

Re-Imagining Roots of Knowledge through Filipino Community Collaborations

by

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Dedication

This is for...

my *Barangay*, who believed in me when I did not believe in myself. This is for all of you, my beloved community of family and friends, who have always brought me back home to myself.

my nephew Xavier, who is the first Fraser in this next generation. Seeing your sweet smile again soon was one of my biggest motivations for finishing this dissertation. May you grow up in spaces of love, care, resistance, and knowledge.

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Abstract

There have been significant contributions and effort from Filipino communities to document their histories and educate others on Filipino culture and history despite colonialism and racism rendering their broader presence in society largely invisible. Filipinos' preservation and educational efforts have grassroots, community-based origins both historically and contemporarily that fill the gaps left by a schooling system which fails to provide adequate representational and critical resources for Filipino youth. I argue that the issue stems from colonized systems of knowledge that create a disconnect between academic and community educational spaces, particularly for Filipino history. Through a critical qualitative study that explores three research sites documenting Filipino history based in California and Michigan, I analyze different types of historical and educational efforts intended to expose broader audiences to the contributions of Filipina/x/o Americans. The importance of this work addresses the need for collective and collaborative partnerships and labor between communities and academic institutions to move towards decolonizing and liberating educational spaces. The recommendations relate to doing transformative work with museums, supporting youth participation in historical inquiry, and cultivating creative approaches to learning that include care, healing, and imagination. The significance of this study is that it centers community-based knowledge and offers insights into theories and methodologies aimed at challenging white supremacy and colonized knowledge systems.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Ang hindi lumingon sa pinanggalingan ay hindi makarating sa paroroonan.

(A person who does not look back to where he came from would not be able to reach his destination.) - Dr. Jose P. Rizal

In the fall of 2015, my mentor introduced me to the loose interpretation of a quote by Filipino revolutionary Dr. Jose P. Rizal: “Know History, Know Self. No History, No Self.” At that time, I was already in my twenties, and it came as no surprise that, for most of my life, I had been unaware of Filipino history. Consequently, I lacked a strong sense of my Filipino identity. It was not until my young adulthood that I aggressively and unapologetically sought out exposure to the contributions and history of Filipinos in the U.S. and across the diaspora. This became a significant moment in my life, coloring the lens through which I now view the world.

I faced an identity complex in which my struggle was deeply rooted in American settler colonialism. As the first Filipinos in our family born in the United States, my older brother and I faced several complicating factors. Our parents had emigrated from the Philippines in the mid-to-late 1970s, enduring the same transnational tensions that many Filipino immigrants experienced—forced dislocation, disjointed family units, and cultural decline. When they became parents, they assimilated us into the quintessential “American” way, distancing us from Filipino culture as a means of protecting and preparing ourselves for what it would take to be Filipino in the United States.

As a child of immigrants, I did not endure the same hardships and difficulties that my parents experienced upon arriving in the United States. Nonetheless, it was still a sacrifice to

have a sense of loss of my cultural identity and belonging. While my story is far from universal or even shared among Filipinos or their Filipino American children, it is a familiar narrative for many first-generation Filipinos who arrived in the post-1965 immigration wave. During that time, communities were adjusting to life outside the archipelago and adapting to a new country. Unfortunately, Western assimilation, coupled with the lack of representation of Filipino history in schools, was a common and symptomatic issue of a larger colonial project that resulted in the erasure of Black, Brown, and Indigenous representation, especially in schools.

Although the issue of representation, or its lack thereof, is prominent in my lived experiences, the issue goes beyond mere representation. This became clear to me during my time as a graduate student at San Francisco State University (SFSU), where I was exposed to the empowering, critical, and radical representation of Filipinos. This was made possible through the guidance of Filipina community scholar-activists such as Dr. Alyson Tintiangco-Cubales, as well as her colleagues, *kumares* (sister-friends), and fellow Pinays, including the late Dr. Dawn Mabalon.

Dr. Tintiangco-Cubales introduced me to Pin@y Education Partnerships (PEP), a service-learning/learning-service program that partners with the university, public schools, and the community to provide ethnic studies courses and curriculum resources for Filipina/x/o¹ communities and other similarly marginalized groups. This program was a powerful demonstration of how representation can lead to tangible change and activism in marginalized communities. Introduced to the concept of Pinayism during my time at SFSU as a graduate

¹ The term Filipinx recognizes people of the Philippine diaspora. The 'x' recognizes the genderqueer/agender/gender nonconforming demonym referring to the people who descend from the Philippines, as well as being an open symbol to those that identify as Filipino and Filipina, such as Filipina/x/o. The 'x' moves away from this normativity to disrupt patriarchal ideologies. Within this study, I use the term Filipino to represent all people of the Philippine diaspora; however, I distinguish between Filipina/o/x where it is socio-politically and culturally appropriate to be specific about gendered dynamics.

student, I learned about a new pedagogical approach to Filipina womanhood that includes Filipina stories, history, and experiences (Tintiangco-Cubales & Sacramento, 2009). There, Pinayism grounded my educational experience as a graduate student, and I lived in one of the most prominent areas of Filipino American history.

San Francisco State University is just a 20-minute drive from some significant historical locations, such as Bindlestiff Studio, the only community-based performing arts venue in the U.S. dedicated to highlighting Filipino American and Pilipino artists. The campus is also close to SOMA Pilipinas, San Francisco's Filipino Cultural Heritage District, which has played a vital role throughout history as the site of Filipino activism since the late 19th century. Morro Bay, the historic site of the first Filipinos landing in North America in 1587, is just a few hours south of SFSU. Still, despite the representation of critical Filipina scholars and the proximity to these historical sites, I wondered why it took so long for me to find them and learn about my history.

The root of the issue was not a lack of resources on Filipino history and culture, but rather the pervasive influence of settler colonialism and racism in the schooling system that rendered them invisible. Despite their valuable presence, Filipino resources are often separated from mainstream society. Growing up, I was unaware of the many youth-serving programs that could have connected me to my heritage, but this disconnect highlighted a larger issue within today's education: the separation of community histories and the resources to learn about them. Furthermore, the isolation of communities and educational institutions, from K-12 schooling to university, has perpetuated this disconnect.

Statement of Problem: Filipino History Erasure and Misrepresentation

Current research on Filipino representation reveals that very little is written about Filipinos, and as a result, they are often referred to as the "forgotten Filipinos" (Takaki, 1987;

Yamane, 2002). The focus of Filipinos' narratives is usually on the American colonization of the Philippines, despite them having a unique history within the U.S. This neglect is due in part to the Eurocentric perspective overwhelmingly taught in schools (Brown & Brown, 2010; Schocker & Woyshner, 2013), which overlooks the rich and complex narratives of Filipino history, community, and culture (David, 2011; Root, 1997). Consequently, this continues to reify the erasure, misrepresentation, and absence of Filipinos and their contributions to American history. However, the issue of misrepresentation is not new; it is part of a broader discourse surrounding inclusion and exclusion within the U.S., where those in power get to legitimize whose history and knowledge matter and whose does not (Ladson-Billings, 2003).

Palmié and Stewart (2016) describe the dominance of Western history and historical practice as historicism. They argue that it “has affected the rest of the world and become part of local epistemological economies” because historicism occupies a hegemonic place within it (Palmié & Stewart, 2016, p. 210). They maintain that nationalist historiography grounds a specific history as the authentic source of truth and views anything that differs from Western historical thought as inauthentic. While historically marginalized communities have their versions and accounts of history, many of which clash with the dominant historicist versions, those in power often exclude or erase their histories.

As I emphasize in Chapter 2, the Eurocentric ideologies of schooling perpetuate the colonial hierarchy of valued knowledge systems by selectively including and excluding aspects of American history that uphold and privilege whiteness, which reflects societal views on the inclusion and exclusion of people of color in the U.S. This whitewashing of American history has adversely affected Filipinos and other historically marginalized groups. For instance, the dominant narrative of American slavery fails to explicitly identify racism or white supremacy as

its source, referring to it instead as a tragic exception in America's past (Brown & Brown, 2010). However, misrepresenting historical narratives perpetuates a colorblind, post-racial ideology that fails to acknowledge the history of racial violence as part of a larger pattern of systemic and structural racism. Studies of ethnocentricity indicate that negative representations of people of color can result in youth forming conceptions of the 'ethnic other' (Cruz, 2002). Indeed, the whitewashing² of American history within the U.S. schooling system has other consequences, shaping the representation, or lack thereof, for Filipino youth as excluded in their schooling experiences, even though they possess the agency, resources, and capital to achieve within it.

Filipino Community Knowledge and Documentation

In response to the erasure of Filipinos in American history, some Filipino communities have initiated their own process of documenting their history and culture, specifically for educational purposes. Filipina scholars such as Halagao, Tintiangco-Cubales, and Cordova (2009) have found an abundance of resources and knowledge surrounding Filipino history, which primarily exists through community-based efforts within Filipino communities. Ethnographic studies show that partnerships between Filipino communities and academic institutions have grown since the 1960s, supporting the development of Filipino/x/o American curricula that integrate community-based knowledge (Halagao, Tintiangco-Cubales, & Cordova, 2009). However, although Filipino curricula development projects are available, they lack academic recognition, which renders them inaccessible and limits their availability to broader audiences. Most of those resources evolved from grassroots activism and the collective efforts of Filipinx/a/o youth themselves who yearned to know more about their families, identities, and

² The white washing of history can be summarized as the process of telling history that prioritizes white American narratives, which results in the erasure of marginalized communities and supports white supremacist understandings (Sandoval et al., 2016).

communities in response to their absence from formal school curricula. Today, communities and youth are the originators of many of the academic and curricular contributions that fill the gaps in education and promote their cultural history.

According to Yosso (2005), resources created by communities are not only culturally rich, but also have the potential to be integrated into schools and classrooms for educational purposes, including curriculum development, pedagogical approaches, and diversity of content. However, as Halagao, Tintiangco-Cubales, and Cordova (2009) point out, information derived from community histories is often considered unofficial from an academic standpoint because it exists within the community and not within academic institutions.

Discounting or ignoring these resources has consequences for students of color. Scholars have found that the negative representation of students' racial/ethnic identities within the classroom can negatively impact their identity development and engagement in school (Brown & Au, 2014; Brown & Brown, 2010). Conversely, the research indicates that when the classroom is representative and inclusive of students' cultural backgrounds, there is often a positive effect on the identity and engagement levels of youth of color (Burgo, 2016; Gutiérrez, 2008; Horn, 2014).

Even so, a gap exists in the literature about the lack of effective partnerships between academic institutions and non-academic spaces, resulting in community educators carrying the burden of educating and teaching Filipino history. The issue is not simply one of representation but of the historical colonization of knowledge systems and how that creates a disconnect between academic and community educational spaces.

Although scholars have pioneered new research methodologies and pedagogies aimed at breaking down barriers between academia and communities, academia as a whole has not provided sufficient space for research projects grounded in liberatory and decolonizing purposes

to exist beyond subfields of critical educational research. As a result, research centering on the experiences and knowledge of marginalized communities often faces significant challenges to gaining recognition and acceptance within the broader academic community.

To move beyond a novel idea to re-imagining an educational reality, we (society) must interrogate how we are preparing students to develop relationships and understand their relationality within the world (Recollet, 2016; Smith, Tuck, & Yang, 2018). In other words, we must ask: How do students understand their connections to the land, their ancestors, and each other, and how are they equipped to understand these relationships in ways that promote liberation instead of merely entertaining an idealistic future?

To challenge the dominant narratives that perpetuate racism, sexism, ableism, and other forms of colonialism within education, it is essential to recognize that knowledge exists beyond academia and traditional schooling systems. As a society, we must value community members as legitimate researchers and historians, regardless of whether they hold professional titles. This study explores the crucial approaches for achieving this within critical educational research and theory.

Purpose, Framing, and Goals of Research

Although this study focuses on the disconnect between academic and community educational spaces regarding the preservation and teaching of Filipino history, it is important to recognize that the issue is not a recent one. Rather, it is the result of a long-standing colonial hierarchy that values certain knowledge systems over others. Addressing the problem, as I attempt to do here, requires crossing the boundaries of educational partnerships and re-imagining knowledge production in ways that repair the epistemic violence inflicted upon historically marginalized communities such as Filipinos.

To achieve this goal, I conducted a critical qualitative study that centered on Filipino communities and employed ethnographic and case study approaches. The purpose is to explore how different types of partnerships between academic and community spaces can promote awareness of the contributions made by Filipinx Americans and educate broader audiences. For this reason, I investigate how Filipino history is documented and by whom, the level of community engagement in these efforts, and the educational purposes behind their documentation and preservation.

Research Questions

The four research questions guiding this study are:

1. How have Filipino communities archived and documented their own histories for education and culture in the U.S.? How have others archived and documented Filipino histories for education in the U.S.?
2. How have Filipino communities' efforts to preserve their history influenced the types of curricula and pedagogies developed for Filipino students? Has that curriculum supported or countered liberatory and decolonizing aims?
3. How do contemporary partnerships between Filipino historians, community members, and educators inform how to preserve and produce knowledge for Filipino youth and communities for liberatory and decolonizing aims?
4. What are the points of collaboration and/or tension between academic institutions and grassroots communities creating spaces of liberatory and decolonizing learning for Filipino students?

The study aims to assess the extent to which community engagement and collaborative knowledge sharing have created opportunities for liberatory and decolonizing education, which involves creativity, transformation, and critical consciousness around teaching and learning.

Overview of Research Design

This study uses a combination of case study and ethnographic methods to collect and analyze archival, observation, and interview data. It focuses on three distinct research sites that share a common goal of preserving Filipino history. The first site is the Philippine Collections at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, which encompasses university-based museums and repositories holding collections dating back to the 19th century. Entirely grassroots-funded and organized, the second site is the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) Museum, located in Stockton, California. The third site, the Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies at the University of California, Davis, is the first center for Filipino Studies in the United States. It hosts the Welga Digital Archive online, which promotes and preserves Filipino history in California.

Over eight months, I collected more than 100 artifacts, conducted observations in four different cities, and interviewed nine Filipino community scholars and discipline-specific experts in history, archival studies, and archaeology. To analyze the data, I employed Watkins's (2017) rigorous and accelerated data reduction technique, which helped me to synthesize the different types of data. I prioritized descriptive and thematic coding to evaluate emerging themes. Based on my analysis, I present a comprehensive view of the historical preservation, educational content, and community engagement efforts observed at each site, as well as the knowledge and educational objectives of the participants.

Research Positionality and Assumptions

As a qualitative researcher, it is important to consider how our subjectivity is shaped by our positionality and how we relate to our work. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) maintain that reflecting on our positionality allows us to address how our identity may impact our power, privilege, and purpose in conducting research. As a first-generation Filipina American, I feel a sense of privilege and responsibility to do this work for my community and family, who are in the photographs below.

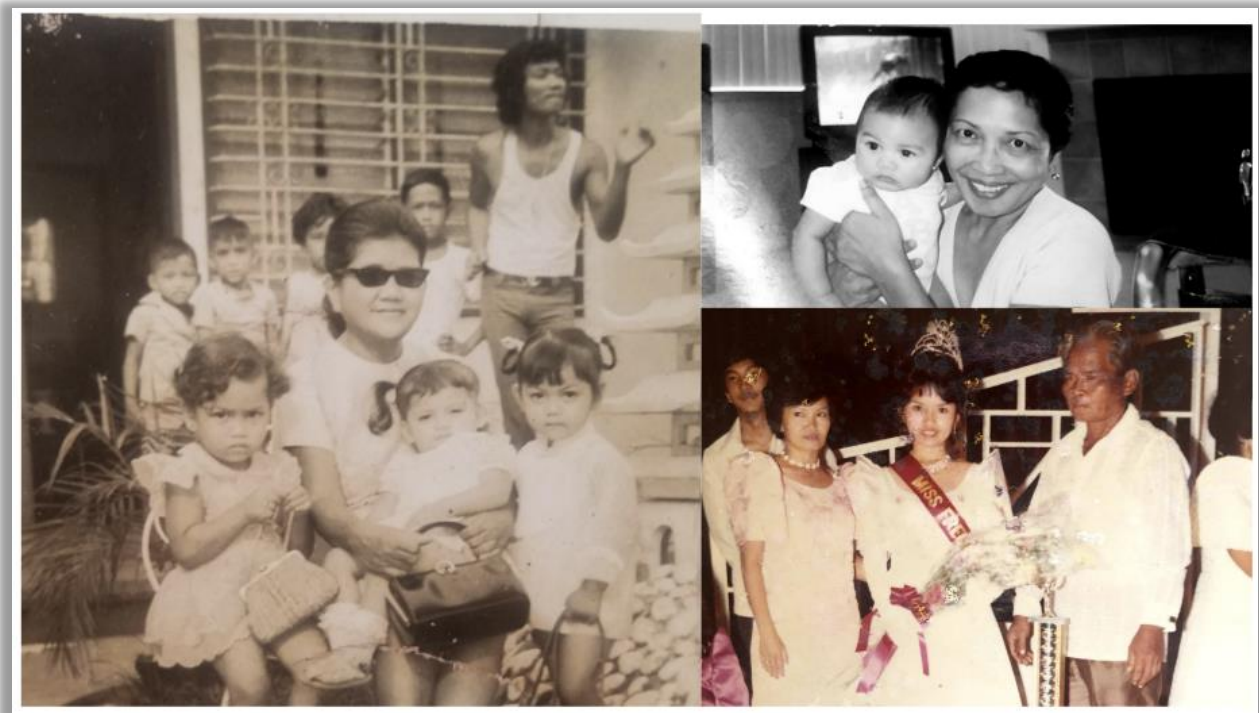


Figure 1 Collage of photos of my intergenerational family, paternal side of family in the Philippines circa late 1960s (left), paternal grandmother holding my uncle in the Philippines circa 1960s (top right), maternal grandparent and my mother circa 1980s (bottom right). Personal family photos seen on the Left and top right are from Jovita Mackie's Collection. The bottom right photo is from Luzviminda Agcanas Personal Collection.

As I grew up in California in a working-class immigrant family, as seen in the photographs below, the loss of my cultural identity and the assimilation of my American identity was how my parents prepared me for life in America. However, it was also symptomatic of racialization and colonization. This background, as well as the lived experiences of my family, motivated me to center and validate the knowledge held by Filipinx Americans and other communities of color to

heal from a misrepresented history. As Ladson-Billings (2000) writes, “my research is a part of my life and my life is a part of my research” (p. 268), which highlights the impact of my personal experiences and identity on this research.

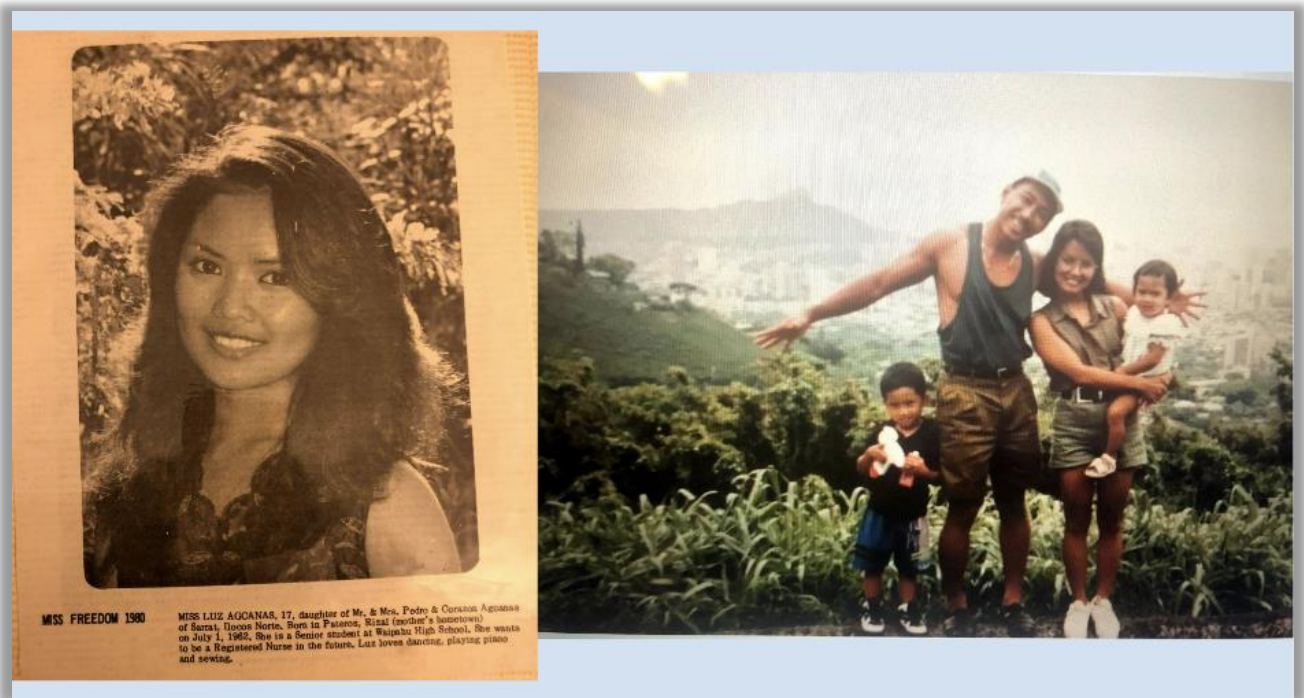


Figure 2 Collage of photos of my mother in a Hawaiian newspaper editorial in 1980 (left), and a family photo circa early 1990s in Hawaii (right). Personal collection of Marvin Fraser.

As noted earlier, it is crucial to acknowledge the impact of positionality on research, including how identity shapes our power, privilege, and purpose. While my position as a first-generation Filipina American has given me a sense of privilege and responsibility, it is essential to recognize that my positionality is not solely defined by a shared racial and panethnic identity. Some of the nuances of my positionality, such as not speaking my parent’s first languages and not being raised with certain cultural values, have also shaped my perspective.

Moreover, being a graduate student at a predominantly white institution in Michigan adds another layer of complexity to my positionality. This places me in an insider-outsider position, as

described by Kondo (1986), which creates tension between similarity and difference being Filipina and a researcher. I must, as a result, reflect on how my positionality influences my research and understand which spaces I can and cannot enter during data collection, and which spaces I co-exist in. As I previously stated, recognizing the impact of my positionality on my research is vital in fulfilling my responsibility and privilege to both my family and community.

Overview of Findings and Implications

Chapters 4 through 6 provide a detailed exploration of the themed findings. How the data corresponds to each question, I briefly summarize below.

The first finding, “documentation for *kuwento* (story/storytelling) and crafting counter-narratives,” addresses Research Question 1. This finding illustrates how Filipinos actively documented their history as a form of resistance to dominant, hegemonic narratives of Filipino Americans. Through crafting counter-narratives, as seen in the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center data, they resisted stereotypes and misrepresentations of their culture and experiences. However, the data also reveals how during the American colonial rule over the Philippines, white American scholars perpetuated racial stereotypes while documenting Filipino culture and history. This was evident in the Philippine Collections at U-M. In response, U-M scholars, students, and community members worked to reclaim the Philippine Collections through a reparative project, and thus are resisting colonial narratives.

The second finding, “community responsive pedagogy as resistance, care, and healing,” addresses Research Question 2. The data revealed that educators used pedagogical approaches centered on care, healing, and compassion, in response to the constraints of K-12 schools that typically operate within a framework of settler colonial, neoliberal, capitalistic notions of education, rendering it challenging to teach within a decolonizing framework.

The third finding, “collaboration and use of social capital for *Kapwa*,” responds to Research Question 3. Filipino museum and university educators leveraged their communal networks as a form of social capital across all three research sites. Partnerships offered an exchange of diverse skills, experiences, and resources, reflecting the value of “*Kapwa*” or shared identity, in the relational dynamics of partners and teammates.

The last finding, “reckoning supports with the constraints of gendered and weighted labor,” helps to answer Research Question 4. The data reveals the significance of institutional and community-based supports, such as historically white universities taking accountability for institutional harm, but they also reveal the constraints and challenges, such as university departments having isolated and separate internal dynamics, leading to a lack of cohesion and collaboration. Constraints specific to the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center included the lack of funding and resources for community-centered work. Furthermore, a shared constraint among all research sites was the gendered dynamics that positioned Filipinas to be overtasked as they participated in different forms of intellectual, physical, and emotional labor.

Rationale and Significance of Study for Education

Filipinx American students are experiencing academic disparities, which contribute to the overall educational gap affecting Black and Brown students disproportionately (Halagao et al., 2009). Just as some critical scholars are exploring ways to advance schooling with an anti/decolonial and liberal approach, this study is an effort to advance theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical development around Filipina/x/o American studies. It seeks to address knowledge gaps in schools (Ladson-Billings, 2006) and contribute to the restitution of the educational debt owed to marginalized students, including Filipino youth, by providing equitable educational experiences. The study prioritizes radical healing and liberation grounded

in the politics of care (hooks, 1996; Akom, 2011) to help address the systemic issues that have contributed to the academic disparities experienced by Filipino American students.

To advance pedagogical practices that develop collaborative partnerships, a communal approach is necessary that centers on humanizing historically marginalized communities. This research addresses the need for collective and collaborative partnerships between communities and academic institutions, and it suggests how to move towards decolonizing and liberating educational spaces. Specifically, the study explores how partnerships can disrupt siloed disciplinary contributions to create a paradigm shift towards normalizing collaboration with communities and building upon the knowledge preservation and production of people and places that have hitherto been unrecognized. Furthermore, this study centers community-based knowledge and offers insights into theories and methodologies aimed at challenging white supremacy and colonized knowledge systems.

Implications

The study's findings have significant implications for the development of youth programs that could leverage youth participatory action research (YPAR) methods. I suggest that YPAR methods could position young people as historians of their communities, challenging the colonial project that erases Filipino voices and history. By building on the groundwork of the research sites in this study, a student program using YPAR could enable young people to engage in historical preservation and documentation efforts that disrupt settler colonial narratives about Filipino American history.

The study further proposes that the use of collections provided by these research sites could allow young people to engage in critical and decolonial discourse on topics related to the Philippines and Filipino history. The involvement of young people might also inform curriculum

development and content knowledge for social studies, empowering youth to be developers of knowledge rather than passive recipients of it (Freire, 1970). This approach to education could be a powerful tool for challenging systemic issues contributing to the academic disparities experienced by Filipinx American students and other marginalized students.

A Preview of the Chapters

This dissertation comprises six chapters that outline the research process and the study's findings. Chapter 1 presents an overview of the research, including the study's goals, assumptions, and positionality, to frame the significance of the research. Chapter 2 provides historical context before delving into the literature review, followed by the conceptual framework. The beginning of the chapter contextualizes the history of American schooling in the Philippines and the migration of Filipinos to the United States, leading to the literature on the impact of colonization on Filipinos in the U.S. and the importance of university-community partnerships. Indigenous museums that model decolonizing practices are also discussed. Next, I describe the conceptual framework of the study, which incorporates decolonial theories, critical theories of race, and community-responsive pedagogies. Chapter 3 describes the critical research methodology and qualitative techniques I used to document historical preservation, community engagement, and collaborative knowledge-building efforts at each of the three research sites.

The latter half of the dissertation presents the data findings and my analysis. Chapter 4 provides the data findings from the repositories and community archives that document Filipino history. It also discusses contemporary partnerships that support historical preservation and the educational work of museums. Chapter 5 identifies thematic categories that encompass common findings across the research sites. In both chapters 4 and 5, I connect back to the theories framing the study and the literature review. Chapter 6 provides a deeper theoretical analysis of the data,

practical implications for education, and broader conclusions about the significance of the research project for informing academic and community educators about how to improve the education of all youth and expose broader audiences to the contributions and history of Filipino Americans.

Chapter 2 Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

The distinct racial hierarchy that separates ‘academic’ knowledge from ‘community’ knowledge is a longstanding issue that Filipinos and other scholars of color have addressed previously, particularly in relation to the field of education. Although the issue of separation or collaboration between academic institutions and community education is still a contested space in educational scholarship, more research is needed to explore whether and how these joined partnerships can be beneficial or harmful. The purpose of this study is to explore the way different types of partnerships that involve community spaces and academic institutions can be supported to educate others and expose broader audiences to Filipino Americans’ contributions to society. An extensive literature review and a multifaceted conceptual framework that integrates key concepts from complementary critical theories has guided my research efforts.

This chapter opens with the historical context of Philippine-U.S. relations, including the American colonial ruling period over the Philippines starting in 1898 and Filipinos’ immigration to the U.S in the early to mid-20th century. The chapter then presents a literature review and describes the conceptual framework. The historical analysis in the beginning of this chapter demonstrates the contextual importance of American imperialism and its colonial occupation of the Philippines in relation to the diverse Filipino histories and experiences that emerged in specific geographic contexts. The historical context also highlights the different responses that Filipino communities have taken against decades of colonialism, largely within the scope of community organizing and activism in the U.S. The literature review focuses on two main topics including the representation of Filipinos affected by colonialism and racism and the efforts to

document and preserve their histories, which include the roles of university partnerships and community museums. The review of these topics helped me analyze the way colonization caused white Americans to racialize Filipino Americans, which contributed to their invisibility, exclusion, and erasure in broader U.S. society. This provided a lens through which to understand the relationship that Filipinos have with contemporary schooling, as schools continue to perpetuate the oppression of Filipinx American students through the misrepresentation and invisibility of historical narratives across various curricula. The relationship to schooling then informed the need to understand Filipino communities' response to the inequity, which revealed their contributions in the field of education and activism.

Another critical aspect of the literature review examines the roles of community museums in decolonizing colonial institutions to return material objects, sites, and resources to their communities. This scholarship proved very relevant, given museums' contribution to community education and knowledge preservation efforts. Although much of the community museum literature draws from Indigenous experiences, I describe the way certain key goals and principles of Indigenous decolonizing museum work can be applied to Filipinos' efforts in preservation and decolonization as well.

Taken together, the transdisciplinary literature review draws on scholarship within the fields of education, Asian American studies, Filipina/o American studies, psychology, museum studies, and sociology. These various sets of studies furthered the discussion of how the history of colonialism and racism impacted the educational spaces for Filipinx American youth. They also highlight that Filipino communities have continued to work to document their own histories for education and culture using materials and resources based upon local and provincial knowledge.

The History of Filipino Americans in the U.S.

Following the peak successions of colonial power around the world from formal empires, such as the British Empire and the Spanish Empire during the late 16th and early 18th centuries, the emergent American Empire of the 1890s and 1900s sought to replicate similar notions of global conquest through the development of American imperialism within territories in the Western Pacific and Latin America (Schumacher, 2016). The materialized power came in 1898 with the Spanish-American War. Some historians have argued that the U.S. embarked upon war with Spain from a ‘humanitarian sympathy’ (Pratt, 1934, p. 163) for Cuba’s independence from Spanish colonial rule (Rhodes, 1996) and for the benefit of modern industrial civilization (Schumacher, 2016).

However, other scholars have countered that it was attributable to Americans’ interest in garnering industrial and financial power through territorial expansion and imperialism (Faulkner, 1924; Pratt, 1934; Rhodes, 1996), and they assert that the expansion was accomplished through “forces of violence and exploitation with corruptive and degenerative repercussions” (Schumacher, 2016, p. 203). Regardless of the causes of the war, the U.S. still claimed victory in the Spanish-American War in 1898, and the U.S. Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris in 1898 with Spain. The treaty ceded sovereignty over the Philippines, Guam, Cuba, and Puerto Rico from the Spanish to Americans. The U.S. also annexed the independent state of Hawaii and acquired Wake Island, American Samoa, the Panama Canal Zone, and the Virgin Islands within its colonial empire in the following years. Although there is a significant amount of scholarship that describes the European empires and their global imperialism, the U.S. colonial empire is often obscured from the narratives of the larger overseas imperial networks. Schumacher (2016) argued that the “... American discourse emphasized the nation’s anti-colonial origins, underlined

the legitimacy of its imperial outreach... and developed semantic conventions through which U.S. colonialism was alternatively understood as either a non-empire or a brief and inconsequential detour from the path of national development” (p. 207). However, Kramer (2011) contended that the language of “U.S. empire” is not as important as exploring the imperial historiography and imperial power of the U.S. itself.

While the Treaty of Paris in 1898 resulted in the U.S. colonial acquisition of the Philippine Islands, there was still no formal recognition of Philippine independence, which had been an ongoing struggle that began a couple years before the Spanish-American War. The Philippine Revolution against Spain occurred in 1896 as a result of the Filipino people’s anti-colonial efforts led by Emilio Aguinaldo, who wanted to fight for Philippines sovereignty. The revolution served as a response to 300 years of colonial rule under Spain with abuses on the part of government, military, economic, and religious powers over the country. However, what ensued was the U.S.’s intervention as an unofficial ally to the Philippines in the Spanish-American War, which later claimed victory over Spain. Aguinaldo, head of the newly formed revolutionary government, issued the Philippine Declaration of Independence on June 12, 1898, although the Treaty of Paris that was signed just several months later did not recognize Philippine independence formally, and granted the U.S. colonial control over the Philippines instead.

The result of transitioning from one colonial power to another prompted a revolt on the part of the Filipino people led by President Aguinaldo, who sought independence, not a change in colonial rulers. The Philippine-American War lasted from 1899 until 1902, resulting in over 200,000 Filipino civilians’ deaths and cemented the imposition of American colonial control over the Philippines. The increasing tensions in the Philippines after the war amplified the

American discourse of legitimizing the Philippine Islands' need for intervention in military, political, economic, and cultural terms.

Scientific Curiosity and Global Expansion, aka Colonialism by Another Name

The early 20th century continued to see a global focus on expanding imperial knowledge, which involved colonial empires developing systems such as economic trade, military industries, and schooling in foreign territories. These empires' further exploration of the U.S. territories in the tropics ultimately demonstrated their desire for colonial conquest. Under the guise of Western scientific curiosity, the knowledge and discoveries that European and American voyagers around the globe made were the result of colonial ambitions and relied on the exploitation of colonized peoples. Schumacher (2016) explained that "... American imperialists collected colonial knowledge, which they identified, stored, transported, and communicated through their extensive travels, fact-finding missions, archives, books, articles, maps and photographs" (p. 221). Many of those who traveled in the name of science were missionaries, businessmen, scholars, and colonial officials. The American scholars who traveled to the Philippines with the original intent to learn through geographic observations, artifact extractions, or site excavations developed a focused interest in the Filipino peoples themselves.

In the early 1900s, anthropology was emerging as a newer academic field, although it was rooted in problematic displays of exploitive ethnographic research with observations and fieldnotes that often lacked any interaction with the people of the culture, and in which the researcher assumed little responsibility for representing their findings in objectifying and dehumanizing ways (Geismar, 2013). In addition, the turn of the century also saw the rise in popularity of eugenics and scientific racism that promulgated the assumed inferiority of non-white peoples compared to white Europeans, which created a racially hierarchical view of the

world to which many people who held authoritative power in the country subscribed. “Eugenic theories and scientific racism drew support from contemporary xenophobia, antisemitism, sexism, colonialism and imperialism, as well as justifications of slavery, particularly in the United States” (National Genome Research Institute, 2022). The consequence of eugenics, global travel, and scientific curiosity resulted in the ‘exotifying gaze’ on Indigenous people around the world, including the people of the Philippines (Aparicio and Chávez-Silverman, 1997; Geismar, 2013).

Many scholars and colonial officials became interested in exposing the Indigenous people, who were referred to primarily as the non-Christian tribes of the Philippines, to broader American audiences in the States. In exhibiting the Filipinos as inferior peoples in need of American support, there was a rationale for the broader American public that justified the colonial rule in the U.S.-Philippine relationship. A more insidious rationale involved the U.S.’s desire for continental expansion and support of a racial hierarchy with white Anglo-Saxons at the top as superior to Indigenous peoples (Trafford, 2015). The Philippine Exposition at the St. Louis World’s Fair in 1904 and the Lewis & Clark Centennial & American Pacific Exposition & Oriental Fair in Portland, Oregon in 1905 were examples of living exhibits that introduced distorted representations of the Philippines and its people, as well as other Indigenous groups. The thousands of tribal Filipino men, women, and children on display took unwitting part in promoting a political narrative of progress and expansion that “... signaled the importance of imperial and maritime interests in the Pacific, including the recent annexation of Hawaii, the occupation of eastern Samoa, and the colonization of the Philippine islands” (Trafford, 2015, p. 164).

American Public Education System and Thomasites

The continued curiosity and exploration of the Philippines was impelled by white American travelers' exotification and ethnic fetishization of Filipinos on their global expeditions. The well-documented observational information created further intrigue about the lack of development on the islands in systems of medicine, government, military, and schooling. Filipino authors Scharlin and Villanueva (2000) argued that American educators and missionaries viewed colonization as a way to "Americanize" the archipelago through governmental and economic control. Following the goals of the U.S.'s 25th President, William McKinley, and his colonial project of Americanization in the Philippines, the U.S. Philippine Commission was formed in 1900. Governor William H. Taft—the first U.S. governor of the Philippines—headed the commissions, which included Dean C. Worcester (Michigan), Luke E. Wright (Tennessee), Henry C. Ide (Vermont), and Bernard Moses (California).

The American colonial policy's institutional hegemonic actions were associated with the values that American educators promulgated within the newly established schooling system in the Philippines. These were the values of the English language, religion, American democracy, etc. The U.S. free public school system, which had been established in the 1830s,³ was replicated in the Philippines in 1901, and established American schools that offered public education to Filipino youth as part of President McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation policies and military strategies (Constantino, 1970). These policies reflected President McKinley's goal to declare the U.S.'s intentions to 'uplift' the Filipino peoples rather than conquer them based upon the belief that Filipinos were unfit to govern themselves. However, despite McKinley's intention, the

³ In the 1830s, the creation of common schools or free public schools, was being advocated for in the U.S. by such educators as Horace Mann (Kaestle, 1983; Center on Educational Policy, 2007; Neem, 2017). Mann argued that common schools would help transform children into productive citizens because schooling instruction would include subject-learning and also the moral instruction needed to instill civic virtues.

Philippines still saw imperial expansion and capitalist control under American colonial rule.

Governor and head of the U.S. Philippine Commission Taft wrote:

The problem which the United States has had set before it is the question of how to educate the Filipino people to be a self-governing people. The criticisms for this policy are really founded on a denial of the possibility of fitting a people like the Filipinos for self-government. We must admit that with respect to tropical races, this is a new experiment. Such a policy has never been attempted by any government having tropical colonies or dependencies, and the issue of whether it is a feasible and practicable policy remains to be decided. Speaking for myself, I think it is entirely practicable, if sufficient time and effort are given to working it out. (p. 269)

Taft's critiques proved that the U.S. did not state explicitly when they would grant independence to the Philippines, though policies granted discretionary governmental power to resign with the U.S. Filipinos were held responsible for their own economic inefficiency, but in reality, the inefficiency was attributable to the U.S.'s colonial rule and government intervention.

The Benevolent Assimilation policy was signed after the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Spanish-American War, and provided justification for the Philippines' annexation. The policy stated that the full control and government of the Philippines would be ceded to the U.S. military. Consistent with the policy, American public schools in the Philippines served as a vehicle to channel the colonizing policies that propagated American values through education.

As American governmental influence offered the promise of American exceptionalism through democracy and militarization in the Philippines, the Bureau of Education was another

branch of the imperialist network that promoted the same American colonial policy (Constantino, 1970). The Philippines public school system was established in 1901 under the direction of Frederick W. Atkinson, a former school principal from Massachusetts whom Charles W. Eliot, the president of Harvard University, recommended to Commissioner Taft (McMahon, 2000). Atkinson wrote, “The home government demands rightly that as soon as possible the people of these Islands shall become Americanized. We must begin with the child. You cannot make Americans of the adult Filipinos... we may make of the child what we choose (qtd in Lardizabal, 1991, p. 91). The goal was to socialize and educate future generations of Filipino youth under the American value system. Schools became the site of American colonialism, or what Pratt (1991) defined as the contact zone, “... where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of power” (p. 34). McMahon (2000) argued that schools were the colonial domain between the colonizer and colonized whereby “... education was a particularly effective tool in establishing control because it promulgated societal values and offered a particular way of understanding the world” (p. 74).

The Influence of the Thomasites

The universal public education process saw an influx of American teachers to the Philippines. In 1901, the Philippine Commission passed Act no. 48, which “... authorized the importation of 1,000 American teachers to the Philippines to perform the job of educating the masses” (Lardizabal, 1991, p. 5). The recruitment of American teachers to relocate and teach in the American schools abroad was met with well-qualified teachers, primarily from the Midwestern states (modern day Midwest and Western states of the U.S. in the 1900s). Kirkwood (2014) wrote about the first group of American teachers in the Philippines:

The nearly 500 “*Thomasites*” who arrived in Manila in August 1901, represented 192 institutions, and though the groups from Harvard (19), Yale (15), Cornell (13), and the University of Chicago (8) have been better documented, the University of Michigan (24) cadre was the second largest on board, just short of the University of California (25). (p. 66)

The term ‘*Thomasites*’ originated from the name of the army ship that transported American teachers from San Francisco to the Philippines between July and August 1901, known as the U.S.A. Thomas or S.S. Thomas (Lardizabal, 1991; Kirkwood, 2014). The “pedagogical army” sent to educate the Philippine masses was composed of young U.S. soldiers and college graduates (Lardizabal, 1991, p. 66). In his research on American teachers and Philippine education, Philippine-based educator, Amparo Lardizabal (1991) argued that “the American teacher was the best salesman of democracy in the Philippines... it was the teachers who sold the American way of life to the Filipinos” (p. 102).

The early American teachers’ pedagogical objectives varied based upon their training, background, philosophies, and teaching experiences, and thus, the teachers had different educational goals. Lardizabal (1991) provided the responses from a survey in 1901 that American teachers filled out based upon their own teaching objectives, which ranked “to train for self-government” as most common, followed by “to inculcate democracy”, and “to teach English”, and one of the lower common objectives, “to educate the Filipinos” (p. 51). Despite their clear teaching goals, some of the challenges that arose within the schools included cultural disconnection. In response, Filipino teachers were soon hired to improve the cultural connection between students and teachers. However, the Filipino teachers were often “... imbued with

American ideals, trained in American methods of teaching, and using the English language as the vehicle of instruction” (Freer, 1906 qtd in Lardizabal, 1991, p. 68).

The goals of American education in the Philippines operated on multiple levels of seemingly providing protection and guidance to the people of the Philippines, while promoting the economic and political purposes of American imperialism and colonial policy. As McMahon (2000) described:

The educational system established by the early American government was primarily designed to provide a basic grounding in literacy, arithmetic and civics for all Filipinos. It was a highly centralized system that dictated curriculum, teacher selection and salaries, school building design, and textbooks from the main bureau office in Manila. Though conditions varied widely in the Philippines, the school system was remarkably consistent throughout the archipelago in its daily operations. (p. 75)

Consistent with the purposes of the colonial policy, the American schools in the Philippines used English as the language of instruction. The adoption of English cemented colonization in the Philippines because of the financial opportunities that were associated with employment for English speakers. Beginning in 1911, English became the official language used in the court system in the Philippines. With English instruction prominent in the Americanized public schools, the education of American history and culture were regarded as central to learning, and subsequently, taught the Filipino youth to consider American society superior to Philippine society (Scharlin & Villanueva, 2000).

Immigration of Filipinos to the U.S.

The Philippine-U.S. relationship created the conditions for Filipinos' increased immigration to the U.S. because of the framing that America was the key to their economic mobility. The early Filipino immigrants were "... eager to take advantage of the U.S. job market and the American educational system to better prepare themselves to succeed back in the Philippines with its new Americanized social, cultural, and economic climate" (Scharlin & Villanueva, 2000, p. xxiii). Some of the early migration to the American West stemmed from the need for cheap economic labor, but there was also a political strategy of sending Filipino students to the U.S. for schooling as part of President McKinley's mission of "benevolent assimilation" to pacify Filipinos. Teodoro (1999) argued that "... it was not enough to conquer the territory. It was also deemed necessary to capture the consciousness or minds of the conquered" (p. 160). The U.S. was vested in its 'allied support' of the Philippines, as it considered that Filipinos needed political authority after the Spanish colonial regime. As a result, the U.S. exerted superiority over the Philippines, but when it saw that it was not enough to send American teachers to the Philippines, a system to send Filipino students to the U.S. was soon established.

On August 26, 1903, the U.S. Pensionado Act or Law No. 854 was passed, which provided funding to support 100 Filipinos to study in selected academic institutions in the U.S. These scholars were referred to as *pensionados* because of the pensions or financial support they received from the government to fund their studies. These *pensionados*, who were often from wealthy families, benefitted from the Philippine-American relationship and became supporters of the colonial bureaucracy and state policies, and thus were instrumental in the larger American colonial project in the Philippines. San Juan Jr. (1984) wrote, "The establishment of the pensionado system... helped to turn out docile civil service functionaries who served the State

apparatuses” (p. 72). Teodoro (1999) wrote similarly, “in the end, they became ‘agents’ or followers of Americanism, if not cultural imperialism in the Philippines, and they became peddlers of a consciousness formed by the American way of life” (p. 161).

However, it is important to note that not all of these *pensionados* agreed with the denationalization of the Philippines through education (Hayden, 1972; Teodoro, 1999), nor were they all avid proponents of the American imperial and colonial project once they did receive their education. Some of them resisted the notion of American patriotism and fought to uphold the stance that the Filipino people and the Philippines were capable of being an independent nation, as did Maximo M. Kalwar of Lipa, in the province of Batangas. Other *pensionados*, such as Camilo Osias of Bacnotan, in the province of La Union, who was a student of the *Thomasites*, saw the advantage of American education, but did not participate in the degradation of Filipino people to uphold the American values. He stated that fair and critical goals of education should involve “... nationalism that is not equated with xenophobia, democracy that stands for the enlightenment of the masses (not anarchy that suppresses and brainwashes the people’s minds and beliefs), and cosmopolitanism/internationalism, which means harmonizing the culture and civilization of East and West” (as cited in Teodoro, 1999, p. 168). Nevertheless, Teodoro explained that the *pensionados*’ economic success lured many other young Filipinos to the purported financial independence and economic success that was deemed attainable only through an American education.

The *Pensionado* program established an educated class of Filipinos who returned to the Philippines as industrial leaders, government bureaucrats, and teachers. By 1912, hundreds of Filipino students who had completed their education in American academic institutions returned to the Philippines to administer the U.S. government to their fellow Filipinos. However, some

returned to the U.S., and created a pipeline of Filipinos in professional fields, such as academia and medicine. The appeal of coming to the U.S. was strengthened because of these promoted ideals of excellence in American society.

Migration to the Midwest

Filipinos' migration to Midwestern states in the country was influenced heavily not just by the Pensionado Act of 1904, but even more by the policymakers behind it. Because the American colonial administrators in the Philippines came from the Midwest, it helped influence a geographic mapping that reflected the academic and social networks of many of these politicians. For example, Head of the U.S. Philippine Commission, William Taft, was from Ohio and graduated from Yale University, while commission member Dean C. Worcester was a University of Michigan alumnus, and Jacob G. Shurman was the president of Cornell University (Lardizabal, 1991).

With the passing of the Pensionado Act of 1904, the Bureau of Insular Affairs, appointed by the U.S. Philippines Commission, was charged with administering the Filipino students in the U.S. and selecting the prestigious academic institutions and colleges that they would attend. Coincidentally, American policymakers practically built the academic and social networks of the insular government. This resulted in the *pensionados* attending some of the most prestigious universities at the time, including Columbia University, Cornell University, George Washington University, the University of Michigan, Yale University, the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Chicago, and Indiana University, to name a few (Lardizabal, 1991).

Consequently, while the Filipinos who attended these universities returned to the Philippines to occupy their prominent jobs in academia, government, or the public sector, some returned to the U.S. prior to World War II to become a part of the white collared workers within

society. Many of these Filipinos decided to return to the places where they received their education, which was overwhelmingly in the Midwestern states, and therefore, there began an early wave of Filipino migration to the Midwest that was rooted in education and high-valued economic opportunities for Filipinos (Posadas & Guyotte, 1990).

Migration to the West

The migration to the American West in the early 20th century was attributable to economic survival. The shift of American democracy in the Philippines tilted the economic scale solely toward the goals of the colonial administration, which caused many low-income families to struggle financially. As a consequence, Filipinos immigrated to the U.S. for labor work.

Many of the first wave of Filipino immigrants to the West came in approximately 1906 as laborers who were being recruited to work in the sugar cane and pineapple fields in Hawaii through the efforts of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA). Migration was slow at first for Filipino laborers; however, that changed the following year with the signing of the Gentlemen's Agreement between the U.S. and Japan in 1907, which restricted the availability of Japanese as cheap labor in Hawaii. Accordingly, many Filipino laborers were able to take their place. However, in 1924, Filipino workers and Filipino labor leader, Pablo Manlapit, led a major strike of the Hawaiian fields that resulted in labor disputes and blackmailing of Filipinx workers in Hawaii (Reinecke, 1997; Kerkvliet, 2002; Aquino, 2006).

During this same year, the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924 barred Chinese and Japanese immigration, which led "... the West Coast farmers and canneries to use Filipinos as a valuable alternate source of labor" (Scharlin & Villanueva, 2000, p. xix). The status of "U.S. nationals" that Filipinos held exempted them from the exclusionary policies of the U.S. Immigration Act. All of these events contributed to the large influx of Filipinos living in the Western parts of the

U.S. by the 1930s, where larger concentrations of Filipinos could be found in Hawaii working on plantations, in California as farmworkers, and in the Pacific Northwest and Alaska working at the salmon cannery industries (Melendy, 1974).

Political Intervention Places a Hold on Migration

Although their status as U.S. nationals allowed Filipinos to immigrate freely between the Philippines and the U.S., the influx of immigration began to create a sense of fear on the part of white Americans that Filipino foreigners were taking jobs away from white workers (Scharlin & Villanueva, 2000). Similar to the exclusions of Chinese and Japanese immigrants⁴ from the U.S. in 1882 and 1924, respectively, Congress soon imposed immigration restrictions on Filipinos by granting the Philippines eventual independence. In 1934, the U.S. Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie Independence Act, which called for the Philippines to adopt a constitution and form of government modeled after the U.S. Under this act, the Philippines would be granted their independence after a ten-year preparatory period of ‘self-rule.’ This changed the status of Filipinos from “U.S. nationals” to “aliens” and capped America’s immigration quota to 50 a year, which prevented further immigration.

In 1946, the Philippines gained independence when the Treaty of Manila was signed and Congress ruled Filipinos eligible for naturalization in the U.S.; however, the annual quota of Filipino immigrants remained in effect for two decades. The Rescission Act of 1946 continued to fuel the growing distance between Filipinos and America as the act exclusively denied Filipinos benefits given to Americans who fought in WWII, including the receipt of pensions. In addition,

⁴ The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the first legislation in the U.S. to differentiate by national origin, and thus began a history of immigration legislation that was racially targeted (Chen, 2015). The Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924 was the first formal exclusion act against the Japanese by the U.S., although there was an informal exclusionary practice based upon the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907 that regulated Japanese immigration to the U.S. (Johnsen, 1925).

the U.S. secured control of the military in the Philippines even after their independence, in the U.S.-Philippine Military Bases Agreement of 1947, which gave the U.S. a 99-year lease of the Philippine military and naval bases and authorized American control over territorial rights in the Philippines.

In 1965, President Johnson abolished the national origin system, which had limited the number of immigrants by nationality based upon a quota system and essentially eliminated immigration from Asia. The result in family reunification and America's persistent occupational needs led to increased immigration from the Philippines. As a result of the legislation, this group of Filipino immigrants was known as post-1965 immigrants (Strobel, 2001; Halagao, 2010), and their occupational characteristics varied from those of earlier Filipino immigrants. The occupational fields ranged from agricultural work to healthcare, and from military service to domestic work (Cordova, 1983; Espiritu, 2003; Galura & Lawsin, 2002). However, despite their increasing presence in the U.S., Filipinos were still not accepted politically or socially or seen as Americans.

Post 1965-Immigration and the Influence of the Civil Rights Movement

Filipinos who settled in the U.S. found themselves discriminated against racially because of their distance from whiteness, both phenotypically and culturally (Cordova, 1983). Even with emerging policies that served to benefit Filipinos with respect to migration and citizenship status in the U.S., they found themselves immersed quickly in the longstanding history and relationship that people of color had with the U.S. with respect to race and racism. By the 1950s and 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement had gained momentum and prompted a wave of other battles for social justice simultaneously. The activism that the Black community led during the time of the Civil Rights Movement paved the way for Filipinos Americans to organize collectively for their

rights (Bocado, 2021; Hinnershit, 2013; San Juan Jr., 2010). If not for Black activists and educators' labor and efforts, the contributions and progress that Filipino Americans made in establishing labor unions and more representative education, for example, would not exist. The organizing reflected in the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S. spurred a wave of liberation movements both around the world and domestically.

Activism in Michigan

Michigan offers an important historical connection to Filipino history given the *Thomasites*, the University of Michigan, and the socio-political contexts of Filipino immigrants in the region. During the rise of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s, the city of Detroit was also experiencing its own concentrated effect of racial discrimination and economic inequality that was related uniquely to urban deindustrialization (Darden, 1990).

Deindustrialization's impact helped fuel the rise of the Black power movement (University of Michigan History Lab⁵; Joseph, 2006).

Among notable activists in Detroit in the 1960s was Grace Lee Boggs, a Chinese American woman, and her husband, James Boggs, a Black Power activist. Encouraged by Black organizers and activists, Boggs helped create the Detroit Asian Political Alliance (APA) to support the African American community in coalition building and collective revolution against the racial and economic inequality that affected all racial groups (Fu, 2009). Boggs became instrumental in the Asian American community as an activist who advocated for freedom and racial justice. The influx of other Asian immigrants included the Hmong, Cambodian, and Vietnamese refugees who were part of a large settlement dispersed across the Midwest by Congress to avoid creating any ethnic enclaves (Kurashige, 2002).

⁵ Civil Rights and Black Power Advocacy, Deconstructing the Model Minority at U-M
https://aapi.umhistorylabs.lsa.umich.edu/s/aapi_michigan/page/civil-rights

While the racial tensions in the 1960s were illustrated in the Black and white racial dichotomy of Detroit, the injustices white America perpetrated were also affecting the Asian American population that began to increase in the 1970s and 1980s. Physical markers in public spaces, such as neighborhood murals, left by Asian and Pacific Islander American (APIA) community members, recognize their pre-existing histories that have seen been displaced, (Mahnke, 2020) largely attributable to their systemic exclusion. The geopolitical context of Michigan holds a unique history for Filipinos and other Asian Americans who are not often visible in the racial landscape of the Midwest (Galura & Lawsin, 2002).

Challenges accompanied the *pensionados*' presence in the Midwest, as Filipinos in Michigan still experienced racial discrimination. In response to the discrimination, Filipino community organizers, such as Marcellano "Bene" Benemerito, envisioned a community space for Filipinos in metro Detroit. The Philippine American Cultural Center of Michigan had been organizing to open a center since the 1960s but were unable to begin their own grassroots fundraising until the 1980s. After more than four decades of planning and fundraising, the Philippine American Cultural Center of Michigan opened officially in 2001.

Activism in California

According to the 2021 U.S. Census Bureau, California holds the largest Filipino American population in the country (<https://data.census.gov/>). The representation of Filipinos differs greatly between California and Michigan, where the history of Filipino activism has been much more entrenched in the former. In Northern California, the 1965 Delano Grape Strike saw Filipino leaders Larry Itliong, Philip Vera Cruz, and other farm workers combine forces with Mexican American laborers, led by Caesar Chavez, to protest unfair labor conditions. This

organized effort on the part of Filipino farm workers demonstrated their capacity for civic participation and leadership.

Following shortly after in 1968, student organizations at San Francisco State University, which included the Black Students Union (BSU) and Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), led a student movement calling for the redefinition of higher education. This movement extended to include the BSU and TWLF building a coalition with “the Philippine-American College Endeavor, the Mexican American Student Confederation, the Latin American Student Organization, and the Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action” (Chung & Chang, 1998, p. 86; Umemoto, 1989). With the solidarity and support of other non-white student organizations and their mobilization, the BSU and TWLF presented a list of demands that included the establishment of ethnic studies and equal educational opportunity. Nonviolent strikes and protest demonstrations were used strategically in conjunction with the purposeful use of media. This movement resulted in the establishment of the first College of Ethnic Studies in the U.S. at San Francisco State University in 1969 (Chung & Chang, 1998; Umemoto, 1989).

The demand for Filipino studies was high following 1969, and during that period, Oscar Peñaranda became a significant Filipino scholar who taught at the high school and university level. He developed the curriculum that is used now in the Filipino studies program at San Francisco State University. Peñaranda has been described as a “... master storyteller, accomplished writer, and poet who witnessed and made history” (Halagao et. al., 2009, p. 5) as he demonstrated Oliver’s (1990) curriculum philosophy that “You are the curriculum.”

By the 1970s, the Philippine’s deteriorating economy and the declaration of martial law in 1972 contributed a wave of immigration to the U.S. According to Nolasco (2018), “The Filipino-American scholars of today are the (grand)children of these immigrants. And their

presence in the United States has roots in, among other factors, the civil rights movement of the 1960s—their call for social diversity and representation—and the subsequent development of Asian American studies as an academic discipline” (p. 93).

The history of the Philippines in relation to the American Empire provides the context needed to understand more deeply how intertwined colonialism is within many American institutions in which Filipinos participate. The historical analysis, combined with the literature review, offers rich details that paint a fuller picture of Filipino American experiences with racism and representation as seen through schooling and museums.

PART 1: Literature Review

This literature review details the way the connected history of colonization affected the relationship and racialization of Filipinos in the U.S., as reflected in their parallel invisibility in schools and society. The colonial past of the Philippines, while not the only historical narrative, is albeit an important one because it prompted Filipinos to respond sufficiently with advocacy and activism. Their advocacy is explored through the partnerships they have made in their efforts to preserve their history, and this review illustrates the way other historically marginalized communities have created community museums to exhibit the reclaimed materials of their past that could be applicable to Filipinos. While the historical analysis offered the relational background of colonialism in the Philippines, it largely provided the context for *why* Filipinos responded to their invisibility with a sense of urgency and agency. This literature review extends the context to include *how* Filipinos responded, or how they potentially could respond, to the aftermath of a deeply entrenched colonial relationship.

