UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

Where do I Stand? The High School Experiences of Filipino Students in the 1990s and
Their Effects on Obtaining a College Education

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Education

by

Nancijane Culannay Carolipio

June 2017

Thesis Committee:
        Dr. Margaret Nash, Chairperson
        Dr. Begona Echeverria
        Dr. John Wills

The Thesis of Nancijane Culannay Carolipio is approved:

_____

_____

_____

                                                      Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my parents and brother - Noel Carolipio, Sr., Nancy Carolipio, and Noel Carolipio, Jr. - for always pushing me to be the best that I can be. Without your unconditional love, support, and motivation, I wouldn't be where I am today nor would I be the woman that I have become. Thank you for everything from the bottom of my heart, I love you!

To my thesis advisor - Dr. Margaret Nash of the Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Riverside - there will never be a big enough thank you for your influence, guidance, and encouragement through my graduate school journey. Your constant and unconditional comfort, as well as challenge, has helped me grow immensely not only as a scholar, but as a person overall. I will forever be grateful for the impact you made.

Thank you to my professors, colleagues, and participants who shared their knowledge with me and assisted me with my thesis in various ways. This would not have been possible without you all!

To my closest friends - Lily, Jae, Nayely, and Crystal - I must express my very profound gratitude to you ladies, for always believing in me, motivating me, and being a great support system through such an important part of my life. You ladies have been there for me not only academically, but personally as inspiring, educated, and treasured women for the last 8+ years.

Thank you to all my other friends and family for their support and encouragement as I completed this degree.

Lastly, to my younger cousins, thank you for inspiring me to find my passion in life which is to help guide and inspire young generations like yourselves to pursue their dreams. Because I see the potential and dreams that each of you have, I plan to utilize my skills and passion to not only guide all of you towards your dreams, but other young people in society today.

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Where do I Stand? The High School Experiences of Filipino Students in the 1990s and
Their Effects on Obtaining a College Education

by

Nancijane Culannay Carolipio

Master of Arts, Graduate Program in Education
University of California, Riverside, June 2017
Dr. Margaret Nash, Chairperson

Abstract. In this paper, we investigate how the high school experiences of Filipinos in the 1990s affected their trajectories towards college in relation to Latinos versus Asians. Filipino American students remain invisible in the literature surrounding race and racism – especially in literature surrounding K-12 schooling related to academic achievement and persons of color. These students share similar school experiences with Latino students, yet Filipino American students are rendered invisible to these inequalities through their categorization of being Asian. Through eight qualitative interviews, analysis of newspaper articles from the 1990s, and the examination of yearbook pages of some of the participants, this study finds that institutional, social/cultural, and familial factors all shape Filipino students' educational experiences that greatly vary in results and impact trajectories towards college.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Figure 1.1

St. Lucy's Priory High School 2002 yearbook, pages 138-139

Queen of the Rings: A ceremony representing a time when the high school juniors were

"each presented a customized ring that portrayed each girl's individuality and uniqueness,

symbolizing unity as it had no beginning and end."
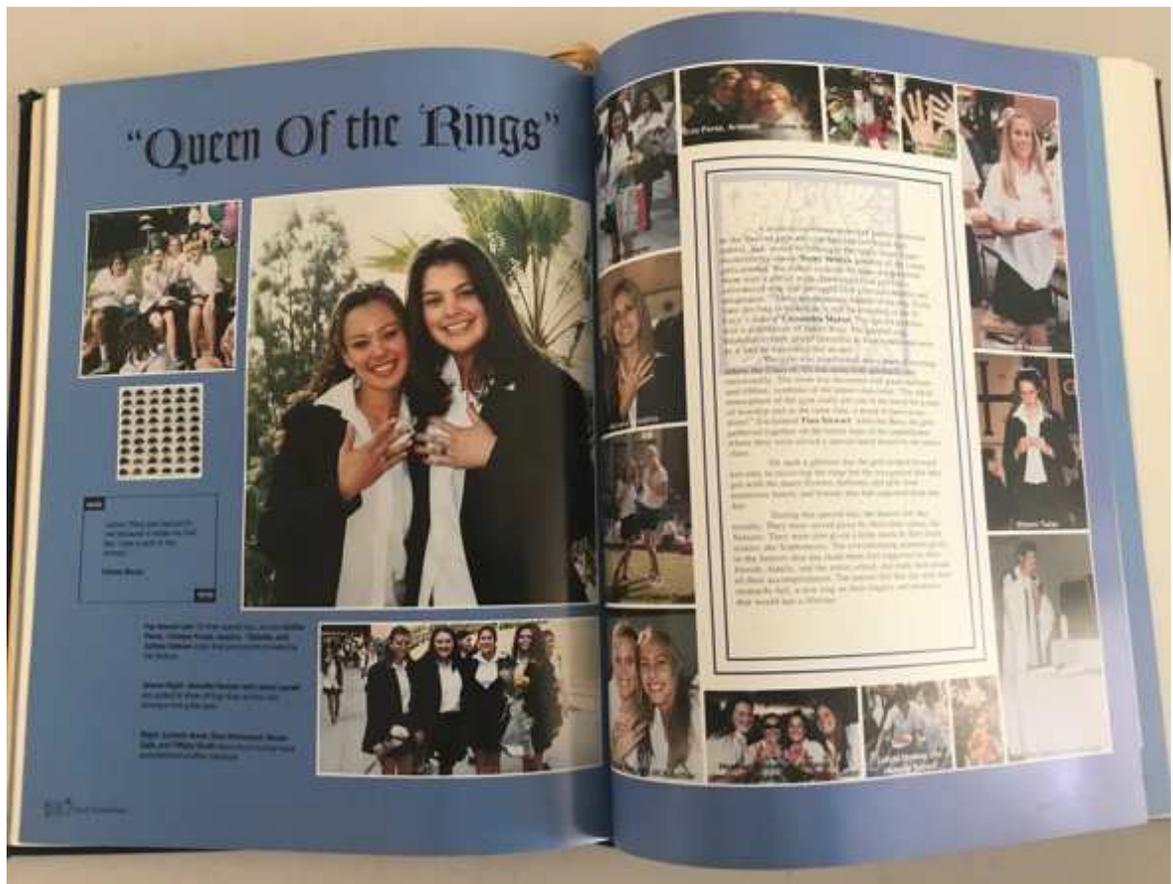
Figure 1.2

Narbonne High School 1997 yearbook, pages 38-39

Kiwins & Key Club: Kiwins had a mission of helping others in their community through various activities including helping the elderly, tutoring students, playing with children, helping at marathons, visiting convalescent homes, and giving food to the homeless.

Figure 1.3

Morse High School 1993 yearbook, back hardcover

Dedication page to the participant by one of his peers, reflecting the name he was referred

to as in high school along with artwork that the participant highly spoke about.
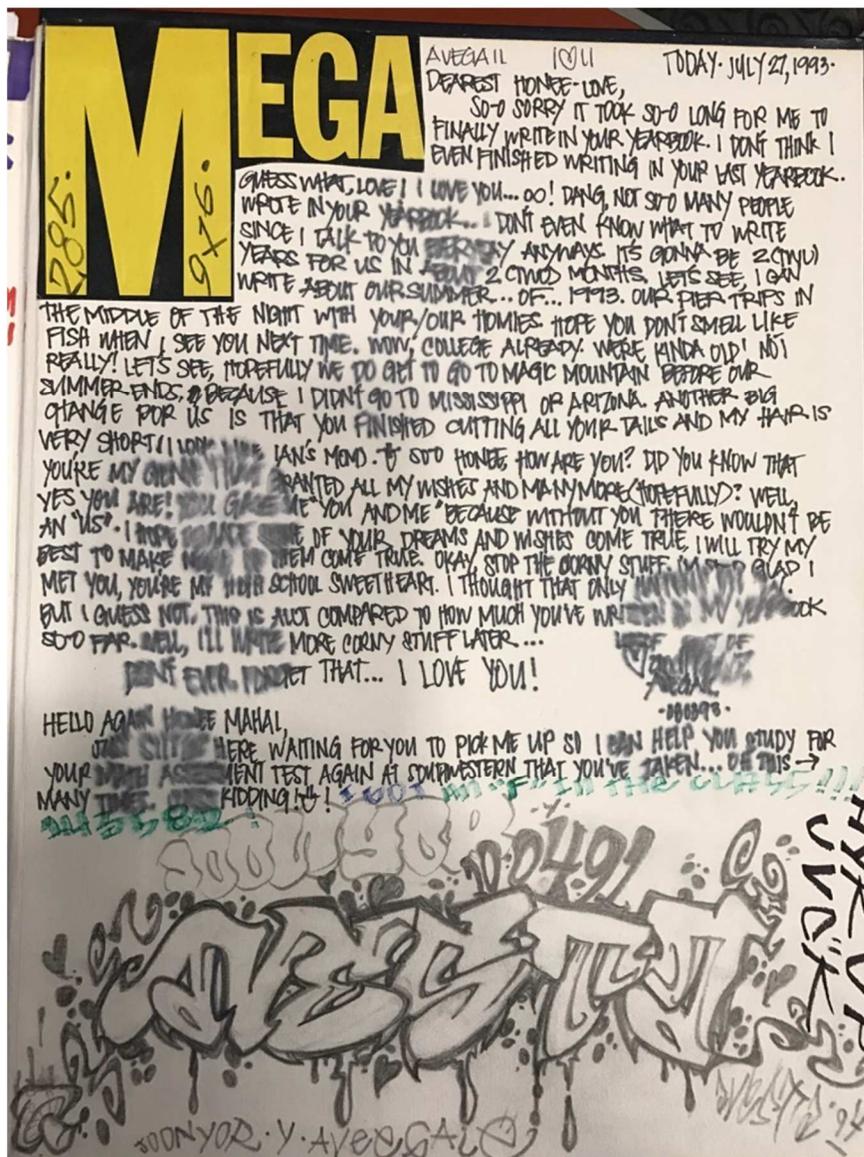
INTRODUCTION

Filipino American students remain invisible in the literature surrounding race and racism – especially in literature surrounding K-12 schooling related to academic achievement and persons of color. The little literature that does surround Filipino American students' school experiences focuses mainly on the model minority stereotype and ethnic minority perspectives. These students share similar school experiences with Latino students, yet society and schools categorize Filipino American students as Asian and therefore render them as invisible to educational inequalities. This study is framed around the 1990s because there were significant events happening in Southern California during that time regarding race relations, which possibly impacted participants' identity formation. Surprisingly, there was no impact whatsoever. Instead, I did not anticipate gangs and military influence to have such significant impact. Through my examination of the current and limited literature on Filipino American students' school experiences in relation to Latino students' school experiences, I will contribute to this body of literature on Filipino American students' experiences that need expansion. This comparison is important because by examining this invisible group, I will show how Filipino American students' school experiences are more aligned with Latino students' school experiences versus the model minority myth and ethnic minority viewpoint, further contributing to the literature. This important gap and underdeveloped area of research should be studied to better serve Filipino students in schools who are rendered either invisible or misunderstood in schools.

