VOICES OF FILIPINA ACADEMIC SUCCESS: PINAY EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN DOCTORAL PROGRAMS

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DEDICATION

For my nephews, Ryan Jr. & Liam

Never let the world dull your shine. You are the brightest light in my life.

For my family, Michael, Cindy, Stephanie, & Ryan

You are the solid foundation from which I grow, flourish, and prosper.

For my Lola, Corazon

Thank you for walking this journey with me. You are with me always.

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ABSTRACT

There has been limited research on American doctoral education and even less scholarship exploring Filipinx higher education experiences. Utilizing a qualitative research methodology, this exploratory research seeks to expand the understanding on Filipina educational experiences in doctoral programs, creating a space to share non-traditional student narratives and to center voices that have often been silenced in higher education research. Using the conceptual framework of Peminist Critical Theory and case study approach, 11 self-identified Filipinas shared their doctoral educational journeys from two research institutions, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and University of California, Los Angeles.

The guiding research questions focused on the overall doctoral educational experiences of Filipinas as they progressed through their programs and sought to identify critical factors that aided their success including the presence of support networks, intrinsic motivators, and supporting program structures. The emergent themes from their overall doctoral educational experiences indicated that their educational journey provided growth and transformation (motivating purpose, being Pinay, navigating the academic road, lifelines) and distinguished the program features and support systems which facilitated academic success (intrinsic reinforcements, extrinsic growth opportunities, academic and non-academic support systems). The findings presented unique voices that illuminated the experience of impostor phenomenon, decolonization, community-based orientation, and importance of relationships, thus extending our overall knowledge of doctoral education narratives which may deviate from traditional student experiences.

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CHAPTER ONE: OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Pinays have always been part and parcel, if not imperative and critical to the struggle.

Filipinas are no strangers to wielding our own power. Of all the privileges that exist in this

world, none of which you may be a benefactor of, there is at least one you bear, and that is the

privilege of having been born a Filipina.

(Ibarra, Santilla, Rivera, & Klassy, 2017, Track 14)

Achieving the highest academic degree in American higher education is a great accomplishment, one that requires determination, drive, and persistence. What else, however, do students need to complete a doctoral degree? Does cultural background play a role or does gender determine success or failure? Does one's sense of place make a difference? Nationally, approximately 50% of all doctoral students who enter a program drop out before completing degrees (Bowen & Rudenstein, 1992; Jairam & Kahl, 2012; Maher, Ford, & Thompson, 2004). The high attrition rate in doctoral programs is daunting and is a silent epidemic within the U.S. (Jairam & Kahl, 2012). To higher education administrators, these numbers are concerning, and they challenge us to ask, how can we decrease attrition and increase success? At the same time, recent information suggests that growing numbers of women received doctorates over the past decade (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013; Maher et al., 2004). However, when we look closer, we see considerable differences in the success rates of women -- in particular, Asian Americans and Filipinas. Although a disproportionate number of Asian women complete doctoral degrees compared with women of other ethnicities (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014), the numbers are probably considerably lower for Filipina doctoral degree completion. Disaggregated institutional

data are not readily available; therefore, it is difficult to have realistic numbers for degree completion for Filipinas.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The origins of American institutions of higher education are rooted in the preservation of elite White males, which has continued a legacy of hostility for non-majority groups (Thelin & Gasman, 2011). Over the past couple of decades there has been a considerable shift in the diversity of student composition within higher education, as enrollments of women, non-traditional, and ethnically diverse groups, including African American, Latinx, Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) students, varying in age, gender, and class, have steadily increased across the nation (Rendon, Jalomo, & Nora, 2011). Despite the increase in diverse student demographics these populations, particularly women of color, continue to face challenges and struggles navigating an institution that was not created for them (Thelin & Gasman, 2011). These challenges of operating within a White male-centered system are present at every space within higher education, including graduate education and professional employment (Ideta, 1996).

Graduate educational programs also have origins rooted in serving White males, which even in the present day are designed to favor a particular type of student who is predicted to achieve the greatest career success (Gardner, 2008). Changes in the original design and purpose of American higher education have not kept pace with the growing diversity in student composition among its campuses. This resistance to change underscores the different challenges and struggles for students of color to complete degrees within American higher education institutions (Ellis, 2001; Gardner, 2008; Seagram, Gould, & Pyke, 1998; Solórzano, 1998; Thelin & Gasman, 2011). In addition to navigating a chilly academic environment within doctoral programs, women of color are confronted with additional gendered challenges of balancing

family responsibilities and expectations, overcoming limited resources and support, and establishing a sense of belonging within their program (Seagram et al., 1998; Thelin & Gasman, 2011). Despite the hardships faced during the process, women of color still set their sights on the coveted doctoral degree. Although the path to achieving a doctoral degree may be hiking up rocky and steep terrain, there are certain economic and societal benefits to completing this degree. For many, their Ph.D. has opened access to opportunities in spaces that were previously unattainable. Intrinsic and extrinsic benefits, such as improving career opportunities, personal and identity development, exploring an integral interest, contributing to the gaps in literature, and the social and economic value that comes with the role (Brailsford, 2010; Mertens & Robken, 2013), continue to strengthen the desire to achieve a doctoral degree.

Jairam and Kahl (2012) found that the high student attrition rates in doctoral programs are linked to high levels of stress and feelings of isolation, which manifested through a lack of meaningful social connections experienced during students' postgraduate programs. These stressors are increased for minority students and especially women of color, who experience increased racialized experiences which contribute to added tension, pressure, feelings of segregation within their programs. These stressors create barriers to building active support networks and academic success (Solórzano, 1998). Solórzano (1998) employed Critical Race Theory (CRT) to highlight Chicana/o/x student experiences within a doctoral program and emphasized several common themes when exploring micro-aggressions, including feeling out of place, having lower expectations, and encountering racist/sexist attitudes and behaviors.

By the year 2000, statistics indicated women received approximately 45% of all doctorates and 65% of education doctorates (Maher et al., 2004). Although increases in participation and completion rates of women in recent years suggest changing conditions in

graduate education, studies continue to demonstrate that foundations of higher education environments are not progressing to fully support these non-majority students (Seagram et al., 1998; Thelin & Gasman, 2011). For example, researchers noted that women generally take longer to complete their degrees than men (Seagram et al., 1998). One hypothesis for this time difference is that challenges emerge from a supercilious university environment toward women, which lingers from previous generations of exclusion, sexism, and discrimination (Seagram et al., 1998; Thelin & Gasman, 2011). As Seagram et al. posited, "Differential gender-related experiences subsumed by the chilly climate construct (e.g., sexual harassment, exclusion from the curriculum, prevalence of sexist language) might well contribute to slower completion times" (p. 320) or reasons that women do not persist through their programs.

Currently, there is limited research investigating factors that affect degree completion among women in doctorate programs (Onwuegbuzie, Rosli, Ingram, & Frels, 2014). In addition to experiencing a chilly campus climate, the delay in women finishing their doctoral degrees is attributed to their multiple social roles that are contradictory to their academic life. The intersection of these dual or triple roles, such as balancing family gendered responsibilities and professional expectations, continues to interfere with their ability to focus entirely on their academic studies (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2014). Prikhidko and Haynes (2018), for example, found student-mothers experienced increased levels of stress, pressure, and depression relating to the multiple conflicting roles of trying to be a good parent and a good student. The women experienced a decrease in overall well-being when they felt they did not measure up to their peers. Total life satisfaction and academic success were negatively impacted by the tensions and conflicts of school--family roles, which sometimes led to perceptions of being trapped in a guilt cycle of not feeling like they were good enough in each position (Prikhidko & Haynes, 2018).

Researchers also noted that various sources of social, emotional, practical, or professional support increased student success and mediated stress in doctoral programs for the successful 50% that persisted to completion (Jairam & Kahl, 2012; Prikhidko & Haynes, 2018). As Maher and colleagues (2004) argued:

> If higher education is to realize the benefits of the growing number of women doctoral students and potential women doctoral degree recipients, it must create an environment that supports them in their struggles and provides opportunities and resourceful strategies to meet the challenges posed by their worthy pursuit. (p.403)

The unacceptably high attrition rate, the gap in research, and the unique gendered challenges in the cold environment of higher education that non-majority and non-traditional doctoral students face (Ellis, 2001; Gardner, 2008; Jairam & Kahl, 2012; Maher et al., 2004; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2014; Seagram et al., 1998) demonstrate a further need to research women of color's experiences through their doctoral programs. Despite the increased enrollment of AAPI students within higher education, there has been little corresponding scholarly attention given to the diversity within these broad racial categories (Buenavista, Jayakumar & Misa-Escalante, 2009).

AAPI Population in America

According to the 2010 U.S. Census Data, was a dramatic increase in the national population of the United States, doubling from 151 million in 1950 to 309 million in 2010, which was the most substantial growth increase for any industrialized nation (National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education [CARE], 2011). As Teranishi (2012) noted, "The 2010 Census reports that the majority of the increase in the U.S. population in recent decades has been attributable to people who report their race as other than White- they moved from about one in ten of the population in 1950 to about 1 in 4 by 2000" (p. 17). This significant

growth in minorities was attributed to Hispanic and AAPI populations (Teranishi, 2012). The

AAPI group doubled in size every decade since the 1960s, and between 2000 and 2010, it

reached its highest increase in population amongst all the major racial groups (CARE, 2011;

Teranishi, 2012). The AAPI community is projected to grow significantly to nearly 40 million by

the year 2050 (CARE, 2011; Teranishi, 2012).

Although the size of this racial category is substantial, the composition and variability of

this group are essential in understanding the unique demographics and characteristics of AAPI,

as it is composed of 48 different ethnic groups (Teranishi, 2012). The differing historical and

contemporary issues faced, languages, socioeconomic status, skill and education levels,

religions, and cultures all contribute to the vast diversity and heterogeneity of this group

(Teranishi, 2012). As Teranishi concluded:

> Thus, while the AAPI population represents a single group in specific contexts, such as
>
> for interracial group comparisons, it is equally important to understand how a complex set
>
> of social realities obtain for individuals and communities that fall within this category.
>
> The boundaries that define the AAPI racial category are socially constructed and represent
>
> the social, political, and institutional context. (p. 17)

Due to this perceived homogenous ethnic grouping of the AAPI category, it is crucial to

understand the actual diversity existing within this very distinct group. It is essential to

illuminate the issues, concerns, variability and lived experiences of each group while accounting

for the intergroup population differences as well. In an attempt to disaggregate the unique

experiences of the Filipinx population from the larger AAPI group, this study highlighted the

Filipinx American community within California and Hawaiʻi, which were the contrasting

locations for the higher education institution settings used in this research. I discuss the historical

and contemporary framework of the Filipinx community in these two settings in further detail in chapter two.

Filipinx Population

Traditionally, Filipinx were racialized as non-white, included in the AAPI major racial category at approximately 3.4 million in the nation, and noted to constitute the second largest Asian group in the United States (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid, 2012; Teranishi, 2012). As Buenavista et al., (2009) concluded, "The Pilipino population is characterized by a variety of immigration histories, citizenship status, class differences, generational status, and language and regional distinctions; nevertheless, colleges and universities homogeneously racialize Pilipinos as Asian Americans" (p.76).

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, approximately 15% of California's population identified as Asian (Hoeffel et al., 2012). Of that 15%, 43.2% identified as Filipinx, and nearly 65.6% of all identified Filipinx resided in the West (Hoeffel et al., 2012). The Filipinx community boomed in California around the 1920s, when many from the sakada community moved from Hawai'i to follow higher wages and jobs for the labor industry, particularly in agriculture (San Buenaventura, 1995). In addition to the sakada community, increasing numbers of Filipinx immigrated "to experience personally the promise of America--as articulated to them by American teachers, returning pensionado (students), and in letters received from relatives and townmates abroad" (San Buenaventura, 1995, p. 446). These Filipinx were lured primarily for employment opportunities, but also to get a taste of the American Dream (San Buenaventura, 1995).

Filipinx are the second largest ethnic group in Hawai'i, comprising about 14.5% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Moreover, Filipinx are described as socioeconomically

and politically marginalized within Hawai'i (Okamura, 2008). The Filipinx community developed originally in Hawai'i from the labor needs in a traditional plantation economy, initially comprised predominantly of single male farmers, sakada (Alegado, 1991). However, the contemporary Filipinx culture in Hawai'i has transformed into a community primarily based in the urban areas (Alegado, 1991).

The terms Filipina and Pinay are used as identifiers throughout this research and in some instances are used interchangeably. In reviewing the interview transcripts, the participants used three identifiers for themselves, Filipina, Pinay, and Filipino. While the majority of these women fluidly changed back and forth throughout these terms about themselves, their families, and communities, there were only a couple who maintained one name for themselves. I chose to honor the ways that they identified themselves intentionally. In many aspects of this research, both the terms Filipina and Pinay are used deliberately and at times interchangeably in the effort to be more inclusive and demonstrate the fluidity of identity between those terms, as other Pinay scholars have previously modeled in their research (Alden, 2015; de Jesus, 2005; Mabalon, 2013).

The term Filipina is the feminine term of the identifier Filipinx (or Filipino), and the f sound originates from the Spanish colonizers "introduced when King Phillip II of Spain named the Philippines for himself, but the sound was further reinforced under U.S. colonization" (Monberg, 2008, p. 97). Thus, the terminology of Filipinas with the f is a colonial term, as the f sound is not found in native Filipinx languages, only introduced with the colonizers (de Jesus, 2005). Monberg (2008) goes on to state that, "The history of colonization and the importance of self-naming as a process of decolonization have also played out in debates over establishing and naming a national language in the Philippines" (Monberg, 2008, p. 97). Therefore, when looking

at the origins of the term Pinay, the *p* is significant of the "claiming of what is perceived to be the native *p* sound in resistance to colonizer's sound" (de Jesus, 2005, p. 13). The origins of the term Pinay comes from a Tagalog slang, meaning Filipina American female and according to first-generation immigrants, was developed as a nickname for Filipinx born or living in America, as opposed to visitors (de Jesus, 2005; Mabalon, 2013; Monberg, 2008). With the term Pinay gaining popularity from the 1920s to the FilAm movement during the 1960s and 1970s, Tintiangco-Cubales (2007) points out that, "because of its almost exclusive use by working-class Filipina/o immigrants and their descendants in America from the turn of the century to the 1960s, some newly immigrated elite Filipina/os in the 1960s and 1970s shunned the terms" (p.5). However, according to researchers Mabalon (2013) and Tintiangco-Cubales (2007) this term is now widely accepted and used to refer to anyone of Filipinx heritage and in the diaspora or the Philippines.

Educational Attainment of Filipinx

Generally, Filipinx were excluded from studies canvasing AAPI experiences in American higher education, therefore, limiting the literature that addressed the lives of Filipina American college students (Maramba, 2008). Moreover, when Filipinx were included in the research, their unique issues and challenges within higher education were often buried under the scope of Asian Americans as a whole, obscuring the pervasive ways that racial hierarchies amongst Asian Americans operate (Buenavista et al., 2009). Maramba and Bonus (2013) argued that:

> One cannot adequately and appropriately understand the particular histories and
> contemporary conditions faced by Filipino Americans in education unless one reckons
> with the specificities of their colonial pasts and presents, their unique migration and
> immigration patterns, their differing racialization and process of identity and community

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formations, their unequal placement in local/global capitalist arrangements, and their

multilevel relationships to each other and with dominant as well as other minority groups.

(p. xvii)

The education gap between minority and dominant populations is still prevalent, despite

assumptions about the educational achievement of minorities such as Asian Americans. The

model minority myth makes it appear that Asian Americans are parallel to White populations for

educational attainment in college degrees; however, this is not the reality, especially when it

comes to Filipinx completing graduate and doctoral degrees (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). Within

Hawaiʻi, there has been some research conducted recently on undergraduate Filipinx populations

within higher education (Bachini, 2011; Labrador, 2003; Libarios, 2013; Quemuel, 2014; Surla

Banaria, 2004).

For degrees beyond a bachelor's degree, the numbers for minority students decrease,

while degree attainment for the dominant populations has remained stable (U.S. Census Bureau,

2014). According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2014), the recent educational attainment for Asian

Americans in completing doctoral degrees, excluding professional degrees--Medical Doctorates

(M.D.) and Juris Doctorates (J.D.), was 162,000 degrees for females and 316,000 for males.

When accounting for all identified races, males continued to lead women in doctoral degree

attainment with 2,343,000 degrees compared to 1,376,000 degrees, respectively (U.S. Census

Bureau, 2014). Of the 1,376,000 doctoral degrees received by women, only 162,000 were earned

by Asian women (12%), whereas White women earned 1,093,000 (79%) of those degrees (U.S.

Census Bureau, 2014). Although the Asian data were aggregated, the disparities between men

and women, along with the differences between the Asian and White groups, were drastic (U.S.

Census Bureau, 2014).

Realistically, Asian American women do not complete doctoral degrees at the same rates or even competitively close to their White female counterparts or Asian male peers (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). Furthermore, the data did not specify which populations these Asian women represent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). Therefore, the numbers of Filipinas represented in that overall number of doctoral degree completed is probably significantly lower. The lack of relevant statistics implies the limited existing information on Filipinas' educational experiences and persistence in American higher education specific to doctoral degrees.

According to the UCLA 2010-2011 Graduate Programs Annual Report (2012), in 2010, 186 graduate students identified as Filipinx. According to the same report, 49% of the graduate division student body was female, with approximately 25% of the total graduate population identifying as Asian American (Fosnacht & Stolzenberg, 2011). Of the entire graduate student enrollment, 56% were working on academic doctoral degrees (Fosnacht & Stolzenberg, 2011). In 2010, 728 doctoral degrees were awarded overall, but only seven of these degrees were awarded to Filipinx students (Fosnacht & Stolzenberg, 2011). Over five years from 2006-2011, of 3,716 total doctoral degrees granted, only 41 (1.1%) were awarded to Filipinx students (Fosnacht & Stolzenberg, 2011).

For Fall 2014, the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa (UHM) Institutional Research and Analysis Office (IRAO) (2015) reported that only 218 of 5,381 total graduate students (4.1%) identified as Filipinx. Of those 218 students, 135 identified as female. At the University of Hawaiʻi at Hilo (UHH), there were only ten Filipinx graduate students among 156 total students (IRAO, 2015). Concerning doctoral students, 1,448 of the 5,381 total graduate students (27.0%) were pursuing various programs at UHM (IRAO, 2015). At UHM between July 2013 to June 2014, 194 doctoral degrees were awarded, 85 to men and 109 to women (IRAO, 2015). Although

the data were not fully disaggregated for Filipinx students, as of 2013, there were approximately 3.8% of Filipinx that had earned graduate or professional degrees in Hawaiʻi (U.S. Census, 2013). The classification for graduate students at UHM included those pursuing degrees beyond the bachelor's degree; however, at present, the data for both institutions are not disaggregated by ethnicity and gender (IRAO, 2015). Regarding enrollment statistics for Filipinx, data were not generally available, particularly for doctoral degrees and students enrolled in specific programs for both the University of California (UC) and University of Hawaiʻi (UH) Systems.

For Fall 2016, in the UH System, which includes a variety of universities and community colleges, of the 53,418 students enrolled, only 7,503 identified as Filipinx with 1,703 of these students enrolled at the UHM, 297 at UHH, 586 at the University of Hawaiʻi at West Oʻahu (UHWO), and 4,917 enrolled at the community colleges (IRAO, 2016). This made Filipinx enrollment at the community colleges the second largest population, behind those who identified as Native Hawaiian or Part Hawaiian (IRAO, 2015). As the second largest ethnic group in the state, Filipinx were overrepresented in the community colleges and underrepresented at the flagship institution of UHM; therefore, this condition is alarming and warrants further attention.

Although Filipinx are one of the largest minority groups in both Hawaiʻi and California, their enrollment numbers in higher education are not representative of their population size, especially concerning graduate or doctoral education (Fosnacht & Stolzenberg, 2011; IRAO, 2015; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The substantial underrepresentation in advanced degrees for Filipinx students generally, along with the limited research available within this field of study, represents an area for further exploration. Further examination of Filipinx advanced degree attainment is necessary, in that educational attainment has been linked to increased social mobility, future earnings opportunities, and access to occupations (Libarios, 2013).

PURPOSE

This research aimed to illuminate Filipina doctoral student narratives who succeeded to degree completion. This study investigated the experiences of Filipinas through the completion of their doctoral program at the UHM and the UCLA, with a focus on understanding the *how* and *why* these Filipinas persisted in completing their doctoral degree while providing a voice to their challenges and accomplishments.

When understanding the use of voice within this research (e.g., as expressed by its inclusion in its title), it is imperative that this space acknowledges its use as a metaphor regarding the silence of Filipinx voices within the larger body of existing research in higher education. A central purpose of this research is to offer a counternarrative to the traditional doctoral student narratives of persistence and experience within higher education, one where Filipinx narratives are often silenced (Bailon, 2012). Rodríguez and Brown (2009) highlighted how illuminating voice through the use of reflection allowed participants to be able on some levels to control the terms of their learning and to take a share of power to strive to transform knowledge. The transformation of knowledge, along with the sharing in power, allows individuals the opportunity to continue to shape their education (Rodríguez & Brown, 2009). While it was recognized that there are limitations to utilizing the tool of voice alone, as a vehicle for empowerment and sociopolitical change, Rodríguez and Brown (2009) "take up the issue of shifting the role of marginalized youth from simply giving voice to one of becoming change agents through educational research" (p. 19). The use of voice within this research is to offer a counternarrative to existing traditional student stories, in an effort to disaggregate these narratives from the larger groups, but also to translate these voices into change agents, as a way

to continue to influence and shape spaces and places of higher education while accounting for the multiplicity of Pinay experiences overall.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As the previous discussion demonstrates, there is a gap in the higher education literature regarding the experiences of persistence for Filipinas pursuing the completion of doctoral degrees. Thus, this research focused specifically on providing a platform for these women to voice their perceptions of what grit looked like for them through their journey completing their degree. In addition to the academic significance of this proposed research, there is also a personal significance to this study. As a Filipina pursuing a Ph.D. degree, I was particularly interested in bringing to light and furthering our understanding of the challenges, dilemmas, and success other women, with whom I could identify, faced in working toward their degrees.

Knowing that higher education institutions were not created to serve women, especially women of color, helped explain some of the barriers and obstacles that I faced in my own experience with my graduate programs. This lack of research beckoned me to look into other women's experiences and gain insight into what can feel like an isolated experience. Learning from the other Filipinas who walked the path that I was walking was inspiring, and that encouragement was empowering in helping me persist through my doctoral education.

The first research question was the following:

- What were the educational experiences of Filipinas who successfully progressed through their doctoral degree to completion?

The second research question focused on identifying critical aspects of the participants' educational experiences in terms of various structures and supports that helped these women persist through completion:

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- What kind of program structures, intrinsic motivations, extrinsic support systems, and personal support systems helped them persist through their doctoral programs?

NEED AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The existing literature demonstrated an absence of research and identified a need for further studies on Filipinx in American higher education, specifically in academic doctoral programs. This study was needed in contributing to the existing, but limited, literature in these areas. As an area was generally obscured in the American higher education literature, this research highlighted the unique challenges, achievements, and experiences of Filipinas in doctoral education, thus disaggregating their experiences from the overall heterogeneous grouping of AAPI's and then taking it one step further by disaggregating the unique experiences of Filipinas from the larger Filipinx population. Maramba and Bonus (2013) noted, "These [Filipinx] communities face a wide and deep range of social and political issues, from media invisibility and political disenfranchisement to mental anguish, job discrimination, and isolation caused by stereotyping, misrecognition, and devaluing of one's own culture" (p. xvii). Maramba and Bonus concluded that traditionally, Filipinx were practically invisible in higher education, and the same challenges that Filipinx faced in their undergraduate experiences often continued on through their doctoral programs, unnoticed and unaddressed. The current research study highlighted the ways that these Filipinas negotiated their path through their doctoral programs and completed terminal degrees once reserved only for the dominant groups.

This research also contributed to the lack of intra-ethnic research conducted on Filipinx. This research examined the comparative communities within Hawaiʻi and California. These diverse communities historically had different settlement patterns for Filipinx, which led to the creation of distinctive contemporary populations. In both California and Hawaiʻi, the numbers of

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Filipinx declined as the degree levels rose. A holistic approach to understanding the educational experiences of Filipinas within their doctoral programs can have positive implications for strengthening support within the institutions.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: PEMINIST CRITICAL THEORY

"Filipinas are simultaneously everywhere and nowhere"

(de Jesus, 2005, p. 3).

Scholars refer to the conceptual framework underpinning this study as Peminism, or Peminist Critical Theory (de Jesus, 2005). As a derivative of feminism, or feminist theory, and CRT, Peminism establishes a space for further understanding the experiences of Filipinas in America, separate from White Female experience (de Jesus, 2005). Peminism can be described as, "… the Filipina American consciousness, theory, and culture, with the p signifying specifically Pinay or Pilipina, terms used in referring to ourselves as American – born Filipinas" (de Jesus, 2005, p. 5). Peminism demarcates a space where Filipinas struggle against, "racism, sexism, imperialism, and homophobia and struggles for decolonization, consciousness, and liberation" (de Jesus, 2005, p. 5), while continuing to strive to a space of visibility and self-love, for ourselves, our families and communities (de Jesus, 2005).

Regardless of the terms used (i.e., Pinayism, Pinay studies, Peminism), this framework strives against and for the same struggles (de Jesus, 2005). I deliberately chose this conceptual framework because my research focused on the lived experiences of one ethnic category, Filipinx, and one gender, females. This framework accounts for the intersectionality between race, gender, class, and place while directly addressing the historical, cultural, nationalist and patriarchal narratives which have led to this group's contingent visibility within society (de Jesus, 2005, p. 3). Historically, Filipinas were invisible, practically absent from the narrative, and they

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continue to be marginalized in a patriarchal society. As de Jesus (2005) argued, these women were seen as "objects of a sexist imperial ideology," yet they were "invisible as subjects and agents" (p. 5). The struggles of Filipinas were unique, in that their collective voices were not captured through the experiences of Feminism, namely White Liberal Feminism, or Womanism. As de Jesus concluded, the "legacy of imperialism, colonization, and alienation is further complicated by the patriarchal bias of both Asian American and Filipino American studies, which has dictated the marginalization of Filipina voices…" (p. 3).

Peminism provides a space for these women to have a voice and for those traditionally invisible to gain visibility. However, it is more than just a space where a female and Filipinx intersect; additionally, this framework accounts for the wide variety of experiences, trauma, status, and identities that these women hold. The depth and complexities of these women's "consciousness, theory, and culture" (de Jesus, 2005, p. 5) do not fit adequately within another framework or box. Peminism goes much further than White Liberal feminism and communities of color; instead, it has melded into the unique experience of Filipinas in America. This framework challenges the marginalization that Filipinas faced and continues to provide a platform to women who have contingent visibility.

Since this research focused on the experiential knowledge of Filipinas in higher education, it was essential to use a framework that centers the intersection of identities such as race, class, and gender. Peminism goes beyond just looking at the intersectionality of race, class, and gender, however, by examining the unique experiences of Filipinas in every aspect of the culture, history, and their place within society. To understand Peminism, we must first understand the theories in which this framework is rooted: Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Feminism. Central to Peminism are theories concerning race and women. When examining the origins of this

theory, however, it is essential to understand that this space was created for Pinayism and Peminism because of the critiques of Feminism, Womanism, and CRT.