Impact of Colonization on Filipinos

The historical context of Filipina/x/o Americans in the U.S.—from their colonized relationship with American imperialism to their civic engagement beginning in the 1960s—is important to understand the way Filipino Americans have been racialized and made invisible in a country that was once their benefactor, even today. Once welcomed and positioned to come to the U.S. as *pensionados* under the American Scholarship Program, the influx of Filipino immigrants as U.S. nationals engendered fear in white Americans who often viewed the incoming Filipino as rebels and savages (Hawley, 1999; Villegas, 2015). The discrimination against Filipinos in the U.S. was juxtaposed with the promises and allure that America once conjured for Filipinos during its colonial rule.

Racializing Filipino Americans

One of the first literary pioneers for Filipinos in the U.S. was Filipino author Carlos Bulosan. His 1946 autobiographical novel, *America is in the Heart*, described the plight of racialized Filipino American labor and the discrimination that domestic workers experienced at the hands of white Americans and even other better positioned Japanese and Chinese immigrants during the 1930s and 1940s. Bulosan documented the racial violence that many Filipinos endured upon arriving in the U.S. and the racial and class inequities that they faced. His literary work depicted the capitalistic and racist realities of American life for Filipino immigrants.

Other Asian American scholars have argued that American history's discourse and collective memory excludes Asian Americans because arguably, they were never seen as either "American" or a minority from the beginning (Takaki, 1987; Wu, 2002; An, 2016). The framework of race in the U.S. has been constructed around a "White-Black dichotomy" (An, 2016, p. 250) in which being "American means 'white' and 'minority' means 'black'" (Wu, 2002, p. 20). Instead, Asian Americans were positioned as foreigners who were not authentic

Americans although they contributed and participated in and throughout American history (Tuan, 1999; Wu, 2002). Historically, Filipinos were not eligible for citizenship and had no governmental authority within the U.S., although the Philippines was, and still is, a U.S. neocolony (Viola, Francisco, & Amoroa, 2014). The material trace of U.S. neocolonialism exists in their mode of survival racially, politically, and economically because of unequal power and domination on the part of the U.S. within Philippine society and among Filipino Americans. Consequently, without engaging with the history and struggle for national sovereignty in the Philippines, the Filipino peoples' existence outside of U.S. neocolonialism is silenced, which "... inadvertently gives more power to colonialism in shaping Filipino identity and culture more than it deserves" (Cabusao, 2011, p. 127). Therefore, Filipino Americans are experiencing the unequal social relationships of power as well as capitalism.

The process of racialization in the U.S. reveals the way histories, cultures, and racial identities have intertwined and become more complex over time because of colonization that has perpetuated white supremacist ideologies and racial hierarchies. Looking specifically at the way Filipino Americans are situated in the racial category of Asian Americans is an example of this racialization. Historically, Filipinos were called "Orientals", together with Chinese and Japanese Americans, until 1968, when students from the University of California, Berkeley (UCB), Yuji Ichioaka and Emma Gee, took inspiration from the Black Power Movement and founded UCB's Asian American Political Alliance as a way to bring together the Filipino, Chinese, and Japanese students. The term Asian American emerged as a result.

Combining these groups helped mobilize a larger collective and was a strategic move for political gain. However, the failure to disaggregate racial groups has had some damaging effects that are related directly to the label of 'Asian American' (Liu, 2009; Maramba, 2011; Ko & Ton,

2020). Failing to disaggregate racial groups can erase the various histories, cultures, and experiences that are unique to certain ethnicities and panethnic identities and lead instead to essentializing and reducing these communities' narratives and histories as if they have a collective 'universally shared' background (Espiritu, 1992; Chang, 2014). The monoracial identity ignores the differences between ethnicities because of intersecting identities related to citizenship, socioeconomic, and generational status, as well as migration history, language, religion, and ethnicity (Lew, 2004; Lee, 2005; An, 2016). Although 'Asian American' is often represented as a collective identity for Filipinos, the need to be disaggregated addresses the argument that Filipinos Americans have a distinct and unique history that revolves around Spanish and U.S. colonialism, Japanese occupation, racialized identities in the U.S., and transnational migration (Nadal, Corpus, & Hufana, 2022).

When thinking about the way Filipinos are defined, it is necessary to address the inclusion of multiracial identities because of the wide and multicultural diaspora attributable to the Philippines' colonization. Ocampo's study (2013) examined the way colonialism affects the panethnic identity of second-generation Filipinos, who share a connection between Latino and Asian identities. He argued that the legacies of U.S. colonialism play a role in which Filipinos feel disconnected from Asian panethnicity and have further forced a politicized connection, while the role of Spanish colonialism bonded them to Latinos because of colonial commonalities such as language, religion, social standing, economic mobility, etc. The inability to 'fit' into a panethnic 'membership' contributes to resistance to racialized categories because of ambivalent constructed identities that fail to recognize Filipinx Americans and their unique intragroup dynamics and racially constructed experiences (Ocampo, 2013). The specific relationship that Filipino Americans have with their racialized identities, which are often radicalized and

(mis)categorized in the U.S., offers some historical understanding of why they may be excluded and absent within school textbooks and curricula today.

The “Forgotten Filipinos”

Although Filipinos are the second largest Asian American ethnic group in the U.S., very little is written about them, and research on the representation of Filipino Americans within U.S. history curricula is limited. However, outside of education and in the field of psychology, there is relevant literature that indicates that Filipino Americans experience the colonial mentality, or CM, “... characterized by a perception of ethnic or cultural inferiority that is... a specific consequence of centuries of colonization under Spain and the U.S.” (David & Okazaki, 2006, p. 241). David and Okazaki’s (2010) research found that Filipino Americans developed “... an automatic preference for anything American and an automatic rejection of anything Filipino” (p. 850). The authors argued further that:

If the current demonstration of implicit (colonial mentality) CM among Filipino Americans can be taken as an example of what may generally occur among members of historically and contemporarily oppressed groups, there is a concern that minority individuals internalize the oppression that they experience over time in such a deep way that they develop a cultural knowledge schema characterized by automatic negative cognitions and perceptions of their heritage ethnicity and culture. (p. 879)

Scholars have argued that CM is attributable to the lack of social unity amongst the Filipino American community and the “... lack of cultural pride and historical knowledge among Filipino American individuals” (David & Okazaki, 2010, p. 851).

Desai (2016, p. 36) explained further that "... Filipinas/os have been taught, instead, to view the colonially imposed value of shame, or *hiya*, as the primary value that is central to Filipina/o identity" because of its usefulness in maintaining control of the Philippine people during the American period. The impact of the colonial mentality from American imperialism and colonialism is not unique to the Philippines, as American colonial rule has extended to Puerto Rico, Cuba, Hawaii, Guam, and Samoa for the overseas economic market, coaling stations, and governmental control (Lee, 1999). The consequences of colonialization in these countries and specifically in the Philippines, is that rather than combatting the oppressive forces that occur, Filipinos can "become sub-oppressors within our own families and communities... as seen in the way Filipina/o Americans perpetuate ideologies like colonial mentality, hetero-patriarchy, and racial/ethnic stereotypes" (p. 36).

Other scholars have argued that Filipino Americans who are considered post-1965 immigrants, i.e., second or third generation American born, undergo a process of mental decolonization (Strobel, 2001; Halagao, 2010). In a critical response to the 'colonial mentality,' the decolonization of post-1965 immigrants have entailed a rediscovery of their cultural and historical past. This led Filipino immigrants and their descendants to use their *barangay*, village or community, to reaffirm their identities and connection to each other to decenter their imposed identities and their colonizers' values (Desai, 2016).

Ginwright (2010) described community as "consciousness of the interrelatedness one has with others... rooted in political, cultural, and economic histories as well as contemporary struggles in which people collectively act to make meaning of their social condition" (p. 78). The process of mental decolonization includes disrupting the invisibility of Filipino history and encouraging them to participate and contribute to their own historical narratives by documenting

their histories actively. The connection between mental decolonization and community refers to the relationships that Filipinos have with each other and their broader community that allows them to mobilize for social change. Filipinos' emancipatory beliefs depend upon their collective consciousness and ability to recognize their agency when combatting colonial projections of their community narrative so that they can reclaim their own.

Examples of Filipinos taking advantage of their collective consciousness to address historical and contemporary struggles can be seen in Filipino historical associations. The first such association dedicated to documenting Filipino histories in the U.S., the Filipino American Historical Society of Hawaii, was founded in 1980. Five years later, the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHNS) was created to preserve Filipino history proactively. While Filipino American history is available and accessible because of community efforts to record their histories, critical Filipino scholars have noted that mainstream U.S. school and university curricula fail to reflect this collection of history (Tintiango-Cubales & Sacramento, 2009; Halagao et al., 2009).

The Dangers of Invisibilized Representation

This section explores the effect that schools have on students in perpetuating cultural erasure and misrepresentation, and further, the way that they can serve to create learning opportunities that reflect students' identities, cultures, and histories instead. In the context of schooling and the role of representation, Māori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), argued:

Universities are committed to the creation of knowledge through research, reflection, scholarship, and academic freedom... The curriculum of a university shapes the way knowledge is reproduced as a curriculum for schools and for society. For Indigenous peoples, universities are regarded as rather elite

institutions which reproduce themselves through various systems of privilege. (p. 129)

Smith contends that academic spaces reflect curricula that are representative of privileged identities, while Indigenous people are often excluded. Borrowing from this notion, it is reasonable to believe that Filipinos are affected by a system that is not inclusive or representative of their identities as well.

With such an overwhelmingly rich albeit complex history, Filipina/x/o Americans are still rendered invisible, silenced, and othered within secondary schools' U.S. history textbooks and curricula. The limited research on Filipinx within U.S. curricula and history textbooks has revealed that "Filipina/os are virtually invisible in U.S. history textbooks, appearing in merely 0.18% to 0.65% of published pages" and that "... curricular content on the Philippines and the Filipina/o diaspora hardly exists in metropolitan and settler colonial societies" (Coloma, 2017, p. 48). Coloma argued that this neglect of history in curricula could be ascribed to Filipina/o's "history of colonial occupation and ongoing neocolonial involvement" (p. 48). Moreover, An's (2016) research on Asian Americans within U.S. history curricula found that there is an invisibility that does not require much deconstruction because there is already limited inclusion within U.S. history curricula. Instead, An (2016) suggested that there needs to be a more "re(constructive) history" that addresses the invisibility of Asian Americans' experiences and perspectives (p. 268).

An (2016) argued further that in her research on Asian Americans' representation in secondary education's U.S. history standards, most of the Asian American historical narratives focus nearly exclusively on the Chinese immigrant experience or the Japanese American incarceration. She stated that "Asian American experience is rarely visible in most states'

standards” (p. 258). For example, the author found that of the 91 secondary school U.S. history standards, states like South Carolina included only two events in Asian American history in the U.S., while New York included 13, one of which was the Japanese American incarceration. An (2016) addressed the way educational standards that cover so few events in the U.S. historical record are not “sufficient for a meaningful presentation of Asian American experience in U.S. history” (p. 258).

Even when Filipino Americans are included in textbooks, the historical storyline that extends beyond their colonial association is underrepresented even more. Filipinos hold complex and interwoven histories that are related to many other structures in society. Some of these factors include the specificities of transnational and global migration, racialization, and identity formations, interwoven and multicultural diasporas, the politics of Filipino labor, and ethnolinguistics and language (Coloma, 2017; Maramba & Bonus, 2012). Yet, descriptions of Filipino history often exclude these aspects that constitute the historical and modern fabric of Filipino culture, and instead, any representation of Filipino history tends to focus on its colonial legacies without advancing or nuancing the discourse.

Andresen (2013) argued that the portrayal of Philippine colonial history shapes the way that the “legacies of colonization and limited curricula contribute to the creation of Filipino and Filipino American identity” (p. 330). Therefore, the ways in which curricula include or exclude marginalized stories and narratives may have implications for how Filipinx American students identify and see themselves. Although there is limited research on the way engagement with historical narratives of Filipinos in the U.S. affects Filipinx American students’ academic achievement, there is literature on the way cultural misrepresentations, erasure, and silencing can impact other young people of color.

The consequences of misrepresentations within curricula and textbooks are inherently violent, in which the stereotypes and pejorative depictions of communities of color and their historical narratives can lead young people of color to be regarded, and see themselves, as the ethnic other (Cruz, 2002). Spivak (1992) described the silencing of marginalized groups as a type of epistemic violence that eliminates these oppressed groups' knowledge acquisition. This idea may be extended to argue that the politics of visibility and representation in education are rooted in Western epistemological beliefs to maintain its colonial existence within schools. Further, beyond what is portrayed in the pages of these classroom texts, the epistemic violence against Filipinx students and other youth of color in schools is occurring within the classroom.

Teranishi's (2002) comparative study of the treatment and attitudes toward Chinese and Filipino students in public schools revealed the limited opportunities afforded to Filipino students because of the stereotypes of their racial and ethnic identity. Filipino students experienced lower expectations, less support, and less rigorous tracking in schooling. Teranishi's findings revealed that "Filipino students were exposed to a culture that set expectations for failure and delinquency... these signals were sent by teachers and other peers who made it difficult for students to maintain high academic self-confidence" (p. 150).

Collaborations for Documenting, Producing, and Preserving Cultural Knowledge

Building on the critical scholarship discussed previously, it is reasonable to assert that because of Filipinos' invisibility and their unique experiences and history with the U.S., there needs to be more focus on reconstructing history by including Filipinos in the documentation, production, and preservation of their history in ways that are critically conscious and decolonizing. Common types of documentation and preservation practices include creating anthologies, poetry, collages, and scrapbooks that focus on shaping the image of the community

and cultural production (Lasser, 2012; Burton & Griffin; 2008; Ver Steeg, Jr., 2022; Ewin & Ewin, 2016). Such collaborative efforts have been undertaken primarily in museum, university, school, and community settings.

The Role of Community Museums

Throughout Western museums' long-standing history, there have been debates about representation and authenticity in narrating community histories through the lens of those outside of the community. The widespread racial reckoning that is occurring in the U.S. today has prompted historically marginalized communities to confront the traditional notion of museums that have often been considered sites that represent history accurately. Advocates from marginalized groups, particularly Indigenous communities, have supported the establishment of community museums and Indigenous archives to challenge museums' problematic legacy as colonial institutions. For example, Native American communities have used community museums largely for cultural preservation, education, and decolonization. Insight into what, and how many, Indigenous communities have leveraged decolonizing frameworks for their own community museums and archives could influence the way other marginalized communities of color approach establishing their museums. The experience of Indigenous community museums can also inform the way Filipino communities can accomplish the reparative work with museums that have harmed them historically.

The history of community museums is important to understand because of the harm that has stemmed from 'traditional' museums' exploitation of communities and their cultural artifacts to display material, narratives, and exhibits through a colonized and racialized lens. In contrast, community museums are centered on the participation and involvement of people in the community. Georges Henri Rivière is often referred to as the pioneer of community museums, as

he advocated for a new role of museums that focused on the movement of local population's involvement in their operation, development, and the knowledge they convey. Rivière's "ecomuseum" or community museum (1973) was a concept grounded in his native home of France, where he argued that museums should center the local population's histories and environments to preserve and develop the heritage of its people. Rivière's concept of community museums spread globally to countries undergoing the decolonization process in the late 1960s (Rivière, 1973). Following soon after, anthropologists and archaeologists began to call for a decentralized cultural bureaucracy to promote cultural activities, sites of cultural and community importance, and material culture to return to local communities.

Indigenous scholar and author, Amy Lonetree, is an enrolled citizen of the Ho-Chunk Nation whose expertise is in museum studies and Indigenous history. Lonetree has contributed scholarship to the subfield of decolonizing museums through her decades-long research on Indigenous people and museums. Lonetree (2021) argued that:

Museums can serve as sites of decolonization through honoring Indigenous knowledge and worldview, and by discussing the hard truths of colonization in exhibitions in an effort to move toward healing and understanding. This process of examining the hard truths also needs to include critical self-examination on the part of colonial institutions regarding their relationship with Indigenous tribal nations and communities in the past and present. (p. 21)

Lonetree explained that museums that are trying to engage in decolonizing work with communities must do more than just collaborate with them and include representation of Indigenous peoples. She argued that they must also confront the hard truths of colonization to address the unresolved grief attributable to its history. Museums' reparative work often requires

intensive labor in which the Indigenous communities' members must redirect objects and resources, or consequently, the role falls into the hands of governmental agencies. However, this can create a barrier if Indigenous people are excluded from political positions of power within the government.

Ellen Hoobler, a museum curator and scholar, has spent a significant amount of time studying Mesoamerican art and culture, but her work on community museums in Oaxaca, Mexico that explores decolonizing archaeology offers helpful insight into the processes through which Indigenous communities establish community museums and Indigenous archives. Hoobler's (2006) study criticized Western museums for benefitting financially and commercially from glorifying Indigenous peoples' traumatic colonial past while ignoring their socioeconomic deprivation and marginalization in the present simultaneously. Hoobler contends that foreign invaders who seized and exported objects from communities created these Westernized collections and archives, and thereby removed material culture from the very people who created it to preserve their Indigenous heritage. Similarly, Filipina scholar and professor, Nerissa Balce, addresses the danger and harm of archival representations that are curated through a colonial lens in her book, *Body Parts of Empire: Visual Abjection, Filipino Images and the American Archive* (2016). Balce argued that the weaponizing of the Filipino image to represent the natives as savages helped affirm the "American imperial identity" that would make Filipinos more docile (Balce, 2016, p. 9). She argued that this imposed identity relates to America's self-justification for their imperialist expansion and colonization of the Philippines.

Community museums, and museums that are focused on decolonization, are sites where people in the community present their own local history (Hoobler, 2006). In her article, Hoobler identified community museums as ways to "... present a counterdiscourse to hegemonical

representations of indigenas in big Mexican museums” (p. 452). She indicated that community museums in Oaxaca, Mexico were community-driven entirely, which revealed that “it is the communities that decide how they would like to present themselves to outside audiences, and this self-presentation is a major part of a decolonizing project that is taking place at some level in Mexico in the twenty-first century” (p. 450). In addition, community museums have an educational function to teach others about their culture and heritage. As Lonetree (2021) stated:

Indigenous Californians should have primacy in determining the memorials and educational programs that are developed at these sites as it is critical to change the narrative.... It is also important to preserve and steward the archives at the missions, and make this information available to descendant communities.

Archives have the power to assist with contemporary cultural reclamation efforts and to be mobilized to support Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty. (p. 26)

Lonetree’s stance affirms that community museums are important, as they take advantage of archives for the decolonizing efforts of reclamation and re-education.

Language also plays a critical role in understanding and exploring the complexities of representing ‘community’ within community museums. Labrador’s (2021) article examines an ethnographic exhibit that presents cultural materials and objects from different parts of Mindanao in the Philippines. Within the culturally curated exhibit, the collaborative process between community members, archivists, curators, and scholars involved discussion of the various nomenclatures of ethnolinguistic communities, tribes, and villages in Mindanao, some Indigenous and some non-Indigenous. The tension that Labrador highlights is the nuance

between language, culture, and history, specifically with respect to naming an ethnographic exhibit and the people represented within it.

Hoobler (2006) indicated that the future of community museums depends upon distributing the representation of leadership so that the organization is not dependent on only a few people in charge. She argued that support for community museums should include a variety of processes for recording history, as well as involve older citizens who can validate the community's experiences without adopting a hierarchical top-down management style. For example, oral histories are important because of the knowledge that is passed down from older citizens who help shape the community's collective history through their memories. Brothman (2001) stated that "memory and history do perform distinctive social functions, partly because each shapes individual and communal time differently... social, collective memory inevitably helps to form a cultural environment or collective consciousness that impinges upon the 'objective' history that historians choose to write—including, today, the history of memory" (p. 60). The distinction between history and memory are only some of the nuanced tensions related to community museums.

Nevertheless, more broadly, the future of community museums and museums that are participating in decolonizing work need to determine their short and long-term goals. When thinking about the reparative work being performed by museums that must confront removing collections, monuments, or centers, then the logical question becomes: *What comes in the aftermath?* Therefore, every action is bound to the other following a structure that can be explained in terms of a bundle of tasks (Becker, 1982), which underscores again the cooperative aspect. Such collaborations are made possible through conventions in the form of shared practices and knowledge that constitute the conditions of existence of any collective action.

Indeed, they both legitimize materials, forms, and dimensions, and make the relationships between artists, distributors, and audiences possible. Thus, "... artworks always bear the marks of the system which distributes them" (Becker, 1982, p. 94). I would argue that this is a call for more community museums to be resourced and supported in diverse marginalized communities to decenter the colonial ideologies and histories of their past and usher in a restorative and reparative era.

Some of the reparative justice work within museums is accomplished with the practices of post-custodialism, which "... allows archives to be re-positioned from institutional custodians of archival records to stewards of records" (Kelleher, 2017, p. 1). Essentially, these practices prioritize the context of creation over the context of ownership, the latter of which is usually standard in traditional archival records. Another example can be seen in reparative descriptions that help remediate the harm that archives inflict on marginalized people (Hughes-Watkins, 2018). These are just a few examples of the way restorative and reparative justice is being modeled currently.

The Role of University-Community Partnerships

The relationship between academic spaces and communities of color can be contentious because of the oppressive systems and structures in which schools and universities are rooted. Western research institutions have a history stained with exploiting marginalized communities of color for the benefit of scientific research in a variety of academic disciplines. Lynch (2010) argued that academics, both in the past and currently, have exploited the oppressed and "given" them voices under the guise of research, without acknowledging the colonizing relationship between academics and communities. As a result, academic partnerships, and particularly university-community partnerships, are heavily critiqued spaces, and scholars have argued that

universities must recognize their history and relationship with the local community and implement better community engagement practices (Gruenewald, 2003). Given the critiques of traditional university partnerships, there has been a shift in which universities are prioritizing building trust and developing transparent relationships with community partners (Banks & Butcher, 2013; Saltmarsh, 2017). The trust established helps communities re-engage with academic institutions to examine issues of inequities that their university partners can help address (Benneworth et al., 2013).

Anyon and Fernández's (2007) research on university and community partnerships offers credible insight into what successful partnering looks like and the way universities can prioritize meeting community needs. Reflecting on the John W. Gardner Center for Youth and their Communities (the Gardner Center), a university-community partnership between Stanford University and San Francisco Bay-area communities, the authors revealed that "... such an enduring partnership requires foresight, planning, and difficult early conversations about shared responsibilities", and that "... a 'memorandum of understanding' prior to implementation that addressed issues of collective responsibility for... oversight and financial sustainability could have prevented later tensions and served as useful tools for moving the partnership forward" (p. 43).

Suarez-Balcazar et al. (2004) also recommended that university staff members adopt a participatory approach, maximize university resources, communicate openly, learn their community partners' culture and history, and respect diversity. With respect to university museums' partnerships with communities, specifically, Ver Steeg, Jr. (2022) (summarizing Kavanagh, 1995) suggested that partners:

... pursue a spirit of compromise, realistically define objectives, aim for mutual understanding and listening, respect the partner's agenda, leave room for disagreement, know where not to compromise, allow flexibility for change, be transparent, have contingency plans, and perform a review of the partnership. (p. 74)

These suggestions help outline practices that are based upon compassion, respect, and transparency that reflect humanizing approaches to partnership better.

In Harkavy's (2006) seminal piece that discussed the democracy of higher education, he recognized that "... relationships of trust, so essential for effective partnerships and effective learning, are also built through day-to-day work on problems and issues of mutual concern" (p. 19). Similarly, McDonald and Dominguez (2015) stressed the importance of service learning, which is described as a type of engaged learning with course objectives for students to experience and gain knowledge from and with communities' partners. The authors argued that service learning is distinct from volunteerism because the former benefits both students and community members. They indicated that as a teaching method, service-learning offers students experiential learning that takes place in the real world.

Although university and community partnerships build trust through improved communication of ideas, accountability is also necessary. Anyon and Fernández (2007) addressed that "a key lesson is the need to create a plan for sustainability and shared accountability up front... communities want to see that universities are partners for the long haul, not just when grant money is available" (p. 41). Cox (2000) echoed this and stated that higher education partnerships focus on collective interaction with the belief that "... knowledge is to be created that is useful for community improvement as defined by partners" (p. 15). In this way,

centering community agency on decision-making helps disrupt the traditional power dynamics that situates the university partners as those with authority (Lynch, 2010).

Once the community's goals are defined, university partners can utilize their own resources to prioritize and support those goals. Some of these resources include financial support. Because universities have the power to prioritize what is deemed 'traditional' research, institutional resources are restricted highly and community partners cannot access them as easily (Maurrasse, 2002). Thus, redirecting university resources to support community-defined goals emphasizes the collective power in the collaborative partnership.

Secondary Schools and Communities

At the secondary educational level, Filipina/x/o American educators, community organizers, youth, mother scholars, and elders have collaborated in developing curricula on Filipino history. The Filipino community and academic collaborations that demonstrate the importance of secondary education partnerships have organized contemporary movements that advocate for ethnic studies policies within U.S. high schools, as explained in this section.

Although higher education witnessed the development of ethnic studies in the 1960s, secondary education has differed significantly because most high schools do not require ethnic studies to be taught, while some states have banned teaching ethnic studies entirely. Because of the changing political climate in education and ethnic studies, California became the first state to require ethnic studies as an official high school graduation requirement in October 2021. The focus on secondary schools' ethnic studies policy has led to an urgent need for culturally responsive and sustainable curricula. In response to the legislative push for ethnic studies in high schools, critical Filipina/x/o scholars have tasked themselves with documenting, reviewing, and reflecting on the types of secondary curricula that are offered in Filipino American studies.

Critical Filipina scholars, Halagao, Tintiangco-Cubales, and Cordova (2009) conducted a review of Filipina/o American curricula and analyzed curricular content, instruction, and their impact to develop a potential way to implement Filipina/o American curriculum resources in K-12 classrooms. The thirty-three curricula that they reviewed included ‘officially approved curriculum’ for K-12 as well as curricula that sources other than academia influenced, including ‘informal’ sources, such as families and community organizations. The authors, who identify as Pinays from Hawaii, the West Coast, and the East Coast, respectively, argued that this review was a response to the assumptions that “there are no Filipino American resources” (p. 13). Although their research is the first formal critical literature review of K-12 Filipina/o American curricula, they argue that there have always been resources of knowledge, but they have been generated by the community and considered ‘unofficial’ from the academic standpoint.

Another example of Filipino’s resourcefulness in producing knowledge is found in Jocson’s (2008) ethnographic study of a Filipino Heritage Studies class in a Northern California high school, where she demonstrated the way Filipino values could be framed into a pedagogical tool and instructional practice. Jocson identified that the Filipino cultural tradition of *kuwento*, a story or storytelling, is a culturally responsive pedagogical tool that could increase the learning opportunities of Filipinos and other students of color. *Kuwento* is a way to pass down history, lived experiences, and values through its cultural and sociolinguistic practice. Jocson argued:

The use of *kuwento* engaged students in sharing lived experiences and learning about their peers within a larger socio-historical context, a process that affirmed students’ cultural identity and knowledge and enabled them to make critical connections between the history, familial relations, and community. (p. 113)

In their curriculum study, Halagao et al. (2009) drew from the works of Freire's critical pedagogy (1970) and Strobel's (2001) liberatory praxis of self-love to unlearn the colonial mentality. In addition, Halagao et al. developed their "Critical Framework of Review" (p. 1) to analyze K-12 curricula from a critical pedagogy perspective. One of the review's findings revealed that many of the Filipina/o American curricula integrated the use of the community knowledge production that community and academic partners developed, particularly since the 1960s. In addition, many of the curriculum development projects evolved from grassroots and collective efforts on the part of Filipina/o youth who wished to learn more about themselves, their families, and their communities because their experiences were largely absent in the formal school curricula. Thus, much of Halagao et al.'s (2009) work revealed the development of rich academic and curricular contributions that originated from the communities and students themselves. The authors recommended more institutional support for publications and partnerships with community-based organizations to improve curricula and expose broader audiences to Filipina/o Americans' many contributions.

Gaps in Literature Review

This literature review provides a sense of mapping that locates how and why Filipinos are positioned in ambiguous spaces of belonging in the U.S., which continues to racialize their bodies, silence their histories, and dismiss their knowledge. To consider the significance and importance of Filipinos working within communities to establish recognizable educational advancements, it is imperative to understand the historical context in which their contributions to the fields of education and broader society are discredited as legitimate sources of knowledge.

This section provided a historical overview of Filipinos in the early 20th century and the American colonial ruling that contextualized the historical and sociopolitical context of the

racialization of Filipinos in the country. The literature review explored the way the racialized consequences impacted Filipino youth's identity and influenced the way they engage with education. The latter half of the review offered compelling literature on university-community partnerships, Indigenous community museums, and secondary school Filipino curricula that helped acknowledge the specific ways that Filipinos have responded, or how they could respond, to the consequences of colonialism by reclaiming their historical and cultural narrative. The context and information provided in this section helped address some of the themes related to the research questions.

Drawing from the research within this literature review, there is a need for deconstructive and re-constructivist histories within schools and the way they are inclusive of community-based knowledge, specifically from Filipino communities. While there is currently not an ample amount of academic literature in the U.S. on Filipino history and culture, bodies of Filipino scholarship are beginning to grow in various fields, such as psychology and education. Still, there is a wealth of knowledge in local and provincial Filipino communities across the world that is not reflected in scholarship. The partnerships between K-12 and university educators, elders, and community members are imperative to any contributions that are made to the larger academic spaces and texts. Since the 1960s, Asian American studies have evolved around universities in the U.S., and resulted in the development of, and focus on, Filipina/o American studies. In response to the invisibility and erasure of Filipino history in the U.S. prevalent within secondary schools, Filipinx scholars and the communities around them have created and influenced their own pedagogies, curricula, and teaching practices that cater to teaching Filipinx American youth and young adults. This contribution to the academic world of growing research

and literature is not done independent of the communities, but rather with them by engaging together, ideally through critical Filipino pedagogy.

My research explores the types of partnerships needed between Filipino educators and communities that can highlight the wealth of resources and knowledge that exist already within these educational spaces that are not recognized typically or formally. My conceptual framework addresses how to apply decolonizing epistemologies and pedagogies to community-grounded collaborations that honor local and provincial knowledge.

PART 2: Conceptual Framework

The inquiry into the research questions that I pose for this study uses both theoretical and pedagogical frameworks. This was important because of the way that theory informs practice, and therefore, practice also informs theory. The inextricable link between theory and pedagogy were foundational in framing my work. A brief rationale followed by a more detailed discussion of each key theoretical and pedagogical strand is offered below to illustrate the reasons for integrating multiple theories and pedagogies into the conceptual framework.

While theory consists of philosophical and social thought that shapes consciousness and discourse (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005), pedagogy focuses on the process and practice of teaching and learning (Matta, 2021). In this study, theory offers the philosophical background of decolonialism and anti-racism in a broad context, while the pedagogical connections to ethnic studies and Filipino pedagogies are relevant because of the value of praxis that many critical Filipino educators perform. Praxis can be understood as the practical application of theory and action combined, which includes reflection within the process (Freire, 1970). Praxis is important to liberatory education because it narrows the distance between theory and practice and disrupts the hierarchy of knowledge in which theory alone is valued as ‘real’ knowledge. Praxis and

pedagogy are often informed mutually because of the ways in which praxis is applied through pedagogical approaches, and pedagogy reflects the process of praxis in the teaching and learning context.

Decolonial theory grounds my study and serves as the theoretical roots that feed the other theories and pedagogies I emphasize—all of which can help liberate not just Filipinos, but all marginalized peoples. Decolonial theory provides a framework for the deconstruction of hierarchical knowledge systems that make it possible to address the way schools value certain epistemologies while largely disregarding Black, Brown and Indigenous epistemic beliefs. While decolonial theory helps explain the effect that colonization had on Filipinos, I draw from critical theories of race to contextualize the specific relationship that Filipinx Americans have had with race and racism in the U.S.

I incorporate critical race theory (CRT) because it informs the study through a racialized and intersectional lens. CRT also supports the importance of counter-storytelling that is so central within the communities and relates strongly to collaborators' efforts toward representation and historical preservation. As a third component to my conceptual framework, critical and culturally responsive pedagogies highlight the way we see theory in practice, specifically in education. Critical and culturally responsive pedagogies are often bound inextricably to decolonial theory and critical theories of race, such is the case with critical Filipino pedagogy and ethnic studies pedagogy. These pedagogies were created through decolonizing collaboration and partnerships.

Critical pedagogy rejects the notion that learning is accomplished in isolation and that the process of teaching is siloed. Instead, critical and culturally responsive pedagogies emphasize the importance of partnership to develop multiple and diverse approaches to teaching and learning.

This dynamic then provides a compelling framework for the way collaborative knowledge and partnerships can be supported to expose and educate more people about Filipino Americans' contributions, experiences, and histories (Adger, 2000; Daus-Magbual, 2010; Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2010; Museus & Maramba, 2011; Campano et al., 2016; Daus-Magbual & Tintiangco-Cubales, 2016).

Decolonial Theory

Various theories in the field of education have criticized the schooling systems and structures rooted in neoliberal, white supremacist, settler colonial ideologies, as seen in anticolonial, postcolonial, and decolonial scholarship. This study uses decolonial theory as a framework because of its prevalence in educational literature, while acknowledging the connections to postcolonial theory that have been used in cultural studies, particularly as it relates to the Philippines. Scholars have long used both postcolonial and decolonial theory to examine and analyze the Philippines as a U.S. colony in the beginning of the twentieth century (Constantino, 1970; Curaming, 2016; Rafael, 1988; San Juan, 1992; Strobel, 2015, 2022). In Nadal, Tintiangco-Cubales, and David's pioneering work, *The Sage Encyclopedia of Filipina/x/o American Studies* (2022), Filipina scholar Leny Strobel shared in her article on decolonization (2022), that "Today the concept of decoloniality is used to emphasize that what matters is not abstract universal truths but relationality—referring to the importance of focusing on local histories and how decoloniality is embodied" (p. 6). Strobel's emphasis on relationality, particularly between histories and epistemic thought, is situated in the interconnection between people and the land.

Key theories of decoloniality emerged from the works of Latin American scholars Walter Mignolo and Arturo Escobar, who built on the ideas of dependency theory, colonialism, gender,

and critical theory. Mignolo (2007) argued that the project of decoloniality includes decoupling knowledge from colonial frameworks and reimagining knowledge as pluralistic to prevent limited singular thoughts. The foundation of decolonial theory suggests that colonialism has not only displaced and othered particular communities, especially those across Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Quijano, 2000a; Mignolo, 2007), but it has also displaced their knowledge.

Decoloniality orients itself to recover and relocate colonized communities' knowledge production in a re-signified epistemic framework to be included within academia (Quijano, 2000a; Vázquez, 2015). Decoloniality calls for the re-embodiment of knowledge to dismantle the notion of the Other. Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) observed that:

The globalization of knowledge and Western culture constantly reaffirms the West's view of itself as the center of legitimate knowledge, the arbiter of what counts as knowledge and the source of 'civilized' knowledge. This form of global knowledge is generally referred to as 'universal' knowledge, available to all and not really 'owned' by anyone, that is, until non-Western scholars make claims to it. When claims like that are made history is revised (again) so that the story of civilization remains the story of the West. (p. 63)

The importance of decoloniality's application to schooling is a growing area of research amongst critical, decolonial, and Indigenous scholars. Tuck and McKenzie (2014) argued that "... decolonizing perspectives, informed by Indigenous perspectives, seek to undo the real and symbolic violences of colonialism. Decolonization is determined to thwart colonial apparatuses, recover Indigenous land and life, and shape a new structure and future for all life" (p. 14).

Interrogating coloniality and subjectivity in the domain of education brings forward what has been silenced in the institution of schooling within the U.S.—the hierarchies of knowledge systems at both the secondary and post-secondary levels. Smith (1999) argued that:

School knowledge systems, however, were informed by a much more comprehensive system of knowledge which linked universities, scholarly societies and imperial views of culture. Hierarchies of knowledge and theories which had rapidly developed to account for the discoveries of the new world were legitimated at the center. Schools simply reproduced domesticated versions of that knowledge for uncritical consumption. (p. 65)

The challenge of applying decoloniality within schools is that, even in an attempt to decolonize and ‘indigenize’ colonial academic institutions, schools remain a part of the historical legacy of Western colonization and imperialism. Thus, the struggle to decolonize academic institutions and disciplines focuses on “... what counts as knowledge, as language, as literature, as curriculum and as the role of intellectuals, and over the critical function of the concept of academic freedom” (Smith, 1999, p. 65).

My research questions in this study focus on liberatory and decolonizing aims to develop curricula and pedagogy, build, and share collaborative knowledge, and create physical and emotional spaces of belonging for Filipino youth and students. While the study attempts to focus on the way that community-based partnerships may or may not be achieving these transformative goals, decolonial theory helps one imagine what the future of education would look like in a society that rejected and decentered colonialism actively within its systems and structures. In the context of the U.S., discussions about colonialism and whose knowledge has value would not be complete without an examination of the ways in which whiteness plays a role in ‘othering’

communities of color. CRT helps provides such insight by offering a framework to examine the relationship that communities of color have with race and racism.

Critical Race Theory

Notably, over the last few decades, CRT has garnered increasing attention within the field of education for its understanding of and connection to the larger social contexts of power, domination, and race. CRT frames the effects that race and racism have on social institutions, practices, and discourse (Yosso, 2005). It extends beyond theoretical claims of social justice and instead, CRT must be "... informed by and realized in lived experiences, and while the struggle for racial justice may offer no prospects for immediate or ultimate success, the struggle has to be continuous" (Hayman, 1995, p. 70). Further, it addresses the ongoing construction of social reality and disrupts forms of power and power dynamics. Ladson-Billings (1999) argues that one of the major tenets of CRT is not only understanding, but "unmasking and exposing racism" as it persists in society (p. 12). CRT is a way to broaden our understanding of how race and racism manifest in our country, and further teach us how to develop practices to critique social structures that uphold racism in the U.S.

The importance of lived experiences, experiential knowledge, and counter storytelling is central to CRT (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 2000). Lived experiences are the personal, firsthand account of people's lives that are experienced based upon their identities and positionalities within the world. Collins (1991) argued that "Individuals who have lived through the experiences about which they claim to be experts are more believable and credible than those who have merely read and thought about such experience" (p. 209). Lived experiences confirm that the daily lives of those who are marginalized and racialized are full of credible knowledge because of individuals' own personalized accounts of their experiences with race, racism, and

colonization, which is often referred to as experiential knowledge (Bernal, 2002; Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2017; Stovall, 2006).

Experiential knowledge identifies the meaning making and expertise gained when people understand and learn from their own experiences. Code (1991) observed that because theoretical knowledge is positioned with power and privilege, "... knowledge gained from practical (untheorized) experience is commonly regarded as inferior to theoretically derived or theory-confirming knowledge, and theory is elevated above practice" (p. 243). However, within CRT, experiential knowledge is a way to deconstruct the power and privilege that theoretical knowledge considers truth or objective reality. Brayboy (2005) argued that CRT "... values experiential knowledge as a way to inform thinking and research [and] as a result, narrative accounts and testimonies are valued as key sources of data by CRT scholars" (p. 428). Although theoretical and empirical knowledge has been regarded traditionally as 'real' knowledge (Smith, 1999), Filipinos' experiential knowledge disrupts that hierarchy and situates the historical and cultural context in which Filipinos have lived as knowledgeable wisdom.

Resistance is demonstrated through historically marginalized groups' counter-storytelling of the dominant narratives. This important aspect of CRT involves re-storying and reconstructing personal and collective narratives about people and communities of color as a decolonizing and liberatory praxis. Counter-storytelling conveys experiential knowledge and can build community and solidarity, challenge hegemonic ways of knowing and marginalized people's isolation, and help reconstruct realities (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Solórzano and Yosso (2002) argued that master narratives or majoritarian stories grounded in whiteness "are not often questioned because people do not see them as stories but as 'natural'..." (p. 28). These stories are often the dominant narratives that are perceived to be objective truths within mainstream education. DeCuir and

Dixson (2004) suggested that counter-narratives allow people of marginalized racial identities “to contradict the Othering process, and, thus, challenge the privileged discourses” (p. 27).

In an effort to disrupt the persistence of racism, one of CRT’s main tenets focuses on challenging the dominant ideology. Within U.S. society, white privilege has been able to maintain its power historically by standardizing the values, ideologies, and knowledge of the white, middle- and upper-class culture as the norm. Camouflaging this dominant ideology as objectivity allows for the comparison and judgment that any other group that falls outside of the realms of these standards is deficient. CRT focuses on disrupting this dominant ideology by challenging neutral and color-blind research to “expose deficit-informed research that silences, ignores and distorts epistemologies of People of Color” (Yosso, 2005, p. 73). Exposing the ideology used to maintain dominant groups’ power and privilege in society is critical to disrupting race and racism in U.S. society, as well as allowing room for communities of color and their cultural knowledge.

These features of CRT are important approaches to critical research that serve to challenge white supremacy and disrupt dominant narratives that allow racism to persist within education. DeCuir and Dixon (2004) described the permanence (or persistence) of racism as an understanding that “racist hierarchical structures govern all political, economic, and social domains” (p. 27). To challenge this notion, the first research question of this study is based upon the ways that racism and white supremacist ideologies have rendered Filipinos invisible and erased them from the larger U.S. historical narrative. By using CRT, this study explores the way racism drove Filipino communities to document their own histories and the way they reclaimed their pasts collectively to educate others about their experiences.

Community Cultural Wealth.

Despite an increasingly diverse society, racial hierarchies of norms and dominant ways of being still persist. In educational research, communities of color are often viewed from deficit perspectives and seen as disadvantaged because of what they ‘lack’ from the dominant perspective. Scholars have argued that this type of deficit analytical lens “places value judgements on communities that often do not have access to white, middle- or upper-class resources” (Yosso, 2005, p. 82; Solórzano & Solórzano, 1995). Rather than viewing communities of color through a lens of cultural poverty, using CRT in research, practice, and pedagogy can help shift toward seeing these communities’ strengths. Yosso (2005) developed a model referred to as community cultural wealth that focuses on learning and valuing the cultural assets and wealth of communities of color. Yosso stated that the concept of community cultural wealth “... is an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression” (p. 77). The author argued that communities of color possess such wealth that goes unacknowledged, albeit is valuable, nonetheless.

The cultural knowledge, skills, and practices that communities of color possess include six forms of capital: aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant. Yosso explained that “these various forms of capital are not mutually exclusive or static, but rather are dynamic processes that build on one another as part of community cultural wealth” (p. 77). Recognizing the ways in which communities of color must resist further marginalization by maintaining their cultural wealth reveals the way race, power, and agency are implicated in the fight for liberation and the simultaneous decentering of whiteness. As a result of racialized erasure and invisibility, Filipinos have become resourceful in adapting their own assets and

strengths to meet their communities' needs, which has included relying heavily on their social, familial, and resistant capital, as illustrated within this study. Community cultural wealth is relevant to the research questions that guide this study because of the theoretical connections that serve as a bridge from Filipino communities' cultural wealth to relevant pedagogical practices.

Critical and Culturally Responsive Pedagogies

The pedagogical focus related to the study's research questions is linked to critical and culturally responsive pedagogies' importance within community-based educational spaces. The pedagogies that are central to the conceptual framework are Critical Filipino Pedagogy and Critical *Kapwa*, both of which are related to emancipatory forms of knowledge production. In addition, ethnic studies pedagogy is relevant because of its focus on anti-racist and decolonizing efforts.

Critical Filipino Pedagogy and Kapwa

Brazilian educator, activist, and writer, Paulo Freire, published *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in 1970 that would later become the foundation for critical educators around the world. His book highlighted the notion of critical pedagogy, which focuses on critiquing the way that power shapes the relationships and systems around us, while it emphasizes humanization, liberation, and critical consciousness as well. Freire revealed that students learn effectively when they are able to connect what is being taught to their lives (Freire, 1970; Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008). Freire coined the term, *conscientization*, or critical consciousness, as the process of becoming aware of the knowledge that students have already and making them aware of that consciousness. In this process of critical consciousness, students become empowered by the resilience they have and are recognized as knowledgeable experts (Freire, 1970). Through this

empowerment, students of color are able to move forward in learning critically and in becoming change agents within their communities.

Critical Filipino pedagogy extends the groundwork of Freire's (1970) notion of critical pedagogy. Critical Filipino pedagogy "links a historical materialist orientation of critical pedagogy with the transformative activities of Filipinos in a global diaspora" (Viola, 2009, p. 3). Viola (2009) draws from the work of Filipino cultural and literary theorist Epifanio San Juan, Jr. to continue the Freirean project of unveiling social injustices against the marginalized to humanize one another. San Juan's "... critical understanding of social class as a relation of owning land and human labor" is necessary to move toward an authentic education outside of capitalist production (Viola, 2009, p. 11). Critical Filipino pedagogy highlights the emancipatory forms of knowledge production necessary in the Filipino struggle for national liberation that "interweaves an analysis of nationalism, culture, class, race, and history" (Viola, 2009, p. 12) to interrogate the racialization, global apartheid, and the politicized and economic inequalities that resulted from U.S. imperialism and colonization.

It is critical to apply this pedagogy to the Philippines because the Philippines has been "devastated by policies of structural adjustment, privatization, as well the ongoing presence of the United States military to buttress the native administrators of neocolonialism" (Viola, 2009, p. 12; Foster & McChesney, 2004). While my research focuses on a diasporic community of Filipinos who have migrated to the U.S., colonialism and the struggle for national liberation expressed in the foundations of Critical Filipino pedagogy still shape Filipinos' experiences globally. Imperialism and colonization's effects have overlapped with the experience of Filipino Americans who also confronted American racism and racialization upon their immigration to the U.S.

Critical Filipina scholars Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales and Jocyl Sacramento have been instrumental in developing pedagogical support for both K-12 and higher education institutions, particularly in centering Pinays⁶. The authors extended Freire's (1970) work on critical pedagogy to develop a Pinayist pedagogy, "... the teaching and learning of Filipina women's stories, including their history and their contemporary experiences" in both K-12 and higher education (p. 180). Pinayism extends this idea of critical Pinay studies to include the process of praxis in which Pinay "epistemologies are at the center of the discourse/ dialogue/ conversation and organizing" (p. 180). As Freire's humanizing pedagogy is the foundation of Pinayism, Pinayist pedagogy focuses on "the creation of communities that humanize and liberate Filipina women" (p. 180).

The importance of community identity and development overall is part and parcel of Filipinx culture's value, as seen in the word *kapwa*. Enriquez (2004) describes *kapwa* as "... a recognition of shared identity, an inner self shared with the other" (p. 5). Desai (2016) illustrates *kapwa* further as:

... merely being together in a space does not mean that we are in *kapwa* with one another. While *kapwa* is a concept of shared or collective identity, it is also the way interpersonal relationships function and are maintained within this collective identity. It is about emphasizing the community over the individual... it is more than just a folk notion of community, but rather a deep connection and commitment to that community. (p. 35)

⁶ In addition, Pin@y became a gender-neutral term students at that University of California, Berkeley coined in the 1990s (Halagao et al., 2009). Pin@y or Pinxy has also evolved as a gender non-conforming term to be more inclusive, while Pinay refers specifically to women.

By being in *kapwa* with one another, Filipinx have been able to shift away from the deficit-based narrative that there is no cohesiveness in Filipinx communities, and instead demonstrate that they are positioning themselves in community with one another to develop pedagogical and epistemic frameworks, teaching practices, and curricula for Filipino youth that are rooted in Filipinx history, culture, and values.

Critical *Kapwa* pedagogy, born out of the Filipino value of *kapwa* and developed by Maharaj Desai, focuses on (re)connection with community and collective healing. The importance of collective healing comes from the effects that colonialism and racism have had on Filipinos, both individually and as a community. Through the study, attempts at collective healing could be seen in the ways that Filipino communities reclaimed their own histories and produced their own educational tools to validate and affirm the very ways that they have been invisibilized and erased from the country's historical narrative. Desai (2016) indicated that Critical *Kapwa* refers to “revolutionizing ideology, epistemology, and spirituality in order to combat the daily manifestations of the residual hegemonic trauma in our lives, families, and communities caused by colonization” (p. 37). The three main pillars identified within Critical *Kapwa* are humanization, on becoming Diwa(ta), and decolonizing epistemologies.

Desai (2016) explained that humanization “requires an analysis of non-western social systems and structures in order to destroy the hierarchies and false binaries that perpetuate the realities of subordination and oppression” (p. 37). Humanization through *kapwa* involves the practice of using multiple lenses through which to understand the way that oppressive ideologies affect people and extend that same lens of understanding to ourselves as well. The second pillar that Desai (2016) discussed is built on the combination of two words in the Philippine language, *diwa* or spirit, and Diwata or deity. Desai argued that “... to heal the disconnects between mind,

spirit, and body, diwa(ta) is a return to seeing the self as a spiritual being that is connected to different realms” (p. 37). This is an important element in denying the Western concept of individualism that operates within capitalism, and moving toward wholeness instead—or as hooks (1994) described: “wholeness, a union of mind, body, and spirit” (p. 14). The third pillar, decolonizing epistemologies, refers to re-claiming counter-hegemonic narratives to embrace the self, others, and the environment with deeper understanding. Desai explained that its purpose is to “give voice to the colonized/oppressed who have been silenced in society and in the classroom... If we are to assist students and the community in redefining themselves, they first need access to new tools to help articulate a renewed sense of being and self-worth” (p. 37).

The three pillars of *Critical Kapwa* “intersect with one another to destroy hegemonic ideological structures that perpetuate colonial domination while they also empower the individual to operate outside of those hegemonic ideological structures” (Desai, 2016, p. 37). In his study, *Critical Kapwa* was implemented with Filipino youth within two different educational settings in California and Hawaii. Desai created curricula and projects based upon the framework of critical *Kapwa* that catered to youth in each educational space that was unique to their own communities’ context. The purpose was to “counter colonially constructed hierarchies of power such as high and low culture, civilized and savage cultures, and gender and racial hierarchies” (p. 38). Students were able to “build a new sense of identity with one another and see themselves as connected to a larger community” (p. 38).

Critical Filipino pedagogy and critical *Kapwa* are examples of the way Filipinos have focused on integrating their lived experiences with the needs of the broader community into a pedagogical approach that can connect these issues to those outside of the Philippine diaspora. Rejecting the larger colonial project emphasizes not only Filipino history, but also highlights all

historically marginalized communities. The culturally responsive approach to ethnic studies pedagogy offers insight into the process and practice of teaching broader audiences about community histories that are often excluded from the dominant perspective, particularly within secondary schools.

Ethnic Studies Pedagogy.

Historically, ethnic studies emerged during a time of social movements in the 1960s, when students, educators, and scholars of color were mobilizing for more reflectively diverse curricula. This effort was also consistent with the organization and mobilization reflected in the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S. and global liberation movements that occurred during the same period. Sleeter (2011) argued that “mainstream Euro-American studies deny all students—both White and of color—an education that takes seriously the realities of institutionalized racism that people of color live every day, and knowledge that arises from within communities of color” (p. 5). At its core, ethnic studies were and are guided currently by anti-racist and decolonizing efforts to affirm the identities and selfhoods of historically marginalized communities to work toward human liberation (Sleeter, 2011; Tintiango-Cubales et al., 2015).

In conjunction with decolonization, ethnic studies pedagogy serves as an anti-racist project to eliminate racism. Scholars and educators of color have built ethnic studies to support a racial analysis of the inequities within schooling by using CRT frameworks specifically (Yosso et al., 2004; Yosso, 2005; Tintiango-Cubales et al., 2016). Critical Filipina scholar, Tintiango-Cubales et al. (2016) argued that “decolonization as a liberatory process is central to ethnic studies pedagogy because it allows for a systematic critique of the traumatic history of colonialism on native peoples, and subsequently, healing from colonial trauma, including the trauma of having learning to see oneself as academically incapable” (p. 111). Decolonization

within ethnic studies offers a pedagogical praxis “that sees dismantling our internal neocolonial condition and abolishing its multiple forms of violence as preconditions to the existence of justice between all peoples that inhabit the contemporary United States” (Tejeda et al., 2003, p. 10).

Ethnic studies pedagogy is also related directly to community-responsive pedagogical and curricular practices that help students interrogate their identities and experiences critically as they interact with the larger institutional structures. Community responsive pedagogy (CRP) requires educators to teach and develop curricula (and assessments) that are responsive to communities’ specific needs. CRP focuses on becoming familiar with the history, the people, and the place in that specific community (Duncan-Andrade, 2016). As a whole, ethnic studies pedagogy has influenced multicultural education, critical curricula, and critical pedagogies in both secondary and higher education.

Summary of Conceptual Framework

The important elements mentioned earlier in this chapter are presented here to summarize the historical analysis and literature review that informed this study’s conceptual frameworks. The effects of imperialism and colonialism attributable to the American occupation of the Philippines influenced the American education system both on the islands, as well as during Filipinos’ early immigration to the U.S. Immigrant Filipinos were divided in part, as some came for education and economic opportunities, while others came as labor workers for financial survival. The history of colonization informed the racialized relationship between Filipinos in the U.S. and white Americans, which was reflected in the parallel invisibility of Filipinos in schools and within larger society. The contextualization provided by the historical analysis and literature

review informed the epistemological approaches that shaped the methods used in this study, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

The conceptual frameworks guiding the study included both theoretical and pedagogical concepts to mirror the ways in which Filipino communities have historically bridged theory and practice in their process of historical preservation and knowledge production. Theoretically, I drew from decolonial theory and CRT to outline the epistemological framing for this work. Pedagogically, I drew from critical and culturally responsive pedagogies combined to help shape the study's conceptualization and design.

Decolonial theory helped inform the foundation of this research because the deconstruction necessary to decenter colonial power and reconstruct schools so that they are more inclusive of knowledge systems that depart from Western epistemic beliefs is at its core. While Filipinos have experienced the history of colonialism, because of their history of immigration to the U.S., they have also become racialized beings who have had to confront the issues of being racially marginalized. This is important to recognize, as the specific focus of this research includes Filipinx Americans who are socialized within the U.S, and therefore, have been affected by America's history of racism and racialization. CRT is important, as it helped shape this research further because racialization and colonialism can often overlap in historically marginalized groups, Indigenous communities, and other people of color.

As an extension of the decolonizing project, critical and culturally responsive pedagogies offered informative approaches to the way theory is transformed into practice within the classroom. A diagram that illustrates the theories and frameworks that were used to influence and shape the conceptual understanding of my research approach is provided in Figure 3 below. In understanding the larger context informed by history, theory, and methodology, this study is

positioned to better address the need for collective and collaborative partnerships and labor between communities and academic institutions to move toward decolonizing and liberating educational spaces.

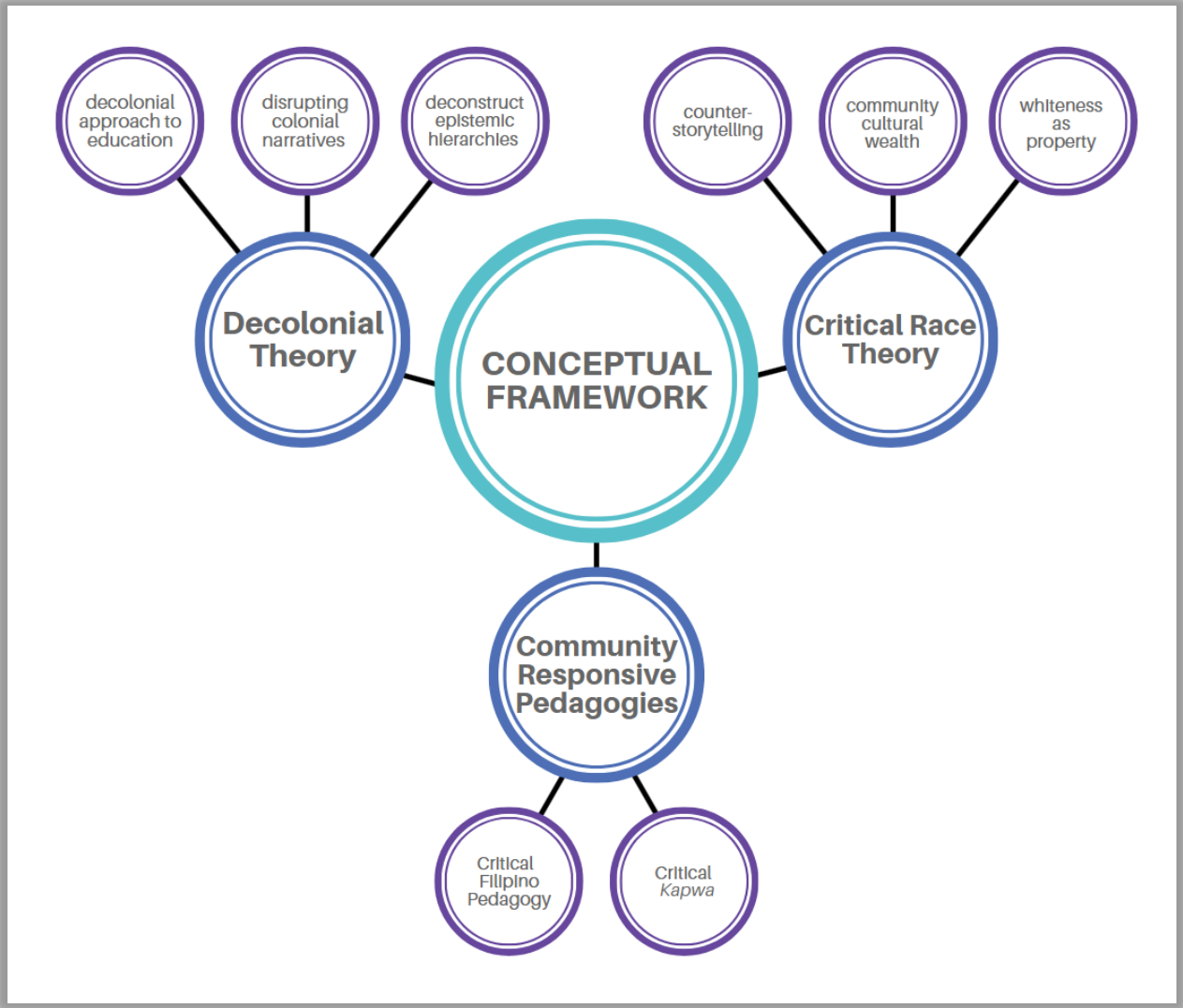


Figure 3 Visual map of conceptual framework

Chapter 3 Methodology & Research Design

The theoretical framework for the study is informed by the historical context and literature review detailed in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I address the methodology used to frame my research and describe the research methods I used to design this study. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) argue that methodology is an approach to research and inquiry that includes a set of rationale, principles, and ethics as a means to uncover knowledge through process and understanding. Stated another way, methodology is what drives the methods of research. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) argue that methodology is a theoretical perspective to bridge philosophical perspectives and create a research methods design. This study is centered in critical race methodologies (CRM) because of the ongoing construction in which power and race shapes social reality. It is also rooted in decolonizing methodologies because of the focus on recognizing and centering the epistemic beliefs of local and Indigenous communities, which can be extended towards Filipinos and their efforts towards historical reclamation.