I conducted eight qualitative interviews, analyzed newspaper articles from the 1990s, and examined and analyzed yearbook pages of some of the participants to expand on the experiences of these students, to answer my research questions, and to contribute to the scarce literature on Filipino American students' school experiences that is more aligned with Latinos. The research questions for this study are: 1) How did the experiences of Filipino students in the 1990s affect their decisions to attend college?, 2) How did the familial, institutional, and social and cultural experiences of high school Filipino students during the 1990s affect their decisions to attend college?, 3) What familial, institutional, and social and cultural factors affected Filipino students' decisions to pursue a higher education?, and 4) To what extent are Filipinos' educational experiences and trajectories similar to those of involuntary and voluntary minorities? Ogbu (1998) defines castelike minorities as "immigrant minorities [who] may also have castelike relationships with the dominant group" (p. 166). He considered involuntary minorities—those who have been conquered, colonized, or enslaved [and] made as part of the U.S. society permanently against their will—as a part of castelike minorities (Ogbu, 1998, p. 165). Filipino American students remain invisible in the literature surrounding race and racism – especially in literature surrounding K-12 schooling related to academic achievement and persons of color. I conducted a qualitative study to answer these questions.

To answer the research questions and test the hypothesis, I asked participants open-ended questions about their high school experiences in relation to their families, society, and the institution. By gaining insight on students' educational experiences both

in and out of the classroom through answering these research questions, we can see

further what factors affected them the most and can provide them with more efficient,

meaningful, and necessary resources in school to better equip them for life after high

school. This will help us better understand the struggles and achievements these students

went through that shaped their time in high school. This will also fill a significant gap in

research and addresses a significant topic that goes unnoticed and is scarcely written

about, in hopes to have an impact and make an important contribution to the literature. In

this thesis, I first review the available literature, then I describe the methods and

participants of this study, discuss my findings, and conclude by discussing the research

that I am contributing to the current, scarce literature that is available.

LITERATURE REVIEW

My research builds on three sets of literature: Filipinos as Model Minorities,

Filipinos as Castelike Minorities, and Identity and the Filipino Educational Experience.

<u>**Filipinos as Model Minorities**</u>

Because Asian American students are viewed by society as model minorities

under the model minority myth, this means that they are seen as the minority "smart

kids." As a result, schools often overlook Asian Americans students' needs in schools

because they are automatically seen as smart, studious, intelligent, and hardworking

(Ocampo, 2013, p. 299). Their smartness was measured through their academic

success—more specifically their postsecondary preparation and opportunities, entrance

into college, high GPAs, and high academic expectations where their "educational

achievement levels equal or are greater than Whites" (Teranishi, 2002, p. 146).

Additionally, Pang et al. (2011) argue that the "ethnic minority viewpoint, which posits that as members of underrepresented groups, [result in] Asian American Pacific Islanders [being] victims of social bias and so face perennial obstacles to equity" (p. 378). Filipino students are seen as fully assimilated into society because of their hard work and cultural and familial values, where they are then viewed as the ideal group of people of color that other groups of color should strive to be like. Asian American Pacific Islanders' education is hampered when stereotypes of Asian American Pacific Islanders under the model minority designation reinforces the perception that equality in society is achievable (Pang et al., 2011, p. 379). This ignores the prejudices that they face, including prejudices that they experience in school.

Research shows that Filipino students' experiences in school are sometimes clumped with the large Asian ethnic group's school experiences. According to the United States Census Bureau (2015), there are "no current plans to classify Filipinos outside of the Asian race category. Filipinos are classified as Asian on Census Bureau forms, which specifically states that people whose origins are from the Philippine Islands are part of the category Asian." Within the school context, different pieces of literature categorize Filipinos under the larger Asian group. For example, Agbayani-Siewert (2004) stated that "culturally distinct ethnic groups such as Cambodians, Filipinos, Japanese, and Pakistanis are lumped into one racial category, Asian Americans" (p. 39). When Filipinos are categorized as Asian Americans, they are misinterpreted because Asian Americans are treated as a single, homogenous racial group (Teranishi, 2002, p. 144). Teachers and counselors "reinforced the model minority designation in their

interactions with the honors and AP students" (Ocampo, 2013, p. 306). This results in some Filipinos being expected to fulfill this model minority designation, while others experience negative results because they are designated in the wrong way. Filipinos are usually included among "Asians" and "Asian American" categories, and there are misconceptions about their school experiences; the stereotypes and discrimination that Filipinos face in schools are ignored (Nadal, 2008, p. 159). By examining the specific ways in which Filipinos' specific experiences differ from those of Asian descent, I will show how Filipinos in schools are being misperceived, which can in turn affect their overall school experiences. When Filipino students' experiences are stereotyped or categorized incorrectly, this can put Filipino students at a disadvantage because of the expectations and pressures placed on them (Nadal, 2008, p. 159). This can also lead to Filipino students internalizing negative feelings based on their categorization.

When being viewed under the larger Asian ethnic group and automatically placed under the model minority myth, Filipino students in schools develop feelings that make them feel misinterpreted. For example, Filipinos can feel pressured to conform to the "Model Minority" stereotype. Ocampo (2013) defines the model minority stereotype as "the idea that Asian Americans are inherently gifted intellectually or possess unique values that incline them to perform well academically—one of the most widespread and problematic cultural constructions about Asian Americans" (p. 299). Filipino students in schools are generally clumped as Asian American and are expected to perform and do well in school (Teranishi, 2002, p. 148). By categorizing all students of Asian descent into one group, research does not focus on Filipino students who do not do well in school,

drop out, or do not go to college. For example, Nadal's (2008) study focused on how Filipinos feel mistreated as an ethnic group and build resentment or hostility toward groups that are treated better (p. 159). This feeling of mistreatment was felt by these Filipinos because they were perceived by school administration negatively, as delinquents and failures. This could cause them to feel mistreated and inferior to other groups based on how they are perceived in school. By understanding that Filipino students are in fact different and not exactly like those under the model minority myth, better resources and support can be given to these students in a way that will be more efficient and tailored to them.

Additionally, by lumping different ethnic groups under one broad general group, the barriers Filipino students face in schools goes unnoticed because they are racialized as Asian American. Placing expectations on Filipino students that they must perform well and have adequate resources like other Asian subpopulations puts a large weight and pressure on these students (Ong & Viernes, 2012, p. 22). More specifically, Filipinos' educational attainment compared to Asian Americans is intergenerational downward mobility. Ong and Viernes' (2012) study cites that this is due to the racialization of Filipinos, Spanish cultural influences, culture, socioeconomic status, racial/ethnic discrimination, social capital, and the teaching of U.S. history and English in school. This sets Filipino students up for failure because of the inadequate preparation and resources that they receive in school, where they later have lower college completion rates. For example, Ong and Viernes (2012) found that the college completion rate for Filipinos was 46.9% versus Asians who had a 50% college completion rate (p. 27).

Filipino students have limited access to college because of college admission policies in place that hinder disadvantaged groups. While Filipino students are categorized as Asian, where most Asian students are assumed smart and as "good students" under the model minority myth, Filipinos are misrepresented because of the negative school experiences that they face in school. They feel that they are perceived negatively in schools as troublemakers versus how people categorize them as the "good students." When the literature categorizes Filipino students as Asian and therefore internalized by these students, where they are expected to live up to the model minority title, this causes a befuddlement to students because within the classrooms, teachers' actions are the opposite. In the classroom, when Filipino students cannot meet the expectations of being a model minority student due to various reasons such as inadequate resources or guidance, teachers then treat and perceive Filipino students as troublemakers and incapable of high academic achievement. This results not only in low academic achievement by Filipino students, but it also confuses them on how they are perceived by their school administration and peers.

While being associated with the model minority myth, Filipinos are instead discriminated against by other Asian groups. Nadal (2008) discusses how they are discriminated against based on various factors including their skin tone, their socioeconomic status, and educational history (p. 157). This in turn separates Filipinos apart from other Asian groups, making them inferior to these other groups. Racial microaggressions are defined as "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of Color because they belong to a racial minority group" (Sue,

Bucerri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007, p. 72). More specifically, examples include how Filipino Americans are treated as criminal, intellectually inferior, uncivilized, and unintelligent compared to Chinese Americans through racial microaggressions (Nadal, 2008, p. 157). These differences that Filipinos face from other Asian groups places negative stereotypes on them that causes negative perceptions of them within schools. Nadal (2004) categorizes these unique experiences of Filipinos as the Filipino American Identity Development Model, where they either assimilate to or are ashamed of their own racial group (p. 157). Rather than assuming that they are treated like all Asian Americans under the model minority myth, the stereotypes and microaggressions that Filipinos face must be examined to truly understand their school experiences. Within schools, teachers have biases and stereotypes about Filipino Americans, where the students end up internalizing that they are not going to succeed in college nor will receive institutional support or guidance (Nadal, 2008, p. 159). These students do not feel supported by their teachers and counselors in any aspect of the educational careers and instead face a lot of negative stereotypes, where they are treated as "delinquents," "failures," "gang members," and "academically unqualified," where they internalize being incapable of succeeding in school (Nadal, 2008, p. 159). Filipino students face stereotypes that not only attack them as a person, but affects their school experiences as well. As current literature and schools automatically consider Filipinos under the Asian group and thus are expected to perform under the model minority myth, these students actually go through classroom experiences that are opposite of being seen as a model minority through teacher bias and stereotypes that they face on a daily basis.