Peminism, as communicated by de Jesus (2005), involves the "gendered analysis of imperial trauma-the Philippines' dual colonization by Spain and the United States--and the articulation of Pinay resistance to imperialism's lingering effects: colonial mentality, deracination, and self-alienation" (p. 6). Peminism, with roots in CRT and Feminism/ Womanism, goes beyond Asian American studies and a simplified Filipina version of Feminism by accounting for the unique experience of Filipinas. The Filipina experience includes but is not limited to the effects of colonialism, the unique racialization of Pinays, and the complex consciousness and culture of Filipinas within the socially constructed patriarchal bias that continues to marginalize Filipina concerns, voices, and issues (de Jesus, 2005). According to de Jesus, "it demarcates the space for Filipina American struggles against the cultural nationalist, patriarchal narratives that seek to squash our collective voice in the name of ethnic solidarity" while illuminating the "struggles against racism, sexism, imperialism, and homophobia and struggles for decolonization, consciousness, and liberation" (p. 5).

de Jesus (2005) explained the academic use of different terms such as Pinayism or Pinay studies, which Tintiangco-Cubales (2005) coins as "Pinayism=Pain+Growth" (p. 139). Tintiangco-Cubales asserted that pain implicates growth and "for Pinayism to grow, we need to participate in the painful process of checking ourselves before checking others" (p. 147). Pinayism theorized the contemporary Filipina experience, as she defined a "Pinay-centered theory that would transcend the limitations of Filipino American cultural nationalist and mainstream feminist theory" (p. 8) as the willingness to "engage in the complexity of the intersections where race/ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, spirituality/religion, educational

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status, age, place of birth, diasporic migration, citizenship, and love cross" (p. 141). Tintiangco-Cubales also touched on the complexity surrounding the Pinay versus Pinay interactions. Although there is much overlap among these two frameworks, it appears that Pinayism logistically is a branch that falls under the broader context of Peminism. Peminism includes many aspects of the contemporary Pinay experience, and for this research, Peminism served as the primary conceptual lens.

Peminist Critical Theory Tenets

To understand this young framework more clearly, I identified eight main themes or pillars which exemplify the essence of Peminism. These eight tenets were the racialization of Pinays, colonial mentality, Pinay sexuality, Pinay resistance, centering the matriarchy, counter storytelling, intersectionality, and love for your Pinay/self-love.

Racialization of Pinay. The socialization of Pinays within the U.S. and throughout the diaspora is complex, as it integrates hyper-sexualized notions of Orientalism with divergent views of subordinate, submissive, and demure characteristics (Choy, 2005; de Jesus, 2005; Tadiar, 2005). Within the confines of colonial and Filipinx patriarchal society, which dictate their marginalization, Pinays continue to experience a state of contingent visibility, which is complicated by lasting imperial ideology and alienation (de Jesus, 2005). Pinays continuously have to navigate the social construction "confines of an ethnic culture that prescribed rigid gender roles for women" while experiencing "the forces of Americanization and acculturation…sex-ratio imbalance, patriarchy, power, and popular culture [that] intersected in their lives" (Mabalon, 2005, p. 118). Also embedded into this tenet is the conversation surrounding Mestiza consciousness/identity, which characterizes a sense of privilege, that can be "considered either detestable or enviable- and sometimes both at once-depending on your

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audience" (Pierce, 2005, p. 33). This consciousness also has roots in the next tenet of colonial mentality.

Colonial Mentality. This mentality is "manifested in Filipino American individuals: (a) denigration of the Filipino self, (b) denigration of Filipino culture and body, (c) discrimination against less Americanized Filipino Americans, and (d) tolerance and acceptance of historical and contemporary oppression" (David & Okazaki, 2006, p. 8). Colonial mentality is a direct result of the Philippines' dual colonization by Spain and the U.S., which had endured for almost 400 years (David & Okazaki, 2006). David and Okazaki (2006) noted that this sense of internalized oppression of the self, body, and culture lead to the acuity that White, European or American notions are superior to anything/anyone Filipinx, thus explaining the societal preference of American-made products and elevation of physical features of Whiteness, such as the "White is right" perception (p. 9). Also included in this conversation of Whiteness is the socially constructed Mestiza consciousness, where lightness and being of mixed (White) blood has privilege for that body.

Pinay Sexuality. As de Jesus (2005) argued, "The prevailing Catholicism of much of Filipina/American culture renders expression and discussion of female sexuality-particularly sexuality outside prescribed Catholic, heterosexist, homophobic norms taboo, resulting in guilt confusion, and fear for many Pinays" (p. 9). Included in this conversation are the experiences of Pinay queer identity, the fight of invisibility, the confines of heterosexuality within the boundaries of suppressive patriarchal/religious/colonial expectations (de Jesus, 2005; Espiritu, 2001). It also discusses the "legacy of shame, confusion, and alienation" (de Jesus, 2005, p. 9) that is attached to the strict control of Pinay's autonomy and mobility, while encouraging a

culture of surveillance that ultimately reinforces Filipinx patriarchy and masculinity over female bodies (Espiritu, 2001; Mabalon, 2005).

Pinay Resistance. This tenet explores the active resistance, which fights for the liberation of oppression, decolonization, and the Filipinx colonial consciousness (de Jesus, 2005). This resistance encourages Pinays to "recognize rather than reject this history, for to acknowledge and theorize its violence and its exponential repercussions is to take the first steps toward decolonization and empowerment" (de Jesus, 2005, p. 6).

Centering the Matriarchy. Within the colonial and Filipinx patriarchal society, Peminism serves to re-center the unique voice of Pinay experiences. Peminism carves out a space to explore the contemporary issues that Pinays face, which has not been available to this group before in mainstream feminist and Asian Studies theories (de Jesus, 2005).

Pinay Herstory (Counter Storytelling). As a core tenet borrowed from CRT, this concept centers the (re)writing of stories using the unique individual voice of color (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). This herstory serves to challenge or displace the dominant ideology, by sharing a female perspective or experience (Herstory, 2017). More specifically, "Engaging stories can help us understand what life is like for others and invite the reader into a new and unfamiliar world" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, Loc. 742). This powerful tenet allows marginalized Pinay voices of color an opportunity to talk back to hegemonic systems of oppression (de Jesus, 2005; Tintiangco-Cubales & Sacramento, 2009).

Intersectionality. Another core tenet borrowed from CRT is the idea that no person is composed of one singular identity, but is a result of an intersection of all their combined identities, which can be fluid within context or place and potentially conflicting or overlapping (Crenshaw, 1989; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). The concept of one identity can change when

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layered with additional perspectives of the individual (Crenshaw,1989; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Love for our Pinay/Self-Love. As de Jesus (2005) suggested, "Peminism is about loving ourselves and other Pinays, loving our families and communities" (p. 5). This concept encourages the empowerment of Pinays, instead of competition and downness or the dogging mentality as Tintiangco-Cubales (2005) discussed. Samson (2005) emphasized that the success of this movement is contingent on building a community coalition that "as comrades in the struggle, Pinoys must make a commitment to revolution at the individual, interpersonal, and institutional levels" (p. 163).

Although I separated these concepts into tenets for the purposes of analysis, it is difficult to separate the concepts because of how the structures of hegemonic oppression operate in such interconnected ways. For example, the colonial mentality that allows Pinays to value Whiteness is pervasive in the ways that Pinays are racialized within society through a Mestiza consciousness. This is also true in the sense that Pinay sexuality is policed by patriarchy and the norms of Catholicism, which are integrated with the socialization of Pinay and the unequivocal relationship to power, privilege, and imperialism.

Critical Race Theory (CRT)

CRT is grounded in critical legal studies and centers race and racism within society by attempting to explicate the complicated relationship that race has with racism and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). For purposes of this study, CRT was a useful analytical tool to unpack systemic racism found in educational structures, particularly when looking at communities of color. CRT developed as a challenge to opposing the standard White norms and unequal civil rights treatment (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). As Solórzano (1998) argued,

"Specifically, a critical race theory in education challenges the dominant discourse on race and racism as they relate to education by examining how educational theory, policy, and practice are used to subordinate certain racial and ethnic groups" (p. 122).

CRT is built around several central tenets that perpetuate the centrality of race and racism. Racism is endemic within society; this tenet aims at the hegemonic existence of racism, even if its face has changed over the years from a more obvious and deliberate intention to subtle daily acts of microaggression (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Interest convergence, or material determinism, occurs when the interests of a minority and dominant group are aligned, and they work towards a similar goal; thus, society has no reason to eradicate it (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). However, in this case, the motivations behind the progress made are very different for both sides.

Race is not biological; it is a product of social construction. The social construction of race along with the tenet of differential racialization is that race can change in different contexts and situations; it is not fixed, or objective but can be manipulated when auspicious (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). These fluid categories of race are ever changing, within the context and time, only as they serve the purpose of the dominant group, which will always strive to maintain the status quo (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Closely related to this view is the concept of intersectionality and anti-essentialism, which claims that no person has a unitary identity, but there are overlapping identities that intersect (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

The last central theme is centered on a unique voice of color. To challenge the dominant oppressive systems, CRT focuses on experiential knowledge through counter storytelling and revising history through the eyes and voices of people of color. These concepts recognize the hegemonic racialized systems of oppression which continue to be fostered within society,

regardless of how race and racism manifest themselves (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). One primary aspect of Peminism, borrowed from CRT, is the importance of counter storytelling. Counter storytelling is where a non-dominant narrative, the lived experiences of those in minority status, is shared and validated as another form of truth (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). The validations of these stories are essential to sharing the unique experiences of these individuals. For this reason, Peminism holds counter storytelling as a main component of this theoretical framework.

Feminist Theory

To understand the roots of Peminism, one must also examine the influence of Feminist theory and Womanism on this theoretical framework. While CRT centers the conversation about race and racism, Feminism centralizes and makes gender and gender inequality problematic within society, specifically focusing on women. There is no one way of defining feminism. As Tintiangco-Cubales (2005) argued, "It is presumed that feminism has been dominated by White, middle-class, liberal women and that womanism has originated in black feminist thought" (p. 140). The first two waves of feminism developed from White Liberal ideations, while minority women's experiences seem to be lost in this dominant discourse. Womanism has been rooted in a reaction to feminist negligence; it appears that Pinay experiences may still be lost in the shuffle (Tintiangco-Cubales, 2005). On a continuum of White feminists and black womanism, Pinayism stems from the third wave of feminist thought but still does not fit on the spectrum. Pinayism carves "...out its own space, critically transforming various insights from preexisting theories to suit its own ends and excavating the sites of memory and margins to draw upon those riches not readily available to the 'malestream' intellectual or mainstream feminist discourses" (Samson, 2005, p. 151).

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Peminism contextualizes CRT in the way that we understand and perceive race and racism while being able to challenge the predispositions of Filipinas. This theory is unique in that it centralizes Filipinas within American society and works to understand and deconstruct these systemic inequities between race, racism, gender, and class. Centering race and the intersectionality of different identities such as gender and class brings experiential knowledge to the forefront in an effort to confront the dominant oppressive structures that operate within society. This unique theory is more than just a "Pinay form of feminism or womanism" but looks at the "complexity of the intersections where race/ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, spirituality/religion, educational status, age, place of birth, Diasporic migration, citizenship, and love cross" (Tintiangco-Cubales, 2005, p. 141).

SUMMARY

This qualitative research study explored the doctoral educational experiences of 11 Filipina women that have graduated with their doctorate (Ph.D., Ed.D., or Dr.Ph.) degree from either UHM or UCLA. I intentionally chose UHM and UCLA as settings for this study, since they were institutional counterparts in Hawaiʻi and California. Most importantly, Hawaiʻi and California have the largest populations of Filipinx. I decided to choose a large public research university in each state to examine the varied experiences that Filipinas have had in their doctoral programs within different U.S. geographical settings. Since the Filipinx communities in these areas differ in history and makeup, it would be beneficial to see a range of educational experiences to get a holistic understanding of the overall educational experiences of Filipinas.

UHM and UCLA both pride themselves on diversity in their student populations and are sizeable public research institutions that have land grant roots. Both schools come from a system of ten other campuses and offer an array of doctoral degrees. I did not choose these two settings

for the purposes of comparison of doctoral programs, such as academic rigor, qualifications, or program requirements but, instead, to provide depth to the varied experiences that these women experienced. While it can be argued that these institutions are not comparable in size and admissions standards, these are key public research institutions within both California and Hawaiʻi with large populations of Filipinx students, and they have been used as institutions of comparison in previous studies (e.g., Okamura, 2013).

This chapter provided an overview of the statement of the problem, the guiding research questions and the purpose, significance, and need of this research, when understanding the overall framework that this research is situated within when discussing Filipina educational narratives at the doctoral level. Chapter two provides the foundational layout of the existing literature as it pertains to Filipinas, the communities of both Hawaiʻi and California, higher education with an emphasis on doctoral educational and salient known aspects surrounding Filipinx within higher education. Chapter three outlines the qualitative research methodology utilized within this study, focusing on case study, participants, descriptions of both UHM and UCLA and the researcher positionality. Chapter four discusses the findings and emergent themes answering both guiding research questions that focused the entire research. Chapter five extends the study's conclusions by reentering the voice of the participants and engaging in a discussion of decolonization, impostor phenomenon, community-based orientation, and relationships as central features of Filipina doctoral narratives and the uniqueness of their experiences. The chapter concludes with further thoughts on the study's contributions to theory building and its implications for future practice and research.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Filipinx--gender-neutral term, where the X is representative of being fully inclusive of the genders within the culture. Although this term is not widely utilized within the population just yet, as a way to move toward more inclusive language, this term has been used to replace Filipina/on throughout this dissertation. This term will be used in reference to the general Filipinx population.

Filipina--Feminized form of the term Filipinx/o. Bears the *f* sound of the colonizers, describing both one who identifies as female and Filipinx.

Pinay--a feminized term that initially represented those who are Filipina American females, but are now used widely refer to Filipinas in the Philippines or the Diaspora (Mabalon, 2013; Tintiangco-Cubales 2007), first used to describe those who immigrated to the United States, as distinct from Filipinx who lived in the Philippines. The *p* in Pinay signifies a resistance to the colonizer's language, as there is no *f* sound in the native languages of the Philippines.

Doctoral Degree--generally describes the program or process of academic doctoral education for research or scholarship (Ph.D., Ed.D., Dr. PH), mainly excluding professional degrees such as a Medical Doctorate or Juris Doctorate. I omitted Professional degrees given their differences in the doctoral process.

First and 1.5-Generation College Students--First-generation college students refer to students whose parents received no higher education, and 1.5-generation college students refers to participants who had at least one parent with post-secondary education in the Philippines but had a limited understanding about the process of American higher education (Buenavista, 2007; Buenavista et al., 2009).

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, I review the salient research related to the context of the study and previous scholarship regarding its substantive issues. I first examine the historical and contemporary issues of the Filipinx American experience with a focus on the communities within Hawaiʻi and California while reviewing scholarship surrounding the known higher educational experiences of this population. Second, I summarize scholarship regarding American higher educational institutions, in particular, research surrounding student doctoral educational experiences, with a focus on female and AAPI experiences. Third, because there is limited previous research regarding Filipinx higher educational experiences, I also discuss these existing studies. Finally, I address some relevant aspects of this non-majority educational experience, including first and 1.5-generation college students, the model minority myth, and the impostor phenomenon.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF FILIPINX AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

Nearly 400 years of dual colonialism--first by Spain and then the United States-- left an indelible mark on the consciousness, language, and bodies of Filipinx within their homeland and throughout the diaspora. After living under Spanish colonial rule for almost 300 years, where Filipinx experienced widespread conversion to Roman Catholicism and the development of a centralized political structure, a national independence movement developed during the late nineteenth century (Baldoz, 2008; Teodoro, 1981). As one example of the prolonged impact of colonialism, much of the language and identifiers, such as the terms Filipino (the O is replaced with the X for this research) has the colonizer's mark of the *f* as reminiscent in the language. The *f* in both Filipina or Filipinx are both derived from the Spanish influence, language, and sound, as introduced in chapter one (de Jesus, 2005; Mabalon, 2013; Tintiangco-Cubales, 2007). This

long-awaited struggle for Philippine independence, which culminated in the Spanish-American War, however, was disrupted as Filipinx success was deceitfully transformed into American imperialism as the U.S. extended its Manifest Destiny overseas (Baldoz, 2008; Espiritu, 1995, 2003; Teodoro, 1981). Spain ceded the Philippines to America under the Treaty of Paris in 1898, displacing the conquest for Philippine independence (Baldoz, 2008; Teodoro, 1981). Despite the domestic racial concerns on the home front, American officials attempted to justify this acquisition of the Filipinx population as "benevolent assimilation," though, more truthfully, it was characterized as paternalistic racism (Ocampo, 2016, p. 20). While Americans deceitfully claimed to help, protect, and liberate the Philippines, they continued to abuse its resources and labor for their own profit and gain, while simultaneously altering the entire path and identity of the Filipinx people, culture, and future. The U.S. colonization of the Philippines dramatically altered each arena of place, as their homeland was exploited for resources, identity, and ecological stability.

American colonial rule infiltrated and distorted every aspect of Philippine civilization, particularly the political structure, economy, education, and the widespread Americanization of society (Espiritu, 2003). The perceptual, ideological, and political control of space greatly impacted Filipinx ability to create healthy supportive relationships to their identity, culture, and experience. According to Espiritu (2003), "U.S. colonialism stunted the Philippine national economy, imposed English as the lingua franca, installed a U.S.-style educational system, and Americanized many Filipino values and aspirations" (p. 23), while ultimately infecting Filipinx with the colonial mentality of denigrating the Filipinx self, culture, and body (David & Okazaki, 2006). The U.S. continued to use its systems of power as a standard to shape the political, economic, and educational structures, as sociological and ideological sources of subjugating the

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minds and behaviors of Filipinx (Constantino, 1970). Today, the legacy of U.S. imperialism is still present within the Philippine society and consciousness, continuing to dominate and influence, decades after the Philippines had gained its much deserved independence. As originating within the U.S., the term Pinay comes out from the early migrations of Filipinx to the U.S. denoting their space in the diaspora and reclaiming their ethnic identity, utilizing the *p* sound as a resistance to the colonizer's language, politicizing and differentiating their identity and their experience as separate from Filipinx within the Philippines (de Jesus, 2005; Mabalon, 2013; Tintiangco-Cubales, 2007).

Through the history of the Philippines, there has been a tremendous source of outmigration for labor or to chase the elusive American Dream. Espiritu (2003) asserted that "Filipino migration to the United States must be understood within the context of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines and in Asia" (p. 25). The context of place plays an instrumental role in the treatment, status, purpose, and exclusions that Filipinx faced in America. Their transitioning status as colonial subjects, U.S. nationals, or aliens, changed as it fits the White American agenda and as a response to other minorities within the U.S. (Espiritu, 2003). The role of U.S. colonialism dramatically shaped the sociological, ideological, and political construct of place as it thoroughly Americanized Filipinx before they even stepped foot on American soil (Ocampo, 2016).

Filipinx immigration to both Hawaiʻi and California happened simultaneously but within different confines of time, culture, and space. Due to the parallel Filipinx histories in both communities, their stories are shared to better demonstrate the function of place within these historical societies. The historical Filipinx communities within Hawaiʻi were significantly shaped by the evolving demands of the political plantation economy (Alegado, 1991). Labrador

(2015) contended that "The illegal U.S. overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi in 1883, the subsequent annexation of Hawaiʻi in 1898, and the Organic Act of 1900, which coincided with U.S. imperial expansion, changed the dynamics of labor importation and immigration" (p. 41). In other words, the complete shift in power over Hawaiʻi to the U.S. opened the continued development of the plantation economy, which resulted in a substantial increase in the demand for more immigrant labor workers. Sharma (1984) suggested, "The migration of Filipino workers to Hawaiʻi, from 1906 to 1946, took place within the context of an ever-increasing capitalist penetration of the islands and Hawaiʻi's concomitant absorption into the world capitalist economy" (p. 579). The Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) turned to U.S. territories of Puerto Rico and Philippines to fill their growing demand for a cheap and compliant labor force, which could freely migrate under their unique legal status of U.S. colonial subject (Espiritu, 1995; Labrador, 2015).

The first wave of Filipinx sakada immigration to Hawaiʻi started in 1906, by way of HSPA in an effort to support the U.S. capitalist development in Hawaiʻi (Labrador, 2015; Sharma, 1984). As the last immigrant population to arrive on the plantations, these sakada were comprised of predominantly young single men (Espiritu, 1995; Labrador, 2015; Teodoro, 1981). Labrador (2015) indicated:

> The term sakada comes from the Spanish word sacada, which refers to laborers who are imported from an external geographic area and are paid lower wages than local workers. In general, sakada can be defined as cheap, foreign or immigrant laborers, and in the context of Hawaiʻi, the term specifically refers to the more than 125,000 Filipino plantation labor migrants who came to work on sugar and pineapple plantations between 1906 and 1946. (p. 36)

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By the 1920s, labor recruitment focused more on the Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte regions of the Philippines, ultimately creating large Ilocano Filipinx communities within Hawai'i (Labrador, 2015; Teodoro, 1981). The immigration of Filipinx continued to increase each year, even after the HSPA stopped formally recruiting after 1925, as more romanticized reports from sakada about plantation life and Hawai'i traveled to the Philippines (Labrador, 2015). By 1940, Filipinx had become the largest source of plantation labor within Hawai'i, replacing the former source of Japanese immigrants (Labrador, 2015). The distribution of power within plantations were noticeable, as Filipinx were confined to certain areas and low-skilled positions. The ideological and political arenas of place significantly impacted the continued recruitment of specific types of sakada, namely young, uneducated, productive male bodies (Espiritu, 1995; Labrador, 2015).

The first significant Filipinx immigration to California began in the early 1900s, with the *pensionado* (students) that arrived to get an American-based education with the intent to later return to the Philippines and serve their government (Crouchett, 1982; Espiritu, 1995). In addition to these students, Crouchett (1982) suggested that initially labor "immigration into the state was more or less a re-emigration of Filipinos from Hawai'i to California, but from 1923 onward there was a large flow of immigrants directly from the Philippines" (p. 33). After many sakada finished their contract with HSPA in Hawai'i, they followed the work to the substantial agriculture industry in California, which produced more than 300 different types of crops (Crouchett, 1982).

The first wave of Filipinx laborers to California also primarily consisted of young single males with many years of productive labor left (Crouchett, 1982; Espiritu, 1995). These men were known as *manong,* meaning older brother in Ilokano; they were the California counterparts

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to Hawaiʻi's sakada (Crouchett, 1982; Espiritu, 1995). As España-Maram (2006) argued, "During the growing season, they [manong] traveled in groups to agricultural centers in California, including Delano and Fresno to harvest grapes, the Salinas area to pick lettuce, and Stockton to harvest asparagus" (p. 20). During off seasons, the laborers would follow service and temporary jobs in the urban areas or migrate up the Pacific Coast during the summer to work the canning industry in Alaska (España-Maram, 2006). Espiritu (1995) noted, "This specialty agriculture created a migratory labor force that moved with the harvests. From the 1920s to the 1970s Filipinos (and Mexicans) on the Pacific Coast formed the backbone of this harvest labor supply" (p. 9). The fluctuating population in California would reflect the growing seasons of these Filipinx migratory laborers, thus making it difficult to secure down roots in a specific town or section of the state. Espiritu contended that "By the time large numbers of Filipinos immigrated to the American West, various anti-alien land regulations had been passed, legally forbidding them to lease or buy agricultural land;" (p. 9) thus, preventing similar upward movements of mobility that Japanese immigrants experienced within agriculture.

Filipinx relied heavily on two commercial industries for survival in California, the agriculture labor and the hotel and domestic service jobs, which were usually privately run by fee-charging agencies (Crouchett, 1982). In larger urban areas, like Los Angeles, Filipinx were employed in various service positions such as dishwashers, busboys, bellhops, elevator attendants, servants and janitors (Espiritu, 1995; Ocampo, 2016). The political arena of place played a decisive role in marginalizing Filipinx within low menial agricultural and service jobs, ultimately restricting their access to social improvements. The operation of power through the control and production of space, through the continued migrant labor, additionally limited

Filipinx capacity to settle in one area or to lay claim to any particular space, thus maintaining their displacement in America.

Under the plantation racial segregation system in Hawaiʻi, Filipinx labors were kept in the lowest unskilled positions, completing the hardest labor-intensive tasks for the lowest payout of all the other workers (Teodoro, 1981). After so many years of unequal treatment, they started to organize into unions, not only as Filipinx but also with other immigrant groups creating numerous unionized organizations, participating in many successful strikes and striving for positive progress to better work conditions and wages (Teodoro, 1981). Filipinx attempted to disrupt the operation of power through their limited control of space, by participating in labor strikes. "The hard-fought and lengthy strikes which marked the organizing drives of the ILWU [International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union] became a central dynamic and focus in the life of the Filipino community on the plantations during this period" (Alegado, 1991, p. 19). Filipinx continued to sacrifice their security for laborer political advancements to improve the overall plantation labor rights and wages within Hawaiʻi (Alegado, 1991).

The work conditions in California were not much better as Filipinx earned substantially less than Whites, worked long hours with little time off, and resided in subpar living conditions (Ocampo, 2016). As Ocampo argued, "To make matters worse, the colonial relationship between the Philippines and the United States meant Filipinos could not receive much protection from their home government, unlike the Chinese and Japanese" (p. 23). In other words, Filipinx continued to experience the political marginalization as U.S. nationals through their status of colonial subjects. Their access to American privileges was inaccessible, thus rendering them powerless in their continued racialization, and attempts at improving their social, economic, and political conditions (Crouchett, 1982).

Similar to Hawaiʻi, Filipinx in the California agricultural industry started to become champions in organizing unions and working towards labor rights on a large scale (Espiritu, 1995). These manong were heavily engaged on several fronts, with Filipinx organizing unions and labor coalitions throughout the West Coast up to Alaska (Espiritu, 1995). They earned the reputation of being successful union activists, helping to champion and launch many strikes that demanded improved working conditions and higher wages (Espiritu, 1995). While many strikes were successful in gaining some advances, it improved little when it came to the hegemonic political and ideological spheres of place, power, and spatial authority. With the primary immigration of young single men into the communities, there was a significant gender imbalance within both historical Filipinx communities of Hawaiʻi and California, which led to many concerns and unintended consequences (Espiritu, 1995; Labrador, 2015). In Hawaiʻi, these bachelor societies led to violent misrepresentations of Filipinx males as sexually predatory and aggressive (Labrador, 2015; Okamura, 2008). Due to the extremely limited number of Filipinas, Pinays experienced an increase in social status, and the marriages between young females and older males started to normalize (Alcantara, 1981). Characteristics of these societies also included a transition away from the traditional nuclear family towards a more extended family structure, which was able to account for the large quantities of bachelor men that created kinship ties amongst each other (Teodoro, 1981).

Similar to the bachelor societies created in Hawaiʻi, California Filipinx communities of predominantly young single males lived in a very "gendered-skewed context" (Espiritu, 1995, p. 10). Through anti-miscegenation laws, Filipinx were legally prohibited from marrying outside of their race, particularly to White women, thus forcing these males into perpetual bachelorhood (Espiritu, 1995). These manong continued to build extended kinship ties with families as a way

to have a sense of closeness within their communities (Espiritu, 1995). It was not until later waves of post-war migration that groups of Filipinas came to California (Espiritu, 1995). In 1933, California finally amended its anti-miscegenation laws allowing for interracial marriage unions (Espiritu, 1995). The sociological dimension of place played a functioning role in how these extended family units were created and normalized in both communities (Gruenwald, 2003a; 2003b). In these spaces, the gender imbalance entirely disrupted the traditional Filipinx family structure, resulting in the need to redefine the sociological boundaries of the family as it fits within these bachelor societies.