In this chapter, I detail my methodology by describing my research design's foundational epistemologies. Afterwards, I introduce the community and academic partner participants who provided their perspectives and understandings of community partnerships. I follow up by describing the three, focal research sites that illustrate the efforts of Filipino historical preservation: the traditional collections at various historical repositories at the University of Michigan; a community museum created by a grassroots, non-profit Filipino organization in Stockton, California; and a digital historical archive presented by a center for Filipino Studies at the University of California, Davis. After describing the research sites, I outline the research

design and methods used for collecting data. Finally, I conclude with the strategies and tactics of my data analysis to prepare for the discussion of my findings for Chapter Four. To begin this chapter, I find it imperative to discuss the ways in which epistemological frameworks have historically harmed marginalized communities, and the types of methodologies that are humanizing and beneficial to these same communities.

Epistemological Frameworks

Due to the historic harm that traditional educational research has done to perpetuate colonial stances in schooling, there is a responsibility to understand how choosing one's methodologies to be disruptive to settler colonialism is imperative when crafting a research project. "Education research is a text, and as such, is never neutral but instead imbricated with potential and unruliness to motivate, disincentivize, and render invisible various realities" (Patel, 2015, p. 64). Patel (2015) argues that academic research can contribute to "state-sanctioned violent erasure as a... conjoining practice of settler colonialism" (p. 37). To challenge these notions, the work of feminist, Indigenous, critical, and decolonizing methodologies have cultivated spaces of inquiry around data instead of ownership in order to disrupt the definitions and problematic histories of and with data (Tuck and Yang, 2014, Patel, 2015). Patel (2015) argues that "decolonization requires, at minimum, a consideration of how ideologies impact material practices, how practices are always epistemically shaped, and vice versa" (p. 64). As mentioned earlier, this research project is grounded in decolonizing and critical race methodologies.

Critical Race Methodologies

Solórzano and Yosso (2002) identify critical race methodology as theoretically grounded in research that exhibits these five elements (p. 26):

1. intercentricity of race and racism with other forms of subordination
2. the challenges to dominant ideology
3. the commitment to social justice
4. the centrality of experiential knowledge
5. the transdisciplinary perspective

Critical race methodologies center experiential knowledge as part of the research process, placing the participants within the study as empowered participants that are able to frame, hear, learn, and construct their own stories against master narratives or monovocal stories

(Montecinos, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Montecinos (1995) argues that:

a master narrative essentializes and wipes out the complexities and richness of a group's cultural life [and] a monovocal account will engender not only stereotyping but also curricular choices that result in representations in which fellow members of a group represented cannot recognize themselves (p. 293-294).

Central to critical race methodology is the understanding of storytelling, counternarratives, counter-storytelling as valid knowledge production. While many of these references differ in their own specific and targeting meanings, for this research, they are recognized as a tool for marginalized communities and individuals, specifically for Filipina/x/o Americans, to be able to tell their own stories and construct their own experiences for themselves. Some of the ways in which CRM provides the grounding for this research is through its incorporation of culturally relevant epistemologies and pedagogies described in Chapter 2.

Decolonizing Methodologies

Decolonizing theory has been planted in the field of education by the works of Indigenous scholars who have fought to challenge and disrupt the neoliberal, colonial,

capitalistic notion of education. When examining Philippine history, decolonizing methodologies become relevant because of the imperial and colonial violence that has endured through the American empire's colonial rule over the Philippines. Even after the Philippines gained their independence in the 1946, the islands are still considered an American neocolonial territory with politics, government, military, and economic trade being impacted through the Philippine American relationship (Mahajani, 2019). Considering the relevance of the Philippines colonial history and decolonizing methodologies, it can be argued that Filipinos participating and positioning themselves within their own communities as researchers who challenge dominant, hegemonic narratives can be liberatory. Similarly, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) argues that part of the decolonizing framework includes Indigenous research being done by Indigenous researchers who position themselves as “grounded politically in specific Indigenous contexts and histories, struggles and ideals” (p. 3).

Decolonizing framework includes recognition of epistemological foundations that differ from Western philosophies and ways of knowing. Culturally relevant epistemologies do more than disrupt and challenge dominant ideologies and beliefs; they prioritize honoring and acknowledging that other ways of knowing and other forms of knowledge that are usually seen in communities of color, are rooted in ethnic and Indigenous epistemologies. Dominant beliefs and ways of thinking in the U.S. are based on Euro-American beliefs and a culture of whiteness (Ladson-Billings, 2000; McCarthy, 2003). This ideology impacts the modes of meaning making, and shapes who and how society understands what is considered truth. Due to Eurocentric and Western ideologies being dominant ways of thinking in the U.S., ethnic and Indigenous epistemologies are often seen as invalid because they deviate from the knowledge systems that are deemed the norm (Ladson-Billings, 2000). However, culturally relevant epistemologies view

the knowledge, values, beliefs, ways, and systems of knowing belonging to communities of color as another valid mode of meaning making and knowledge construction.

Although decolonial approaches to research and methodology are important, Tuck and Yang (2012) discuss the ways in which decolonization has been used loosely and co-opted in educational spaces without acknowledging Indigenous peoples and the violences that settler colonial nation-states have had to endure. Tuck and Yang (2012) argue that by making decolonization synonymous with social justice, anti-racism, or critical discourse, the structures of settler colonialism are made invisible. Additionally, Tuck and Yang (2012) acknowledge “when metaphor invades decolonization, it kills the very possibility of decolonization; it recenters whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future” (p. 3). Similarly, there is more urgency for disruption and deconstruction in a material sense rather than through theory because of the tangible consequences that results from colonialism. Smith (1999) argues that “taking apart the story, revealing underlying texts, and giving voice to things that are often known intuitively does not help to improve their current conditions. It provides words, perhaps, an insight that explains certain experiences – but it does not prevent someone from dying” (p. 3).

While education is limited within the constraints of a schooling system that is rooted in settler colonial history and violence, the study attempts to address the colonial project and offer ways to rebuild other structures of learning. It is important to emphasize the epistemic frameworks that have provided the soil for this study to grow. As this section highlighted, the beliefs and epistemological grounding of American history are based on the context of white supremacy and colonization. In order to counter these oppressive systems, the study is grounded in knowledge systems that honor Filipinos.

Research Design

The design of the study is a critical qualitative study because of the ways that qualitative research captures meaning making behind human interactions in some of the most inclusive ways to understand the complexities of various inquiries (Cooley, 2013). Scholars have come to value the purpose of qualitative research because it details the social and cultural aspects of different communities or individuals (Geertz, 1973); it provides a snapshot of places and people within a time period (Maxwell, 2012); and there is a reflective process involved for the researcher (Agee, 2009). The study is designed with the larger decolonial project in mind. By looking across three different museums and their documentation towards Filipino history, the study attempts to explore whether the process of Filipinos reclaiming their histories is decolonizing and how so. The design had to capture the individual details of the museums, as well as the nuances across the sites that may include similarities, differences, tensions, and any other additional insight.

Acknowledging the strengths and limitations of the research design explicitly is necessary because of how it influences the rest of the study (Bickman & Rog, 2008). The study drew from case studies because they tend to focus on the how and why of a phenomenon within real-world context (Yin, 2004). Utilizing a case study design could have helped to examine Filipino image, identity, and imperialism in the U.S. that is presented in the study. However, there was a need for a more critical and decolonial lens to be applied to the research design in order to address the anti-hegemonic efforts, inspiration, and transnational collaboration within the study.

Traditionally, case studies focus on exploring a phenomenon or case but are not generally used to exploring groundbreaking or critically nuanced research.

As is with any critical stance in research, the focus is on *who* is being researched and *why*. Souto-Manning (2014) details the danger in “ethnocentrically imposing our [the researchers] own understandings, assumptions, and experiences upon them [the participants]” (p. 201). Therefore, conducting agentic research within communities that have been historically marginalized is imperative. Qualitative research investigates social phenomena through human inquiry that progresses the boundaries of methodological and epistemological discourse (Cooley, 2013). In addition to academic contributions, the implications of qualitative inquiry, especially when used in education, can contribute to policy change, civic engagement, and community service (Fetterman & Wandersman, 2007).

As I detail in later sections, the three qualitative research methods I used for this study included artifact and archival analysis, interviews, and observations. I utilized artifact and archival analysis as a method to gain insight into cultural features, historical moments, and/or interpersonal behaviors of the research sites. Some of the artifacts included photographs, digital/social media, fliers, cultural ornament, garment, etc. I also utilized archival analysis to review the process of preservation and storage of historical records and documents as a method because of its stable accessibility and broad coverage. The use of the interviews provided supplementary information to the historical inquiry process of this study to hear the perspectives, stories, and experiences of Filipinos engaging with community-based, historic preservation. I employed observations as a data collection method to get more insight on how daily operations ran and who was involved, as I detail later. This method allowed me to physically observe the research sites to understand more context of these places.

The distinctions between the research sites were seen through observing the physical spaces and the purposes they served as conveyed through the people who worked there.

Additionally, Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003) argued that certain locations of research sites can be seen as politicized and contested spaces. Understanding the political contexts of these spaces, specifically in response to colonizing practices of historical preservation, provided richer insight to the diversity of how community and decolonizing museums may look.

The study focuses on Filipino communities' current efforts around historical preservation, community engagement, and educational content for the purpose of liberatory and decolonizing practices in education. In order to conceptualize what this means, I offer a breakdown for each pillar of my study. *Historical preservation* can be understood as Filipino community organizing efforts around historical inquiry, archival assets, and repatriation. *Community engagement* revolves around relation-based organizing, protecting material structures and relations, and creating spaces of/for love. *Educational content* involves the exchange of and understanding of differing epistemic ideologies, being accountable thought partners, and synthesizing radical projects to inform curriculum and pedagogy. In understanding how historical preservation, community engagement, and educational content is defined, it is important to connect back to the “why?” or in other words, the purpose of these efforts. Liberatory education is conceptualized as the emancipatory transformation and critical consciousness around teaching and learning, while decolonizing education includes efforts to disrupt settler colonial structures of schooling to center Indigenous peoples and practices.

Research Sites

The purpose of this research is to explore how different types of partnerships documenting Filipino history can be supported to educate others and expose broader audiences to the knowledge and contributions of Filipino Americans. The focal point of this research emphasize the three different research sites across Michigan and California. The research sites

can be described as the physical locations and the respective repositories housed within them or in association with them that were used as the central point of data for this study.

Repositories, Archives, and Research Sites

This study is interdisciplinary as it transcends across the field of education and into history, museum studies, library studies, and even a bit of anthropology and archaeology. This is important to note because the terms of repositories, archives, and research sites mean very different things in each of these disciplines and for the sake of clarity in this study, it is necessary to distinguish how they are being conceptualized in this research.

While archival research is a term associated within social studies disciplinary literacy, I opted to use repositories more selectively for this study. Repositories and archives have overlapping purposes as they are both used for preservation and access; however, repositories tend to be more of an umbrella term that emphasizes storage, while archives normally emphasize preservation. It is notable that the research sites central in my study include varying words within their names, such as “collections,” “museum,” “archive.” To avoid further confusion, I utilize the term research sites to identify the three separate entities that conduct historical preservation in their own ways.

The respective repositories include collections and archives of different Filipino artifacts and/or artifacts related to Filipino history during different time periods and in varying geographic locations. Before diving into deeper detail of each research site, I present a brief overview as an introduction to the sites.

Overview of Three Different Sites

The Philippine Collections at U-M is a “traditional” specialty collection of artifacts acquired between 1898-1933 during American colonial rule of the Philippines, curated mostly by

white, affluent American scholars. The Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) Museum is a community-organized, grassroots non-profit museum in Daly City, California that holds collections of Filipino American history from the 1920s to the 1960s. The Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies is affiliated as part of University of California, Davis but was birthed out of community organized efforts to create the first center for Filipino Studies in the U.S. The center hosts a digital archive known as the Welga Archive documenting Filipino American farmworker history, specifically around the U.S. Farmworker movement in 1965, and the center offers an extension of free online learning modules on the Filipino American experience.

The three research sites based in California and Michigan became the primary sources of research for various reasons. Filipinx/a/o Americans are the largest Asian population in California and cater heavily to them through community-based organizations, cultural schools, and service-learning programs centering Filipinos' history and education. The central valley and northern part of California have been integral in the role of both preserving Filipino history and producing groundbreaking contributions in contemporary times. As stated earlier, central valley and northern California have been historic sites of the 1960s Filipino activism that continues to influence the progressive and radical projects pioneered by Filipinos today. This has become specifically evident in the foundational Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) Museum, located in California's central valley in the city of Stockton, and in the groundbreaking Bulosan Center at the University of California (UC) Davis, located in the northern California city of Davis. These organizations were included as my two research sites due to their significance in documenting Filipina/x/o American history.

I selected the Philippine Collections at the University of Michigan for my other research site due to a few key factors. For instance, the connections between U-M and Philippines are not

widely known even though U-M was the site for many of the *Thomasites* and *pensionados* that promulgated American colonial rule over the Philippines in the 1900s. The Philippine Collections is also unique in that it is not held at one physical museum, but it is actually spread out amongst seven repositories at the University of Michigan, with the most notable collections being at three repositories: the Bentley Historical Library, the Museum of Anthropological Archaeology, and the Special Collection Research Center at Hatcher Library. The Philippine Collections is still evolving, and more is being learned about what the collection consists of; however, there is still not a lot known or done with all the artifacts that U-M has in its possession.

Working with these three research sites became a type of auto-ethnographic experience where I could immerse myself in the process of learning the history and context of Filipino history through sites that I had a connection with as a first-generation Filipina American. I acknowledge that my own upbringing in California and my lived experiences as a Filipina doctoral student at U-M connected me personally to this research project.

Differing Purposes of the Sites

These three different research sites provide a unique look at the various ways in which historical and archival work is created and conducted. One of the major differences between the research sites are the origins, purpose, and process of these collections. For instance, the Bulosan Center was established only several years ago, so its archives are smaller in comparison to the Philippine Collections, which have an extensive collection that the findings reflected. Although the community-based sites had smaller archives because they covered more recent history (largely from the 1960s on), they still contributed to the study significantly.

While the Philippine Collection at U-M takes up a lot of the discourse in the findings chapter because of its mere size that reflects a traditional university collection, this is not to center the Philippine Collection over the community-based research sites. Instead, it is to frame the context of how Filipinos responded to the ways in which colonization and imperialism controlled the historical narratives of the Philippines and Filipinos throughout the early 20th century.

Moreover, the context of the only colonial collections sets the precedent of understanding the efforts of Filipinos to reclaim, preserve, and document through the creation of spaces that were built by them and their communities consensually (Cordova, 1983). This is seen in the emergence of a museum reparative project in response to the Philippine Collections at U-M, as well as within the other two research sites. I present the connection of their origin and purpose as a way to understand the historical and sociopolitical context of Filipino community-based efforts in the U.S. in relation to institutionalized, colonial harm- and even, institutionalized reparative work. (See Table 1) I later discuss the types of data each of these research sites produced.

Table 1. Research Sites and Descriptions

Research Site	Description	City, State
<p>Philippine Collections at University of Michigan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bentley Historical Library • Special Collections Research Center • Museum of Anthropological Archaeology • ReConnect/ReCollect Project 	<p>A research and collection museum dedicated to research, documentation, and curation of anthropological collections. It includes artifacts, specimen, and documentation from more than a century of scientific research conducted globally.</p>	<p>Ann Arbor, Michigan</p>
<p>Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) Museum</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FANHS National Organization • FANHS National Pinoy Archives 	<p>Community-based, non-profit organization that presents educational programs and experiences that preserve, explore, and celebrate the history of Filipinos in the U.S. It's mission is to promote the narrative of Filipino American experiences through preservation, inspiration, and education.</p>	<p>Stockton, California</p>
<p>Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies at UC Davis, Asian American Studies</p>	<p>Hosted by the Asian American Studies Department, the center aims to produce, preserve, and disseminate knowledge about Filipinx experience in the U.S. It hosts a digital repository of Filipinx history for research and education programs driven by partnerships with community-based orgs.</p>	<p>Davis, California</p>

Philippine Collections at the University of Michigan

The Philippine Collection at U-M offers a collection that reflects American colonization and imperialism, which is in stark contrast to the other research sites. Most of the collections were acquired during the American colonial rule of the Philippines. In the late 19th century, various U-M professors, alumni, and students journeyed to the Philippines as part of a global expedition to study zoology and botany. Joseph Beal Steere was a leader amongst this group who were soon to be called the “Michigan Men,” a group of all white, affluent, and educated men. What started out as an expedition to collect natural history and specimens turned into a collection of more than 1,000 cultural objects and 15,000 photographs as they documented the Indigenous people of the Philippines. Dean C. Worcester was another member of the Michigan Men, who eventually became instrumental during the American colonial occupation of the Philippines as he was appointed a member of the Philippines Commission during which the Philippines was

governed by the Bureau of Insular Affairs. Worcester's work extended to his partnership with Carl Guthe, an American anthropologist at U-M, who carried out major archaeological expeditions in the Philippines. Soon enough, the University of Michigan Alumni Association was formed in 1901 with the goal of establishing English-language based public school systems in the Philippines as part of the process of expansion by American teachers. Again, these mixed gendered teachers were also known as "*Thomasites*," as mentioned in Chapter Two. These earlier expeditions, excavations, and hauls, fueled by colonial scientific curiosity, created the foundations of the Philippine Collection at U-M that are now housed amongst different repositories spread across the campus.

The collections and archives resulting from these main anthropological expeditions and others after it are spread mostly across the U-M Museum of Anthropological Archaeology (UMMAA), the Bentley Historical Library, and the Graduate Library's Special Collections. UMMAA was established in 1922 and houses most of the material objects from these earlier expeditions that extend far beyond the pre-colonial era of the Philippines, as well as an extensive photograph collection from Worcester's and Guthe's expeditions in the late 19th century. The Bentley Historical Library was established in 1935 and houses mostly manuscripts, personal correspondence, and photographs from various expeditions and missions between 1893-1924, including many of Worcester's private collection. U-M's Graduate Library was established in 1920, and while it is unclear when the Special Collections was created, this non-circulating collections library houses an extensive collection of Worcester's materials and artifacts between 1834-1915. However, beyond these three repositories, there are more that also house Philippine material from U-M related expeditions to the Philippines such as the Museum of Zoology, Stearns Collection of Musical Instruments, and the Herbarium. For the sake of keeping this

research site consistent and relevant to the other research sites, I chose to focus exclusively on UMMAA, Bentley, and the Special Collections.

The context of the Philippine Collection is vital to this study because it represents traditional collections that are both abundant in artifacts and resourced by institutional support in ways of funding, accessibility, global connections, digitization, etc. The collections are also representative of the reality of imperialism and colonialism that is mirrored in research, education, and legislative control of the Philippines by U.S. involvement, and specifically, U-M's involvement. The discussion on whether to defend the imperialist ideologies of someone like Worcester and his mission to civilize the Indigenous communities in the Philippines will be debated a bit more in depth in Chapter 4, though a larger examination of this specific topic falls outside the bounds of this study. However, it is still important to frame that U-M has one of the largest collections of Filipino artifacts outside of the Philippines and it was achieved undoubtedly through colonial means.

Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) Museum in Stockton

The FANHS Museum originated as a community-led effort to preserve historical accounts of Filipino American history. The physical museum was opened in 2016 and Stockton was chosen as the site due to its significant historic location. However, while the museum was opened more recently, the organization of FANHS has been around since 1982. It is currently the only national organization committed to promoting and preserving Filipino American history. Intended to educate Filipino and non-Filipino people, FANHS has extended to several chapters spread out across the country promoting its collective, grassroots effort “to ensure that our voices are heard, that our experiences are recognized, and our stories are told” (FANHS National,

2020). FANHS' mission of historical preservation and educational dissemination is seen through conferences, workshops, lectures, films, artwork, and now, their National Museum in Stockton.

FANHS was founded by Dr. Dorothy Laigo Cordova and her late husband, Dr. Fred Cordova, who have been part and parcel to the Filipino American community within the U.S., particularly within the West Coast. They are referred to as Auntie Dorothy and Uncle Fred by FANHS members who use the term of endearment and respect as a way of honoring and respecting our elders. With a passion for community organizing and activism for Filipino Americans dating back to the 1950's, Auntie Dorothy and Uncle Fred organized the establishment of FANHS in 1982 with Uncle Fred serving as the first president of the historical society.

Through the collective, grassroots efforts of community organizing, FANHS has been instrumental in the preservation, the representation, and the continued groundbreaking contributions of Filipinos in the U.S. It was FANHS that first proposed Filipino American History Month back in 1991, and although it was not recognized by Congress until 2009, October is now nationally recognized as Filipino American History Month, with a critical emphasis on the language of 'History' over 'Heritage.' In the words of late Dr. Dawn Mabalon, Filipina historian, scholar, and community organizer:

History is inclusive of heritage & culture, but it's also about the ways we have built and changed this nation -- our stories, political struggles, transformations, labor, migration, activism, impact of imperialism & war, victories, etc. -- whereas 'heritage' is more limited to what we pass down in terms of culture, tradition, legacies. History is inclusive of heritage and much more. **WE MADE HISTORY. WE HELPED BUILD THIS NATION.** That's what this month is about.

FANHS has served not only as the driving force for contemporary Filipino social and political movements in the U.S., but it has also been responsible for raising most of the individuals in leading these movements.

With over 40 chapters across the country, FANHS has grown from humble origins to now an expansive professional network throughout the U.S. that consists of scholars, activists, authors, artists, educators, historians, therapists, healthcare professionals, etc. Much of the funding for FANHS and FANHS Museum has been established through community fundraising and grant-writing for federal and/or state funds towards historic preservation. FANHS continues to operate as a non-profit organization birthed by the love and labor of and for the community. As explicitly stated on their national website, the purposes of FANHS are to: “conduct research and studies; gather, promote, and disseminate published works on Filipino American history; provide a repository for research and gathered materials; create exhibits; promote and hold forums and public programs; and sponsor fundraising events to accomplish these purposes” (FANHS National, 2020). This site was chosen specifically for its historical significance and origins as a grassroots, community-based organization.

Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies hosted by the Asian American Studies Department at the University of California (UC) Davis

The two previously described research sites, the Philippine Collections at U-M and the FANHS Museum, are examples of ‘traditional’ museums where one is hosted by a university and the other by a grassroots, non-profit organization not affiliated with any academic institution, whereas the third site is a hybrid between these two. The Bulosan Center is grounded on community and university partnership to center Filipino American history and provide educational programs around Filipino American experiences. The Center was named after Carlos

Bulosan, a prominent Filipino migrant worker, labor activist, and author who was well known for his novel, *America is in the Heart*. This important piece of Filipino literature illustrated the struggling reality of so many Filipino migrant workers in the U.S. in the early 20th century. The main pillars of the Bulosan Center include research, community engagement, education, and historical preservation/promotion. Central to the mission of the Bulosan Center is to continue “uplifting the voices of the most marginalized in the Filipino community in the United States and the diaspora...through community-engaged research that broadly disseminates knowledge about Filipinos for the purpose of advancing our rights and welfare” (UC Davis, 2020).

The creation of the Bulosan Center involved a few organizational iterations before it became the first center for Filipino Studies in the country, as it is now. Dr. Robyn Magalit Rodriguez, Pinay professor, author, and activist-scholar, is the founding director of the Bulosan Center, though it was originally envisioned back in 2011. The first iteration was Project Bulosan, which was an attempt to make Asian American Studies, including Filipino American Studies, more widely accessible to others especially through digital and social media. The second iteration was the Welga Project, which was “a multi-faceted initiative to preserve and promote the Filipino American farmworker history” (UC Davis, 2020). This project signaled the first tangible step in establishing the Bulosan Center as it created the Welga Digital Archive that consists of a dozen archival collections, almost a thousand digitized artifacts, and notable oral history interviews from manangs/manongs, the Ilocano term for older brother or sister, who participated in the 1965 Delano Grape Strike. Additionally, in partnership with the Filipino American Educators Association of California (FAEAC), the Welga Digital Archive leveraged its primary source material as crucial resources to draft the K-12 ethnic studies course curriculum.

While funding for the Welga Project eventually ran out, “ staff and supporters continued to preserve and promote Filipino American farmworker history on a volunteer basis, continuing to exhibit items from the archive, lecture on Filipino American farmworker history, and develop K-12 curriculum” (UC Davis, 2020). With the efforts and commitment of individuals and community organizations helping to keep this project ongoing, Dr. Rodriguez mobilized the masses and launched a grassroots fundraising campaign in 2018 in support of creating what became the Bulosan Center for the Filipino Studies. After exceeding the initial goal through community donations, the Bulosan Center also secured a state grant in 2019 to facilitate its growth and development. The Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies was chosen as the third research site because it is the only community-based, university partnership to promote research, education, and community-engagement for Filipino communities in the U.S. and broader diaspora.

In this section, I provided detail on the historical background and contemporary context of each site: Philippine Collections at U-M, the FANHS Museum, and the Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies at UC Davis. Each of these three sites have their own unique histories, purposes, and partnerships that are important to understand. I follow up in the latter half of this chapter by discussing the study’s participants and my sampling, data collection and analysis techniques.

Participants

While the research sites are the focal point of the study, it was still essential to include the voices and experiences of people involved with these sites to support the richness of the data. The participants helped to supplement the data by offering firsthand account of their own stories. In order to understand the nuances behind community-based organizing, engagement, and research, I sought out the people that were foundational and familiar with this type of work at the

three key sites. To do so, I utilized stratified purposeful sampling and then snowball sampling methods. Stratified sampling can be defined as a sampling method that divides a specific population into smaller groups to guarantee variation (Troost, 1986). Snowball sampling can be defined as a sampling method that relies on currently involved participants to help recruit new participants based on their knowledge of the study and their own networks (Noy, 2008).

The community scholars who were directly connected to both the academic and community spaces played a role as key informants with the information and insight they offered. However, I quickly found that it was necessary to gain additional perspectives of people involved in the day-to-day functions of their respective repositories, mainly the archivists. I used a snowball approach to ask participants their recommendations on additional interviewees. The hybrid sampling approach allowed for more diverse inclusion of participants to be able to discuss their perspectives from both theoretical ideas and practical applications.

The community scholars were self-identified Filipina scholars who are associated with an academic institution and conduct community engaged work in their respective communities. Each of the participants are connected directly to the research sites that I studied. Dr. Deirdre De la Cruz⁷ is an Associate Professor of cultural anthropology at the University of Michigan. She is also the Co-PI of ReConnect/ReCollect: Reparative Connections to Philippine Collections at U-M. Emily Lawsin is the National President of the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS), co-founder of the Detroit Asian Youth Project, and co-author of *Filipino Women in Detroit, 1945-1955*. She is also a University of Michigan lecturer in American Culture and Women and Gender Studies. Stacey Salinas is one of the Co-Founders and the Senior Historian

⁷ Real names of participants are used in the study by permission.

for the Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies in Davis, California. She is a teacher on Filipino American history and a doctoral candidate at University of California, Davis.

In addition, I interviewed at least one additional person at each research site to receive more insight, and they were disciplinary experts in archival studies, museum studies, archaeology, and history. For the Philippine Collections, I ended up interviewing three additional disciplinary experts that included: Jim Moss, a collections manager; Fe Susan Go, a librarian area specialist; and Robert Diaz, a historian. For the FANHS Museum, I interviewed Terri Torres who is affectionately known as Auntie Terri, a community historian and archivist; Chris Castro who is affectionately known as Uncle Chris, community historian and elder. For the Bulosan Center, I interviewed Jason Sarmiento, an archivist, who served as the Director of Archives and Public History at the center.

Table 2. Overview of Participants and their Roles at each Research Site

Research Site	Community-Scholar Role at Research Site	Disciplinary Experts Role at Research Site
Philippine Collections at U-M	Dr. Deirdre De la Cruz, Co-PI of ReConnect/ReCollect (project dedicated to the reparative work of the Philippine Collections at U-M)	Jim Moss, archaeologist Collections Manager for UM Museum of Anthropological Archaeology Fe Susan T Go, librarian area specialist Librarian for Southeast Asia, Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands Robert Diaz, historian Research Assistant
FANHS Museum	Emily Lawsin, President of FANHS National Organization	Terri Torres, community historian and archivist Treasurer of FANHS Museum and Docent Chris Castro, community historian Docent and Volunteer
Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies	Stacey Anne Baterina Salinas, Co-Founder and Senior Historian	Jason Sarmiento, archivist Director of Archives and Public History

The number of additional participants varied for each of the sites depending on various factors, such as number of disciplinary experts, size of the research site, and capacity of the

individuals to participate. For example, the Philippine Collections at U-M had three additional participants while the Bulosan Center at UC Davis only had one additional participant because U-M had a sizeable staff available whereas the Bulosan Center was significantly smaller. In addition to the three community engaged scholars, each of these additional disciplinary experts helped to provide a closer look at the repositories, what was included in them, how they were sorted, who was responsible for the categorization, and other rich details.

Data Collection

Again, I conducted document and archive analysis, site observations, and individual interviews to address my research questions. Each data collection method was used in tandem to also allow for exhaustive data analysis. My research questions are:

1. How have Filipino communities archived and documented their own histories *for* education and culture in the U.S.? How have others archived and documented Filipino histories for education in the U.S.?
2. How have Filipino communities' efforts to preserve their history influenced the types of curricula and pedagogies developed for Filipino students? Has that curriculum supported or countered liberatory and decolonizing aims?
3. How do contemporary partnerships between Filipino historians, community members, and educators inform how to preserve and produce knowledge for Filipino youth and communities for liberatory and decolonizing aims?
4. What are the points of collaboration and/or tension between academic institutions and grassroots communities creating spaces of liberatory and decolonizing learning for Filipino students?

Table 3 details how each data collection method was applied to each research question. To address the first research question, I focused on artifact and archival analysis, observing the research sites, and conducting interviews. For the second research question, I utilized artifact and archival analysis, including but not limited, to material objects, oral histories, primary documents, and digitized resources that were relevant. This allowed me include and examine materials that are not easily accessible or visible and contributed to the richness of the analysis. For the third question, I conducted individual, in-depth interviews. This data offered insight into the specific nuances of how partnerships may or may not be helpful in developing educational opportunities for Filipino students. For my fourth question, I emphasized the use of in-depth interviews and research site observations.

Table 3. Types of Data Collection Related to Research Questions

Research Questions	Types of Data Collection		
	Artifacts	Observational Field Notes	Interviews
RQ1: 1. How have Filipino communities archived and documented their own histories for education and culture in the U.S.? How have others archived and documented Filipino histories for education in the U.S.?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Documents/Papers · Photographs · Material Objects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Observations of research site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Interviews with community-scholars · Interviews with disciplinary experts
RQ2: How have Filipino communities' efforts to preserve their history influenced the types of curricula and pedagogies developed for Filipino students? Has that curriculum supported or countered liberatory and decolonizing aims?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Material Objects · Oral Histories · Primary Documents · Digital Resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Observation of events (conference presentations) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Interviews with community-scholars
RQ3: 3. How do contemporary partnerships between Filipino historians, community members, and educators inform how to preserve and produce knowledge for Filipino youth and communities for liberatory and decolonizing aims ?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Metadata on collaborative process for development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Observation of events (conference presentations, community events) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Interviews with community-scholars · Interviews with disciplinary experts
RQ4: What are the points of collaboration and/or tension between academic institutions and grassroots communities creating spaces of liberatory and decolonizing learning for Filipino students?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Photographs · Digital Resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Observation of communication and interpersonal dynamics · Observation of research site (resources) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Interviews with community-scholars · Interviews with disciplinary experts

Each data collection method contributed uniquely to the research aims. A diverse pool of artifacts and the archives provided tangible data that revealed the historic preservation process.

Museum observations allowed me to experience the collections in person, observe visitors to the museums, and understand the daily functions of the museum. Individual interviews allowed for an understanding of the origins and uses of archives for educational purposes. Interviews also provided a person-centered approach that highlights the important role of people and their narratives. In the next section, I offer a deeper context regarding data collection methods.

Artifact and Archival Analysis

The artifact and archival analysis were central to my data collection methods and contributed heavily to understanding the process of historic preservation, the types of partnerships that are helpful, and how the historical process is or is not being used for educational opportunities. As Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2011) argued, “meaning is not constructed out of one text alone, but also in how the various components of the text sit in relation to each other” (p. 238). Below I discuss the approaches to the artifact analysis and then describe its significance.

A key challenge that I faced in the analysis process was bounding, or determining the limits and inclusions, of the analysis. Given my limited knowledge of each research site, the first step was to complete a general review to familiarize myself with artifact collections and to determine if enough material was present for analysis. Once I established that there was sufficient material, I created a protocol that identified the following areas of focus for data collection: 1) education and schooling, 2) youth activism, 3) the Philippine-American War, 4) American colonization in the Philippines and/or American colonization of Filipinos in the U.S., 5) migration from the Philippines to the U.S., 6) efforts to document family and/or community history, and 7) preservation of Filipino culture. Bounding the artifact collection in this way helped guide the process of identifying relevant archives to review within each repository.

Artifact analysis supports the inclusion of both written and visual materials (Güllühan, Özden, & Bekiroğlu, 2022). Conceptions of what constitutes an artifact are wide-ranging based on discipline. For the purposes of this study, over 500 artifacts were included and took written and visual forms. Over 300 written artifacts were analyzed including written documents, personal correspondence, lectures, student essays, publications, books, newspapers, and pamphlets. Charmaz (2015) argues that “people create documents for specific purposes, and they do so within social, economic, historical, cultural, and situational contexts” (p. 46). Visual/image-based artifacts included print photographs, lantern slides, posters, flyers, and material objects. Over 300 visual artifacts were identified and analyzed.

This data collection effort occurred over the course of 5 months and required over 300 hours of analysis. I combined several analytical approaches in the artifact review process including document review (Coffey, 2014), visual analysis (Banks, 2014), and content analysis (Marotzki, Holze & Verständig, 2014) to better inform my artifact and archival analysis. Reviewing these artifacts and archives allowed me to explore the realities of Filipinos reflected in the world at a specific time in a very particular context. The artifacts revealed the commonalities, tensions, and discrepancies of knowledge and the meanings associated with them.

Significance of Digital Artifacts

Evidence supports the value of learning from artifacts. Artifacts help learnings with knowledge building, encouragement of collaboration, enhancing empathy, and improving communication (Stahl et al., 2014; Burrirt, 2018). I analyzed archives and artifacts concurrently. My identification process for relevant artifacts involved exploring archives through collection

guides, inventory lists, and descriptive categories. As artifacts took both physical and digital forms, analysis occurred in-person and virtually.

As I engaged this analysis process, particularly in digital formats, I considered the visual and social value of each artifact. Digitized archives exist as a means to increase accessibility and help more sites host more artifacts (Marotzki, Holze & Verständig, 014). The digital artifacts provided communication, structure, and knowledge that was both visible and refined over multiple efforts by collaborators who produced them (Stahl et al. 2014). However, Classen and Howes (2006) argue that visual appearance of an artifact plays only a small role in the value of an object and that the social meaning and environmental context of artifacts play a larger role. They argue that artifacts exist beyond the functions for a museum and that there may be “multisensory embodiments of meaning” (p. 200) that are most functional to the communities that created them.

The richness of the archival data was complemented by the interviews and observations which I will discuss below. See Table 4 for an overview of data collection methods.

Table 4. Summary of Data Collection Methods

Data Type	Description of Data Collection
Artifacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documents/Papers, Correspondence, Newspapers • Photographs, Visual Images • Material Objects • Digital Resources • Oral Histories
Observations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The 3 Research Sites and surrounding neighborhoods/local area • Events (such as conference presentations, community and cultural events held virtually and/or in-person) • Interpersonal dynamics and communication between team members
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three community-scholars • Six disciplinary experts

Observations

I collected observational data from May through September of 2022 through site visits and participant observation at community events. I conducted a total of more than 30 hours of observations across four cities. To help bound the observation process, I developed an observation protocol that focused on three main contexts: observing the research sites, observing interpersonal dynamics, and observing community events. I used the observation protocol as a guiding framework to understand [1] context around the physical settings of the sites, [2] the relational dynamics, and [3] the larger social/environmental context.

To ascertain important contextual information, I observed major functions such as the surrounding geographic location, the foot traffic within and around physical space, the organization of the archives, storage space, etc. Additionally, I observed details such as how many staff were working that day, who the staff were, and how busy the repository was. To ascertain the relational dynamics, I carefully noted the people, their relationship with others in the space, and their relationship to the site. I observed how people who worked with the research sites moved about the space to understand their familiarity, comfortability, and engagement with the space.

Finally, to understand the larger social context I observed several virtual and in-person events that were hosted by the research sites including a conference, academic presentations, lecture talks, and social community events. These helped to provide insight into how the research sites operated outside of the artifact and archival process and organizational level processes. The significance of the diverse observations was that they offered an opportunity to see how relationships between place, people, and objects were oriented and conceptualized (Marvasti, 2014; Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019).

Researcher Role in Observations

It is important to note that for my observations, I engaged in the role of a participant observer by immersing myself in the activities of two of the sites and consulting with the archivists, scholars, and community partners about the physical repositories themselves, as seen in the table below. Participant observers fully engage in the ongoing activities of a research site as well as the members and said members know the identity of the researcher (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). This depth of engagement allowed me to establish rapport with the communities as well as gain a deeper understanding of how community knowledge is used to support learning for Filipino youth.

Table 5 Researcher Role at each Research Site

Research Site	Researcher Role	Relationship
Philippine Collections at U-M	Participant-observer	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Doctoral student at U-M• ReConnect/ReCollect Research Assistant
FANHS Museum	Participant-observer	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• FANHS-Midwest member• FANHS 2022 conference presenter
Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies	Observer	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• N/A

For the U-M Philippine Collections, I became a graduate research assistant with the ReConnect/ReCollect team in 2022. In this role, I was more immersed in the how the team was approaching decolonial and reparative works towards the Philippine Collections. I had known Dr. Deidre de la Cruz who introduced me to Dr. Ricky Punzalan, the other co-PI of the research team, and they both encouraged me to become a part of the team once hearing more about the dissertation project. For the FANHS Museum, I became a FANHS Midwest chapter member, and I also participated in the FANHS 2022 Conference in Seattle as an academic presenter.

For the Bulosan Center at UC Davis, my role was an observer because I did not have as much access within the center. I had applied to be a Bulosan Center Affiliate to become a part of their network and research in 2022 but had not heard back, which I assume may be from the center undergoing transition at the time.

Fieldnotes

I recorded my observations immediately after each engagement through field notes and video and audio recordings as permitted. Fieldnotes are important for making sense of the research setting under review and are central to synthesizing and writing research results (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). The fieldnotes from my observations and analytic reflections following the visits resulted in observational memos that helped to supplement both the artifact and archival analysis as well as the interview collection. My analysis resulted in four analytical memos for the Philippine Collection at U-M, two analytical memos for the FANHS Museum and organization, one analytical memo for the Bulosan Center. These memos supported discovery in the data collection process (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019) and extended existing archival research findings.

Interviews

I went from conducting three interviews to completing a total of nine interviews across the sites to help round out the information from community scholars and disciplinary experts at each site. I interviewed three disciplinary experts in addition to the community-based scholar for the Philippine Collections at U-M. I interviewed two disciplinary experts and the community scholar for the FANHS Museum, and I interviewed one of each for the Bulosan Center.

Over a span of eight months, I collected at least one interview from each participant that lasted between 70 to 120 minutes, totaling more than 25 hours of interviews. I conducted the

interviews utilizing a hybrid approach due to the ongoing nature of the COVID-19 global pandemic. I conducted in-person and virtual interviews using Zoom, a video conferencing platform. Both types of interviews were audio recorded. Additionally, I interviewed the community engaged scholars at each respective site once. (I was originally going to interview them twice, but there were issues around timing and their limited capacity.) I interviewed the disciplinary experts once during the end phase of the artifact and archival work, which helped to add more insight and nuance to the data.

I utilized the approach of semi-structured and unstructured individual interviews to focus on particular topics while allowing for a more conversational approach. This provided a more authentic experience of listening to the natural storytelling develop from our conversation (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2019). The interview process for the community scholars was organized in four phases. The first consisted of seeking background context about things such as their job roles but also their identities, family history, and lived experiences, which humanized the participants. I then asked questions regarding their teaching and curricula for the second phase. We moved on to discuss collaborative partnerships and types of support. Finally, we discussed the possible educational purposes of their respective research site and future directions of education.

The interviews with the disciplinary experts followed the themes of preservation, partnership, and education but was much more unstructured as questions derived naturally from the conversations. While the interviews with the community-based scholars were informative, talking to disciplinary experts involved in this archival work provided insight into the way they distribute information within the community.

Significance

The conversational approach revealed deeper insights of data while also helping to build more trust and rapport in the relationship (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2019). I was mindful of the cultural significance behind communication dynamics, such as listening to your elders in the Filipino community and not interrupting them or rushing them to finish their story. I had to balance that with speaking to those familiar with interview protocols who answered research questions directly rather than storytelling. By utilizing open-ended questions, there was more space to discuss these contexts and to also invite further reflection and understanding.

The interviews as a whole helped me learn who the people are involved in the community engaged work of Filipino historical preservation, and they were paired nicely with observations of the physical research sites themselves.

Overview of Data Analysis

For the data analysis, I focused on analyzing the different points of data for the artifact and archival analysis, interviews, and observations in order to triangulate them for deeper meaning (Rabiee, 2004). It was crucial to welcome fluidity and flexibility in a process that included visiting and revisiting the data as the study progressed. Agar (1996) illustrates that conducting data collection and data analysis are fluid, or in another words, the “process is dialectic, not linear” (p. 9).

In order to move quickly yet efficiently and ethically for the data analysis process, I utilized ATLAS.ti as a data analysis and coding software, as well as Watkins’ (2017) rigorous and accelerated data reduction (RADaR) technique as a tool in conjunction with other approaches to analysis. The technique includes developing data tables and analyzing them within expedited phases for a more streamlined approach (Watkins, 2017). In phase one, the data

transcripts are formatted similarly within a table and are sorted so the usable quotes can be quickly viewed and extracted. For the second phase, the all-inclusive data table from phase one is reduced to produce a shorter and more concise table. Within this phase, the data progression starts to become narrower, and the use of open codes starts to get more specific. In phase three, the data table in phase two is reduced even more and the development of focused codes begin as a way for more specific concepts and themes to emerge. In the final phase, the remaining data helped to address the research questions guiding this study and the chunks of data and subsequent notes informed the findings and analysis chapters following this section.

At the end of my data analysis, I reviewed the findings from each research site to analyze each of the sites individually and then conduct a cross analysis of the three sites. Borrowing from case study analysis, I focused on the similarities between each site (or “case”) and the variance across them to highlight unique features (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Stake, 2005).

I integrated the data that corresponded to the three foci of the research project: historical preservation, community partnership, and knowledge building (included curriculum and pedagogical development), as seen in the table below.

Table 6. Summary of Data Collected for Analysis in each Three Pillars of the Study

<p>1. Historical Preservation: as Filipino community organizing efforts around historical inquiry, archival assets, and repatriation</p>
<p>a. <i>Material Products</i> : Objects produced for the sake of memory, remembering, (re)claiming history that demonstrate historical documentation such as books, documentaries, anthologies</p>
<p>b. <i>Events</i> : Demonstrate historical and cultural significance related to tradition/(re)claiming tradition, celebrating culture, honoring historical moment/people</p>
<p>c. <i>Process used to archive/document</i>: Acknowledges the approaches of curating archives, disseminating information about archives, prioritizing accessibility to archives</p>
<p>2. Community Engagement: revolves around relation-based organizing, protecting material structures and relations, and creating spaces of/for love.</p>
<p>a. <i>Organizational Structure</i>: Emphasizes diverse skill sets in various fields/disciplines and provides a horizontal leadership structure that does not prioritize a top-down power hierarchy</p>
<p>b. <i>Partnerships</i>: Demonstrates the involvement and representation of multiple partners and not in isolation</p>
<p>c. <i>Community Events</i>: Events that demonstrate the relationship between community partners and university partners that are either in-person or virtual</p>
<p>3. Collaborative Knowledge: involves the exchange of and understanding of differing epistemic ideologies, being accountable thought partners, and synthesizing radical projects. <i>*Curriculum and Pedagogy: involves content, material, and pedagogy to be used for K-12 classrooms, with potential to meet ethnic studies standards.</i></p>
<p>a. <i>Educational Partners</i>: Strategic examples of diverse partnerships and/or pipeline programs for education</p>
<p>b. <i>Praxis</i>: Used to demonstrate skills and knowledge; used in application with knowledge</p>
<p>c. <i>Framework/Theories</i>: Abstract representation of ideas that informs, describes, and explains</p>
<p>d. <i>Curriculum Materials</i>: Information and lesson planning in multiple methods and formats for educational purposes</p>
<p>e. <i>Pedagogy</i>: Representation of learning and understanding new knowledge</p>

Developing the Codebook and Applying the Codes

At the beginning of the data analysis process, I developed a codebook after considering the emerging data. The foci of the research project, as seen in the table above, helped me create and bind the descriptive codes. Out of all of the codes (40 codes in total), some of the most prominent codes were: PAR (partnerships), GEN (gender), EDUC (education), HIS (value of history), STRY (storytelling), RES (resources), ARCH (archives), COL (colonization), and COMM (community). For example, PAR (partnerships), is a code that highlights the importance

of social networks and the benefits of these partnered connections as a result. GEN (gender) is a code that discusses the aspect of gendered identity that may include differing gender norms, expectations, and roles, especially for Filipinas.

Additional codes were added at a later stage because the process started informing new analytical developments. These new outlier codes still served as important data, such as CHIS (community history), which referred to the specific histories/experiences of the local community, including histories of community activism, and LANG (language), which signaled the reference to the nuances of language in the Filipino diaspora. These few examples indicate that the codebook was not developed fully until the data were more carefully reviewed and thus could be represented accurately over time.

Once coded and given broader categories, I started elaborating on what was emerging from the categories to discuss patterns coming up. Finally, I examined these patterns in light of the theories and frameworks grounding this study. To elaborate more on how the codes were applied and how the artifact analysis was conducted, I will provide an example of the visual analysis process for a few photographs, which will be discussed further in the findings chapter but will be overviewed briefly here for clarity. In the images below, there are two photographs provided by the Filipino community museum, FANHS (left), and the U-M Philippine Collections (right). The FANHS image is a donated picture from a community member with two drawn arrows on the photo that indicate the family members of the person who donated the photo (Fieldnote, July 2, 2022). The photo is of an onion field and the Filipino farm workers in Lodi, California, another town in the Central Valley Area. The photo is representative of the FANHS Museum's extensive photo collection during the 1920s to the 1960s, specifically related to Filipino farm workers in California. Some of the codes that were applied to this image were

CHIS (community history), FAM (family history), CST (consent), and ARCH (archives).

Artifacts like this photo from the FANHS Museum speak very differently to the photo from the U-M Philippine Collections, which illustrates an exhibit putting Indigenous Filipino communities on display for white Americans during the early 1900s. The codes that were applied to this image were COL (colonial collections), OWN (ownership), and REP (representation). The U-M Philippine Collection, in contrast to the FANHS Museum, included artifacts collected by U-M alumni who did extensive traditional anthropological research in the Philippines. The differences between how these photos were preserved, who preserved the photos, and why they were documented are all indicative of the types of visual analysis that was conducted. Furthermore, the codes that were applied reflected such differences and helped to develop the emerging analysis.

The FANHS photograph was a family picture that was donated by a community member. Although it was pictured at a different time and there is a different context— as opposed to the photo from the U-M Philippine Collection— there is still a significant difference, with the FANHS Museum’s photograph being an example of consensual and agentic participation by the community. The community member not only gave permission to use the photo, but they demonstrated their own historic and archival participation by actively looking through their personal photograph collection and deciding how they want to represent that part of history, not just for themselves individually, but also collectively as part of the farmworkers movement in the 1900’s. In contrast to the photos of the Philippines and Filipinos belonging to U-M, the artifacts are much more harmful and exploitive because they depict Filipinos in stereotypical, dehumanizing ways. While it cannot be known whether the individuals in the photos within the U-M Philippine Collection gave consent, or if they understood what they were participating in, it

can be implied from these photos that there was a clear message being conveyed by the photographers. The message of the U-M Philippine Collection photographs suggested a pro-imperialistic stance aimed at justifying the need for Americanization in the Philippines.



The examples from the contextualization of these photographs provide insight into how my visual analysis of such artifacts considered not just the content of the images, but also the meaning behind the pictures and the role of power and agency.

Analyzing the Data Types

The analysis process for each of the data types involved similar approaches, with RADaR being used as a common analytical technique. There were some differences, however, which I highlight below.

Table 7. Description of Data Analysis and Data Type

Data Type	Description of Data Analysis
Artifacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Content analysis for documents; physical texts, visual, and digital materials • Written texts will be coded as narrative form: descriptive categories, thematic coding • Visual or digital material will be coded based on credibility, role, setting, content
Observations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transcription of any audio or video recording • Review field notes • Descriptive coding, then organizing data into themes • Analysis memos to record direction of analysis
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transcription using online transcription service • Member check-in of interview transcript • Qualitative analysis software for coding process • First read will include descriptive categories, second read will include pattern coding, third read will include thematic coding, final read will be conceptual codes that will tie back into theoretical/conceptual framework

Artifacts and Archive Analysis

During the data collection stage, I organized information about the artifacts and the archives in a data log, including details such as collection name, catalog name, box number, folder, or volume number. I also logged the artifact type, name of artifact (if given), caption or descriptive category as written, year, and location. The most important part of the data log was the column labeled “notes,” which housed my own preliminary analysis and impressions during the data collection stage. I revisited and added to these notes during the data analysis process. I selected the codes that were most relevant to each artifact after referencing my analytic notes. From here, I applied the RADaR analysis technique to further interpret the documents I collected, which included physical texts, images, and digital materials.

In applying the RADaR technique to the artifacts, I also re-organized the data log to sort it by code. I then pinpointed and analyzed emerging patterns and themes. Next, I reduced the data by creating a table that prioritized the most prominent codes, and I eliminated artifacts that

were not be as relevant given the purpose of the study⁸. After reviewing this table, I narrowed down the focus on only the highest priority data that were representative of findings across the three sites. From here, I analyzed the coded content and my analytic notes to extend my thematic analysis.

To contextualize each artifact, I noted its purpose, the identity/ies of the person/people who documented the artifact, the relationship between the artifact and the collector, the dynamic between the creator of the artifact and who was considered the owner, etc. Bastian (2006) argued that “reading records of colonialism... speaks not merely to political correctness but to the ability of records to define and to uncover the communities that create them” (p. 268). In order to decenter colonial narratives, post-colonial scholars are looking beyond traditional archives to recover history (Taylor, 2003; Bagues, 2002). I recognized that the impact of colonialism was important to acknowledge during the artifact analysis phase, which I addressed in my analytic notes. I also updated the artifact data log through data reduction phase using RADaR technique. It is important to note the different mediums of the artifacts and how they had to be carefully attended to during the analysis phase. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) suggest content analysis be used for studying “mass-mediated representations of historical or current events” (p. 228), which I did. For written texts, such as correspondence or school papers, I created coding categories and extracted themes similar to the interview process. However, for visual or digital material, I applied the previous process of writing detailed analytical notes, coding categories and extracting themes, while also acknowledging the purpose and setting of the digital material. I had to analyze additional issues such as accessibility, readability, and credibility for visual and digital material. As Banks (2014) explains, the value of visual analysis means understanding how

⁸ This is not to say that the data is not hold value or importance, rather that the data and codes that were not included as prominent codes could be utilized for future research outside of this dissertation.

images are ‘read’ in context, as visual analysis extends beyond just analyzing the image. Banks (2014) argues, “it is worth spending some time considering where images come from, and in particular what analytical significance if any should be given to the producer of the image and the context of the image production” (p. 3).

Altogether, artifacts and archives served as meaningful and important resources in understanding the realities, the nuances, and the intellectual discourse around a phenomena that other data types do not always capture on their own. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) argue: The primary advantage of working with nonliving data is that it allows us to go beyond the subjective perceptions of individuals, which, while very important are not the only point of departure for knowledge-building. By interrogating texts from a variety of epistemological and theoretical positions, we can continue to ask new research questions and offer new insights about social reality (p. 253). I will discuss this advantage in more depth as I detail what the artifact data revealed across the three sites in Chapter 4 and 5.

Observations

For my observations, I wrote and reviewed my fieldnotes highlighting details about the research sites, interpersonal dynamics between staff and/or volunteers, and events, such as the FANHS National Conference and the Artist-in-Residency Roundtable at U-M for the Philippine Collections that I witnessed. Fieldnotes are valuable records of observation that support documenting experiences as factually as possible once they happen, which helps to establish credible findings (Bailey, 1996; Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) discuss that “fieldnotes are the record of the in-depth observations you garnered from the field that provide a window into the research setting- its people, the physical attributes of the setting, and so on” (p. 220). My fieldnotes were kept in a data log that included

assumptions I had before conducting any observations, my personal thoughts during the observations, and my concluding thoughts immediately after the observations, which is necessary to record for transparency (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019).

Next, I wrote an analytical memo for each site synthesizing my impressions from the observational fieldnotes, the video recordings/pictures, and the audio recording of my analytical reflections that I recorded right after each site visit. These memos included rich ethnographic data that helped to illustrate the research sites upon further reflection, and they also detailed some of the early thematic patterns I noticed were developing (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). While the fieldnotes had more of the raw data regarding the observations, the analytical memos provided the deeper reflections that could not be produced on the spot. Using ATLAS.ti, I uploaded the analytical memos and added open codes that were relevant to the observations yet not in the codebook already.

For all data sources, I started off with descriptive level coding in my analysis and then developed thematic codes. And with observations, I was extra aware of my reflexivity and reflected on my own positionality and my role in the setting. To establish credibility, I constantly visited and considered what data may or may not have been recorded based upon my own positionality. This process influenced how I had to update my Research Question 1 to include a sub-question that better captured the data from the Philippine Collections at U-M regarding how non-Filipinos documented and archived Filipino history. I utilized a constructionist approach for the observations analysis given the sociocultural contexts.

Interviews

The audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed professionally using an online transcription service. In addition, I documented summary notes after the interview as a way to

collect as much detail as possible to better understand the whole interview before breaking it down for the coding process, and to document my insights, ideas, and questions as they were emerging. I also made sure to include and highlight where any nonverbal cues occurred during the interview. Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2011) discuss feminist scholar Marjorie Devault (2004) who argues that listening to the pauses, silence, and nonverbal cues are the moments “where the researcher is able to unearth hidden meanings of interviewees whose lives and language are often overshadowed by the dominant discourse” (p. 303). This was relevant to my listening of participants’ *kuwento* (story or sharing stories) and my consideration of if and how they engaged with animated hand gestures, facial expressions, and pauses during their storytelling—actions that further emphasized the meaning making of their experiences.

To analyze interview data, I used ATLAS.ti software to do line-by-line reading of the transcripts multiple times. I highlighted key words and addressed any areas of subjectivity that arose. This first level of coding included basic descriptive categories like “educational opportunities” and “family history.” After coding descriptively, I utilized the RADaR technique to organize and manage the data. I reduced the data by conducting a second, and then third, read of the most relevant interview excerpts to develop pattern and thematic coding as “a way of grouping those summaries into a smaller number of sets, themes, or constructs” (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 69), such as “institutional support and constraints” and “collaboration through social capital”. Finally, I read over the interview quotes for a fourth time to then summarize the themes into conceptual codes, which were codes that indicated a theoretical connection back to my conceptual framework (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

Through the multiple rounds of coding, I also coded outlier data in order to label information not commonly found in the overall data, but that is still important to consider in the

final analysis (Ghosh & Vogt, 2012), such as “cultural sensitivity.” I did this to be consistent and accountable to the divergent data in order to establish analytical credibility (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011).

Research Limitations

This study is grounded in the very specific historical, sociopolitical, and racialized experiences of Filipinx Americans in the U.S. While there may be some discussion on Filipinos across the diaspora, this research centers around the American educational system in the U.S. and the U.S. centric lens of Filipinos. Due to the bounds of this study, it did not include the larger and more extensive experiences of Filipinos within the diaspora and the global partnerships between academic institutions and Filipino communities in the U.S.

Within this study, the use of multiple methods and data sources helped to build validity and clarify meaning during the analysis; yet, the generalizability of this study is limited by the characteristics of the collaborators and participants who were made up, specifically, of Filipino American teacher-scholars and Filipinx community educators and staff. Though the generalizability may be limited, this study has a level of meaningful transferability.

