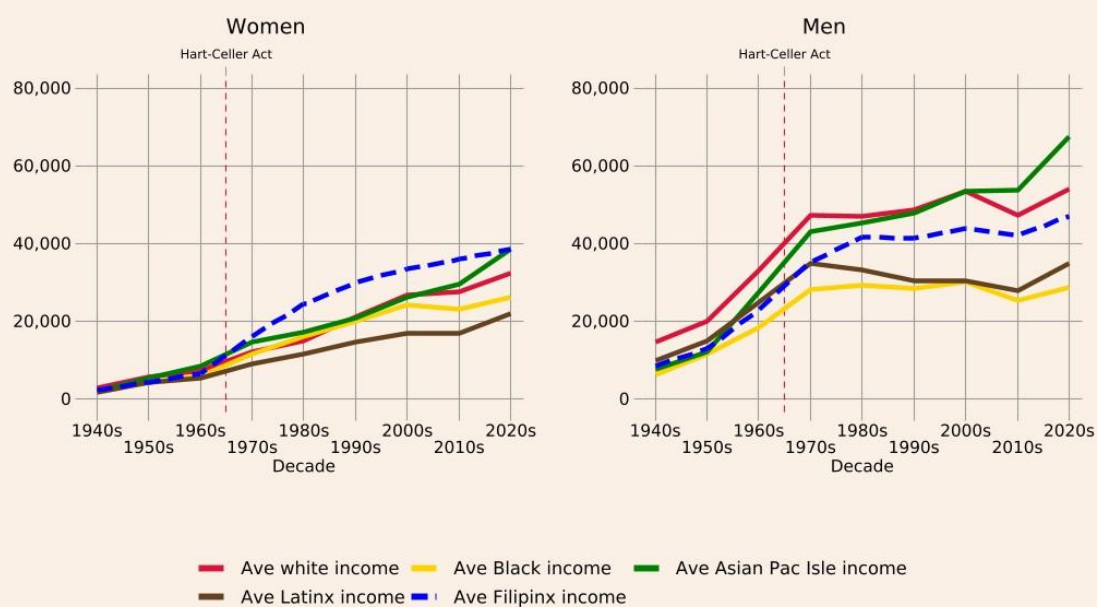
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Figure 2.3: Proportion over 25 with college degree



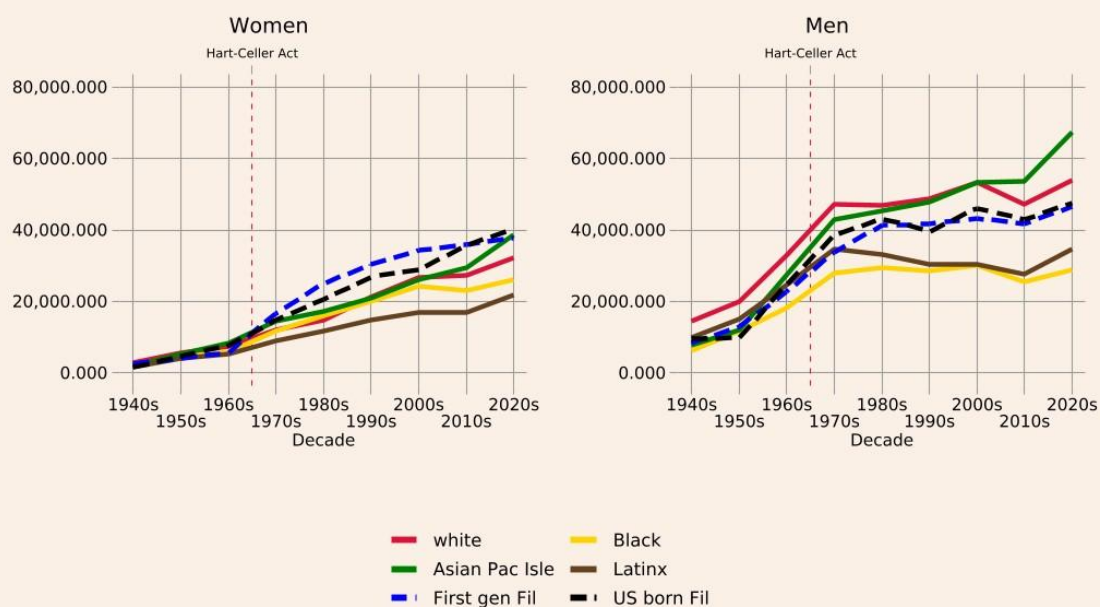
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Figure 2.4: Average income by race and gender
Adjusted 2010 dollars



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Figure 2.5: Average income by race, Fil nativity, and gender
Adjusted 2010 dollars



Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Matthew Sobek, Danika Brockman, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, and Megan Schouweiler.
IPUMS USA: Version 13.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2023.