Housing was a continuous problem for Filipinx in California, as there were never enough areas in which Filipinx were allowed to reside. Because the communities consisted primarily of single men, however, they were inexpensive to house for farmers (Espiritu, 1995). Filipinx were continuously excluded from certain areas, forcing them to pile into unsanitary and dilapidated housing facilities or rented beds in bunkhouses or shacks within the farming camps or the slum districts of California (Crouchett, 1982; Espiritu, 1995). These slum districts, started small settlements of Filipinx that have come to be known as Filipinx neighborhoods, such as Little Manila in Stockton off El Dorado Street, although not to the size or substance as seen in Hawaiʻi (Espiritu, 1995). The continued division of political and geographic space was a constant reminder of Filipinx displacement and marginalization.

Because of the changing shifts in racialized tensions within society and the Great Depression Era in the late 1920s and 1930s, the pressures of White resentment against Filipinx laborers raged, which resulted in excessive, racist violence directed at Filipinx (Crouchett, 1981; Espiritu, 1995). As the new minorities in towns, they replaced the previous "Asian" targets, the Chinese and Japanese (Crouchett, 1982). Their unrestricted immigration status and competition

for jobs led to continued hostile attitudes and behaviors directed toward Filipinx. Crouchett (1982) argued, "Strong anti-Filipino sentiments began to be manifested at an early date when White workers charges that Filipinos represented unjust and unfair competition for domestic work as well as for agriculture" (p. 37). In addition to the perceived competition for jobs, Filipino men were seen as sexual threats, "who sought the company of White and Mexican women at taxi-dance halls, which was a common source of entertainment and socialization for this bachelor society" (Espiritu, 1995, p.13). There were a series of race riots that broke out between 1928 to 1930, which violently targeted Filipinx across the state and extended up to the West Coast (Crouchett, 1982; Espiritu, 1995). As Espiritu (1995) detailed, "The most explosive and most publicized incident took place in 1930 near Watsonville, California, where four hundred white vigilantes attacked a Filipino dance club, beating dozens of Filipinos and killing one" (p. 13). The violence against Filipinx was aimed at preventing further immigration into the society and racially trying to rid them from America, byways of murder, beatings, fire, and continuous criminalization of Filipinx (Crouchett, 1982). As Ocampo (2016) noted, "As U.S. nationals, Filipinos occupied a liminal legal space--they were free to migrate to the United States and remained under the jurisdiction of the American law, yet they were not permitted to enjoy the basic rights of U.S. citizenship" (p.23). The legal loophole which allowed them to migrate freely also made them a target of racism, violence, and exclusion (Ocampo, 2016).

In a turn of what appears to be interest convergence, the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 helped to transition Philippine Independence over a ten year period, changing Filipinx' U.S. national legal status to *alien*, and restricting immigration to an unheard low of fifty people annually (Crouchett, 1982; Espiritu, 1995; Labrador, 2015; San Buenaventura, 1996). This politically motivated agenda was a response to the resentment and hatred that Whites had

towards Filipinx, as competition for their employment and their women (Espiritu, 2003). As for labor immigration, this policy change in addition to the 1935 Philippine Repatriation Act ended the Filipinx immigration to Hawai'i and California (Labrador, 2015). The next significant wave of labor immigration into Hawai'i came in 1946 (Labrador, 2015).

Post-War Changes, 1965 Immigration, and Community Development

The sakada wave of the 1946 ('46) was the last and largest labor immigration of over 7,000 laborers, as "the HSPA and the Pineapple Growers' Association declared a labor shortage and invoked Section 8 of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which provided for exemptions for demonstrated labor needs" (San Buenaventura, 1996; Teodoro, 1981, p. 29). These sakada played an instrumental role in stabilizing the growing Filipinx communities because of the substantial influx of families, women, and children (Labrador, 2015; Teodoro, 1981). In addition to helping to create a "local" identity, these sakada were better educated and were able to move up the ranks in plantation positions (Labrador, 2015; San Buenaventura, 1996). Labrador (2015) suggests, "In effect, the 1946 sakada, along with those who stayed in Hawai'i and endured the long work hours, low wages, and bad living conditions, transitioned from "temporary residents" to permanent settlers, embracing Hawai'i as their home and claiming it as their own" (Labrador, 2015, p. 45). This claim to place and space allowed for the initial cultivation of local Filipinx culture, as it fits within the ethnic boundaries of Hawai'i.

According to Espiritu (1995), World War II allowed for a shift in perception of Filipinx and other Asian Americans due to "The military exploits of Filipino soldiers-both in the Philippines and in the United States-- did a great deal to reduce white prejudice against Filipino Americans" (p. 17). Through their heroic service and sacrifice for America, they were rewarded with U.S. citizenship, and in the process helped to renew Filipinx immigration and overturn

exclusion laws (Espiritu, 1995). World War II helped to improve the economic status of Filipinx within California, as they were able to buy and lease land and secure employment in "labor-starved war industries," thus being able to gain more economic mobility within the U.S. (Espiritu, 1995, p. 18). Espiritu (1995) shared that, "Shortly after the war, many Filipinos in Los Angeles bought homes and small farms that had been vacated by the Japanese who had been incarcerated in 'relocation camps'" (p.18). Therefore, also starting the settlement process within California communities and the slow but steady climb of Filipinx social advancement.

The 1960s brought significant change to the Filipinx community within Hawaiʻi, particularly with the replacement of the declining agriculture production with the now dominant industry of tourism and the 1959 Hawaiʻi statehood (Alegado, 1991; Labrador, 2015). The 1965 Immigration Act, "abolished the national origin quota system which had discriminated against Eastern Hemisphere countries" (Teodoro, 1981, p. 30) and allowed the reunification of Filipinx families and recruitment of skilled and educated populations through unrestricted immigration (Alegado, 1991). Alegado (1991) asserted that this third wave of immigration led to the "reinvigoration and reinforcement of Filipino culture and ethnic identity in Hawaiʻi" (Alegado, 1991, p. 23). This large influx of Filipinx caused a brain drain effect on the Philippines as highly skilled and educated Filipinx immigrated to Hawaiʻi and the U.S.; thus, continuing to establish a significant contemporary and growing Filipinx influence that we see in Hawaiʻi today (Alegado, 1991; Teodoro, 1981).

The post-1965 immigration in California had similar effects in that it attracted many educated and skilled Filipinx to America (Espiritu, 1995). Espiritu (1995) argued that the Philippines were the primary source of importation of white-collar professionals to America. Espiritu noted that "because of the shortage of medical personnel in this country, particularly in

the inner cities and rural areas, doctors, nurses, and other health-related practitioners are overrepresented among the recent Filipino immigrants" (p. 21). In addition to attracting skilled and educated workers into the states, the other purpose of the 1965 act was to reunite families that have since long been separated by the exclusionary immigration policies of the past, significantly increasing the ever growing Filipinx community within the current California reality (Espiritu, 1995).

CONTEMPORARY FILIPINX AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

Oʻahu, Hawaiʻi

The contemporary Filipinx communities within Hawaiʻi have been significantly shaped and developed by the historical sakada communities (Alcantara, 1981; Labrador, 2015; Teodoro, 1981). Recognizing the complex historical foundation of the Filipinx community within Hawaiʻi leads to a better understanding of the contemporary social, political, and economic condition of Filipinx. Filipinx comprises 14.5% of the current population within Hawaiʻi, making them the second largest ethnic group; however, despite their numbers, Filipinx continues to be socioeconomically and politically marginalized within their communities (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010; Okamura, 2008). Filipinx are highly visible within Hawaiʻi, particularly concentrated in towns that are known for having high numbers of Filipinx. On the island of Oʻahu, "Filipinos are concentrated in the adjacent areas of Kalihi-Kapalama and Upper Kalihi, and in Waipahu, and Ewa Makakilo," which suggests the tenacity of historical Filipinx cultural and kinship networks from the plantation camp era (Teodoro, 1981, p. 30). The distinct ecology of these neighborhoods are distinguished by unique trademarks, such as numerous Filipinx style houses that are reminiscent of the wealthy homes that you would see in the Ilocos region of the Philippines, characterized by bright colors and architectural markers (Labrador, 2015).

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Historically, Filipinx resided in ethnic camps on the plantations, which has been replaced by the "re-emergence of ethnic enclaves-identifiable Filipino neighborhoods and districts in new and old urban areas of Hawaiʻi" (Alegado, 1991, p. 23). The ecological and perceptual dimension of the historical associations with these geographical spaces has led to the full development of Filipinx communities. In addition, the sociological aspect of place continues to develop a sense of belonging for Filipinx within these ethnic enclaves.

Okamura (2008) asserted that "Filipino American ethnic identity has been and continues to be defined by non-Filipinos through racist stereotypes and other denigrating representations that are pervasive throughout Hawaiʻi society" (p.155). In other words, the construction of the Filipinx identity and social status has been created by other ethnic communities through the reification of negative stereotypes, such as the common practice of ethnic humor and representation within the media. An added layer to Filipinx identity within Hawaiʻi is the concept of a "local" identity that has become a significant classification for political and cultural identification (Labrador, 2015). Labrador suggested:

Local operates in a field of ongoing relational oppositions that form a Local/non-Local binary; it is a racialized identity category composed primarily of the various nonwhite groups that usually trace their entrance into the islands to the plantation era-namely those of Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Okinawan, Filipino and Korean descent. Local is the label for those who are usually classified as "Asian American" or "Asian Pacific American" in the continental United States. (p.52)

The sociological function of place is at play in that the local identity is built of the foundations of labor immigrants. This salient classification serves to distinguish Hawaiʻi-born Filipinx from immigrant Filipinx, with some having a complete disavowal to being Filipinx at

all, instead claiming only the identity of local (Okamura, 2008). Thus, the classification of local

continues to distort the perceived identities of others by others, allowing for easier movement

within the political sphere of place. As Okamura suggested, "This tendency to dissociate

themselves from their ethnic identity among some young people, particularly local Filipinos,

makes it that much more problematic for Filipino Americans to construct a collective identity

when some group members are unwilling to claim it" (p. 176). This distancing and disavowal

from one's Filipinx self, culture, and body within Hawaiʻi is seen as a result of the perpetuation

of harmful stereotypes through mainstream culture, distancing themselves from the large ethnic

enclaves within the community, coupled with the legacy of colonial mentality that Filipinx

suffered through centuries of imperialism.

Post plantation work, Filipinx continue to be employed in low menial positions, limiting

them within the lower stratification structure of Hawaiʻi (Okamura, 2008). This

socioeconomically disadvantaged status is exemplified in the overrepresentation of Filipinx at

the lowest end of the occupational status and income scale (Okamura, 2008).

Continued concentration in jobs associated with Hawaiʻi's "new plantations"--as housekeepers in

the hotels, as busboys and kitchen help in food/restaurant services, and as janitors in airports,

banks, and other business establishments--set the basis for the subjective reproduction of national

culture and social relations among Filipinos (Alcantara, 1981, p. 23).

In other words, this perpetual subordinate status are relics of their historically inferior

plantation positions, which continues to limit their economic, political, and social upward

mobility within society (Agbayani, 1996). The current economy is overly dependent on the

booming tourist industry, which creates marginal levels of employment with no upward mobility

(Okamura, 2008). Both Filipinx men and women are excessively employed in the service

industry and hold occupations varying in and out of the tourist business, such as hotel maids, food service workers, building and grounds maintenance workers (Okamura, 2008). While some Filipinx work in business and management, there is an underrepresentation of this population as managers, business specialists, and professionals (Okamura, 2008). For 2013, 70.9% of Filipinx in Hawaiʻi were in the labor force, only 4.7% were unemployed, with 30.9% of those employed in the service industry (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). The main industries represented in employment were 21.1% in accommodation and food services, 20.2% in health care and social assistance, and 14.5% in retail (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Saranillio (2006) stated, "Compared to more dominant groups, Filipinos in Hawaiʻi lack social, economic, and political power, yet we often seek empowerment as "Americans" within a U.S. settler state" (p.125).

Filipinx are also viewed as occupying the lower end of the ethnic stratification order within Hawaiʻi, along with Native Hawaiians and Samoans, thus holding the least amount of political and social power (Okamura, 2008). "In Hawaiʻi, a differential racialization has developed among and within different ethnic groups with differing consequences for socioeconomic status, political power, and identity formation" (Okamura, 2008, p. 55). In other words, the differential racialization that Filipinx are subjected to, as a historically socioeconomically subordinate group, holds less power, economic, and social mobility within the society. With such great marginalization within society, it is surprising that Filipinx have some political power within Hawaiʻi (Okamura, 2008). This small political power can be contributed to the sheer numbers of the Filipinx population. However, the real political power that Filipinx have against the more dominant ethnic groups are relatively insignificant in their efforts of advancement or movement (Okamura, 2008).

University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa (UHM)

The UHM campus is located within the Mānoa valley of Oʻahu and is the flagship institution amongst the ten campuses of the University of Hawaiʻi (UH) system (University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa [UHM], 2015). UHM is the only public institution of higher education within Hawaiʻi that grants doctoral degrees (UHM, 2015).

Okamura (2013) stated that:

> UH Mānoa has courses on Filipino Americans in ethnic studies and American studies, provides instruction in two Philippine languages (Ilokano and Tagalog), offers the only bachelor's degree in Philippine languages and literature in the nation, offered the first degree in Philippine studies and had the first student
>
> service program designated for Filipino Americans (Operation Manong, started in 1972). (p. 230)

Despite the seemingly inviting cultural space for Filipinx, there seems to still be limitations for Filipinx accessing UHM. Table 2.1 shows the Fall enrollment figures presenting both undergraduate and graduate student enrollment breakdown by gender and ethnicity, only highlighting specific ethnic groups of Filipinx, Mixed Asian, Caucasian, and Japanese categories. (Institutional Research and Analysis Office [IRAO], 2016). As demonstrated by Table 2.1, Filipinx total enrollment, including both graduate and undergraduate enrollment, is relatively comparable to Japanese groups, but Caucasian students dominate over any other ethnicity.

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TABLE 2.1: Fall 2016 UHM Enrollment by Ethnicity

	Total Enrollment	Filipinx	Mixed Asian	Caucasian	Japanese
Total Enrollment (Undergraduate + Graduate)	18,056	1,703	1,590	4,215	1,702
Men	7, 832	720	731	1,795	770
Women	10,154	976	853	2,405	927
No Data	70	7	6	15	5
Total Graduate Enrollment	4,924	226	314	1,507	472
Men	2,007	73	122	693	173
Women	2,898	152	191	807	298
No Data	19	1	1	7	1

As for graduate education, Table 2.1 suggests Caucasian populations still lead in enrollment at 1,507 students as compared to the meager registration of 226 Filipinx, of which 152 are Filipinas. Of all the groups shown for graduate education, focused on enrollment, which discusses the concept of higher education access to UHM, it does not address degree completion; thus, it is not confirmed how many of the Filipinx students that enroll at UHM actual finish through to graduation.

TABLE 1.2: UHM Awarded Doctoral Degrees, by Gender and Ethnicity (07/2015-06/2016)

Total Doctoral Degrees Awarded	Males	Females	Filipinx	Caucasian	Japanese	Chinese	Native Hawaiian
204	93	111	7	100	17	17	11

Table 2.2 outlines the number of UHM Academic doctoral degrees awarded between July 2015 to June 2016 (IRAO, 2016). There were a total of 204 degrees awarded, with 111 of those going to females. Of the 204 degrees, Caucasians earned 100 degrees, while only seven were awarded to Filipinx students. Although the statistics show the breakdown by various Asian ethnicities, the data were not disaggregated by gender to see numbers of Filipinas that graduated with doctoral degrees. The understanding that Caucasians and Japanese have higher levels of educational attainment can be supported by the display of student enrollment and doctoral degree completion within the UHM (Okamura, 2008).

Okamura (2008) suggested that the high educational attainment and enrollment of Chinese, Whites and Japanese allowed for their continued dominant socioeconomic position in Hawaiʻi, while the low educational attainment of Filipinx was closely related to racist institutional policies that excluded these groups from access to education (Okamura, 2008). Therefore, educational attainment directly relates to socioeconomic status and contributes to potential income earnings and social mobility (Okamura, 2008). As Okamura (2008) indicated, "Higher education (as opposed to work experience) has increasingly become the principal means for entry into more financially rewarding occupations that also provide better employment, health insurance, and retirement benefits" (p. 53).

As a result of their lower socioeconomic status within Hawaiʻi, it is often difficult for Filipinx to afford higher education (Okamura, 2008; 2013). Okamura noted that "As a socioeconomically disadvantaged minority Filipino Americans generally lacked the financial resources to meet the drastically raised tuition compared to the more privileged ethnic groups, and so their enrollment dropped" (p. 223). While all ethnic groups were negatively impacted by the increase, "Filipino Americans and other ethnic minority students from Hawaiʻi have been the sacrificial victims of the University of Hawaiʻi's initiative to address its budget deficits by increasing the recruitment and admission of out of state students" (Okamura, 2008, p. 83). The enrollment of Filipinx within the UHM had steadily increased starting in the 1980s, even though they were still dramatically underrepresented in comparison to the state population, but that growth dropped considerably as a result of the 1996 and 1997 tuition hikes (Okamura, 2013). The undergraduate enrollment decline of Filipinx continued for six successive years (Okamura, 2013). According to Okamura, (2013), "The tuition hikes … eliminated a decade of progressive growth. As of Fall 2009, Filipino Americans had regained their 1995 total in the UH system," which was their highest enrollment of Filipinx students, "but it took almost 15 years and a worldwide economic crisis to do so" (p. 223).

Filipinx students, therefore, continue to be marginalized and, as a result, they continue to be underrepresented in the flagship institution of UHM, while overrepresented at the community colleges within the UH system (Okamura, 2008). As Okamura indicated, "Institutional discrimination in the UH system and elsewhere in the state also results from the non-enforcement of equal employment opportunity and affirmative action policies and of civil rights laws prohibiting racial discrimination" (p. 61). Okamura (2008) argued that Filipinx were not able to

equally benefit and participate in public higher education because of the various discriminatory policies. He emphasized:

> These policies and practices include the long-term underfunding by the state government of both the University of Hawaiʻi system and the public schools as well as the non-implementation by the University of its equal educational opportunity, nondiscrimination, and affirmative action policies, which have much greater detrimental consequences for ethnic minorities such as Filipino Americans than for the socioeconomically advantaged ethnic groups. (p. 227)

It is clear that the perceptual dimension of institutions of higher education functions to shape the experiences of minority students. Therefore, the campus culture for Filipinx makes a difference in how they create a sense of belonging and perception of success within these realms. If students do not feel like they belong, through policies and practices of the institution, they will instead flock to places that provide access and support.

Los Angeles, California

Results of the 2010 U.S. Census revealed that 65.6% of all Filipinx resided in the West (Hoeffel, et al., 2012). The 2010 U.S. Census also indicated that 15% of the California population identified as Asian and of that percentage 43.2% identified as Filipinx (Hoeffel et al., 2012). Within the Los Angeles area, the previous historic Filipinx neighborhoods and towns did not continue to grow or flourish in the same ways as they did in earlier years. Previous Filipinx settlement hubs like "Manilatown" in downtown Los Angeles, which boomed in the 1920s and 1930s for working-class Filipinx, saw an outmigration to outlying cities and suburbs such as "Glendale, Eagle Rock, Silver Lake, Carson, Long Beach, Cerritos, West Covina, Walnut, Rowland Heights, and Diamond Bar" (Bonus, 2000, p. 49). The shifts in settlement patterns were

concurrent with the changes in occupational placement (Bonus, 2000). Due to the historical migratory nature of Filipinx laborers, it was difficult to build viable long-term communities (Espiritu, 1995). Filipinx communities like Little Manila in Stockton were gathering places for migratory workers; however, their livelihood depended on having access to portable communities because of their constant mobility (España-Maram, 2006). While there is a large Filipinx presence in older communities such as Manilatown, the trend is that more and more Filipinx are not settling in distinct ethnic neighborhoods. As Ocampo (2016) suggested, "Filipino immigrants have the economic means to move into suburbs, given that many come with college degrees and valuable professional experience" along with their English- language proficiency and their exposure to Americanized culture as a result of U.S. colonialism, which "allowed them to settle in more racially integrated neighborhoods" (p. 37). Espiritu (1995) argued that "The increasing geographical dispersion of the community is an obstacle to its cohesion" (p. 24). In other words, the Filipinx population is not concentrated in a single area, thus making it harder to build a unified group.

Situated within Los Angeles are the modern Filipinx towns of Eagle Rock and Carson; however, neither community "embodies the same institutional ethnocentrism as an immigrant ethnic enclave or ethnoburb" (p.38). Ocampo (2013) detailed the Filipinx within these areas as "a reflection of the broader population of Filipino Americans in the United States [continental U.S.]-- most had parents who were college-educated professionals, and most described themselves as middle class" (p. 301). These Filipinx towns have a population of approximately 20% Filipinx, 35% Latino, while the rest of the population is White (Eagle Rock) or African American (Carson) (Ocampo, 2013, 2016). According to Ocampo (2016), these neighborhoods have no racial majority, as there is no sense of overwhelming Filipinx presence, yet

quintessentially idealizes the Americanized suburban aspects of "privacy, boundaries, and manicured homes" (p. 39). Ocampo (2016) found the middle-class Filipinx of Eagle Rock and Carson grew up in a comfortable lifestyle that privileged their wants in addition to their needs, and that came with a sense of economic stability. As Ocampo suggested, "Even though everyone appreciated the presence of Filipinos in their neighborhood, it was the racial diversity of their communities that they valued most—that is, that Eagle Rock and Carson 'were Filipino, but not too Filipino'" (p. 39). The function of place in racially integrated suburbs, such as Eagle Rock or Carson, continues to alter the individual's sense of Filipinx-ness as compared to a variation of others around them. Being situated within a mix of people living within affluent neighborhoods, without an overwhelming Filipinx presence, contributes to the very different individual and group identity ascribed to Filipinx as compared to Filipinx presence in Hawaiʻi. Filipinx in this latter context aligns more with a middle-class, educated, Americanized individual.

Ocampo (2016) asserted that a primary reason why Filipinx in California were able to integrate into ethnically diverse neighborhoods, instead of staying in ethnic enclaves, was because of the high English language proficiency. As a result of the Americanized educational system in the Philippines, the 1965 immigrants were proficient in English, and their children continue that practice today (Ocampo, 2016). According to Ocampo, nine out of ten Filipinx immigrants are efficient in English, thus making it easier to "obtain jobs in the mainstream labor market as opposed to an ethnic based economy," ultimately allowing them to assimilate into the communities within California (p. 32).

The Filipinx in California hold a higher socioeconomic status (i.e., middle-class), which is a contrast to the low/working-class socioeconomic status that Filipinx hold within Hawaiʻi (Labrador, 2015; Ocampo, 2013; Okamura, 2008). This middle-class socioeconomic status can

be attributed to the employment advances that took place post-war and post-1965 immigration within California when there was some room for social mobility (Espiritu, 1995). According to Ocampo (2016), "The United States was experiencing severe labor shortages, particularly in health care, and allocated a large segment of its immigration visas to foreign-born professionals who could fill those gaps" (p. 29). Thus, this allowed Filipinx professionals to enter into the American workforce in higher positions than before, such as hospitals and engineering firms (Ocampo, 2016). Post-1965 immigration, Filipinx professional immigrants were the ones that continued to petition for their families and relatives to come to America, many who were in the same social and economic bracket, thus relatively transforming and maintaining the contemporary middle-class population that we see in California today (Ocampo, 2016). According to Ocampo, Filipinx in California have the highest household median annual income, at approximately $70,000 as compared to other immigrants, which is attributed to their continuing ethnic associations within the community and large familial contributions to the overall income.

Although Filipinx may have a middle-class socioeconomic status, their political presence in California is relatively low. Ocampo (2016) shared that in areas such as Carson, Filipinx were involved in local politics and few served as local leaders; however, it was difficult as there was often considerable push back from other residents. When Carson elected Filipinx mayor Peter Fajardo in 1997, there was perceived disturbance in Carson's balance of power amongst other racial groups, as some feared that Filipinx were gaining too much power (Ocampo, 2016). This unsupportive political climate caused the quick downfall of Fajardo and demonstrated other group concerns about Filipinx attempts to gain political power, thus continuing their extreme marginalization within the political sphere (Ocampo, 2016).

University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA)

Serving as UHM's counterpart, UCLA is a premier institution of higher education within

the state of California and is one of ten campuses within the University of California (UC)

system (Regents of University of California, 2016). Situated in Los Angeles, UCLA prides itself

on numerous prestigious awards, titles, and esteemed alumni, in addition to offering an extensive

range of areas for education, research, and service (Regents of University of California, 2017).

Table 2.3 shows the demographic breakdown of total undergraduate and doctoral enrollment by

both gender and ethnic classification for Fall 2016 (UCLA Academic Planning and Budget,

2016).

TABLE 2.2: Fall 2016 UCLA Total Student Enrollment by Gender and Ethnicity

	Undergraduate	**Doctoral**
Total Enrollment	30,873	4,644
Female	17,512	2,075
Male	13,361	2,569
AAPI (Asian American Pacific Islander)	9,917	714
Hispanic	6,462	410
White	8,113	1,750
African American	1,485	206

Table 2.3 displays four of the six different ethnic classifications, highlighting those with

the highest enrollments. Filipinx students fall under the broader pan-ethnic category of Asian

American Pacific Islander (AAPI), which also includes a wide range of ethnic backgrounds, such

as East Asian Americans. The ethnic breakdown puts AAPI enrollment in the lead over White students. However, due to the large spread that the AAPI category covers it can be misleading and appear to hide many groups under this larger classification, such as Filipinx, who are considered an underrepresented minority for UCLA (UCLA Graduate Division, 2012). Finding demographics that were disaggregated to separate out the student enrollment of the Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) classification, was not accessible or available.

TABLE 2.3: UCLA Doctoral (Academic) Degrees Awarded, by Gender and Ethnicity (07/2015-06/2016)

Total Degrees Awarded	Males	Females	Asian	White	Pacific Islander
775	412	363	106	317	4

Table 2.4 reveals the gendered and demographic breakdown of awarded academic doctoral degrees between the period of July 2015 to June 2016, continuing to focus on the AAPI and White statistics (UCLA Academic Planning and Budget, 2016). With a total of 317 degrees awarded, White students lead substantially as compared to Asian students with only 106 degrees awarded. Again, there was no further disaggregation of information for specific Asian groups; thus, it is difficult to know where Filipinx students fall in this category. The only available information regarding Filipinx student enrollment was hidden in the 2011-2012 Graduate Annual Review, classifying Filipinx students as one of five underrepresented minority groups (UCLA Graduate Division, 2012). Even though Filipinx have a considerably large population within the state of California, they are still considered an underrepresented minority, amongst the statistics of UCLA enrollment (UCLA Graduate Division, 2012).

TABLE 2.4: Fall 2011: UCLA Underrepresented Minority Filipinx Graduate Enrollment

	Total Student Enrollment	Filipinx
Graduate Total Enrollment	12,070	202
Men	6,548	89
Female	5,522	113

According to Table 2.5, which displays the numbers for Filipinx graduate student enrollment for Fall 2011, Filipinx students only made up a meager 202 students out of the larger 12,070 student enrollment (UCLA Graduate Division, 2012). Within the Filipinx subgroup, having only 113 Filipinas attending graduate education suggests that doctoral enrollment is dramatically smaller for these underrepresented minorities.