Transferability is the process where understanding and knowledge can be applied from one research study to another design that is linked to similar contexts (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019). This study’s transferability could offer insight to researchers examining other communities of color who are interested in studying both human participants and artifact and archival data in order to understand community-based learning in different types of educational spaces.

Chapter 4 Single Site-Based Findings

This chapter will discuss the findings from the individual sites. I address my research questions about how Filipino communities have promoted and preserved their histories (Research Question 1), and how community engagement has played a role in the teaching approaches for Filipino students (Research Question 2). I also detail how contemporary partnerships offer insight for the historical preservation process for Filipino communities (Research Question 3), and how community and university support can be harmful and/or healing (Research Question 4). In this chapter, I answer these research questions by presenting my findings through sets of themes and sub-themes, which will be detailed after providing some relevant information on each site.

Setting the Scene – Ethnographic Descriptions of the Sites

I offer ethnographic descriptions below of the Philippine Collections at U-M, the FANHS Museum, and the Bulosan Center that draw upon my site observations to set the scene and provide initial context before diving deeper into the data. In line with Research Question 1, some of these descriptions reveal how the physical spaces of each site drastically differed in response to how communities approached archiving and documenting histories at their respective locations.

***“I Didn’t Know This Building Even Existed”*: Exploring the collections at U-M**



Figure 4 Field Photos of U-M repositories holding Philippine Collections. Research Museums Center that houses U-M Museum of Anthropological Archaeology (left), Bentley Historical Library (right). Field photograph by author in 2022.

Visiting the Philippine Collections at U-M included site observations at three historical repositories that were housed in separate buildings, both on and off campus: the Bentley Historical Library, the U-M Museum of Anthropological Archaeology (UMMAA), and the Special Collections Research Center at the Graduate Library. The Bentley Historical Library is located in a quiet area on the north campus at U-M, across from the university's athletic fields and its arboretum. During my site observation, Bentley was brightly lit as their large windows in front of the research area opened up to a decorative patio area. The desk was well-staffed, and the number of researchers doing archival work at the Bentley varied on different days. On some of the days that I visited, all of the desks were filled by scholars but on other days, it was usually one other person besides me. Bentley required an appointment system for any of their visits in order to limit the capacity in the research area. As a physical building, the Bentley looks more like a bank instead of a library since it is not a circulation library but a research library (Fieldnote, September 9, 2022). There are no stacks of books in plain view and the archives are stored in the back of the building for staff only.

The U-M Museum of Anthropological Archaeology (UMMAA) is located within the Research Museum's Center that is about 15 minutes away from the central campus. UMMAA is

one of the few museums housed at the Research Museums Center that is tucked away at the end of a cul-de-sac. For my site observations, I had to be escorted into the building since it was heavily secured. I was greeted by an open foyer area that had a wooden canoe, some taxidermy, a velvet green couch, and an open-glassed lunchroom as soon as I entered the Research Museums Center. It had tall ceilings, exposed pipes, and white walls that were reminiscent of a factory more than a museum. The collections manager for UMMAA, Jim⁹, explained that UMMAA is not an exhibition museum but a research museum, so there were not going to be a lot of exhibits on display like others might be used to (Fieldnote, September 15, 2022).

The Special Collections Research Center (SCRC) at the Hatcher Library is located on central campus and easily accessible to students passing by through the bustling quad. Similar to the other two repositories, SCRC also requires an appointment to ensure they have enough staff at the desk to assist researchers and to retrieve the archives. SCRC is on the sixth floor of the Hatcher Graduate Library and includes a panoramic view of the neighboring buildings and landscape of Ann Arbor beyond the campus. During my observations, I asked the staff about the Philippine Collections and Martha O’Hara Conway, Director of the SCRC, informed me that the Worcester collection—part of the Philippines Collections—is one of the most requested collections (Fieldnote, September 14, 2022). The setting of the Philippine Collections, and particularly the separate repositories that housed the collections, were key parts of my data set as demonstrated in later sections.

“Stockton is Hot in the Summertime”: Exploring the FANHS Museum

⁹ Real names were used with permission from the participants.



Figure 5 Photo collage of FANHS Museum and neighborhood. Source: Field photograph by author on July 2, 2022. Stockton, California.

The FANHS Museum is in the central valley of California next to a Filipino restaurant in the middle of downtown Stockton. The city of Stockton is part of the San Joaquin County of Northern California, which is known for the California Delta and agricultural system. While some tourists may explore the shorelines of California by driving the Pacific Coast Highway, others might know of the iconic 5-freeway that offers views of farmland for miles which is where the smaller California city of Stockton can be found, as shown below in Figure 6. The museum sits on Weber Avenue in the historic Newberry building in a small store front with little flash nor curb appeal, but it was nestled next to a Filipino restaurant called Papa Urb's Grill as shown above in Figure 5. The area has the look of a regular downtown in a city, but with the quietness of a rural town. On the day of my observation, Stockton felt hot and dry since it was the middle of summer in July.



Figure 6 Photo of 5-freeway in central California that illustrates the agricultural context of Stockton, California which is the home of the FANHS Museum. Source: Field photograph by author on July 2, 2022. Stockton, California.

I pulled up to a locked building with a sign “Filipino American National Historical Society Museum” on the front and was warmly greeted by one of the community elders at the museum, affectionately known as Auntie Terri. In order to visit the museum, I had to put in an appointment request ahead of time to ensure that the museum could be staffed with enough volunteers. The physical museum was not too big, but a decent size that was filled sufficiently with different visuals of images, textiles, books, and posters. The posters on the walls looked professional, and the posters near the back of the museum were more simplistic as they were bound together by tape and glue on a piece of cardboard. There was a television screen near the back of the museum that was used for documentary viewings and other presentations they held. The space felt like a labor of love as the elders in the space were so welcoming and passionate, it felt a familial space that reflected the values of FANHS as an organization. More about the data that emerged from the FANHS Museum will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter.

A Minimalist Approach: Exploring the Bulosan Center at UC Davis

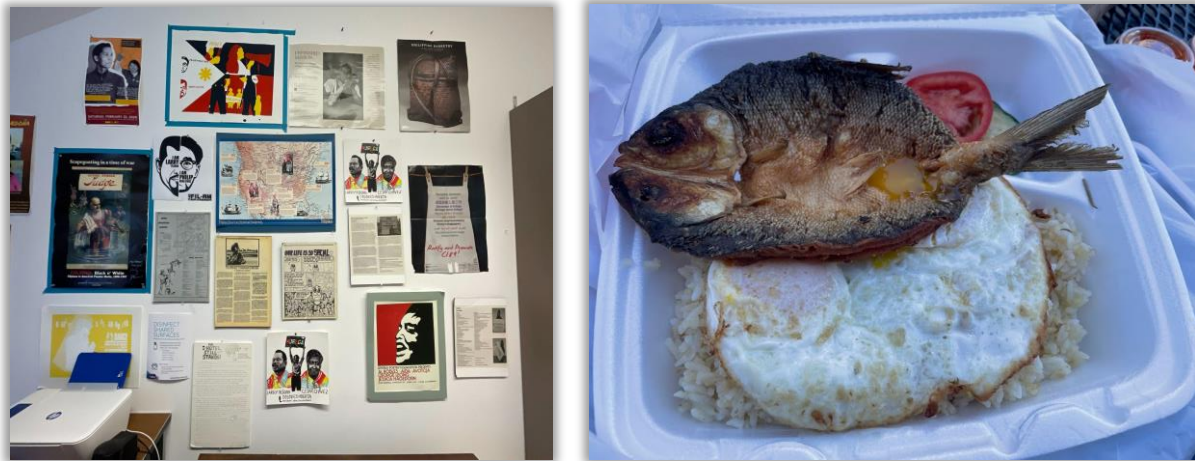


Figure 7. Interior of the Bulosan Center depicting various posters and artwork related to Filipino American history and advocacy (left); traditional Filipino food from Kusiñ@ Lumpia, near UC Davis (right). Source: Field photograph by author on July 6, 2022. Davis, California.

The Bulosan Center was located in the northern part of California, residing at the University of California, Davis and housed within the Asian American Studies Department. The Bulosan Center is about an hour north from the FANHS Museum, and both observations took place in the middle of a sweltering summer in northern California. When I arrived at UC Davis' campus, I was quickly immersed into their biking culture as bike lanes were present on the streets and on the pathways throughout the campus. Once inside Hart Hall, which was the physical building for the Asian American Studies Department and the Bulosan Center, I noticed the images, posters, newspaper clippings all along the staircase that illustrated different social movements and activists throughout history. Though the physical building was big, it felt a bit empty, except for the decorated walls along the staircase and hallways. I entered the Asian American Studies office and was greeted by their staff member, Angel, who described how the Bulosan Center was not a physical building or separate center (Fieldnote, July 6, 2022). Instead, it was physically located within a small office room down the hall, where I was met by their archivist, Jason, working on a computer and surrounded by decorated walls of posters and photographs, books, and storage cabinets.

The lack of a physical building was surprising at first because I assumed the Bulosan Center had its own space at UC Davis. The cramped office had one window dimly letting in sunlight. The decorated walls and bookshelves added more comfort and personalization to the minimal space. I was curious at how the Bulosan Center existed more in the digital space and where most of the staff worked. While I wandered around a bit more on the floor of the Asian American Studies department, I was invited to explore the back rooms of the office where some of the storage is shared by the Asian American Studies and the Bulosan Center. It seemed to mirror a typical cluttered office storage space with packing boxes shuffled into corners and onto shelves. A few months later, when I saw the space again, but virtually, it had been cleaned up, organized, and decorated by Stacey, co-founder and historian of the Bulosan Center. The area surrounding UC Davis campus is known for having a lot of Filipino restaurants and after a long day of research, I went to indulge. I ended up at a local Filipino café-market called Kusin@Lumpia near the border between Davis and Sacramento where I was able to order some delicious Filipino food. The description of the Bulosan Center adds to some of the data that will be discussed further in this chapter.

Below, I offer the individual findings based on each site, starting with the Philippine Collections at U-M, then the FANHS Museum, and finally the Bulosan Center at UC Davis in response to the research questions guiding the study.

The Philippine Collections at the University of Michigan

“Museums are also places of education and enlightenment to a point, however you want to define that. But it’s full of people that kind of recognize the problem... there’s still plenty that don’t. But I do think that there are some people that recognize the problem and want to correct it. But again, it’s a complicated process and discussion... but museums and archives are places that you can have these conversations” - Jim Moss

The Philippine Collections represents the totality of collections related to the history of the Philippines that is housed amongst many various repositories at the U-M. This includes the Bentley Historical Library, the Museum of Anthropological Archaeology (UMMAA), and the Special Collection Research Center (SCRC) at Hatcher Library; in addition to Museum of Zoology, Clark Library, Clements Library, U-M Herbarium, and Stearns Collections of Musical Instruments (Fieldnote, September 28, 2022). The separation of the collection is related to the artifacts being housed in their respective disciplines. However, in focusing on the Bentley Historical Library, the Museum of Anthropological Archaeology, and the Special Collection Research Center, it was revealed that artifacts were overlapping and there were many commonalities in the collections across these three repositories, despite their different purposes for preservation. Bentley Library focused on the collection of history related to the University of Michigan, UMMAA focused on the collection of material objects, and SCRC focused on the collection of books or volumes that were once bound as books (Fieldnote, September 15, 2022).

(Un)Seeing the Collections as Worcester's Collection

In response to Research Question 1, the Worcester collection that made up a significant portion of the Philippine Collections at U-M offered the greatest implications for how U-M archived and documented Filipino history since the 1900s. Dean C. Worcester's donation of his extensive collection of Philippine artifacts in 1914 resulted in the overwhelming representation of Worcester in the archives itself, as his collection largely makes up the Philippine Collections at U-M. As described earlier, Worcester was a U-M alumnus who served as a member of the United States Philippine Commission, and later, as secretary of the interior for the Insular Government of the Philippine Islands. Worcester's status as a white, educated man from an

affluent, Christian family influenced his own promotion of pro-imperialism in the Philippines amongst American crowds.

The provenance of the Worcester Collections has been difficult to discern, though the origin of Worcester's donation in 1914 can be traced back to a U-M Board of Regents meeting document from the Bentley Historical Library, as seen in Figure 8. The document states that the donation be given to the University Library in the "reserve book stacks," yet those book stacks do not exist anymore and the University Library that once held a Michigan Historical Collection no longer exists. In the 1950's and 1960's, negatives of Worcester's photographs and more of his papers were donated and spread across the university, to the Museum of Anthropology and to the Bentley. Eventually in 1986, Worcester's grandniece, Elizabeth Worcester Deily, donated the Worcester Family Papers to the SCRC.

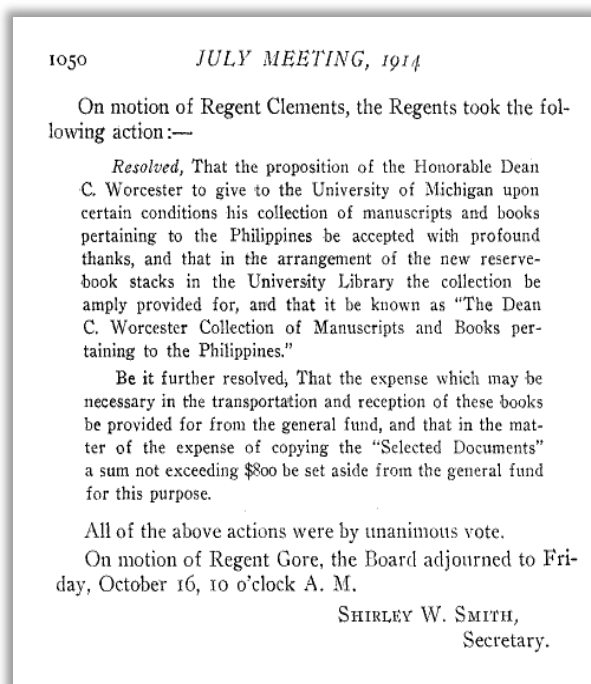


Figure 8 Summary of U-M Board of Regents meeting that discussed Worcester's donation of his collection on the Philippines to the University Library, documented by Shirley W. Smith on October 16, 1914. Source: Proceedings

of the Board of Regents (1910-1914), Bentley Historical Library.

Worcester's extensive collection of papers, newspaper clippings, and photographs reflected his own involvement with the Philippines dating back to the Spanish American War. Worcester's collection also highlighted the rhetoric he used with American audiences who were unaware of the Philippines at the turn of the 20th century. As shown in Figure 9, the finding aids for the Worcester papers held at the Bentley Historical Library display an abundance of lectures he spoke at and articles he wrote regarding the Philippines. The boxes of artifacts, pictured in Figure 10, show the organization and storage of the papers and photographs at the Bentley Historical Library. Both of these images revealed the level of description, organization, and archiving afforded to the Bentley in contrast to the other repositories, like the Special Collections Research Center, which does not have findings aids for their Worcester collection.

Articles, lectures, etc. [series]	
Articles, lectures, etc. is a series that covers the period of 1898 to 1915. The materials all relate to affairs of the Philippine Islands.	
Box 2	Articles and undated, concerning the Philippines 1898-1915 (5 folders)
Box 2	Lecture given at the Y.M.C.A. 1910
Box 2	Lectures and speeches and undated, concerning the Philippines 1908-1913 (5 folders)
Box 2	Newspaper interviews 1899-1915
Box 2	Note cards
Box 2	Report 1910 (extracts)
Newspaper clippings [series]	
The Newspaper clippings cover the years 1898 to 1915 with some gaps. The clippings are from both English and Spanish language newspapers and document Worcester's activities, speeches he gave, and reviews and assessments of his published studies of the Philippine Islands.	
Box 2	Concerning The Philippine Islands and their People 1898
Box 2	Accounts of speeches 1899
Box 2	Concerning Worcester's activities in the Philippines 1913 (3 folders)
Box 2	Concerning lectures 1913-1914
Box 3	Concerning lectures 1914
Box 3	Concerning The Philippines Past and Present 1914 (3 folders)
Box 3	Miscellaneous 1899-1915 (10 folders)

Dean C. Worcester papers: 1887-1925 [full text](#) File Size: 39 K bytes | [how to request materials](#)

Search within this finding aid:

- Summary Information
- Access and Use
- Biography
- Arrangement
- Collection Scope and Content Note
- Subject Terms
- Contents List
- Correspondence
- Papers
- Articles, lectures, etc.
- Newspaper clippings
- Miscellaneous
- Photographs
- Additional Descriptive Data

Summary Information

Title: Dean C. Worcester papers
 Creator: Worcester, Dean C. (Dean Conant), 1866-1924
 Dates: 1887-1925
 Extent: 4.4 linear feet, 1 oversize folder
 Abstract:

University of Michigan professor of zoology and museum curator, participated in or led several research expeditions to the Philippines, member of the First and Second Philippine Commissions and involved in several Philippines business ventures; records includes notes, correspondence, publications and photographs relating to research expeditions, service on Philippines Commissions business activities, of special interest are notes of a trip taken to Mindoro and Palawan in July of 1910 and papers pertaining to the special Wood-Forbes Investigating Mission to the Philippines in 1921.

Call number: 86354 Aa/2, Ac
 Language: The materials are in English.
 Repository: Bentley Historical Library

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 e-mail: bentley.ref@umich.edu
 Home Page: <http://www.bentley.umich.edu/>

Finding aid prepared by: Bentley Historical Library staff

Figure 9. Finding aid (top) and content list (below) for Dean C. Worcester Papers (1866-1924). Source: Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.



Figure 10. Collage of Archival Storage at the Bentley Historical Library. Source: Field photograph by author on September 9, 2022. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

Within these collections, hundreds of newspaper clippings, lecture notes, correspondence, and photographs reflected a pro-imperialistic message from Worcester, who portrayed Filipinos as unfit to govern themselves. The reiteration of Worcester’s message was reflected in the national circulation of American newspapers dispensing similar narratives about Filipinos, as shown below in Figure 11 and 12. The popularity of Worcester’s findings on the Philippines spurred the country’s interest and curiosity, which resulted in much of the public’s narrative towards Filipinos aligning with Worcester’s messaging. These newspaper clippings below are examples of how the American public reflected Worcester’s degrading rhetoric towards Filipinos

through journalism, as the headlines declared, “Menace in Philippines,” “Safe Rule Need of Philippines,” and “Filipino Savages Still.” The circulation of newspapers in 1913-1914 across major cities such as Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and Chicago indicated that Worcester’s conclusions were spreading in popularity across the country.

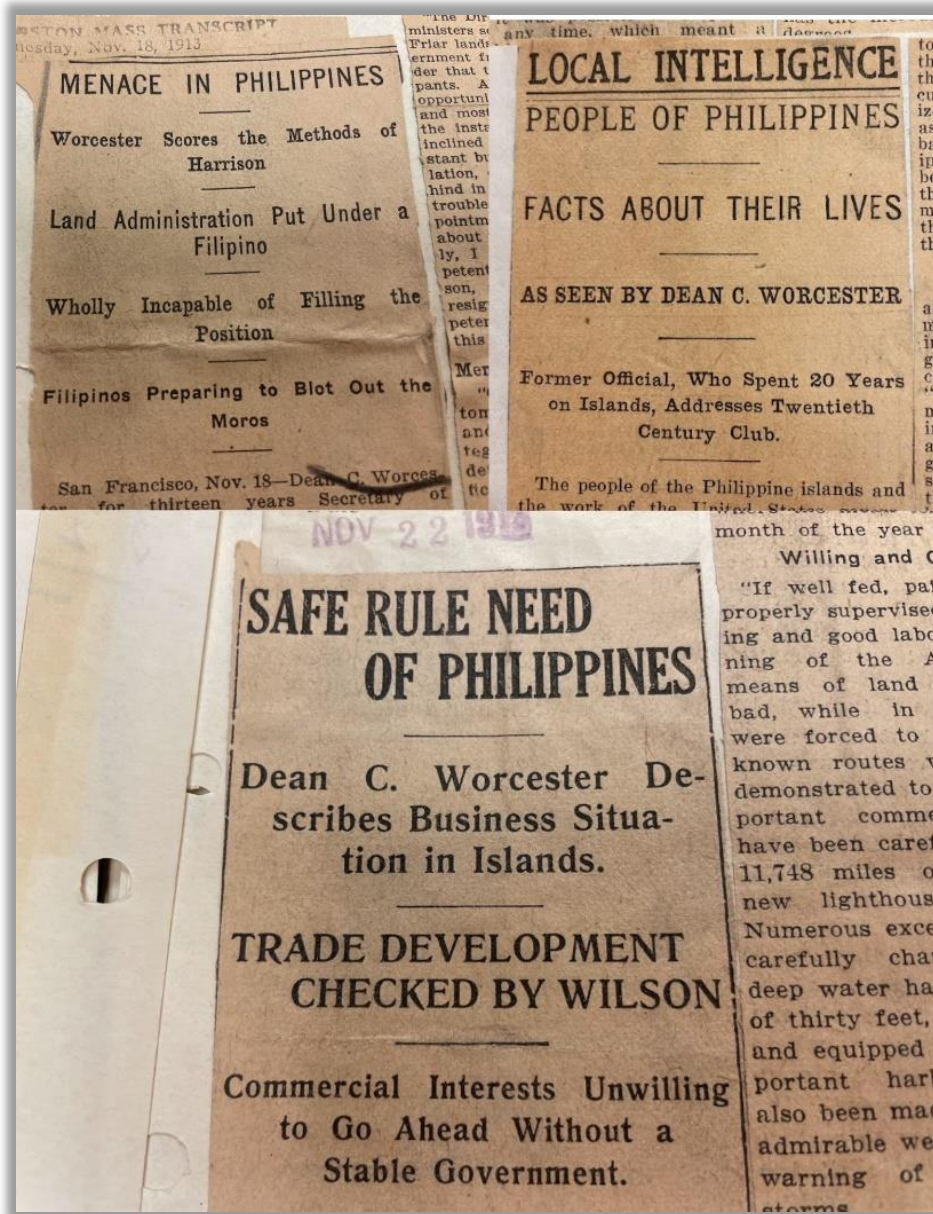


Figure 11. Collage of various American newspaper clippings discussing Dean C. Worcester’s lectures around the U.S. Author unknown, clipping from the Boston Mass Transcript detailing Worcester’s lecture in San Francisco, November 18, 1913 (top left); author unknown, clipping from unknown newspaper discussed Worcester’s lecture to Twentieth Century Club (top right); author unknown, clipping from unknown newspaper on Worcester’s lectures

regarding Philippines economic trade, Nov 22, 1913. Source: Dean C. Worcester papers (1887-1925), Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

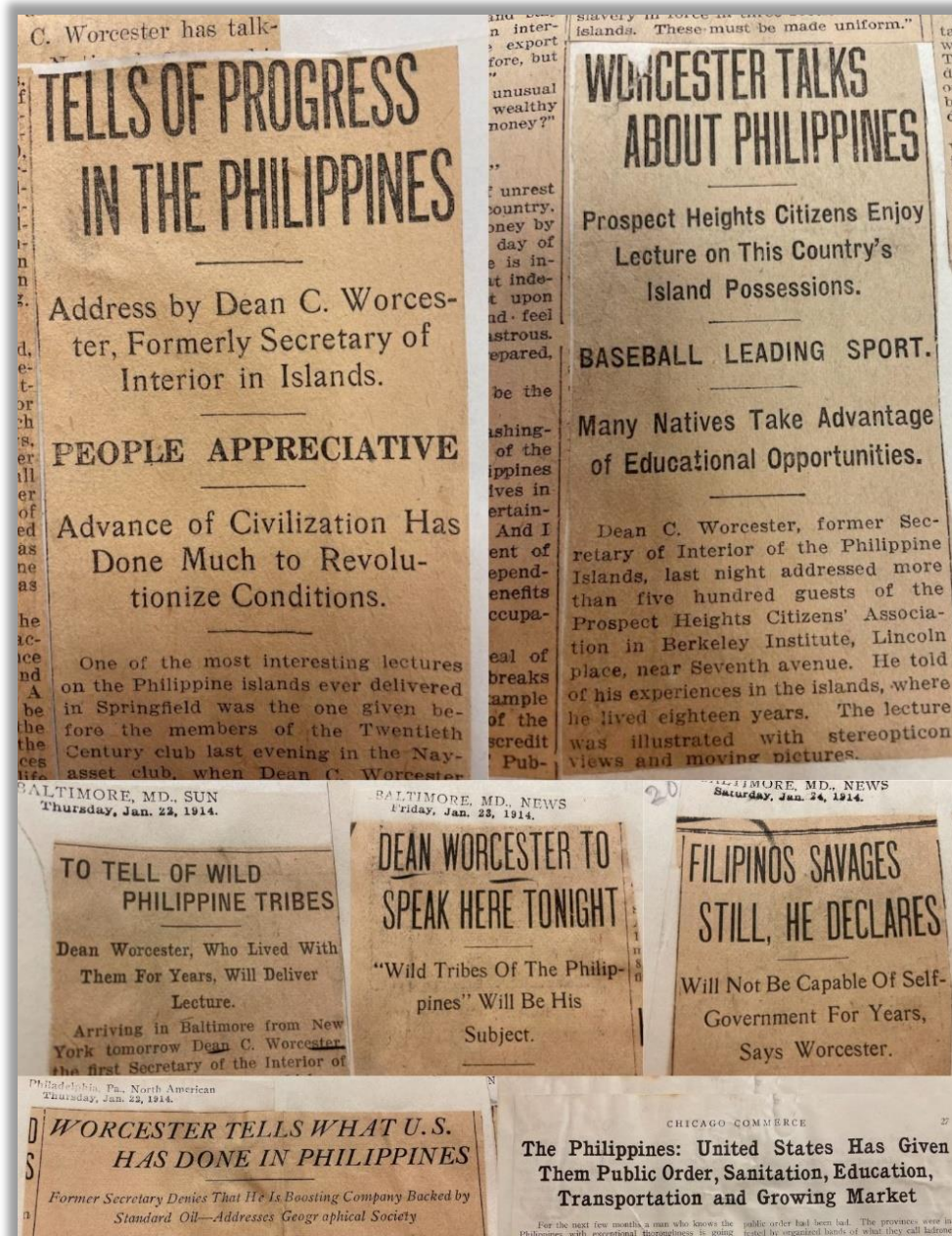


Figure 12. Collage of various American newspaper clippings discussing Dean C. Worcester’s lectures around the U.S. Clippings from unknown newspaper (top row); Clippings from Baltimore, M.D. News Thursday, Jan 22, 1914; Friday, Jan 23, 1914; Saturday, Jan 24, 1914 (middle row); Clipping from Philadelphia, P.A. North American. Thursday, Jan 22, 1914 (bottom left), Clipping from Chicago Commerce (bottom right). Source: Dean C. Worcester papers (1887-1925), The Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

More than a decade after the Philippine American War, the newspapers positively depicted American colonial rule over the Philippines without ever explicitly naming colonization

or imperialism. In the early 20th century, Worcester was also promoting his detailed book, *The Philippines: Past and Present* (1914). Within the book, he offered insight on the Philippines during his travels, expeditions, and time living in the archipelago. Though the book is riddled with a colonial gaze, it is through this book that Worcester's subjective perspective of the Philippines and ideology is on display.

For instance in his book, Worcester painted a metaphor comparing the U.S. to a parent and the Philippines as a child when he described the pushback Filipinos, who felt they were fit to govern themselves, had towards American colonial intervention within the islands. On page 961, Worcester claims:

In other words, having brought up a child who is at present rather badly spoiled, we are to say to the family of nations: 'Here is a boy who must be allowed to join you. We have found that we are unfit to control him, but we hope that he will be good. You must not spank him unless you want to fight us.' ... While the Filipinos have advanced more in the last fifteen years than during any previous century of their history, what they have gained is by no means ingrained in their character, and they yet have far to go. It is our duty and our privilege to guide and help them on their way. We should hold steadily onward disregarding the hostility...

The excerpt from Worcester's book illustrated the imperialistic ideology he held towards the Philippines and the ways he felt that Filipinos were unfit for self-governance, despite their explicit pleas for sovereignty. Worcester's language stating, "what they have gained is by no means ingrained in their character" and having "far to go" implies Filipinos possess a level of dependency and ineptitude that supports the justification of American imperialism. Worcester's

deficit perspective of Filipinos as subordinates to white Americans aligned with his colonial gaze over the Philippines.

Worcester's travels around the country — to California, New York, Washington D.C., Baltimore — in front of various audiences to discuss the findings from his book demonstrated the vast range of his influence across the U.S. It was evident through Worcester's correspondence to his American academic and political networks that his narrative of the Philippines went unquestioned by scholars, politicians, and businessmen, such as R.P Schwerin, the Vice President of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company who even touted it as enlightening, as shown in Figure 14 below. In the image of a typed letter dated March 12, 1914, R. P. Schwerin from San Francisco, California sent a letter to Dean Worcester regarding his book, *The Philippines: Past and Present*, in which Schwerin wrote, “this country owes you a debt of gratitude, not only for what you have done for the Philippine Islands, but for giving these two volumes to history.”

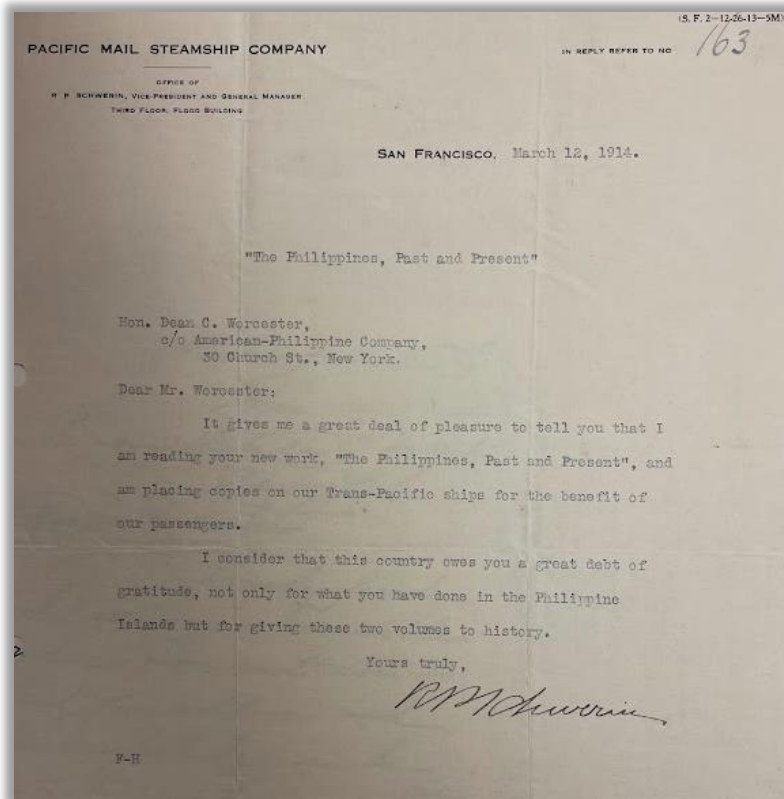


Figure 13. Correspondence to Dean C. Worcester from R.P Schwerin, Vice President and General Manager of Pacific Mail Steamship Company discussing Worcester’s book, "The Philippines, Past and Present" on March 12, 1914. Source: Dean C. Worcester Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

As Worcester continued promoting the ideas from his book, *The Philippines: Past and Present*, he was strategic with how he leveraged language to assure the American public that the United States was ‘helping’ the Philippines because their quality of life was ‘uncivilized,’ as suggested below in Figure 13. The figure shows a picture of a Negrito¹⁰ man and Worcester that is fashioned in a way to contrast the civility between Indigenous people of the Philippines and Americans, as represented by Worcester in the photograph. The figure also captures how Worcester’s narrative of Filipinos outlined the topics of his lectures and motion picture, with titles such as “Wild tribes of the Philippines,” “Headhunters of Luzon,” and “Educating the

¹⁰ An ethnolinguistic group of the Philippines who are also be known as the Aeta people. They are widely referred to as Indigenous people of the Philippines, though the term Negrito was used during Spanish colonial rule. They have been characterized, and often stereotyped, by their dark skin tone, hair texture, and their physical stature.

Filipinos.” As the author of this document described his engagement with the Indigenous tribes of the Philippines, Worcester’s intentional choice of language—such as his use of commercial possibility and modern Manila—revealed his dichotomizing of Filipinos as civilized or uncivilized. Worcester’s use of language demonstrates America’s hegemonic control as the exotification and objectification of Filipinos were manufactured by American ideologies and values in sometimes subtle and insidious ways.

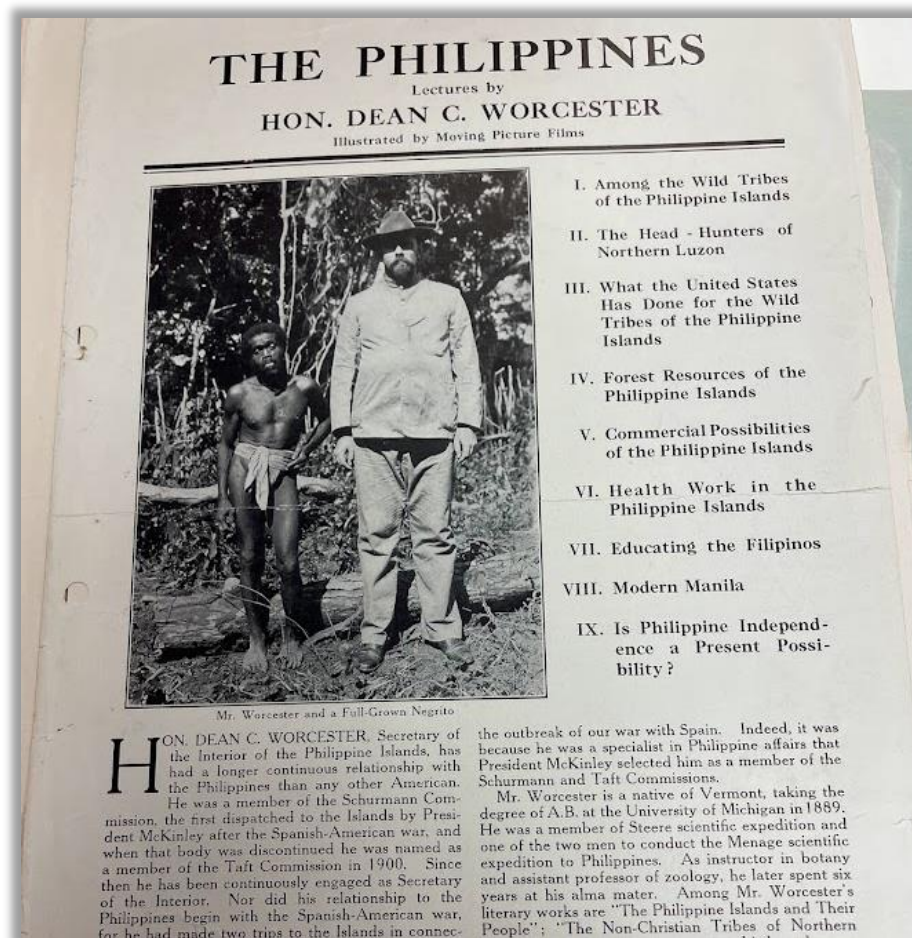


Figure 14. “The Philippines” Lectures by Hon. Dean C. Worcester detailing the nine topics of his lecture and motion picture. Source: Dean C. Worcester Papers (1866-1924). Bentley Historical Library. University of Michigan.

During his time educating the white American public on the Philippines, Worcester continued to divide Filipino ethno-linguistic communities against one another by contrasting

Filipino groups' reception to the American value of religion. For instance, he used the terms: "Christian Filipino" vs. "non-Christian tribes" repeatedly in the documents, newspaper clippings, and books related to Worcester's research on Filipinos (Fieldnote, September 15, 2022). Most notable was Worcester's focus on "civilizing" the 'non-Christian tribes' he encountered, such as the Igorots, Negritos, and Ifugaos¹¹. While these diverse Indigenous groups represent the ethnolinguistic diversity of the Philippines, they have also been demarcated by their phenotype, culture, and way of life in comparison to other ethnic groups of the Philippines. As a result, these Indigenous communities were often the main focus of Worcester and other American colonists' attention, which resulted in their targeted racialization.

After the Philippine-American War in 1902, Americans were curious about the 'natives' from the newly acquired U.S. territory. During the St. Louis World Fair of 1904, the anthropological showcase of Filipino people, and specifically the Igorot people, were put on display in ways that perpetuated negative, racialized stereotypes of the Philippines because of the 'savagery' narrative that implied an undeveloped nation state. As seen in Figure 15 below, a photograph of the Igorot Village Exhibit is shown with two white men at the entrance and two more white men promoting the exhibit using megaphones and with one pointing to a sign. The image also displayed a stereotypical construction of bamboo for the walls and leaves for the roof making a hut as the entrance. The photograph was taken by Richard Schneidewind, an American veteran of the Spanish-American War from Detroit, Michigan.

¹¹ The terminology recognizing the Indigenous communities of the Philippines are reflective of Worcester's writings at the time. These Indigenous people of the Philippines may or may not associate with these terms due to the colonial history.



Figure 15. Photograph of the Igorot Village Exhibit. Source: Philippines and Hawaii undated, Richard Schneidewind papers, Box 1, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

The photograph by Schneidewind suggests the financial benefit in these exhibits at the World Fair where American colonialists were selling an image of ‘primitive’ and ‘uncivilized’ Filipino people to the rest of the country who had not been exposed to any of other representation of the Philippines. The racialized displays of Indigenous Filipino communities dehumanized Filipinos while encouraging white Americans to perceive these Indigenous groups as people to tame, which reified their sense of superiority. Additionally, the photo above implies an aspect of entertainment for white Americans viewing Indigenous Filipinos performatively within a glorified human zoo. The exotification of Indigenous groups aligned with Worcester’s pro-imperialist stance that helped perpetuate the support of American governmental influence in the Philippines.

Another portrayal of this was seen in the Americanization process that transformed Filipino men, who were once ‘natives,’ into ‘civilized’ military men after joining the

constabulary, as seen in Figure 16 below. The photographs below reveal a stark contrast between the non-uniform and uniform dress, suggesting that Worcester was signaling Filipinos serving in the American constabulary as the more civilized Filipino. The visual contrast between the ‘civilized’ Filipinos and Indigenous Filipinos served as a rationale to white Americans that Filipinos were indeed benefitting from Americanization as it seemingly transformed the ‘savages’ Worcester initially described.

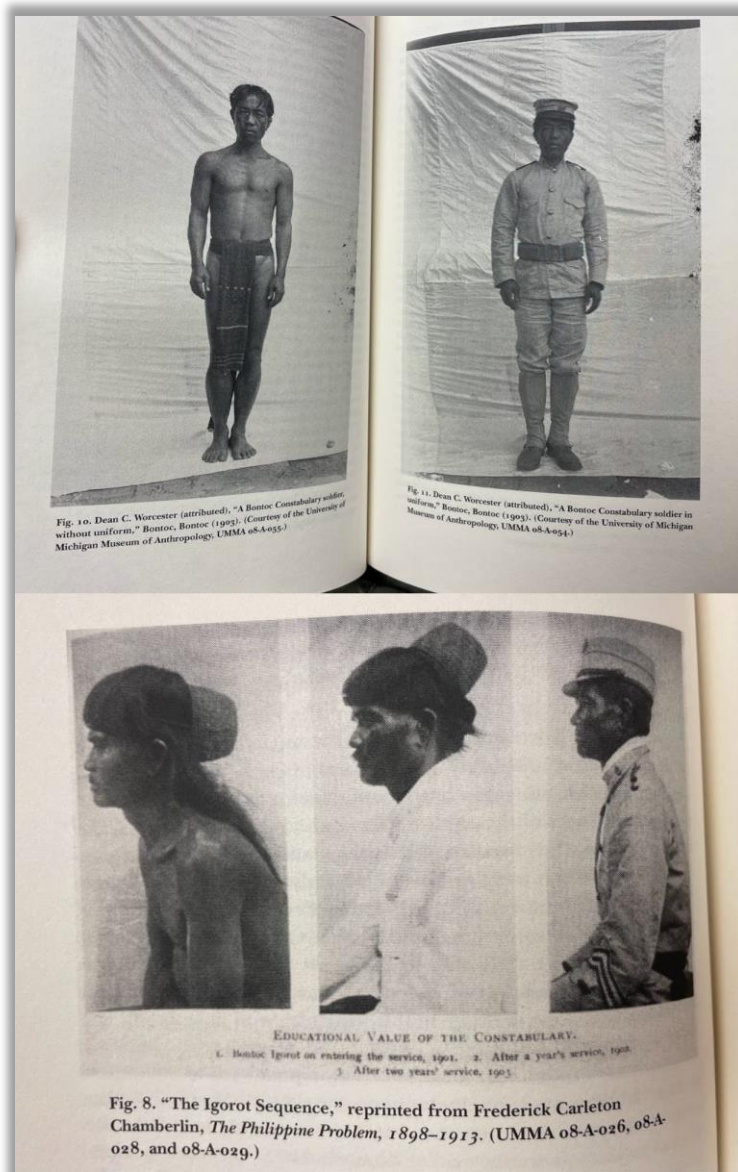


Figure 16. Images of Filipino men illustrated in contrast between pre-service and after service in the Constabulary as portrayed in Mark Rice's "Dean C. Worcester Fantasy Islands: Photograph, Film, and the Colonial Philippines"

published in 2014. Source: Dean C. Worcester (attributed), “A Bontoc Constabulary soldier without uniform,” Bontoc, Bontoc (1903). (Courtesy of University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, UMMA 08-A-055) (top left); Dean C. Worcester (attributed), “A Bontoc Constabulary soldier in uniform,” Bontoc, Bontoc (1903). (Courtesy of the University of Museum of Anthropology, UMMA 08-A-054) (top right); “The Igorot Sequence,” reprinted from Frederick Carleton Chamberlin, *The Philippine Problem, 1899-1913*. (UMMA 08-A-026, 08-A-028, and 08-A-029).

These papers and photographs provided a vast amount of information regarding the colonial relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines in the early 20th century, and offers perspective on Worcester’s subjective view of the Philippines at the time. Although most of the artifacts within the Worcester collection painted his work as being positively received, there was still a small number of papers and newspaper clippings that critiqued Worcester and the American colonial rule over the Philippines.

The critique against Worcester came from Filipinos in the clipping and translation of articles from the Spanish-Tagalog newspaper *El Renacimiento Filipino/Mulig Pasilang*, which later re-emerged as *La Vanguardia*. These clippings were found in the Dean C. Worcester papers: 1834-1915 at the SCRC but shared an overlap in topic with supplemental clippings and articles of this same newspaper in the Dean C. Worcester papers: 1887-1925 at the Bentley Historical Library. A translated excerpt from *La Vanguardia* dated September 30, 1913 included an editorial piece about Worcester’s efforts to ‘civilize’ the non-Christian tribes in the Philippines. The excerpt stated, “Worcester’s solicitous, paternal care in protecting and aiding those ‘tribes’ in their development, progress, and civilization lacks commonsense and contains a deal of fiction.” In an additional translated excerpt from *La Vanguardia* dated October 2, 1913, the newspaper stated,

Decidedly, ex-Commissioner and Secretary of the Interior Dean C. Worcester is bent on discrediting the Filipino people more and more before the whole world...if we study [Worcester’s reports on the Philippines] calmly we shall see that the object

of it is first, to present the Filipino people as unfit to direct its own destinies and second, to discredit the Philippine Assembly.

In both of the excerpts above, *La Vanguardia* exemplified a strong political stance against Worcester and the American government's infiltration of the Philippine Islands. The public opposition towards Worcester did not go without its consequences though, as seen in the situation with *El Renacimiento*'s newspaper that re-emerged as *La Vanguardia*.

Worcester had previously shut down *El Renacimiento* in 1910 due to a libel lawsuit that he filed against the newspaper company and won in his attempt to disrupt the challenges of Filipinos who spoke out through editorials in *El Renacimiento*¹², which resulted in *El Renacimiento* having to legally shut down their operations of business. The newspaper was later re-invented as *La Vanguardia*, which was documented in Worcester's collections that were housed at U-M repositories of the Special Collections Research Center (SCRC) and the Bentley Historical Library. The newspaper clippings were written by those strongly against American political intervention in the Philippines, which included many anti-imperialists¹³. It could be implied that Worcester kept these clipping records as a precaution to possibly file another libel lawsuit against *La Vanguardia* like he did with *El Renacimiento* in order to potentially shut the revamped newspaper down. However, as a result of preserving *El Renacimiento* and *La Vanguardia* clippings, Worcester managed to preserve the Filipino voices and experiences that were often left out of a majority of his collections, albeit unintentionally. This data from these newspapers contain a few key findings. The newspaper content revealed that there were groups of people who dissented from Worcester and the majority that favored Americanization in the

¹² <https://ustdigitallibrary.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/elrenacimie>

¹³ Dean C. Worcester papers: 1834-1915 Special Collections Research Center
Dean C. Worcester papers: 1887-1925 Bentley Historical Library

Philippines. The detailed recordings of the clippings that voiced strong opposition towards Worcester also suggested the length to which Worcester was willing to go to protect his image and narrative, as seen in his ability to shut down a local newspaper company through legal means.

A more specific example of Worcester's work being scrutinized can be found in another clipping from the Filipino newspaper *La Vanguardia*, as shown in Figure 17 below. This excerpt was from Dr. McDill who lived in the Philippines for 13 years as a physician at the General Hospital. McDill condemned Worcester's involvement in the Philippines and stated, "Dean C. Worcester is probably the most hated man in the Philippines... Mr. Worcester has specialized in his work of discrediting the Filipinos, by concealing from the American public the real fitness of the Islanders to govern themselves..." The contempt displayed in this excerpt reveals that Worcester and the overall Philippine-U.S. relationship was not received positively by all people in the Philippines.

"And Dr. McDill adds:

"Dean C. Worcester is probably the most hated man in the Philippines. Thanks to various communications addressed to the President asking that Mr. Worcester be not permitted to resign from office with honors, as always occurs in party changes in government, he was removed from the service by executive action, approximately a month ago. This is due to the extraordinary antipathy which the Islanders feel for him. Previous to his appointment to the Commission he held an obscure position as curator of the zoological museum of the University

important office at a salary of \$15,000 per annum. The appointment seemed to suit him because he immediately adopted the 'insolence of office' which has been poison to the Filipinos during all these years.

"Mr. Worcester has specialized in his work of discrediting the Filipinos, by concealing from the American public the real fitness of the Islanders to govern themselves. He has always referred to the ignorant ones until he has made the Americans believe that the Filipinos are a mass of half-naked head-hunters.

x

x

x

Figure 17. Excerpt from Spanish/Tagalog translated newspaper, La Vanguardia, detailing thoughts of Worcester's involvements in the Philippines as stated by an American physician who lived in the Philippines for 13 years, Mr. McDill. Source: "Concerning Slavery in the Philippines. Mr. McDill vs. Dean C. Worcester," La Vanguardia, October 2, 1913. Dean C. Worcester Papers and Clippings, Box 2, Special Collections Research Center, University of Michigan Library, University of Michigan.

The critique of American colonial ruling in the Philippines were based on a few factors. One of them being that Worcester's rhetoric discredited and diminished the ability of the Philippines to be an independent nation even though Filipino nationalists had been fighting for

their independence and though it was won after the Spanish American War. After coming under another colonial rule, it became clear that that not all Filipinos were supportive of Worcester's mission as seen in the above examples from *La Vanguardia*.

Worcester's Perspective on Schooling in the Philippines. Worcester's pro-imperialistic stance aided and legitimized the need for an American schooling system in the Philippines to educate young Filipino children. As part of the goal to Americanize the Philippines by indoctrinating its values and ideologies unsuspectingly, education became an accessible mechanism for American colonialists to channel that message towards Filipinos in a non-abrasive way. The American colonial rule resulted in built roads and school buildings in the Philippines within the first year after the Philippine American War and free, public education was offered to all Filipino children, as seen in Figure 18.

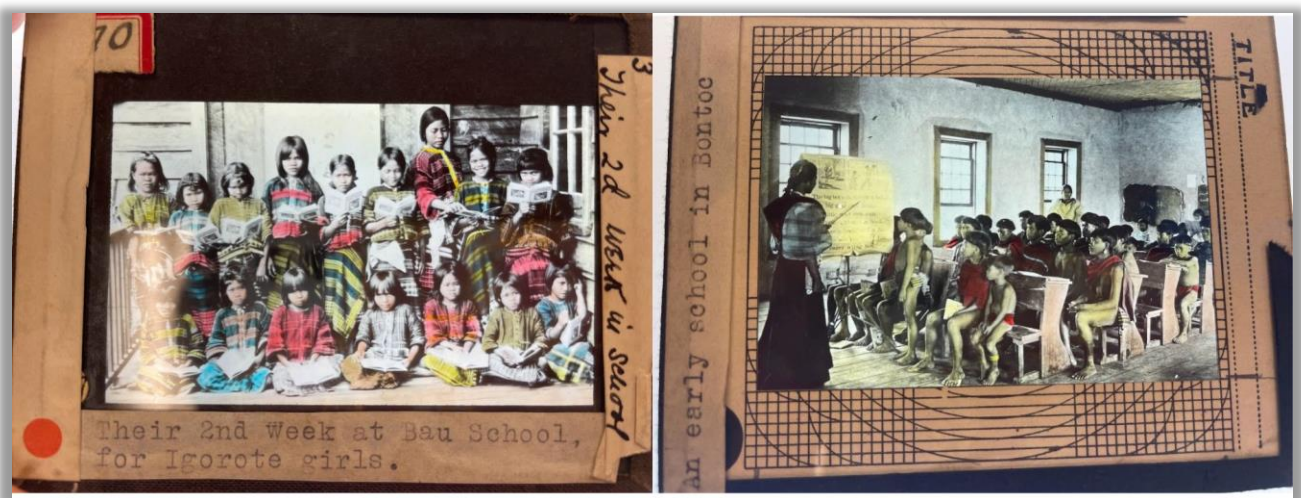


Figure 18. Lantern photographs of Filipino students in Americanized schools in the Philippines captioned as “Their 2nd Week at Bau School, for Igorote girls” (left); “An early school in Bontoc” (right). Source: Walter W. Marquardt papers (1896-1952), Box 4, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

The photos above reveal the young generations of Filipino children being introduced to the American schools in the Philippines indicating a shift of socio-political and cultural values being ingrained at an earlier age. The gendered norms associated with Western ideologies promoted in the U.S. were similarly adopted in schools as girls and young women were often

encouraged in ‘traditionally’ feminized fields such as nursing, sewing, and weaving. Although Americanized schools were available to children and adults who were interested in learning, the introduction of Western value systems to younger students was a strategic way to indoctrinate Filipino youths through Americanized schooling and the use of English instruction. Ultimately, the seemingly reliable system of schooling that supported Filipino youth and adults secured the trust of the Philippines, which the U.S. needed in order to pacify the people and Americanize the country, as seen above in Figure 18. In the photograph below, Figure 19, a couple of young Filipino boys in the Mountain Province handle the American flag. This image reflected the spreading influence of Americanization towards Filipinos as it depicts America (the American flag) in contrast to the Philippines (Filipino children clothed in their own traditional garments¹⁴).



Figure 19. A lantern slide depicting two Filipino youth hoisting the American flag, captioned as “The flag in the Mountain Province.” Source: Walter W. Marquardt papers (1896-1952), Box 4, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

In Worcester’s photographic collections, the visuals of school buildings in both rural and developed parts of the Philippines demonstrate the rapid development of the American schooling system across the archipelago, even reaching to the provinces that were home to Indigenous

¹⁴ The garments were possibly called a *bahag*.

Filipino communities. At the schools, Filipino youth were exposed to American popular culture, such as dance and theatre, as seen below. In these images, Filipino youth were introduced to playwrights like Romeo and Juliet while they also took lessons on classical ballroom dancing. The introduction to popular culture was another form of indoctrinating youth with American values at an early age.



Figure 20. Lantern photographs of Filipino students in Americanized schools in the Philippines, captioned as “Another scene from school play. R & J [Romeo and Juliet],” Manila, circa 1916-1919 (top); “Learning to dance.”

Bua school girls” undated (bottom). Source: Walter W. Marquardt papers (1896-1952), Box 4, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

More photographs captured students participating in American sports, such as baseball and track. The introduction of these specific sports in the Philippines was a strategic move from American colonists at the time, as indicated in the excerpts below. In his book, *The Philippines: Past and Present*, Worcester states that “baseball was a good example to Americans and Filipinos alike, in a country where vigorous outdoor exercise is very necessary to the physical development of the young and the preservation of the health of the mature” (p. 355). Later on, he mentions “it is indeed a startling sight to see two opposing teams of youthful savages... ‘playing the game’ with obvious full knowledge” (p. 515). Worcester pinpoints that the introduction of baseball to Filipinos was an intentional act to civilize the people so they would not be aggressive and violent ‘savages.’ On page 627 in his book, Worcester claimed “...now the [Filipino] boys certainly know, and can play, the game. These results have been accomplished practically without bloodshed or rough treatment of any sort. Only in the rarest instances, and in dealing with the very worst of the hill men, who were professional murderers, has a shot been fired.” Introducing sports like baseball to Filipinos was intentionally rooted in colonizing perspectives by white Americans as the excerpt above reveals these sports were used to ‘develop’ Filipinos and to channel their energy ‘productively.’



Figure 21. Lantern photograph of Filipinos playing baseball outdoors with original caption labeled as “Indoor baseball game, Teacher’s Camp.” Undated. Source: Walter W. Marquardt papers (1896-1952), Box 4, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.



Figure 22. Lantern photograph of Filipinos during a track event at school, original caption “A Hurdle Race.” Undated. Source: Walter W. Marquardt papers (1896-1952), Box 4, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

While U-M has one of the largest collections on the Philippines in the country, and outside of the Philippines itself, Worcester’s collection gets most of the attention. However, the Philippine Collections holds more artifacts beyond Worcester. Even though the Philippine Collections is comprised of many materials collected by American colonialists, it still stands that Worcester should not be synonymous with the Philippine Collections. However, because the overwhelming number of artifacts within the Philippine Collections are from Worcester’s collection, the two can often get conflated. Another issue in identifying the other collections is that there is an internal separation of the Philippine Collections amongst the various repositories, as well as the conflicting titles of the collections (Fieldnote, September 15, 2022).

Overall, Worcester’s collection offers insight during the American colonial ruling in the Philippines that revealed plans of Americanization and imperialist expansion especially through schooling. This was further related to the other archives within the Philippine Collections at U-M that helped to contextualize Michigan’s relationship with the Philippines. The data in this section addresses Research Question 1 because of the way the U-M Philippine Collections, and

especially Dean C. Worcester's collection, provided insight to the pro-imperialist and colonial narrative for how American colonialists were documenting and disseminating Filipino history in the early 20th century.

Historical Connection between the Midwest and the Philippines through Education



Figure 23. Photographs of the three different repositories that house the U-M Philippine Collections. Bentley Historical Library on U-M's north campus (top); U-M Museum of Anthropological Archaeology off campus (bottom left); Special Collections Research Center at Hatcher Graduate Library on U-M's central campus (bottom right). Source: Lon Howedel, 2014. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan (top); field photograph by author on September 15, 2022. U-M Museum of Anthropological Archaeology (bottom left); uncredited photo from U-M Library Special Collections website (bottom right).

In this section, the following data explores American schooling in the Philippines and continues to address Research Question 1. Within the Philippine Collections, the Frederick G. Behner papers, 1893-1924 from the Bentley Historical Library was another significant source

related to education. Behner, a white, Christian man born in Ohio, was one of the original *Thomasites* that came from Illinois to teach in the Philippines from 1901 to 1905. The image, as shown in Figure 24 below, show a group of *Thomasite* teachers that came from Illinois and Ohio. As explained in Chapter 2, the Midwest played a critical historical role in its recruitment of teachers for the Philippines due to Worcester’s heavily concentrated Midwestern academic connections and the many prestigious universities located within the Midwest region. Some of the teachers also came from the Western region, albeit a small portion.



Figure 24. Photographs of American Teachers heading to the Philippines to teach at the Americanized-public schools to Filipino youth, captioned as “Illinois Teachers,” (top); “Group of Ohio Teachers,” (bottom). Source: Frederick G. Behner papers (1893-1924, 1896-1908), Box 1, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

The Behner papers are comprised of his detailed accounts teaching in the Philippines and offers insight to the Americanized educational experience. An excerpt from Behner read, “Sunday February 2. Read my Bible also some in Origin of Species. Quite a crowd came into the room as would happen every Sunday if we would allow it. Josaphat [a student] asks all about our

religion.” Another excerpt read, “Monday February 3. Regular school work begins at 8 AM then at 10 AM we [American educators] teach the [Filipino] teachers. Expect Marie in school today but her hand is still with tropical sores so do not know when she will be back. Her teaching is rather poor anyways.” This excerpt identifies there was a teacher education program where American teachers were training a cohort of Filipino teachers and thus, indicating a systemic process of indoctrination.

Although some of the Behner Papers included his diary entries that described his experiences, most of the collection is comprised of Behner’s students and their essays. The tailored curriculum created by Behner promoted American democracy along with technical writing skills, which was evident in his student’s work. Behner assigned different themes for the Filipino students to write their essays on, which included democracy, religion, and the value of education (Fieldnote, September 9, 2022). In an essay on education, one of the students wrote that “education is very valuable all over the world because [it makes] people intelligent so some countries are better and more progressive. Now we have good free public school in the Philippines,” as shown in Figure 25. Another student wrote on the “Civilization of the Philippines” that stated, “While [Filipinos] were living this kind of lives [sic], the Almighty saw it and sent a monarchical form of government to guide us into the right way,” as shown in Figure 25 below. These excerpts are indicative of Behner’s goal to frame Americanization of the Philippines as beneficial through schooling.