While the Asian American population is seen as one large, monolithic group, the diversity within this population must be examined to see be able to understand the experiences and trajectories to college for Filipino students. Teranishi et al. (2004) found that "Filipino and Southeast Asians had higher rates of being influenced by relatives and wanting to live near home than their Japanese and Korean counterparts" (p. 537). Filipinos expressed more financial concern when deciding which college to attend compared to their other Asian counterparts. They felt the financial pressure when choosing a college and staying close to home. In addition to the destination that Filipino students chose to attend college, Teranishi et al. (2004) found that information, guidance resources, cost, financial aid, and the prestige and reputation of the institution impacted students' college choice (p. 536-537). Various factors affected Filipino students' college choice, where every factor had direct association with their experiences in school. These factors are highly influenced by the counselor and teacher support students received on information, financial aid, and overall college knowledge when pursuing a higher education. Without these sufficient resources in school, Filipino students are at a disadvantage when it comes to obtaining a higher education. Therefore, Filipino Americans being categorized as Asian under the model minority myth is detrimental because they are perceived in the wrong way as seen through the different college choice decisions by each ethnic subgroup.

Filipinos as Castelike Minorities

Ogbu (1998) defines castelike minorities as "immigrant minorities [who] may also have castelike relationships with the dominant group" (p. 166). He considered

involuntary minorities—those who have been conquered, colonized, or enslaved [and] made as part of the U.S. society permanently against their will—as a part of castelike minorities (Ogbu, 1998, p. 165). One of the largest groups of students who remain widely visible in the literature and are considered as castelike minorities are Latinos. Latin American students are often placed in problematic schools that have more conflict, weaker academic norms, weaker relationships between students and adults, and larger class sizes (Crosnoe & Turley, 2011, p. 135). They are routinely represented in the literature in this way, showing the various hardships that they face in schools that negatively affect their schooling experiences. As Conchas (2006) points out, "high school graduation, college matriculation, and positive career expectations depended on the type of academic program in which a Latino student participated" (p. 61). This reveals how Latino success was determined by student engagement in school, all shaped by their academic identity, teacher expectations, student motivation, and their perceptions of the programs that they were placed in (Conchas, 2006, p. 61). The achievement of Latino students remains a very important topic in educational policy. With negative school conditions for these minority students, they achieve low levels of educational performance in their educational trajectory. Within society's racially stratified hierarchy, Latino students' low academic achievement can be due to this segregation (Conchas, 2006, p. 62). This can be attributed to Latino students' peer relations and network, and how they helped their engagement and success in school. Even further, "Latino students clearly articulated how the racial and ethnic divisions within each program reflected the racial hierarchy present in the larger society" (Conchas, 2006, p. 64). Latino students

perceived their placement in classes as racially and ethnically divided, reflecting the overall hierarchies in society today that marginalizes them further. Without institutional and peer support, along with fruitful learning environments that are academically rigorous, culturally relevant, and collaborative, Latino students experience social and economic inequality in their educational experiences.

Through the available and widespread research on Latinos in school, research has shown that they are academically behind compared to other students from different backgrounds due to their placement in non-college bound courses, all while doing poorly on standardized tests (Contreras, 2005, p. 210). Because they are not taking college preparation courses, they do not score well on their exams which further impedes their chances of enrolling in AP courses. In the end, Latino students face the hardship of insufficient resources necessary to help them become eligible for college admissions. For example, Latino students attend schools with unequipped and uncertified teachers, or certified teachers remain scarce, resulting in less students completing their A-G requirements (Yun & Moreno, 2006, p. 14). Without the availability of certified teachers to guide them through college preparatory courses and the college process, Latino students become more prone to not completing the required courses to become eligible and competitive for 4-year universities. This puts them at a great disadvantage in relation to students who attend more affluent schools with the resources that make them highly competitive in the college admissions process.

Based on this bias that Filipino students face in schools, this greatly shows how Filipino students feel that they align more with other students that do not fall under the

model minority myth. Ocampo (2013) found that Filipino Americans align themselves more with Pacific Islanders, Latinos, and people of color more broadly, moving beyond the large group of Asian Americans (p. 296). This greatly detaches them from the model minority myth based on how Filipinos negotiate their own identities based on their experiences. This will go further on how Filipinos relate to one group more over another. For example, Ocampo (2013) found that because of Filipino immigrants' higher level of English proficiency resulting in not living in ethnic enclaves, it is difficult for Filipino Americans to build connections and maintain rapport with the larger Asian American community (p. 298). Their experiences are different from those in Asian groups. Rather, Filipinos identified more with being Pacific Islander or Latino. Ocampo (2013) also found that "viewing race as cultural, Filipino Americans more commonly viewed themselves as similar to Latinos, [with an] overlap in Filipino and Mexican cultural practices" (p. 303). Filipino students felt that they aligned more with Latinos not only in schools, but culturally as well. Based on these comparisons, the experiences that Filipino students shared with Latinos not only were in the home, but transferred to school as well. When they fell below educational expectations at school, they felt "less Asian" or below other Asians in school. Instead, they felt more strongly about the similarities they had with other underrepresented minorities, namely Latino and African Americans. Ocampo (2013) found that "underrepresentation and attrition were important issues that galvanized Filipino Americans [and] facilitated panminority alliances among themselves, Latinos, and African Americans" (p. 316). They felt they aligned more with these groups, with less cultural barriers compared with Asians. With their school experiences

of struggling in school and discrimination that they faced, they felt they understood the struggles of their Latino and black peers. The marginalization that they faced in school really solidified their understanding of the struggles they faced in school and their trajectories to college. Ocampo (2013) found that children of immigrants may feel more comfortable adopting identities that fit their experiences, even when those labels are popularly associated with social disadvantages (Latinos and African Americans)" (p. 320-321). Filipino students felt they could relate to Latinos and African Americans based on the marginality they faced and their underperformance in school, not relating to the experiences of Asian Americans. This shows how Filipinos need further research to help understand their experiences more accurately.

Ong and Viernes found other similarities between Filipinos and Latinos. Their study found that "Filipinos have not always occupied a comfortable position in the pan-Asian American construction [and] there have been debates about whether Filipinos would be better served by being more closely aligned with Latinos" (Ong &Viernes, 2012, p. 34). Shared experiences include Spanish colonialism, a common religion, the use of Spanish surnames, and their roots as agricultural laborers. This racialization of Filipinos in society sometimes leads to them being perceived as Hispanic, contributing further to the different educational trajectories of different ethnic groups. Some Filipinos highlighted the overlap of Filipino and Mexican cultural practices which include rituals, food, family, religion, and surnames, contributing to their alignment more with Latinos (Ocampo, 201, p. 303). Through one study, a Filipino participant stated how some Filipinos do not go on to pursue a college degree, and instead attend community college

or work. He stated that "They kinda have more of the Hispanic or Latino mentality—stay at home, care more about social gatherings with family and friends, not concentrating on school" (Ocampo, 2013, p. 310). How Filipinos are racialized determines their educational attainment and how they are perceived in school. Negative stereotypes and discrimination had negative effects on their overall school experiences.

While Filipino American students' experiences in school remain overlooked and underserved in schools today, their experiences align more with those of Latino students versus Asian American students. Filipino American students' experiences in school are similar to these Latino students' experiences in terms of institutional and peer support. Positive school support provides both Latino and Filipino students the resource necessary to do well in school versus ignoring their academic needs in schools and setting them up for failure. Portes and Hao (2004) also found that Mexican youths experience poverty and a lack of resources to academically succeed in school (p. 11927). Both Latino and Filipino families deal with poverty and limited educational backgrounds when arriving to the United States, where their parents are not able to academically support them or provide them with the resources needed to succeed in school because of their unfamiliarity with the United States educational system, especially when they come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. This then affects their trajectory to a postsecondary education.

Filipino students' access to a postsecondary education remains limited not only in opportunities, but also remains scarce in current research. Buenavista (2010) found that Filipino youth have less opportunities and access to attend college, they are pushed out of

college, or do not graduate from college. Through institutions' policies in place, not only are Filipino youth marginalized, but they end up attending less selective colleges (p. 114). Filipino students academically struggle in the classroom, leading to barriers to a postsecondary education. These barriers are often invisible in research because Filipino students are racialized as Asian American under the model minority myth. Because of this umbrella term that they are placed under, they are not seen as first-generation, underrepresented, or socioeconomically disadvantaged, providing them less opportunities into a higher education. Rather, "racialization leads students of color to be tracked out of school and off pathways leading to further educational attainment" (Buenavista, 2010, p. 121). Their low performance in school linked the identification that they had with Latinos and African Americans.

Identity and the Filipino Educational Experience

While Filipino students face being misinterpreted and wrongly categorized in schools that lead to confusion of their racial identity, they also face trying to maintain a bicultural identity. Nadal (2008) discusses how Filipinos "they must also deal with balancing opposing differences between the cultural values they learn at home and the values they learn at school" (p. 158). More specifically, Filipino students battle being a good child to their parents while also being accepted by their peers in school. Some Filipino youth are pressured by their families to either become "Americanized" or not to become too "Americanized," another source of pressure for these students while attending Eurocentric American schools. Trying to find the balance between making their parents happy but being accepted by their peers in school causes more strain on

Filipino students' school experiences in school on top of everything else they face in school. Filipino students were pressured by their parents to choose majors that led to high paying jobs after graduation, and were expected to stay close to home for college.

Research also shows Filipinos' identity shifting and being questioned in their transition from high school to college, with familial factors playing a role. Ocampo (2013) found that not only do immigrant children negotiate their ethnic and racial identities, but second-generation Filipino Americans' educational experiences and school racial context influences their sense of Asian American identity (p. 296). More specifically, Filipinos face different experiences and educational achievements in school. Ocampo (2013) found that "higher achieving Asian Americans tend to not question the link between model minority and Asian Americans, whereas those who fall short academically feel 'less Asian' and more alienated from the panethnic community" (p. 299). This greatly plays a part in the ways in which Filipinos racialized and identified themselves, which became more prominent and noticeable if they attended college. This shows how students have to navigate and negotiate contradicting notions of their identity to determine their own racial position in society (Ocampo, 2013, p. 302). Filipino students internalized their identity of educational disadvantage in college versus a model minority identity in high school.