Okamura (2013) exposed that with the end of affirmative action, Filipinx enrollment had substantially increased amongst the UC system, except for UCLA. During the period of Fall 1997 to Fall 2009, Okamura found a slight decline in already small UCLA Filipinx enrollment. Overall, the Filipinx enrollment into the UC system appeared to be slightly overrepresented amongst incoming freshmen, as compared to the California state population (Okamura, 2013). Okamura asserted that the educational attainment of Filipinx appear to be comparable to other highly educated East Asian American populations of Chinese and Japanese in California. As he suggested, "However, to a significant extent, they can be attributed to the immigration of Filipinos with college degrees rather than the educational mobility over the generations" (p. 220).

Ocampo (2013) found that high attrition rates were linked to the lack of social support and underrepresentation for Filipinx that are pursuing majors in the STEM fields within the UC system, as only one out of five will graduate with a Bachelors in Science degree. Filipinx often

have difficulty navigating their new racial contexts in college as they struggle to redefine the

pan-ethnic boundaries of Asian American, as compared with large numbers of East Asian

Americans within UCLA (Ocampo, 2013). Ocampo argued that "At campuses like UC Berkeley

and UCLA especially, respondents' sense of Asian American identity became disrupted by

Filipino Americans' designation as 'underrepresented minorities,' a category reserved for

minority groups with unusually high attrition from the college" (p. 320).

Ocampo (2013, 2016) asserted that the Filipinx who had attended UCLA, particularly

from communities such as Eagle Rock or Carson, were used to being the primary "Asians" in

their high schools, but found themselves greatly underrepresented when they came to college.

Therefore, this racial dilemma experienced by Filipinx students leads to greater insecurities and

an unstable sense of belonging within college and the larger category of Asian American

membership, as compared with East Asian Americans (Ocampo, 2013, 2016). Ocampo (2016)

described this as being a more normative Filipinx experience on various UC campuses,

particularly UCLA. With an absence of Filipinx faculty and staff, it can be hard to create support

networks on campus, where students can feel understood, appreciated, and supported (Ocampo,

2016; Okamura, 2013). The perceptual arena of space, within higher education institutions, co-

constructs the individual's sense of belonging and success, in comparison to others that occupy

the same space. The distribution of power that operates within colleges and the campus culture

can serve as a distinct reminder that these spaces were not created for people of color and

immigrant minorities, thus impacting an individual's sociological aspect of space (Gruenewald,

2003b).

Co-Constructing Filipinx Identity

I share a similar purpose with Maramba and Bonus (2013) in not attempting to provide a "definitive, absolute, and homogenous set of origins and attributes of authentic and pure Filipino American histories and cultures that could be appropriate as benchmarks for inclusive representation in civil society" (p. xx). There is not one homogenous "type" of Filipinx; instead, there is heterogeneity and diversity amongst the Filipinx population. There are, however, some shared experiences present in the literature which are salient to note, as these shared experiences are relevant within education or identity formation. These constructs which may have had impacts on Filipinx identity formation are place identity, colonial mentality, family-based values, and gendered norms.

Place as a theoretical construct can be defined through the understanding that, "as centers of experience, places teach us about how the world works and how our lives fit into the spaces we occupy. Further, places make us: as occupants of particular places with particular attributes, our identity, and our possibilities are shaped" (Gruenewald, 2003b, p. 621). The relationship that people have with places is co-constructed, meaning they are entirely interconnected and interdependent on how experiences, education, culture, and community are created. By inhabiting a place, we are constructing it, as we are simultaneously changing because of it. As Gruenewald (2003a) noted, "Place, in other words, foregrounds a narrative of local and regional politics that is attuned to the particularities of where people actually live, and that is connected to global development trends that impact local places" (p. 3).

The role of place within educational research is a necessary component of human experience, identity, culture, and relationships (Gruenewald, 2003b). As Gruenewald (2003b) demonstrated through his multidimensional analysis, the construct of place is intimately

interdependent on how people are situated within their communities, their schools, and their position within the hegemonic structures of oppression. Educational experiences can help to illuminate our traditionally distorted and exploitive perceptions of place and its co-constructed influence on our human experiences. The construct of place is more than just geography but includes the vital components of space and time, which together can immeasurably influence an individual's sense of identity, power, culture, and education (Gruenewald, 2003b). The individual experience or impression of a space may be very different from another, ultimately producing a notably distinctive place for that person (Gruenewald, 2003b). Gruenewald (2003b) shared that, "Being in a situation has a spatial, geographical, contextual dimension. Reflecting on one's situation corresponds to reflecting on the space(s) one inhabits; acting on one's situation often corresponds to changing one's relationship to a place" (p. 4).

As Ocampo (2016) indicated, "When it came to ethnic and racial identities, location was everything. The significance and meaning of Filipino identity often depended on social and institutional context" (p. 171). This quote exemplifies the substantial function of place on the building of both individual and group identities of the Filipinx people within America. As reviewed, the historical and contemporary Filipinx societies of Hawaiʻi and California contextualize the co-constructed identities that result from those spaces.

Gruenewald (2003b) described the intimate and interconnected relationship that the sociological dimension of place has on the production of culture and identity; thus, suggesting that the context of the communities has a significant effect on how individuals create their individual and group identities and their perception of success. The contemporary communities of both Oʻahu and Los Angeles were significantly shaped by the historical migration and settlement patterns, resulting from the effects of U.S. colonialism. Espiritu (2003) argued that

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"Filipino American lives have been shaped not only by the historical racialization of Filipinos in the United States but also by the status of the Philippines in the global economy" (p. 48). The Filipinx intimate relationship to the perceptual and ecological dimensions of place through their labor work created different types of Filipinx communities. In Hawai'i, Filipinx stayed in a stable plantation community and eventually set down roots within those areas, building strong ethnic enclaves (Labrador, 2015). This is contrasted with the Filipinx laborers in California who migrated with the harvests that transformed into a dispersion of Filipinx into racially integrated communities (Espiritu, 1995). Differences in these place contexts constructed diverse Filipinx group identities, particularly in the operation of power through the production of space. These historical patterns illuminate the influence of various sociological, ideological, and political arenas of place on the contemporary Filipinx communities.

Gruenewald (2003a) asserted that "places are social constructions filled with ideologies, and the experience of places, such as the Black inner city or the White suburbs, shapes cultural identities" (p. 5). In other words, where communities are situated, where people are born, and where people are from all play significant roles in how individuals construct their individual and group identities. The relationships that people build within their societies and neighborhoods can help to create an insider/outsider identity. The drastic divergence in the contrasting socioeconomic status of Filipinx in Hawai'i as compared to California considerably shaped their group identity within those respective areas. In Hawai'i, there was a common distancing from Filipinx identity and an increasing association for the prevalent local identity, continuing to reify the low and negative social and economic positions within the community in connection with non-local Filipinx. When contrasted with the comfortable lifestyle, where Filipinx reside in the middle-class Americanized suburbs of Los Angeles, being Filipinx in this context means

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something much different. Dependent on the reification of Filipinx within that space, the amount of power and status an identity has could greatly influence one's sense of acceptance. Thus, an individual sense of success in school could look very different depending on the context of place.

As discussed, Filipinx within California hold a higher socioeconomic status as middle-class within their communities. Therefore, their perceived success may look different in terms of career or higher educational attainment as compared to the Filipinx within Hawai'i that hold a lower socioeconomic status. It is not to say that Filipinx from Hawai'i cannot obtain a higher level of success, but that the perception of success will be based in large part the communities in which they reside. As Gruenewald (2003a) stated, "geographical location, race, gender, class-permutations of these and other cultural locations mean social and ecological problems are often perceived and prioritized differently by different groups" (p. 6). In other words, the Filipinx within Hawai'i will struggle with different types of societal, ideological, political, or ecological problems as compared to Filipinx in California. For example, Okamura (2013) argued, "…somewhat paradoxically, the arguably greater political power of Filipino Americans in Hawai'i compared to their counterparts in California, with their much lower percentage of the state population," (p. 229) does not provide an advantage of protection from institutional racism through state or higher education policies. Therefore, the political space in which these different communities operate will dictate the priorities and concerns that they address and face.

Gruenewald (2003b) expressed that individuals perceive the ideological dimension of place through the influence that spatial relationships have on culture, identity, and social interactions. Space as a characteristic of place is political and filled with different ideologies, shaping who we are and expressing relationships of power (Gruenewald, 2003b). Through the production of individuals, space can exemplify hegemonic dominance, sustained through

material forms of oppression and power, such as the function of privatizing property (Gruenewald, 2003b). The social function of space is intimately associated with power, control, and geographical organization, which serves to legitimize the cultural production of the dominant group, leading to the control of spatial authority (Gruenewald, 2003b). Gruenewald explained that:

> The colonization and *displacement* of disenfranchised cultural groups are the epitome of how power has operated historically through the production of space, how power affects and controls people and places simultaneously. The message here is that power depends on, is facilitated by, and is reflected in the development and control of geographical space. (p. 630)

In other words, the domination and legitimacy of power are contingent on the spatial authority of place; thus, the internalization of power by subordinates continue the hegemonic control over the geographical space (Gruenewald, 2003b). The concept of colonial mentality stems from a body that bears traces of colonial history and trauma (Maramba & Bonus, 2013). As Leonardo and Matias (2013) stated, the Filipinx population "are no longer formally colonized subjects by that Spaniards or the Americans, but generations have inherited a certain cancer of the mind that subjugates their true sense of culture, identity, and history" (p. 4).

As Leonardo and Matias (2013) concluded, the remnants of colonialism continue to impact the sense of power and hegemony, as Filipinx still view their bodies, identities, and futures through the colonizers' lens. As Leonardo and Matias (2013) suggested, "Filipinos and Filipino Americans are no longer formally colonized subjects by the Spaniards or the Americans by generations have inherited a certain cancer of the mind that subjugates their true sense of culture, identity, and history" (p. 4). According to David and Okazaki (2006), colonial mentality

refers to an "internalized oppression, a condition in which the oppressed individuals and groups come to believe that they are inferior to those in power" which is seen as a significant "consequence of systematic and sustained oppression" (p. 2-3). David and Okazaki (2006) identified this psychological condition in Filipinx through the condemnation of the Filipinx self, culture, glorification of Americanized culture and bodies, and forbearance and approval of the continued oppression and submission. Thus, any mark of being "too" Filipinx became inferior, leaving many individuals to dissociate from their Filipinx bodies or cultures, with a continued push to assimilate to their idolized American icons. Although contemporary colonialism within the Philippines is not as direct and apparent, the hegemonic nature of this longstanding oppression is still asserted in Filipinx' identities across the globe. The decolonization process is an uncomfortable one that requires prolonged work to break down and to create new psychological links to one's core identity.

Halagao (2013) shared that, "Decolonization is the process of humanizing the dehumanized as well as moving from self-denigration and ethnocentrism to accepting self and others at a multicultural and global level" (p. 148). While the process of decolonization can happen in different ways and at different times for individuals, there are stages in where one can critically reflect and act against the oppression (Halagao, 2013; Strobel, 2001). However, decolonization from this colonial mentality is possible; although recovery from decolonization is a constant and continued process, as the legacy of colonial power is hegemonic throughout the psyche (Halagao, 2013). Leonardo and Matias (2013) left their discussion of colonial mentality with this goal in mind, "To be an educated Filipino means to learn about one's coloniality in order to forget it. But the act of forgetting is not just an act of denial. Rather it is the condition of possibility that makes further learning possible for the postcolonial" (p. 16).

The colonial mentality and relics of colonialism are reinforced through prescribed and perceived Filipinx values such as family or collective values. As the core unit, family is regarded as the ultimate value in Filipinx culture (Bachini, 2011; Libarios, 2013; Monzon; 2013). According to Monzon (2013), "the well-being of the family carries more weight than the happiness of the individual, deference of the self for the harmony of the family" (p. 237). In terms of higher education, college attendance is a collective activity, with heavy familial influence and expectations, often including college and career choice (Monzon, 2013). Thus, the expectation of respect for elders and not shaming the family is central in the behaviors and actions of Filipinx children (Monzon, 2013). According to Bachini (2011) whose study explored Filipinx persistence in higher education at UHM, family support was a salient factor in students' educational experiences. Libarios (2013) findings continued to support existing research that family support and values of the collective continued to play a significant role in Filipinx pursuit of higher education.

The gendered values of women within the Filipinx community centers on the morality and expectations of the family and collective values of the group. Espiritu (2001) argued that the "moral status of the community rests on women's labor, as women, as wives and daughters are expected to dedicate themselves to the family" (p. 423). With this, there is a high expectation of reproductive work in which women are burdened with as a result of their perceived responsibilities to bear and socialize the future generations (Espiritu. 2001). Thus, the push for morality standards for Filipinas is in response to the pervasive hyper-sexualization of Filipina women from the colonial era (Espiritu, 2001). According to Espiritu (2001) to reclaim the morality standards of Filipinas, the idyllic Filipina was "family oriented and chaste…more 'feminine' (i.e., devoted, dependent, domestic)…young daughters are expected to comply with

male-defined criteria of what constitutes 'ideal' feminine virtues" (p. 427-428). Females are seen as preserving the culture and reproducing the lineage of the communities, thus their behaviors, autonomy, and mobility is often policed (Espiritu, 2001). Through this differential treatment of Filipinas, the marginalization of Filipina bodies and voices continues (de Jesus, 2005). Constructing the model Filipina is significant through the use of shame and power to control and police the bodies and minds of these women, with an effort to keep them behind the scenes of the continuing legacy of the community, ever present and ever invisible at the same time (de Jesus, 2005).

AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

After reviewing the unique historical and contemporary issues within the Filipinx communities within Hawai'i and California and their accompanying higher education institutions included in the study, in the remainder of the chapter, I examine American higher education and the necessary substantive components related to Filipinas' advanced educational experiences.

American institutions of higher education primarily served to educate elite White males, continuing to maintain their status quo within society (Thelin & Gasman, 2011). Maramba and Bonus (2013) stated that:

> American schools have been imagined historically both as repositories and privileged locations for the production and dissemination of knowledge. They are regarded as enduring symbols of hope and intrinsically sutured into the mythology of the American dream, providing the supposed means for social mobility and advancement, including the possible enhancement of one's stature and position of power. (p. xviii)

American higher education emerged around the 1700s and with the intent to create an "American Way" of educating the elite young White men of America (Thelin & Gasman, 2011).

As the researchers argued, "The American colonists built colleges because they believed in and wished to transplant and perfect the English idea of undergraduate education as a civilizing experience that ensured a progression of responsible leaders for both church and state" (p. 4). The ideas and concepts of American higher education stemmed from examples of English universities, such as Oxford and Cambridge, while attempting to avoid the mishaps of their English counterparts such as losing control over curriculum and governance (Thelin & Gasman, 2011). Social class was still prevalent among the homogenous White, Christian young men that attended these institutions, and for these reasons, the colleges embraced the *in loco parentis* role, where the staff and faculty acted as stand-in parents providing supervision and guidance for their students (Thelin & Gasman, 2011). Initially, attendance to college, for these young White men, was a means to confirm social standing rather than promote social mobility, as education is viewed today (Thelin & Gasman, 2011).

Following American independence in 1776, however, a new Americanized college experience was emerged, as colleges moved away from their English model, creating an American Way of higher education (Thelin & Gasman, 2011). During this time the construction of colleges increased significantly as did the student population (Thelin & Gasman, 2011). The student population expanded to include students from diverse incomes and backgrounds; however, access was still generally limited (Thelin & Gasman, 2011). Finally, toward the end of the 1800s populations that were historically excluded such as women, African Americans, and Native Americans began to gain some access to higher education (Thelin & Gasman, 2011). Separate institutions of higher education were created to educate some of these subgroups, such as female seminaries and historically black colleges (Thelin & Gasman, 2011). Access to higher education gained in popularity and purpose; however, institutions continued to face issues of

discrimination. Women, ethnic, racial, and religious minorities continued to face discrimination both in student life and academically. Although colleges and universities continued to diversify their populations, the primary focus was still on an undergraduate education with relatively little emphasis on graduate education (Thelin & Gasman, 2011).

Although higher education has been heavily researched, the existing literature focuses primarily on various aspects of undergraduate education such as access, retention, persistence, curriculum, student support programs, and careers. Thus, the next part of the chapter will outline pertinent literature on graduate education with a focus on doctoral educational experience.

Doctoral Education

Doctoral students are amongst the best and most qualified students, having made it past the rigors and highly competitive admissions process (Jairam & Kahl, 2012). The doctoral education experience is complex and multifaceted; there are salient aspects of postgraduate programs, whether it be the socialization aspect, the program requirements, or balancing the varying responsibilities of being a doctoral student that make this experience very different than other educational experiences. Unfortunately, research in higher education has primarily focused on the experiences of undergraduates, often overlooking the salient aspects of graduate and doctoral educational experience (Bagaka's, Badillo, Bransteter, & Rispinto, 2015). While there is a growing body of research conducted on doctoral student experiences, many have continued to focus on the developmental and structural elements impacting the doctoral experience (Sverdlik, Hall, McAlpine, & Hubbard, 2018) such as degree completion, attrition rates, socialization process, dissertation logistics, while generally overlooking the student's personal well-being and life (Gardner, 2009; Sverdlik et al., 2018). Sverdlik et al.'s comprehensive review of current literature suggested that doctoral education research focused primarily on codified categories of

external and internal factors which influenced students' view of their overall educational experience, exemplified as success, satisfaction, and well-being. Sverdlik et al. (2018) categorized external factors as "supervision, personal/social lives, the department and socialization, and financial support opportunities" and internal factors included, "motivation, writing skills, self-regulatory strategies, and academic identity" (p. 361), which included self-worth and self-efficacy. Although the existing research began to describe and understand the multifaceted experience of academic achievement and well-being, there is still much that remains unexplored about the overall doctoral experience (Sverdlik et al., 2018). Thus, there is still a significant gap in understanding the role that ethnic identity and gender play, for the Filipina population, in a sophisticated experience of doctoral education. There continues to be a limited voice that is given to this population within the scope of higher education research.

There is a unique socialization process that happens within doctoral education, which falls under one's overall educational experience (Sverdlik et al., 2018). Jones, Osborne-Lampkin, Patterson, and Davis (2015) argued that the salient function of doctoral education is to socialize graduate students for a career in academia as a scholar and researchers. According to Jones et al., "Socialization entails a process whereby the values, norms, knowledge, and beliefs of a group are imparted to a new member" (p. 484). This socialization process happens in subsequent stages, where the expectations are first set, the formal knowledge is learned through courses, texts, and interaction with scholars in their field. As a result of these experiences, the student gradually assumes the professional identity and internalization of the role (Sverdlik et al., 2018). The stages of academic integration are not experienced in the same manner by all students, which could be in part that the importance of this process is not the same across cultures (Sverdlik et al., 2018). Ellis (2001) found that the process of socialization was eased by having a

good mentor or advisor and having a positive and supportive environment in their home department. Research also indicated that department structure might also play a role in the attrition of students, which can be identified through the socialization process (Sverdlik et al., 2018). Some departmental factors which can be informally identified during socialization which are linked to attrition were mismatches in values, departmental culture and practices, and misunderstanding program expectations during the application process (Sverdlik et al., 2018). While Ellis (2001) noted that race appeared to be a salient factor in students' doctoral program experience, the socialization process was supported by faculty with whom students could identify--often faculty of color. Since having supportive mentors was identified as a primary factor in the socialization process, students who worked with faculty that they felt understood their academic challenges had higher scores of satisfaction with their programs, which ultimately impacted completion rates (Ellis, 2001).

Doctoral education within American higher education constitutes generates higher levels of stress, pressure, and expectations among students than the undergraduate student experience (Jairam & Kahl, 2012). The high levels of stress and feelings of social isolation were noted as primary contributors to the significantly high and well researched attrition rates in doctoral programs (Jairam & Kahl, 2012). Jairam and Kahl (2012) shared that "The stressors of doctoral study include relative poverty, anxiety, sleeplessness, academic demands, fear of failure, examinations, and time constraints" (p. 312). These researchers underscored that in addition to the anxieties resulting from the dynamic demands with which doctoral students are faced; the students continue to "find themselves having to manage the socialization into their new roles, building and maintaining new relationships, and creating their professional identity" (p. 312). One's academic or professional identity is co-constructed through educational activities such as

socialization, as well as from informal interactions with academia (Sverdlik et al., 2018).

Sverdlik et al. noted that securing a positive academic identity helped with creating a sense of belonging and academic membership, thus helping students to feel valued in their academic communities.

In addition to the stress and anxieties that doctoral students face, a lack of communication or understanding within their programs or their roles and responsibilities can also contribute to feelings of social isolation (Jairam & Kahl, 2012). This can stem from a lack of meaningful social connections, with faculty members, colleagues, superiors, which are then intensified by navigating unfamiliar and hostile environments, such as a doctoral program. For doctoral students, the struggle to balance social, familial responsibilities, and academic obligations continue to create tensions, as it requires personal negotiations of priorities and allocating individual resources such as time and energy (Sverdlik et al., 2018). This increasing strain often leads to personal imbalance and disruption within social and family systems, such as a neglect of physical health, partner relationships, and a decline in social interactions, which can contribute to high levels of burnout and an increase in mental health concerns (e.g., depression) (Sverdlik et al., 2018). Sverdlik et al. (2018) suggested, "The demands of doctoral programs and students' personal and social responsibilities can take a toll on the physical and psychological well-being of these students, and influence their performance and achievement in their degree work" (p. 372). According to Jones (2013):

> Students have a host of individual development issues and challenges including a need for autonomy, a quest for competence and identity, an appeal for independence and a weakness for time management. Students must navigate through a comprehensive collection of cultural challenges like departmental culture, disciplinary culture, individual

culture, and institutional culture. On top of this, there are two even more burning issues

doctoral students must confront. One is the socialization process, and the other is the

dissertation progress (p.93).

Several key factors stand out as creating a positive impact on academic success, time to

completion, and overall satisfaction. Previous research identified social support, including

professional and personal forms of support, as one central determinant for doctoral student

success (Peltonen, Vekkaila, Rautio, Haverinen, & Pyhältö, 2017). Social support promoted

positive well-being, prevented burnout and created a sense of belonging within the program

(Ellis, 2001; Gardner, 2009; Jairam & Kahl, 2012; Peltonen et al., 2017; Sverdlik et al., 2018).

Jairam and Kahl (2012) found that social support helped not only to mediate stress levels but also

to combat feelings of social isolation.

Professional forms of support included the presence of supportive mentors/supervisors,

colleague support groups, and departmental support, which offered students various forms of

emotional and academic support (Ellis, 2001; Jairam & Kahl, 2012; Peltonen et al., 2017;

Sverdlik et al., 2018). Supportive mentors or supervisors not only contributed to overall

satisfaction in one's doctoral experience but also helped with the overall socialization process

(Ellis, 2001; Sverdlik et al., 2018). Having professional forms of support not only helped to

structure a lot of the overall experience but also helped to secure financial opportunities for

students and contributed to navigating the academic culture of one's program (Sverdlik et al.,

2018). Peltonen et al. found that doctoral students with insufficient professional support profiles

experienced higher rates of exhaustion and cynicism, which were intimately related to burnout,

less satisfaction with the type of supervision support received, and a higher likelihood to drop out

than their peers with sufficient support profiles. As Peltonen et al. noted, insufficient professional

support was associated with drop out and burn out for doctoral students, while "accordingly, receiving sufficient support both from the researcher community and from the supervisor(s), combined with reduced levels of reported friction, promotes doctoral studies and increases the odds of successfully completing a Ph.D." (p. 165).

As Sverdlik et al. (2018) concluded, "Studies have consistently shown motivation to succeed to be a salient predictor of achievement and persistence in doctoral education…Doctoral student motivation has also been found to be affected by external factors such as family support" (p. 376). Family support or non-academic support systems, such as friends/peers can be considered personal support, which Jairam and Khal (2012) found to be salient in combating stress and increasing motivation. Jairam and Khal noted that family members offered doctoral students, emotional support, in the form of "encouragement, friendship, and love" and practical or tangible support, in the form of "gifts, financial support, and taking care of chores for someone else" (p. 319). It was shared that family members or personal support systems are the only ones that provide practical support for doctoral students, in that this type of support cannot be offered academic or professional support systems in the same way (Jairam & Khal, 2012). Although there were many positive aspects regarding the value of support systems, Jairam and Khal (2012) also noted that support systems could interfere with the doctoral process. More specifically, they indicated that personal support systems might contribute to stress and burnout if there is a lack of understanding from family about the context of the demands and expectations of the doctoral process (Jairam & Khal, 2012).

Internal motivation is a significant factor in increasing doctoral degree completion. Geraniou (2010) identified strategies to help students maintain motivation, which included self-resilience, interest, achievement, engagement in motivating discussions, applying knowledge and

relevant literature, participating in scholarly activities, which ultimately help to boost confidence. While some of these motivational strategies are identified as internal motivations versus external factors, Geraniou (2010) found that there is a bi-directional relationship between these factors and any engagement or a combination of aspects can help to maintain motivational levels.

Female Experiences in American Higher Education

In addition to the challenges of doctoral experiences discussed previously, there are unique experiences that women face when completing a doctoral degree. Although there has been an increase in literature and research completed on doctoral education, there is still limited research that has been done to understand and investigate the various factors that affect degree completion in doctorate programs for women (Ellis, 2001; Jones, 2013; (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2014; Prikhidko & Haynes, 2018). Previous research found that women in general, and student mothers more specifically, face additional challenges in completing doctoral degrees because of the barriers that they face which men do not typically experience (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2014). According to Onwuegbuzie and colleagues, the delay in women finishing their doctoral degrees may not only be attributed to their gender but due to the dual/ multiple roles that they may play which are contradictory to their academic life, which makes it difficult to focus entirely on their academics. Prikhidko and Haynes (2018) remarked, "Multiple role conflicts, balancing processes, and contemporary parenting ideals make the life of graduate student-mothers stressful when they strive to become ideal parents and struggle with perfectionism" (p. 323).

The high standards and expectations for graduate students continue to put excessive stress and pressure on students who are striving to be the best in each sphere. Often, women hold dual (i.e., mother/student or career/student) or triple roles (i.e., mother/student/professional) which have been shown to slow down academic progress, as often these roles entail contradictory

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lifestyles (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2014). Prikhidko and Haynes' (2018) research indicated that student-mothers who reported high cognitive dissonance experienced conflict and discomfort between choosing between both attitudes and behaviors connected to either their student or mothering roles. By increasing support systems and altering perceptions and a sense of realistic standards, helped to decrease some of that discomfort. Onwuegbuzie et al. (2014) noted that in addition to "age, culture, and socioeconomic differences" (p. 2), academic success is impacted by social support and personal relationships, with significant others and family. Onwuegbuzie et al. indicated that "Without the appropriate support from their spouses, family members, and colleagues, women doctoral students might face obstacles meeting academic requirements" thus, leading to potential drop out, decrease in motivation, and burnout (p. 2-3).

Ellis (2001), for example, found the intersection of race and gender to be a salient factor in the doctoral educational experience. Ellis noted that Black females interpreted their experience extremely differently from Black males or White students in general. As Ellis found, "…minority women interpret their experiences within a different framework than White women," which implies they create "alternative ways to survive and succeed in doctoral work, albeit [with] the lack of social integration" (p. 35). Ellis shared that "…Black women experience extreme marginality in academe, making their experiences different from those who are not Black and female" (p. 41). These same participants shared their feeling of being outside of the department, similar to feeling out of place as the Chicana/o scholars had described (Ellis, 2001; Solórzano, 1998). Ellis suggested:

> When one considers the stress these women felt as they proved their qualifications to other students and faculty members, the separation some of them felt from their families and communities outside of academe, and the racial tension that exists in higher

education, one realizes the uncomfortable environment in which some of these women might have found themselves. (p. 41)

Although socialization is an essential aspect of doctoral education, especially when it is preparing a student for a future career in academia and in creating a sense of belonging within the program, underrepresentation within the program can ultimately compromise the socialization process for non-majority, non-traditional students (Jones et al., 2015). Jones et al. argued that "Underrepresented racial/ethnic faculty in general, and Black women in particular face challenges in academia that often confound the influence of inadequate socialization at the doctoral level" (p. 485). Due to the underrepresentation of both doctoral students and faculty, these non-majority women can experience higher levels of isolation and alienation within their programs, ultimately impacting their ability to fully feel a sense of belonging or complete the socialization process (Jones et al., 2015). Underrepresentation regarding program faculty also contributes to the limited availability of prospective mentors within their programs (Jones et al., 2015).