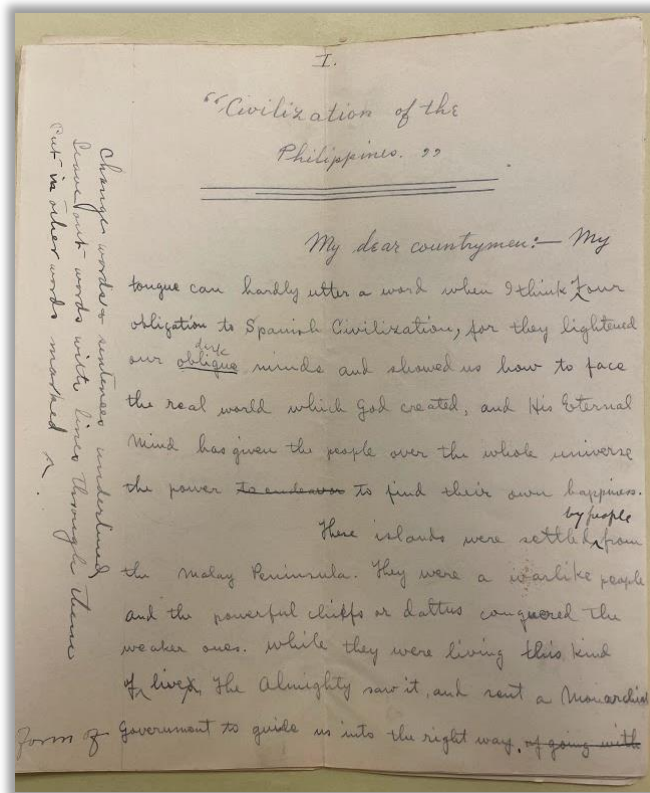


Figure 25. Filipino student essay on “Civilization of the Philippines” assigned by American teacher, Frederick Behner. Undated. Source: Frederick G. Behner papers (1893-1924, 1896-1908), Box 1, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

Entries from Behner’s students revealed that many Filipino students were being taught to value the education being brought by the *Thomasites*, who were implying that American education is needed for the Philippines to become a more progressive country. This indicates that the students writing those papers either perceived the values of America as inherently superior (such as democratic politics, the English language, Christianity, etc.), or that the teacher they wrote for (presumably, Behner) expected such a response.

In Behner’s lessons on the colonial rule of the Philippines under Spain, it is evident that there is a comparison drawn between Spain’s rule over the Philippines and the U.S. In Figure 25 as shown below, one of the Filipino student’s wrote,

The United States believes that all men are created equal; before the law everyone is alike. We were controlled by Spain for 3 ½ centuries, yet the progress made since

Figure 26. Another example of an essay from a Filipino student discussing Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines assigned by Frederick Behner. Source: Frederick G. Behner papers (1893-1924, 1896-1908), Box 1, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

One of the more explicit themes that Behner introduced was the topic of Philippine independence. In Figure 27, as seen below, a Filipino student wrote their four-page essay entitled “If the Philippines had been Independent.” In the essay, the student stated “we must not fail to learn the very interesting things that they [the U.S.] teach us; that is, to govern ourselves, to have more admiration, more progress and more civilization. Then if they find that we are able enough in those things instructed to us, I hope they will grant us the independence to which we aspire.” In this example, the student argues that the Philippines benefits from the relationship with the U.S. and implies that their independence requires approval. The writing affirms the hegemonic control being taught where students are conditioned to deem the U.S. as superior over the Philippines. Although this narrative was written by a Filipino student, it still emphasizes the colonial and racialized ideologies being introduced in schools.

Although Behner’s assigned essay topic on Philippine independence could be seen as an exercise in critical thinking due to the reflection required, a majority of students responded similarly in their essay that the Philippines would fail to be a self-governing state at the time. The overwhelming response from students who shared the same perspective favoring U.S. intervention implied Behner and other colonial educators accomplished promoting the support of American imperialism. It could be argued that Behner might not have been teaching these lessons with a malicious intent and could have been teaching as part of his moral duty, like many of the other *Thomasites*. When interviewing Robert Diaz, a historian from the ReConnect/ReCollect project, he discussed the nuance behind the legacies of colonialism emerging from the collections in different ways. Robert stated, “There’s a gradation of the way [archives] become harmful... I would say that there’s less of a nefarious sort of intent and more a

lack of interrogation, or matters of time... [which] makes them no less harmful.” While the intentions of these American teachers may not ever be known, the artifacts are still able to narrate a part of the story as educators playing a role in Americanizing the Philippines.

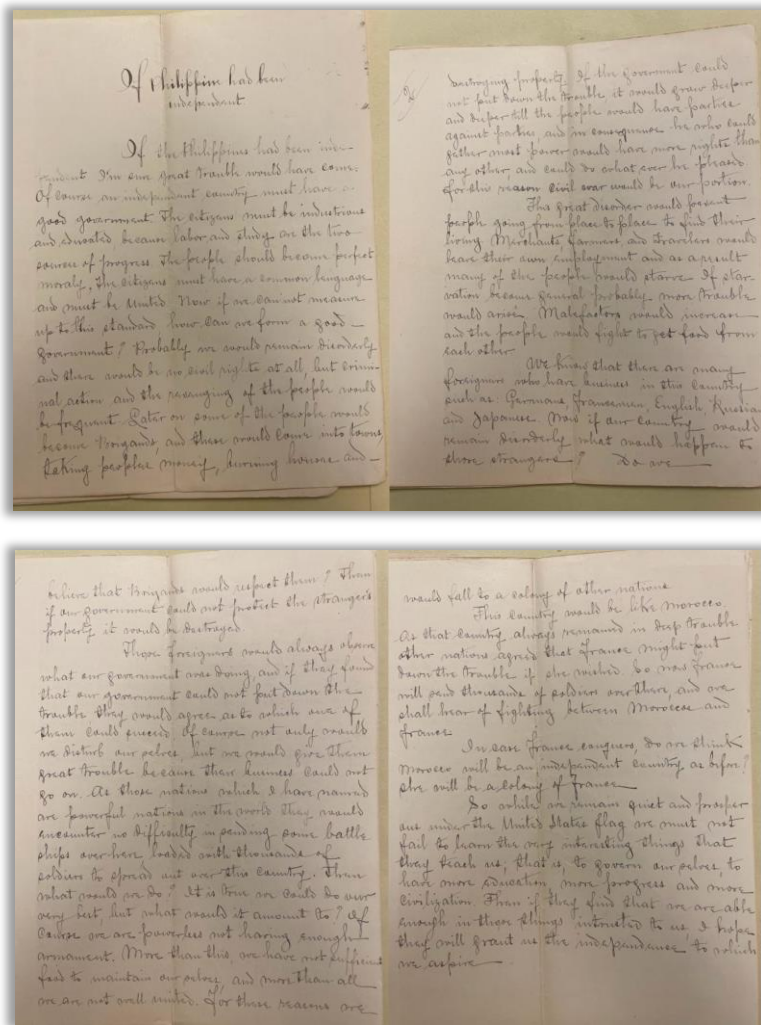


Figure 27. A complete example of a Filipino’s student essay titled “If Philippine had been independent,” page 1-4 as seen top left to bottom right. Source: Frederick G. Behner papers (1893-1924, 1896-1908), Box 1, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

It is critical to understand U-M’s connection to the Philippines as the origin of how this midwestern academic institution has accrued such an extensive historic collection of Filipino artifacts. This context explains how and why Filipinos have resisted the ways in which they have, or have not, had their histories and stories represented across different mediums. The

gravity of the Philippine Collections at U-M on Filipino scholars spans across the diaspora with scholars from the Philippines coming to Michigan just to study the collections. Similarly, Filipino scholars at U-M have written about the collections and have spoken out against the harmful colonial legacy associated between U-M and the Philippines.

Some of the key findings that emerged from the Philippine Collections at U-M support the key points from the literature discussed in Chapter 2, such as the American colonial intervention in the Philippines government and American educators using schooling as part of the larger colonial project that targeted Filipino youth (Scharlin & Villanueva, 2000). These findings revealed the U-M colonial legacy and relationship it had with the Philippines during the 1900s and at the start of the Philippine-American War.

In response to the colonial collections, a community-guided and institutionally supported project has developed from U-M. Within the past few years, ReConnect/ReCollect, a collaborative project intended to develop a framework for culturally responsive and historically minded stewardship of the Philippine Collections at U-M, has helped to confront and critique the collections in a more public-facing light.

ReConnect/ReCollect Project in Response to the Colonial Collections

The findings in this section that focus on ReConnect/ReCollect's work in response to the Philippine Collections at U-M addressed Research Question 3 that asks how contemporary partnerships between Filipino historians, community members, and educators inform their approach to preserving and producing knowledge for Filipino youth and communities.

Back in 2021, Filipina/o scholars, Dr. Deirdre de la Cruz and Dr. Ricky Punzalan, created an initiative addressing the nature of the colonial Philippine Collections at U-M, as seen in Figure 28. The initiative is known as the ReConnect/ReCollect Project: Reparative Connection to

Philippines Collections at the University of Michigan. While there have been prior research efforts that acknowledged the colonial legacy of the Philippine Collections by other Filipino professors and scholars, ReConnect/ReCollect is the first university-supported initiative.

Dr. Deirdre de la Cruz and Dr. Ricky Punzalan, the co-principal investigators of the project, started off ReConnect/ReCollect as a pilot project in the spring of 2021 at U-M. Their website states that the team is comprised of:

Philippine studies scholars, archivists, cultural heritage workers, activists, and members of the Filipino community here in Michigan to better understand what constitutes reparative approaches to the collections of materials (archives, photographs, objects, specimens, and human remains) acquired by the University over the course of the United States' colonial rule in the Philippines (<https://www.reconnect-recollect.com/who-we-are/>).

As a collaborative group made up of members from the community and U-M, ReConnect/Recollect focuses on four main pillars: 1) Defining Decolonial Approaches to Philippine Collections; 2) Articulating Institutional Obligations and Reparative Work; 3) Centering Communities in Collections Representation; 4) Reimagining Community Engagement. While ReConnect/ReCollect is not an official research site within my study, the establishment of the project is important to acknowledge for the sake of data as it is in direct response to the colonial framing of the Philippine Collections that I discuss.



Figure 28. Co-PI's of ReConnect/ReCollect, Deirdre de la Cruz (left) and Ricky Punzalan (right). Source: Jeffrey M. Smith, U-M School of Information.

ReConnect/ReCollect is currently a two-year project funded by the Humanities Collaboratory that is staffed with a team of U-M faculty scholars, university staff, graduate and undergraduate students. The External Advisory Board consists of Filipino scholars and professionals of various generations and ages from across the U.S. and from the Philippines. Examples of the community engaged work ReConnect/ReCollect has undertaken included the Artist-in-Residency program they hosted in May 2022 that invited Filipina/x/o artists to engage with the Philippine Collections at U-M, as shown in Figure 29.



Figure 29. Flyer promoting the Artist-in-Residency program hosted by the ReConnect/ReCollect in May 2022 that invited Filipino artists to visit the U-M Philippine Collections. Source: ReConnect/ReCollect website

During a roundtable event held on campus and virtually, the ReConnect/ReCollect team and the artists in Residency explored themes of identity, “archives, material history, decolonial praxis and restitution, and Filipino, Filipinx, and/or Indigenous identity,”

(<https://www.reconnect-recollect.com>). While the team of ReConnect/ReCollect depends on the expertise of archivists, historians, librarians, and collection managers, the artists helped to diversity the team by adding a creative element to the conversations around the collections. The artists helped to center arts-based efforts in response to the “culturally responsive and historically minded stewardship of U-M Philippine Collections” (<https://www.reconnect-recollect.com/roundtable/>).

During my interview with Jim, the collections manager at UMMAA, he explained to me that one of the visual artists, Maia Palileo (they/them), found a personal connection to an artifact

housed at UMMAA. Jim recounted that Maia mentioned they had an older relative who used to build Filipino houses like the one featured in Figure 30 below. The model of the Filipino wooden house, even though it was stored in the archives of UMMAA in the Midwest, was able to bring a sense of home and belonging to the Maia, which prompted them to create the postcard. The postcard, illustrated in Figure 30 below, questioned, ‘Why am I in Ann Arbor?’ with the model of the Filipino wooden house in the background. This question of location could be seen as an individual “I,” but also a larger personalization speaking to Filipinos collectively, as in ‘Why are Filipinos in Ann Arbor?’ This artist sparked themes of identity and migration in a creative illustration utilizing an artifact that does not even include a description tag. Even in that erasure of information is the parallel between the artifact and the Filipino experience within the U.S.



Figure 30. A visual illustration from Filipino artist, Maia Palileo entitled “Why am I in Ann Arbor, Michigan?” (left); model of Filipino house that was used in the visual illustration by Maia Palileo (right). Source: Field photograph by author in 2022.

As part of the reparative connections that ReConnect/ReCollect participates in, the team engages in community partnership with different Filipino organizations and centers, such as the Philippine American Cultural Center of Michigan in Southfield, Michigan and the Filipino

American Student Association at U-M. ReConnect/ReCollect was also a sponsor of the Filipino American Community Council of Michigan’s Kalayaan 2022 celebration of Philippine Independence. At the outdoor event, the team of ReConnect/ReCollect was able to engage with community members to promote awareness about the Philippine Collections at U-M. In order to broaden community networks and raise awareness about the collections outside of Michigan, ReConnect/ReCollect practices reparative scholarship where they aim to develop toolkits for assessment, engagement, and pedagogies. This is where there was overlap between the sites within the study as the ReConnect/ReCollect team presented a portion of their research at the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) Conference 2022 in Seattle, Washington as seen in Figure 31 below.



Figure 31. ReConnect/ReCollect’s presence at FANHS Conference. Presentation titled “ReConnect/ReCollect Reparative Connections to Philippine Collections at the University of Michigan (top); ReConnect/ReCollect team

members (left to right): Dr. Deirdre de la Cruz, Madeline Bacalor, Robert Diaz, Adelwisa L. Agas Weller, Dr. Ricky Punzalan during Q&A (bottom). Source: Field photograph by author, Seattle, Washington, August 14, 2022.

The shared space between the ReConnect/ReCollect team presenting their research at the FANHS Conference, which I also attended, demonstrates a reminder that even though these individual sites have been able to contribute an extensive amount of education on Filipino history on their own, the connection between them reflect how Filipino efforts to preserve history and educate others work best when in partnerships. Even though the ReConnect/ReCollect project is based at U-M, the FANHS Michigan-chapter is based in Dearborn, Michigan, which has resulted in the connection and partnership.

In general, the Philippine Collections at U-M had the highest quantity of collections and artifacts by far, but that was shown to be a direct result of the colonial relationship U-M has had with the Philippines for over a hundred years. The goal of American colonial administrators, including U-M alumni, Dean Worcester, was to ‘Americanize’ the Philippines through American teachers and English-only schools (McMahon, 2000; Scharlin & Villanueva, 2000; Kirkwood, 2014). Dean C. Worcester’s collection at U-M had an extensive presence within the broader Philippine Collections and was often mistaken to represent the Philippine Collections as a whole. The papers and photographs of Worcester’s collection that followed the Philippine American War illustrated his vision to extend the larger colonial project of Americanizing the Philippines and the peoples.

In response, ReConnect/ReCollect has recently emerged as a university-supported and community guided initiative that focused on culturally responsive stewardship to push back against the ‘traditional’ notions of the university’s colonial collection. The findings that emerged were reflective of the decolonization that was needed to disrupt the history of colonialism in academia (Daus-Magbual & Tintiangco-Cubales, 2016) and show ReConnect/ReCollect’s liberatory aims.

Filipino American National Historical Society Museum, in Stockton, California

“There are lots of Filipinos who are highly educated here but we didn’t have a chance, even how much is your ability...so what you going to do to survive, you take anything you can get... I went through a lot of things... we old timers here... cleared the way for those who here later” -Cipriano Parlon Insular, as quoted in Fred Cordova’s FILIPINOS: Forgotten Asian Americans (1983)

[We] don't [want to] lose the foot in the door, because it took a lot to jam that foot in that door -Uncle Chris, (FANHS Museum interview) July 2, 2022

The findings that emerged from the FANHS Museum helped to address Research Question 1 and Research Question 3. The FANHS Museum located in downtown Stockton was established in October 2016 after more than two decades of planning and fundraising. The FANHS Museum is completely run by community volunteers such as Terri, Chris, and Elena, who are the official docents of the museum, among many of the other roles they hold. On the sunny Saturday afternoon that I came in, the three Filipino elders had graciously volunteered their time to talk with me. In Filipino communities, family terms are adopted when talking to elders as a sign of respect and these terms may vary between English, Tagalog, Ilocano, or other dialects of Filipino languages based on the speaker and who they are speaking with. Due to the context, I referred to them as Auntie Terri, Uncle Chris, and Auntie Elena, which is how they were widely known in Stockton and within the FANHS community.

This had been a long-awaited visit for me since before the study began and I was eager to look around the museum, especially as I noticed the wall-lined exhibit detailing Filipino history in California as shown in Figure 32. I detailed the museum observation within my fieldnotes as I stated, “I think I was kind of set on reading what they had and what was on the walls and going through, and then maybe asking some questions afterwards. But it actually turned out to be the quite opposite. It was mostly talking story with the three of them and asking questions, but also

just listening, [it was] very conversational... [they were] just very, very open with their stories”
(Fieldnote, July 2, 2022).



Figure 32. Interior of FANHS Museum building displaying various photo exhibits. Source: Field photograph by author, Stockton, California, July 2, 2022.

The role that talk-story has in the Filipino community is a distinctly cultural one, especially when talking with elders. Though the phrase “talk-story” or “talking story” is commonly associated with Hawaii because of the context of Hawaiian Pidgin (Okawa, 1997; Drager, 2012; Rozema, 2017; Ae, Bonilla & Gallarde; 2021), the phrase has been used widely in Filipino spaces, especially in the western region of the U.S., in part because of the history of Filipinos in Hawaii and the proximity between Hawaii and California (Allen, 2007; Waddell & Clariza, 2018; Das, Tadj, Cloudwatcher, & Ho-Schar, 2020). Even if talk-story is not the phrase being directly used, sharing stories has always been a shared cultural experience across many trans-Pacific communities and for communities of color, in general.

The significance of talking story with Auntie Terri, Uncle Chris, and Auntie Elena was a valuable historical resource, even though I was in a Filipino museum filled with thoughtfully

curated exhibits and meaningful artifacts. For instance, in the photo above are examples of the various photo exhibits displayed in FANHS that offer up photographs and detailed historical contexts to accompany them. Still, the objects themselves could not tell the history in the same way people could. An example of this could be seen in an excerpt from my fieldnotes where I recount learning new insight to FANHS history in Stockton after talking to Auntie Terri and Uncle Chris. I stated,

[S]o, starting FANHS and starting it in Seattle, followed by the Filipino Youth Activities of Seattle (FYA)...that was a game changer. And before [Stockton] was a chapter of FANHS, the group of Filipinos doing work there was [called] the Filipino Historical Institute. And so, when FANHS was created in 1982, [the Cordovas] came to Stockton and told them, ‘Hey, why don't you guys just become a chapter of FANHS? And so that way we could be national.’ And that's how it started. So that was interesting to learn about that, (Fieldnote, July 2, 2022).

This excerpt helps identify that talk-story helps uncover the deeper intricacies that are woven into the fabric of history, that sometimes even a museum cannot capture because these stories still exist within the people and not just the place.

The museum displayed photo exhibits that connected to themes on the work force of Filipinos in America that described migration journey of Filipinos due to the Hawaiian Plantations and the Farm Communities in California, as shown in Figure 33, below. This specific exhibit featured an excerpt from Fred Cordova, the co-founder of FANHS, and his seminal publication *FILIPINOS: Forgotten Asian Americans*. The visual translation of Uncle Fred’s book to a photo exhibit exemplified the foundational work he did for his community that was highly respected and heavily referenced throughout the FANHS Museum and organization. In

FILIPINOS: Forgotten Asian Americans, the acknowledgement of farm communities was a prominent piece, which detailed the political factors of the migration for Filipinos from the Philippines to the U.S. in the early 1900s. On display at the museum were the different types of work Filipinos engaged in labor such as the farmworkers in the agricultural industry of California, the factory workers in the salmon canneries of Alaska, the “Sakadas” or plantation workers for the sugar and pineapple plantations in Hawaii, and the workers for the steamships in Seattle.

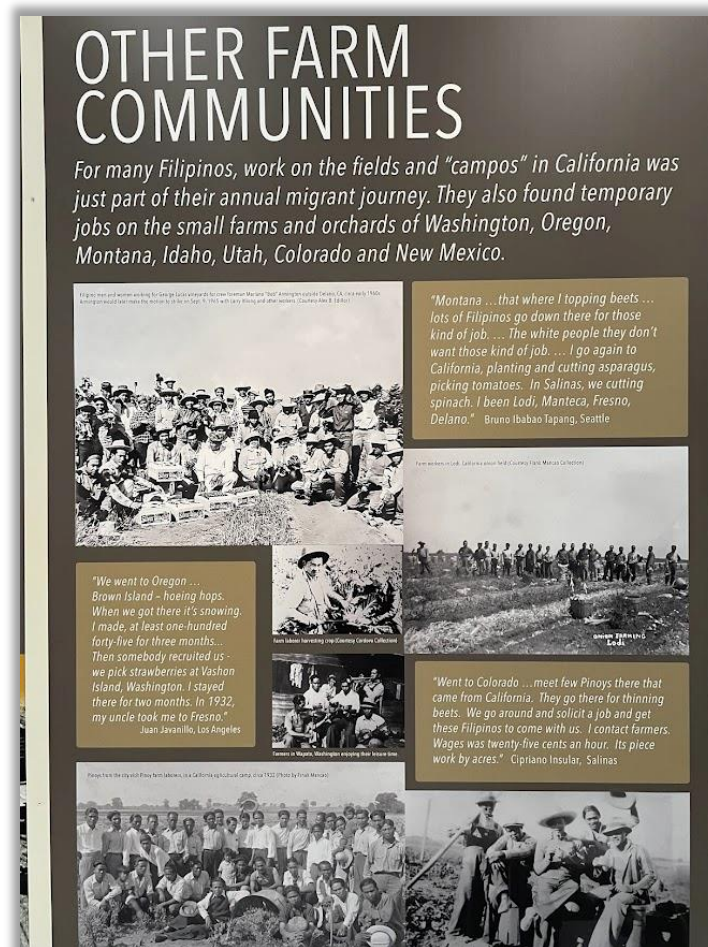


Figure 33. Exhibit at FANHS Museum on Filipino Labor Work Communities, titled “Other Farm Communities” discussing Filipino farm working communities around the U.S. Source of photos: (left to right) “Filipino men and women working for George Lucas Vineyards for crew foreman Mariano ‘Bob’ Armington outside Delano, CA, circa early 1960s.” (Courtesy Alex B. Edillor); Farm workers in Lodi, California onion field (Courtesy Frank Mancao Collection); “Farm laborer harvesting crop (Courtesy Cordova Collection); “Farmers in Wapato, Washington enjoying their leisure time (Courtesy Cordova Collection); “Pinoys from the city visit Pinoy farm laborers, in a California agricultural camp, circa 1932 (Courtesy Frank Mancao Collection); “Mariano Angels and fellow Yakima

Valley farm laborers, circa 1933, in Washington (Courtesy Marian Angeles). Photo exhibit by FANHS National Production team coordinated by Dorothy Laigo Cordova and designers Jeannette, Castellano Tiffany, Timoteo Cordova, and Ador Pereda Yano. FANHS Museum. Stockton, California.

The importance of Uncle Fred's efforts in the historical storytelling of the working Filipino laborers in American within his book paved the way for others to acknowledge the significance of Filipino farmworkers in the Central Valley of California. Most notable in the exhibit was the history and photographs of the farmworkers in the local community, like the picture of the farmworkers in an onion field in Lodi, a neighboring city to Stockton, as seen below in Figure 34. While some of these photographs donated to the FANHS museum were personal images, others were taken by professional photographers. For example, in the exhibit on farmworkers, most of the photographs came from Frank Mancao's collection. Frank Mancao, a Filipino photographer from California, was known for the "Pinoy Image," or the image of the male Filipino farmworkers in the American West that embodied masculine Filipino identity (De Leon, 2022). The archives of Frank Mancao and his family both in Central Valley, California and in Cebu were entrusted to FANHS, which is why so many photographs in the museum are from his collection. While the inclusion of Filipinos photographed by another Filipino was important to challenge racialized representations, critical Filipino scholar Adrian De Leon (2022) argues that Mancao's photographs still reified the Americanized notion that good citizenship is merited by capitalistic participation.



Figure 34. One of the photos from the exhibit shown in Figure 33. “Farm workers in Lodi, California onion field.” Undated. Source: Frank Mancao Collection, FANHS Museum, Stockton, California.

As I looked at the photographs of farmworkers from the late 1960’s, Uncle Chris, pointed to a man in the picture and said, ‘that’s my Uncle!’ (Fieldnote, July 2, 2022). The connection Uncle Chris highlighted between his own family member and a historical photograph illustrated the personalized link that Filipinos had to the preservation work FANHS was doing with their community museum. There seemed to be a sense of pride Uncle Chris exuded when showing off the picture of his uncle that mirrored the sense of validation many marginalized people feel when they finally see themselves represented. Similar to Uncle Chris, I felt a sense of belonging and identity walking through the museum and especially when I stopped upon the photographs of Filipinos in Hawaii. Though I did not see any family members in the photographs, I saw my own families’ migration journey reflected back at me when I looked at the photo exhibit detailing Filipinos first coming to Hawaii in the 1900s to work in the sugar and pineapple plantations, as seen in Figure 35.

The history of Filipino farmworkers in Hawaii eventually led to the settlement of large concentrations of Filipinos on the island, notably Ilocanos, settling in Hawaii after the 1965 Immigration Act, which would help to explain how the maternal side of my family migrated from the Philippines to Waipahu, Hawaii for a sense of community and work in the 1970s (Fieldnote, July 2, 2022). As with Uncle Chris, seeing the Hawaiian Plantations exhibit displayed in the museum helped legitimize my family’s connection to Hawaii because the awareness of that history of migration had always been denied to me by a lack of representation.

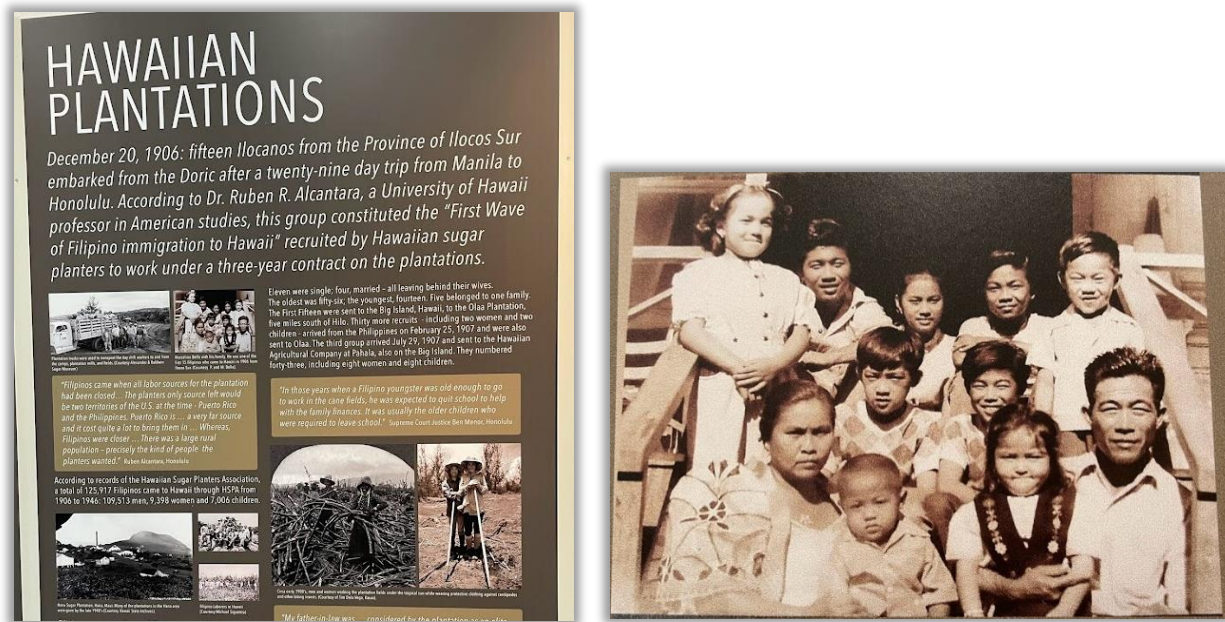


Figure 35. FANHS photo exhibit on Filipino farmworkers in Hawaii, titled “Hawaiian Plantations” (left); a photo included within the exhibit, captioned “Marcelino Bellow with his family. He was one of the first 15 Filipinos who came to Hawaii in 1906 from Ilocos Sur.” Courtesy P. and M. Bellow (right). Source of photos (left to right): Courtesy Alexander & Baldwin Sugar Museum; Courtesy P. and M. Bellow; Courtesy Hawaii State Archives; Courtesy Michael Siguenza; Courtesy of Time Dela Vega, Kauai). Photo exhibit by FANHS National Production team coordinated by Dorothy Laigo Cordova and designers Jeannette, Castellano Tiffany, Timoteo Cordova, and Ador Pereda Yano. FANHS Museum. Stockton, California.

While at first glance, the FANHS Museum seemed to have only a few photo exhibits lined up on the walls of their small building, the real depths of their archives are revealed in their copies of written papers and books. In the front corner of the museum near the entrance were stacks of manuscripts, pamphlets, and written documents that could have easily been missed by

visitors if they were not looking for them. One of the most striking artifacts was the early iteration of Alex Fabros Sandoval, Jr. and his work on the “Postcards from Salinas,” as shown below in Figure 36. Fabros is a retired historian of Asian American Studies at San Francisco State University whose family background was from Salinas, another city in northern California that was historic for Filipinos due to the agricultural industry.

The “Postcards from Salinas” features postcards that Filipino men working in Salinas sent back home to their families in the Philippines in the early 20th century. The photographs of the postcards featured in the project were taken by Narcisco Bulosan Caliva. The “Postcards from Salinas” that is curated by Fabros is now an exhibition at the University of California Santa Barbara and was previously a part of a larger exhibit at the National Steinbeck Center in Salinas, California (Fieldnote, July 2, 2022). The project revealed the communicative efforts of Filipino men working in California trying to contact their families back in the Philippines; and the project implies that Sandoval wanted to emphasize the significance of the Central Valley in California by documenting the process of becoming Filipino American in the early-mid 1900s through restored photographs. The copy that the FANHS Museum had was part of an early iteration of Fabros work before it was turned into an exhibit. This artifact displayed the instrumental role FANHS Museum has played in being a repository for the historical objects and educational works that many Filipinos have entrusted them with. It revealed the time and planning that has gone into the development, curation, and production of exhibits on Filipinos in the U.S. that stemmed from collaborative efforts and a sense of communal pride in being from the Central Valley.

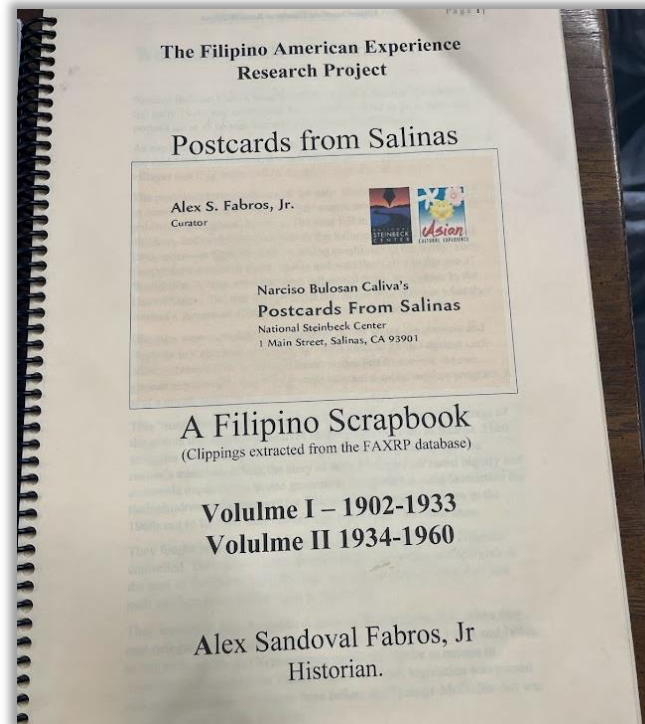


Figure 36 “The Filipino American Experience Research Project, Postcards from Salinas, A Filipino Scrapbook,” curated by Alex S. Fabros, Jr. Source: Narciso Bulosan Caliva, 1902-1933, 1934-1960, Salinas, California, courtesy of FANHS Museum, Stockton, California.

Fabros’ scrapbook also demonstrated that Filipinos have been attempting to preserve localized Filipino community history for more than a century. The FANHS Museum’s display of this artifact, which was part of a larger Filipino American Experience Research Project as noted on the front page, reveals the supported efforts of the community for Filipinos who have documented their own communities’ histories. This was also seen through the collection of published works that the FANHS Museum had on display. One of the collections included the “Filipinos In ...” series that is published by the Images of America. These books include photographs and historical commentary on the communities of Filipinos in different cities across the country. The collection on display at the museum included the series such as *Filipinos in Stockton*, *Filipinos in Hawai’i*, *Filipinos in San Diego*, *Filipinos in New York City*, and *Filipinos in Houston*, as shown in Figure 37. The series highlighted the existing literature that details

place-based historical accounts for Filipino communities in the U.S. The other books stacked in the shelves on display at the FANHS Museum, as shown below in Figure 37 acknowledge the additional publications that documented community history, such as *A Village in the Fields* by Patty Enrado and *Little Manila is in the Heart* by Dawn Mabalon. Some of the other books included classic literature written by Filipino writers such as Sam Luranilla's *Roses for Magdalena* and Cindy Fazzi's *My MacArthur*.



Figure 37. Collage of various books written by Filipino authors regarding Filipino American experiences in the U.S. on display at the FANHS Museum. Source: Field photograph by author, July 2, 2022.

The books displayed revealed the perspectives that have informed and been informed by the radical project of the FANHS Museum's mission. An example of this could be seen in the literature produced by Dr. Dawn Mabalon, as pictured above. *Little Manila is in the Heart* (2013) reflects the activism, the history, and the care of the community of Stockton, California where

Dr. Mabalon was from and the values she embodied. This could be seen in her work to “rewrite the dominant narrative of Asian American history, which has downplayed Filipina/o American community building to favor a male-center sojourner narrative” (p. 11). In other words, Dr. Mabalon decenters the dominant narratives of men that tend to eclipse the experiences of Filipinas. Dr. Mabalon’s published work, along with the other examples of books on display, reaffirm the growing representation of Filipina/x/o scholars, authors, and writers that share in the goals of FANHS and community based historical preservation. This finding suggests that the FANHS Museum’s literary connections and resources could be leveraged by people interested in learning more about Filipinos through that are not aware of diverse Filipina/x/o authors.

Overall, the FANHS Museum provided a diverse array of artifacts that were displayed through exhibits, photographs, and books. The analysis of the artifacts included the recognition that FANHS relies heavily on communal and familial networks for the role of preservation as all the artifacts were donated by family members, community members, and from other chapters of FANHS across the country. Auntie Terri described that, “when we put a call out, the community will respond” in regard to building their collection of archives. The FANHS Museum was unique in the sense that it emphasized a completely grassroots funded, community approach and is a non-profit organization not officially affiliated with any institutional support. This emphasis on community support for FANHS has been extremely successful for the museum due in large part to the heavily concentrated cities and states of Filipinos being West-Coast based.

FANHS Pinoy Archives and the Cordovas



Figure 38 Collection of family histories organized alphabetically at the FANHS National Pinoy Archives in Seattle, Washington. The collection was curated by Dr. Dorothy Cordova in 1987 when FANHS was first established, and Auntie Dorothy started documenting Filipino families in Seattle. Since then, the collection has grown from Filipinos all over the country mailing in their artifacts to be saved in the National Pinoy Archives. Source: National Pinoy Archives, Seattle, Washington. Field photograph by author on August 10, 2022. Seattle, Washington.

In response to Research Question 1, this section focuses on community efforts of archiving and documentation. The National Pinoy Archives were founded in 1987 by FANHS to preserve and make accessible the historical documentation of Filipino Americans. The National Pinoy Archives (NPA) were started by Dorothy Cordova’s collection of Filipino Americans a few years after FANHS was created as a historical society. Although the FANHS National Museum in Stockton is associated with the National Pinoy Archives, they each have their own set of artifacts and collections. The Pinoy Archives are one of the largest collections of artifacts detailing Filipino American histories of individuals, families, and organizations that included thousands of materials and documentation. During talk-story with Auntie Terri back at the FANHS museum, she shared a story she once heard about the National Pinoy Archive, “one day Auntie Dorothy noticed a bunch of photo albums and other artifacts being dumped out back by a Filipino family...a neighbor maybe? When she questioned them about throwing it out, they

stated that they did not want them anymore and so she said that she would keep them, and they gave it to her. That's how it started" (Fieldnote, July 2, 2022). The story revealed that the origins of the archives were focused on collecting records of family history, which the archives continue to do to this day.

As seen in Figure 38, the image shows a collection of boxes with manila folders inside of them organized by last name, and some of the folders were filled with various papers and some photographs. The family archives were dedicated for Filipinos to send in and donate any materials they want to be recorded in the national archives. The dedication of Auntie Dorothy to collect Filipino American stories through photographs and documents that started the National Pinoy Archives seemed to stem from a desire to not discard her community's histories. This could only have been encouraged by her husband, Fred Cordova, and his own research in his pictorial essay *FILIPINOS: Forgotten Asian Americans* (1983). In this book, Uncle Fred argued that Filipinos were forgotten in the scope of American history and additionally left out of the larger narrative on Asian American history in the U.S.

Though Uncle Fred passed away in 2013 at the age of 82, Auntie Dorothy is still very much active with FANHS today, even at 90 years old. After working on these archives for the past three decades with no salary, Auntie Dorothy still maintains and works on the National Pinoy Archives, which is housed on the ground floor of what used to be the Immaculate Conception School (Fieldnote, August 12, 2022). The building now serves as the working space for the FANHS Greater Seattle Chapter and the National Pinoy Archives. Next to the building is the Immaculate Conception Catholic Church that is still in operation today. The view of the church next to the National Pinoy Archives is seen in Figure 39.



Figure 39. View from outside the National Pinoy Archives, which shows the Immaculate Conception Catholic Church, right next door. The building that houses FANHS National Pinoy Archives was formerly the Catholic school belonging to Immaculate Conception Church, but has since been transformed into a space for the FANHS National Pinoy Archives. Source: Field photograph by author on August 10, 2023. Seattle, Washington.

According to Auntie Dorothy, the influence of the Cordova's passion for Filipino American community, history, and education has been passed down to their own mentees, who have become members and affiliates of FANHS, that have gone on to inspire this next generation of Filipino Americans who are standing on their shoulders (Fieldnote, August 12, 2022). The emphasis on family and community is reflected in the lineage of mentorship through all of those who are part of FANHS with the support of a professional network that includes scholars, historians, curators, educators, artists, professionals, writers, and entrepreneurs (Fieldnote, August 12, 2022). FANHS core value of intergenerational mentorship had a relevant impact on Filipino education as many of the once-young child mentees of the Cordovas went on to become educators and academics, as evident in the data. This addresses Research Question 3 in light of mentorship and how that partnership can help inform knowledge production for youth later on.

An example of this influential network could be seen in Emily Lawsin's narrative of mentorship under Dr. Dorothy Cordova. Emily Lawsin, also known affectionately as Ate Em, is the National President of FANHS and a lecturer in American Culture and Women and Gender Studies at U-M. She shared her story of growing up Pinay in Seattle:

I came out of the Filipino Youth Activities or FYA, which was started by Fred and Dorothy Cordova, and 16 other families in 1957. Right, so it's like the longest running Filipino American youth organization in the country. It's still going on today. And it's mostly known for its—now for its drill team. It's the only Filipino American drill team in the nation. You can Google it and see all kinds of things. But when Uncle Fred founded it, it was not just a drill team or folk dance group, it was also what we would call now a cultural school... At the time, it wasn't called a cultural school but others who have studied it... wrote about it, because a lot of other organizations modeled what they did after FYA. Any case, when we were in the FYA we would have what was called brown rooms, or we would have cultural education programs, or we would have to attend different educational forums in order to travel with the team...or we had to volunteer. Like I had to volunteer with FANHS, the Philippine American National Historical Society right when it was starting up. And I volunteered at the FYA office. Right. And so it was one of those things where there's a mentorship, you know, a mentorship program. And I had come up with that, I had grown up with that because my parents put me on there. Right. It wasn't necessarily something I wanted to do. Like my parents forced me to do, but then I ended up loving it. Right. Because, you know, I have my lifelong

friends from there now. Yeah. And because, Uncle Fred, Andrew, Dorothy and other elders kind of took me under their wing and mentored me very heavily.

Ate Em's nostalgic story revealed that the heart of FANHS has always been Auntie Dorothy and Uncle Fred, as pictured in Figure 40, who created the historical society and the youth organization preceding it with a passion for their culture, history, and education. Their labor to create spaces for Filipino youth to learn about their culture and history raised the generation of Filipino scholars that have directly impacted the work that you are reading right now. As FANHS as an organization has continued to develop and evolve over the past forty years since its inception, there will always be a deep respect and homage for the Cordovas and the work they have accomplished. The seeds they planted that were once just dreams of a national historical society for Filipino Americans has since blossomed into a garden of influences for other younger Filipino generations to be surrounded by.



Figure 40. Fred and Dorothy Cordova, the co-founder of FANHS. Undated. Source: FANHS National Pinoy Archives. Seattle, Washington.

FANHS National Organization and the Focus on Education

This section addresses Research Question 2 and 3 as it focuses on education and partnerships central to FANHS. FANHS has continued to expand its historical society as a larger national organization through its community networks and the social capital they possess. With

an expansive network that spans across the country, FANHS has been able to collaborate with other teachers, scholars, and educators to develop educational resources for those looking to teach and expose others to Filipino American history. The focus on educational resources are expansive when considering the abundant network that FANHS has and the influence of its members; however, the tangible resources FANHS offers could be narrowed down to the FANHS Journal, the FANHS Conference, and the FANHS National website’s “Education” page. The figure below depicts three covers of the FANHS journal with different iterations of the titles dating from 1988 to 1994, starting with *Journal of Filipino American History and Culture* (1988) under the name *Ala-Ala*, which translates to memories, remembrance, or gift. The second volume was renamed the *FANHS Forum* (1992), and by 1994 it was renamed the *Filipino American National Historical Society Journal* (1994). The journals are still published today and are made available through the FANHS website page.

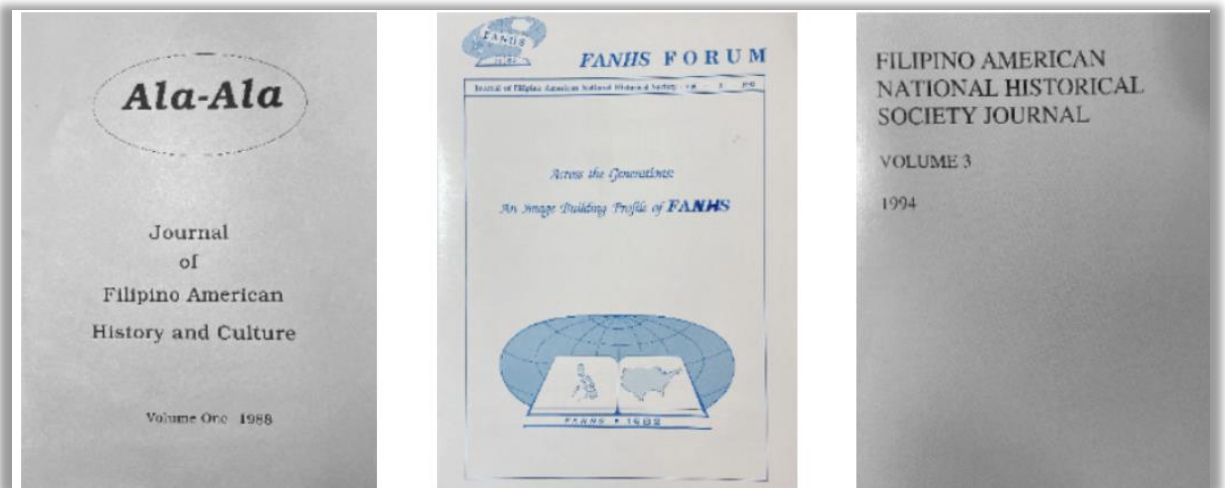


Figure 41. Cover of FANHS Journals over the years. FANHS journal’s first volume entitled, “Ala-Ala,”1988 (left); second volume named “FANHS Forum” from 1992 (middle); third volume renamed as “FANHS Journal” in 1994, which is the name it currently uses today. Source: FANHS Journal Volume 10 (p. 1, Cordova, 2020).

The FANHS journals continued to develop and attract more Filipinos to share their scholarship, which led to the diversity of content that evolved throughout the years. The first journal ran its publication in 1988, with articles such as “Filipinos in Alaska: How Pinoys

Helped Build the World's Largest Canned Salmon Industry” by Donald Guimary and Jack Masson, “Filipino Americans and Education” by Fred Cordova, and “Hampton Roads: Filipinos in the U.S. Navy” by Matt Jardianiano.” The fifth volume (1998) had articles titled, “Our History is no Mystery” by Ronald S. Buenaventura and “The *Manong*¹⁵ Who Came East to Dayton, Ohio: The Story of Narcisco Dacanay Quiroz” by Tony E. Lapiton. By 2009, the seventh volume had articles such as “The Other Mestizo: The African Filipino” by Gloria Ysmael Adams, “Filipinos and the Reno Casino Experience” by Gilda Galope Lum, and “The Philippine American Community Center of Michigan” by Eduardo Navarra.

Another form of educational development for FANHS was their national conference. Starting in 1987, the first FANHS Conference was held in Seattle just five years after the Cordovas established FANHS. The conference is currently known as one of the largest community-based gatherings dedicated to sharing knowledge around Filipino American history, research, and culture. The conference usually lasts a few days with community events and performances mixed in with presentations, speeches, and roundtable discussions. It serves as an opportunity for most FANHS chapters to come together in person for a biennial reunion. Over the course of a weekend, FANHS members and non-members can listen to the hundreds of workshops and explore significant Filipino landmarks in the host city of a FANHS chapter that rotates with every conference. The conference serves as a significant event for Filipinos because of the exposure it offers to the current scholarship and literature being produced by Filipina/x/o in different fields and areas of learning that otherwise might not be as widely disseminated to so many Filipino networks. The exposure and promotion of the information leads to

¹⁵ Ilocano word for older brother.

“understanding, education, enlightenment, appreciation, and enrichment,” as described in FANHS mission statement in the image below.

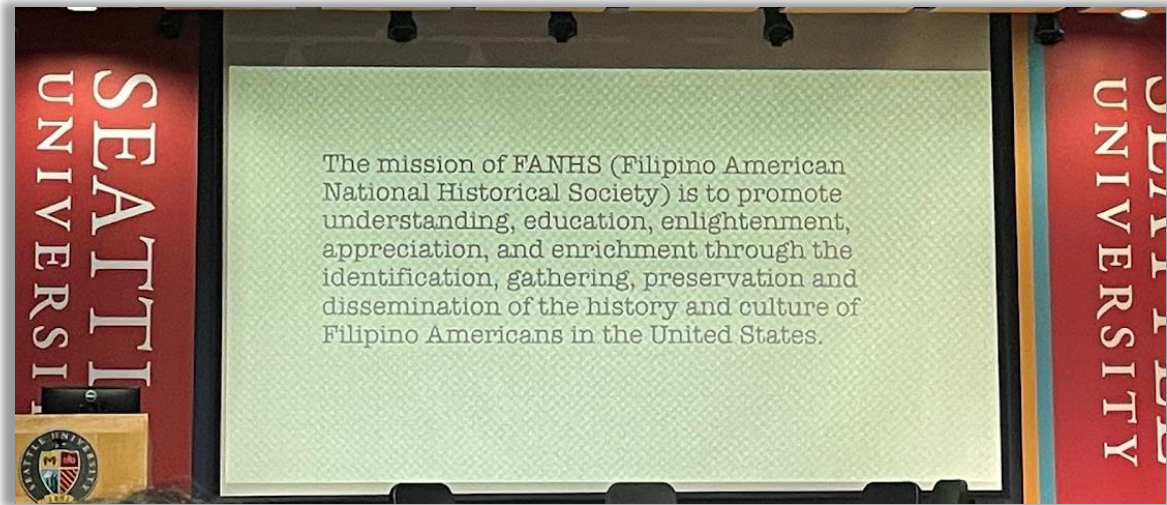


Figure 42. Photograph taken during the welcoming ceremony of the FANHS National Conference 2022 at Seattle University, with the mission statement of FANHS on a presentation screen. Source: Field photograph by author on August 11, 2022. Seattle, Washington.

The FANHS Biennial National Conference 2022 marked a few anniversaries as it celebrated FANHS 40th anniversary as an organization and its 35th anniversary of the conference. It came full circle as the conference was hosted in Seattle, Washington by Seattle University, in the city where FANHS was created by the Cordovas in 1982 and where the very first FANHS conference in 1987 was also held. This indicated the legacy and support FANHS receives nationally as an organization and also the continued participation from Filipinos at their academic conferences. As a participant observer during the FANHS conference, I was immersed into my first conference experience as a workshop presenter and a FANHS-Michigan Chapter member. The research presented was modeled after my dissertation and titled, “Re-Imagining Roots of Knowledge through Community Collaborations,” which was available via the Conference’s app that hosted an electronic version of the program, as seen in Figure 43.



Figure 43. Electronic version of FANHS Conference 2022 programming that provided workshop and presentation information, including my own session titled “Re-Imagining Roots of Knowledge through Community Collaborations” (left); the conference program logo (right). Source: FANHS National Conference Program (Electronic-Version), 2022.

By being a participant observer during the FANHS Conference, I was able to immerse myself in the experience of being a FANHS member and presenting my work on Filipino history and education in a room full of other Filipinx/a/o scholars, activists, artists, etc. A notable moment of the conference was being able to reunite with some of my Pinay mentors, such as Emily Lawsin, the National President of FANHS and U-M lecturer in American Culture and Women and Gender Studies; and Dr. Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales, professor in Asian American Studies at San Francisco State University and founder of Pin@y Educational Partnership in San Francisco, California. The impact of FANHS and its network of academics was reflected in my own experience of having been educated by these Pinays who were part of FANHS, and now I have followed in similar footsteps. The acts of intergenerational mentoring and care are the results of FANHS and the people involved that indicate how valuable and valued relationships are in the Filipino culture. It was a moving experience to also participate in a presentation led by Ate Allyson¹⁶ on the growing concept of Pinayism, as seen below in Figure 44.

¹⁶ Tagalog for older sister. As a mentee of Dr. Tintiangco-Cubales since 2015, during my time as a graduate student at San Francisco State University, she became known as Ate Allyson to me and other Filipinx/a/o students.

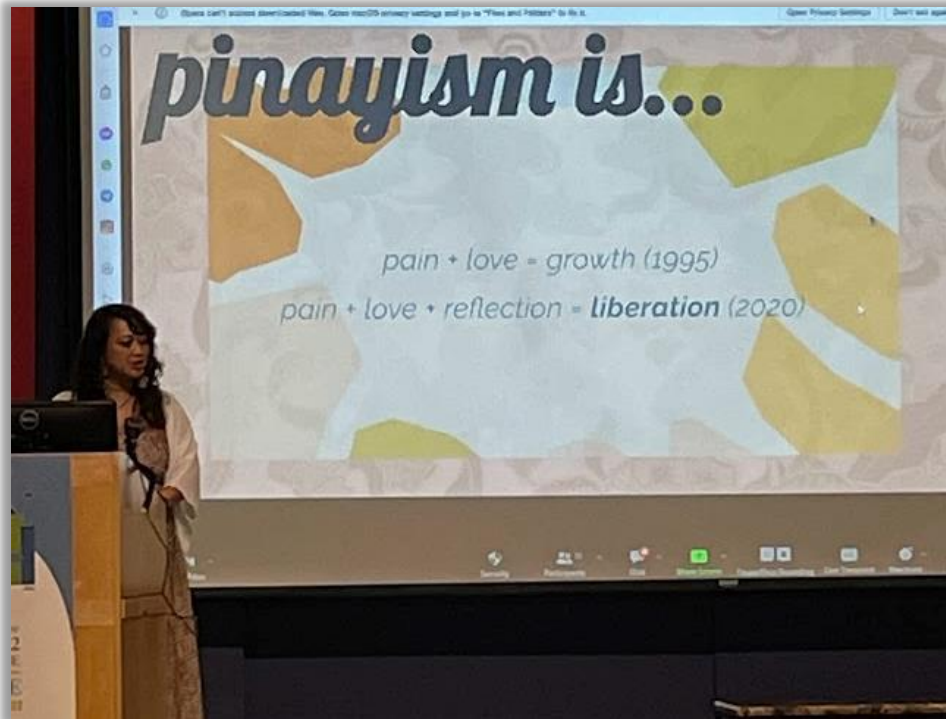


Figure 44. Presentation by Filipina scholar, Dr. Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales, discussing Pinayist praxis during the FANHS Conference 2022 at Seattle University. Source: Field photograph by author on August 12, 2022. Seattle, Washington.

During Ate Allyson's presentation, she discussed the importance of pausing and reflecting on the wealth of knowledge and cultural work produced by Pinays/Pinxys and how the collective, critical reflection on power and purpose can help guide us closer to collective liberation (Fieldnote, August 12, 2022). Pinayist pedagogy continues to discuss the global and local importance of connecting Pinay struggle, survival, and service to self-love, solidarity, and strength to uplift ourselves and each other (Tintiangco-Cubales & Sacramento, 2009).

In addition to the FANHS Conference, the FANHS website offers resources to connect public users with more information on different educational programming and culturally sustaining curricula projects happening by Filipinos across the U.S. Some of these may include service-learning programs, collaborative learning projects with museums, and current curriculum development around Filipino studies and Ethnic Studies, as seen in Figure 45 below. The

information presented here is significant because of the efforts taken by FANHS to consolidate these programs for those who may be interested in similar goals.

Formal Educational Programs		
Name	Description	Contact Info
Filipino American Education Institute	A partnership among university professors, teachers and community to advance the educational achievement of Filipino students through research, professional development, and outreach.	www.filameducation.com
Kilusán 4 Kids	A journey to learn Filipino language and Filipino American history so our youth learn to love ourselves, our families, our community and the Philippines	http://www.flickr.com/photos/91640061@N05/8354864854/ http://vimeo.com/47836471
Filipino American Heritage Studies	Curriculum at Logan High School in Union City, CA, that emphasizes the connection between working-class Filipino families and peoples' struggles in the Philippines.	www.jl.ethnic.studies.googlepages.com/home
iJeepney.com	Multimedia Filipino American online and print curriculum and community forum for teachers and students sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution.	www.iJeepney.com or www.filam.si.edu/curriculum
Pin@y Educational Partnerships	Teaching pipeline in San Francisco schools and a space for the development of critical Filipina/o American curriculum, research, and sourcebooks.	www.pepsf.org
Pinoy Teach	Multicultural curriculum exploring Filipino American history and culture with student textbook, activity booklet, and teacher manual for school community partnerships and professional development.	www.pinoyteach.com

Figure 45. Informational resources provided by the FANHS website detailing various educational programs related to Filipino studies being conducted in different types of school settings and partnerships around the country. Source: <http://fanhs-national.org/filam/>.

The FANHS museum was on display at the conference as a community museum grounded in community-based organizing, grassroots fundraising, and entirely volunteer run. The benefit of community museums relies in its operation and development by the surrounding community who have local and experiential knowledge to promote their culture (Rivière, 1973). Although the museum opened its door in 2016 in the historic Filipino city of Stockton, the planning for the FANHS Museum had been in process for more than twenty years. Yosso (2005) argues that communities of color possess social, familial, and resistance capital that is relevant in their fight for liberation. The cultural significance of the FANHS Museum highlights the

significance that the Cordovas and FANHS, as a historical society, have had on the Filipino American community. The work to develop the different projects of FANHS, such as the museum, the National Pinoy Archives, and the biennial conference, proved to be undoubtedly laborious but data shows the collaborative work has come from a place of passion. The richness of FANHS was reflected in their expansive social network that provided the resources to expand their national organization through research, advocacy, and education. In contrast to both the Philippine Collections at U-M and the FANHS Museum, the Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies offered a unique perspective of findings.

The Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies, at the University of California, Davis

The data that emerged from the Bulosan Center served to answer Research Question 2 and Research Question 3 as well. In addition to being an archive, the Bulosan Center serves as a staple for education for Filipino American history and experiences. The unique aspect of the Bulosan Center is that while the other two sites, U-M Philippine Collections and the FANHS Museum, have a primary role of offering preservation and accessibility, that is just one aspect of the Bulosan Center's purpose. The two previous sites act more as museums in a traditional sense, with one being an institutional research museum and the other being a community museum, but the Bulosan Center's historical archives exist uniquely given their presence in the digital space. This is different than the digitized artifacts made available for the Philippine Collections at U-M and FANHS Museum because rather than a few artifacts online, Bulosan Center does not keep many physical copies of their archives as part of their practices of community archiving and post-custodialism, which maintains ownership of records with the record creators instead of with the archivist (Fieldnote, July 6, 2022).