Within the school context, Filipino students' school achievement can be attributed to different factors including race/ethnicity, racial/ethnic discrimination, and structural disparities. For example, Teranishi (2002) found that because school administrators did not adequately guide Filipino students to college, these students felt that they were placed

unfairly in vocational courses or classes Filipino students described their teachers as unavailable, inaccessible, or unapproachable (p. 149). They had low expectations of them in school and were rather seen as delinquents and involved with gangs (Teranishi, 2002, p. 151). Because of this, students stated how they became self-efficient in school since they had no support in school. Students had to be resilient and resist the barriers that they faced in school everyday to reach success (Teranishi, 2002, p. 151). While model minorities are perceived as a positive, successful group, Filipino students also fall into the historically disadvantaged minorities in school. By looking further into Filipino students' school experiences, it will show how they are more aligned as disadvantaged versus the assumed high achieving model minority. More specifically, Teranishi (2002) discusses how Filipinos "felt that they experienced a lot of negative stereotypes from teachers and counselors at school" (p. 149). Some Filipino students felt they were seen as delinquents, failures, as gang members, got little advice and guidance for college, and were not cared for by their teachers and school administration. Because Filipino students faced these negative stereotypes in school, they did not feel like they belonged under the Asian American classification. Instead, they did not feel like they can turn to school administration for help or guidance, essentially set up for failure with little confidence in their academic abilities. They "were more likely to be exposed to expectations, support, and tracking that would guide them toward limited opportunities at best," thus hindering their school experiences further (Teranishi, 2002, p. 152). To make matters worse, the inequities these students face go unnoticed.

Filipino American students experience inequity in schools and are often overlooked. These inequities include causing students to feel as if they were delinquents or failures by their teachers and counselors (Teranishi, 2002, p. 149). Filipino students felt that their teachers and counselors did not care for them, which greatly affects their school experiences overall. If teachers do not academically encourage and guide Filipino students in schools, this greatly affects their trajectory towards college. This demonstrates how the "model minority" myth and ethnic minority viewpoint does not apply to Filipino American students. Pang et al. (2011) found that "many researchers and educators view Asian American Pacific Islander students as members of a successful, monocultural community and have not considered the influence of factors such as racism and prejudice" (p. 378). In the end, these two specific theories fail Asian American students and put them at a disadvantage. Low academic achievement by these Filipino students can be attributed to structural barriers that they face in school. Some examples of structural barriers include Filipino students receiving negative stereotypes by different peers and administers in school, including their teachers and counselors. Teranishi (2002) found that "male Filipino students felt that they were viewed and treated as gang members" (p. 149). As seen through this study, Filipino students face limited guidance and support from their teachers and counselors in the schools that they attend. Until institutions can serve minority students both at the K-12 and college level, minority students remain at a disadvantage in their educational trajectory due to the structural barriers that they face in school.

The stereotypes Filipino students face also contributes to overall downward mobility. Ong and Viernes (2012) found that compared to other Asian Americans, Filipinos experience intergenerational downward mobility in terms of educational attainment (p. 33). Filipinos are shown to have lower college completion rates, further lowering their mobility in society. To show this downward mobility, Ong and Viernes (2012) found that "among U.S.-born adults, the completion rate for Filipinos is substantially lower than for other Asians (37 percent versus 53 percent)" (p. 27). Schools set Filipino students up for failure by placing them into non-college preparatory courses and placing them in classrooms where they do not receive adequate support from teachers or counselors to pursue a college degree. This then builds their future with little room for upward mobility within society. Filipino students' experiences in the classroom are categorized negatively from the start, similar to other students of color. As Nadal (2008) found, Filipinos internalize racial discrimination as normal because of stereotypes such as model minority, a perpetual foreigner, a criminal, unintelligent, and/or an uncivilized savage (p. 155). This can be attributed to the United States educational system that students are placed in today. For example, Filipino students are not taught about their history or culture in school, and society considers White America the norm. Like Nadal (2008) describes, Filipinos' "brown skin and almond-shaped eyes are less valued. They are taught that they are never 'American' enough" (p. 155). They do not achieve as academically high as other Asian Americans and have high dropout rates, resulting in Filipinos being among some of the overlooked Asian groups that do not live up to the model minority stereotype. These labels that are automatically placed on Filipino

students, and their school experiences greatly differ from Asian Americans under the model minority myth. Teachers and administration at students' schools have direct influence on students' experiences.

Teacher expectation and bias plays a major role in students' achievement. More specifically, Nadal (2008) discusses how Filipino Americans do not believe they will succeed in college because of the everyday teacher bias and stereotypes that they face in school each day, including insufficient support and guidance (p. 159). Some biases and stereotypes that Filipinos directly face in school are when their teachers and counselors make them feel as if they are incapable and unqualified to attend college. Rather than making this determination on students' actual abilities, teachers make them feel incapable by suggesting that they attend vocational schools or community colleges versus 4-year universities. For example, Nadal (2008) found in his study that students' self-esttem and self-efficacy are influenced by their teachers' and counselors' perceptions of them. When Filipino Americans are judged as delinquents and failures, they internalize these messages of inferiority (Nadal, 2008, p. 159). They felt that they were mistreated in the classroom and not expected to do well in the classroom. Students internalize this and further treat it as negative stereotypes based on assumptions of their backgrounds. Better ways to include Filipino students in schools that provide more supportive environments to them can help further their decisions to attend college.

In the end, the experiences of Filipino American students in schools today are greatly misconstrued, ignored, and marginalized. While some Filipino students do well in school, those that do not go unnoticed and are misinterpreted, automatically deemed as

a certain type of student that they are not. Because of this automatic assumption and clumping of Filipino students as Asian American, they are pressured to live up to the model minority label as "smart" kids, and are neglected in school opportunities and experiences since they are not seen as marginalized nor as needing help. Instead, Filipino American students experience inequality in schools similar to Latino students. Their family's socioeconomic status, which can be affected by their immigration experience like Latinos, play a significant role on their influence over their educational trajectory. Filipino American students have limited resources in schools, do not always have peer and teacher support, and have limited familial assistance because of their parent's unfamiliarity with the school system in the United States. Frameworks surrounding the educational experiences of Latino students, not Asian students, should be utilized towards the positive educational trajectory of Filipino American students. This literature review is solid grounding for why this study is important. By understanding Filipino students' school experiences, more efficient resources and guidance can help cater to their specific needs and struggles in school that often remain invisible or misconstrued.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To better understand the educational experiences of Filipino students, I contacted potential participants via email. Initially, I reached out to colleagues, friends, roommates, and classmates via email and provided IRB approved flyers to see if they knew of any potential participants that fit the criteria. Through word of mouth, numerous participants contacted me via email expressing their interest in participating in my study. Once respondents expressed interest in being a part of the study, consent forms were given to

each participant outlining the rules and nature of the study via email for review. Participants were notified that two hard copies would be provided at the interviews; one for participants to sign and give back to me, and one for the participant to keep for their records. Over ten people expressed interest in being a part of the study. In the end, eight people of Filipino descent were chosen as the sample of my study and consented to be a part of the study.

I then conducted qualitative interviews with each participant that lasted 1-1.5 hours each. I scheduled interviews and participants were interviewed about their high school experiences in the 1990s via open ended questions. Participants were notified that they can skip any questions they did not feel comfortable asking, and could withdraw from the study at any time. Each participant was also assigned a pseudonym, which will be used throughout this thesis.

Participants had to have been enrolled in high school between 1990-1999. Of the eight total participants, three were from Diamond Bar, CA while the other five were from San Diego, CA. I had access to Filipino populations in both Diamond Bar, CA and San Diego, CA. Therefore, purposive sampling was utilized for this study. Interview locations and times were chosen based on participants' preferences. The eight participants between the two cities come from five different high schools. Two high schools were in the Los Angeles region, while the other three were in the San Diego region. The participants were recruited from these two large cities for two reasons. First, I had access to these populations from colleagues and friends. Additionally, to compare

the high school experiences of students who lived in the larger Los Angeles area versus the San Diego area could bring about different findings based on geography.

Of the participants in Diamond Bar, CA, two individuals were female, while the other participant was male. Two attended a public high school, while the other participant attended an all girl's Catholic school. The participants in San Diego, CA consisted of three males and two females who all attended a public high school. All participants had a minimum of a Bachelor's degree.

Participants

In this section, I introduce each of the participants in this study. They are alphabetically ordered based on the geographic region that they are from. The first three are from the Los Angeles area, and the last five are from the San Diego area.

Amy attended Narbonne High School in Harbor City, CA from 1993-1997. She graduated in 1997 from the magnet program at her high school. At the time, she was living in Torrance and took the bus to school every day. She attended college at the University of California, Riverside and obtained her Bachelor's degree in Psychology in 2001. By 2006, she earned her Master's degree in Psychology at UC Riverside, then her Marriage and Family Therapy license in 2010 from Loma Linda University.

Brenda attended St. Lucy's High School in Glendora, CA from 1999-2003 while she lived in Pomona, CA. She graduated in 2003 from her all girls Catholic high school. She attended Claremont McKenna University to obtain her Bachelor's degree in Neuroscience with a cognitive track in 2007. In 2013, she obtained her Master's degree

in occupational therapy at Loma Linda University, then her Doctorate of Occupational Therapy in 2016 from Boston University.

Samuel attended Narbonne High School in Harbor City, CA from 1995-1999. He graduated in 1999 from the magnet program at his high school. He also lived in Torrance at the time and took the bus to school every day. He attended California State Polytechnic University, Pomona to obtain his Bachelor's degree in Electronics and Computer Engineering Technology in 2005.

David attended University City High School in San Diego, CA from 1992-1995 and commuted by driving on his own from his hometown of Oceanside, CA. After graduating in 1995, he went on to attend Mira Costa Community College for two years to satisfy his GE requirements. He then attended San Diego State University to obtain his Bachelor's degree in Psychology in 2000, then his Master's degree in Community Based Block from the same school in 2002. He then completed a Ph.D. program between San Diego State University and Claremont University in 2015.

Emily attended Morse High School in San Diego, CA from 1999-2002. She lived in San Diego during her years in high school and graduated in 2002. She attended the University of California, Riverside right after high school and obtained her Bachelor's degree in English. In 2008, she received her Master's degree in Education Organization and Leadership in Higher Education at the University of Illinois in 2008. She is currently waiting on admission decisions for Ph.D. programs in Fall 2017.

Ian attended Morse High School in San Diego, CA from 1990-1993 and lived in San Diego at the time. He graduated in 1993. Before attending San Diego State

University, he attended Southwestern Community College. After graduating from Southwestern in 1998, he obtained his Bachelors degree in Liberal Studies at San Diego State University in 2000. In 2006, he earned his teaching credential at National University.

Jack attended Hilltop High School in Chula Vista, CA from 1999-2003 while bussing from his hometown of Imperial Beach, CA. He graduated in 2003 then went to the University of California, San Diego directly after high school. He received his Bachelor's degree in Ethnic Studies in 2008, then his Master's degree in Sociological Practice from California State University, San Marcos in 2013. He is currently pursuing a dual Ph.D. in Cultural Studies and History at Claremont Graduate University and is expected to graduate in 2021.