Filipinx (AAPI) Experiences in American Higher Education

While diversity has been an essential aspect of higher education, research in American higher education has continually stressed the significance of examining student populations based on ethnicity/race (Vea, 2013). When it comes to the AAPI community and higher education, however, many studies continue to examine this student population as a whole, ultimately leaving AAPI subgroup experiences as ultimately invisible (Vea, 2013). As Vea (2013) indicated, "Over the last few decades, research on particular AAPI subgroups in higher education has remained almost negligible, with the misperceptions that AAPI's are academically successful, overrepresented, persisting, and graduating at higher rates than Whites" (p. 88).

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Although the AAPI group is made up of numerous subgroups, assumptions regarding academic experiences and success are generally based on three prominent subgroups: Chinese, Japanese, and Korean American students (Buenavista, 2010; Okamura, 2013; Vea, 2013). In presenting aggregate data on the basis of three of the 48 subgroups which comprise the AAPI racial category, the existing literature neglected "the empirical evidence on the impact of college and college experiences (including academic achievement and performance) of specific AAPI subgroups in postsecondary education", including the Filipinx and Filipina experience (Vea, 2013, p. 88).

Although current educational research on Filipinx students began to explore "the impact that culture and ethnicity, familial backgrounds and family support have on their college experience and overall emotional and psychological well-being" (Vea, 2013, p. 88); there is still a continuing need for more educational research on all levels of higher education. There is a remaining need to address unique experiences of subgroups which remain virtuously invisible and submerged within the larger AAPI experiences. There is also a need to address the various stereotypes associated with Filipinx students, their lack of representation throughout the educational pipeline, their overall academic achievement (Vea, 2013, p. 89), which can be understood through unique voices through educational narratives. Vea asserted that Filipinx student groups should not be considered as an extension of the AAPI population and recommended utilizing disaggregated data for future research on Filipinx students in an effort to understand the differences amongst educational experiences and the influences on college outcomes like academic success more clearly.

According to Buenavista (2010), "Filipino youth have less access to postsecondary education for myriad reasons, but particularly due to relatively high push-out rates compared to

their Asian American counterparts" (p. 117). The colorblind policies within higher education, exclude access to higher education access and retention programs because this population is not recognized as a target population (Buenavista, 2010). As Buenavista stated, "Education-centered discussions that mention Filipino experiences are also often a result of larger quantitative projects that attempt to disaggregate Asian American experiences, as well as qualitative comparative studies in which Filipinos represent an outlier to the model minority stereotype" (p. 117). Buenavista (2010) noted that literature illuminating educational experiences for Filipinx emerged from the sociological research of the Filipinx American experience within the United States.

In Hawaiʻi, however, Filipinx were not typically categorized as high achievers but were portrayed as a model minority through various forms of the media (Okamura, 2008). As Buenavista (2010) indicated:

U.S. Filipinos experience a dichotomous racialization. As Asian Americans, they are often considered "model minorities"--academically and socioeconomically successful regardless of their racial minority status…However, although Filipinos are generally perceived as Asian American model minorities, in geographic locations where they are largely concentrated, they are distinctly racialized as gang members, criminals, and deviants. (p.121)

This mischaracterization of Filipinx students continues to render their experiences invisible within the educational system, obscuring them from the access to necessary support systems within higher education. Consequently, this invisible status allows institutions of higher education to colleges to "fail to provide the recognition and invest the resources to address their concerns" (Okamura, 2013, p. 228). Buenavista (2010) highlighted several salient factors that

continue to impact postsecondary opportunities for Filipinx students such as language barriers, undocumented status, underemployment, family consolidation, socioeconomic status, college choice, violent and deviant behavior among Filipinx youth, and negative racialization of Filipinx, including criminalization of the communities. Thus, significant barriers exist for the Filipinx community with respect to doctoral program access, securing available resources, and gaining necessary support for completing higher education degrees.

Regarding Filipina educational experiences, Espiritu (2001) in her research around Filipina sexuality within American society argued, "The burden of unpaid reproductive and kin work is particularly stressful for women who work outside the home" (p. 424). One of her doctoral degree participants shared that it did not appear White students in the program had to be cognizant of their impact on their families. In contrast, however, this Filipina student shared that she felt like each personal action had a direct action on her family, and she needed to be always mindful of how each action she made impacted them (Espiritu, 2001). When it came to doctoral degrees or pursuing advanced degrees, this participant illuminated the tensions that females, and particularly AAPI females, faced when working outside of the home. Espiritu concluded that participating in an extremely individualistic endeavor, such as obtaining a doctoral degree, while having to be mindful of the collective identity that AAPI students share, created significant tensions between family concerns, educational requirements, and earning a living for these students to navigate.

First-Generation and 1.5-Generation College Students

Many Filipinx students are either first-generation or 1.5-generation college students. Although there has been significant literature on first-generation college students (i.e., students who are the first in their families to attend college), there still much to be learned about their

educational experiences and barriers in navigating the college going process (Terenzini, Springer, Yaeger, & Pascarella, 1996). There has been substantially less research conducted on the liminal population of 1.5-generation college students (Buenavista 2007, 2013). This population occupies a limited space within education, as they are positioned between the levels of first and second-generation college students (Buenavista, 2007; 2013). The population of 1.5-generation college students is defined as second-generation students who have immigrant college-educated parents (Buenavista, 2007; 2013). Understanding the distinctive educational experiences of this population has been essential in structuring this research, as all of the participants included fall into one of these two categories.

Generally, first-generation students and their families lack the basic knowledge of American postsecondary education systems, personal commitment, and level of family support needed in college choice process, planning, and college expectations (Terenzini et al., 1996). Concerning the transition and assimilation into higher education, in addition to the normalized difficulties that traditional students face, first-generation students also encounter different cultural, social and academic transitions (Terenzini et al., 1996). These students often experience increased tension when juggling the "conflicting roles and demands of family membership and educational mobility" Terenzini, et al. 1996, p. 2). In terms of persistence and degree attainment, first-generation college students are more at risk for attrition or incompletion, due to the decreased levels of integration, both academically and socially (Terenzini et al., 1996). As Terenzini et al. (1992) argued, "While not specific to first-generation students, most studies of persistence or degree attainment include parents' education as a critical predictor variable" (p.3).

Buenavista (2013) expanded the conflict faced for 1.5-generation Filipinx undergraduate students, "While students recognized that due to their parents' college degrees, they were

considered second-generation college students in the United States, their experiences did not reflect the material privileges assumed to traditionally benefit second-generation college students" (p. 274). Buenavista (2013) examined the sociocultural inconsistencies which shaped undergraduate Filipinx 1.5-generation college student pathways to higher education. Her research showed that conditions such as underemployment of Philippine college educated parents, unrealized benefits of educational attainment, limited familial involvement in college processes, and conflicting priorities between family and student roles were not only manifestations of the (neo) colonial relationship between US and Philippines, but also "established a context of contradictions that position Pilipinos to occupy liminal spaces in education" (p. 261). Thus, while these sociocultural contexts were salient in shaping the educational attainment for second-generation Filipinx students, the contradictions continued to create increase barriers and obstacles which demarcated a unique educational experience, considering the historical and contemporary issues that the Filipinx community face. Unfortunately, most previous research conducted on this population focused on Filipinx undergraduate students. As a result, there is minimal information regarding how 1.5-generation status might impact graduate education as it applies to various student ethnic identities. The conversation of 1.5-generation college students is salient to this research as the majority of the participants fell within this generational status.

The Model Minority Myth

As shown in other literature, Asian American presence within higher education is viewed as exaggerated in order to perpetuate the perception that they are a model minority (Buenavista et al., 2009). As Buenavista et al. (2009) argued:

The model minority myth is a social construct that aggregates the experiences of all Asian Americans, even though the community is one that is composed of over twenty-five different ethnic groups, with diverse histories, immigration patterns, and cultures...which is a manifestation of a broader racial agenda that serves to maintain dominance of whites in the United States. (p. 71)

This model minority myth has perpetuated the idea that, as a whole, Asian Americans, "achieve universal and unparalleled academic and occupational success" (Museus & Kiang, 2009, p. 6) which continues to distort their image as "problem-free high achievers" (Suzuki, 2002, p. 29). Therefore, the crucial issues that Asian Americans face within higher education are obscured and hidden with this myth, because this group is seen as a whole as a model that other minorities should ascribe to be (Buenavista et al., 2009; Museus & Kiang, 2009; Suzuki, 2002).

There are significant negative consequences that can result from the model minority stereotype. The model minority myth was not the first stereotype held about the Asian American population. In the late 1800s through to the 1940s, Asian Americans were perceived as the perfidious foreigner threatening the American way of life (Suzuki, 2002). However, these perceptions were transformed into viewing Asian Americans as the model minority when the country was facing a major predicament in race relations (Suzuki, 2002). In promoting Asian Americans as a model minority, other minority groups' demands for social justice were discredited (Suzuki, 2002). As a result of this new and improved image, Asian Americans appeared to be self-sufficient; however, this was not the actual situation (Suzuki, 2002). Asian Americans still experienced discrimination and were not afforded similar opportunities or assistance because they were perceived as having few or no problems (Museus & Kiang, 2009; Suzuki, 2002). As Suzuki concluded, "The perception is still widespread that Asian Americans

have overcome all barriers of racial discrimination and are more successful even than whites" (p. 23). Although this may be the perception, it is not reality. Many studies continued to show the disparities, inequities, and discrimination that Asian Americans face that debunk the model minority myth (Buenavista et al., 2009; Museus & Kiang, 2009; Suzuki, 2002).

Not being fully included in the myth has some to do with the demonizing and negative racial stereotypes that were held about Filipinx within Hawai'i (Okamura, 2008). Filipinx Americans were inaccurately portrayed in the media to be model minorities, struggling to survive in Hawai'i (Okamura, 2008). However, many of these stories were relayed as a success, but they did not address the more significant issues that Filipinx Americans were facing as a whole (Okamura, 2008). The inaccurate depiction of Filipinx Americans, "were concerned with immigrants and privileged personal stories of perseverance, hard work, and devotion to education as the primary means for individual advancement rather than struggles against oppression, racism, and discrimination that restrict such progress" (Okamura, 2008, p. 173). Filipinx play an insider/ outsider role when it comes to the model minority myth, but it often depends on the context in which they are being examined. Ultimately, their association with the model minority myth has continued to mask the hardships and issues that they face, while portraying them in a false state to others and even themselves. Thus, for Filipinx who cannot or do not achieve model minority success, their issues, barriers, or struggles are obscured by this stereotype (Gloria & Ho, 2003).

Impostor Phenomenon

The Impostor Phenomenon (IP) is another construct creating noticeable impacts on academic success among non-majority students and women (Cokley, McClain, Enciso & Martinez, 2013). The concept of IP was first identified through psychological sessions among

students who discussed feeling like frauds, undeserving of the success that they had achieved despite the contrary evidence (Clance & Imes, 1978; Parkman, 2016). According to Parkman, "Impostors see themselves as unworthy of the level of praise they are receiving because they do not believe they have earned such recognition based on their capabilities, causing heightened levels of anxiety and stress (p. 52). Impostors, additionally continue to over focus on mistakes, internalize failures, and compensate by working harder to seek perfection (Parkman, 2016). The pursuit of perfection creates "self-inflicted excessive standards for achievement lead to the creation of unrealistic goals that are ultimately unachievable" (Parkman, 2016, p. 52). Impostors are unable to see how their successes are a direct product of their abilities. They continuously downplay their accolades, as if they were falsely bestowed, but not something that they have earned (Parkman, 2016). Thus, what follows are continued unrealistic expectations, increased stress and anxiety, diminished self-confidence and self-efficacy, internalization of failures, and an acute focus on mistakes (Parkman, 2016). As Parkman noted, "Lack of internalization of past successes, an external locus of control and lack of confidence in replicating past performance accompanied by the increase in visibility, leads to a significant amount of fear often associated with a focus on impression management and self-monitoring behaviors" (p. 52). These increased self-sabotaging behaviors contribute to an overall decrease in the joy of work and a higher risk of burnout (Parkman, 2016).

The construct appears to have some salience in describing the internalized fear of being seen as an intellectual fraud particularly in non-majority populations, particularly for women or people of color (Cokley et al., 2013). Impostor fears can make it difficult for some students to internalize their success and instead they externally credit their achievements, despite the evidence to prove otherwise (Cokley et al., 2013). As Clance and O'Toole (1987) argued, "IP

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(Impostor Phenomenon) sufferers do not have a realistic sense of their own competence and are not fully empowered to internalize their strengths, accept their deficits, and function with joy" (p. 2). The fear associated with this impostor phenomenon continues to add stress on these individuals to hold themselves to exceptionally high standards all while living in fear of being exposed (Cokley et al., 2013).

Although this phenomenon has been researched in both males and females, who may experience these feelings at around the same rates, the impact is more damaging to women not achieving their full potential (Clance & O'Toole, 1987). As Clance and O'Toole indicated, fundamental child-rearing patterns that encourage stereotyped gender roles contribute to women's conflict over autonomy. When a woman experiences IP feelings due to particular family dynamics, her feelings are intensified by these general child-rearing patterns that make her conflicted about her autonomy (p. 3). It has been suggested that women of color may be particularly prone to experiencing impostor phenomenon because they hold a double minority status (Cokley et al., 2013). Cokley et al. found that impostor phenomenon was experienced more by Asian American undergraduate students than African American and Latinx American students. The researchers attributed their findings to the stress of the model minority stereotype and irrational beliefs around high expectations, including high parental expectations and perfectionist tendencies. With the model minority myth, Filipinx fall into a very invisible role within this stereotype. As clumped together in this Asian American category, Filipinx are included in this myth, almost by default, but continue to be invisible in the homogenous group of Asian Americans (Buenavista et al., 2009).

Therefore, Filipinx and other AAPI populations may be prone to experiencing these impostor fears, while progressing through their doctoral programs. Overcoming and pushing

through these fears, may contribute to additional challenges for these students in their program. While these impostor feelings do not necessarily prevent success, they can dramatically limit one from achieving their highest potential (Clance & O'Toole, 1987). Without the right support and resources to encourage these women to override their fears, this syndrome can be debilitating to their success in their program and their highest potential in future careers.

SUMMARY

This chapter reviewed the salient literature underpinning this study on Filipina doctoral degree experiences. The literature review highlighted there is a severe gap in the existing research available specific to Filipina doctoral education and in doctoral education in general. From the extant literature, it also described several pertinent factors that shape the educational experiences of students within a doctoral program, for females, and AAPI, with a focus on Filipinx students.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I discuss the research methods used to examine Filipinas' experiences in pursuing their doctoral degrees. Qualitative methods, utilizing descriptive case studies, offered an effective way of giving voice to Filipinas' doctoral academic experiences. Through semi-structured interviewing, this approach facilitated a deeper exploration of participants' doctoral educational experiences, with a focus on program structures, intrinsic motivations and external support systems that were considered essential in their academic success. Their stories create a platform for Filipina educational success stories and also inform future practices including providing supportive campus cultures for women of color navigating through their doctoral programs.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This exploratory research focuses on understanding Filipinas' resiliency and experience in doctoral programs from the choice to pursue a degree through its completion. The goal of the study was to understand the *how* and the *why* of choosing to pursue a doctoral degree, what challenges participants experienced along the way, how they succeeded, and what was unique to their experience. The main guiding research question focused on the overall doctoral educational experiences of Filipinas as they progressed through their programs at UHM and UCLA. Supportive questions helped to identify critical factors that aided their success including the presence of support networks, intrinsic motivators, and supporting program structures. The two research questions were as follows:

- What were the educational experiences of Filipinas as they successfully progressed through their doctoral degree to completion?

- What kind of program structures, intrinsic motivations, extrinsic support systems, and

  personal support systems helped them persist through their programs?

Personal experience and the participant's perceptions of their experience lay at the heart of this study. Merriam (2009) noted that personal experience methods focus on describing how people construct, attribute meaning, and interpret their experiences. As Berg (2007) asserted, such research is "most interest[ed] in how humans arrange themselves and their settings and how inhabitants of these settings make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structures, social roles, and so forth" (p. 8). Thus, qualitative researchers are able to explore the structure, perceptions, and creation of meaning that people give to their lives, particular experiences, and their overall social reality (Berg, 2007). In this paradigm, reality is socially constructed, and there can be multiple interpretations of experience, which allow the researcher to examine the complexity of the various views and to develop an understanding of the meaning inductively (Berg, 2007; Creswell, 2007; Denzin, 2005; Heck, 2004; Merriam, 2009). As Maxwell (2012) argued, "The strength of qualitative research derives significantly from this process orientation toward the world, and the inductive approach, focus on specific situations or people, and emphasis on descriptions…" (p. 30). The central focus is the participants' perspectives and their subjective views of the experience while framing the information gained through an appropriate context or cultural lens (Creswell, 2007; Denzin, 2005; Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Merriam, 2009).

The inductive characteristics of qualitative research allow the researcher to build patterns, theories, and concepts on a phenomenon from the bottom up, instead of deducting first from a theory or concept (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009). Qualitative research is deep and richly descriptive, which is a result of the multiple data sources from which information is collected, as

well as its holistic nature (Creswell, 2007; Denzin, 2005; Merriam, 2009). As the study focused on the journey, and not only on the destination, the qualitative paradigm was a natural choice. As noted, one of the unique strengths is to use multiple data sources to create a space for exploration and gain descriptive and holistic perspectives, while searching for a greater understanding of the lived experiences these women faced in their doctoral program (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). The underlying qualitative paradigm also created a space to utilize a cultural and contextual lens, while focusing on each participant's views and subjective outlook.

Case Study

Descriptive case studies formed the basis for data collection. Berg (2007) defined case study as:

> an approach capable of examining simple or complex phenomenon, with units of analysis varying from single individuals to large corporations and businesses; it entails using a variety of lines of action in its data gathering segments, and can meaningfully make use of and contribute to the application of theory. (p. 283)

A vital aspect of a case study is that it is bounded—that is, the study is defined by boundaries of what will not be studied, allowing for a deeper, not wider, analysis (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009). As Berg (2007) argued, "By concentrating on a single phenomenon, individual, community, or institution, the researcher aims to uncover the manifest interaction of significant factors characteristic of this phenomenon, individual, community, or institution" (p. 284). Similarly, Merriam (2009) suggested that "The case itself is important for what it reveals about the phenomenon and for what it might represent" (p. 43), which is understood through the different features of case studies, particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic. The particularistic features of case studies focus primarily on specific situations or a phenomenon itself (Merriam,

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2009). The descriptive element of case studies exemplifies the extremely rich, thick, in-depth description and information gathered through this means (Berg, 2007; Merriam, 2009).). In Merriam's (2009) definition, heuristic means that the case study illuminates the reader's understanding of the phenomenon.

Berg (2007) further suggested that "Sensemaking is the manner by which people, groups, and organizations make sense of stimuli with which they are confronted how they frame what they see and hear, how they perceive and interpret this information, and how they interpret their own actions and go about solving problems and interacting with others" (p.285). For this research, I specifically explored Filipina doctoral educational experiences at two institutions with the in two states with the highest populations of Filipinx. The study aimed to understand the constructed experience of this specific population with respect to their doctoral education experiences. For this particular purpose, "case study offers a means of investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon" (Merriam, 2009, p. 50). Utilizing case studies to explore the doctoral program experiences of Filipinas provided a rich, realistic and holistic account of their experiences while highlighting insights, which applies to structure future research or implications within this field and population (Merriam, 2009). Utilizing a case study methodology allowed for a richer description of how the women perceived their doctoral experiences while providing a space to share their unique stories of academic success. Although there were various ways to present the cases, in an effort to highlight the variations, similarities, and differences in experience amongst the women, I chose to interview each woman separately, focusing on her unique lived experience, and then cross-analyze their separate stories to provide a general understanding of

the phenomenon. Thus, presented in the findings chapter, the themes discussed represent

common threads found amongst the variety in the participants' experiences.

Boundaries of the Study

A key feature of case studies is that the unit of study is bounded, and the boundaries of

research are specified ahead of time (Berg, 2007; Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009). Thus, I

bounded this study in a couple of significant ways. First, the participants included only females

who self-identified at Filipinx/a who graduated with a doctoral degree from one of two research

institutions, the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa (UHM) and the University of California at Los

Angeles (UCLA). I interviewed eleven (N=11) participants, all of whom graduated with their

doctoral degree at least more than a year before participating in the research. I conducted face-to-

face interviews in various locations, as the participants worked at multiple institutions in Hawaiʻi

and California. Additionally, the participants were limited to holding a Ph.D. (Doctor of

Philosophy), Ed.D. (Doctor of Education), and Dr.Ph. (Doctor of Public Health) degrees,

excluding MD (Medical Doctorate) or JD (Juris Doctorates), in order to go deeper in the analysis

of personal experience rather than wider (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The Peminist Critical Theory was instrumental in specifying the research design since it

highlighted the importance of the counternarratives and brought the voices and experiences of

the women to the forefront. Thus, this research helped to center female voices and experiences of

academic success, while creating a space to share how the intersection of their identities with the

fundamental tenets of the framework which may have impacted their educational success (de

Jesus, 2005). As illustrated in chapter one, I've extracted eight critical tenets from the overall

framework as a way to better understand the theory, as displayed in the figure below, even

though it hasn't been broken down in the literature this way before. Although each tenet appears to stand on its own as a stem from the overall Peminist Critical Theory, all tenets interact with each other, as demonstrated in the overlapping pattern within Figure 3.1.

FIGURE 3.1: Eight Tenets of Peminist Critical Theory
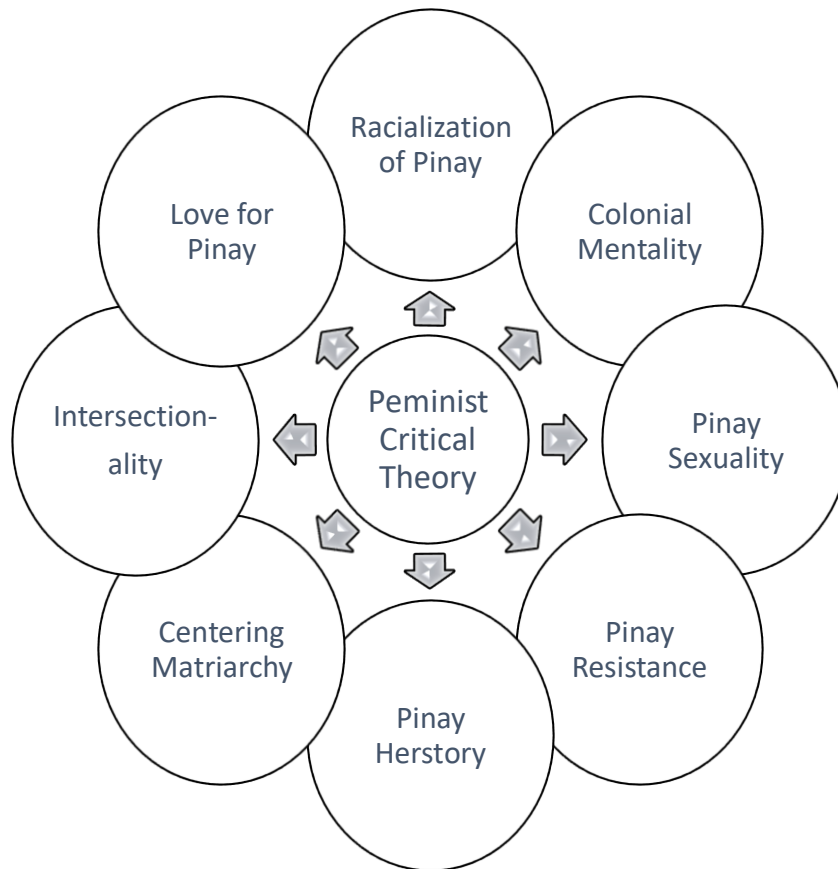
PARTICIPANTS

I collected data from 11 self-identified Filipinas who finished their doctoral degree at least one year before participating in this research. I used purposeful and snowball sampling to locate these Filipina alumni. This sampling approach facilitated collecting rich information from individuals who could offer the most information regarding research purposes (Merriam, 2009).

Six participants were from UCLA and five were from UHM. To gain greater diversity in the sample, there was no limit regarding the date when these women graduated other than the initial criterion of being a graduate for at least a year before participation. Thus, the range in graduation dates spanned from three years prior to 30 plus years ago. It was useful to see how these doctoral experiences changed through the years at UHM and UCLA. The participants either selected or were given pseudonyms used throughout this research study and presentation of the findings.

The selection of participants began by seeking out known Filipinas who completed their doctoral degrees at either institution and contacting them through email. After this initial step, I employed snowball sampling, where initial participants could refer me to other participants they knew to increase the pool of potential participants. Interested participants received a follow-up contact through phone, in person, or email inviting them to participate in the study and then to schedule appropriate times for their participation.

Interested participants completed a pre-screening to make sure that they had met all the necessary study criteria. First, the participants needed to self-identify as being Filipina and female. Although the term Filipina implies identifying as female, participants had to self-identify as being both Filipina and female. Second, the participants had to have completed their doctoral degrees from the UHM or UCLA at least one year before participating in the study. Although participants could have earned an Ed.D. degree (Doctor of Education), none of the participants held this type of doctorate. Thus, the only types of doctorate degrees included were Ph.D. and Dr.Ph. doctorates. The one-year time constraint was employed because it was essential that these women had adequate time to reflect on their experience within their doctoral programs to gain a better understanding of how this degree had impacted their lives. Majority of participants used

the terms Pinay and Filipina in reference to themselves. The participants, with their pseudonyms, are summarized in Table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1: List of Participants

Name	School	College Student Status	Time to Completion
Tala	UCLA	1.5-Generation	5 Years
Audrey	UCLA	1.5-Generation	7 Years
Mariam Brave	UCLA	1.5-Generation	8 Years
Valerie	UCLA	1.5-Generation	5 Years
Clarisa	UCLA	1.5-Generation	6 Years
Sophia	UCLA	1.5-Generation	7 Years
Nina	UHM	1st Generation	14 Years
Justine	UHM	1.5-Generation	2.5 Years
Perlas	UHM	1.5-Generation	10-12 Years
Jill	UHM	1st Generation	3 Years
Josephina	UHM	1.5-Generation	5 Years

The next section highlights salient information and background for each participant. I structured the analysis as 11 separate cases in an effort to give voice to each participant. In the next chapter, the findings are discussed with respect to the salient themes that came out of the data collected from the participants. That chapter primarily highlights the cross-case analysis amongst their different experiences within their doctoral degree programs.

Tala

Tala was born on the West Coast of the United States. Her parents immigrated in 1968, resulting from the 1965 Act. Her parents instilled not only some values of hard work, the importance of a career and health insurance and a working-class mentality but also the value of

education. More specifically, because of her parents' own educational experiences (i.e., mother formally educated in the Philippines with an accounting degree and father with a 5th grade education), she embraced the value of education not only formally but informally also. Tala shared that her father, an amazing artist, holds many talents that did not come from a formal education system. It wasn't until Tala took an ethnic studies class at a community college that her engagement in school increased. Tala reflected on the way her professor confronted normative ideals and challenged hegemony within society. Her professor challenged and embraced her radical thinking and believed in her potential and her future success. Tala shared that she owes her career and future academic success to this influential mentor.