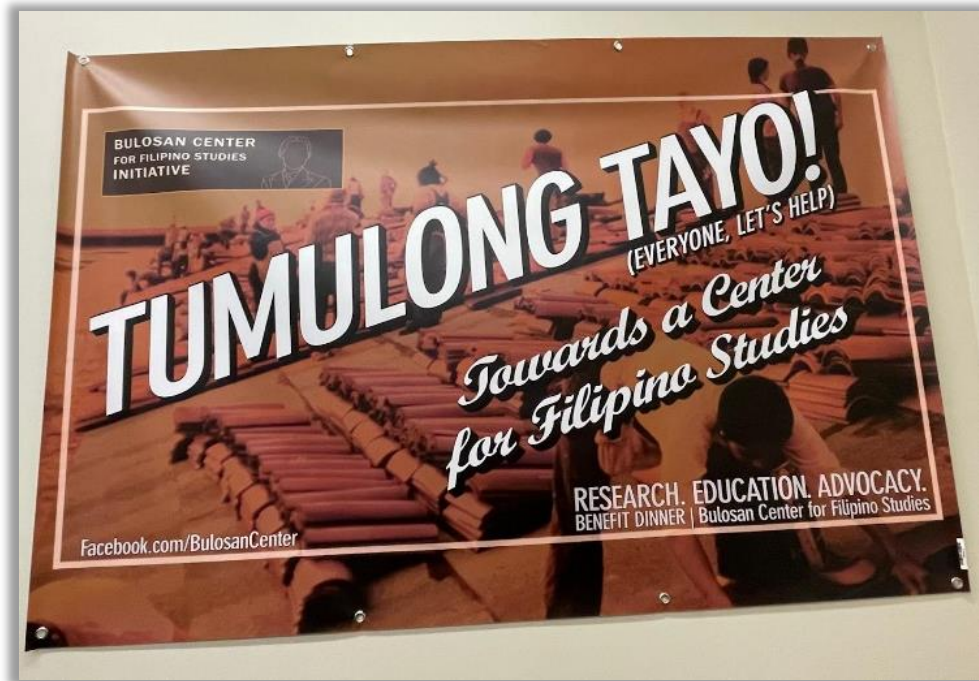


Figure 46. A decorative tarp promoting the early initiative for establishing the Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies, as seen hanging on a wall inside the Asian American Studies department of UC Davis. Source: Field photograph by author on July 6, 2022. Davis, California.

The Bulosan Center is also unique amongst the three sites because it is the hybrid-approach of being hosted by an academic institution while being created by the community. As seen above in Figure 46, “Tumulong Tayo!” which translates to “everyone, let’s help” was a rallying call for support in establishing the Bulosan Center when it was still an initiative project. The above photograph depicts the grassroots efforts of the Bulosan Center’s initiative to throw a benefit dinner as a way of funding the center. The emphasis on collective support was shared with the FANHS Museum, while the center’s affiliation with an academic university was shared with the U-M Philippine Collections. The findings from the Bulosan Center relate to the role of digitization, educational efforts, and panethnic solidarity.

The Role of Digitization at the Bulosan Center: The Welga Digital Archive



Figure 47. Logo for the Welga Digital Archive, hosted by the Bulosan Center. Source: <https://welgadigitalarchive.omeka.net/>.

“I would just call it a digital archive. We are a digital repository.

The best way to describe it is like... we exist in a cloud” (Jason, 7/6/22).

This section focuses on the adaptability of the Bulosan Center to digitize their historical archives in response to Research Question 1. The Welga Digital Archive serves as not only a historical repository, but also as a digital research center. The Welga Digital Archive consists of different collections that are comprised of family histories, oral history projects, and metadata. Bulosan Center’s archivist, Jason, described the Welga Digital Archive and stated, “I call it a post-custodial born digital online repository. That’s mumbo jumbo. What it means in layman’s terms is that our materials is mainly paper and photographs that are housed in the community while we have digital copies and we make them online. That’s the more layman definition.” Jason identified that there are pros and cons of having a digital archive versus a physical one, especially when working with community archiving. He stated, “We do have two physical collections, but mainly it’s like a case-by-case basis. We do prefer if we just scan [the artifact] and [community members] can just pass it down. But if they want to give it to us, we usually will [take it]. That’s why we’re connected to the UC Davis library.” Later in his interview, Jason clarified that this was also a practice of post-custodial archiving. However, in this excerpt, Jason recognized that even if community members did want to give their artifacts or records to the Bulosan Center to keep, that there is limited space, so they have to rely on their partnership with

the library to use some of its storage. As the archivist for the center, Jason named that some of the challenges of physical collections and archives are their limited space and funding.

While the Bulosan Center is hosted by the Asian American Studies department at UC Davis, they do not have a physical building (Fieldnote, July 6, 2022). Some of the team members of the Bulosan Center work on campus, thereby giving some physical presence to the center within Hart Hall, the building for the College of Letters and Science that houses interdisciplinary programs. The physical spaces of the Bulosan Center would include a reading room on the same floor as the Asian-American Studies, where their archivist Jason mostly works (as seen in Figure 1.1), and the back rooms of the Asian-American Studies office that doubles as part storage and part working space (Fieldnote, July 6, 2022). The lack of a physical building reflected the realities of being the first center for Filipino studies that is community-based and university-affiliated, though they receive support from UC Davis and the Asian American Studies department. However, despite the challenges, the Bulosan Center has been able to pioneer their work in the digital space by taking advantage of the benefits that digitization offers, such as accessibility, exposure, and unlimited space.

Additionally, the findings focused on how the Welga Digital Archive was utilized and developed even further by the participation of students in the Asian American Studies department, which helps address Research Question 2 and 3. The Welga Digital Archive features various collections that are accessible to the public for free. One of the collections featured was “ASA 150, Filipino American Experiences collection,” which displayed photographs uploaded from Filipino UCD students who took a Filipino studies course taught by Dr. Robyn Rodriguez, founder of the Bulosan Center. The course, Asians in America (ASA) 150: Filipino American Experience, examined the historical and contemporary relationship of Filipinos in the U.S. As

part of the course, most of the students uploaded photographs of older family members and their experiences in the U.S. One of the photographs, contributed by Rhayea Valera, was captioned “Valera Family Photograph, Santa Cruz, Ca” and depicted a family photo getting ready to walk along the Santa Cruz, CA boardwalk in 1978, as seen in Figure 48.



Figure 48. “Valera family photograph, Santa Cruz, California.” Circa 1978. (Contributed by Rhayea Valera), (left); “Photograph of Joseph Purisima.” Undated. (Contributed by Juliana Mastro), (right). Source: “ASA, Filipino/x American Experience Course.” Welga Archive – Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies.

Another photograph captioned “Photograph of Joseph Purisima,” was contributed by Juliana Mastro, that showed a black and white image of a man in a pea coat, although the description stated it as a zoot suit, as seen in Figure 48. The process of Filipino American students contributing their own family photographs to the Welga Digital Archive implied the ease of historical preservation through digital archiving. What started as a course project of documenting a piece of their family’s history eventually became part of the larger narrative of Filipino American experiences in the U.S. that now lives in a digital historical archive, and also constitutes a form of public scholarship authored by students. The significance of the Welga Digital Archive allows for undergraduate students to participate in archival work and historical recording.

In addition to the family histories and the oral histories that are included within the Welga Digital Archive, the metadata of the Bulosan Center and the Welga Project are also included. The Welga Project was an earlier iteration of what eventually became the Bulosan Center and was primarily focused on collaborative work to promote and preserve the history of Filipino Americans during the farmworker movement in California during the 1960s. The Welga Project and the Bulosan Center eventually merged once the establishment of the Bulosan Center was official. A copy of the press release statement by the Bulosan Center is shown below in Figure 49, and partly states, “Recent developments at UC Davis aim to move past the ‘project’ phase by establishing a physical and digital center for Filipino studies. It will be based at the Department of Asian American Studies and will consolidate various Filipino Studies research projects being conducted by scholars at UC Davis.”

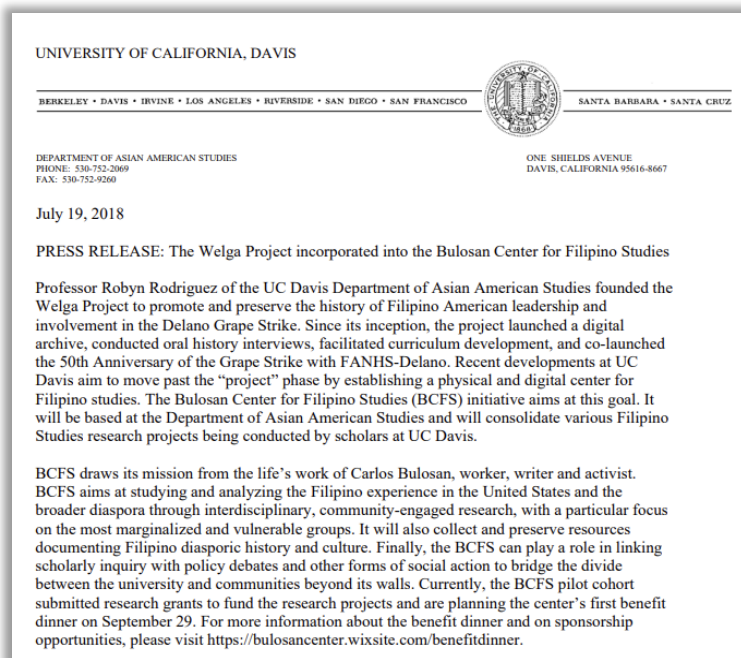


Figure 49. Press release statement discussing the Welga Project being incorporated into the Bulosan Center, which has now evolved into aspects of the Welga Digital Archive. Source: “Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies files.” Welga Digital Archive – Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies.

The significance of the metadata included in the Welga Digital Archive was that it provided a transparent look into the process of Bulosan Center founders establishing and

operating the first community-based center for Filipino studies that is associated with a research university. The collection on the “Welga! Project files” included five series on the work that the Welga Project members conducted before the establishment of the Bulosan Center. These series included: Campaign Files (2014-2015), Photographs (2015), Research files (1964-1971), Events (2014-2017, and Newsletters (2018). The collection on the “Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies files” included digitized photographs, audio clips, policy briefs, articles, and reports related to the work that the Bulosan Center has participated in since its inception in 2018. The collection of the Bulosan Center files showed the dozens of events, promotional material, political briefing, and public-facing engagement that was necessary to inform people about what the Bulosan Center was doing within their first few years of opening. The metadata around the Bulosan Center revealed the honest work behind university-community partnerships in that they are indeed laborious and time-intensive.

With such a significant title as “the first center for Filipino studies” in the U.S., there came a lot of responsibility. During my interview with Stacey, the co-founder and senior historian, I got the impression that the highly publicized Bulosan Center seems to dance the line between curiosity and excitement, along with the potential for heavy scrutiny and pressure for the members of the Center as the center continues to grow and provide more exposure of Filipino history to broader audiences. However, according to Stacey later in the interview, she reassuringly shared that with the help of collaborative partnerships, the community has continued to be generally very supportive of the Bulosan Center for the work they are doing in the realms of historical and community archiving, as well as in education. This finding addressed parts of Research Question 4 that asks about different points of collaboration and/or tension with university-community partnerships.

The analysis of the metadata provided by the Welga Digital Archive coupled with talking to the archivist, Jason, provided me with a deeper insight to how long the archive had been in the making. Before the Welga Digital Archive established itself as the official digital repository for the Bulosan Center, some of its origins began as part of a master's thesis project for Jason, Bulosan Center's archivist. Jason described that while the Welga Digital Archive was still being created, he was one of the ones who did all of the digitizing for materials that are accessible on the online archive now. He stated, "This was also my thesis project for my master's too. It was a multi-thing approach." During his interview, Jason spoke to his research goals stemming from his area of interest and expertise as a graduate student training in archival studies.



Figure 50. "Allan Jason Sarmiento, Larry Itliong Day 2017." Jason, the archivist for Bulosan Center, presenting on the Welga Project during an event known as Larry Itliong Day on October 25, 2017. Source: Welga! Project files (1964-2017), Welga Digital Archive – Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies.

The image shown in Figure 50 pictures Jason promoting his earlier iteration of what became the Welga Digital Archive that detailed historical accounts of Filipino farmworkers. The image shown in Figure 50 illustrates earlier iterations of the Welga Digital Archive as part of the Welga Project, before the Bulosan Center's establishment. These images demonstrated the intentionality

that the Bulosan Center had in validating the work of young Filipino scholars by taking what started as part of a graduate thesis project and establishing it as the center's official historical archive. It also revealed that the efforts of the Welga Digital Archive had been years in the making by a team of people collaborating on different iterations to make the archive accessible.

Pioneering Accessible Shared Curriculum and Resources

In light of Research Question 2, this section focuses on the different types of curriculum and resources developed or made available by the Bulosan Center. The shared resources were built on the partnerships formed by the team members of the center and their own individual social networks. Stacey, one of the co-founders of the Bulosan Center and historian, explained how the center cultivated these relationships during her interview. She discussed how so many of the team members of the Bulosan Center come from different backgrounds such as history, cultural studies, scholar activism, policy, Asian American studies, sociology, archival studies, and education. She described,

All of our different trainings, we pulled from networks that we had already built. And that's what we use to grow our affiliates. And all of our networks are centered on social justice. And that's where we all were able to click. And that's where all of our networks came into one umbrella, or Bulosan Center, which is a very beautiful thing... And so again, the thing that connected us was that we're drawing from different fields, therefore we all have different training, therefore we all have different networks.

Stacey went on to discuss that how the assistant director of the Bulosan Center, Wayne Jopanda works with the Filipino American Educators Association of California, which helped build the center's network of educators. Wayne and Stacey's social capital combined with that of the other

Bulosan Center team members demonstrates the community cultural wealth that has expanded the Center’s outreach and increased their exposure to other educators (Yosso, 2005).

According to Bulosan Center’s website, the collaboration between the Bulosan Center through the Welga Project, Filipino American Educators Association of California (FAEAC), Pilipino-American Society for Education (PASE), and other partnered Filipino K-12 teachers and educators from surrounding colleges and universities helped to develop sample K-12 curriculum centered on the Filipino American experience and history in 2017. A sample curriculum for 11th graders can be seen below in Figure 51, which shows a lesson plan template entitled “Filipino Immigration to the United States: The ‘Manong’ Generation.” According to the Welga Digital Archive, the curriculum, which was authored by Filipino educators, Jaynee Ruiz and Dr. Robyn Rodriguez, provided 16-pages of lesson planning content and is accessible online to the public for free¹⁷. The sample lesson plan included lessons on Filipino immigration to the United States in the early 20th century and the relationship between immigration, industrialization, and the labor industry. The curriculum offered assessments, instructional steps, and additional resources about implementing the lessons on Filipino immigration to 11th grade students, while also providing the outcomes of these lessons and how they aligned with California State standards and Common Core standards of the time.

It is important to note that while the curricula developed in partnerships and provided by the Bulosan Center is moving towards culturally sustaining pedagogy that recognizes Filipinos in the curricula and challenges the invisibility or inaccuracy of Filipinos in history, the curricula itself is not a radical production on its own. Due to the limitations of schooling being part of settler-colonial institutions, the curriculum aligns with state standards but does not create a

¹⁷ https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/0B4BpBslewm8XUnVRbG9OVGp4b0E?resourcekey=0-JKdmTn9u2F7nqai5_r7R8g

structural disruption to the systematic oppression that Filipinos have faced or continually confront. While the curriculum provided by the Bulosan Center has potential to be liberatory, it depends on how the curriculum is enacted and the pedagogical approaches that are implemented in practice. Nevertheless, the ways in which the Bulosan Center has created the work can be seen as transformative because of the orchestra of partnerships that developed this model curriculum. The process of how the content was gathered included the use of oral histories of elders and artistic products of young people as sources of knowledge who could contribute to what is being taught in the classroom, though they are often largely ignored.

Grade 11 Lesson 2: Living & Working Conditions of Filipino American Farm Laborers

Overview: The planning template should be used to develop high quality lessons; either individual lessons or a series of linked lessons. It is intended to prompt your thinking in order to streamline and align the outcomes, learning activities, and assessments.

Considerations as you plan.

- **Learning Target(s)** -What do you want students to know and/or be able to do by the end of the lesson or series of lessons?
- **Criteria for Success** - What are the indicators for meeting the learning target?
- **Assessment / Evidence** - How will students demonstrate what they know and can do?
- **Learning Experiences** - What activities will students experience to support them in meeting the learning target?

Lesson Title:

Grade level(s):	11	Discipline(s):	History-Social Studies
Duration:		Authors:	Jayne Ruiz and Robyn Rodriguez

1. OUTCOMES

1a.What standard(s) are being addressed in this lesson or series of lessons?

Resources (Click on the link to open)

[California State Standards](#) [Visual and Performing Arts Standards \(VaPA\)](#)
[Common Core State Standards](#)

Content Standards	<p>California State Standards:</p> <p>11.5 Students analyze the major political, social, economic, technological, and cultural developments of the 1920s.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">11.5.5 Trace the advances and retreats of organized labor, from the creation of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations to current issues of a postindustrial, multinational economy, including the United Farm Workers in California.</p> <p>Common Core State Standards: RI: Reading Standards for Informational Texts</p>
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2. ASSESSMENTS	
Detail of Performance Assessment	
<i>Include the detail of the performance assessment. What you want students to know and be able to do and how they will demonstrate this. Write the prompt for the students.</i>	
<p>Example: Learning targets.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I can write a persuasive argument. • I can describe the issues that surround the use of human tissue in scientific research. • I can use images to make meaning. 	
<p>Prompt: As an active member of society, you will write an Op-Ed piece to the editor of the Oakland Tribune. In your Op-Ed piece, state your position on the ethical, legal, and financial responsibility of scientific researchers when using human cells in science research</p>	
<p>I can describe the living and working conditions of Filipino farm workers in California in the early 20th century.</p> <p>Using the information from the text, your notes, and class discussion, write and perform a “Silent Era” skit that exemplifies their experiences.</p>	
Other Assessments	
<i>Include the detail of any other assessments you may use.</i>	
<p>Introduction / Rationale</p> <p><i>Why are you teaching this particular lesson? What knowledge and/or skills will students acquire as a result of this lesson? How does this lesson support students in achieving the learning target(s)?</i></p> <p>This lesson is meant to augment the 2016 HSS Curriculum Framework as it addressed the CA state standards identified above. Students will come away with deeper <u>knowledge</u> of the working and living conditions of Filipino American farm workers. Their importation to work on California farms was a significant economic development in the 1920s. Their presence in California became a central political debate, in large part due to the cultural transformations that their settlement engendered in different California communities. Their labor organizing efforts in the 1920s and subsequent decades, meanwhile, were important precursors for the formation of the United Farm Workers (UFW) in 1965.</p>	

Figure 51. Sample curriculum for 11th grade students in conjunction with Assembly Bill 123 created by Filipina educators, Jaynee Ruiz and Robyn Rodriguez. Source: Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies, <https://bulosancenter.ucdavis.edu/education>.

The multiple samples of curriculum provided at the elementary, middle school, and high school level demonstrated the time-intensive and labor-intensive work of developing these resources and making them accessible for others. During my interview with Jason, he indicated that the creation of the curriculum offered by the Bulosan Center, in collaboration with K-12 teachers and community partners, came from a place of passion but also from a political standpoint. Within the last decade, California had been experiencing a major shift in its educational policy, especially with the increasing demand for ethnic studies courses by historically marginalized communities. In 2013, Assembly Bill 123 was introduced and required social sciences to include the contributions of Filipino Americans to the farm labor movement in California, as seen in Figure 52 below. The Filipino Involvement in Farmworker History bill (AB 123) along with the Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum bill (AB 2016) were just a few of the

progressive educational policies that called for the support of Filipino inclusivity within American schooling.

According to Jason, the archivist, as a result, the sample curriculums provided by the Bulosan Center, and their educational partners, were created because there was an urgency to have a tangible example for what K-12 curriculum on Filipino American experiences could look like (Fieldnote, July 2, 2022). The effort to positively include the contributions of Filipino Americans, specifically in social studies classes, offered a sense of normalcy in Filipino Americans and their existence within American history where they have often been forgotten, underrepresented, or racially targeted.

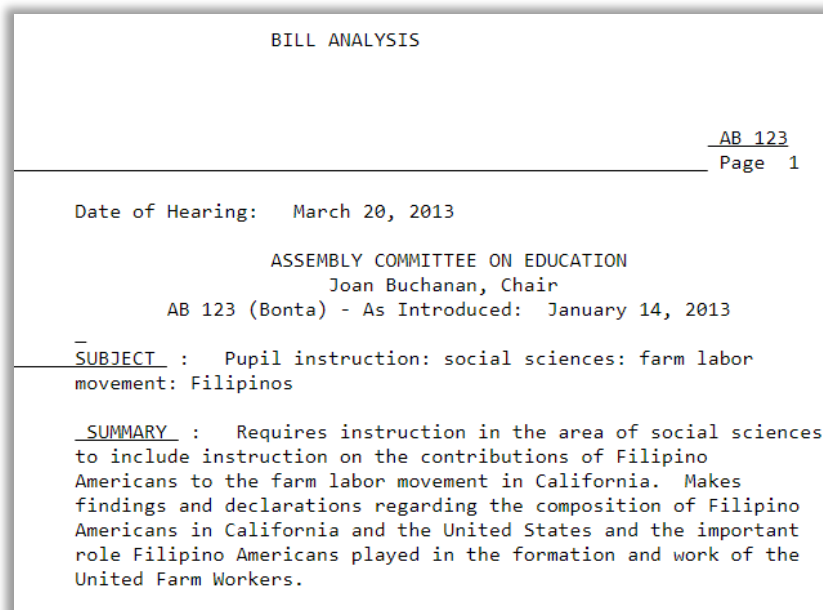


Figure 52. Assembly Bill 123 report regarding the inclusion of Filipino Americans and the farm labor movement in California within social studies, introduced by Democratic Assembly member, Mia Bonta. March 20, 2013. Source: http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/13-14/bill/asm/ab_0101-0150/ab_123_cfa_20130320_101546_asm_comm.html.

In support of the movement for Ethnic Studies, the Bulosan Center provided resources to inform the public. One of these resources included a policy brief written by UC Davis students Angel Truong and Katherine Nasol that detailed the historical and political context in the demand for Ethnic Studies, as seen in Figure 53 below. The brief provided information on topics,

such as current trends and grassroots efforts to lobby for Ethnic Studies courses, Filipinos in the education system, and a critique of the model minority theory in education. According to Walton and Truong (2023), “the model minority myth refers to the systematic construction of people of Asian descent as representing successful assimilation in white dominant society” (p. 392), which is partly linked to the stereotypes about Asian Americans’ high academic achievement (Wu, 2002). However, the critique of the model minority myth is that it normalizes racial stratification and structures perpetuated by white supremacist and racist ideologies (Walton & Truong, 2023).



Figure 53. Ethnic Studies policy brief created by Angel Truong and Katherine Nasol detailing history and contemporary context around ethnic studies and the Filipino community. Source: Truong, A. and Katherine Nasol

(2018). Ethnic Studies: The Filipino Community and Educational Justice. Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies. Retrieved from https://drive.google.com/file/d/1CtniscFLWlp2u1Yi01_2U4NSnwAZq3oG/view

The policy brief provided by the Bulosan Center, as seen above, continues the critique of the model minority myth by discussing how it hinders Filipinos in the education system. For example, the brief states that “when looking at the AAPI [Asian American-Pacific Islander] community in a disaggregated manner, this stereotype masks the sharp disparities around retention and educational attainment amongst AAPI groups... US-born Filipinos, for instance, are less likely to have a college degree in comparison to Filipino immigrants and other US born Asians (Ong & Viernes, 2012).” The importance of this resource highlighted the Bulosan Center’s focus on informing Filipino communities on the history of their involvement in civic engagement and encouraging the mobilization around Ethnic Studies policies. The widely accessible policy brief on Ethnic Studies by the Bulosan Center also emphasized the center’s efforts in centering the work of young, Filipino college students, similarly to Jason’s involvement in the Welga Digital Archive.

Additionally, the Bulosan Center also offered ample visual resources offered for public educational use as well. One of the visual resources included a free educational poster entitled “The 1965-1970 Grape Strike and Boycott,” as seen in Figure 54 below.

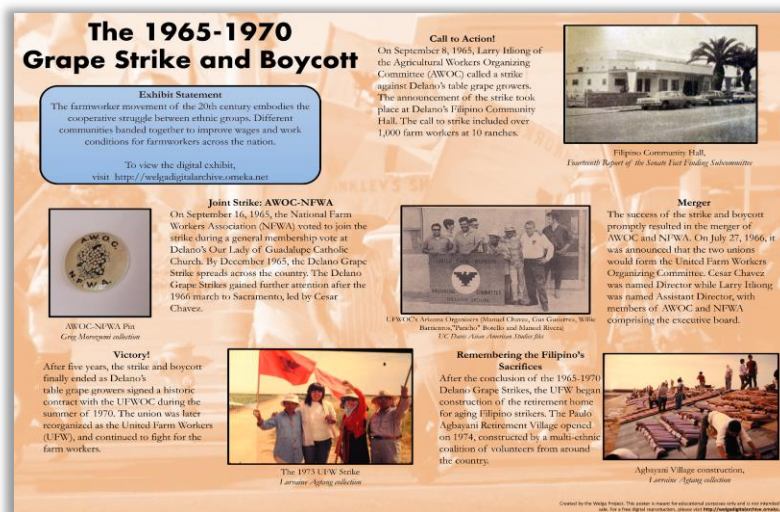


Figure 54. “The 1965-1970 Grape Strike and Boycott.” Educational poster detailing the farmworker movement of the 20th century. Source: Created by the Welga Project, undated. “Posters.” Welga Digital Archive – Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies.

This visual resource was a creation by the Welga Project. At the time that the sample high school curriculum on Filipino farmworkers in California was being created by the Welga Project for AB 123, these educational posters were also being created for community use to display photographs, commentary, and timelines that surrounded the farmworker movement of the 1960s. The resources provided by the Bulosan Center revealed that education was an important aspect to their work alongside the creation of the Welga Digital Archive.

Bulosan Center also displayed a commitment towards educational workshops and educational programming, such as the 2021 Bulosan Filipinx Studies Research Conference they hosted in May 2021 entitled “Healing, Care, and Resistance.” According to the Bulosan Center’s website and a digital flyer promoting the conference, the research conference centered on Filipina/o/x community and “transnational activism, virtual care, healing work, activism, and various modes of community building.”¹⁸ While historical preservation and offering community accessibility to that history is a core part of the Bulosan Center’s mission, the Center’s materials and resources showed that education was a mechanism to promote that information too. The emphasis on using the archives for educational purposes, and specifically for curriculum development, showed one of the significant differences in the Bulosan Center compared to the U-M Philippine Collections and the FANHS Museum. The emphasis on education, research, and policy advocacy, along with historical preservation indicated this was a direct result of the Bulosan Center’s unique position as the first center for Filipino studies that is based on a community-university partnership.

¹⁸ <https://bulosancenter.ucdavis.edu/news/2021-bulosan-filipinx-studies-conference>

Shared Histories: Pan-Asian American Solidarity with Filipinos

“Roots

my roots safe and secure in a place i knew as home, Philippines,

planted

then a day come

when

they were uprooted,

not knowing

if it was going to survive

in this other place, America

so foreign, soil so polluted

but it’s planted

again

and i don’t know if it’s going to live or die....” -unknown, *Sojourner II*, 1972

Although the Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies focused on community engagement, education, historical preservation, and research on Filipinos, there was more panethnic representation demonstrated by the Bulosan Center than the other two research sites, the U-M Philippine Collections and the FANHS Museum. The distinction seemed tied to Bulosan Center being hosted by the Asian American Studies department at UC Davis. The displays of support from the Asian American Studies department towards the Bulosan Center was evidence in their partnership in establishing a center for primarily for Filipinos. Ultimately, this act of solidarity struck me as a meaningful display of support (Fieldnote, July 7, 2022). Further support by the Asian American Studies department affords the Bulosan Center access to the department’s

resources, such as physical space, archival equipment, storage, institutional networks, departmental knowledge, etc. (Fieldnote, July 7, 2022).

Both Filipinos' panethnic identity and Asian Americans as a broader racial/ethnic/cultural group are connected by a nuanced socio-political and historically contextual relationship (Ocampo, 2013; Chang, 2014), as mentioned earlier in Chapter Two. Whereas the other research was explicit in its Filipino and/or Philippine-based foci, the Bulosan Center embraced the Asian American panethnic label because of the positive relationship between Asian American Studies and the center. While the U-M Philippine Collections and the FANHS Museum focused almost exclusively on Filipinos, the Bulosan Center connected their collective view of Filipinos with part of the larger Asian American narrative.

At a time when the Bulosan Center was still in an idealized phase, the community-based initiative needed to be hosted by a department in order to be associated with UC Davis. While it could have made sense for the center to be hosted by the History Department or the School of Education, Asian American Studies was appropriate given that Dr. Robyn Rodriguez, founder of the Bulosan Center, was also a professor and chair of the Department of Asian American Studies. The support that the Bulosan Center shared with Asian American Studies appeared to be reciprocal. An example of this was the shared physical space for their archive. The back rooms in the Asian American Studies office doubled as a physical working space for some of the members of the Bulosan Center, as well as shared storage space for both the Bulosan Center and Asian American Studies.

While looking at some of the artifacts that were spread out and were being sorted for archiving, I noticed how the books on Asian Americans and Filipino Americans could be beneficial to both Asian American Studies and the Bulosan Center's repositories. One of the

books was titled *Asian American in/and School: Ethnicity & Statistics Involved*, while the others were titled *Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States; Refugee Settlement Program; Biculturalism: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups*, as seen below in Figure 55.

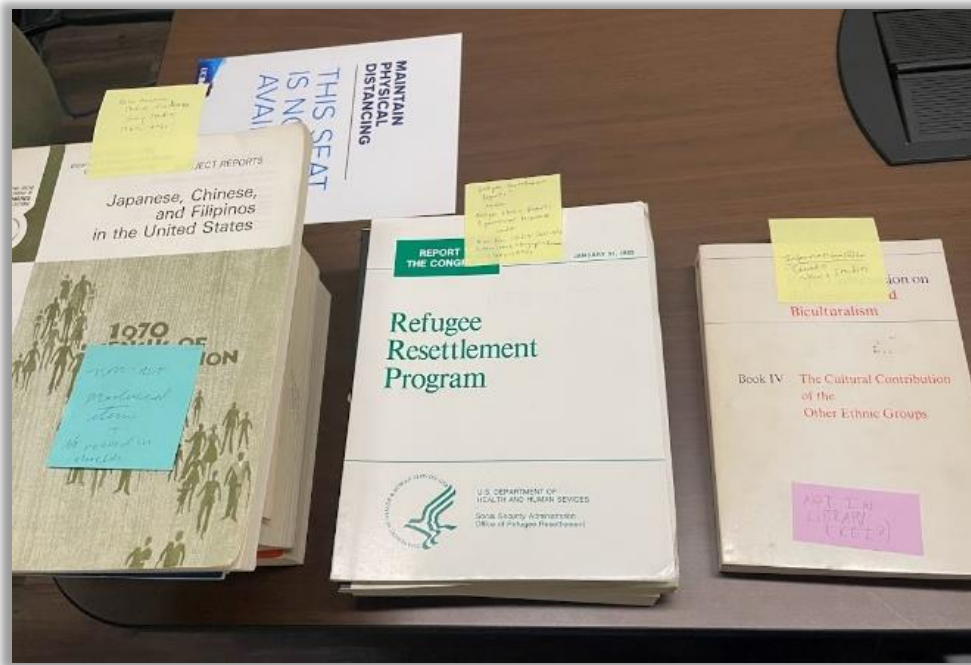


Figure 55. Various Asian American books being organized and sorted for the archives. Source: Asian American Studies Handbooks (1960-1990). Field photograph by author on July 6, 2022. The Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies. UC Davis.

The display of the books dated between 1963 and 1970 revealed how having a common storage space resulted at times in shared resources and artifacts. Considering the overlapping histories between other Asian American panethnic groups, especially during the Civil Rights Movement and the Ethnic Studies Movement in the 1960s, there seemed to be value for both Asian American Studies and the Bulosan Center to having a shared access to these artifacts. Although the Bulosan Center did not have many physical artifacts to store because of their usage of digitizing the physical copies, this underscored one way the Bulosan Center benefitted from being hosted by the Asian American Studies department.

The “Sojourner” series was another example of department artifacts that could be used by the Bulosan Center. The series was an anthology of poems, short stories, and photographs of Asian Americans in the U.S. A note posted on the cover of “Sojourner II” dated it as 1972, while the third and fourth series are undated, as seen in Figure 56. The series is comprised of diverse Asian American voices and experiences on themes such as immigration and identity. Although these submissions were anonymous, the context of each written or visual story can inform the reader about panethnic Asian identity. There is evidence that Filipinos are represented within the series as some authors shared their stories of migrating from the Philippines to America, although because the submissions were anonymous, it is not always certain how the authors racially/ethnically identified themselves.

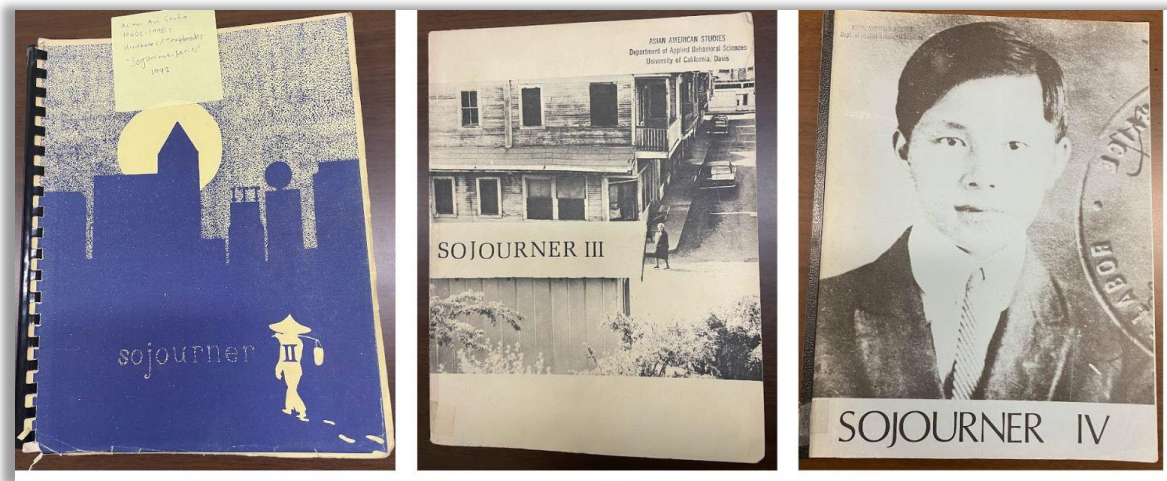


Figure 56. Asian American Studies department books, titled “Sojourner: Series” which includes the second, third, and fourth volume. Source: Asian American Studies (1960-1990) Handbooks/Textbooks. UC Davis.

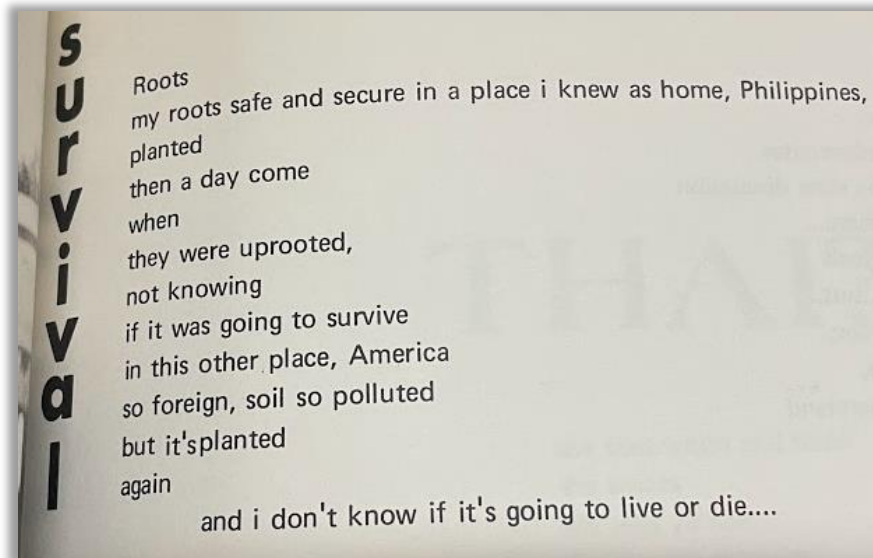


Figure 57. Author anonymous. "Survival." Source: Sojourner II, 1972. Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies. UC Davis.

One of the poems within "Sojourner II" called "Survival," was created by an anonymous author, as seen in Figure 57 above, although their discussion on the Philippines implies that it was a Filipino author who wrote this poem. Artifacts like this demonstrated the importance having access to a larger archive dedicated to Asian American Studies because Filipinos are also included in the wider collective of Asian Americans. This is significant because some Filipino scholars have argued that "Asian Americans" as a panethnic label caused some groups to be hidden under the broad umbrella term (Chang, 2014), which also lumped Asian American history together even though it is distinctly different for some ethnic groups. Even FANHS founding President, Dr. Fred Cordova, titled his seminal book *FILIPINOS: Forgotten Asian Americans (1983)* because of his stance that Filipinos were invisibilized in the larger collective of Asian Americans. Overall, the Bulosan Center's positive relationship with Asian American Studies was notable because their overlap was built on support and solidarity within UC Davis. Having a Filipina as Department Chair for Asian American Studies also reflected the relationship that Asian American Studies would have in supporting and uplifting Filipino Studies, not overlooking them.

The Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies at UC Davis offered a unique perspective as it was the first center for Filipino Studies that is community-based and associated with a research institute. The initiative of the partnership is an attempt at a decolonizing approach (Strobel, 2001) towards education that offers a blueprint for what future university-community partnerships could look like (Maurrasse, 2002; Anyon & Fernández, 2007). The Bulosan Center was the only site out of the three in this study that operated as more than a historical repository, and was also as an educational center. Although the center was the newest site having been established in 2018, its extensive Welga Digital Archive is already accessible to the public. Its materials reflect the ways that Filipino educators have been engaging in culturally responsive pedagogies to confront oppression faced in the community (Halagao, Tintiangco-Cubales, & Cordova, 2009). The resources provided were in support of the legislation around Ethnic Studies and Filipinos in History for K-12. This emphasized the Bulosan Center's approach to utilizing their digital historical archive to develop decolonizing educational material on the experiences of Filipino Americans, and Asian Americans more broadly.

Summary of Single Site Findings

The three sites in the study, U-M Philippine Collections, the FANHS Museum, and the Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies provided an abundance of data that revealed the significance of each individual site. Some of the main findings from this chapter are derived from the artifact analysis, although all data types provided substantial data. For the U-M Philippine Collections, the findings revealed Americans' use of education in the Philippines as part of the larger colonial project to 'Americanize' the island and the people (Lardizabal, 1991) and they showed how teachers and schools specifically played a role spreading Western ideologies and values (Scharlin & Villanueva, 2000). Dean C. Worcester's collection provided insight on how white, affluent

American men were documenting Filipinos through their own exotifying and dehumanizing lens that helped to justify the broader support from white Americans in the governmental influence over the Philippines. For the FANHS Museum, the grassroots, non-profit community museum provided a stark contrast to U-M's collection. The findings highlighted the importance of social connections that form mentorship and provide intergenerational knowledge. The FANHS Museum also displayed how some Filipinos have been and still are active participants in their own documentation process, playing the role as historians and archivists to represent a collective community history in northern California.

The Bulosan Center revealed the benefits and limitations of being a community-initiated center, while also being affiliated with an academic institution. The Bulosan Center also highlighted the role that digitization plays within documenting Filipino history and making those archives more widely accessible. With the latter two sites, the data revealed different approaches to decolonizing museums, such as establishing community museums created by Filipinos and their own community cultural wealth as they pioneer new forms of collaboration like university-community partnerships that emphasize shared knowledge and resources (Anyon & Fernández, 2007). To paint a more detailed and complete picture about the approaches, contributions, and limitations of the sites' work, in light of the research questions, I examine the study's cross-site findings in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 Cross-Site Findings

In this chapter, I offer my cross-site findings in two parts to address the research questions of this study. This chapter gives insight into the data across the three distinct research sites that add further depth to and description of the findings. For the cross-site findings, it was important to “describe the approach of constructing meaning through analysis of context within sites, and comparison of qualitative data across multiple sites” (Jenkins et al., 2018, p. 1970). Part 1 of the chapter addresses historical preservation and pedagogical development, and Part 2 addresses building partnerships and addressing constraints.

PART 1: Preserving Filipino History and Developing Progressive Curriculum and Pedagogy

Below, I detail the data that emerged in response to the first two guiding research questions of the study.

- 1) How have Filipino communities archived and documented their own histories for education and culture in the U.S.? How have others archived and documented Filipino histories for education in the U.S.?
- 2) How have Filipino communities’ efforts to preserve their history influenced the types of curricula and pedagogies developed for Filipino students? Has that curriculum supported or countered liberatory and decolonizing aims?

The significance of historical preservation was present across all three research sites. Some of the cross-site findings revealed that the importance of recording Filipino history was to pass down the stories across generations so that others can be exposed to them. It was also connected

to civic engagement because the more history is understood, the more people have an understanding and a purpose for collective action. The findings also highlighted the creation of historical timelines that documented critical events in Filipino history, which is not usually represented within mainstream history textbooks at either K-12 or postsecondary levels.

The Role of Archiving & Documentation in Historical Preservation

“[We want Filipinos] contributing their history here, because if they don't tell their history, it's not going to get told.” -Auntie Terri

Storytelling through Generations

In considering Research Question 1, the data revealed there was a shared value in passing down generational knowledge for a sense of belonging and also to impact change across generations. Filipina community scholar and President of FANHS, Emily, described the significance of history by stating the popularized saying for the members of FANHS, “No history, no self. Know history, know self” (Fieldnote, August 14, 2022). In the simplicity of this phrase, Emily was expressing the connection between understanding history in order to understand one’s identity. The saying, which has roots from Filipino revolutionary Jose Rizal, explores a sense of meaning making for Filipinos and who they are through contextualizing their racial/cultural/ethnic identities and experiences through a historical lens. The quote also suggests the consequence that not knowing history could cause a loss in sense of identity. The connection between history and sense of identity is heightened by the ways colonialism have affected Filipino identity and culture over time (Cabusao, 2011). Filipino critical scholar, Ocampo (2013) argues “Filipinos draw on the cultural residuals of their history to weave themselves into the racial tapestry of America (p. 14).

Jim, the collections manager at the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropological Archaeology (UMMAA), affirmed the necessity of understanding the past through people first. Jim's disciplinary perspective as a trained archaeologist offered context as to why he valued people's stories about history over material objects. In his explanation, Jim detailed that because archaeology has a historical background of being exploitative, colonial, and harmful in its earlier years as an emerging discipline, archaeologists have to be much more mindful of the extractive practices of the field by prioritizing who the people are behind the material objects. When I asked Jim about his work with the museum, he stated:

Being an anthropology museum, we like to think that we are more attuned to cultural communities—despite that we've got a very bad track record. And that's a lot of what we're reckoning with now, that I like to think that we're at least predisposed in our discipline to think about these issues [the value of material objects versus the people].

Anthropology and archaeology are two disciplines with sensitive pasts due to their colonial histories, however Jim's explanation provides further insight into the dangers of not valuing people first by suggesting that the disciplines' credibility are still extremely fragile. The progress that has been made in anthropology and archaeology imply that the fields have learned and evolved from their earlier, exploitative disciplinary practices to avoid perpetuating the mistakes that have been critiqued by more critical scholars.

In his discussion around the Philippines collection at UMMAA, Jim addressed how most of the material objects in the museum were parts of early 19th century excavations by American colonial scholars who happened to be University of Michigan alumni, such as Dean C. Worcester, Joseph B. Steele, and Carl Guptha. However, Jim pointed out that while many of the

findings attributed to the acclaim that Americans received for the ‘discovery’ of these cultural artifacts now housed at UMMAA, there is less documentation for exactly where they originated from in the Philippines, and from whom. Jim went on to say, “no one really bothered to ask ‘who were these people? Who were these individuals?’” The lack of inclusion for Filipino people as documented through some of the collection at UMMAA is related to what An (2016) discusses as the invisibility of Asian Americans, and more specifically, what Cordova (1983) discusses as ‘the forgotten Filipinos’ (p. xiii).

Jim highlighted the distinction that even though the Philippine Collections spread across the University of Michigan is one of the largest collections in the U.S. representing Philippine artifacts and documentation, there was not much focus on the Philippines through the lens and voices of Filipinos themselves as much as it was through the perspectives of American colonists. This further emphasized that within the U-M Philippine Collections, Worcester is centered along with his pro-imperialist, colonial ideologies that shaped his views on the Philippines and resulted in his own contribution and reinforcement of objectifying and dehumanizing representations of Filipinos, which was in stark contrast to the other two research sites that centered Filipino voices and experiences throughout history.

Like many American colonial scholars, Worcester was influenced by his own agenda that shaped what/who he collected and why. This motivation led to an overwhelming presence within the archives that prioritized his own perspective of the Filipino people, without including much of their voices and experiences and especially from the Indigenous tribes. Worcester’s consequential silencing of Filipino voice within the archives affirmed Spivak’s (1992) notion of ‘epistemic violence’ as mentioned in Chapter 2. Spivak (1992) argues that the silencing of marginalized voices is the result of colonized peoples being marked as the ‘Other.’ In Spivak’s

argument however, the marking of marginalized people as the “Other” can create the perception that they are without epistemic agency. This can be critiqued as some scholars argue that the resistance of colonized people materializes because of their agency.

In contrast to the U-M Philippine Collections, the other two research sites centered and prioritized Filipino representation created from the community. The biggest difference was that while U-M had archives that centered the collectors (Worcester) and their assumptions about who the subjects were, the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center included archives that were collected by Filipinos who were much more protective and responsible in the representation they were curating. The different positionalities, ideologies, and experiences of *who* the collector was impacted the way Filipino history was being documented and preserved. With the two community-based research sites, there was also much more of a participatory and consensual method of historical preservation that allowed for a multiplicity of narratives to exist that challenged dominant narratives.

DeCuir and Dixson (2004) suggest that counter-narratives allow folks of marginalized identities “to contradict the Othering process, and, thus, challenge the privileged discourses” (p. 27). This can be seen specifically through the use of sharing family history, which was something that the community elders from the FANHS museum brought up. Community elder and volunteer, affectionately known as Auntie Terri, passionately described,

The only reason why we do this is because we want the history—for me, my grandparents, my parents, him, his mother, his ancestors— to be alive. We don't want it to be forgotten, nobody's going to tell the story except for you, otherwise it's going to get told wrong. [We want Filipinos] contributing their history here, because if they don't tell their history, it's not going to get told. And here's a place

that they could do that, so we're developing that.

In this excerpt, Auntie Terri noted the importance of telling stories so they are not misrepresented. The collections at the FANHS Museum helped to challenge misrepresentations by displaying the plurality of Filipino experiences using various family donated artifacts. In addition to preserving the memories of families and ancestors so their stories can be kept alive, Uncle Chris stressed, “If you leave it up to someone else to tell the story, it's going to be from their perspective.” Uncle Chris provides the alternative consequence to what happens if we are not the authors of our own histories.

Altogether, the form and use of storytelling, as seen throughout a majority of the participants’ interviews with me, reflected the deeply rooted role that stories, *kuwento*, played within the Filipino culture. Moraga and Anzaldúa (1981) express the value in storytelling as a way of “naming ourselves and by telling our stories in our own words” (p. 21). The storytelling included mostly first-hand accounts of lived experiences, rich details of settings and people, and the use of humor, metaphors and/or analogies to emphasize the importance of the stories themselves. However, it is interesting to note that these stories, as indicated in the interviews, are also often passed down by the maternal sides of families through the women. Auntie Terri from the FANHS museum mentioned that stories are told “from your grandma... your mom...that’s what I’ve been learning from FANHS.”

Community Histories and Geographic Context

In response to Research Question 1, some of the data revealed that *how* community history was documented was reflective and relevant to geographic location and its localized context. Across all three sites, there was an emphasis on highlighting the experiences and histories of Filipinos within the local community. This was evident in the stories of community

volunteer and elder, affectionately known as ‘Uncle’ Chris, at the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) museum in Stockton. Uncle Chris described how the localized history of growing up in northern California transformed him as a young boy and specifically, how the time period along with the geographic location played a role. He shared:

But to really think about it, most people at that time, it really wasn't until the mid to the late '60s and it started to register...Civil rights, people marching in the streets. And then it started to make sense because then where are we? Meaning where do [Filipinos] stand in this? If they're struggling, we must be struggling, but we don't know that. Then you start to realize, yeah, you are struggling. You see all this going on, so it starts to register.

For Uncle Chris, being in the midst of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern California influenced his own sociopolitical values of educational activism as he witnessed the Black community fighting for social justice in the 1960's. He continued discussing the importance of community history and knowing how critical it is for young people to realize history is also happening right now:

Really, because I always tell the young people, I said, "You know what? History isn't on the walls or in the books, no, history is right now. You're making it because you came through that door. And when you walk out, you're going to take out what you learn." I know I did. I stood on the streets of Berkeley in 1970 when I got drafted and saw Black Panthers. And after protesting in front of the draft center and I'm going, I shouldn't be here, I'm a college student...And history goes on.

The significance of community history centering around activism cemented Uncle Chris' dedication and passion to preserving and sharing history with others. It was through his own

lived experiences growing up in northern California and his proximity to such monumental social movements growing up that left a lasting impact. Farag (2021) discusses the importance of learning about marginalized people's history and how the frameworks of CRT are useful as a tool to "help [students] lead productive discussions about this country's history of racial discrimination, in which students come to understand that we all stand to benefit from learning about each other's racial and ethnic identities" (p. 19).

However, while community histories was a transformative experience for some Filipinos in California, it was a different sentiment for some Filipinos in Michigan. For one of the archivists for the Special Collections at the University of Michigan, affectionately known as Tita* Susan, her experiences as a Filipina in Michigan were in stark contrast to Uncle Chris. Tita Susan described her early studies in Michigan:

When I was talking to [colleagues], it was like earth shaking... They would quake because I was brown. It was a perception that I had. Whether it's perception on my part or not, it's real. You could feel it. If you're white, you don't really see it, but I could see it. As a way of separating you from the rest of the group...it was hard because I was the only woman in my studies and the only brown person."

Tita Susan's experiences reflect the social reality of Michigan's racial demographics that have historically and currently presented as predominantly white. The significantly smaller percentage of Asian demographics in the Midwest as opposed to California are linked to Tita Susan's feelings of isolation as a 'brown person' amidst her white peers, whereas Uncle Chris' experience in racially and ethnically diverse California was linked to a sense of connection to the Black community and their larger fight for civil rights for all oppressed peoples.

Showden, Nairn, and Matthews (2022) discussed that the work towards decolonization, and specifically, decolonizing activism, can be shaped by the guidance and responsibility of other community members who help reinforce the collective understanding of the decolonizing agenda. Therefore, the varying histories of Filipinos in different states, cities, and regions can impact the experiences Filipinos have with other Filipinos and non-Filipinos. Filipina community scholar, Deirdre, discussed the diversity of being Filipino in different geographic regions:

I grew up in Hawaii and in Seattle, and so I got my West Coast Pinoys, and even the differences between Pacific Northwest and California and all of those subtleties; and those different histories and so forth, they were very familiar to me. And I always just thought, oh well there's that, and then there's the East coast Pinoys, and then there's Chicago. And then of course you would have people around (military) bases—Filipino communities around bases. So I know Virginia has big kind of sizeable, and then of course around medical institutions, but I really didn't know a lot about the history of Filipinos in Michigan until I started using the collections more to teach, and until I really got involved in this project. And I realized that, oh, even though it's a small community, it does have this really deep reaching history that is not wholly tied to the U of M, but certainly the U of M plays a sizable role in it.

Deirdre discussed the distinct differences between the prominence of Filipinos in the West/Northwest regions as compared to the smaller demographics of Filipinos in Michigan, which resulted in her own uncertainty around Midwestern Filipinos' histories and experiences. The data started to reveal that each geographic region has an important contextual history and

understanding that shapes certain factors of Filipino American identity, such as what community means, what being Filipino means, etc.

This was further evident in Uncle Chris's discussion of being Filipino in northern California in the early 20th century:

[Survival] is key...struggling to get through winter with no food, no job, there's no deployment, nobody's going to say, 'Oh yeah, there's a line out here. So go step in line, that food line, you can get a box of food.' Well, that didn't happen. Well, not [for] Filipinos. So, it's a good thing you lived in an agricultural environment, you can raise some animals. You can go out there and catch fish. You'll find ways to live in those pockets to survive until springtime to start a rookie camp. So, it's that survival mentality. And it wasn't like—no offense to the *Pensionados*—I mean that's American, that's colonialism, that's what they did. We'll take the wealth of your class and educate them on how to educate your masses. And so, when you go back home, you teach them how to be good Americans.

Uncle Chris conveyed his understanding of the historical differences of Filipinos in different regions. He described that Filipinos who migrated to California for survival were working in agricultural plantations and experiencing racial discrimination; whereas some Filipinos who migrated to Michigan were possibly part of the *pensionado* program who came from predominately wealthy, socially elite backgrounds in the Philippines. The slight tension of regional divisiveness in Uncle Chris' response could come from the perspective that there are some Filipinos in the Midwest, because of the history of the *pensionado* program, that are more politically conservative and generally supportive of the predominantly white American lifestyle. However, even in the varying perspectives of museum and university educators from different

geographic regions, there was still an underlying theme of how history shaped the experiences of Filipinos in different communities, and there was still a desire to understand how to preserve Filipinos' collective history for culture and education.

Overall, the context between California and Michigan is influenced by community history that has implications for the Filipinos who are impacted, explicitly or subconsciously, from these regional differences. The examples of Uncle Chris and Tita Susan are important because they are participants in the knowledge co/reconstruction process; however, their particular subjectivities inevitably matter to how they teach, curate, and engage in disrupting the colonial project of schooling.

Historical Timelines

The timelines that were evident across all three sites shared a similar notion that there was an urgency to document the historical aspect of the past. While handmade documents from each of the sites accounted for the most major historical same years, there were minor deviations from what some participants' timelines included or not, how detailed the timelines were, their range of dates, etc. The common thread was not just that each site displayed factual timelines on Filipino history, but that these socially constructed documents were created with their own disciplinary lens too.

The FANHS Museum designed their historical timeline to represent the different waves of immigration as four distinct periods. This was a collaborative effort made by Filipina exhibit curators Beverly Engkabo, as seen in Figure 58 below, and Maria Batayola with support by Dr. Dorothy Cordova, FANHS Founder, and Dr. James Sobredo, FANHS Museum Chair.



Figure 58. Beverly Engkabo preparing an exhibit for the FANHS Museum circa 2016. Source: CLIFFORD OTO/THE RECORD The Record.

The FANHS Museum's timeline was extremely detailed with photographs and identified the four waves of Filipino immigration to the U.S., which were on displayed as a photo exhibit in the center of the museum on four large banner stands, as seen in Figure 59 below.

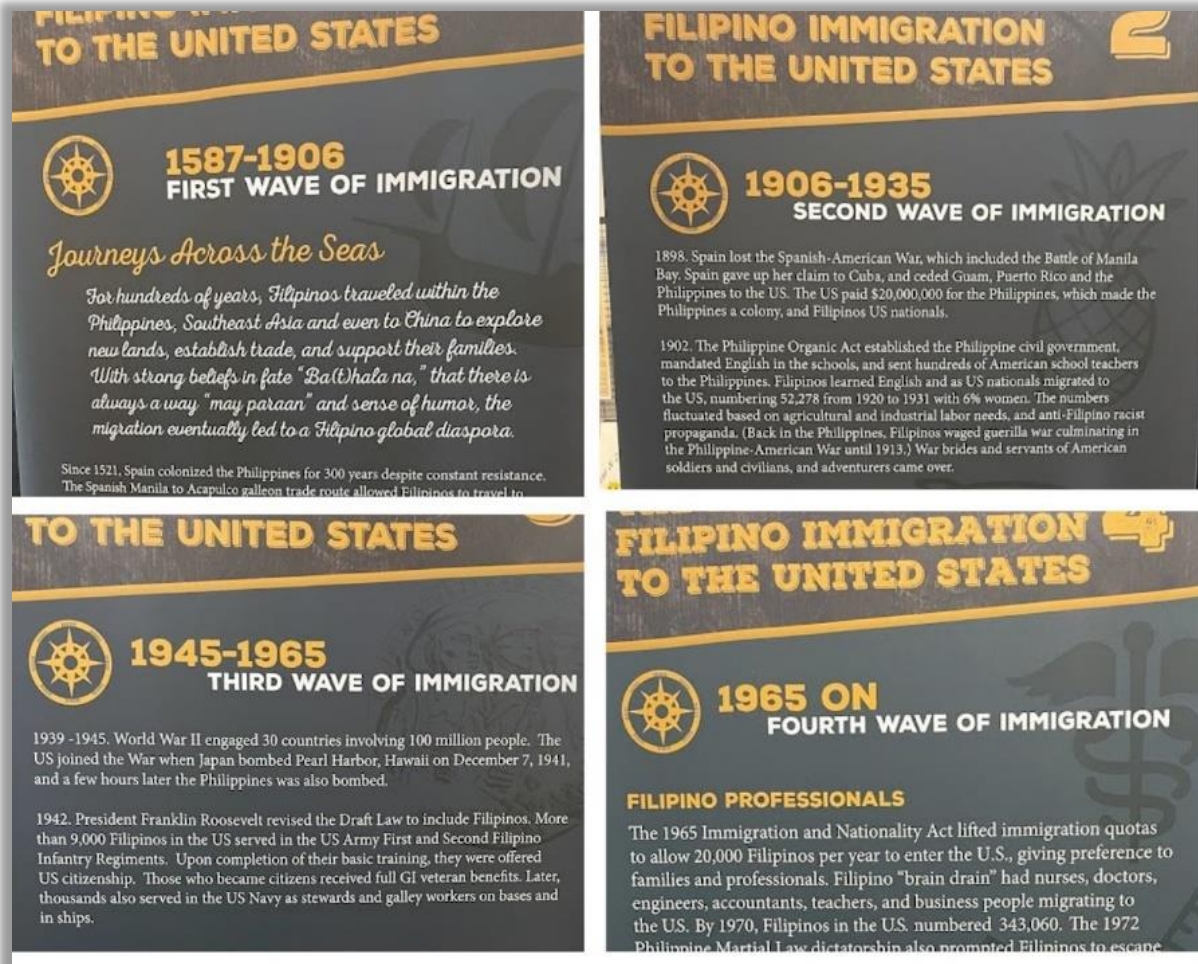


Figure 59. FANHS Museum exhibit detailing the different waves of immigration, titled "Filipino Immigration to the United States." Source: Beverly Engkabo and Maria Batayola, FANHS Museum. Stockton, California.