Table 3.1: Weighted Descriptive Statistics including Fil nativity
among US born individuals reporting parents' migration wave

	White	Black	American Ind	Other Asian PI	Latine	Filipinx
Raw observations	4,303,917	568,566	44,701	234,065	628,883	56,423
College BA or more	0.320	0.186	0.133	0.496	0.148	0.471
Immigration after 1965						
Family pre-1965	0.945	0.887	0.976	0.196	0.463	0.262
gender						
male	0.483	0.457	0.484	0.474	0.500	0.420
female	0.517	0.543	0.516	0.526	0.500	0.580
Decade						
2000s	0.319	0.281	0.315	0.219	0.225	0.232
2010s	0.333	0.333	0.342	0.325	0.336	0.326
2020s	0.348	0.386	0.342	0.455	0.439	0.442
age	52	48	47	47	45	48

Pooled 2000-2020 samples. Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Matthew Sobek, Danika Brockman, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, and Megan Schouweiler.
 IPUMS USA: Version 13.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2023.

Figure 3.1: mean BA attainment by race/ethnicity
among US born individuals

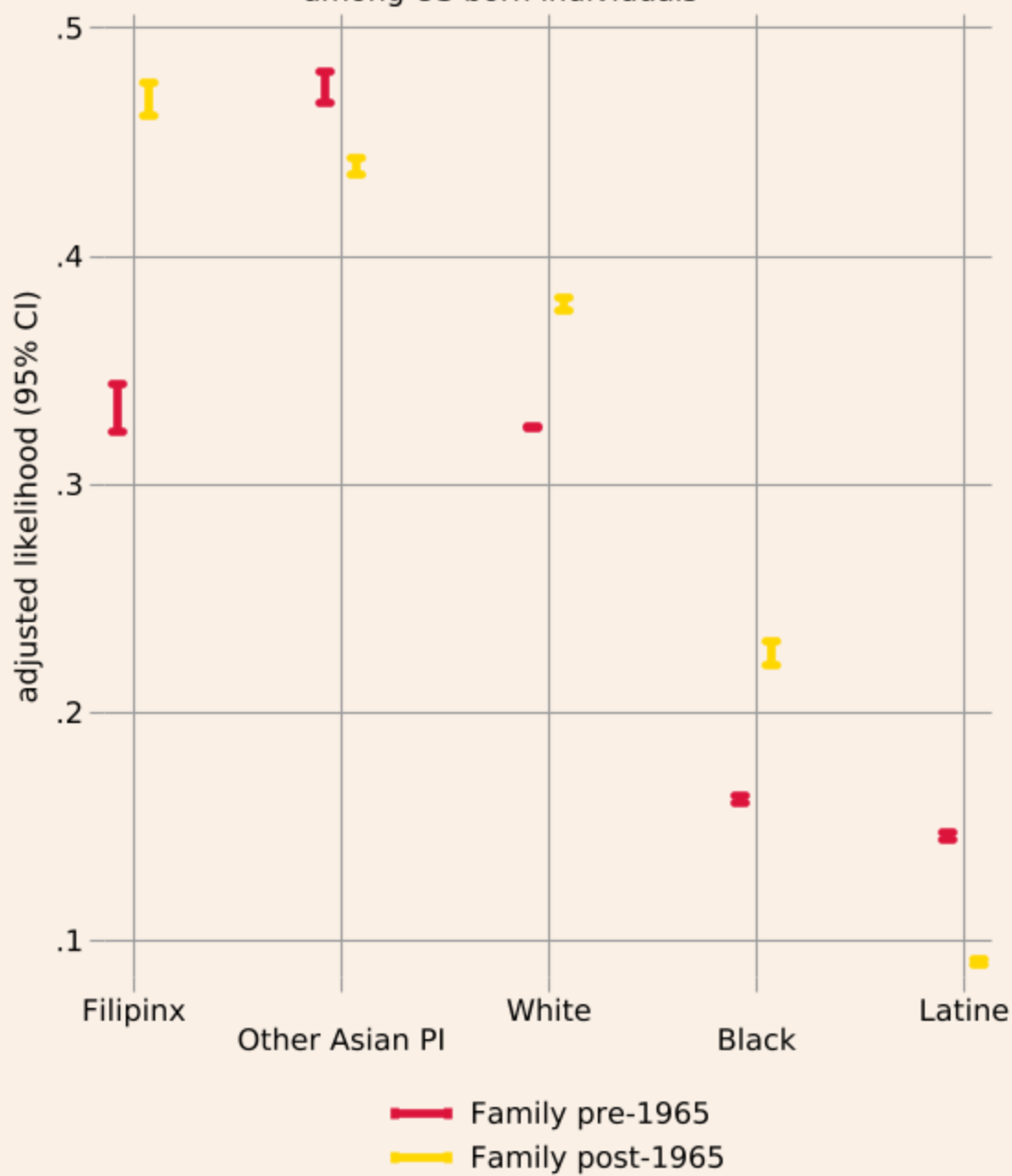
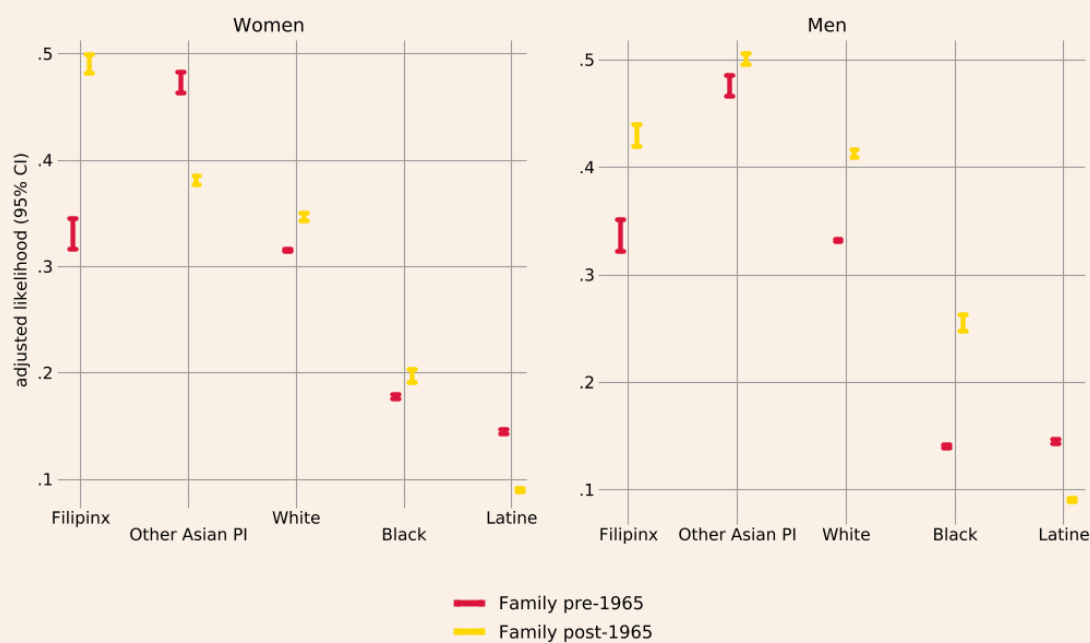