With his influential support, Tala transferred to a prestigious four-year university and continued her fight to confront and challenge inequities within society. A motivating factor of her pursuing her Ph.D. was a Filipinx faculty getting turned down for tenure. As an effort to challenge the norms, she applied and pursued her Ph.D. at UCLA. Although it was not without struggle and delay, her motivating purpose in finishing her doctoral degree was financial motivation, as a job was waiting on her to obtain that degree. A theme woven through her educational experiences was the impact of support networks and the relationships built with influential people along the way. The collectivity and community that Tala built has continued to make her a great mentor and advocate for Filipinx success in her current position as a distinguished professor, mentor, and advocate at a West Coast higher education institution.

Audrey

Audrey is the youngest of three daughters, born and raised on the West Coast. Her older sisters and parents immigrated from the Philippines when they were very young. Being eight to nine years younger than her siblings, she always felt like her sibling had a hand in raising her,

along with her grandfather who also lived with her. Her sisters helped to influence her educational trajectory at a young age. Education was always acknowledged as a value within her family, especially since her mother was a grade school teacher in the Philippines, before moving to America. Being a 1.5-generation college student, her mother and father were both educated in the Philippines, her mother a grade school teacher and her father an engineer. Thanks to her sisters, the pressure of studying science or engineering wasn't an issue by the time Audrey started at a West Coast University. In her undergraduate degree, she spent time understanding her Filipinx identity and even negotiating previous notions of what it meant to be Filipinx to her, from her upbringing and family influences. She owes a lot of her co-created ethnic and cultural identity development to this period and her Filipinx network that she created in her undergraduate.

With the influence of critical college courses, seeing Pinay role models have academic success, and family influences, Audrey pursued a doctoral degree on the West Coast. Although it took her about seven years to finish her degree, Audrey shared the lessons she learned about academic culture and socialization within a doctorate program. Had she learned some of these lessons and rules of socialization earlier, she may have gotten through her doctorate quicker. However, Audrey grounded a lot of her research in her community that she grew up in, where her passion lies. For those reasons, she continues to center her family and her community at the heart of her research. Around the time of our interview, Audrey had just accepted a professor position at an institution close to her home town; however, she had to make the hard decision to leave her position at an R1 Research University. Grounding her decision in her family, however, she believes that she made the right choice for herself, despite her colleagues' criticism.

Mariam Brave

Mariam Brave, her chosen pseudonym is the eldest daughter of four children. As children of doctors, educated in the Philippines; she immigrated with her parents from the Philippines at four years old. Her early educational trajectory was very different than other participants, in that she had thought she was going to train and have a career as a pianist. However, her educational journey instead led her to pursue a Ph.D. from UCLA. Her upbringing on the Eastern Coast of America sheltered her from fully embracing her understanding or identity as a Filipina. As the eldest daughter, she felt like the third, but ever present parent, as her parents like many other participants worked non-stop. Through the influence of her parents and the esteemed value of education, all of her siblings have pursued distinguished careers. Her brother, a Medical Doctor, however always jokes with her that he's the "real' doctor, often minimizing her Ph.D.

It wasn't until she traveled back to the Philippines before starting her graduate education at UCLA, she delved into learning more about her family history, which led her to discover more about Philippine history. Through this exploration of her family's experience, she understood more about the colonial past and the overall impact that colonialism had on her own life and trajectory. Her passion for Philippine music and history intersected in a way where she was able to connect to her education and her roots. When she started in her doctoral program, coming from a completely different field, she felt unprepared and like an outsider within her Filipinx identity. Her experience as a Filipina American looked different than others, and she was still trying to grasp an understanding of the impact that her culture, identity, and history had on her and her education. While her doctoral journey was one that she thought she would quit multiple times, she made it through with the help of a robust Pinay support network. Her acknowledgment of mental health struggles through the doctoral process illuminates the variety of conflicts that

one can encounter. As a professor at a West Coast University, she continues to be an advocate for other students and colleagues navigating through the arduous process of obtaining a Ph.D.

Valerie

Valerie grew up primarily on the West Coast with military roots in her upbringing. Her father, who held a high school degree was in the Navy. Since her mother was educated in the Philippines, she felt that her mother projected those aspirations of college onto her children. Her mother experienced underemployment in America, which contributed to the drive to pursue education. For Valerie, those projections of getting a college degree stuck, as she assumed that role as the middle child and the gendered expectations with schooling. As the only child in her family who went to college, Valerie took on the responsibility of helping to provide for her family as a child and does so even today as an adult.

She shared that her driving motivations to pursue a doctoral education were not only financial, as she grew up in a poor working-class family, but also out of greater responsibility to her community. Her passion for school and the first time she felt academically confident was when she took an ethnic studies class, taught by someone with whom she could relate and where she saw herself in the curriculum. She lived the experiences that she was learning about in that class and gained a deep understanding of herself and those lived experiences in a way that impacted the rest of her educational trajectory. Through her various college experiences, she became heavily involved in Filipinx student organizations and activism, which led her to be also critical of Philippine nationalism. Valerie shared that her responsibility to her community and to fostering that aspirational capital in other students has been central in her work in the community, to strengthen the upcoming pipeline, and for her future research that continues to

impact the broader community around her. As a now full professor at a West Coast University, she continues to impact change not only for her family but also as a community member.

Clarisa

Clarisa, an East Coast native and the youngest daughter of medical physicians, was raised in a predominantly White neighborhood. Her three older sisters all attended higher education as expected by her parents; while there was no expectation of pursuing medicine, it was noted that they should pursue a distinguished career. It was expected for her to go to college and she thought she was on the path to becoming a lawyer. Due to some doubt in her career direction to Law school, she gained employment experience in higher education, which pointed her in the path to pursue her Ph.D. Although Clarisa seemed to glide through her education, she found that she really bloomed when she found passion in higher education. She was a late bloomer, as she put it, in that she really connected to learning about issues surrounding race and gender and how they applied to education.

Clarisa shared that she experienced some significant personal challenges while going through her Ph.D. program, which added an additional year of study. Losing her beloved mother and experiencing a divorce led her to take the necessary time that she needed to regroup before completing her dissertation. Clarisa went onto share about the liberating experience that she had in her Ph.D. program. She wanted a specific experience, learning new skills, and gaining the warranted validation that she deserved for the work she put into her studies. Even though she experienced some tremendous personal and at times financial hardships, she continued to persist. The innate tenacity and drive for success led her to obtain large grants, fellowships, and scholarships to help her pursue her educational dreams and to blossom. As a higher education administrator, she continues to utilize the skills she gained through her doctoral degree.

Sophia

Sophia was raised in what she considered a halfway home for immigrants, mainly family members, distant relatives, and friends would come and stop to settle into the American culture before setting off on their own. She grew up with the enduring influence of other cultures, languages, and traditions. As part of the brain drain, her father, a mechanical engineer had an opportunity to go to the U.S., and her mother urged him to take advantage of that opportunity. Her parents, both college educated in the Philippines, and the strong family support network instilled in her the value of education and the notion of putting family first among her priorities. Born in the U.S. and growing up in a middle-class Asian and White suburban community, Sophia did not recall a distinction in her identity within her community. She first started to realize the history and knowledge that was never shared about her community in her first Asian American Studies class. Feeling robbed of this information, she decided that she wanted to contribute to the larger body of knowledge about her community, about Filipinx, which is what led her to pursue her Ph.D.

Sophia had experienced personal and research challenges while pursuing her Ph.D., which led to a delay in her finishing her degree. Through the challenges her driving passion, the call of responsibility to have a broader representation within her community continued to push her to strive to break boundaries and push the limits to share information, and to persist. Being able to bring balance to her life was an integrated theme for Sophia throughout the continued experiences that she shared both through graduate school and for her life after her Ph.D. As a professor at a higher education institution in the West Coast, she continues to expand students' learning about minority communities.

Nina

Nina, a Yonsei fourth-generation Japanese and a second-generation Pinay, is the oldest of two daughters. Her father immigrated from the Philippines and joined the U.S. Navy, where he then met her Japanese mother an aspiring concert pianist. Nina's Filipinx Japanese ethnic identity played a significant role in her education path and the research that she continues to pursue. As a rebellious and gifted teen, Nina struggled to navigate the rigid educational structures in which she was placed. While her undergraduate degree, was not without struggle, Nina shared that things started to really click for her when she found subjects she enjoyed studying, such as ethnic studies and other topics that were relevant to her lived experiences as a mixed Filipina. Growing up in the Pacific Northwest, Nina made her way back to Hawaiʻi to pursue graduate school.

Her partner's pursuit of a Ph.D. pushed her to take the leap and start a Ph.D. program of her own. Nina had steadily made progress through her program but shared that priorities of family and career, which meant job security and raising children, often took a front seat to her dissertation and Ph.D. progress. Nina joked that she would sometimes consider her Ph.D. a hobby, in that she understands it often came last in her priority list. After 14 years in the program, Nina had a career and intrinsic motivation to really push her through to the end. She knew that the Ph.D. would open different career positions she would not have been able to obtain without the degree. As a higher education administrator, she continues to effect change for non-majority students and diversity programs on her higher education campus.

Justine

Justine shared that her family regarded education as one of the highest values in their family. Her father, who had a Ph.D., expected her and her siblings to strive for those educational standards. Justine had traveled considerably as a child and experienced overseas education

through high school. Justine had a different journey from most of the women who participated in the research in that she started her college educational journey in the Philippines at the University of the Philippines (UP). She got a scholarship that led her to continue her master's degree at UHM, which continued to feed directly into the Ph.D. program. Justine reported a lot more successes and positive aspects of her experience rather than challenges. Although she still encountered many difficulties, her perspective highlighted what she saw as small victories through her program. Justine illuminated aspects of struggles with her committee members, having to alter her original dissertation topic because of lack of support, and continuing to write and study in such isolation. Her artifact was one that described not only her journey from the Philippines to Hawai'i but also was representative of her doctoral experience at UHM.

Her gratitude for her significant mentors that continued to advocate for her and provide her the financial means to continue her studies was immense. Through the retelling of her experience, she found that so many aspects of her journey preceded essential life experiences that set her up for the work that she continues to do within her community. As an avid social justice advocate for non-majority populations, particularly within the Filipino community in Hawai'i, Justine continues to utilize her educational and life experiences to support the social mobilization of the community at large.

Perlas

Perlas was born and educated in the Philippines, and through her educational career, she settled in Hawai'i. Perlas' mother was prohibited from getting a college degree after high school because her family did not support higher education for women. Both of her parents, especially Perlas' mother encouraged their children to get a college education.

Perlas' education led her to pursue an advanced degree in the mainland, where she met and married her partner. After settling in Hawaiʻi, with the support of her husband, research interests in the Filipinx populations, and encouragement from her close friends, Jill pursued a doctoral degree at UHM. Perlas experienced challenges in her doctoral program, with both personal and academic barriers. She struggled with her committee members and with her own health. Through the hardships, Perlas shared that she attributed a lot of her continued motivation to her reliable support systems, both her family and friends. Ultimately, she finished her doctoral program after about 10-12 years, as she doesn't quite remember exactly how long it took her. She continued to work in the Filipinx community in Hawaiʻi, effecting change within higher education access for minority communities.

Jill

Jill immigrated to Hawaiʻi with her family at a very young age. Her father, a sakada, worked the long and hard hours picking and planting 600-800 pineapple crowns a day. With the hopes that Jill and her siblings would have a better life in America, the family immigrated to the island of Oʻahu, Hawaiʻi. Jill wanted to pursue higher education, but due to her family's financial situation and her mother's debilitating disability, Jill attended a local university. It was through experiencing some institutionalized racism in her employment and her intrinsic motivation to pursue more education; she applied for her Ph.D. As a military wife and mother of two young children, Jill knew that she needed to finish her Ph.D. as soon as possible, especially since her husband was on military deployment. As practically a single mother of two and also working full time, she often struggled to balance the mothering, career, and student demands, which led her to study only after putting her children to sleep until the early morning hours.

Jill graduated with her doctorate from UHM, in an intense and grueling three years. Jill continued to share her endurance, and her need to be ten times better and faster than others, and she persisted, but not without challenges. Jill's motivation was rooted in her upbringing, her family, culture, and her sense of place and belonging. Her father and his sacrifice stood as a centering motivation, as a pillar of hard work, persistence, and to strive for a better life for his family. Jill's work is heavily focused on the community in which she was raised and continues to live. Her roots and that connection to her community resonated as a constant driving force behind her continued success. As a researcher in a higher education institution, she continues to keep her community at the center of her work and research.

Josephina

Josephina, born in the Philippines, immigrated to the U.S. as a young child with her family. She grew up on the West Coast with her siblings, who all experienced earlier education differently and had different educational trajectories. Josephina considered herself an average student, one who didn't quite excel but didn't fall behind in K-12. While Josephina attended a prestigious college on the West Coast, she didn't feel quite prepared for the experience. A statistic that stuck with Josephina was that 50% of Filipinx students drop out of college. It hit close to home for her, as she fully understood the disproportionate success that she and her family experienced. Josephina experienced limited room for professional advancement in her career after receiving her master's degree, which helped to encourage her motivation for a doctorate.

She ultimately found herself pursuing a Ph.D. at UHM, and that statistic continued to shape her research interests and dissertation topics. Being away from home had its advantages and disadvantages while she progressed through her program. However, Josephina did report her

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struggles through her proposal and dissertation process, which led to some delays in her progress. However, she was able to finish her dissertation just in time for her first child to be born. Josephina recounted that her doctoral experience helped her to get a better understanding of the barriers that she and other Filipinx faced through their higher educational career. As a higher education administrator, Josephina continues to support access to higher education for minority students.

DESCRIPTION OF SITES

The institutions researched were chosen intentionally due to their similarities in diversity and specifications of the universities. As public research universities, these institutions pride themselves on their prestige and diverse alumni and accomplishments. Both Hawaiʻi and California have substantial populations of Filipinx within the community, thus making both UHM and UCLA comparable universities to explore when examining Filipina doctoral educational experiences. These sites were chosen specifically because of the significant representation of Filipinx found in both states, but not for the intent as a source for comparison in the universities themselves, their program structure, rigor, or admissions process. However, any notable differences within experiences found will be shared in the findings.

University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa (UHM)

Founded in 1907 from the Morrill Act of 1862, concerning land grant universities, UHM is one out of approximately a dozen institutions that hold the distinction of being a land, sea, and space grant research institution (UHM, 2015). Noted for its high research activity and selective admission criteria, UHM is one of ten institutions in the University of Hawaiʻi (UH) System (UHM, 2015). This 320-acre campus, located on the island of Oʻahu in Mānoa Valley, is the only doctoral-granting institution within the UH system (UHM, 2015). Classified as a Carnegie

Doctoral Research Extensive University, UHM is "consistently ranked a "best value" among U.S. colleges and universities. Its students receive a quality education and have a unique, multicultural and global experience in a Hawaiian place of learning-truly like no place else on earth" (Mānoa Institutional Research Office [MIRO], 2018).

As of Fall 2017, this institution had approximately 17,612 currently enrolled students, of which 4,731 were graduate students who typically reflect a higher academic standard of achievement compared with students in the rest of the UH System (MIRO, 2018). Of the total enrollment, including both undergraduate and graduate students, 36.2% of students identified as Asian (excluding Pacific Islanders), with 9.4% identifying as Filipinx (MIRO, 2018). For 2017-2018, about 58.1% of students were female, and 66% were residents of Hawai'i (MIRO, 2018). As of Fall 2017, 198 graduate students identified as Filipinx (MIRO, 2016). The number of doctoral degrees for research/scholarship awarded in July 2016 to June 2017 was 190 degrees (MIRO, 2016).

UHM has a rich diversity in both doctorate programs and student population, which makes this an ideal site to conduct this research. More specifically, within the institution, there are 57 doctoral programs (MIRO, 2016). As the largest higher education institution in Hawai'i, this flagship campus prides itself in promoting diversity, belonging, and safety. Filipinx makes up the second largest racial group in Hawai'i at 14.5% of the population, but they remain drastically underrepresented at the flagship UHM campus (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Although there is an overrepresentation of Filipinx in community colleges in the state of Hawai'i, it is problematic that the numbers continue to decrease for Filipinx as the level of degree increases (i.e., bachelor's, master's, doctorate).

University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA)

Located in Los Angeles, California, UCLA is one of ten campuses within the University of California (UC) System (Regents of University of California, 2016). Classified as a Coeducational College and with land grant roots, UCLA's core mission and values are listed as education, research, and service (Regents of University of California, 2017). UCLA prides itself with 13 Nobel Laureates, 12 MacArthur Fellows, 113 NCAA Titles, 262 Olympic medals and more than 140 companies created based on technology developed at UCLA (Regents of University of California, 2017). UCLA offers more than 125 majors and over 80 minors, with approximately 150 graduate degrees (Regents of University of California, 2017). UCLA awarded 775 Doctoral degrees in research and scholarship from July 2015 to June 2016 (UCLA Academic Planning and Budget, 2016).

As of Fall 2017, there were 45,428 students enrolled at UCLA, and of that number, there were 13,025 graduate and professional students (UCLA Academic Planning and Budget, 2018). The disaggregated data for student population were not easily accessible on the enrollment website; thus, the ethnic breakdown of the student population used was from 2012. UCLA Graduate Division (2012) published an enrollment report for Fall 2011 to Spring 2012 showing the analysis of the graduate student population at that time. In 2011, there were a total of 12,070 graduate students enrolled, 6,548 Men and 5,522 Women, with a total of 202 students identifying as Filipinx, 89 Men and 113 Women (UCLA Graduate Division, 2012). The Filipinx population was separated out from those who identified as Asian, with a total population of 1,946 graduate students (UCLA Graduate Division, 2012). There was an average of about 191 Filipinx students that were enrolled every year from 2006 to 2010 in graduate education (UCLA Graduate

Division, 2012). In 2011, 24 Filipinx students were admitted in doctoral programs at UCLA; however, that number was not broken down by gender (UCLA Graduate Division, 2012).

Even though UCLA is dramatically larger than UHM, the number of Filipinx enrolled at the graduate level is about the same at each site. While there are stark differences, such as the size of the institution, there are many similarities such as being public research institutions with great diversity in their student population. Having both large populations of Filipinx within the community and the historical differences of immigration patterns to California and Hawaiʻi made for a deeper analysis and understanding of how similar or different these Filipina experiences in higher education were.

DATA COLLECTION

After selecting the participants for the study, I conducted face-to-face semi-standardized interviews to gain insight into the participant's experiences through the completion of their doctoral degrees. To be considerate of the participant's time commitment, I decided to complete one comprehensive semi-structured interview, which lasted anywhere from approximately 45 minutes to almost two hours. Through this conversation-like technique, I gained an understanding of each participant's doctoral process by sharing individual artifacts and a semi-structured interview discussing her experiences, challenges, and successes through degree completion.

Conducting an in-depth interview allows researchers to gather large amounts of data in a relatively short amount of time (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Interviews also allow for immediate follow up and clarification and flexibility for exploring unexpected themes that may arise, while allowing for observation of non-verbal communication as well (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Berg (2007) shared that while a semi-standardized or semi-structured interview

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technique involves a predetermined set of question which are asked in a systematic way for each participant, "the interviewers are allowed freedom to digress; that is the interviewers are permitted (in fact, expected) to probe far beyond the answers to their prepared standardized questions" (p. 95). Some limitations of this technique are that participants may not fully cooperate, the interviewer may not fully understand the responses, or the interview questions may not elicit the information needed for answering the research questions (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Thus, it is essential that the researcher has the experience and skills necessary for interviewing participants (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). The purpose of using this interview technique in this research was to gain access to how these Filipinas construe the world and their educational experiences.

In setting up the interview appointment, I introduced myself and shared a little about my background to build rapport and to serve as an initial icebreaker. To incorporate another method in the interview process, I asked the participant to bring to the meeting 1-2 artifact(s) that represented her journey through the doctoral degree program to completion, something that symbolized, expressed, or described her unique journey and success.

The interview started with semi-structured interview questions to gain a sense of the background of her life and early educational experiences. Then the questions led into sharing their artifact(s). After each individual shared about her artifact(s), the interview finished with additional semi-structured interview questions, which helped me to gain more understanding of the participant's experience in their doctoral program, with an emphasis on their resiliency, challenges, and successes within the program. The artifact was intentionally shared in the middle of the interview because I used this as a transition to set up the discussion for their doctoral experience and the rest of the interview, while the first part of the interview focused on earlier

educational experiences and personal background information. This semi-structured interview was a more informal and flexible interview using the questions to guide the conversation and flow. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim.

After transcribing the interviews, I provided the participants with an opportunity to check the transcripts to ensure clarity and understanding of the comments and meanings during the data collection process. I conducted the interviews at a time and in a space that was comfortable and convenient for the participants, such as their offices, coffee shops, or various locations at their workplaces. All data sources (interview audio and transcriptions, demographic data, etc.) are stored in a locked cabinet in my home, and only I have access.

DATA ANALYSIS

The primary data, interview transcripts, along with the shared artifacts and their meanings, were analyzed using content analysis, through open coding techniques. Creswell (2007) acknowledged the daunting and challenging task data analysis is for qualitative researchers. According to Berg (2007), "Content analysis is a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases, and meanings" (p. 304). Data analysis can be broken down into three general strategies, preparing and organizing the data, reducing and condensing the data to themes and codes, and representing the data either visually or through discussion (Creswell, 2007).

First, each interview for each participant was fully transcribed verbatim. Each transcription was numbered and organized in files in order to maintain systematic management system of data. Second, each transcription was read and reviewed for accuracy against the audio recording. While it is noted that there are several ways to conduct coding, the coding process is nevertheless necessary for organizing and interpreting the dataset (Berg, 2007). According to

Berg (2007), "analysis starts as the data begins to indicate the necessary categories and codes to use and as these elements begin to form patterns and conceptual realities each time the researcher reads and rereads a transcript…" (p. 319). The transcriptions were also read through and with the use of the coding management software, MAXQDA, the researcher formed initial codes, looked for patterns, took notes in the margin, and made theoretical notes by following open coding guidelines (Berg, 2007). Third, the data were then reduced from open and initial codes and systematically sorted into coding frames, continued to be condensed to codes into more compact and accurate categories and themes. Fourth, through the various stages of content analysis, the codes, context, and patterns found in the data were developed, connected, and contextualized in the literature (Berg, 2007; Creswell, 2007). Finally, the identified pattern regularities that were found were reduced into themes and ultimately developed into themes and concepts explaining the phenomenon of the doctoral educational experience for Filipinas and to the guiding research questions, ultimately explaining the findings (Berg, 2007; Creswell, 2007).

VALIDITY

To ensure the quality of the qualitative data, I conducted member checks with the participants of the study to ensure the accuracy of representation and accuracy of the writer (Krefting, 1991). As Krefting (1991) suggested, "Central to the credibility of qualitative research is the ability of informants to recognize their experiences in the research findings" (p. 219). Member checking helped to achieve this by ensuring with participants that the researcher has accurately translated their experiences in the data (Krefting, 1991). This technique involved sharing with participants their raw interview transcripts, which could be changed or edited to ensure quality and accurate representation, thus decreasing potential misinterpretation or misrepresentation. Member checks took place after the interview was transcribed and were

conducted as needed or requested through the research process. Participants were sent their raw interview transcripts and allowed an adequate amount of time to alter or omit portions of their transcripts if they felt their comments had been misrepresented or if they no longer wanted to include specific information.

CONSIDERATION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS

This study complied with the specific procedures and safeguards of the UHM's Institutional Review Board also referred to as the Office of Research Compliance, which are designed to protect all protect the overall welfare, rights, and dignity of all human research participants (Office of Research Compliance, 2015). All participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw at any time within the project. There was little to no risk assessed to be associated with this research project. Participants were informed that they had the opportunity to request the findings upon the completion of the study and that no personal identifying information would be included in the results.

RESEARCHER ROLE AND POSITIONALITY

As a Filipina progressing through my doctorate program, this research hit close to home. Essentially, this research was a part of the story that I was living at the time, which is why it was vital for me to give these women a voice in sharing their experiences. Although my story may be similar to this research, I was not telling my story, but providing a platform for these accomplished women to tell theirs. My role as a researcher was to share with others the experiences of these participants, and through their voice, the hope is that others may benefit and be empowered from their stories.

I claim many identities. I am an empowered woman, a woman of color, and a woman of mixed race. I identify with being primarily Filipina American and with that, I also identify as being Asian American. My grandparents were immigrants to America and valued family, education, and integrity. I am a stepmom, a daughter, a sister, an aunty, and a partner; I teach the same values of family, integrity, and education in my own extended and immediate family. I am a feminist, advocator, and a social worker both in my personal and professional realms. At present, these are the identities from which I operate. These are the biases and positions that I value and that bring meaning to my work. Some of these identities I have kept for a long time, and some are new roles that I have taken. Either way, this is how I see myself, and these frames show in my work, as they defined my path of research. I shared some of these identities with the research participants and, in that way, I was an insider, thus potentially having access to more detailed or candid responses. However, I was also an outsider in many ways, such as having the role of researcher, or not having yet finished my doctorate program, thus not fully understanding their perspectives.

These identities interacted in my research by allowing me to have a unique and non-dominant perspective and lens from which to view their experiences. Of course, this brought these potential biases with me during the entire research process. From framing the research questions to analyzing data and discussing the findings, there are certain areas, topics, results, and interpretations that I may have gravitated toward because of my positionality. To address the rigor and integrity of the research, I chose to place my positionality up front, as to inform the audience where I am standing, as well as to consider possible ways in which I might consider how my positionality may subtly influence the conduct of the research. Research is about

discovering existing knowledge through a new or different way, and that can be done through an individual increasing her understanding of the world through her own positionality.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In addition to my positionality in conducting the study, several other potential limitations should be addressed. First, in order to conduct a credible study, I specified and followed a research protocol as outlined by the UHM Office of Research Compliance to ensure precautions with all aspects of the research. Second, in qualitative research, the researcher is the primary instrument. Therefore, it is up to the discretion of the investigator to construct the research and make the necessary decisions regarding the study's design and on what information to focus or leave out from the data analyses and final report of the study. As Merriam (2009) reminded us, "The investigator is left to rely on his or her own instincts and abilities throughout more of this research effort" (p. 52). Having very rich and thick data descriptions to analyze guides the investigator to make certain decisions regarding the dissemination of the data.

Third, there were limitations regarding the generalizability of the findings (Merriam, 2009). More specifically, the results are bounded to the UHM and UCLA within the contexts of Hawaiʻi and California, within the specific settings of the participation criterion. Although bounded case studies may not be similar to other case studies of doctoral education, as Merriam contended, "It is the reader, not the researcher who determines what can apply to his or her context" (p. 51). Together, however, a set of separate case studies detailing the doctoral education experiences of diverse groups of students can inform regarding non-majority, non-traditional students.

Finally, the types of purposeful sampling used could be seen as a limitation in that the selection of participants was not random, but these individuals were chosen because of their

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experience and fitting within the participant criteria. This limitation can be seen as a type of selection bias, in that all participants self-identified as Filipina who persisted through their doctoral program. Women who did not primarily self-identify as Filipinx may have had differing perceptions in their experiences of persistence. Also, Filipinas who graduated less than a year prior to the research were not selected to participate, which could have also created differences within the research as well. However, it is salient to note that finding a sample size of more than six participants at one institution was very arduous, thus adding participants at the second institution was essential in incorporating a larger sample of participants.