The Bulosan Center's timeline display of a small infographic poster hanging up in the center's workplace featured events from 1587 until 2009. Dr. Robyn Rodriguez, Asian American Studies professor and Co-Founder of the Bulosan Center, drew from academic sources and created the center's historical timeline from a cultural studies and educational lens, which is seen in Figure 1.1 below. Some of the notable events on the timeline include: the landing of the first Filipinos in the United States in 1587, which is "referred to in the ship's logs as Luzones Indios"; the Pensionado Act of 1903; and the Tyding-McDuffie Act of 1934 that ruled Filipinos as ineligible for citizen and "assigned an annual quota of 50 Filipino to enter the U.S."

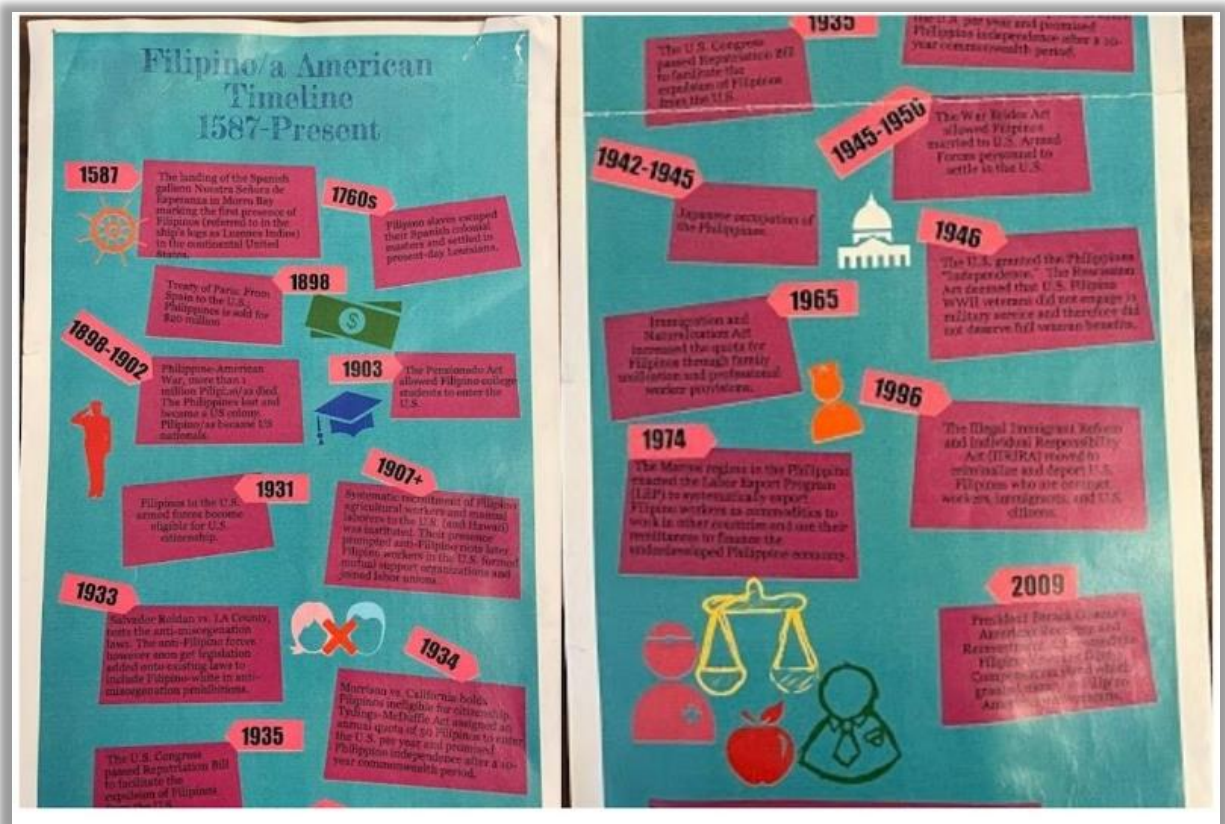


Figure 60. "Filipino/a American Timeline 1587-Present," created by Project Bulosan. Source: Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies, UC Davis.

As part of the Philippine Collections, the U-M Museum of Archaeology created a timeline that showcased on their website that provided historical background for Worcester's photographic collection, as seen in Figure 61 below. It displayed only dates and historical events with minor detail that would help give context to the photographs within the collection on their website. Both the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center had timelines that originated in 1587, when the first Filipinos arrived in the U.S. in Morro Bay, California. While the timeline created by U-M Museum of Archaeology's timeline started instead in the year 1521, when Ferdinand Magellan landed in the Philippines. The difference could be related to the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center being focused on U.S. centered Filipino history, while the Philippine Collections focused on Philippine-related history.

Historical Timeline	
1521	Ferdinand Magellan lands in the Philippines, claims the islands for Spain and is killed by Cebuano chieftain Lapu-Lapu
1521	First Catholic mass said in the islands
1542	Visayan islands of Leyte and Samar named Las Islas Filipinas for King Phillip of Spain by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos
1565	First permanent Spanish settlement in the islands, in Cebu
1567	First revolt against the Spanish (Dagahi Revolt)
1570	Manila captured, made a Spanish city
1574	Manila Revolt
1595	University of San Carlos founded
1611	University of Santo Tomas founded
1621	Colegio de Manila is made into Universidad de San Ignacio by papal decree, and a royal university by King Philip IV of Spain in 1623
1567 – 1807	Over 40 local revolts against the Spanish
By 1650	Majority of the lowland Philippines converted to Catholicism; hill tribes remain unconverted, "Moros" in Mindanao remain Muslim
17th-19th centuries	Manila as the critical site for the Spanish galleon trade
19th century	Elite education in Spain, and wider primary education
1872	Cavite Rebellion repressed, Filipino priests involved executed
1892	Jose Rizal forms La Liga Filipina and is exiled
1892	Andres Bonifacio establishes the Katipunan
1896	Philippine Revolution; Rizal is executed; independence declared
1897	Bonifacio is executed
1898	Spanish-American War
1898	Mark Twain founds the Anti-Imperialist League
1899-1902	Philippine-American War
1902 – 1904	Katipunan continues armed rebellion
1904	Philippine exhibition at the St. Louis World's Fair
1904 onward	Movement of Christian settlers to Mindanao and the establishment of plantations, particularly in the lowlands
1902 - 1913	Continued fighting between American soldiers and Moro forces in Mindanao
1914	Change in colonial policy, including moves towards Filipino self-rule

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Figure 61. Historical timeline of the Philippines provided by the U-M Museum of Archaeology and the Center for Southeast Asian Studies in 2017. Source: Designed by Julia Falkovitch-Khain. Content by Charlie Sullivan and Kate Wright. University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology.

While timelines — when they begin and end, what is included or excluded, where they focus— are interpretive, they are viewed as purely factual and viewers do not always consider the timeline creator’s orientation, perspective, and purpose. The data revealed that the different timelines provided by each research site reflected the specific context and goals. In all cases, the timelines were established by the research sites to promote the visibility and awareness of Filipino history in some distinct ways in response to the erasure of Filipino American history and Philippine-history that does not include many of these historical accounts in mainstream K-12 history textbooks.

Striving for Liberatory Education

In light of Research Question 2 that focuses on curricula and pedagogical development, I describe the importance of progressive educational policies pertaining to ethnic studies across the sites and the pedagogical approach to teaching about colonialism as it relates to the Philippines. Also, I describe the limitations to teaching with a decolonizing framework, such as underprepared teachers who lack critical pedagogical awareness and praxis. Finally, I discuss the educational impact of empowering Filipino youth to become more involved participants in learning about their histories and sharing these histories with others, which is followed by discussing the participants’ visions for the future of education.

Decentering Colonial Representations

The role of institutional support must consider the goals of deconstructing and decentering the colonial approaches that colleges and universities have historically upheld in history and education. This includes moving away from centering colonial representation and critiquing the collections itself especially in regard to descriptions that perpetuate the rhetoric that America was superior to the Philippines and the Philippines as inferior or dependent on

America. This concern was not as present for the FANHS Museum given that their purpose was already rooted in a decolonizing and liberatory approach that centered community knowledge and perspectives.

However, the concern of not wanting to center colonialism was more so relevant to the Bulosan Center and the Philippine Collections at U-M. At U-M, Deirdre explained how she utilized the Philippine Collections in the courses she taught while being mindful not to center colonialism. Deirdre described,

This is why I think images are really useful because the images usually foreground that narrative so blatantly and so strongly, and that's why choosing the images is also really key, but it's complicated because you also don't want to further exploit. And there's always the challenge and the danger of using colonial images, which is that if racism is not highlighted or not obvious for the students or they're just not picking it up, then you run this danger of course then re-ascribing the message of the vision of the image itself... I'm careful not to use those kinds of photographs unless I'm really framing it explicitly and not leaving a lot open to interpretation, but curating photographs carefully so that the racism and the implicit white supremacy of the lens is coming through is one of the ways that I find most useful. A lot of the real more subtle aspects of reparative description students are not going to get.

Deirdre identifies the complexities of having to use a collection rooted in colonialism which still provides a snapshot of history that is important to learn about, while not wanting to center colonialism itself. Deirdre reveals that in her classes, such as 'Philippine Culture and History' and 'Gender and Sexuality in Southeast Asia,' she discusses Philippine-related issues from the

collection. In terms of using the collection materials as teaching items themselves, Deirdre explained that in her *History* course and *Historical Methods* courses, she has students review documents from the collection. She said they “highlight where they have questions about language, about what it’s claiming or where they’re skeptical... we talk through basically the imperial ideologies.” Such data supports the idea that Filipino history and its relationship to colonialism is a nuanced discourse because of the ways that colonialism has had material consequences with the country and the peoples. The risk, however, come from potentially reducing Filipino history as solely a colonized history and teaching about the Philippines with a heavily saturated colonial lens.

Over at the FANHS Museum, I asked Uncle Chris about the importance of learning history and the tensions that come with it. In his response, Uncle Chris reflected on the difficulties that are sometimes posed to Filipino Americans and he described that the issue of Filipinos having to learn about their history later in life is often because they do not always know about their own cultural past. He focused on the effects of being a colonized country for more than 400 years by both the Spanish and the Americans. Uncle Chris stated, “But that’s not the fault of [Filipinos]... They didn’t create that. Oh no. That was created [by] colonialism.” Interviewees indicated that the delicate balance between addressing colonialism without centering it is a thin line, especially for community scholar Deirdre at U-M. When I asked if she thought that the Philippine Collections could be used without centering colonialism, she responded,

I don't think it's impossible. I couldn't do my work if I thought it was impossible to turn these materials against themselves, but it does require a lot of care in the classroom, and it can't just be this like, okay— well let's talk about benevolent

assimilation or what is this image? The learning goals have to be really clear, and the methods have to be carefully thought out, and the material has to be framed in such a way that students have a lot of leeway to debate and discuss, but that there's no equivocating what the learning outcome is, which is to be critical.

Deirdre's response indicates the challenge in trying to tease out discussions of colonialism and untangle them from broader Philippine-history, which emphasizes how they have become deeply entangled.

At the Bulosan Center, I talked with the co-founder and senior historian, Stacey about her role as a historian and her experience creating material on Filipino history during American colonial rule. Stacey described creating a small segment on the Spanish-American War for the exhibit "California is in the Heart," a collaborative project by the Bulosan Center, the California Museum, and others, as mentioned in Chapter 4. Stacey reflected that in preparation of designing this part of the exhibit, there were issues of how mainstream history depicts the Spanish-American War and the Treaty of Paris that sought to transfer sovereignty of the Philippines from the Spanish to the U.S. She stated,

I don't like how in American textbooks, the Philippines is just the Treaty of Paris. They [the U.S.] just bought us [the Philippines.] And they [American textbooks] never talk about the Filipino-American War past 1903... And it's like they barely mention Guam. They barely mention Puerto Rico. They barely mention other parts of the Caribbean and the Mariana Islands. They don't mention those things in the Treaty of Paris alone. And so I thought like, 'You know what?' From my interpretation as a scholar activist, 'it's not that that United States bought the Philippines for \$20 million...it's that they bought all of us.'

Stacey's emphasized that it was important for her as a historian, but also as someone being trained in Oceania and the trans-Pacific, to include these narratives in order to reflect the accurate colonial relationship that America had with other territories. The importance of being critical when discussing the weight of colonialism in the Philippines was shared amongst all the participants I interviewed.

Ethnic Studies Curricula and Educational Policy

Participants' historical preservation and documentation efforts had implications not just for the classroom, but for educational policy as well. These efforts supported the movement towards implementing ethnic studies courses within K-12 schools over the past decade. The legislation on ethnic studies has taken precedent in the western regions of the U.S., with California foregrounding the movement. The relationship between the fight for ethnic studies and California has a historical background, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 2. Since the 1960s, California, and especially Northern California, has been a leading example for adopting ethnic studies in K-12 schooling. As of October 2021, Assembly Bill 101 was signed into law that made California the first state to require Ethnic Studies as a high school graduation requirement. Uncle Chris, of the FANHS Museum, referred to the broader political climate of California and explained the importance of using ethnic studies to educate the public about issues that Filipino communities have confronted historically.

Now all that's being documented in ethnic studies—well, hopefully it's still there. Hey, the way things are going, there's no guarantee. We're seeing [rights] taken away, major things. And all those other little minor things can be just [taken by] whoever is in a position of authority and decision making. So that's why it is important that as much of that [Ethnic Studies/Filipino Studies] information that

can be, [is] still there in the mainstream academia... it needs to be put out there and still be, so that way you don't lose the foot in the door, because it took a lot to jam that foot in that door.

Uncle Chris discussed the impermanence of political security and emphasized the importance in continuing the intergenerational labor of fighting for ethnic studies.

At the Bulosan Center, Jason described the impact that state-level educational policy had on the work the Bulosan Center was doing, especially in regard to advocating for ethnic studies and Filipino studies. Jason described,

In preparation for the actual Assembly Bill 123, that's why I think the [Welga] archive was created and why the old histories were created just to provide online sources for curriculum writers or any resources too...Assembly Bill 123 passed by the then Philippine-born Assembly member of the Democratic Party, Rob Bonta, current Attorney General. This was specifically only on the Filipino Farm Worker curriculum in relation to the UFW [United Farm Workers of America] and Cesar Chavez's history mainly because the historic memory at the time mainly focuses on Caesar Chavez and thinking it more of the Chicax movement. But while Rob Bonta, he grew up in La Paz, I think for him it was more important to ensure that this [Filipino studies] was embedded into the curriculum.

In the excerpt, Jason identifies that the origin of the Welga Digital Archive is in fact related to the ethnic studies bill, AB 123, and emphasizes why accessibility to information and history is critical. He also underscores how representation from community members as policy makers influences legislative decision making, as seen in the case of Rob Bonta above.

In California, educational policy around the Filipino American curriculum has gained more visible traction as ethnic studies classes have become a graduation requirement for high school students. In contrast, at U-M, Deirdre discussed that ethnic studies classes are not being mandated in the high schools in Michigan like they are in California. She stated, “As much as we don't want to admit it, the demand [for ethnic studies] is not there.” Across this study’s data, the geographic region and its political history played a significant role in the educational policies that were brought up specifically around ethnic studies legislation. This proved to be one of the ways that educating others about Filipino American history became limited.

Limitations to Educational Contributions

Though education played a seminal piece to the purpose of these sites, there were still challenges and limitations. Deirdre at U-M discussed the complexities of teaching with a decolonizing framework. According to the ReConnect/ReCollect website, one of the main goals of the ReConnect/ReCollect project was to “forge a framework for the decolonization of the Philippine collections that takes into account the historical specificity of the Philippines and culturally inflected understandings of heritage, stewardship, and access” (<https://www.reconnect-recollect.com/defining-decolonial-approaches/>). Similar to the project’s approach to decolonization, Deidre also included elements of decolonial teaching practices in her own undergraduate and graduate history courses (Fieldnote, September 28, 2022).

During my interview with Deirdre, there was a lot of extended conversation around the topic of decolonization due to the nature of ReConnect/ReCollect’s work, and I was curious to hear Deirdre’s perspective on the practicality of teaching with a decolonizing framework, for teachers overall. I would be remiss not to mention here that the work of critical historical inquiry is not new, as research within the fields of secondary education demonstrates examples of

teachers preparing middle school and high school students to critically interpret history through interrogative reading and writing skills (Monte-Sano, De La Paz, & Felton, 2014; Monte-Sano & Cochran, 2009). Still, I was curious about Deirdre's take while being mindful that I was asking an expert within higher education about K-12 contexts. When I asked Deirdre whether she believes other teachers, including those at the K-12 level, are prepared to teach from a decolonizing perspective, she clearly responded:

No. First of all, there's still so much ignorance around the designs of U.S. empire in American history, and so I don't think that everyone is equipped even with a PhD to be teaching in this way, whether that's because they just haven't been introduced to post-colonial theory or whatever, post-colonial subjects, or they're skeptical of decolonization, or they just don't know enough about the history to be able to teach critically about U.S. empire.

Deidre addressed with honesty some of the limitations that come with attempting to introduce decolonizing pedagogies and praxis into the classroom at both the K-12 and post-secondary level. While the idea of integrating decolonizing approaches in education is promising, Deidre asserted that the reality is that many teachers are not yet equipped to teach critically about American history, let alone specifically Filipino history. This limitation was also heightened by inability to develop and create critical and decolonizing curriculum due to limited capacity and resources.

A similar hesitancy in applying decolonizing pedagogies into the classroom was shared by Stacy, from the Bulosan Center, who had uncertainties around calling the work she's doing decolonial. During my interview with Stacey, I asked her what decolonizing work in education would look like to her in an ideal world. Stacey's referred to the limitations of approaching a

decolonial framework within education because her conception of decolonial was interwoven with abolition. Critical educator, Bettina Love (2019) argues that abolitionist teaching includes radical restructuring of the educational system in the U.S. that eradicates injustice and oppression both in and out of schools. Stacey's response around abolition and decolonial work links to Love's principles, as Stacey stated:

Abolition, full abolition, I don't know if in my lifetime I will see that follow through like full-full abolition. I don't know if I could ever see that in my lifetime... because real abolition, I don't know if it's possible in the next a hundred years. I feel as if in 30 years, I can say I followed through on *attempting* to practice a decolonial framework in terms of education. Because I still feel as if I'm only at maybe 10 steps away from the starting line of actually doing the decolonial framework because I don't know what it actually looks like. Because to me, to do decolonial frameworks properly, or at least well, is to *care*. And even if you care and you're attempting to do this type of abolitionist framework in terms of liberating and democratizing knowledge, other people in that process are going to not have the same goals as you.

She continued,

And so, it is really difficult for me to say that I think I followed through on a decolonial framework in order to create a type of social justice platform for education. And I think that's the best I can do. And it's also hard to because they write articles of ... You know they write articles about decolonial frameworks in terms of democratizing institutions and knowledge. And it's one thing to theorize it, it's another thing to get community members and academics and scholar activists

and other folks like government, civic officers to get them all on board to do something that you imagine as decolonial in nature. I think of course the abolitionist in me is like, "Tear every wall down." But then people will not deal with the aftermath of those walls being torn down. That's the concern I have with maintaining bridges because who's going to retain those bridges? It's the people who actually care. That bothers me. It's like as much as we want to do an abolitionist framework, a BIPOC radical abolitionist, radical feminism's framework, it's so hard because you have to keep caring.

Stacey added,

Yeah, because we're basically breaking down these walls and we're using the same mortar and pestle that those walls are made out of to make those bridges. Because the walls that those are made out of, the frameworks, they're frameworks. And it's so hard for us to when we break down that wall, we also chuck those frameworks out the window. So, it's like doing 150 years' worth of something we've internalized from one generation to the next and saying, "No, we don't need that." But that's all we know. And so, in order to build new bridges, what I've felt in my soul is just you have to keep caring. But there's only so much emotional energy that you can expense to the community or even to, I don't know, the Socratic Method. I don't know. I don't know how else to say as an academic philosophy like for the sake of knowledge, you just have to keep caring.

Such data suggest that despite the limitations to implementing decolonizing pedagogies in the classroom, the participants in the study agreed it is still important to offer liberatory and decolonizing education when possible. This is especially pertinent for the impact it has on the

youth to be able to feel empowered by the representation of their culture and history.

The community elders at the FANHS Museum were keen on getting youth involved in their learning of Filipino history and the work around community organizing. When reflecting on the challenges of getting young people involved in the historical aspect of the FANHS Museum, Auntie Terri questioned, “What do you do to get the youth involved? Because that's the big thing is getting the youth involved...the next generation.” Uncle Chris shared his optimistic views that youth *are* interested in getting involved but they need some guidance. He declared,

That's why to be here, to keep the door open, I'm going to do what I can because to wait for somebody [else] to come in and say, ‘oh yeah, I'll do this, or I'll do that.’ We can't wait. And I mean those young people that come through here, are looking for enlightenment- we can't wait because they're coming. It's like in that movie, "You build it and they'll come." They're coming. They're coming through. We just have to be open and be prepared, people will come and you'd be surprised who you meet and the things you'll have to learn in order to help people do their, well, I was looking for something, or I'm researching on a research project or having been exposed to that myself has been an amazing ride, really.

Uncle Chris acknowledged that the elders were the ones mostly operating the museum because no one else was available to do it, and they were not going to wait for someone else to show up. He expressed an urgency in keeping FANHS open so when youth come, they will have access. While some Filipino youth and young adults are limited in their role of volunteering at the FANHS Museum given school and busy schedules, some are also unaware of FANHS and the history there is. Both serve as limitations, but the importance of being able to provide a space for

Filipino youth to learn about their history was a sentiment that came across passionately and urgently from the elders at FANHS, and especially from Uncle Chris.

Visions for the Future of Education

In thinking about the future of education, the goals of decolonization and liberation came up across all three sites but the practical reality of that type of educational programming seemed to be works in progress or in an envisioning stage that was still far off in terms of participants' application. When asked what a dream for the future of education would look like, many of the participants offered their insight on an educational system that was inclusive, relational, freeing, and critical.

In response to the U-M Philippine Collections, ReConnect/ReCollect as a project has come to confront the colonial history and work towards repairing the harm that the collections have caused. I asked Deirdre, co-PI of ReConnect/ReCollect if she could imagine the future of where the project could go, and if there was a place in K-12 education for some of these big topics on decolonization, reparative approaches, etc. Deirdre responded,

I would love if K through 12 teachers would want to use it [the Philippine Collections at U-M]. I think I would need to really sit down with either leaders or kind of representatives or just interested folks in that arena [K-12 education, pedagogy, and curriculum] and get feedback. What is useful about this for your [future teachers] teaching about the history of US Empire, for example, American history? What is too niche or too just not appropriate for students at these levels? I don't know if I would just be willing to say that I want to revise everything for that purpose, and I think that that's a really great question because it is one of the things I'm thinking about now.

Deirdre's response emphasized the willingness to imagine young students in K-12 being able to tackle loaded concepts, such as "U.S. Empire," with the right guidance and feedback. Her response also underscored the importance of collaboration from specific disciplines, especially when she rejected the idea of her personally having to revise and tailor the work ReConnect/ReCollect has done for a younger audience by herself. The idea of future visioning for Deirdre was an expansion of courses, at both K-12 and postsecondary levels, that could explore more history through the lens that decenters colonialism within American history.

The FANHS Museum had visions for their future that included physically expanding their building to accommodate more material objects and artifacts so they could display more exhibits and collections. Auntie Terri mentioned that because of all the community support, the museum gets so many offers of large donations from Filipino cultural centers or organizations, but because of the lack of space they cannot afford to take in all of the collections (Fieldnote, July 2, 2022). When talking to Auntie Terri about eventually expanding to a new space one day, she pointed to the ceilings and made sweeping gestures with her hands to gesture a larger museum building that many FANHS members were imagining. It was as if the dream for a new museum was a vision she had already seen, and that the present-day reality was just waiting to catch up to the future vision (Fieldnote, July 2, 2022). I also asked Emily Lawsin, National President of FANHS, about the future of FANHS and what she imagined it to look like in terms of education. Emily described,

We think 'oh that's [one workshop] not going to make a difference, but it can. Teachers have the power — and [the] state sets a curriculum — but the teachers, the teachers determine what's taught. If [FANHS] can get into schools, I mean all the more better, and it takes little incremental ways to do that all, the more, better.

[In school] They have more Asian American authors on their curriculum than I ever did. So, you know, I think we're moving there slowly, but it's going to take a lot more work.

Ate Emily shared the impact in the work that has already been done and emphasized that the work, even if seems small or of little change, does matter. She stated that there was still more work to be done.

Further in her interview, Ate Emily expressed that some of the work might be done by the younger generations as she praised the value and importance of partnering Filipina scholars with future scholars. Towards the end of the interview, Ate Emily and I reflected on our relationship at U-M together, after I was a graduate student instructor (GSI) for her courses in American Culture. She shared,

It was full circle for me. It was my 21st year teaching at Michigan. But it was the first year I had ever, ever, had a teaching assistant graduate student who was Pinay. From the community... California... who comes out of ethnic studies¹⁹. It truly, for me, was an honor— it is an honor, to be able to work with y'all. It is also like, you know, coming full circle. It was really, really, really phenomenal, and I know you [Filipina/x/o scholars] are going to change the world, and I'm just so looking forward to all the goodness you are going to do.

Ate Emily's responses provided the importance of having academic connections bridge generational gaps as a way to keep the work of critical Filipino education going.

¹⁹ Though my educational background is in education, during my time at San Francisco State University I was mentored by Filipina scholars at the College of Ethnic Studies, I took numerous courses in Ethnic Studies, and I was a GSI for Asian American/Filipino American courses. I consider my degree to be in education, but I am a mentee of ethnic studies scholars.

At the Bulosan Center, co-founder and historian Stacey—like U-M’s Dr. de la Cruz—discussed her thoughts on an abolitionist future and her vision for education. She stated,

I think being able to navigate all of those spaces has really required me to understand what does community look like and what's the community space I want to be in. If the community space and the scholar activist space is with people who love me in terms of they care about one another as a human being, not because of the research or work that they produce or the educational platforms that they can produce on a regular yearly annual basis. It's like they actually care about you because you represent community and family to them. I've realized if that is there, I will stay.

She added,

It's like, "For a student, a Filipino student or any Filipinx, Asian-American kid, whatever, for them to tell me that they felt safe. And that they didn't feel judged. And that they could ask questions. I think that is probably what I would imagine for our world to look like in terms of a liberatory education.

Stacey continued,

It's like student can come into a space and it's not about being lectured at or having to do an essay or having to learn this method, do a formula, solve for X, whatever. It's more like they understood the material because they knew that the person cared, therefore they're going to care about what they're learning and then therefore they feel free to ask questions. Because there's so many Filipinx kids who are ashamed to be Filipino. I know what that feels like because I grew up in Daly City. So, for a kid who's 18 now to tell me that they no longer feel ashamed and they felt safe to

ask me questions about heritage and history and culture and gender and sexuality because I was able to tell them, "You can ask me those things," I think that's what I envision just for a kid to feel safe and love learning. Even if it's a [general education] course, what do they get away from it? That people, educators care about them. I think that's probably what abolition in terms of education and liberatory practices in terms of education, that's what I envision.

The narrative provided by Stacey above revealed some important distinctions about her take on the future of education, especially in terms of decolonial and liberatory practices. In terms of an abolitionist future, the concept includes dismantling harmful systems of oppression and survival complexes in order to make space for imagination, boldness, and a sense of urgency (Love, 2019). Stacey acknowledged that the reality of such a future does not seem within grasp because of how deep these systems and structures are embedded. This was relevant in the ways that in-school learning is still limited by the confines of these structures of oppression, where reform and representation is not the radical or transformational work that educators once aspired it to be. To dream about abolition work is to love and engage in movement-building work through coalition and collectiveness.

Further in Stacey's interview, she demonstrated that she has not lost her imagination when it comes to idealizing what a simple future of education could look like for her, which included making her students feel safe and cared for so that they can love learning. There is a sense of irony that within the most theoretically rigorous ideas and concepts of education, the discourse around envisioning a future for education becomes quite simple: Care, safety, love. There is humanity in being able to be seen and being able to learn in a way that honors who you are and the histories of the people that have come before you.

PART 2: Building and Sustaining Partnerships for Community-Based Knowledge

This section of the chapter details the data that emerged in response to the last two guiding research questions of the study.

3) How do contemporary partnerships between Filipino historians, community members, and educators inform how to preserve and produce knowledge for Filipino youth and communities for liberatory and decolonizing aims?

4) What are the points of collaboration and/or tension between academic institutions and grassroots communities creating spaces of liberatory and decolonizing learning for Filipino students?

A significant finding that addressed Research Question 3 was that various types of partnerships contributed to knowledge production around Filipino historical and contemporary issues within the U.S. through the use of participants' expansive social networks. Those networks were built on family-work ethos and constitute a form of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). In responding to Research Question 4, major findings related to tangible examples of participants' collaborative efforts within academic institutions and across communities. Still these collaborations involved acknowledging the history of institutional harm done by universities and marginalized communities. Findings also revealed the tensions that were apparent between academic institutions and communities, such as gendered labor and limited funding.

Curating Cultural Wealth

This section explores the theme of cultural wealth by discussing the social capital tied to participants' partnerships and collaborative projects, their family-work culture, and the tangible impact of participants' efforts to center the community. Yosso (2005) described cultural wealth as the capital that communities of color have based off on the strengths, skills, and assets they

possess that might not usually be regarded as such by “dominant” norms or standards set by Western ideologies. Data revealed that the contemporary partnerships, between historians, academic, community members, educators, and other partners, worked towards knowledge-production for Filipino youth based on them leveraging their own communities’ resources and skills strategically.

The Social Capital Provided by Partnerships

One of the main findings that emerged from the data across all three sites in response to Research Question 3 was that social capital provided support in developing, sustaining, and expanding the research sites’ goals and outreach to broader audiences. The focus on knowledge-preservation and aspects of knowledge-production were enriched by different perspectives of people who interacted due to personal and professional networks. The combined skills, expertise, knowledge, and experiences of peoples helped to build a larger network of supporters providing different resources to each of the research sites in the capacities that were needed. Based on the findings, the prioritization of the research sites to build relationships accumulated in community cultural wealth (Yosso & Burciaga, 2016).

Community members played a vital role in providing the support necessary for some of the day-to-day functions for the museums and collections. This was especially visible in the Bulosan Center at UC Davis and at the FANHS Museum, given their purposes being rooted in community engagement. While the Philippine Collections at the University of Michigan did involve community members, it was mostly through the reparative project ReConnect/ReCollect, which was an initiative that developed as a response to the colonizing history of the collections in the first place. The University of Michigan was also fully supported in means of resources and staffing for the collections, so community members did not have such an active role with the

Philippine Collections like the other two sites. This meant that for the Bulosan Center and the FANHS Museum, the role of community members as volunteers became integral to the maintenance of these sites. Critical race theorists describe social capital as part of the cultural wealth of communities (Yosso, 2005; Yosso & Garcia, 2007). Unlike traditional theories of social capital that focus on the currency of individual networks (Bourdieu, 1986b; Nash, 1990) community cultural wealth theory conceptualizes social capital as referring to the networks of social connections that communities of color have that can be understood as an asset due to the accessibility of people's expertise, skills, and resources that are then shared within the community (Yosso, 2005; Yosso & Burciaga, 2016; Ares & Cochelll, 2022).

For example, the Philippine Collections benefitted from the diverse partnerships within the community and across institutional networks to develop the ReConnect/ReCollect project. The FANHS Museum had an extensive support system that helped to sustain and develop their museum exhibits and collections through volunteer support. Finally, the Bulosan Center received an outpouring of community support and partnership in the preparation and eventual establishment of the center as the first for Filipino Studies. Social capital can be understood as resources that are made accessible through networks of people, both in terms of content of information and tools of support (Lin, 2002); while also being seen as the norms and values that are encouraged within social networks (Mishra & Müller, 2021). One of the most important findings that came about from the cross-site analysis was the value in peoplepower because of how much influence people had on the sites themselves. Partnerships were best demonstrated in the operation, development, outreach, advocacy, sustainability of the sites and their own respective goals/purposes.

A great example of the importance of partnerships could be seen through FANHS and their work as a national organization, in addition to their museum. FANHS was a common denominator amongst the three sites, which makes sense because its origins were rooted in community and have continued to be operated by and for the community only. The FANHS Conference demonstrated the connection that FANHS has to many of its Filipino communities across the country as both the Bulosan Center and ReConnect/ReCollect team attended and presented their efforts and research at the conference, as seen below in Figure 62.



Figure 62. FANHS Conference in 2022 at Seattle University. Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies seen tabling at the conference (left); ReConnect/ReCollect presenting their research on the Philippine Collections at U-M at the conference (right). Source: Field photograph by author on August 11, 2023. Seattle, Washington.

The Bulosan Center and the ReConnect/ReCollect's attendance and participation at the FANHS Conference demonstrated the extensive outreach of FANHS as a national organization, while also displaying the support across different Filipino community-based organizations and projects for the work FANHS does. At the FANHS National Pinoy Archives in Seattle, where the FANHS Conference occurred, there was a collection of artifacts for each FANHS Chapter. One of these artifacts was the introductory page to the FANHS Conference 1993 pamphlet that was

hosted by the Midwest Chapter, as seen below in Figure 63, which revealed the longevity of FANHS regional networks.

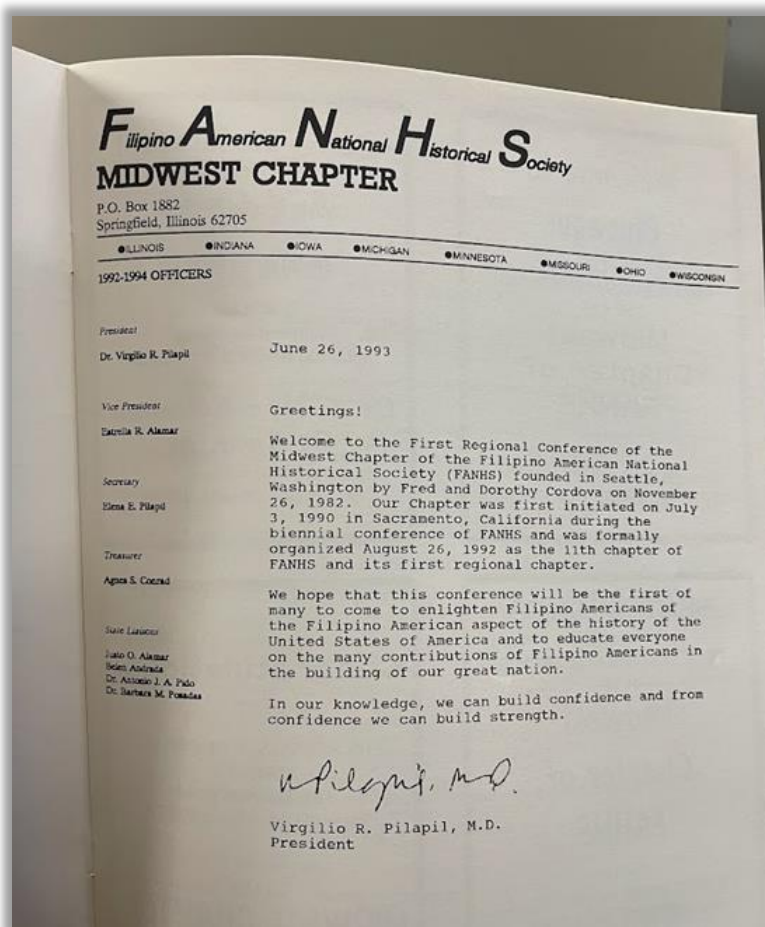


Figure 63. FANHS Midwest chapter conference pamphlet greeting in June 1993. Source: FANHS Chapters, FANHS National Pinoy Archives. Seattle, Washington.

Another example of collaborative projects made possible through partnerships was seen with the Bulosan Center and the development of the exhibit, *California is in the Heart*, at the California Museum in Sacramento, California. The exhibit honors the history of Filipino Americans in California from their arrival to Morro Bay in 1587, all the way up to the labor and civil rights movements in the 1960's, and even to current day community organizing around state-wide policy (<https://www.californiamuseum.org/california-heart>). The exhibit was created in partnership with the Bulosan Center, the FANHS Museum, the California Nurses Association,

the California Museum, and the Filipino American Educators Association of California as seen in the exhibit flyer below in Figure 64. The exhibit was made possible through the partnerships of these organizations that pooled together their resources to produce a display of critical Filipino American history specifically within California. Temkin and Rohe (1998) argued that the value of social capital depends on the loyalty and sense of attachment community members have towards their broader community. A sense of commitment to each other was an indicator for the influence social capital would have on a larger scale. Stacey, the co-founder and senior historian from the Bulosan Center described:

Those networks and those frameworks and being able to rely on community, that's helped so much in terms of democratizing knowledge. Because we were able to- I don't want to say 'produce' because that seems as if we have an end goal to make money... But it's more like we were able to create so many more beautiful works that speak to education and social justice and quantitative data to help Filipinos out, right?



Figure 64. California is in the Heart Exhibit, grand opening flyer. Source: Bulosan Center files, Welga Digital Archives. The Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies.

Stacey's points and other data support Temkin and Rohe (1998) who argued that the stronger the relational bond then the greater increase in external connections, which would ultimately lead to external resources and support that could connect bridges in collective action.

While the Philippine Collections at U-M was newer to dealing with community engagement through the ReConnect/ReCollect project, the Bulosan Center and FANHS shared more specific commonalities around partnerships because of their reliance on community networks for the sustainability of their organizations. Similar to FANHS origins, the Bulosan Center shared an extensive community network that supported its vision, planning, and development since the beginning. The Bulosan Center benefited from its history of collaborative partnerships before the center was established, when it was still the Welga Project. The Bulosan Center has been in collaboration with Filipino teachers and educators from the University of California (UC) system, California State University (CSU) system, and community colleges along with K-12 teachers in Northern California. Stacey, co-founder and senior historian for the Bulosan Center described the value of partnerships and stated:

All of our different trainings, we pulled from networks that we had already built. And that's what we use to grow our affiliates. And all of our networks were centered on social justice. And that's where we all were able to click. And that's where all of our networks came into one umbrella or Bulosan Center which is a very beautiful thing. And so again, I think the thing that connected us also beautifully was that we're drawing from different fields, therefore we all have different training, therefore we all have different networks.

Data suggest that their partnerships have been extremely helpful in developing the educational curriculum and resources posted on their online archive, the Welga Digital Archive, which are still available and accessible for free.

Family-Work Ethos

In response to partnerships collaborating together for knowledge-based goals focused on Filipino youth, the data revealed that it was important for the partnerships to be grounded in a family-like environment. In addition to the social capital of partnerships and collaborative projects, another way that the research sites embraced the cultural wealth of Filipino communities was through adopting a family-work culture within their own respective organizations/collectives.

Dorothy Cordova, co-founder of FANHS, stated that there is more of a family culture when it comes to FANHS. She said, “You notice, at an academic conference people just come to present their paper and leave. But with us [FANHS Conference], they stay for the whole time. We’ve developed a sense of family. You don’t get that with the academic side. They’re there for themselves, and yet we [FANHS] have a lot of them. They start out as students and become academics, but they understand our system” (Fieldnote, August 11, 2022). The importance of family was highlighted because of the way that family, in the Filipino cultural sense, exudes togetherness over independence or isolation.

During my observations at the FANHS Conference, and according to Auntie Dorothy, I noted that the relationship dynamic with FANHS is extremely familial, similar to that of the Bulosan Center (Fieldnote, August 11, 2022). With FANHS, the relationships have been built over time and through personal connections with many coming under the tutelage of Fred and Dorothy Cordova themselves, like Ate Emily. Emily Lawsin, president of FANHS, addressed

this closeness in her interview when she discussed how her personal friendships during her time as an Asian American student at UCLA developed into resourceful networks. Ate Emily described:

You know my *kumare* [translated to sister-like friends in English]... my good friends, you know, Allison—Dr. Allison Tintiangco-Cubales and the late Dr. Dawn Bohulano Mabalon—when they started Pinay/Pinoy Educational Partnership (PEP) it really inspired all of us. All of us who teach and all of us who were their friends, right, because we all went to school together at UCLA right—at school together at the same time at UCLA. And it was a great time for Filipino Americans there because there was a number of scholars in the Asian American Studies Center, so forth there at that time who were Filipino American. And so, we realized, you know how blessed we were to write and how we wanted to give that back to the community.

The relationship that Ate Emily depicted was a friendship, and in her use of the Tagalog word ‘*kumare*,’ there is an indication that these are like family members, sisters. The context that Emily provided around the Asian American Studies Center at UCLA also revealed that the relationships started because of their time in graduate school. These connections over time ended up revealing themselves through long-term friendships, but also powerful social networks that she has cultivated through her scholarly career, as mentioned earlier.

This can be further demonstrated through Emily’s expansive network across the regions, as she also served as a lecturer in Women and Gender Studies and American Culture at U-M. In her interview, she described meeting Joseph Galura, a Filipino lecturer at U-M’s School of Social Work who eventually co-authored with Emily the book, “*Filipino Women in Detroit:*

1945-1955: Oral Histories from the Filipino American Oral History Project of Michigan.”

Emily described that she had met Joseph back at FANHS Conference in 1998 in Portland, and once she came to Michigan they eventually connected and focused on Filipino community-engagement on and off campus. Ate Emily’s stories on her connections that turned to family revealed the interconnectedness of community-engaged work, even when people leave their job positions or move across country, they stay connected over time.

At the Bulosan Center, Stacey, co-founder and historian, discussed how the closeness of the center’s team made her feel safe even when confronted with some of the complexities and tensions of doing this work. Stacey described,

Bulosan Center tries its best with all the folks who are involved in it. We try to balance that out. Because most of us are cultural studies, interdisciplinary scholar activists. So that, I do appreciate. I definitely feel safer in being in the Bulosan Center community than I did when I was purely in the history department. And that, I can say with joy.

With ReConnect/ReCollect’s work espousing a decolonial framework with the U-M Philippine Collection, their team and advisory board built a dynamic that relied on their trusting, respectful, and caring relationship with one another according to Ricky Punzalan, co-PI. This was especially so given the context that the ReConnect/ReCollect’s team is comprised of non-Filipino peoples who have had to deal with culturally sensitive issues with Filipino people, both from the Philippines and in the U.S. (Fieldnote, September 28, 2022). This relationship dynamic demonstrates a closeness that is unique because the group is not homogeneously Filipino, like those who work with FANHS and the Bulosan Center.

While these previous examples demonstrated a sense of closeness within the community, a camaraderie akin to familial bonds came across through the photographs. These relationships that were reflective of family dynamics were evident across all of the three sites in varying capacities, as suggested in Figure 65, below.



Figure 65. Photo collage of various FANHS members on display at the FANHS Museum titled “Preserving and Sharing Our History.” Undated. Source: Field photograph by author on July 2, 2022. FANHS Museum. Stockton, California.

The emphasis on the collages within the exhibits showed the creativity, but also the care in which the photographs represented FANHS members and their humanity. The arts-based approach to collaging used in the FANHS museum revealed portraits of Filipino individuals, friends, and families that were thoughtfully constructed by the collage curator in a more personalized way to represent closeness. The approach was familiar to me during my observation in the sense that it felt like I personally knew the faces in the collage, even though I did not. Perhaps it was because they were similar to the photo collages of families and friends in the Filipino households that I grew up in.

Centering the Community

An additional way that contemporary partnerships have worked towards knowledge production together has been through collaborations that center the community first. While the idea of centering the community can mean different things, each research site encapsulated a common mission of being inclusive and community led. This did not just mean including the community partners but centering them and their experiences as foundational to each site's collective work.

An example of this is seen in the community archiving conducted by the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center. Flinn (2007) described, "Community histories or community archives are the grassroots activities of documenting, recording and exploring community heritage in which community participation, control and ownership of the project is essential (p. 153)". The use of community histories in the FANHS Museum and also at the FANHS National Pinoy Archives illustrated the ownership of history that belonged to the community and for the community in response to being misrepresented or invisibilized within mainstream history. The communal aspect where families and community members donating their own memorabilia to FANHS as a way of preserving their own history demonstrated their reclamation of ownership over Filipino history, as described in Chapter 4. Their stories documented their own agency.

The Bulosan Center also utilized community archives in their work with the Welga Digital Archive. Bulosan Center's archivist, Jason, described that the practice of community archiving was a form of post-custodialism, which allows the record creators to maintain their records instead of the archivist keeping it (Fieldnote, July 6, 2022). Jason explained how community archives allowed the community members to participate and engage in the documentation of the historical preservation process without having to release ownership over

their own records to the center unless they wanted to donate them which some would end up doing anyway. The example of the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center prioritizing community through capturing community histories consensually is an important step in the process of historical preservation. This also ensured that community members were able to tell their own stories according to their own agentic impressions. Flinn (2007) argued that community histories are not separate from mainstream histories, though they are not usually included. The significance of community histories revealed how community archiving can be used to document a more inclusive history.

Additionally, each of the research sites utilized Filipino board members to help provide a plurality of perspectives that guided the sites and their goals. The Bulosan Center and the ReConnect/ReCollect project utilized advisory boards to help streamline projects that were community centered, while the FANHS Museum used board of directors as their means of operation. The composition of the board members demonstrated the value that diverse Filipino community members had in assisting the overall mission and purpose of each site. The board members were significant because these roles were volunteer run and unpaid, meaning that the members were dedicating their time, expertise, and labor towards a communal cause. This revealed a sense of accountability and communication to ensure each site was prioritizing community-defined needs first.

This next section helps to answer Research Question 4 as the findings emerged and revealed the different points of collaboration and tensions within partnerships between academic institutions and communities.

Exploring Various Dynamics of Institutional Support and Constraints

In response to Research Question 4, the findings revealed various points of institutional support and constraint from academic university partners. This finding centered on the internal dynamics and the institutional politics of the academic institutions that either helped to encourage community-based partnerships or create more tension between universities and communities. While FANHS was very intentional about not accepting university-wide institutional funding and support, the topic of how the internal dynamics of academic institutions operated was pertinent to the U-M Philippine Collections and the Bulosan Center because of the ways that universities are able to be accountable in their role with communities, such as acknowledging historic and institutionalized harm, or by having an already cohesive and connected internal network between departments and repositories on campus. However, this section also details how there can be an added constraint when universities do not have support or communication within their internal structures, making it harder for community organizations to navigate their systems and work with them, as data suggest is the case with the Philippine Collections at U-M.

Acknowledging University Harm to Communities

In light of acknowledging the different points of collaboration that are possible between universities and communities, data related to the actionable steps academic institutions can take in foregrounding their relationships with community members. As described in Chapter 2, universities must navigate the relationship with community partnerships delicately based on the harmful history of universities exploiting marginalized communities for their own ‘academic’ gain (Anyon & Fernández, 2007). To understand if and how the research sites approached this, I asked the participants about the history of university relations with the surrounding communities and if there had been a history of harm. While this did not apply directly to the FANHS Museum

because they did not partner with any universities as an institution, FANHS does partner with the students or Filipino student organizations from nearby universities.

At the Bulosan Center, Jason, the archivist, acknowledged the disciplinary harm that comes with the field of archival studies, specifically around language. Jason stated, “the language is super outdated...What I do in terms of reparative metadata is that I use Library of Congress terms too, but especially for oral histories.” With these statements, Jason discussed how he has to cross reference different terminologies when describing artifacts online because the language could be rooted in racialized narratives and/or from the perspectives of colonialists.

To add to the complexity of the colonial collections, not all Filipinos are receptive to perceiving the history of the collections as harmful or viewing colonialists such as Worcester as ‘the bad guy.’ This was apparent in an example that co-founder of ReConnect/ReCollect, Dr. Deirdre de la Cruz, presented during her interview. She explained that during a community conversation with the ReConnect/ReCollect team about their findings related to the Philippine Collections, they conveyed the narrative of Worcester’s colonial impact on the collections and towards Filipinos. However, after hearing about the collections, some Filipino community members viewed Worcester’s research as credible and wanted to know more instead of wanting to unpack the colonial complexities of Worcester himself. Dr. Deirdre de la Cruz stated,

We gave an early introduction to the project...this was a year ago, and here we're talking about harm and colonial nature, the collections, we're going to decolonize them, and blah, blah, blah, and then this old [Filipino] man-- there's a Q&A-- and he raises his hand and he stands up and he's like, ‘Well what discoveries have come out of the collections?’ And [we] were just like, huh? I don't even know if we comprehended the question...He was like, ‘have there been new species of birds

discovered in the Philippines?’ He wanted to know specifically how this [colonial] research, which he interpreted as research because that’s how they did it--these colonialists—how their research has brought to the fore the uniqueness of the Philippine animal world. And I just remember thinking that is so instructive. I’m going to keep that really close to mind because, again, not everyone is going to understand or even really, not appreciate, but see this whole idea of harm.

Deirdre discusses that while there was an overwhelming response by many Filipino scholars and students who viewed the Philippine Collections at U-M as harmful because of its colonial legacy and racialized representations, not all Filipinos share the same view. This could be related to what some may call the ‘colonial mentality’ of Filipinos (Lee, 1999; David & Okazaki’s, 2010) who have not yet undergone the process of ‘mental decolonization’ (Strobel, 2001; Halagao, 2010). The diversity of Filipino experiences related to regional history, migrant journeys, education, and socioeconomic status all effect the ways that Filipinos view Philippine-U.S. relations, both historically and contemporarily.

As entangled as the conversation around the Philippines and colonization is, the nuance that Deirdre highlights in her interview is that all members of the Filipino community and all of their perspectives matter. So, the question remains: if some of the Filipino community in Michigan do not find the Philippine Collections harmful but others from outside of the community do, *who* gets to make that decision of how to address the collections and their colonial legacies? This conversation is ongoing, and U-M has shown various ways of supporting the conversation by creating platforms for some of the team members of ReConnect/ReCollect to speak about these complicated issues. However, it is critical to be mindful of the relationship of institutions, like U-M, have to racial capitalism, which is the idea that racialized exploitation and

capital accumulation go hand-in-hand (Robinson, 1983). Institutions can often gain economic or social value from their connection to the racial identities of marginalized people; and they have historically done so, particularly university museums. This nuanced dance of acknowledging harm and/or potential of harm by institutions demonstrates that even though universities cannot always forget or avoid a problematic past they have had with marginalized communities in the name of ‘research,’ they can still take ownership and acknowledge the harm done on their side of the partnership.

Institutionalized Support and Constraints

In response to the different points of collaboration and tension with community-engaged work, data show how academic institutions can influence the types of partnerships they have based on the institutional politics they practice. Data specifically pointed to the importance of developing supportive internal networks within institutions. At the Bulosan Center there were many different types of partnerships between the Asian American Studies (AAS) Department, the Bulosan Center, the University Library, and other community stakeholders like the Filipino American Educators Association of California (FAEAC) and Pilipino-American Society for Education (PASE). However, one of the main relationships was between the Bulosan Center’s archivist and the University’s librarians. Jason stated,

I was volunteering for Bulosan since 2016 to when I got hired [in] 2020, all of the librarian assistants were here already for 2018, 2019... so I already had the positive relationship. I have a really good working relationship, which is a rare thing that unfortunately a lot of departments don't have throughout the country too.

Jason acknowledged that the relationship built between the librarians and himself strengthened his role as the archivist for the Bulosan Center and the Welga Digital Archive, which he also

mentioned was a rarity in the field. This was echoed by collections manager at U-M's Museum of Anthropological Archaeology (UMMAA), Jim, who discussed that the relationships between the museums and libraries on U-M campus were isolated before his own engagement with the ReConnect/ReCollect project, which sought to collaborate with the different repositories housing separate items from the Philippine Collections.

Jim highlighted that many people do not even know that the Museum of Anthropological Archaeology exists off campus because they are usually only familiar with the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology that sits in the middle of U-M's central campus. Jim mentioned that the contrast of popularity between the two museums reflects the historical and colonial parallels where most people are unaware of the history of falls outside the 'classics,' or collections from Greece and Rome that many more people are familiar with. He stated,

People don't know that we [UMMAA] exist. And then oh, [there is a] Museum of Archaeology. Because why on earth would you have two museums of archaeology on campus? But again... colonial reasons. And because even the discipline of Archaeology [is] versus the classics, that the classical world— Egypt, Rome, Greece— the classic civilizations are a separate realm of study than the indigenous people of the world. The 'brown' people. That's what we [UMMAA] collect and study... The classic versus archaeology, [we] want to say, 'oh, we don't do that anymore.' But it is so ingrained in the history of anthropology and the classics that it's really hard to extricate yourself from that racist history.

Jim argued that "the nature of the university values independence... but [we] want to unify that system....there are many barriers, like budget." Jim also mentioned that with the project of ReConnect/ReCollect, "We are trying to address the separation in ReConnect... there is

connection during the project but before, it[the repositories] was siloed.” And in line with what he described as people’s unawareness of the museum, when visiting UMMAA for the first time, I had to drive out about 15 minutes from U-M’s central campus to locate it, and I was greeted by an isolated, warehouse building with a small sign that said Research Museums Center and an almost empty parking lot (Fieldnote, September 15, 2022).

Furthermore, Jim acknowledged that the Philippine Collections were spread out across the various repositories on campus but that staff members were not in communication with each other about the collections. He said that before the ReConnect/ReCollect project began, the different repositories that housed the Philippine Collections at U-M were all separated, disjointed, and worked as their own entities. His reflection indicated that U-M’s institutional culture valued more independence and separation, especially within the repositories around the Philippine Collections, at least before the ReConnect/ReCollect project was established.

The initial lack of collaboration between the repositories representing the Philippine Collections at U-M suggested an institutional constraint that made it harder for ReConnect/ReCollect to operate and connect with other important campus entities. Part of ReConnect/ReCollect’s goals was to help bring together all of the repositories to be in communication with another regarding the collections as a result of the university not prioritizing that collaboration.

In contrast to U-M, the perspective that Jason, the archivist, shared during our interview was that the Bulosan Center has a seamless merging experience with UC Davis and their departments because collaboration was already embedded institutionally. Jason further explained that he was able to develop positive relationships with university librarians and with the staff and faculty of the AAS Department at UC Davis because these internal departments were already

invested in what the Bulosan Center was trying to accomplish before it was formally established at the university. This revealed the transparent systems of support internally at UC Davis, but it also highlighted the support that the university had towards the surrounding Filipino community and the effort to build the Bulosan Center.

As compared to the separated repositories at U-M, UC Davis already had internal communication established between different departments and repositories that supported Jason's work as the archivist with the Bulosan Center much more. Compared to the Bulosan Center, U-M's internal response to the Philippine Collections was much more constrained, which could be a result of the Philippine Collections being a 'traditional' university museum that prioritized historical preservation more than public or community accessibility. The implications of U-M having separate repositories that are supposed to represent a shared university collection, such as the Philippine Collections, means that communities would have to confront more barriers when trying to engage with the material. Whereas the Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies was created in community partnership with institutional backing from UC Davis already agreed upon. The awareness that the university was working with community-based partners was already foregrounded, unlike the Philippine Collections at U-M.

The development of successful community and university partnerships must include centering the communities' agencies and that communication is vital in the partnership to take care in advancing the communities' goals (McDonald & Dominguez, 2015). Anyon & Fernández (2007) reflected on their partnership experience and argued that once universities "communicated with partners more explicitly about their commitment to continue providing help in program design and in developing funding, community partners assumed primary responsibility for managing the programs (p. 43). Such emphasis on communication was shown

in Jason's experience working both at UC Davis and for the Bulosan Center, respectively (and collaboratively). Jason described,

Yeah. I have a weird role because I'm literally a librarian employee because I'm an actual librarian here [at UC Davis], but we have a memorandum of understanding that although I am a librarian here, my title is Bulosan Center archivist. It's very specific on what it does, but it also entails the physical preservation, some of the materials that [the Bulosan Center] has will go there if this goes south... Also, the digital preservation will be there also.

Jason affirmed the importance of not only fostering positive relationships, but also of maintaining clear communication between the university and community members. As both an employee for UC Davis and for the Bulosan Center, Jason detailed the understanding of where the artifacts that belong to the Bulosan Center would go should anything happen to the center due to its newness and uncertainty of its longevity. Jason addressed this when he said, "The center is running on its own, but the library is great—it increases public access and also public sustainability because I really doubt UC Davis will fold anytime soon. In terms of the UC campuses, they have the best preservation system." Altogether, data show that in developing positive community and university partnerships, it is important to discuss the responsibilities universities have to their partners and the barriers that they might come across so that unexpected outcomes can be anticipated with clear strategies.

Acknowledging the Intragroup Tension in Doing Community-Based Work

The partnerships of people working together at the three sites across disciplines, academic backgrounds, ages, generational status, gender, and other identity markers was important to acknowledge because even though many shared a Filipino identity, there were still

varying factors that shaped the mental, emotional, and physical labor of Filipinos engaging in community-based work. Some of these factors included gendered differences and the expected labor attached to it, while the other factors related to more structural issues, such as limited funding and resources. In this section, I explain how data revealed that these factors caused some tense working dynamics.