Kasey attended Morse High School in San Diego, CA from 1993-1996. She graduated in 1996 and was living in San Diego during her time in high school. After high school, she attended Southwestern Community College first for financial reasons. Then she attended San Diego State University and obtained her Bachelor's degree in Psychology in 2000, and earned her Master's degree in Social Work in 2002.

FINDINGS

<u>**Social Factors: Academics**</u>

Filipino students' social experiences in high school played a role in their decisions to attend college. Participants' school involvement and academic rigor/trajectories between the two different regions were quite distinct. Students in the Los Angeles region high schools completed college preparatory courses and/or attended magnet or private

high schools for their high school careers. Students in the Los Angeles region would take AP and Honors courses that were required by the academies that they were placed in. Like Brenda shared, "Yeah, I mean, I thought everything was very doable. I pretty much had a schedule of work. Academics was, you know, something that I could work on daily. So, I had enough time to do my work." For Amy, she also mentioned that her classes "were pretty good, I mean they challenged me, but it wasn't like…I thought they were challenging but they were manageable. And I did, I had, I got really good grades." Because these students were placed in magnet high schools or private schools, they were tracked into college preparatory courses. These courses allowed these participants to socialize and learn with like-minded students on the same academic paths that they were on, and it also prepared them for college. Their classrooms consisted of a college going culture where people were expected to attend college after high school.

Only two students from the San Diego region did well in high school without struggling, taking AP and/or Honors courses throughout their high school careers. For example, Jack wanted a challenge. "So, I took all the honors courses I could take. I didn't want–like I said–I didn't want to take any AP courses. That's why I went straight to the community college, to try to be challenged." Jack was also very vocal about institutional structures and policies in place during high school. He shared that "I've always been like–this thing was, like–there has to be a loophole. There's–these structures have been created, but are never, like, fixed." Since Jack was bored in high school, he researched and challenged the institutional polices in place and entered college with several college units already accumulated.

Similarly, Emily reminisced how her high school English course with the same teacher all four years "prepared me really, really well for college. Uh, I was an English major, so part of the reason why I even chose an English major was because I felt so well trained." Having this resource in high school and throughout her entire high school career unquestionably made a difference in her schooling experiences. She received adequate training and support from one of her teachers, which further prepared her for college. By being able to work with the same teacher for four years, not only did they develop a close relationship to help Emily discover her passion in school and for college, as well as strengthen her writing skills, but she was able to receive guidance and support throughout her high school career to get her into college. She had a teacher to turn to for questions about the college application process and any other guidance that she may have needed.

Lastly, two students in the San Diego region were transferred to a different school that was not their home school, while the remainder of the San Diego region students attended their assigned schools within their school district. Students in the San Diego region were bored and not academically challenged, leading them to partake in activities that would get them into trouble and barely graduate from high school. David stated, "yeah, I wasn't even engaged in school at the time, honestly. Like, I wasn't engaged, and I just–there was a big disconnect with me and school." This led to David's poor performance in school and getting into trouble instead. His poor performance is related to Ogbu's (1998) characterization of involuntary minorities' low performance in school. Similarly, Kasey mentioned "Yeah. So I will say I was bored but at the same time, like, if

it was too challenging, I kinda like emotionally, I was like, 'Ugh'." The only time Kasey felt challenged in the classroom and enjoyed learning was when she attended community college classes at Southwestern College as a high school student. Ian had an interesting experience where he noticed that he was tracked into the wrong classes in high school. "I do remember there was one time–it was my first year there, like 10th grade. And I– somehow, I ended up in the, uh, like the special–like the special day class, like, with like, kids with like a bunch of like learning difficult–difficulties. And I was looking around. It was about like 12 of us, and I was there like thinking to myself, how did this happen? My grades weren't that bad, right?" Had he not said anything to his school counselor who admitted to the mistake, he would have gone through his entire high school career in the wrong classes as a student with a learning disability. Seen through these personal stories, the academic environment that students were placed into played a large role in students' educational paths and trajectories to college.

Social Factors: Extracurricular Activities

Additionally, students' high school experiences were shaped by their involvement in extracurricular activities. Samuel was involved in tennis throughout his high school career. Although he hated his PE class, he joined tennis because one of his friends was on the team and being on the tennis team could be in lieu of taking PE. Through tennis, Samuel felt a sense of belonging with his team, sharing common goals with his teammates. He stated that he found his niche in school through tennis, where he felt comfortable and made more friends. His teammates were also his classmates in his Honors classes, where they shared the common experience of being taught how to

prepare to pass their AP exams, be enrolled in Honors courses, and were expected to go to college versus getting involved with gang activity. He was also involved with the New Life Club, which was the Christian club on campus. In this club, majority of the participants were of Asian descent, with about an equal distribution between male and female.

Similarly, Brenda reflected how she enjoyed being a part of her high school student council, tennis team, and taking part in the traditions that her school had in place. "I really enjoyed being on student council, I enjoyed the traditions that we had at my high school, so, we had values, we had these picnics with our class. There were the sophomore medal and junior blazer–so sophomore medal was that you got a medal and it's just a cool necklace and that was just kind of a big thing for the sophomores, and for juniors we got a blazer, and I think it was really special. I also did a retreat that was really meaningful my senior year." These traditions are seen throughout her yearbook, including a two-page spread called Queen of the Rings. Figure 1.1 shows the all girl's Catholic School Junior Rings tradition, similar to the traditional blazer tradition that Brenda held as special in heart. The juniors at her high school each received a class ring and a large ceremony that represented the unity in their school. One student stated how "It made me feel like I was a part of the school." Brenda also reflected on her involvement with school sports, specifically tennis. She shared that being a part of the tennis team at school taught her a lot about hard work, mental toughness, and building friendships. By participating in these different social activities at school, Brenda was

able to not only feel a sense of belonging in school, but she was able to implement these activities into her college applications.

Amy also shared her yearbook to show her involvement throughout high school. She was most excited to show the Kiwins yearbook page. When asked about her parents' involvement with her school activities, she stated "my mom and my dad like they, they would drop us off to school so that I could do the service stuff, or they would pick us up so my parents definitely knew like I was really involved in the Ki-, in the Kiwins Club." This goes to show how involved Amy's parents were in her school activities because the van in the center of the page was her parents' van at a Kiwins car wash event, as shown in Figure 1.2. With the support of her parents, Amy took part in school activities and stayed out of trouble. Her high school career consisted of her service clubs and academics, with college being at the center of her focus. This was reflected throughout the various messages that her classmates wrote in her yearbook which mentioned her going to college and her classmates wishing her luck at the University of California, Riverside. Based on the extracurricular activities that Amy chose in school, she remained busy and focused on college.

When asked what extracurricular activities he was a part of, Ian spoke proudly about the Art Productions club that he was a part of. The Art Productions club at Morse High School created banners and signs for games and for the campus. They would paint around campus and the community. Interestingly, Ian mentioned being involved in gang activity during high school and how he "went by the name of Omega because [he] was a graffiti artist back then, and that's what [he] used to tag everywhere." Figure 1.3 shows

how he was referred to as Omega in high school. With his passion for tagging and creating art despite his gang activity, he was still able to partake in a school activity that piqued his interest. Ian's story exemplifies how although a student organization on campus was not able to keep him completely out of trouble nor get him to focus on applying to and attending college, it was still an organization that allowed him to become involved at school and helped him express himself through something he loved doing—tagging.

Jack was tremendously involved in different activities during high school which included Pan-Asian Club, Connect Through (peer mentorship), Interact Club, established a coalition called the GSA composed of the Pan-Asian Club, the Black Student Union, and Mecha. Some events that he attended among the various organizations were specifically geared towards college. Because of his high involvement in extracurricular activities, Jack developed his unique passion and not only applied them in college, but also turned it into a current career.

Emily was also involved in cheer all four years of high school, along with club volleyball and ASB her senior year. By being highly involved in extracurricular activities and finding her niche with different groups in high school, Emily had support systems that she could turn to for various facets of life, ranging from coaches, teachers, administrative staff, and peers.

Overall, students' academic and extracurricular experiences varied based on the kinds of extracurricular activities they were a part of, the classes they took, and how they were engaged in the classroom. Those who were more involved with school activities,

took college preparatory courses, and felt a sense of belonging in the classroom and in their extracurricular activities tended to be on a better path towards college. Those who were disconnected, not challenged, and bored in the classroom, who also participated in non-school extracurricular activities, struggled academically and got into trouble with the law.

Social Factors: Military

One of the clear differences between the high school experiences of these Filipino participants during the 1990s was the military influence based on which region they lived in. San Diego is home to different military bases. All five students from the San Diego region had at least one parent active in the military during their high school careers. Most of the fathers of these five students were active in the military, specifically the Navy. David mentioned "I'd say particularly–for Filipinos, it was, um, majority, um, military families–like, Navy families." Additionally, Ian mentioned "San Diego's a pretty big–like it's one of the biggest military bases, if not the biggest military base in the West Coast." Because these students had parents in the military, they felt like they were either raised by only one parent, or both parents were too busy with the military or working multiple jobs to provide for their families. Instead, this resulted in participants getting into trouble and doing whatever they wanted versus focusing on school. That was how David and Ian got into trouble with the law rather than focusing on school.

Emily on the other hand mentioned how she never had a strong male role model or father figure in her life because her dad was always deployed or not stationed in San Diego with her family. Rather than getting into trouble and barely making it through

school, she took the absence of a father figure in a more positive way. She saw her mother working so hard to support their family while her dad was away that she made sure to do well in school and go to college. Having a parent in the military also affected one student's decision to attend college. Because Kasey's father was in the military, she was able to attend college for free under CalVet. This program allowed military children to attend any California State University or University of California school for free. She knew that this was the only way her family could afford her going to college. "So if you live in the state of California, and your parent has served, uh, they can apply for CalVet. So their child can then go to a CSU or a UC. Tuition covered. It was the only way I could afford college."

Jack had a different perspective with the military influence over his life. While his father pushed him to join the military and was accepted into the Air Force Academy and Naval Academy, he expressed how he only did that to satisfy his father's wishes, and refused to join in the end.

The military influence over students' high school experiences only affected those that went to school in the San Diego region. Some used it to their advantage, others used it to avoid going into the military, while others used it as a means to get into trouble in and out of school with no parent involvement or guidance. All five participants from the San Diego high schools expressed their disinterest in joining the military which may have been due to growing up with one parent in the military and the experiences they felt as a high school student with one parent deployed or not home often.