SUMMARY

This chapter explained the methodology, the data collection site, methods, participants and selection, limitations, the role of the researcher, data analysis, and ethical considerations in conducting the study. The next chapter concerns the findings which emerged from the data with respect to the guiding research questions. Although each participant created an individual case, the guiding research questions are addressed as a cross-case analysis, with the results highlighting significant similarities amongst the overall educational experiences. However, any notable differences and variations within the cases are also discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

This chapter presents the results in answer to my two research questions. The first question addressed participants' personal experiences in their doctoral programs and how they made sense of those experiences within the larger context of their lives. The second question examined program features and support systems that participants identified as facilitating their successful educational journeys.

DOCTORAL EDUCATIONAL JOURNEY AS TRANSFORMATION AND GROWTH

The first guiding research question aimed to explore the various factors that made up their holistic educational experiences, including the motivations, the challenges, and the accomplishments, more specifically: *What were the educational experiences of Filipinas who successfully progressed through their doctoral degree to completion?*

The participants had an opportunity during the interview to share an artifact that was symbolic of their entire educational doctoral journey. There was no one way to explicate a complex and multifaceted journey and the participants each shared unique aspects of their own educational experience and process. However, some artifacts helped to encapsulate the general thematic variations of experiences that came out of the research. The discussion of findings answering the first research question is structured around the artifacts, with support of the themes from the individual interviews. In answering the first research question, along with the interviews, there were five different artifacts that helped to exemplify different characteristics of the experience. Jones (2013) identified six different aspects, throughout his thematic analysis of the doctoral experience: socialization, individual development, motivation to study, progress, student support, and discrimination and equity. The bare essence and significance of each artifact was the individualistic representation of shared collective experiences.

Each participant underwent a similar process through getting her doctoral degree. There were similar levels and structure to each program, even though the universities and fields of study varied across multiple disciplines. Their degrees bore the same weight and burden, yet each participant shared different artifacts and signified their experience in a unique understanding, which helped to shed light not only on their perspectives of their experiences but in the way that the experience had impacted their identity, their career trajectory, and the transformation of their overall life. In the cross comparison of the individual cases, the abstracted educational experiences can be characterized through the main theme of growth and transformation, with four sub-themes of *Motivating Purpose* (motivation to study), *Being Pinay* (identity development), *Navigating the Road of Academia* (progress & socialization, discrimination & equity), and *Lifelines* (student support). While each experience shared by the 11 participants highlighted diverse aspects of their overall doctoral education, there were five artifacts shared which helped to embody the emergent themes that address the first research question. The emergent themes and connecting artifacts addressing the first research question are outlined in Figure 4.1.

FIGURE 4.1: Emergent Themes for Growth and Transformation

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                                          ┌─────────────────────┐
                                          │  Familial Influence │
                                          └─────────────────────┘
                        ┌──────────────┐  ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │  Motivating  │──│     Educational     │
                        │   Purpose    │  │     Expectation     │
                        └──────────────┘  └─────────────────────┘
                                          ┌─────────────────────┐
                                          │   Extrinsic Gains   │
                                          └─────────────────────┘

                                          ┌─────────────────────┐
                                          │   Filipinx Identity │
                                          └─────────────────────┘
                        ┌──────────────┐  ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │  Being Pinay │──│  Pinay Expectations │
┌──────────────┐        └──────────────┘  └─────────────────────┘
│ Growth &     │                          ┌─────────────────────┐
│ Transformation│─                        │   Discrimination &  │
│ (Plumeria    │                          │ Ethnic Marginalization│
│  Plant)      │                          └─────────────────────┘
└──────────────┘
                                          ┌─────────────────────┐
                                          │   Socialization in  │
                                          │      Academia       │
                        ┌──────────────┐  └─────────────────────┘
                        │ Navigating   │  ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │ the Academic │──│ Personal Challenges │
                        │    Road      │  └─────────────────────┘
                        └──────────────┘  ┌─────────────────────┐
                                          │      Impostor       │
                                          │     Phenomenon      │
                                          └─────────────────────┘

                                          ┌─────────────────────┐
                        ┌──────────────┐  │ Service to Community │
                        │   Lifelines  │──└─────────────────────┘
                        └──────────────┘  ┌─────────────────────┐
                                          │  Support Networks   │
                                          └─────────────────────┘
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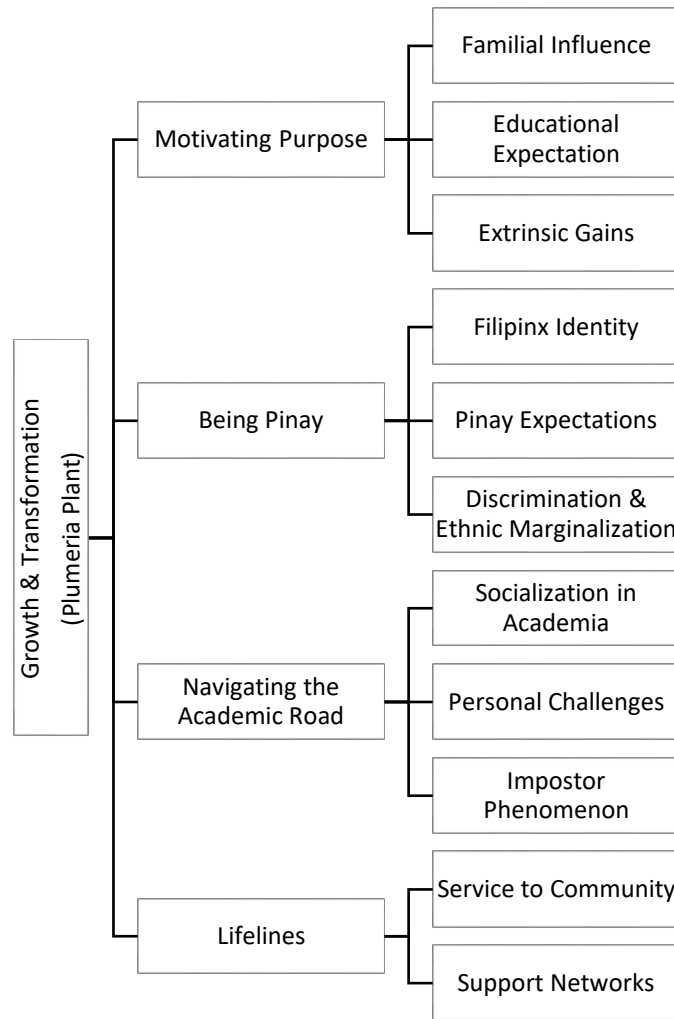
Each participant shared the positive and transformational impact that her doctoral education had on her life. There were many progressive changes for these women spanning from job opportunities, direct impact on higher education for their communities, personal growth, and identity development, and contributing to the larger body of scholarly knowledge.

Tintiangco-Cubales (2005) noted, "It is a painful process to define Pinayism. But pain implicates growth [Pinay+ism=Pain+Growth]" (p.121). Through pain, there is growth, and ultimately transformation. Growth can happen in many different areas when pursuing a doctoral degree. Through the doctoral experience, many women explicated the transformative process

that motivated their personal life, identity, and social mobility. Perlas shared an artifact that exemplified this process of growth and transformation with a special plumeria plant. She brought a hot pink plumeria plant from her home, representative of her growth during her educational career. When she found it years ago, it was nearly dead; but she brought it home anyway. With her love, support, and nutrients it grew and flourished into a large beautiful tree. Perlas shared that while walking the UHM campus one day, she found a branch that was dried up and practically dead. Her friend that she was with told her that if she let it dry and then plant it, it would grow. Following her friend's instruction, the almost dead and dry branch was nurtured into a large beautiful pink plumeria plant. The symbolism continued in that the mother plant is still blooming at UHM, her place of growing and transformation, her alma mater. Perlas shared:

> So, the symbol is you have this little thing, this little stem, that doesn't look much. But if you look at it, you nurture it, you wait for it to grow, it's going to grow and be hearty and bloom. And I think that's my experience in that sense, that made it bloom… my growing is here [UHM]. Academically, intellectually, community person. [Perlas]

Perlas' representation of the plumeria plant and her experience growing it and watching it flourish into a beautiful tree captured the essence of her overall educational journey through her Ph.D. She shared about her struggles with committee members and the process of personal challenges and setbacks, which could be seen as the drying up process of the plant's growth. The physical aspect of growing and blossoming into a hearty tree, that has roots at UHM, is telling of her experience as a whole--understanding that something so beautiful does not come without overcoming adversity and challenges. This entire educational experience, she continued to share had a complete transformation of her life, identity, and career track. This transformation was one of 11 other individual renovations that happened for each woman in one way or another while

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enduring their doctoral program. For this reason, the theme of growth and transformation encapsulated the general educational experience for all women in the research.

Nina helped to synthesize the type of transformation that can happen with a Ph.D., by explaining the type of career transformation that can stem from a doctorate. Nina shared that she would not be in certain career positions or have had the same career opportunities that she had without her Ph.D.

It's like you get a magic key with a bachelor's right, and then it's like Charlie and the Chocolate Factory, and then Masters you get another key, there's another world in there you don't even know about. [For] Doctorate, sky's the limit, that's like the key to that Glass Elevator. [Nina]

Encapsulating this entire experience is not just reflecting on the positive aspects of the journey, but it is also about sharing the pain and pressure endured to reach the end. Indicative of this rollercoaster of a journey, the women all shared their fair share of difficult challenges and accomplishments in the years they worked toward their degrees. Audrey encompassed her transformative experience in this excerpt below.

I think it's such a huge chunk of my adult life, so I feel like it's been a huge part of my identity. I'm going through this process now too where my identity is shifting again, now that I'm switching institutions, so that will be interesting. But, I feel like ultimately, I learned a lot and I'm thankful for the experience because it really shaped who I've become. [Audrey]

In the following sections, I will expand on the subthemes that have exemplified the overall educational experience that these 11 Filipinas have collectively experienced within their doctoral degrees.

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Motivating Purpose

Many of the women highlighted the direct impact that this experience has had on their identity and holistic understanding of who they are as a scholar and as a Pinay. While the time that they spent working on their doctoral degrees varied, it still had an impact on who they have become and the path that they continue to walk on. As a primary subtheme of the overall educational experience, it was shown that the motivation to study or to achieve a doctoral degree was instilled from primarily their family values and educational expectations.

Motivation to study for many of the participants were rooted in their families, whether it was for the value base of education, the unrequited dreams of family members, or the fulfillment of educational expectations. Jill recounted her experience and shared her artifact, which was a sobering reminder of the back-breaking work that her father immigrated to Hawaiʻi to work on the plantation fields. Jill shared a photograph of her father, taken by a local newspaper, working on the pineapple farms near the North Shore of Oʻahu. As she shared her heart, Jill retold her story of immigrating from the Philippines and her distress of not having the capacity to farm and plant 600-800 pineapple crowns a day, like her father. She continues to carry that picture with her as a reminder of his sacrifice and his expectations for a better life for her.

> *It serves as a reminder that we don't have to come from rich families; we don't have to be born here to do great things. I think we all have to…we have all of our ways to contribute to society, but we'll have to get over the fact that to be American, to thrive, you have to be a certain thing or a certain way. So, it serves as a reminder to others. For me, I have to struggle just as much as everybody or even more so because we are immigrants. [Jill]*

Jill continued to speak of her endurance and the pressure to be ten times better and faster than others. She used that pressure to continue to persist, but not without challenges. Jill's

artifact was rooted in her upbringing, her family, and her culture, including her sense of place and belonging. Her father was a huge supporter of her pursuing her education and a central figure in her life; a pillar of hard work, persistence, and the strive for a better life for his family, resonated through the snapshot. This preserved moment in time encompassed the heritage and lineage of the sakada and their transition into Hawai'i and their purpose for a better life for their loved ones.

This purpose and desire for success was also rooted in family for Mariam. She shared an artifact of a picture of her grandmother, who was a musician and a professor in the Philippines and stood as an integral piece in her journey through exploring not only her identity as an immigrant Filipina, but also a symbol that connected her back to her roots, family, and homeland. Her grandmother, she shared was a primary motivator in her persistence through her degree. Because her grandmother accomplished so much and had persisted through every endeavor, Mariam absorbed that tenacity and would tap into that potential when she needed an extra push. Family values and expectations continued to be the root of many motivations as to why these women wanted to pursue a doctoral degree.

A value that all women highlighted, which played a central role in their educational journey was the importance and value of education. From young children, these women were reminded through actions, beliefs, and encouragement to pursue education for success. For some women, these values were instilled by their mothers' aspiring for them to fulfill their dreams of getting a degree, while for others the motivation of pursing education was that it would secure them with economic stability. Regardless of the messaging, all women shared that education was valued in their family. Audrey, Josephina, and Sophia shared how they understood the value of education in their families.

Education was something that was really prized. My mom was a school teacher in the Philippines. She taught grade school. She always said her dad, my grandfather, would talk about how valuable teachers are because they can impact so many lives. So, growing up the value of education was something that was always highlighted. [Audrey]

It was all about education. Education was first. Not that they said it explicitly but my parents didn't introduce us to anything else. How I'm raising my children they do a lot of activities; my parents didn't encourage that. [Josephina]

The reason why my dad basically said it was okay for my mom to not just be a stay-at-home mom, but to go and work at this company, was because she was going to use her salary to start a college fund for me. That's what they did for my sister as well. [Sophia]

For a number of the women, their parents were educated in the Philippines. Many were physicians, engineers, and teachers who already had experienced the opportunities that education could afford their children. For those reasons, many of these women were expected to go to college. All the participants fell into either first or 1.5-generation college students, meaning that they experienced a disconnect in the understanding of what American higher education systems required. For Clarisa, coming from a family where both parents were physicians, instilled an assumption about education that was well known to her and her sibling--that they would attend college and perhaps graduate school attendance as well.

I can remember my dad asking me at some point, I don't know if it was in high school or college but, he wasn't a super talkative dad, but I remember him asking me what I wanted

to do and he really sort of encouraged me to choose a noble profession. Which of course

embeds in it and an assumption about what that means. [Clarisa]

The college attendance assumption for Audrey was also embedded in her upbringing; as a 1.5-generation college student, however, there was limited support that her parents could realistically offer her besides an influence in college choice.

I felt like my parents when it came to college they didn't necessarily know about the

American Higher Ed system. All they knew is that they wanted their girls to go to school

and so, it was funny because I realize we weren't, my older sisters weren't necessarily

allowed to do extra-curricular things. They weren't allowed to be in sports or all of these

other things. They just wanted them to focus on academics, and I think at the time they

didn't understand that all of those supplemental activities help people get into college.

[Audrey]

Justine's parents had high expectations for her to become either a doctor or lawyer; because her father had a Ph.D., there was an expectation that she too would aspire for those professions. Thus, familial education expectations were usually either to achieve the same status or more than one's parents achieved. Thus, continuing to shape a primary factor in the participant's initial motivation for study.

In discussing various motivations to pursue a doctoral degree, financial motivations in the form of support or social mobility were salient for the women as well. For many, opening career opportunities or being able to provide financially for their families were significant in their purpose for studying. Completing the doctoral degree opened up a number of jobs and financial opportunities. The financial implications associated with the career options were greatly increased, and the type of impact they could have in higher education institutions were amplified.

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For Valerie, it was imperative to have financial security. She saw that opportunity in getting a doctoral degree. She established that a large part of her identity is growing up with a low socioeconomic status, which continued to impact her outlook on financial security and stability. Valerie worked as a teen to help her family make ends meet and continues to support her family with her current income. For those reasons, it was essential to use her education to help achieve the financial goals that she had for her and her family. Valerie shared that she was set into the role within her family that she would help with sustaining the family.

> *My sister was the pretty one, I was the smart one, and my brother was the boy. So it was also sort of that identity formation that was the role in my family, right? Like I was the one that was supposed to be able to go to school, and then again economically contribute to the family. I started working when I was 15 years old. [Valerie]*

The value of hard work or work ethic, connected to the value of money or economic stability, was highlighted for the majority of the participants. Valerie's class identity fueled her persistence and driving motivation to reach for a career that would allow her to provide stability for her family. Valerie continued:

> *I think internally for me was related to more structural factors, it's socioeconomic. If you grew up working-class, you're poor; that's an identity, or that's an experience that never leaves you. It totally impacts the ways in which you approach everything including graduate school. I think for me, the need to use my education to be materially secure not just for me but my family in particular, that's probably been the biggest thing that drives me internally is this need to be secure, but that's all about class. [Valerie]*

The impact on the collective, whether it was the family or community, continued to drive other motivations for the women. Inclusive of the aspect of representation, it has been a strong

endeavor and a primary source of motivation for many of the women to continue their research and study on the Filipinx community. There is such limited knowledge and information on this community that there is a space for growing the knowledge base and literature. For Sophia, she shared that it was an original motivator for starting her doctoral education and has continued to be a large part of her life post Ph.D.

> *That's ultimately why I went to grad school. It wasn't to be a tenure track professor. It was to publish books to share this information with the world and with the community. It was ultimately to make a change, to make an impact, to uncover stories that had not been told and to expose structures, formations, and situations that people weren't talking about. [Sophia]*

The original motivations of getting their doctoral degrees have continued to be reasons post degree completion. The larger impact on the collective nature of these driving forces are those particularly linked to family values, educational expectations, and their community.

Being Pinay

At the most basic level, being Pinay means having the intersectional identities of being both a female and of Filipinx ancestry. However, for the participants being Pinay was much more than just an intersection of these two identities. Being Pinay, as an identity, as a person, as a woman, a culture, a value, and a stereotype was very prevalent in discussion with the participants. While each participant had self-identified as Filipinx and female, they all continued to share an intersectional experience of their mixed identities. Each participant discussed how their salient identities of being Filipina played some role in their lives, educational experiences, research interests, and passions.

While being Pinay is typically defined and socialized as speaking the language,

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eating the food, growing up Catholic, typified cultural values, and having visited the motherland, it is more than just that. Filipinas are acutely aware of the impact that their culture has on their day-to-day function; it is ingrained that family, upholding a debt of gratitude, and a sense of shame should be regarded as the moral compass of our decisions. There is no one way of being Pinay, but there is multiplicity and diversity in identity; it should not be demarcated in a space where others regarded are more Filipinx than others (Maramba & Bonus, 2013). The participants in my study showed me exactly that there is no one way of being Pinay. The push against the essentialist notion demonstrates different ways of engaging within this identity and the way that it is manifested. There were no checkboxes to be marked or specific ways to be Pinay, but there was a collection of discussions in how this identity played a role in their educational journey.

Sophia shared an artifact representative of this essence of Being Pinay, which came out of a discussion surrounding the dissertation process of the doctoral program. For many, they named this time in the program as the most difficult with the most barriers to finishing and the least support. This intangible artifact manifested as a visualization that Sophia shared. When thinking of her process through the dissertation process, an integral part of the overall experience she explained that it is likened to birthing a child.

> *There's another symbol of childbirth. I really feel like the dissertation is this thing, it percolates. You carry it around with you, not just for months, but for years. Even after you give birth to it, it grows and has a life. Especially if you publish parts of it or you publish it into a book...it's always going to be your concern, right? Whatever topic that you chose, whatever subject that you're focusing on. I've always said this is one of the hardest things*

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that I've ever had to do in my life, and there were some days that were much easier than

others. [Sophia]

Sophia continued to explain that you grow this idea, this passion, this being into life. You cultivate it, nurture it, protect it, care for it, feed it. While the birthing process is painful and at time debilitating, the work that you've produced is walking around outside of yourself. After the dissertation, it continues to grow, develop, and transform into something more than just your project, your passion, and your dissertation. It can take on a life of its own, and it becomes part of your identity almost, as an extension of your research, heart, and work.

The actualization of childbirth is very gendered, characterizing the very process of reproductive labor. While the dissertation is labor, there are unique challenges that women face within doctoral programs, especially for women of color. As the cultural keepers and the protectors of the lineage and legacies of the communities, women are tasked with the daunting task of maintaining specific and very gendered roles within society (Espiritu, 2009). These roles do not stop in academia and women continue to be treated differently within academia. While Sophia primarily linked the visualization of childbirth to the birthing of a dissertation. Her choice of sharing a visualization of gendered labor reveals underlying tones for Filipinas, discussed further in the following sections. Starting with understanding of how participants negotiate their Filipinx identity happened in several ways. The majority of participants understood their identity and viewed it in terms of what they were not, which reflected the community or society around them, whether it be the societal values or contradictions in peers. The identity is further understood when familial influence comes into play, which was seen mainly through instilling of values, which can be seen as cultural or not. It is important to note though that these women are co-creators of their identity and what that identity was reflected in throughout their community.

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This was highlighted in a lot of the activism or social justice in which several women played a role. This negotiation of identity through engaging in power and politics continued to help these participants understand their own identity through hegemonic structures of society. Lastly, when talking about expectations, we look at how expectations of education or gender played a role in shaping the overall educational experiences of these women and their success with completing their doctoral degree.

Negotiation of Filipinx Identity. All of the women discussed specific influences in understanding their Filipinx identity. Many understood being Filipinx or Pinay through their familial influence, while others discussed their understanding of their identity through their community or the interactions that they had with societal expectations or impact. Familial influence has been shown to play a significant role in educational attainment, shaping the way the participants have learned and understood the value of education and other values and beliefs. Either way, these women covered the concept of negotiating their Filipinx identity, no matter the influence: family, community, or society. Often, the participants talked about understanding their identity in what they were not. Nina, a Filipina Japanese talked about understanding her identity through what she was not.

> *I'm not stereotypically Filipino or Japanese, those two identities stay with me always, and they're really what keeps me going. That's what after I flunked out of college I feel like I flunked out of college because I was trying to be a white girl. And once I got back in I was like Nah, nah, I'm not that white girl, I am Filipina Japanese, this is who I am it's so deeply grounded and everything that I do. [Nina]*

Through Nina's undergraduate college experience, she understood that her identity was embedded in deeper levels, and that was negotiated and understood for her in the reflection of

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her peers, even when she was in her doctoral program. The process of negotiation for her happened in her earlier college years and ultimately led her to understand her identity as an intersection of being both Filipina and Japanese. This identity has grounded her future research and passion. Mariam also shared how she negotiated her Filipina identity, as distinct from Chinese, Japanese, Korean or even Asian American, with her first exposure to these cultures in undergrad.

> *That's the first time I met Asian people, but they were from like Korea and Japan, so we had nothing in common. In fact, they were confused as to why I didn't have an accent. I feel like there was no recognition of my identity and for me, I didn't know what it meant to be Filipina. I just knew that it meant I wasn't Chinese. Asian-American wasn't something that was readily available as an identity to me either. [Mariam]*

For Mariam, embracing and understanding her Filipinx or Pinay identity came later when there was a convergence of her familial history and passion within a Filipinx context of history, music, and place. For some, like Audrey, there was a dichotomy of what it meant to be Filipinx and understanding that there are multiplicity of ways to be Filipinx helped to break down that opposition for her.

> *It was really exciting to meet other Filipino American students who were into school too but had social lives. Growing up, I lived in a neighborhood that had a lot of gangs, so negotiating Filipino identity was either becoming about school or hanging out with folks who seemed up to no good. That dichotomy, of course, broke down in college when I became more politicized and had a broader social, political context for a lot of communities of color and immigrant communities. I always call it my super brown period, because I was all about learning about Filipino culture, the Philippines, my heritage and*

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also it was such an empowering part of our lives. We felt we were recognizing that we

were co-creating culture within the Filipino American contemporary culture. [Audrey]

For Tala, growing up in a Filipinx community, particularly in earlier educational experiences, involved a distancing from her Filipinx identity, because there was a disengagement with the material in how it impacted or related to her future college experience. Many of the women talked about how few or no educators looked like them during their upbringing. In the core years of forming their identity, they had little examples besides their families about what their aspirations would be. The stereotypical Filipinx norms were impacting and, in some ways, "tempering" their goals. Jill talked about societal perceptions on negotiating Filipinx identity, particularly with how as a Pinay she feels viewed by others.

Heaven forbid to that I have an accent that's another bias. Sometimes my accent comes

out. But imagine if I was female, woman of color and had an accent. You know? So I think

there's more points against you when you do have an accent and have other things.

Filipinos are just difficult. We just have so many factors: our dialects, we don't get along,

Ilocano, Visayan, Pangasinan, we all look different from each other, so I think it's hard to

put us together and it's easier to tear us apart you know? [Jill]

For many of the women, their family was central to their process. Many were fueled by the expectations or values that were instilled in them from their upbringing. But many also struggled with not meeting familial expectations about what they should want for their lives. There was a distinct differential treatment for females, and the expectations that were discussed were very gendered, particularly when it came to getting married, having children, and the expectation to start a family. While the expectation to secure a good job and be educated was important, there were the gendered reproductive expectations that created societal, cultural, or

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familial pressure to "fulfill" those expectations. For many of the women, they put off starting a family until after they finished their degrees or until the ending part of their program. Some were pregnant or getting married at the tail end of their dissertation, but many still felt the pressures from family or friends to follow in the heteronormative traditional family track. For many women, there is shaming or tension that is experienced when you've reached a certain age and have not fulfilled the gendered expectations of getting married or having children, despite the educational accomplishments that have been achieved. Valerie shared about the tensions that she still faces.

> *I think in terms of maybe family coming from a traditional Catholic, Filipino Catholic work gendered roles in my family, I think that they've been waiting; I'm not married yet. I just had a baby, but for a long time, I didn't think I was going to, I never saw myself necessarily like I said earlier, breeding. But for a long time you know, they would have rather have me married with kids than get my Ph.D. So it's funny, it's that tension you grow up, make sure you get an education, get an education before everything. But when you do, and you want more, okay stop now, now you have to focus on what's really important which is produce me some grandkids and get a job that you can economically sustain us and you. Those tensions I think exist for a lot of women of color, and the academy from immigrant families, who that's how they've been conditioned, so they're just sort of projecting their norm. [Valerie]*

Mariam experienced the same types of tensions with not being pressured about not fulfilling her familial gendered expectations, as compared to her cousins.

> *I was in my early thirties, and all of my cousins were married right out of high school and already had like three, four kids, and so I was out of the norm for them, and they're like*

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when are you going to get married? You're getting old. Go and meet somebody. And

family parties it's like everyone's trying to set me up with the other 30 something that's not

attached and for other reasons, not grad school, you know. I was like this is horrible like,

it wasn't okay, it wasn't okay to be 30 something, still in school and not married in their

eyes. It was always like why aren't you married, why don't you have a boyfriend, why

don't you have some kids, why are you in school still? What are you going to do? It was so

out of the norm, so out of the norm, but I wanted to fit in so bad into the culture. So, it was

depressing on both ends. [Mariam]

There was a unique understanding of sacrifice and how that played into the role of

pressure from family and meeting certain gendered expectations. This role of conditioned

obligation or responsibility plays out in a number of ways for many of the participants. In

addition to the reproductive expectations for Pinays, Jill discussed how the concept of obligation

or indebtedness played a role in her life.

You know it's not who I am. I think that's the other thing, it goes against our culture we

are born to pakikisama, and utang na loob. You are indebted to people. You have to get

along and here we are we are at a different level, and we have to speak out because if we

don't speak out, nothing gets done or nothing changes, so there's always a constant

struggle as to be quiet, be the nice Filipino, be the nice brown person, sit there and get

some coffee for them, do that to. It's a constant struggle of, do you assert yourself and to

what level? And see if you assert yourself will you be the pushy minority you don't like?