The Gendered Labor of Community Organizing

One of the main findings revealed a point of tension in doing gendered labor at the three sites. Filipinos have had a rich history of community organizing and activism, especially around issues related to education. While there is a longstanding history of both Filipino men and women mobilizing and advocating for social change through various platforms, the intersectionality of gender and race is critical when it comes to understanding that Filipinas play a disproportionate role in community-based work. The Pinays that have been involved in community organizing, both historically and contemporarily, have been a pillar to progress for the Filipino community. They have had to navigate the ways their different identities, such as race and gender show up in spaces of civic engagement and partnerships as compared to their male counterparts (Francisco, 2014), as encapsulated by the experiences and stories of the Filipinas I interviewed. This also ties back to the concept of Pinayism and the ways that Filipina womanhood should be recognized to challenge patriarchal history that is engrained within Filipino culture (Tintiangco-Cubales & Sacramento, 2009), which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Stacey, co-founder and historian for the Bulosan Center, described her nuanced experiences with gendered labor while engaging in community-based work. During her interview, the relevance of gender was revealed organically as she spoke with authentic candor

around the complexities that come with acknowledging, rejecting, and participating in certain aspects of the center's work. In the narrative provided below, Stacey brought a sense of ownership to these tensions that was articulated with grace. She stated:

Gender labor, yeah, I can't help myself. Because we do internships, we help mentor undergraduates. I can't help myself when it comes to another female Filipina student who needs help with something. I can't disentangle myself from the type of affective labor that my grandmother and my mother taught me. I don't know if that makes any sense. I will not be tough to a Filipina when she says she doesn't know how to do something. I can't say no to that. So, for sure, I can't put that gendered compartment on my brain away. And so much of that has to do with gender because that's care work.

And so, it's only within the last year that I say that I do community work because before, I would just be like, "Well, I talk story with elders. I check in on them. I try to make community archives so that they're remembered." So, to me, I was just like, "Is that really community scholarship work? I don't know." Because when I see community scholar activism, I'm like...[that's]consistently and more than consistently doing projects that are not just one field specific, and getting actual policy done on the table. And then people recognize your work, both men and women. Because it's one thing to be recognized by other Filipina sisters, right? It's another when a Filipino machismo man says, "Oh, yeah. They're [Filipina scholars] in critical Filipinx studies." So, I just didn't feel like I had done enough to be able to, not proudly, but to say like, "Oh, yeah. I do community scholar work."

Stacey added,

And then having other people in the community tell me that they think I'm a community scholar because it takes so many levels of me tearing down those barriers in my mind of *utang na loob* [translated to a debt of gratitude and reciprocity in English] or shame like *hiya* [translated to shame in English]. It takes a lot for me to actually tear those things down in order to get to that point where I can say, "Oh, yeah, I have done something that was fruitful." And so I can claim, or not claim, I can take space with other community members and say, "We're doing this together, therefore we're all community scholars." It took me a while. But a lot of that has to do with how I've internalized machismo, how I've internalized martyrdom like straight-up Filipino martyrdom. It takes a lot. And it requires other people to tell me to take that wrecking ball, and it's okay to smash it even though it makes you feel ashamed. And so even working with community members as a Filipino, my God, how many times have I come across machismo? And it's in the most disgusting forms—even if it's community members—that I cannot stand. But I have to work through it because these are community members.

Stacey's narrative offered immensely rich and critically reflective insight to the theme of tense gendered dynamics being something that some Filipinas face engaging in community-based work. Her narrative spoke to the realities that there is no 'right' way to show up and do this work because it is messy and complicated at times. It was revealed that there are material consequences, such as extra commitments taken on by Filipinas, or the need to do more to produce what is considered 'credible' scholarship, that Filipinas have to endure that are not shared by their male peers.

During the FANHS Conference, a group of Filipina young professionals and emerging scholars discussed how the consequences of gendered labor can eventually turn into Filipinas being in competition with their male peers. Whereby Filipina scholars are passed over for professional promotions over Filipino male scholars, there is a professional wage-gap in salary by gender, and more responsibilities are given to Filipinas, etc. (Fieldnote, August 14, 2022). Though it may be unintentional, Filipinos may actually contribute to some of the emotional and intellectual harm that Filipinas face. The gendered labor that Stacey discussed was seen in the mental and emotional sense, but also in the physical sense because she has had to take on additional responsibilities that compromise her time and finances when she does not get paid for some of the work she does. Within her narrative, Stacey also acknowledged the complexity that comes with recognizing the way patriarchy and sexism operate in the domain of doing community-based work within academia, while also participating in the gendered dynamics of being Filipina because of the care and socialization of her own cultural upbringing.

Deirdre, U-M professor and co-PI of ReConnect/ReCollect, provided a clear illustration of the assumed increased capacity of women and their overtasking. On the day of her interview, Deirdre informed me that she came down with a bad head cold but reassured me that she tested negative for COVID-19. It had only been a few days since she gave a university-wide lecture on the reparative work her and her ReConnect/ReCollect team were doing with the Philippines Collection at the University of Michigan. Even though she had come from a few meetings that day, she had a cup of tea in one hand and tissues in the other, ready to be interviewed. I was empathetic towards her busy schedule, health, and what I assumed was her running on fumes, but when I asked her if she wanted to reschedule the interview, she declined and nonchalantly added, “It’s whatever, I got a kid at [elementary] school. There’s no way around it. [I’m] just getting

whatever he gets.” In this case, I sensed that it was not Deirdre’s lack of capacity that is an issue but rather that on top of the community-engaged work she is doing, Deirdre is also tasked with the responsibilities of motherhood, as well as taking care of her own physical well-being, a full teaching load, managing student mentees, and this is all in the midst of a global pandemic.

Filipina participants’ focus on gendered differences in their work was not a critique on Filipino men in their roles of community organizing or academic contributions; rather, they emphasized that Filipinas are often held responsible to meet additional demands of community organizing and academic contributions, while also tasked with physically, emotionally, and mentally taxing work that their male counterparts are not expected to handle. Filipino women often have to deal with stereotypical gender norms that are embedded within the culture as a result of colonialism and patriarchy where they usually have to carry the labor for home life as well, including caretaking, interpersonal communication, cleaning, cooking, etc.

Deirdre continued to speak to the overextension of mother-scholars’ labor can often lead to burn out or having to be selective in what/who gets prioritized (Lapayese, 2012). In her interview she discussed the different academic projects she wanted to take on, though doing so could compromise her health. She explained,

And then when that's [ReConnect/ReCollect] done...I'm thinking I really want to finish my second book, but I also feel like [the ReConnect/ReCollect project] has just totally taken flight. There's so many different ways you can go. There's so many things that it's kind of sparked. So, I'm not sure exactly. I think [doing it all] would be the ideal world, but then again, I'm sick. I've been sick so much this semester in part because I'm burning my candle at both ends. So, we'll see...That's the most honest answer, by the way.

Deirdre's response emphasizes the reality and consequences of having to manage the different responsibilities in all of her roles and how it impacted her mentally and physically. This theme was not just unique to Deirdre, but to several other Filipinas that were central to this study.

Community scholar and FANHS president, Emily, who is also a mother-scholar and professor at the University of Michigan, affirmed the legacy of other Pinays who have helped shape who she is in a poem she wrote, entitled "Where Are You From" that was published in *Troubling Borders: An Anthology of Art and Literature by Southeast Asian Women in the Diaspora*. Emily described, "I am from the strong waves of HERstory, of OURstory, of Pinay califas [slang for Pinays from California] crafting poetry and weaving truths, giving birth to *babaylans* [translated as shamans in English] and *diwata* [translated as mythological spirit in English] dreams. I am from borrowed time and trespassed lands, Where I can forgive, but never forget." In this excerpt of her poem, Emily references Pinayism that disrupts the patriarchal telling of *history*, and she names the distinction of *herstory* and the inclusive *ourstory* when discussing the past. As mentioned in earlier chapters, Pinayism is a pedagogical praxis that recognizes "Pinay struggle, survival, service, sisterhood, and strength" (Tintiango-Cubales and Sacramento, 2009, p. 180).

While at the FANHS Museum, I also noticed a collage of Filipinas that stood out to me because of the emphasis on their contributions. The significant photo exhibit, as seen in Figure 65 below, was entitled "Pinay Visionaries – Authors and Educators" that included Filipina professionals, scholars, and educators who had made meaningful contributions in their field. Some of these Filipinas included Dorothy Cordova, co-founder of FANHS, and Dr. Dawn Mabalon, Pinay educator, historian, and author, both of whom have been mentioned in this study. During my visit to FANHS Museum, I felt a sense of validation in knowing that the

contributions of these Filipinas were being recognized and honored; but on another end, it made me sad to realize that I did not know some of the other women in the exhibit, which is reflective on the importance that representation can have especially for Filipinas.



Figure 66. “Pinay Visionaries- Authors and Educators.” Source: Field photograph by author on July 2, 2022. FANHS Museum. Stockton, California.

The unawareness I had of some of the other Filipinas in the photo exhibit reflects the intersectional oppression where Filipinas are often even more erased than men from an already invisible history.

The labor and demands of community organizing has historically and currently fallen on the shoulders of women (Samson, 2005; Tintiango-Cubales & Sacramento, 2009), and data specifically suggest that pedagogical and curricular development, community-initiated partnerships with universities, and educational policies have been linked to the work and effort of Pinays too. Even though gendered labor has disproportionately overtaken Filipinas doing

community-based work, data suggest there is still an overwhelming display of resiliency, care, and acceptance from Filipinas to understand the nuances of gendered labor and actively engage with the work anyway.

Limited Funding and Resources

Some additional sources of tension that made it harder for communities to create spaces of learning for Filipino students were limited funding and resources. For the sites that were involved with the most community engagement, the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center experienced different resources that impacted public access to information. These experiences differed from the Philippine Collections at U-M who had a comparatively large amount of resources and greater public access to that information. The correlation between grassroots, community-based organizations and inadequate funding is not unheard of; it is often this type of work that is most grounded in underserved, marginalized communities that get the least funding (Wallerstein et al., 2019).

As shown in Figure 67, a local Stockton newspaper printed a story about FANHS securing Stockton as the designated site for their national museum, however, this newspaper was printed back in August 1993. The FANHS Museum did not open its doors until October 2016, more than twenty years later. One of the consequences that FANHS has had to face by rejecting institutional support from entities like University of Washington or University of Pacific (in Seattle, WA and Stockton, CA, respectively) has been the funding. After over two decades in planning and grassroots fundraising, the FANHS Museum was able to be established. While this could indicate the financial consequences of grassroots approaches to organizing, it also shows the dedication, care, and passion that community members have to continue to fight for their space both figuratively and literally.



Figure 67. “Filipino American society works to preserve history” written by Bridgette Rose McNeill. Source: The Stockton Record, August 1993.

Unsurprisingly, the consequences of not having a surplus of funding meant a lack of resources, especially for the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center, who lacked the comparatively large institutional funding and resources of the U-M site. Even though the Bulosan Center is hosted by UC Davis, one of the main principles of the Bulosan Center leaders is that it remains grassroots funded. One of the ways that this was most visible was through the physical space and storage, or lack thereof, for the collections.

The limited physical space for the archives, which was previously discussed in Chapter Four in reference to the Bulosan Center, created additional barriers for those that wanted to access them for educational or research purposes. An example of this could be the overflowing records kept in the open at the FANHS National Pinoy Archives in Seattle, as seen in Figure 67

below. This image illustrated the confined spaces of artifacts that had to be stacked on top of each other because of lack of space, though it does show that they were organized as best as possible, with a small note stating ‘chronological order’ helping to display that. There were no finding aids or catalog records that helped to give some context to the archive because that was a resource not afforded to FANHS. This was just one of the limitations of FANHS being a community-based organization run by volunteers. The Bulosan Center also had to deal with limited resources, especially in regard to digital and physical storage space. Bulosan Center’s archivist, Jason, described that when backing up artifacts, they should be kept in two physical locations. He said, “ideally, it’s best to have things [artifacts] in two geographic locations... as long as it’s not in the same general area. For us, we have one location. And then location two is physical hard drives. It’s just a scan, but it’s either a scan or nothing. I can’t afford to send things to Washington [Smithsonian Institution].” Jason described that although they did not have funds to physically back up their archives in two distinct locations, the Bulosan Center was resourceful enough to utilize digital storage space.

Additionally, at the Bulosan Center, the educational posters that were created by members of the Welga Project before the center was developed are available online, but they cannot afford to print out hard copies. Welga Digital Archive website states “The Welga Project provides free digital reproduction of these educational posters. Funding issues prevents us from providing physical copies of these posters, but you are free to print them yourselves on services such as Zazzle” (<https://welgadigitalarchive.omeka.net/posters-free-to-download>). During our interview, Jason, the archivist for the Bulosan Center, explained that though the center does not have enough funds to print out hard copies of the posters to give to the public, it would be nice if they could (Fieldnote, July 6, 2022). In comparison to the repositories that the Philippine

Collections are associated with, such as the U-M Museum of Anthropological Archaeology and the Bentley Historical Library, the institutional resources afforded to them were in stark contrast to FANHS and the Bulosan Center. The U-M archives themselves were much more updated, organized, and maintained due to the institutional support of full-time staff. An example of additional resources that U-M repositories offered when exploring the Philippine Collections were reading rooms, where researchers could view the archives in a maintained working area. These reading rooms had large tables, bookmarks, gloves, magnifying glasses, etc.



Figure 68. Collage of photos illustrating the volunteer-organized, archival storage at the FANHS National Pinoy Archives. Source: Field photograph by author on August 10, 2022. Seattle, Washington.



Figure 69. Collage of photos illustrating the archival storage for U-M Philippine Collections at the U-M Museum of Anthropology and the Bentley Historical Library. Source: Field photograph by author on September 10, 2022. University of Michigan.

It was interesting to note the choice of FANHS leaders to center the community and reject institutional support was often an agentic choice demonstrating resistance to conformity or compliance. For FANHS, co-founder Dorothy Cordova, described the stance of FANHS being centered as a community organization and not ever being institutionalized. She stated:

Universities wanted to partner with us, they did. But no, if we did it would cut out the community. So, we didn't. Because when we started [FANHS], they didn't pay attention to us. When Fred's [Cordova] book came out, they laughed at us... It was better research than they'd ever seen but they laughed because we didn't have other people [research participants], we didn't regurgitate what other people were saying. *We* were the primary sources. Our history came from the people that experienced it. So no, we won't. What do we do when ten universities want us? Because we do

that and we close ourselves off to our people—the people who constitute FANHS. And they won't be validated. I've had people [academics] tell me to send them the archives [to take care of it] but I've said no! Because they don't even have the people to understand what's there. And once we give it to them, it's dead. It's static.

The way that it is with us is that it continues growing (Fieldnote, August 11, 2022).

This deliberate rejection of institutionalization was also seen through the Bulosan Center who took a similar stance, but not as explicitly. Though the center was established at UC Davis and hosted by Asian American Studies, it was started as a completely grassroots funded, community-led center. The historical preservation, education, and advocacy that the Bulosan Center focuses on are grounded by issues that are pertinent to the surrounding community and although some of its resources are shared with the university, most of its funding came from grassroots efforts. The intentional choice to focus on funding through community networks could be seen as resistance, but it could also be a result of having to pioneer a new center for Filipino studies without any previous blueprints. The vision for Bulosan Center, and ideas about how it could affect Filipino Americans before it was established, seemed to help fuel the collective financial responsibility that ended up funding the center. It was the community that helped birth the first center for Filipino studies.

Although FANHS is not officially affiliated with any institutional support and operates as its own national non-profit organization, observations from the FANHS Conference suggest it is the magnet that attracts institutional efforts to bridge communities and universities, such as Bulosan and the ReConnect/ReCollect Project (Fieldnote, August 14, 2022). As Auntie Dorothy noted, “FANHS is not an academic thing. Academia did not accept us as people, we had to go out there and say ‘hey, pay attention’” (Fieldnote, August 11, 2022). FANHS has to pay a

different consequential price to not being afforded the same resources and privileges that may come with being institutionalized, such as physical space and funding; however, the unapologetic approach that the Cordovas took to keep FANHS distinctly within the community and away from academic institutions has been consistent and respected given their particular historical context.

The Weight of Labor for Elder Volunteers

The limited funding and resources for some of the sites ended up resulting in the reliance of community members to make up for that deficit, which added to the tensions for communities trying to expand learning opportunities for Filipino students. The demanding labor that was unintended and yet required from volunteers was seen through the completely grassroots, non-profit, community-based approach to the FANHS museum.

The community elders and volunteers at the FANHS Museum that I talked to, Auntie Terri, Uncle Chris, Auntie Elana, described that they were volunteering their time and effort to keep the doors open at the museum. Their ages ranged from their late 50s to late 60s, and they proudly spoke with vibrancy and energy when it came to our interview. While Uncle Chris and Auntie Elana were retired, Auntie Terri still was working a full-time job on top of volunteering at the museum. Auntie Terri discussed how the work of FANHS as a grassroots organization and a museum has been the product of volunteers dedicating their time and labor because of their passion, but that the reality of our increasingly expensive society is changing. Auntie Terri elaborated, “And they do know that [FANHS is] probably going to have to pay somebody, nobody's getting paid now, everybody's all volunteer, but if somebody new comes in, they're not going to be able to do that for free.” Auntie Terri acknowledged the notion that while the volunteers have come out of passion and dedication for this work to preserve history and culture, the labor to run a museum is demanding and worthy of including paid staff members.

Further in her interview, Auntie Terri described how her, and the other elders, were the ones who managed operations of the museum, and were also the ones doing the archiving, digitizing, outreach, etc. The different tasks taken up by the elders are usually done by trained archivists, museum curators, graphic designers, educators, and marketers who would usually be paid for their skilled professions. In the context of an older generation having to learn the scope of advancing technology, Auntie Terri described how they were having to educate themselves on digitizing their artifacts in order to make them more accessible online. Auntie Terri stated:

Well, we have stuff, but the thing is, not everything is digitized. Our next step, we've been [doing] ourselves here, we've been scanning stuff... So, we've got it all in the computer and then we've been trying to use different cataloging software, but we need more manpower and help with digitizing, cataloging, and we're all learning this stuff...It is a steep learning curve...[then] we come in, we have to clean everything... So right now, we are limited mainly because of our volunteers, there's only so many of us.

Auntie Terri's response acknowledges the amount of labor that goes into having to learn new technical skills, especially in archiving, which further displays the consequence of FANHS's reliance on volunteer support.

Auntie Terri's tone during her interview indicated a reverence for this work more than a burden, yet she explained this work was further compounded by the disruptions of COVID-19. Auntie Terri mentioned that communication was a challenge during the pandemic, especially when trying to talk to the other museum chapters which was a supportive network to share resources and engage with more community members. Auntie Terri described:

And now, as far as FANHS is, because during COVID everything slowed down. And because a lot of the chapters were started with bridge generation people because they were trying to record the history of their parents in that area. Not a lot of them were computer savvy. But now because of COVID, we've all had to learn how to do Zoom and all of these things. And so, we've been trying to get the chapters now to get to communicate that way. So once a month now we do have a Zoom meeting with all the chapters, not all of them show up.

Considering that many of the elders were having to navigate Zoom, an online video communication program, for the first time, communicating online now became an additional piece to learn. It occurred to me that this was an issue of inequity as Zoom's basic service plan only allowed 40 minutes to host meetings for free, thus promoting users to have to pay to upgrade their subscription.

The global pandemic affected many communities, though it had a disproportionate effect on Black and Brown communities specifically. Community organizing already takes an emotional and mental toll, however the elders that volunteered at the FANHS Museum were additionally taking on physical labor as they had to care for the museum in the midst of a global pandemic. The elders reflected on the toll the pandemic was taking on them and stated,

Auntie Terri: Because of COVID, people aren't able to come here [to the museum] on a whim, they have to make a reservation. Because of also COVID, we lost a lot of our volunteers, so we have to check our schedule.

Uncle Chris:

Not for being sick, but just being cautious.

Auntie Terri:

And because they were all elderly too.

Elana:

We have a compromised group.

The excerpt shows that the global pandemic affected the operation and maintenance of the museums volunteer system because the majority of volunteers were elders, who were part of the immunocompromised group vulnerable to COVID-19. While Auntie Terri, Uncle Chris, and Auntie Elana mentioned that they often had young people come into the museum to volunteer, such as student interns, young researchers, and grandkids, there was still an overwhelming presence of elders who showed up out of passion for having lived through some of the movements and events that were displayed in the museum. Still, the amount of labor that came from the elders also came with a cost because while the labor came from love, it was also heavy and unpaid.

There seemed to be a trade off when it came to the themes of community-based efforts based on the Bulosan Center and the FANHS Museum: if you do not have the funding to build what you need, then the people will still show up to do the work to take on the tasks, even if that have to learn on the spot. This differed from the Philippine Collections at U-M because there were salaried staff members who were well trained in their positions, such as collections managers, directors of collections, directors of libraries, and librarians for museum studies. Auntie Terri illustrated this theme when she said, “At the same time, because we joined a historical society to learn about our ancestors... right now we had to learn how to [run] a museum.”

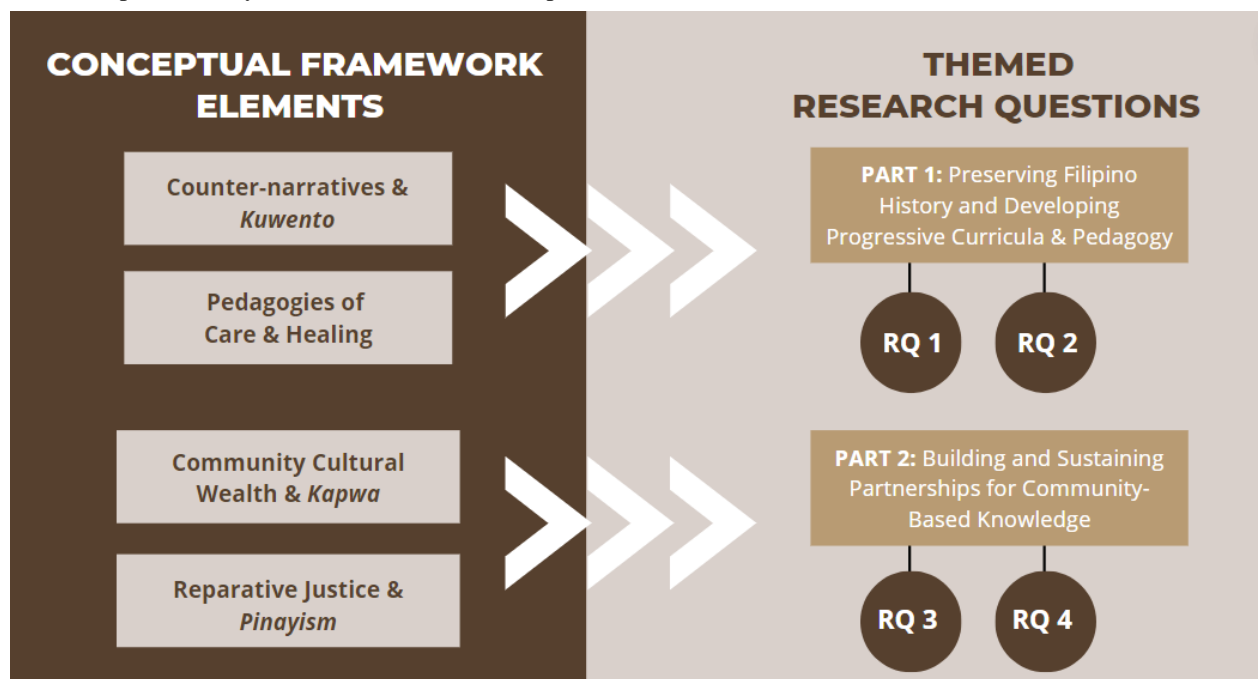
The contributions of community members were laborious but foundational to building these community-based sites. Though these museums did not have a lot of funding or resources

because they were community-based, they were still able to rely heavily on the value of their social networks and the grassroots partnerships. In the next and final chapter, I will circle back to my research questions and provide an analysis based on the single-site and cross-site findings. Using a decolonizing and critical race framework that focuses on critical and community responsive pedagogies through a Filipino and ethnic studies lens, I will discuss the preservation efforts of Filipino communities to develop emancipatory educational opportunities. Additionally, I will discuss what building and sustaining partnerships look like through institutional and community support and constraints.

Chapter 6 Analysis & Conclusion

The past two chapters have explored the findings in response to the research questions that guided the study. This chapter offers a discussion of the analytical points that reflect the different themes that emerged from the results, and the way they are related to the core strands of the conceptual framework, including decolonial theory, critical race theory, and critical Filipino pedagogies, as shown in the table below.

Table 8. Visual Map of the Way the Elements of the Conceptual Framework are Related to the Research Questions



Analysis

Chapter Four focused on the individual, site-based data from each of the research sites and illustrated the different artifacts and their socio-political and cultural meanings through visuals and text. The findings also highlighted the various forms of resistance on the part of Filipino communities in response to racialization and erasure, colonial narratives, and symbolic

violence. The data revealed the way each of the sites honored experiential and community knowledge.

In Chapter Five, the cross-site findings illustrated themes associated with the sites' activities related to schooling and youth engagement, educational policy and ethnic studies, the value of site workers' and leaders' social capital, the roles of various community partners, and the points of synergistic collaboration or challenging tensions between universities and communities with respect to institutional structures, relationships, funding, and other resources.

Documentation for Kuwento and Crafting Counter-narratives

Research Question 1 focused on the process that both Filipinos and white Americans used to document and preserve Filipino history for educational and cultural purposes. As discussed in the previous chapters, Filipinos' documentation of their history was a form of self-preservation and reclamation as the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center demonstrated. Given the core strands of the study's conceptual framework, CRT focuses on "... addressing the hegemonic system of white supremacy" (Decuir & Dixon, 2004, p. 27) and relates to the work of the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center. Both sites centered local Filipino communities because of their histories in confronting racism (Ladson-Billings, 1999) and their exclusion in the country's broader historical narrative (Cordova, 1983).

In addition, by focusing on Filipino communities' voices through the cultural act of storytelling, talkstory, or *Kuwento* (story or the act of sharing stories), *Kuwento* was used as a way to position the Filipinos' lived experiences in a larger socio-historical context to make connections between their community and history (Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2016). As the Bulosan Center demonstrated, *Kuwento* can also be seen in the use of post-custodialism archiving by positioning community members as the owners of their own historical artifacts. As

is the case in many communities of color, storytelling is a way to pass down history between generations (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; DeCuir & Dixon, 2004; Iseke, 2013). These counter-narratives (DeCuir & Dixon, 2004) that the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center provided challenge the dominant lens, or master narrative, that has rendered Filipinos invisible throughout American history (Cordova, 1983).

Montecinos argued that "... a master narrative essentializes and wipes out the complexities and richness of a group's cultural life" and engages in stereotyping communities of color (cited in Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 27). These dominant narratives were exemplified in one of the major findings from the Philippine Collections at U-M that revealed the way that white, Western narratives have controlled the way Filipino histories have been documented and (mis)represented in the U.S. because of cultural exploitation and Western imperialism. The danger in one-sided stories from "master narratives," "monovocal narratives," or "majoritarian stories" is that there is not only the harm attributable to a marginalized group being erased or made invisible within history, but there is also the risk of being included, albeit through essentialized and racialized tropes.

Farag (2021) discussed the importance of learning about marginalized people's history and the way the CRT frameworks are useful as a tool to "... help [students] lead productive discussions about this country's history of racial discrimination, in which students come to understand that we all stand to benefit from learning about each other's racial and ethnic identities" (p. 19). Data that reflect Dr. Deirdre De la Cruz's reparative goals and humanizing pedagogy at U-M and the Bulosan Center's co-founder and senior historian, Stacey Salinas's, documentation goals and archival practices support this as well.

While the community-centered research sites demonstrate clearly the examples of Filipinos' agentic documentation of history, the reality of white Western narratives that the histories of colonialism promote continue to affect the way Filipinos are perceived. As seen in the Philippine Collections at U-M, the dominant, hegemonic narratives of the past contrast with Filipinos' counter-narratives, as evident in their own historical documentation.

ReConnect/ReCollect's work with U-M and the surrounding Filipino community in Michigan, (Washtenaw County and Metro Detroit) has offered a blueprint of the way to confront colonial collections by using reparative justice to decolonize the archives (Mignolo, 2007). Although the Philippine Collections at U-M is not liberatory itself, the work related to reclaiming the Philippine Collections through collaborative efforts is an example of liberatory and decolonizing practices. ReConnect/ReCollect's work and their reparative efforts with the Philippine Collections at U-M offers a step toward what culturally responsive stewardship is compared to 'traditional' museums and their collections (Lonetree, 2021). This includes reclaiming colonial collections to humanize Filipino people within the archives and demonstrating efforts to resist the original archives' colonial project and reveal Filipino voices.

Overall, the findings related to Research Question 1 are associated with CRT's core tenet of counter-narratives, as seen in Filipino communities' use of *Kuwento* to reject dominant Western narratives. Factors of regional differences and the context of community history were found to influence these stories. In addition, strands of decolonial theory, such as the re-embodiment of knowledge and relationality are associated with Filipinos' responses of historical and personal reclamation to distance themselves from the colonial mentality (David & Okazaki, 2010).

Community Responsive Pedagogy as Resistance, Care, and Healing

The findings related to pedagogical and curriculum development that address Research Question 2 connect back to the threads of CRT and ethnic studies pedagogy.

As the findings emphasized, the resistance that Filipinos demonstrated in response to the exclusion and misrepresentation imply a need for greater educational development that can help expose broader audiences and Filipino youth to more well-rounded and humanizing narratives about Filipinos and Philippine history. The examples of the FANHS museum, which demonstrated youth-engagement with the Filipino collections, and the Bulosan Center's work on a representational curriculum are evidence of ethnic studies pedagogy that prioritizes students to interrogate their identities and experiences critically in relation to their environments (Sleeter, 2011). The connection between youth and place-based contexts, as evident in the FANHS Museum and Uncle Chris's desire for young Filipinos to learn about their local history, relate back to Tintiangco-Cubales and Duncan-Andrade's (2021) scholarship on community responsive pedagogy (CRP), which honors a community's specific needs by prioritizing the history and people within the place-based context. Ethnic studies pedagogy operates as an interdisciplinary tool, as the site staff and/or community volunteers used it to connect what is being taught in the classroom (and in museums in this dissertation) to students' lives outside of the classroom (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008).

Together with pedagogical approaches, a more representational curriculum is needed to connect students with their identity. The notion of representation is nuanced because while Filipinos need to be included within mainstreaming schooling curricula, there is the risk that Filipino history and culture will be whitewashed further (Sandoval et al., 2016) or reduced to the confines of multicultural curricula that do not interrogate the Philippines' socio-political history critically (Sleeter, 1995). This was evidenced in the Bulosan Center's process of developing

curricula on Filipino farmworkers in California that are consistent with ethnic studies policy. Their curricula focused on having students analyze their own realities of community histories in response to the lack of representational curricula about Filipino Americans. Those realities conveyed the importance of having students engage with curricula that represent their racial/cultural identities because, as Uncle Chris explained, Filipino youth must learn about their history later in life because they do not always know about their own cultural past. Representation within the curricula does not necessarily embody liberatory curricula fully; however, the data from the Bulosan Center imply that when Filipinos develop curricula critically, it resists the dominant, hegemonic narratives that exclude them from the larger American history. Therefore, developing culturally responsive curricula includes leveraging the community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) of such Filipino educators as Dr. Robyn Rodriguez at the Bulosan Center and Dr. Deirdre de la Cruz at U-M, and including them as resources for a more liberatory practice. Moving forward to develop a curriculum that has a more radical and decolonizing effect would require more youth to participate, confront, and challenge the inequities in the classroom, which will be explained later in the recommendation section.

Although Filipino communities are engaging in acts of resistance, there remains the fact that not all Filipinos agree with the ideology that they were a colonized people. As mentioned earlier, after more than 500 years of colonization, the data support the notion that many Filipinos have been indoctrinated with white, Western epistemic beliefs that have contributed to a colonial mentality (Lee, 1999; David & Okazaki, 2010). To undergo mental decolonization (Strobel, 2001), critical consciousness (Freire, 1970) must be reflected in the curricula and pedagogy. Therefore, while culturally responsive curricula and pedagogy may seem rudimentary in the context of radical education today, it still serves as an important tool to heighten critical

consciousness that resists the epistemic violence against Filipinos who are forgotten and misrepresented within schools (Cordova, 1983; Tejada et al., 2003).

Envisioning a fully decolonized future includes liberating all historically marginalized and oppressed peoples, and liberatory education must reconcile with the harmful histories of the past first. Studies that have revealed the colonial trauma and epistemological violence that Filipinos have had to endure provide implications for the pedagogical approaches that require centering healing for Filipino youth (Tintiango-Cubales, 2016; Akom, 2011). Pedagogical practices of healing involve a communal approach that focuses on humanizing Filipinos and extending care to one another. The Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies' co-founder and senior historian, Stacey Salinas, mentioned in an interview that "... to do decolonial frameworks properly— or at least well—is to *care*." Practicing teaching that highlights love, compassion, healing, and caring is instrumental for teachers to move toward liberation, as Black womanist scholarship and practices have suggested (Ladson-Billings, 1996; hooks, 2015). The data from both FANHS members and the Bulosan Center support such pedagogical approaches. However, the findings from U-M's Philippine Collections did not inherently demonstrate a pedagogy that focused on healing and caring on its own. Instead, ReConnect/ReCollect's historical reclamation humanized the Indigenous people within the Philippine Collections at U-M and demonstrated a level of care for the ancestors of the past.

While I acknowledge the realistic critiques and limitations of decolonization within schools, I also maintain that it is necessary to continue to envision and develop curricula and pedagogical approaches rooted in a liberatory, decolonizing framework. The findings emphasized the importance of considering the origin of archival collections, community participation and agency, and educational efforts. These findings have implications that

encourage students and youth to engage critically with the historical repositories as resources for conversations about such issues as (de)colonialism, liberation, and transformation. This could be accomplished by analyzing documents (as in this dissertation study), collecting oral histories, or capturing photo stories, for example.

The following discussion addresses the thematic research questions about preserving Filipino history and developing progressive curricula and pedagogy by emphasizing the importance of building and sustaining partnerships for community-based knowledge.

Collaboration and Use of Social Capital for Kapwa

The community cultural wealth that Filipino community scholars possessed—Emily Lawsin of FANHS for example—acted as capital in establishing groundbreaking centers and museums like the Bulosan Center and the FANHS Museum. Filipino professionals’ expansive social networks in interdisciplinary fields suggests that collaboration is essential for community-engaged organizations or projects to sustain their operation and expansion. In light of CRT, communities of color and their networks help resist forms of oppression because of the strengths and benefits of resources that community cultural wealth (CCW) affords (Solórzano & Solórzano, 1995; Yosso, 2005). This is not to imply that CCW supersedes material wealth and funding, because the reality is that communities of color must resort to utilizing CCW sometimes in response to their lack of funding and resources as a larger result of a capitalistic, neoliberal system. Rather, it is to say that despite the lack of funding, Filipinos have been resourceful in leveraging CCW to support the establishment of community-based educational sites, such as the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center.

In considering developing community-based partnerships, it is important to understand the financial reality associated with grassroots funding and community organizations because

there are potential consequences, such as delayed planning and production, and uncertainty related to future sustainability. The best way to prepare and perhaps avoid these consequences is to use CCW and social capital to yield material resources, such as funding or labor, from the networks of community and organization members. This is particularly crucial if academic institutional support is being offered but rejected, like with the FANHS Museum refusing university resources like archival storage facilities and funding. The sociopolitical choice to forgo institutionalized support in favor of remaining within the community means that community-based organizations like FANHS must depend solely upon their networks and partnerships.

Additionally, it is important to acknowledge how the labor from Filipinos and their social networks can be leveraged by academic institutions in ways that relate to racial capitalism, as seen in the example of the ReConnect/ReCollect project and its link to the U-M Philippine Collections. Racial capitalism is the concept that capitalism develops and operates within the reproduction and maintenance of racism wherein social and economic value is extracted from racialized labor and exploitation (Kelley, 2017; Robinson, 1983). Under the lens of racial capitalism, the division of global economy is reflected in the history of colonialism, disposition of land, and slavery. This concept is important to acknowledge and briefly unpack as it connects back to the labored work of Filipino scholars and community members working with academic institutions.

An example of racial capitalism overlapping within this larger study could be seen with the U-M Philippine Collections. In contrast to the FANHS Museum, which relies heavily on its own social capital, U-M's ReConnect/ReCollect project is an institutional response to the harm caused by the University's collections. And, U-M benefits not only from hosting the Philippine

Collections, but also from the Filipino scholars who are confronting the colonial nature of those collections. Indeed, challenging the colonial collections and bringing about change through research, partnership, and advocacy was largely initiated by the individual Filipino co-PIs who now lead the reparative project rather than from a broader U-M effort. However, for the ReConnect/ReCollect team, there is a mutual benefit that U-M offers the project and team members who are provided with institutional funding and a certain level of autonomy to conduct their research in their own way. This reciprocity helps reject notions of exploitation as there were affordances for the labor involved. Still, there is a delicate partnership between institutions and racialized labor that are undoubtedly nuanced and it proves most beneficial when there is a convergence of interests, such as shared resources and institutional support, for all parties involved. Understanding the nuances of contemporary partnerships helps contribute to the liberatory goals of providing knowledge preservation and production for Filipino youth because of the different purposes that certain types of partnerships and their labor fulfill.

In regard to social capital, ReConnect/ReCollect still emphasizes the need for collective labor in similar ways as the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center, which demonstrates the value of solidarity and communal support for liberation. However, its Midwestern community history is different when considering Filipinos migration patterns, history of activism, identity formation, socioeconomic status, etc. in the region. As a result, there is a bit of contrast in the types of partnerships and social capital demonstrated by the ReConnect/ReCollect Project at U-M in which the community involvement does not appear as strongly rooted as the California-based FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center. The different accounts of social capital between the sites can be attributed to the ReConnect/ReCollect project being in an early iteration phase and its ability to rely on the institutional support of hired staff, faculty, and student research

assistants in a way that the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center do not. Instead, the latter sites have strongly rooted social capital that serve as a means of survival because they were built out of the community from the ground up. A way to value and share the labor amongst FANHS and Bulosan has been to critically lean into the cultural practice of *kapwa*.

The key point of Critical *Kapwa* pedagogy, which focuses on the spirit of *kapwa* (shared identity) within the Filipino culture stresses the importance of community as an integral part of understanding collective identity (Desai, 2016). The value of *kapwa* is instrumental in successful collaborations because it involves humanizing one another in the deconstruction of oppressive systems (Desai, 2016). As a result, the concept of social networks is expanded into a family work ethos that represents a more intimate relationship based upon compassion, trust, and support for each other, which the team members who were a part of ReConnect/ReCollect's project demonstrated, as well as the FANHS members and the Bulosan Center's staff. More importantly, one of *kapwa*'s critical pillars includes becoming *diwa(ta)*, or becoming whole. Recognizing partners for their whole humanity includes uplifting and supporting movements in collective liberation because it becomes a responsibility that we owe ourselves and others in the spirit of *kapwa* (Desai, 2016).

While community is a meaningful and valued resource, as the research sites demonstrated, it is still important to recognize that 'community' should not be overgeneralized and there are variances in Filipino communities because we are not a monolithic group (Espiritu, 1992). This refers to Filipinos' differential knowledge, ideologies, and positionalities that nuance the collectiveness of community and can thereby influence community goals. Considering these discrepancies, the concept of community has meaningful significance and still serves as an invaluable resource when engaging in collaborative partnerships.

The value of engaging with and forming community-based partnerships is seen through knowledge building and cultural production derived from Filipinos' experiential and community knowledge. According to Filipino scholar and creator of critical Filipino pedagogy, or FilCrit, Michael Viola (2009) stated "The principal attention for FilCrit pedagogy is building upon Filipino/a experiences in the advancement of culturally relevant and transformative sites of knowledge production" (p. 194). In critical Filipino pedagogy (which both the broader ethnic studies pedagogy and CRT frameworks have influenced) the diverse representation of diasporic Filipino narratives and lived experiences is expressed through the "creativity of cultural production" (Viola, 2009). The use of creative expressions is viewed as forms of cultural and knowledge-based production that are leveraged to combat the global capitalism, Western imperialism, and colonial influences that affect Filipinos (Viola, 2009). Therefore, to move to fore-fronting radically shifting community-based knowledge, other epistemic beliefs must be uplifted, such as Pinay epistemologies and Indigenous epistemologies.

Reckoning Institutional and Community-based Supports with the Constraints of Gendered and Weighted labor

Consistent with Research Question 4, this section offers an analysis of the major findings related to both synergistic collaboration and the challenging points of tension found between academic institutions and grassroots communities. Chapter Five provided significant data on the ways in which universities like U-M and UC Davis offer institutional support in their partnerships with communities, such as taking accountability and acknowledging the history of institutional harm to communities of color in the name of research (Harkavy, 2006; Lynch, 2010). Universities must approach community partnerships intentionally to repair ruptured relationships and build trust. Anyon and Fernández (2007) indicated that there is potential in

community-university partnerships when institutions “... overcame that distrust, generated commitment to common goals, and laid the foundations for broad-ranging work” (p. 41). The first step for universities that engage in community partnerships involves confronting the communities’ mistrust by acknowledging the harm done within and by the institution. In an effort to shift the priority from universities to communities, I assert there also needs to be an ideological shift in valuing community-based knowledge alongside empirical science. Wayne Yang, also known by the pen name *la paperson*, (2017) stated that “an effective decolonizing university assemblage must be ideologically diverse; it must have different and differing parts that work” (p. 52). This type of reparative justice is necessary to build and sustain partnerships.

In addition, in positive community-university partnerships, a main priority in regaining community trust necessitates that universities develop humanizing relationships (Freire, 1970) with their partners; however, universities need to develop a supportive internal network within the institution first. paperson (2017) argued for the existence of decolonizing possibilities when imagining an alternative and better “third university” which is the framework of the way university ‘scyborgs’ (p. xiii) can do the practical work of decolonization. Scyborgs “wreck, scavenge, retool, and reassemble the colonizing university into decolonizing contraptions” (paperson, 2017, p. xiii). Yet, he suggested that the work of repairing and retooling must be collaborative, and stated, “The political work is to assemble our efforts with a decolonizing spirit and an explicit commitment to decolonization that can be the basis of transnational collaborations and transhistorical endurance” (p. 46).

The difficulty in collaborative work lies in the points of tension that accompany the constraints and nuances of community-based supports. The issue of gendered norms within the U.S.’s colonized, white supremacist, and heteronormative culture has reified the way Filipinas

are often overworked. Francisco (2014) argued that gendered Philippine migration has colored the national identity and discourse of the Philippines, especially around “responsibility and obligation” (p. 109). Filipinas are tasked with psychological and emotional labor because of history that has gendered responsibilities such as mentorship and service. Stacey Salinas from the Bulosan Center indicated that “I’ve internalized machismo [like] how I’ve internalized Filipino martyrdom.” This suggests the importance of acknowledging identities’ intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991) and challenging patriarchal structures to prevent Filipinas from participating in their own negative projections of assumed gendered obligations. I assert it is imperative for Filipino men to participate in disrupting these patriarchal norms, which are ingrained in the dominant Filipino culture (Tintiango-Cubales & Sacramento, 2009). Samson (2005) argued for men to engage in Pinayism as a way to oppose the heterosexist patriarchal structures that promote toxic masculinity and violence against Filipinas. He called for support from other men in Pinayism as he addressed the way marginalized and colonized communities can still perpetuate behaviors that reify the very systems and structures that they are fighting to eradicate. Thus, men’s participation in Pinayism is needed in the workplace, not just in homes and within families.

The Filipina mother-scholars who shared their stories in this study painted a vivid reality in which Filipinas have had to navigate the highs and lows that accompany the labor, time, and cost that they often sacrifice for their community. This implies that gendered labor also reflects the realities that many mother-scholars undergo in navigating motherhood and academia. Lapayese (2012) argued that “Mother-scholars [understand] the psychological toll of patriarchal motherhood, and how it impedes their intellectual endeavors. [A] majority of mother-scholars expressed high levels of anxiety throughout their careers in academia” (p. 36). Given what

mother-scholars have to cope with as well as caring for themselves and their communities, the overextension of their labor within academia can often lead to burn out or having to be selective in what/who they prioritize (Lapayese, 2012). Anderson (2016) described that community survival takes place within Indigenous communities through the stories that are passed down from the Native women. This can be extended to the role women have played within Filipino communities, in which they may be perceived as the nurturers, protectors, and keepers of history to ensure hope for the future and education for the youth.

In addition, the data revealed the way that lack of funding and limited resources proved to be points of tensions that affected sites such as the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center that did not receive academic institutional support (even though by choice). Because of both of the research sites' grassroots origin, their refusal of institutional support also meant that they would have to confront financial and resource limitations. These issues had implications for the volunteers because the limited funding created additional labor for them and the work they had to do at the sites. Compared to the institutional resources that the Philippine Collections at U-M received, the FANHS Museum and the Bulosan Center had to be resourceful and strategic in the ways they navigated the added tensions of limited funding and reliance on volunteer support rather than trained and paid staff members. The overemphasis on volunteers placed additional stress and pressure on volunteers who had to learn technical skills and created additional work, particularly for older volunteers, such as community elders, who had the time to commit, but often had to play multiple roles. These findings implied that community-based organizations relied on their social capital for support in labor, time, and experience (Yosso, 2005). In community-based partnerships, it is necessary to nourish these relationships with gratitude and appreciation for the investment and free labor they offer. If possible, exploring options such as

public scholarship grants or grassroots grants will help offset the financial demand of operating and developing an organization.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The importance of raising critical consciousness serves as a way to resist the historical colonial relationship with the U.S. and the contemporary racialization of Filipinos in the U.S. Criticality is particularly important for youth to have because of the high stakes of people having to learn, unlearn, and then relearn about historically marginalized communities, in this instance, Filipino communities, which have been misrepresented grossly in society. Therefore, raising critical consciousness is part and parcel of the transformative work that is needed today.

Recommendations

Based upon the implications derived from the analysis, I recommend several different paths that can lead to potential progress and emphasize the transformative potential for out-of-school youth programs. The analysis section offered insight into the way that community archives and the people associated with them are rich resources and that it is necessary to leverage experiential knowledge and generational wisdom obtained from culturally sustaining sources (Paris & Alim, 2017), such as intergenerational mentorship and educational pipeline programs. In addition, such sources should incorporate notions rooted in radical healing and the politics of care (Akom, 2011; hooks, 1996, Pour-Khorshid, 2020). To work toward liberatory and transformative spaces for learning—whether through teaching practices, curriculum development, or student programming—care (hooks, 1996), radical imagination (Kinloch et al., 2016), creativity (Freire, 1970), and love (hooks, 1994) must be centered.

For the areas of recommendation, I turn my focus specifically on youth for different reasons. Youth are essentially those who will become the “decolonizing dreamers” who

participate in settler colonial schools with the desire to reassemble them and then transform the scraps into a decolonizing assemblage of radical and liberatory learning (paperson, 2017, p. xiii). Freire (1970) argued that the oppressed must see themselves as "... transformers of reality through their creative labor" (p. 174). My recommendations for youth programs are also situated in out-of-school learning contexts because of the confines and challenges of implementing liberatory praxis within K-12 public schools. Thus, I recommend youth programming should involve youth participatory action research (YPAR) projects that position youth as historians who use *kuwento*.

YPAR offers an empowering and agentic approach for youth that allows them to focus on interrogating social issues relevant to them while also developing critical research skills (Rosario-Ramos, Johnson, & Sawada, 2016). YPAR becomes an avenue for students to engage as researchers, which is critical for students of color who are often viewed through a deficit lens (Bertrand, 2018). Additionally, involving youth in the praxis of confronting and disrupting systematic oppression is a tool towards transformational resistance (Cammarota & Fine, 2010). This comes at an important time given the political climate of education and the current attack on critical thinking, ethnic studies, and history being mounted by conservative groups perpetuating racist, elitist, anti-Black rhetoric.

An example of introducing *kuwento* to young people, both Filipinos and non-Filipinos, would include focusing on storytelling as a methodology with which students could gather stories about their own communities and/or use community-based resources, such as community museums or decolonizing projects. Encouraging youth to gather stories and talk to elders through *kuwento* helps inform curricula, like the use of oral histories (Clemons, 2020; Harris & Outley, 2021) and photovoice (Greene et al., 2018; Latz, 2017) have done, for example. This could be

particular useful with youth exploring the unique context of Michigan and the differing geographic and community history for Filipinos in the Midwest as compared to the West Coast. As a result, students are able to engage in, and learn from, intergenerational collaboration and knowledge. Bringing in younger people to work with elders in youth programming that uses YPAR challenges the dynamic of a narrow, limited scope. When youth engage with people who have differing positionalities, ideologies, and experiences, it allows them to practice their reflexivity and expand their community-based knowledge. YPAR offers an opportunity for them to interact with teachers, and their work could potentially be used for ethnic studies purposes. Such collaboration can become a transformative disruption in the way learning operates when youth are empowered to be developers of knowledge (Freire, 1970).

The example of using *kuwento* as part of a YPAR project helps to coalesce students' everyday and community knowledge through historical inquiry and thinking (Stockdill, 2010). The involvement of youth in more research projects helps to expand historical narratives and makes the resources that are available more widely known, especially when considering accessibility through the digital world. For example, students in the metro Detroit area could take field trips to U-M to explore the Philippine Collections and interact with the several repositories by doing a deep dive into some of the archives. This allows students to be introduced to history that is not always afforded to them while learning how to leverage the resources that are local to them. Youth participation expands and diversifies the idea of *who* can do the work of historical inquiry and archiving. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the work of critical historical inquiry can be seen in the fields of secondary education, and especially in history classrooms where teachers emphasize teaching students the technical skills needed for critical reasoning and historical writing (Monte-Sano, De La Paz, & Felton, 2014; Wineburg, Martin, Monte-Sano, 2012), and

teachers also reflect on their own historical consciousness. The existing work of educators and scholars in the field of disciplinary inquiry can also help influence the practices, tools, and approaches higher education institutions use to develop and improve the reparative work of their university museums.

Finally, I recommend engaging with liberatory pedagogical praxis because of its value in outlining steps that teachers can take to develop and support transformative projects for students. Teachers who are not dedicated to emancipatory teaching can affect YPAR's value adversely. Teachers' engagement with liberatory pedagogical praxis requires them to resist teaching in ways that are steeped in dominant and oppressive structures (hooks, 1994) so that they are able to grow and reflect on themselves and the world together with their students (Wilson, Hanna, & Li, 2019).

This approach of developing programs through YPAR methods using a liberatory and decolonizing praxis becomes one steppingstone amongst many toward confronting educational inequity and moving in the direction of re-imagining what education could be. Additional recommendations outside of the area of student programming include diversifying research and methodologies, such as more Indigenous methodologies that may be applied in research to disrupt academic institutions' epistemological hierarchy. This could also include post-custodial community archiving, similar to the approach the Bulosan Center uses as an inclusive and culturally responsive method to document and archive with various partners such as archivists, community members, historians, etc. This shifts from valuing the provenance within archives, or an object's 'ownership' to valuing the object's creator. The effort towards decolonizing archives put forth by all three sites helps reinforce the notion that there is potential for transformative work of museums and archiving, which is slowly being demonstrated by community museums

across different parts of the world (Hoobler, 2006; Lonetree, 2021). The significance of such community-grounded collaborations influences the disruption of how museums function and for whom, while allowing people within the community to act as primary and secondary sources of history. Transformative museum work moves towards humanizing history and people of the past who have been harmed by misrepresented or erased narratives, and it allows people in proximity to that history to keep it alive.

I also assert that structural change is necessary from universities to financially support and promote research projects that challenge dominant power structures and seek equitable change. Despite the significant contributions of scholars and community activists who have worked to promote such research, academic institutions and funding bodies continue to privilege research that adheres to traditional Eurocentric methodologies and perspectives. Consequently, many important research projects that might make a significant impact on promoting social justice and advancing our understanding of the world remain marginalized and underfunded.

To address this issue, academic institutions and funding bodies need to recognize and prioritize research grounded in liberatory and decolonizing methodologies. This includes not only providing financial support for such projects but also creating spaces where researchers can collaborate with community members and other stakeholders to co-create research that reflects their experiences and knowledge. In this way, we can create a more inclusive and equitable academic community that values diverse perspectives and recognizes the critical importance of research that challenges dominant power structures and promotes social justice.

While the recommendations I provided here are for all youth and researchers, I contend that these are particularly essential for Filipinos because of their historical and contemporary context of exclusion and misrepresented narratives. The efforts of the Filipino communities

presented in this study reflect the decolonizing potential within educational spaces where Filipino youth can re-imagine roots of knowledge, plant seeds of social change, and water them with hope, love, and care, so that perhaps, one day soon, we can all enjoy the blooms.

Appendix A

Re-Imagining Roots of Knowledge through Filipino Community Collaborations

Interview Protocol

Introduction

1. Name, pronouns, job title, University affiliation
2. How do you identify racially/ethnically?
3. Where were you born? What is your generational status in the U.S.?
4. Do you speak other languages? If so, what are they?
5. What do you know about your own family's migration pattern to the U.S.?

Background Information

6. Can you explain what the role(s) associated with your job are? How did you get involved with your job?
7. To what extent have you been involved with community history and/or historical archiving for the Filipino community/ies around you? To what extent have you been involved with community education?
8. What is specific about this geographic location (city/state) that is important to understand in context to educating Filipino youth in (city/state)?
9. What about the historical context of Filipinos in (city/state) is unique for their own community? How do you think it impacted the learning opportunities for Filipino students?

Programming and Curriculum

10. Describe the educational programming and structure of the organization you work with? Do you/the organization provide a curriculum to educate others? What does it include? Who developed the curriculum? Do you use the archives/artifacts within the curriculum development process? How?
11. Do you engage with community members when it comes to producing curricula and material collectively? How so?
12. What influences (academic literature, people, activism, etc.) do you think/have you think plays a role creating learning opportunities for Filipino students?
13. Do you think teachers are prepared and positioned in a way to teach with decolonizing approaches? What are the complexities of this? Tension?

Partnerships

14. Can you describe the type of relationship you have with the historical site? Other community partners? Community members?
15. Who else have you worked with within the community?

16. Who was important in your work that might not usually get acknowledged in partnership work?
17. How have partnerships helped/limited you in your role as a scholar?
18. What did the partnership look like with your own background as an academic scholar? Were there challenges or tension?
19. Have you worked with other teachers or educators before? If so, what was that experience like and what was it for?
20. Do you think being in (city/ state) impacted the type of community partnership you had/are making? Was it limiting/privileging in any way?

Liberatory Spaces of Education

21. How do you envision education developing in the future?
22. How would you like to envision the direction of schools in the future when it comes to educating Filipino youth and young people about their history and culture?
23. Do you know of any spaces of learning that are similar to your vision?
24. Do you think the work you are doing lends itself to being liberating and decolonizing? Why or why not?

Is there anything I haven't asked that you would like to share?

Appendix B

Artifact Protocol

Key:

Category: personal, communal, institutional

Archive Name: Name of the archive

Collection: Name of the specific collection of artifacts

Years: Range of years or specific dates

Type of Artifact: photograph, journal entry, material object, website, oral history, etc.

Description of Visual Image: describing the physical makeup of the artifact and its details

Description of Literal Text: describing the text that may accompany the artifact that is not included in the visual image

Rationale: reflection on why you chose this artifact

Relevance: sorting its relevance to the themes of either: 1) historical preservation, 2) community engagement, 3) collaborative knowledge OR 4) curriculum and pedagogy

Table 9. Example Artifact Protocol

Philippines Collection at UMMAA, University of Michigan

Category	Archive Name	Collection	Years	Type of Artifact	Description of Visual Image	Description of Literal Text	Rationale	Relevance	How is it being used?

Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies, UC Davis

Category	Archive Name	Collection	Years	Type of Artifact	Description of Visual Image	Description of Literal Text	Rationale	Relevance	How is it being used?

Filipino American National Historical Society Museum, Stockton, CA

Category	Archive Name	Collection	Years	Type of Artifact	Description of Visual Image	Description of Literal Text	Rationale	Relevance	How is it being used?

Appendix C

Observation Protocol

Table 10. Example Observation Protocol

Look For:	Y/N	Observation/Notes	Evidence and Support
1. Historical Preservation: as Filipino community organizing efforts around historical inquiry, archival assets, and repatriation			
<i>a. Material Products: Objects produced for the sake of memory, remembering, (re)claiming history that demonstrate historical documentation such as books, documentaries, anthologies</i>			
<i>b. Events : Demonstrate historical and cultural significance related to tradition/(re)claiming tradition, celebrating culture, honoring historical moment/people</i>			
<i>c. Process used to archive/document</i>			
2. Community Engagement: revolves around relation-based organizing, protecting material structures and relations, and creating spaces of/for love.			
<i>a. Events: demonstrates the involvement and representation of multiple partners and not in isolation</i>			
<i>b. Text or Images : text or visual images that demonstrate the relationship between community partners and university partners such as emails, fliers, posters, drawings, etc.</i>			
<i>c. Other Misc.: Any significant details that might come about</i>			
3. Collaborative Knowledge: involves the exchange of and understanding of differing epistemic ideologies, being accountable thought partners, and synthesizing radical projects.			
<i>a. Educational Partnerships: strategic examples of diverse partnerships and/or pipeline programs for education</i>			

<i>b. Praxis: used to demonstrate skills and knowledge; used in application with knowledge</i>			
<i>c. Framework/Theories: abstract representation of ideas that informs, describes, and explains</i>			
4. Curriculum and Pedagogy: involves content, material, and pedagogy to be used for K-12 classrooms, with potential to meet ethnic studies standards.			
<i>a. Curriculum Materials: information and lesson planning in multiple methods and formats for educational purposes</i>			
<i>b. Tools: used to demonstrate skills and knowledge; used in application of knowledge</i>			
<i>c. Pedagogy: representation of learning and understanding new knowledge</i>			

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