Social Factors: Gangs

The biggest commonality among these Filipinos attending high school between these two regions was the presence of gangs in the 1990s. Past literature found that Filipinos faced negative stereotypes from their peers in school, where all Filipinos were seen as part of gangs (Teranishi, 2002, p. 150). Five of the eight participants mentioned the presence of gang activity while they were in high school, where each participant was affected in a different way. Gangs, tension, and fights were so common during their time in high school that those in the San Diego region described it as part of their normal life. Kasey chillingly shared that "I've been burying people since I was 13. You know? So and it's funny because that was just such a norm for us." That's what they were so used to and lived with, it was part of their norm. When David's parents transferred him to a better school that required a forty-minute commute to school, he was still involved in gang activity. This led to his poor performance in school and barely graduating. "Like, being, like smoking a lot of weed, uh, like–I almost didn't graduate high school. Um, I barely made it, honestly."

Gang activity varied between the two regions. In San Diego, most of the participants grew up in Southeast San Diego. They described the gang tension as primarily between Latinos, African-Americans, Filipinos, or other Asian groups. In June of 1992, the *Los Angeles Times* newspaper wrote an article titled "The V.P. in the 'Hood': Politics: Dan Quayle receives mostly critical response to his visit to a tough section of Southeast San Diego." In that article, Southeast San Diego was referred to as "the hood." It was known as the "Weed and Seed" district, meaning "the surrounding

area is eligible for federal funds in a program designed to enhance law enforcement (the 'weed' portion) and community involvement (the 'seed')" (*Los Angeles Times*, 1992). Programs were set in place within the community to help prevent students from getting into trouble with the law and becoming involved with gangs. "Begun in 1979, the program seeks primarily to intervene in families whose children are courting or being courted by gangs. Police say that many of the 35 gangs in the city, with more than 4,000 known members come from [Southeast San Diego]. In 1990 alone, police reported 52 drive-by shootings [and] twelve gang-related homicides" (*Los Angeles Times*, 1992).

Kasey and David grew up in Paradise Hills, a part of Southeast San Diego where three of the five San Diego participants attended Morse High School. David, who moved to Oceanside, CA and attended University City High School forty minutes away starting in his sophomore year in high school, described the gang tension during his high school years as "there was basically tension between, um, the Latino students and Filipino students. There was also tension with, um, the Filipinos and the African-American community as well. Like, I just think it was –normal, you know? It was more normal; having those tensions within, like, the different ethnic groups, and then also, within the Filipino group. Yeah, I just feel like, uh, like you had to watch your back, you know? Like, you never knew – you never know who's gonna, like, jump you, or if you were gonna, you know, uh, get stabbed, or get shot." When asked how he escaped the gang life and obtained his graduate degree, his response was humbling. David mentioned "I have no idea, honestly. I don't know how I made it out. Uh, I think, um, what happened was my mom met with the counselor." That is when he was told that he might not

graduate from high school and had to attend an alternative school to make up all the credits he had failed or missed. For David, it was not until a school administrator explained to his mother that he might not graduate from high school that made him realize the extent of the consequences for his disconnect with school.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, in February of 1994, a "shooting occurred in working-class, racially mixed neighborhood in southeast San Diego. It apparently resulted from a racial altercation in which a group of about 10 white and African American students threw rocks at a pickup truck carrying two Asian students. Police suspect that the Asian youths are gang members. Interracial conflict between Asian, African American and Latino gangs in the neighborhood is not uncommon" (*Los Angeles Times*, 1994). This further confirms what these students experienced during their time in high school.

Neither Emily nor Jack from San Diego mentioned any gang tension, but instead described their high school experience as divided by cliques. Jack stated "I think it was pretty okay. There was the cliques. There was regions, uh, you know, of–of the quad area, where there are all, like, the vatos hang out." But never did he mention any kind of racial tension while in school. Similarly, Emily shared that she only noticed people divided in her school based on cliques within sports, and that was the only time they intersected, but did not recall or discuss any racial tension between groups. This data greatly shows how those that experienced high gang activity in high school struggled academically and struggled to graduate, while those who experienced low gang activity were not educationally impacted.

In the Los Angeles region, both Samuel and Amy's parents along with themselves were so concerned with gang activity at their school that their parents requested that they did not attend their home school of Carson High School. Rather, they were bused to a school in a Harbor City that was safer than the school in their assigned district. Although they were not involved in any gang activity of any kind, the presence of gangs was still part of their high school experiences because it went on in their school. For example, Samuel stated that "Everyday, I, when I was there, uh I didn't feel comfortable, I didn't feel safe, umm and I told my parents that, that's something that you know they were like ok, we gotta, we gotta accelerate this whole magnet thing. Uhhh so I was able to go to Narbonne." He expressed his concern for his safety in school and his parents had the same goal for him to attend a different high school. Amy described how the gang bangers at her high school just happened to be the cholos and cholas, and "as long as we don't identify as the cholos and the cholas, I think we're ok kind of thing, then, we're good to go."

The *Los Angeles Times* published an article in April of 1992 stating that in 1991, "gang violence in the area soared to an all-time high with more than 720 felony crimes and 21 killings—far above the 591 felonies and 14 murders in 1990. The grim 1991 statistics left the Harbor Division ranking third among the LAPD's 18 divisions in gang crime" (*Los Angeles Times*, 1992). Samuel described the tension at his school as being between students who were in the non-Honors classes. Specifically, there were fights between African-Americans and Hispanics at his school, as well as between African-

Americans and Filipinos or Hispanics. He stated that as an AP/Honors student, he did

not become involved in any gang activity because he was responsible and knew better.

According to the *Los Angeles Times* in 1990, "Since the April 28 killing that

sparked the string of shootings, there have been four gang-related deaths in Harbor City

and Wilmington. The last two weeks alone, Los Angeles police say, there have been at

least 17 drive-by shootings." This greatly describes Amy's description of gang violence

as "the gang activity is what I was just really aware of. Cuz it was so many gang

activities back then. So they, you know they would say things like, don't stay up uh so

late at night, and you know, sundown, you know, don't go out, or don't stay after school

after a certain amount of time you know because of the gang stuff. That was really the

biggest."

Unlike the students in San Diego who experienced gang activity during high

school and had low academic achievement, the Los Angeles participants who

experienced gang activity in high school were still focused on college and doing well in

school. The San Diego participants who did not experience gang activity and still did

well in school aligns with Brenda's experience of not recalling any gang activity at her

Los Angeles high school. This also could be due to her attending an all girl's Catholic

school. The most tension that she recalled in high school was between girls who were

fighting over a boy. In the end, gang activity in both regions had a direct impact on

students' educational experiences and paths towards college.

Institutional Factors: Campus Racial Climate

The eight participants of this study came from five different high schools with different school compositions of its students. Based on the ethnic makeup of these schools in the San Diego area versus the Los Angeles area, different school environments and experiences were experienced by each student based on their geographical location. For the female student who went to an all girl's Catholic school in the greater Los Angeles area, the ethnic composition of her school was predominantly Caucasian followed by Asian. The two participants who attended a public high school in the Los Angeles area attended schools that were predominantly Latino. Amy described her school as consisting of "Hmm so Hispanic, umm middle eastern, umm uh like Asian like Vietnamese, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, it was a very diverse school. Um a lot of Filipinos. Um some Caucasian, ummm but it was a very Latino dominated school." Interestingly, the public-school students who attended high school farther south of the San Diego region had classmates that were predominantly African-American, Filipino, or Latino from middle class, blue collar families, respectively. In contrast, students from a more northern San Diego public high school went to school with predominantly Latinos and Filipinos from middle and lower class families. All public-school participants attended high schools that were composed mostly of minority students, yet all eight participants stated that their main group of friends were Filipino. Like Emily mentioned, her group of friends were "pretty much all Filipino, that's kind of all there was." David explained that "Um, the majority of them are all Filipinos–we identify as Filipinos. Um–

But I think at the time, though, like, I mean–Just consciously, we weren't aware of, like, our culture, our identity. As far as, like, being Filipino and what Filipino is."

As seen, all participants attended schools that were composed of different minority groups besides the all girl's private school which was predominantly Caucasian. The participant who attended the private school was the only one who did not mention experiencing any gang activity or tension at her school. The school environment was depicted as peaceful and united more than anything. The public high schools in both the Los Angeles and San Diego regions had school environments that were plagued by gang activity and racial tension between different groups. The campus climate at each school played a key role in students' school experiences that either helped or hindered their decisions and paths to attend college.

Three participants offered the use of their yearbooks for this study. The key difference between the three yearbooks was that the all girl's private Catholic school yearbook had students that were predominantly Caucasian within the student body. For the two public high school yearbooks, majority of the students were students of color, including the Kiwins Club that Amy was greatly involved with. Neither of the two public high school yearbooks had pages dedicated to school traditions like the all girl's private school yearbook had. Because of the various pages that centered around school traditions, along with the smaller student body, the all girl's Catholic high school yearbook reflected a more unified school yearbook, where the pages reflected a common theme of school pride. Whereas the public high school yearbooks reflected clubs, sports, and organizations as more distinctly divided, not reflecting the cohesion of school pride

40

amongst the students. The school's level of school pride could have greatly influenced one's decisions to attend college.

Institutional Factors: Guidance and Mentoring Support

Some students did not have the necessary guidance and mentoring through high school, leading to more resistance to attend college. For high school students to attend college, they must complete required tests and applications by certain points in their high school trajectories to apply to college. For example, many of the participants expressed that they did not have mentors or role models in high school that guided them through the college process, not even their teachers or school counselors. This greatly aligns with the widely available literature on Latino students in schools, and their lack of mentoring and guidance that they receive which results in low academic achievement in school. Ian shared how his family did not help with applying to college in high school because of the complicated wording on the applications. He had to rely on his then-girlfriend and counselor at Southwestern College (not his high school counselor) to ask questions about the college application process. He stated "asking questions was one of the best things I could do. Like oh, I don't know what to do. Help, what do I do?" Kasey shared that her parents did not help with college applications because they did not know how to complete them, which was the hardest part for her because she had to figure it out on her own. These students did not have the necessary guidance in high school to take the adequate steps (i.e. standardized tests) from their freshman year in high school to later be accepted into a postsecondary institution by graduation. These two instances show how students had to figure out the college process on their own.