Table 3.2: Likelihood of attaining a bachelor's degree among US born individuals

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Filipinx	0.104***	0.099***	0.087***
	0.003	0.003	0.004
Black	-0.158***	-0.159***	-0.142***
	0.001	0.001	0.003
American Ind	-0.198***	-0.199***	-0.152***
	0.002	0.002	0.016
Other Asian PI	0.116***	0.110***	0.058***
	0.002	0.002	0.002
Latine	-0.213***	-0.215***	-0.262***
	0.001	0.001	0.001
Family pre-1965		-0.007***	-0.049***
		0.001	0.001
Filipinx X Par. pre-1965			-0.060***
			0.005
Oth Asian X Par. pre-1965			0.081***
			0.004
Latine X Par. pre-1965			0.174***
			0.003
Amer. Ind X Par. pre-1965			-0.071***
			0.018
Black X Par. pre-1965			-0.034***
			0.003
Observations	5,585,155	5,585,155	5,585,155

Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Matthew Sobek, Danika Brockman, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, and Megan Schouweiler. IPUMS USA: Version 13.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2023.

Figure 3.2: Mean BA attainment by race/ethnicity and sex among US born individuals



Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Matthew Sobek, Danika Brockman, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, and Megan Schouweiler.
IPUMS USA: Version 13.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2023.

Table 4.1: Available Sample Demographics

	<i>Ave Age</i>	<i>US born</i>	<i>Fil born</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Post Hart Celler</i>	47.09	11	5	6	6	16
<i>Pre Hart Celler</i>	67.54	18	0	7	11	18

Table 4.2: Distribution of Codes by Quotation

Code	<i>Post Hart Celler</i>	%	<i>Pre Hart Celler</i>	%	Total Quotations
<i>Impact of neighborhood segregation</i>	39	29%	94	71%	133
<i>Monoculture</i>	31	33%	63	67%	94
Total Quotations	261	42%	359	58%	620

Table 4.3: Distribution of Codes by Individual

Code	<i>Post Hart Celler</i>	%	<i>Pre Hart Celler</i>	%	Total Individuals
<i>Impact of neighborhood segregation</i>	10	37%	17	63%	27
<i>Monoculture</i>	10	43%	13	57%	23

Table 4.4: Summary of Findings

	<i>Family Pre-1965</i>	<i>Family Post-1965</i>
<i>Neighborhood segregation</i>	Legal, Shapes Tracking	Suburban and Gentrified
<i>Monoculture</i>	Embeddedness and Belonging	Detecting a <i>Minority Culture of Mobility</i>
<i>Racialized affirmations, injuries</i>	Anti-Filipino Subordination	Pan Ethnic Model Minority