Despite these barriers, all eight participants ended up graduating from college with a minimum of a Bachelors degree. Half of the participants completed community college first, while the other half went straight to a University after high school. Seven of the eight participants obtained their Masters degrees or a Ph.D.

Institutional Factors: College Access

Before some of these participants obtained their graduate degrees, they had difficult barriers to overcome and had limited college access. Ogbu (1998) defines involuntary minorities as "less economically successful than voluntary minorities, [who] usually experience greater and more persistent cultural and language difficulties, and do less well in school" (p. 166). Similar to Latinos that Ogbu describes as involuntary minorities, Filipinos also struggled in school and had limited access to college. Like Kasey described her school experience, "like people—people didn't do that for us. We didn't have that. We didn't have, like, college fairs. We didn't have reps who'd come and speak to our classes." Even further, David reflected on how his classes affected his college trajectory and access. He shared "now that I reflect on it, it was all students that were colored that I was assigned to, and I got put into wood shop. I don't mind it, but I got put into wood shop, and it was, like, all the quote-unquote 'bad' kids that were in wood shop, and uh, I just think it was strategically set up because I wasn't college-bound." Both of these participants' experiences depict how their college access was limited due to their placement in classes and lack of college outreach and information, which resulted in poor academic achievement in school as described by Ogbu as involuntary minorities.

In the Los Angeles region, students were more concerned about how they were going to afford going to college. Amy mentioned "there was a period of time when I was afraid that I wouldn't be able to go to college because we wouldn't be able to afford it. But I think my parents didn't let me worry about that cuz they just said, well we'll just apply for loans and we'll cosign. So, it was basically like well doesn't matter, just do it and we'll you know figure it out no matter what it takes kind of thing." To alleviate the financial burden of attending college, Amy focused on going to college closer to home. Amy recalled "I actually got accepted to Santa Barbara and my mom told me straight up, no you're not going there. And it was two hours away, and they're like no you're not going there." To not displease her parents, Amy did not attend college too far from home.

The other participant from Diamond Bar, CA, Samuel, also expressed that he did not join many extracurricular activities during high school because he knew he was not going to attend a University of California school. He figured it would be less money that his family would have to spend financially and less of a burden on his parents. He did not give himself many options other than that he was going to attend a vocational/technical school, and that he was expected to attend college after high school. This expectation not only came from his parents, but from those in his Honors and AP courses.

Familial Factors: College Expectations

Parents placed a large expectation on students to attend college, where multiple participants expressed how that was part of the Filipino culture. The male participants in

43

the San Diego region stated that their parents also pushed the military option on them, specifically their fathers, while their mothers advocated for college. Both David and Jack were expected by their parents to become either engineers, doctors, a nurse, or dentist if they did not pursue the military.

Jack shared that his father encouraged him to join the military, and even got accepted to the Air Force Academy and the Naval Academy; he had only applied to satisfy his father's request. At the same time, his mother encouraged him to attend college after high school. Jack reflected "So, if I didn't join the military, and I didn't go to the health field–which, 'health field' means nurse only. Or–or, oh, like, variations of nursing programs. Like, uh, phlebotomy, or something like that–um, that you had to go to college." Because of Jack's extensive involvement in high school, he knew he did not want to join the military and instead wanted to attend college.

During high school, David's parents also had prescribed plans for their son. "They had–they already had the prescribed, like, major. Engineer, doctor, dentist. I don't know why they wanted me to become a doctor or dentist. I barely made it through high school. I just wasn't interested in any of those, um, any of those fields." This greatly shows not only the cultural expectation to attend college by these Filipino families, but also the gendered expectation when it came to fields that the students would pursue.

While some of the male participants were expected to pursue certain fields, Samuel from Diamond Bar, CA had a different experience. He reflected how his high school courses and experiences all groomed him to go beyond high school because that is what he was surrounded by in his AP and Honors courses. He was expected and pushed

to go to college and felt that this was his parents' best intentions. While this was a part of his culture growing up in a Filipino household, he still felt ashamed that he went on to a technical school after high school since it was not what everyone else was doing. But unlike the other parents of the other male participants who expected their sons to pursue engineering or medical degrees, Samuel's parents were very supportive and happy with him when he attended California Polytechnic University – Pomona after going to technical school. Not only would Samuel be pursuing a technological degree that was accepted by his parents, but he would also be moving back closer to home.

Filipino parents expected their children to pursue something after graduating from high school. All women participants stated that college was expected of them as an automatic given after high school not only by their parents, but also by themselves. They knew that they were expected to attend college because the Filipino culture and their families value education so much. Amy mentioned "Oh, I think I've always known I was gonna go to college, there was never really a question. My parents expected it, I expected it, it was just like a natural, like ok, you're gonna go to college." Her parents expected her to pursue fields that produced well-paying jobs. Amy shared that "My parents told me, they, so, at first, I wanted to be an art major or music major. Um, and they told me no I couldn't do that. Um, they said you, you could either be a doctor, a lawyer, or a business person. Those were the three things." Amy's parents had prescribed careers expected of their daughter. Emily had a similar expectation of herself, but more in relation to her mother. She reminisced how her mother was "always very disciplined. Um, and then, you know, I think she just–because I respected her so much for everything

she was doing, I just didn't want to let her down. So, I knew that by going to college, I was gonna make her happy."

The difference with Emily was that her mother did not expect her to pursue certain fields such as nursing, but instead to choose a field that would make her happy. Similarly, Brenda said "my parents, my dad especially, was–really encouraged me to be well rounded. The reason they put me in that school was so that I would go to college. So college was encouraged, it was expected." She went on to pursue her studies within the medical field and is currently working in that field.

Cultural Factors: Identity

The largest commonality with all eight participants was that they were not cognizant of their identities in high school. They identified as Filipino because they were Filipino; their cultures and values in the home and from their families contributed to them identifying as Filipino. Brenda stated "Um, it's my parents ethnicity. I was born here but raised under their cultural guidance, I guess, and cultural influences." Amy responded with "Uh, yeah I identify as Filipino. Um or Filipino-American I guess. Um because umm well I haven't really identified as anything else. Umm yeah I guess a part of what makes me feel like I identify as Filipino is because I know how to speak the language, not as fluently as I used to before. Um my parents are Filipino, both of them umm although we do have Spanish blood."

David was very particular about stating that he did not identify as Asian, but identifies as Filipino depending on the context. "I don't identify as Asian. So, there's– So, the term 'Asian' is a socially constructed term, and, um, with that, um, they when I

46

say 'they,' government–they, um, tend to lump us all together into one category. So, that takes away from, like, our history, culture, our struggles as Filipinos. Um, and it also, um–there's this thing with being Asian, like the 'model minority' myth as well, and so, um, when you look at, like–particularly the Filipino population–yes, there's a lot of us that are going to college that are doing great things. However, there's a handful of us that are not, you know? And so, I think, um–Yeah, so, that's why I don't identify as Asian." He firmly believes that his personal experiences as a person of Filipino descent is not aligned with the experiences of Asians who are seen as the model minority in society. He specifically mentions how when you look at the Filipino population, yes there are a lot of them going to college and doing great things. However, there are a handful that are not, which supports his idea of not identifying as Asian and not agreeing with the model minority myth. Not only does this shape David's identity, but he emphasizes how all Filipinos cannot be lumped into the same category based on their different experiences.

Contrastingly, Emily never wanted to be associated with Filipinos because she saw them as the "other" to society. "I just grew up with a family that was like we're, you know, we don't do Filipino things. I actually did not like to identify as Filipino up until very recently. I didn't like to put it out there." She believed that her family probably did not identify as Filipino strongly because it had to do with being respected by society in America and not being seen as an immigrant.

Both Jack and Kasey identified as indigenous versus Filipino. Although he is still navigating what it means to be Filipino, Jack shared that "So, uh, my birth certificate says I'm not. Um, I am an indigenous person from the Philippines–under the Philippine law–

when I was born–you were considered Philippine National Tribe and Cultural Communities with citizenship benefits." He identified as Southeast Asian or Asian American in high school, but still navigates that "Filipino-ness" very carefully. He navigates this carefully because he converted out of Catholicism, the main religion that most Filipinos follow. He did not feel a sense of community with Filipinos when it came to religion. He stated that he still is trying to figure out what it truly means to be Filipino. Kasey similarly stated that "So I'm actually indigenous Filipina. So I identify very strongly as Native Filipina. So native. It's different from–from–from the rest of the Philippines but constitutionally in the constitution of the Philippines, the native Filipinos who were the Igorots, the Lumad, um, the Aetas, we are actually not considered Filipino citizens, which is interesting." She stated how she only identifies as Indigenous within Filipino communities. Outside of Filipino communities, she just says that she is Filipino.

All eight participants identified themselves in different ways based on family influence. Some families saw themselves as indigenous, others did not want to be associated with being Filipino, while others were automatically Filipino and did not think any farther than that because of their upbringing. Their parents coming from the Philippines or being born in the Philippines, along with cultural traditions and norms, was enough for them to identify as Filipino. It was interesting to see how one participant was aware enough in high school to not identify himself as Asian because of his school experiences and struggles. He did not use the model minority myth to his advantage because he felt that he did not reap those benefits and instead had negative school experiences. But contrastingly, those who did identify as Filipino in a school that

deemed Filipinos smart, such as at the private all-girls school, allowed the participant to reap the benefits of the model minority myth. She was placed in all Advanced and Honors courses, while the participant who did not identify as Asian was not placed in AP and Honors courses. This greatly shows how based on students' school experiences, they were able to use the model minority label to their advantage or not.

Interestingly, students whose behavior most fits the Model Minority stereotype consciously did not identify as Asian, but rather as Filipino. This can be due to students' upbringing, where they always naturally and automatically identified themselves as Filipino because of their families, even if they did not know what it exactly meant. That is what they grew up with and that is all they know. Additionally, this can be greatly influenced by the school's perceptions and categorization of its students. For example, whenever students whose behavior fit under the Model Minority stereotype referred to the higher achieving students in their school, they would specifically identify and refer to those students as Filipino versus Asian because that is how the school administration categorized and called them in school.

CONCLUSION

To review, the research questions guiding this study are as follows: 1) How did the experiences of Filipino students in the 1990s affect their decisions to attend college?, 2) How did the familial, institutional, and social and cultural experiences of high school Filipino students during the 1990s affect their decisions to attend college?, 3) What familial, institutional, and social and cultural factors affected Filipino students' decisions to pursue a higher education?, and 4) To what extent are Filipinos' educational

experiences and trajectories similar to those of involuntary and voluntary minorities? First, as seen through the data, participants' decisions to attend college were heavily influenced by different social and cultural, institutional, and familial factors that they experienced in high school. Some factors had a positive influence over their college decisions, while other factors created barriers for participants to get to college. Second, more specifically, the categorized factors that affected students' experiences and college aspirations had varying impact. Social experiences that students went through in high school that impacted their college trajectories were their academic pathways, involvement in extracurricular activities, military influence, and gang activity/involvement. The more students were enrolled in college preparatory classes and extracurricular activities, the more likely their college trajectories were positively impacted. In contrast, gang activity and sometimes military influence had a negative impact on their college decisions. Institutional factors such as campus racial climate, the guidance and mentoring support students received in school, and their college access had varying affect as well. When students' campus racial climate was hostile, some were less likely to be on a path towards college. The guidance and mentoring that students received in high school was a crucial factor that influenced students' decision to attend college. Those that had a mentoring and guidance in high school were more likely to apply to college. Students' families had a very significant influence over their college decisions and trajectories, which were filled with expectations. Lastly, cultural factors such as students' identity formation influenced how they felt they were perceived and treated in school, influencing their everyday high school experiences. Therefore, third, as

just mentioned, the familial, institutional, and social and cultural factors that affected

Filipino students' decisions to pursue a higher education were their academic courses,

extracurricular activities, military influence, gang activity, campus racial climate,

guidance and mentoring, college access, college expectations, and identity formation.

These educational experiences that Filipino students faced in high school greatly aligns

with those of involuntary minorities, which is seen through their comparison to Latinos in

school throughout this study and Ogbu's definition of involuntary minorities.

Overall, through the data collected from newspaper articles in the 1990s,

qualitative interviews, and yearbooks as primary sources, the high school experiences of

Filipino students varied based on their geographical location, school experiences, and

school involvement. Data shows that the more involved students were with

extracurricular activities in school, the more likely that they were enrolled in Honors and

AP classes, where some attended Magnet high schools. Gang activity was the most

significant event that affected a majority of the students' school experiences. Previous

research found that "Filipino students felt that the stereotypes they faced were related to

delinquency, gangs, and low achievement" (Teranishi, 2002, p. 151). Buenavista (2010)

found that "almost one in five young [Filipino] men reported having been involved in

gang fights" (p. 122). Because gang activity was rampant during their years in high

school, these participants were either a part of this gang activity or avoided it. Those that

were enrolled in AP/Honors courses did not have many encounters with gang activity,

while those who were not highly involved in school activities or AP/Honors courses were

getting caught up in the gang life and/or struggling through school. This detailed data supports and broadens the literature on Filipinos' gang involvement during high school.

Because the literature frames most Filipino students as identifying the same way and falling under the large, monolithic Asian category, this data surprisingly shows us that all eight participants identified themselves differently based on how they were raised and based on the perspectives they had on the label that they identified with. While six of the eight participants identified as Filipino based on their cultural upbringing, family traditions, and not really knowing any differently, one participant made sure to clarify that he did not identify as Asian while the other participant admitted that she did not identify as Filipino up until recently. While one participant did not identify as Asian because of his difficult school experiences that do not align with the model minority myth, the other did not identify as Filipino because she did not want to be seen as the "other" or the immigrant in society. The participant who experienced negative school experiences, including receiving no support from his teachers and counselors, getting into trouble with the law while in school, and barely graduating from high school had a clear explanation of why he did not identify as Asian because of the misaligned model minority myth. Additionally, the last two participants identified themselves as indigenous Filipinos and only use the term Filipino, Filipino-American, Southeast Asian, or Asian-American when identifying themselves outside of the Filipino community. Ironically, this countered the participant who experienced positive school experiences and support in school, resulting in identifying as Asian-American.

As seen through these stories from each participant, most of the participants identified as Filipino because that is all they knew growing up within a Filipino family, while others were deeply rooted in their indigenous roots. Rather than the findings showing how students' identity affects their school experiences, data shows how students' experiences in and out of the classroom were affected by their extracurricular activities in and out of school. The students who were disconnected from and bored in school, not involved in extracurricular activities, and/or involved with gang activity had experiences more aligned with the experiences of Latinos in schools. These experiences included struggling academically, not having guidance or support from their school administration, and not having the sufficient resources to stay out of trouble. This greatly exemplifies how Filipino students are more aligned with involuntary minorities such as Latinos because of their struggles in school based on various factors. On the other hand, students who were highly involved in AP/Honors courses and extracurricular activities exemplified the experiences of those that fall under the model minority myth. Strikingly though, these students who had more positive experiences never identified as being Asian under the model minority myth. Rather, they discussed the pressures of being expected to attend college after high school despite all the struggles that they faced. By misconstruing Filipino students' experiences to fall under one category serves as a disservice to their overall educational trajectories.

While this study is contributing to an important area of research that needs to be extensively examined and expanded upon, there are limitations to this study as well as room for growth. Some of the participants had high school experiences that were more

53

like the experiences of Latin@s, while others had experiences that were more aligned with Asians. This study shows how researchers and educators should not categorize Filipinos as a monolithic group to avoid perpetuating stereotypes. Stereotypes are perpetuated because groups are automatically stereotyped and categorized in society. Latin@s and Asians do not have the same school experiences either, and therefore should not be clumped and deemed as one group. In the end, no group is monolithic. This study shows how experiences greatly vary for Filipinos. This is depicted through the various and broad experiences of eight different Filipinos living throughout Southern California in the 1990s. As discussed in this study, teacher and counselor bias in schools, societal stereotypes and racial microaggressions, parental involvement and expectation, neighborhood environments, and military influence all play a major role in the variation of students' experiences. This can apply to all groups and break down all stereotypes versus only be applied to Filipinos.

References

Agbayani-Siewert, P. (2004). Assumptions of Asian American Similarity: The Case of Filipino and Chinese American Students. *Social Work,49*(1), 39-51. Retrieved June 4, 2017, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/23720778.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A7eff25b0b8c224a58b100ecbbb677ca7

Buenavista, T. L. (2010). Issues Affecting U.S. Filipino Student Access to Postsecondary Education: A Critical Race Theory Perspective. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk,15*(1), 2nd ser., 114-126. Retrieved April 3, 2017, from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10824661003635093?scroll=top&needAcess=true

Census Bureau Statement on Classifying Filipinos. (2015, November 9). Retrieved June 4, 2017, from https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2015/cb15-rtq26.html

Conchas, G.Q. (2006). The color of success. *Teachers College, Columbia University*.

Contreras, F. E. (2005). Access, achievement, and social capital: Standardized exams and the Latino college-bound population. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, *4*(3), 197-214.

Crosnoe, R., & Turley, R. N. L. (2011). K-12 educational outcomes of immigrant youth. *The Future of Children*, *21*(1), 129-152.

Granberry, M. (1992, June 23). The V.P. in the 'Hood': Politics: Dan Quayle receives mostly critical response to his visit to a tough section of Southeast San Diego. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved April 3, 2017, from http://articles.latimes.com/1992-06 23/local/me-869_1_southeast-san-diego

Granberry, M., & Rotella, S. (1994, February 10). 3 Youths Shot Near School in San Diego: Violence: Racial conflict apparently sparked drive-by incident, police say. The victims are in good condition. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved April 3, 2017, from http://articles.latimes.com/1994-02-10/news/mn-21281_1_san-diego-school

Krikorian, G. (1990, June 24). Gang Bullets Terrorize 2 Communities : Crime: A Harbor City gang member was slain April 28. Since then, gunfire there and in Wilmington has killed four others. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved April 3, 2017, from http://articles.latimes.com/1990-06-24/local/me-660_1_gang-members

Krikorian, G., & Rae-Dupree, J. (1992, April 10). 8 Shot in Night of Drive-By Gang Violence in Harbor Area. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved April 3, 2017, from http://articles.latimes.com/1992-04-10/local/me-223_1_harbor-area

Morse High School. *The Key, 1993.* Print.

Nadal, K. L. (2004). Pilipino American Identity Development Model. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development,32*(1), 44-61. Retrieved May 30, 2017, from http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/j.21611912.2004.tb00360.x/full

Nadal, K. L. (2008). A Culturally Competent Classroom for Filipino Americans. *Multicultural Perspectives,10*(3), 155-161. Retrieved from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15210960802197763

Narbonne High School. *On Line, El Eco, 1997*. Print.

Narbonne High School. *Engraved in Time, El Eco, 1999*. Print.

Ocampo, A. C. (2013). "Am I Really Asian?": Educational Experiences and Panethnic Identification among Second-Generation Filipino Americans. *Journal of Asian American Studies,16*(3), 295-324. Retrieved April 3, 2017, from https://muse.jhu.edu/article/522881/summary.

Ogbu, J. U., & Simons, H. D. (1998). Voluntary and Involuntary Minorities: A Cultural Ecological Theory of School Performance with Some Implications for Education. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly,29*(2), 155-188. Retrieved April 3, 2017, from http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1525/aeq.1998.29.2.155/full

Ong, P., & Viernes, K. (2013). Filipino Americans and Educational Downward Mobility. *Asian American Policy Review,23*, 21-39. Retrieved April 3, 2017, from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1786882330?pq-origsite=gscholar

Pang, V. O., Han, P. P., & Pang, J. M. (2011). Asian American and Pacific Islander Students Equity and the Achievement Gap. *Educational Researcher,40*(8), 378-389.

Portes, A., & Hao, L. (2004). The schooling of children of immigrants: Contextual effects on the educational attainment of the second generation.*Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, *101*(33), 11920-11927.

Sue, D. W., Bucerri, J. M., Lin, A. I., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2007). Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology,13*, 72-81. Retrieved May 30, 2017, from http://psycnet.apa.org/journals/aap/S/1/88/

St. Lucy's Priory High School. *Regent Tales, 2002*. Print.

Teranishi, R. T. (2002). Asian Pacific Americans and critical race theory: An examination of school racial climate. *Equity &Excellence in Education*, *35*(2), 144-154.

Teranishi, R. T., Ceja, M., McDonough, P. M., Allen, W. R., & Antonio, A. L. (2004). The college-choice process for Asian Pacific Americans: Ethnicity and socioeconomic class in context. *The Review of Higher Education*, *27*(4), 527-551.

Yun, J. T., & Moreno, J. F. (2006). College access, K-12 concentrated disadvantage, and the next 25 years of education research. *Educational Researcher*, *35*(1), 12-19.