[Jill]

For a couple of the participants their Pinay identity was not viewed particularly through

cultural values, but more through their engagement with politics and power. Many of the women

talked about their activism, their fight for social justice issues, or as Audrey called it her "super brown period" where she was empowering herself by understanding the trauma and marginalization that her community has endured. Tala characterized the impact of the discrimination and trauma that she experienced which shaped her identity of survival and resilience.

Many [Filipinos] have experienced great discrimination. They've experienced all kinds of suffering, trauma, and very individual situations and collective ones as a community. It to me, yes, can be called hard work; but I think actually it's the resilience, the countering all of that I take with me and that I think about, and that inspires. I don't think it's in my blood. I think it's more inspiration that motivates me. But I don't think it's because I was born Filipino that I was able to do all the things that I did. I often try to be careful as naming it as cultural, because culture changes its dynamic, and it's experienced through different frames. So, I imagine how my identity impacts me. So, when I think of identity, I think of epistemology and what makes you who you are. But it's not as easy, and it's not as simple to say because I'm Pinay, I've survived. It's what has made what it means to be Pinay, that has impacted me who I am… I think it's so easy to say I'm Filipino, of course, I survived. I'm a hard worker. You know? [Tala]

For Valerie, her identity was shaped through an understanding of privilege and responsibility. The conditioned obligation continued to shape her understanding of who she was as a Pinay, positioned within academia, and within society.

My identity as a Pinay or women of color was central in my process because I was reminded every day that there weren't many of us going through that journey and so again that conditioned obligation or responsibility. My mother instilled in me at a very young

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age to sort of forefront that identity, and that everything I was doing was a motivating

factor. [Valerie]

The negotiation of one's Filipinx identity was not experienced in a linear or even circular

process, it was a constant give and take, adjustment, reactions, and actions to the families,

communities, and societies around the women. Their doctoral experiences allowed them to

engage with their identities in varying ways, but one of the biggest ways was through their

experience of marginalization within academia.

Marginalization and Ethnic Discrimination. The participants shared that as women of

color they needed to navigate marginalization, discrimination, and racism during their doctoral

programs. Many of their discrimination happened within advisor/advisee relationships, but it also

came in the form of being forgotten within the curriculum, misunderstandings of their identity, or

perceived perceptions of their academic route. Valerie shared her experiences with one of the

faculty members in her program. She continued to share that this was a similar experience for her

colleagues, who were of similar minority status.

You know he was a cisgender white male, who the vast majority of his advisees were… in

particular Asian American women. He worked in such a way that was really patronizing;

heteropatriarchy was definitely the characteristic of his advisor relationships which is

why I chose not to work with him. But I think that's grad school in general. It's difficult to

navigate the tensions of being a young woman of color with predominantly white male

faculty in higher education for example. But even then, even for the few women of color

faculty that were there, were also projecting of their own trauma on to their women

students. So, a lot of the women of color faculty who went through grad school at a much

more difficult time were socializing other women of color to be cutthroat, to be more

individualistic, that kind of thing that also happens. [Valerie]

She continued to share about her advisor/advisee relationship experienced marginalization as well, as her mentor was one of the only black females in the faculty.

One of the only black women in the faculty. She had all the unwanted students of color

essentially from the various programs those were her students. She was very racially

marginalized right, and we found each other, and she mentored us in socialized us, and

she told us to do things that were important to us. [Valerie]

Perlas had a similar experience, again with her advisor. She shared that he was one of the bigger barriers for her to finish her program. She found out after working with him that similar experiences happened to another Pinay in the program, who ended up quitting the program.

I don't know how true it was, but I heard that this professor was actually anti-Asian or

anti-Filipino women. That was, you know, floating around. I got it of course from this

Filipina lady. She was a nun who said she worked and worked and then so many

criticisms. She said she dumped her draft in the wastebasket and said, "I'm going to go

home." [Perlas]

Some participants' experience of marginalization happened where they were not reflected in any of the curriculum taught and that the lack of understanding really impacted their academic progress. Audrey shared her experiences in taking various classes in her doctoral program,

I got to a point in my first couple of years in the doc program where I really embraced

sort of like the angry woman of color identity because I was hella frustrated. I had to take

a theory course, and I decided to go with women studies, and it was a course on women of

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color, theorizing women of color, and I was the only woman of color in the class. I felt so

silenced, I was so angry. That experience was so frustrating. [Audrey]

Sophia shared a similar experience of being absent in the curriculum.

I took a law school class on Asian American Jurisprudence. The professor teaching this

class never differentiated the experience of Filipinos from those of Japanese or Chinese or

Koreans, which we know is not the same. I was just completely baffled. We're studying the

classic cases of Chinese Exclusion and Japanese Land Laws. I'd always raise my hand,

furrow my brow and say, "Well, what about Filipinos? Filipinos aren't the same." And

he'd say yeah, yeah, yeah and just dismiss it. [Sophia]

While the participants from UCLA shared that there was a critical mass of women of color

and Filipinx students in various graduate programs, there was not always the support or

understanding for the unique issues that these students faced. Many were encouraged away from

their topics on Filipinx students because it wasn't considered useful or marketable for the field.

Valerie gave an example of this type of marginalization that she experienced while in her

program.

That's exemplary of the marginalization I felt, as not only a student of color but a Filipino

student, in graduate school trying to study something that everybody thought was

basically useless. But for me, it was the thing I went in wanting to do, and it was the thing

I felt responsible for completing. [Valerie]

All of these influences, experiences, and exposure to perceptions of Filipinx, stereotypes,

tensions appeared to play a salient role in how these women perceived and developed their Pinay

identity, while in the process of their doctoral program. Whether aware of the influence or not,

families were shown in the results to have influenced the participants greatly. Family seemed to

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set a base for the participants on the types of values that were held or esteemed in their family or culture. For the participants, this familial influence came primarily in the values that were instilled or the levels of expectations that were held for these women, including gendered expectations. In addition, the women continued to share many stories about specific gendered or ethnic marginalization and discrimination as impacting their progress through their programs.

Navigating the Academic Road

Since this first research question investigates the complete doctoral educational experience, it only makes sense to discuss the hardships, challenges, and setbacks that these women faced while pursuing their doctoral degrees. While the intention of this research overall is modeled after a strengths based model, the discussion of challenges experienced will be primarily limited to this section. This is not in any intention to minimize the intense hardships that these women faced but to understand that each participant endured personal and academic hardships. However, the focus of the discussion surrounding challenges aims to reset focus on how these participants overcame these ever present and inevitable struggles.

All participants shared low points, struggles, hardships, and challenges when it came to going through the experience of their doctoral program. While all women fell either within being a first or 1.5-generation college student, they dealt with the overall struggles of their own personal challenges and challenges with navigating the academic culture, both with intrinsic and extrinsic pressures.

One of the artifacts that Audrey shared was a visualization that she would often imagine through her doctoral program. She shared that she would imagine driving down a darkened road with just her headlights on, not really being able to see too much ahead of her but using the lines on the road as a general guide that kept her progressing. She imagined herself driving the car,

and likened this journey to the doctoral journey she was enduring. Audrey continued to share that this visual illuminates the difficult navigation through academic culture, through a culture that one may not be acclimated to and one that can be very isolating and lonely. The lights illuminate enough in front of you to avoid some roadblocks, but as long as you continue to persist, you will get there, no matter how fast or slow you go. That image of persistence helped to carry Audrey through her doctoral process through completion, regardless of her many obstacles and struggles that she faced at varying parts of her program.

Socialization in Doctoral Education. A main aspect of navigating academic culture and the tensions that arose during doctoral education happens through a unique socialization process for doctoral students. Most participants outlined a specific academic culture that they had difficulty assimilating to and discussed the struggles that they faced in their socialization to the academic culture. Audrey shared her experience with understanding academic culture.

One of the things I've learned over time is that academia and doctoral education, in particular, is a process of socialization and almost acculturation really, as well as it being a developmental process. [Audrey]

As Audrey shared, there was not a manual on how to navigate academic culture, and for most participants, it did not appear to come as natural or easy for them to navigate through the culture.

When I was starting off, I was very uncomfortable with professors, because I held them to such a high pedestal. Growing up you see them in such a light that is beyond. I guess I didn't see them as equals or as humans in some way, too. They were high up in their Ivory Tower and very inaccessible. I think I still had that mentality as a student and that affected my interactions, where I was still very formal, very polite. It was interesting to

see other [White] students that were just so casual and would talk about other non-

academic things to professors.[Audrey]

The stages of progressing through socialization are often thought to be linear; thus when one doesn't complete one step, it can create continued difficulties for students in the future. However, several factors impact the socialization process in doctoral education. This process of assimilation is to conform to a culture, which is often extremely different than what non-majority students are used to or even comfortable with. Tala shared how she actively resisted the socialization that the program attempted to complete.

I didn't allow people to professionalize me. You know, like I was so resistant to that

identity. Still, even now, but I'll dress up when I need to. But I feel like that was part of my

challenges to in grad school because I wasn't willing. I saw it as a colonial process,

getting a Ph.D. and I was pushing up against that a lot. I didn't resist the academic rigor;

it was the other stuff, the socialization. [Tala]

There was an expectation that was presumed within the graduate education that anticipated that students would act or be treated in a certain way. An academic hazing of sorts that demonstrated a hierarchy amongst students. For many of the participants, this colder academic culture created difficulty in navigating their way through this program, choosing an advisor, or even a research topic. Sophia discussed her experience in competition in her program at UCLA,

There's not only competition among the graduate students, but there's also competition

among the faculty because it is a prestigious department. People expect to work with

certain students, and if you work with certain faculty, they don't always want to work with

other faculty. The politics of academia really showed through my experience in my Ph.D.

program. [Sophia]

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Valerie shared her mixed experiences within academia when it came to socialization for graduate students, particularly between an advisor/advisee relationship.

I was lost again. I still had no idea what I was doing. I was like the least socialized student. Now, it blows me away. I don't even think I would be able to finish my doctoral program now. I think with the university becoming increasingly neoliberal. To survive graduate school you have to be socialized a particular way, you have to be professionalized very early on and a student like me, like a 1.5-generation college student, like a first-generation identified college student, it's more difficult to survive now that socialization process. [Valerie]

Valerie continued to share her experience with socialization.

I remember a faculty member who wanted to be my advisor, but I didn't want him to be my advisor. I remember he took me into his office and he thought he was doing me a favor. He was like are you sure you don't want to change your topic? I was like well why would I want to do that? He's like well you know when you go out on the market, it's not marketable. I had no idea what it meant to do marketable research. He was trying to do this as a favor; he was trying to socialize me, essentially, professionalize me, he was doing what he thought was in my best interest as a scholar. [Valerie]

An aspect of this socialization process was understanding the expectations of the program. Majority of the women talked about the isolation that one experiences through a doctoral program, which is a struggle and challenge for the participants. Justine remarked that the dissertation process is a very lonely one. Most of the women experienced this isolation during the writing phase of their dissertation. Once course work and comprehensive exams were completed, the structure of their program took on a different shape, where the participants were

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in charge of their deadlines and their progress. Valerie identified a distinct experience that came with the isolation experienced in a doctoral program.

So there's always that tension, I think that's how come I very much identify as a first-generation college student because it can be a very isolating experience with nobody around you, especially in the Filipino community…it's really interesting going through that process and feeling that social marginalization, isolation like all throughout. [Valerie]

This detached process that one goes through in isolation within doctoral programs is remarkable because many doctoral students experience these feelings of isolation together, yet separately. However, there was not much support that the participants felt during these moments of isolation. Jill discussed the very individualistic nature of the dissertation process, basically a process that will "eat you up and spit you out."

Doctorate level is very individualistic -- you are on your own! Do you want to do this work? You got into the IRB by yourself. You want a committee? You find them and make them understand you. You're on your own, and you have to stand on your own two feet. [Jill]

Josephina experienced feelings of isolation primarily through writing her dissertation, because of the individualistic nature of the process.

It was hard just to write. Like no one else is writing on the same topic, there's not a faculty member that's an expert in it. Like that's another isolating thing. [Josephina]

Josephina talked about her writing process, particularly with the proposal as a very painful process for her. She stated that for her that was the longest part and the lack of structure with the isolation she felt created bigger barriers for her to progress in her program. The isolation felt

amongst the participants was threefold: there was a lack of structure and support within the system/academia/ program, a disconnect from colleagues in that many are writing on different topics going through the isolation process separately but at the same time, and a misunderstanding or missing context about this experience from friends and family or support networks outside of academia.

> *The immediate outcomes are not there for them [parents] to feel confident about what you're doing. So then there's a lot of doubt, a lot of questioning. Before I really wanted them to understand what I was doing because I felt like I was doing it for them. Then it got to a point where I realize they're never going to understand what I'm doing, I've had to simplify what I do to my family. So, to my family, I'm a teacher, and I also have to say I'm a writer. I think for them it's difficult to see that the outcome is not what they expect from someone who has a doctorate degree. [Valerie]*

Nina experienced similar feelings of familial misunderstandings about graduate education and a Ph.D. For her family, there was a limited context for the opportunities that are open for her and a misconstruction between a "real" doctor (Medical Doctor) and a Ph.D.

> *So, I'm not a real doctor. That's why they don't understand; I just keep going to school…That's one of the challenges when you're a first gen college student, right? You don't get the same kind of support from your family; sometimes you get the opposite because they don't understand and they can't possibly fathom the doors that open up with each degree. [Nina]*

Mariam, who comes from a family of medical doctors/ physicians continues the misunderstanding of getting a Ph.D.

My brother, who's a 'real doctor,' he often jokes with me because he has is an M.D. and

considers himself a 'real doctor' is like, that's how much you make? [Mariam]

There were definite familial misinterpretations about the status and importance of a Ph.D. and medical doctor because the context of what a Ph.D. qualifies one to do is so obscure and different in varying fields. This continued confusion furthers the gap of context for families and the participants, which often is interpreted as a minimization of the status and accomplishments for the highest academic degree.

Impostor Phenomenon. In navigating the academic path, many students can brew doubt, self-loathing or misattribute their success to their intrinsic capacities. This toxic mentality continues to breakdown capable students and fills them with hesitancy and feelings of fraud. Tala questioned her capacity while in her doctoral program,

I did not feel like I fit in. Being the youngest and some of my thinking around education

and radical politics, I didn't feel like I fit in. So I was always questioning why I was there.

Then I felt like I had impostor phenomenon, constantly questioning whether or not I was

smart enough for this. Like I don't talk like everyone else, I don't write like everyone else I

don't look like everyone else, I'm not the typical person in a doctoral program, and I won't

be a typical professor. So I faced a lot of those identity issues. That was hard for me

because I don't feel like anyone else had the same story as I did. [Tala]

Nina faced years of self-doubt and negative self-talk which prolonged her progress through the program.

One of the biggest barriers is all along the way you throw up your own barriers, where

you're like I can't do this. Anytime I went to an interview, I was so nervous; who am or I'm

wasting their time or why do they agree to do this? So much anxiety and telling myself all

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these negative things that I couldn't do it right and then even as I was writing…That

probably was a good four years of negative talk. [Nina]

For Audrey, her impostor phenomenon was manifested through her expectations and perceptions of what other Pinays had accomplished before her. Her feelings of not measuring up stunted her progress in her program and stifled her capacity to research the areas that she wanted to.

Seeing these Pinay Superstars, I felt like they had set such a high bar for breaking new

ground that I constantly put myself under this pressure of like, I can't do something unless

it's really impactful and then I get agreement and the blessings from others like it's going

to be okay… At the time I did feel like they set the bar so high and it was almost

immobilizing, I realize. I think I was constantly concerned about the critiques of what

these other Filipino Academics would have….I had stifled myself in setting up these false

expectations of having to be a certain kind of Filipino American academic because that's

what they navigated…but also to feeling like I needed to be in their good graces to some

extent, in order to be given the okay, you can be part of our club essentially. [Audrey]

Mariam shared that she struggled with the confidence to feel like her voice had value. As a woman of color, she shared that it can be extremely daunting to be so assertive when she was never raised to be that way.

The ones that were really excelled in the eyes of my department, they could write easily. I

mean they're all Caucasian. I don't know if that was a confidence thing because coming

from immigrant family and from a music background, I didn't have the writing chops that

they did…and it was intimidating. So that was tough. You know my voice was never

valued, ever. Trying to make it value, the value all of a sudden in my dissertation, was not

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natural… getting to the writing was like painful, so painful because it made me feel so vulnerable. [Mariam]

She continued:

It's like a level of confidence and but you have to be a writer and at that time I mean I felt very vulnerable, like a lot of Pinay graduate students, you still feel like you know we're not part of the status quo, but we're like fighting to be included and in feeling that way, proposing scholarly works that either goes against the grain or causes something new, I felt really vulnerable about that. There's so few of us writing on new things. So, I think it takes just an extremely confident person to do that, and the majority of us are not.

[Mariam]

Justine also shared her doubts as she questioned her capacity as a student, despite the evidence of her good grades. These are all examples of barriers that were put up by the participants, which stunted their progression through their program. They reported constant self-doubt and second guessing of their worth, capacity, intelligence. For some the writing process took longer; for others, they changed their topics not feeling confident enough to carry out a task. But, overall the downing on themselves continued to take a toll on their value, in an already challenging and chilly academic environment. The continued self-doubt and feelings of being an impostor were prevalent and discussed amongst all women.

Personal Challenges. Majority of the participants had hit personal challenges, whether it was intrinsic or extrinsic challenges that delayed their progress in finishing. Many women had dealt with breakups of long term relationships, marriages, death or sickness of family members, personal illnesses, such as cancer, balancing starting a family/ career, depression.

Breakups of long-term relationships with boyfriends or husbands were a common theme shared amongst the women. Tala shared about how her breakup with her boyfriend of seven years had impacted her process of writing.

The reason why it was so hard to get started writing on the dissertation, was I had a huge breakup. I had been with a guy for seven years prior, and we had a huge breakup…so that was a huge upset, and I had a hard time getting back from that; he was a huge motivator throughout my political development, so that extended my time to finish, but again I was so young that I needed that time to experience life the good and the bad…It did impact my doctoral process. We are human. We're people. We are in relationships. We have families. [Tala]

On top of the divorce that Clarisa went through during her doctoral program, she also lost her mother at the same time.

I was in a bad marriage. It was very challenging and very difficult. My mom passing away added a full year to my program. So it made it challenging for me. [Clarisa]

Audrey also talked about how she experienced a breakup during her doctoral program, with an unsupportive partner; once that relationship ended, she was able to refocus on her program a lot better. Perlas shared her battle with cancer while working on her Ph.D., during the dissertation phase of her program. Her husband was a huge support in helping her in the fight against cancer, but this illness stopped her progress on her program. While she recovered from her illness, she stated that it was a challenge for her to get through. For Mariam, a big personal challenge that she overcame during her program was her struggle with depression. While it did not come up as a major common theme amongst personal challenges, it was a very notable obstacle that she worked to overcome. While the other women did not explicitly state mental

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health issues or depression so directly, there was a lot of indirect discussion to symptoms of depression. This came in the way of a lack of motivation, feeling isolated, withdrawn, or alone.

> *Depression is something real to pay attention to, be like to be holed up in my studio apartment for two years, feeling sorry for myself. But it's okay; it's okay to have those feelings. It's okay to talk about it. It's okay to doubt yourself. I think maybe we talk about it privately if you don't feel like telling everybody about it. I think it's so important to talk about. [Mariam]*

A significant personal challenge that was unique to Sophia's doctoral journey was that her husband fell ill and needed an organ transplant. She took some time off to care for him, which ultimately delayed her progress, but she was grateful for having the flexibility to be able to prioritize her family at that difficult time.

> *My husband at the time got very sick while I was in graduate school. That was very complicated. But in a sense, I was also grateful for the fact that I was in graduate school at the time because I could take a semester off. If I was working in a nine-to-five corporate job, I might not have been able to have the bandwidth to stay home with him and help care for him. So, it was one of those situations where I put everything aside and didn't think about school at all. But it was never this sense that I wouldn't go back. Being in graduate school gave me the flexibility to be his caregiver. [Sophia]*

Nina had both of her children during the time that she was pursuing her doctorate while working a full-time job. The work, family, school balance was often disrupted as other parts took priority over school.

> *Well having kids, interrupted my progress. I was cruising through my program. Once I had kids, it was like, I have no room in my brain for all of this and wanting to be present*

in our kids' lives, so it was sort of like. I always joked that my dissertation was my hobby,

sort of like this other thing that I was doing. [Nina]

Nina also shared that she had prioritized her work commitments and focused on what she

needed to do to keep her job, as school was important, but not the primary priority for her. Some

of the other women worked while attending school and that created an additional level of

challenges for them. For many of the women, when it came to family, they prioritized their lives

outside of school and attended to the needs that were changing in their lives. Personal challenges

of all sorts were one of the largest factors that delayed progress for these participants. Life

continues to happen, even while one is going through a doctoral program, it is important to

understand that there will be factors outside of academia, which will continue to impact one's

academic journey.

Lifelines

A significant aspect of participants' educational experience was the networks,

relationships, and support that was cultivated, fostered, and strengthened. As demonstrated in the

review of the literature, support networks created a salient protective factor for persistence within

degree completion, which this theme continues to support. There are various types of support

networks, which are discussed as noteworthy findings for answering the second research

question. This theme focuses on the fostering of relationships and networks and the continued

theme of being understanding lifelines for future scholars connecting the past, present, and the

future.

Through her struggles and success in her Ph.D., Tala reflected on two significant artifacts

that she believes symbolize her journey through the Ph.D. process. Tala reflects on the

connections and impact that she has had on other's through her journey, her doctoral robe, which was a gift from her beloved students and her curriculum vitae (CV).

> How I see it representing my journey is that it really, its purpose driven. I feel like I wear it [doctoral robe] not because I want people to know that I'm a doctor, but I want people to know that I care so much about my students and that they care so much about me…I always tell them who gave it to me. I feel like my journey has always been with other people; it's never been I accomplished these things. [Tala]

With this understanding that her journey incorporates her connections with others and the impact and influence of others on her journey, she shared her next artifact, which was her CV.

> I feel like it's more of a representation of my relationships with people, that both helped me get through my journey, but then part of that is also me assisting other people in their journey and giving back and giving to them and continuing to spread the work and love. When I think of my CV, I don't think of all the things that I've accomplished. I think of so many other people's names on my CV. I've worked with so many amazing people, from undergrad all the way to my doctoral program to now as a professor. I'm a co-writer; I love co-writing. You will see there's times when my name will be first, or sometimes my name will be last, but I feel like what's most important is the collaboration that I've had with particularly colleagues and students, and really lifting as we climb. It's done so much for my actualization as a human…I don't feel like I would have been able to do any of this alone. So, I'm indebted…It's funny because when people think of the robe and CV, they sound like very individualistic artifacts. But for me, they show collectivity and community. [Tala]

These two artifacts are typically representative of individualistic qualities and accomplishments, highlighting the strength of the scholar. However, for Tala, she recognized these pieces in the light of being part of a broader community, collective identity, and support network. Illuminating the relationships built and fostered appears to bring power for the community, as she believes "lifting as we climb," thus always looking to empower and increase the representation of the community. With the belief of lifting as we climb, Tala, along with many of the other women, have continued to be advocates for Filipinx success. They continue to fill and strengthen the pipeline to ultimately increase access, support, and representations for Filipinx students.

> *Especially given how are numbers look in higher education at the undergrad level, and that's how you know something is happening in the pipeline right? That we're not going on and how come we're [Filipinx]not continuing? Not that we're not smart enough, right? There's something, and I don't I don't know what it is. [Nina]*

Many of the women discussed their desire to bolster the pipeline and to help produce other scholars of color, particularly within the Filipinx community. Mariam shared that a critical thing for her was to be an example to others as a Filipinx American scholar.

> *I mentor whenever I can. I helped a couple of them [Pinay Scholars] get the Fulbright, helped with the application, and the Ford [scholarship]. I write letters of recommendations, and I tell about my experiences like this, and I'd let them know they're not the only one. I helped a couple of friends finish their dissertation. [Mariam]*

This motivation did not come from her desire to be acknowledged or praised for her accomplishments, but for the desire for the community to have a voice and to make her community seen and heard. The yearning to increase representation helped keep her going and to

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continue her support for others to succeed. Being visible as a Filipinx or Pinay scholar helped to strengthen the pipeline and open access for other students. Seeing someone who looks like you in a position of power and privilege gave strength and open perspectives of what was possible. Nina shared a transformative example of this.

> *I still feel really weird in most settings having people call me doctor or using the Ph.D., if I'm with academics, I will throw it around just like them…But this summer I actually did an [undergraduate leadership program], I had to be comfortable with them calling me doctor because the director said most of these students come from White institutions, just like I did and they may never know someone who's Filipina Japanese with a doctorate. I didn't get it…the weight of realizing how much we represent and how important it is that we are visible…it's like if they know I have a doctorate, [then] anyone can have a doctorate, and so I think that maybe that's one of the [my] successes too. [Nina]*

This concept of lifelines was to one bring an understanding to the significance of support networks and the role that relationships play within an educational experience, but to even take it one step further to acknowledge the growth and impact that the educational experience had on future lines of support and networks. Strengthening the future pipeline, fueled with past experience from other Pinay scholars are salient in continuing to increase representation and success within academia.

While the encapsulated experience of a doctoral educational journey is comprised of multifaceted and complex factors, these unique yet shared experiences from 11 different participants helped to condense the variety of their experiences. Growth and transformation held the essence of the holistic doctoral journey, while participants realized the salient impact that this expedition had on their identity, career trajectories, families, communities, and themselves. The
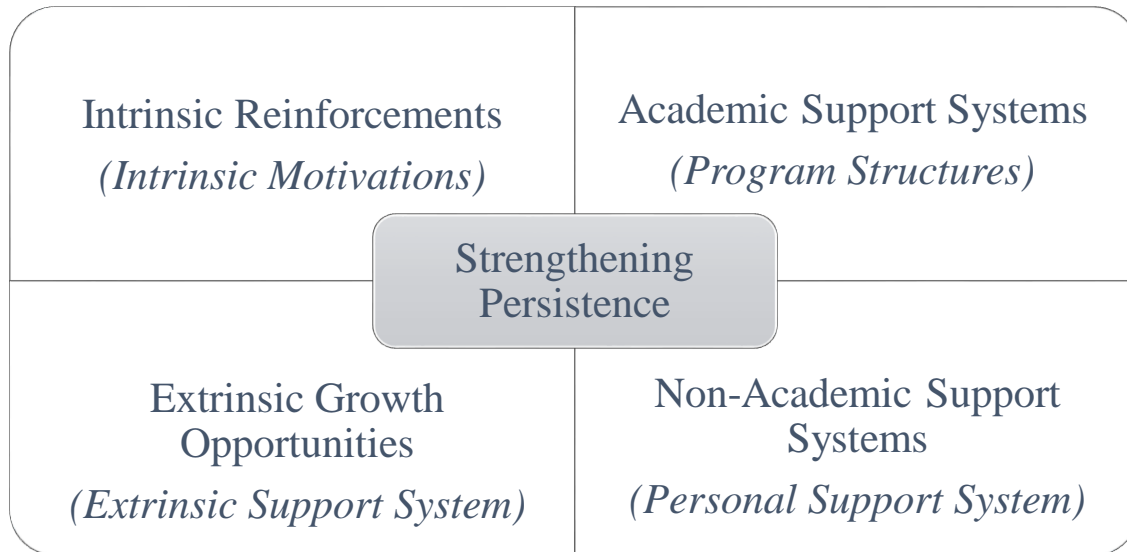
next section will continue to identify critical aspects that significantly contributed to their

success and persistence through to degree completion.

PROGRAM FEATURES AND SUPPORT SYSTEMS AFFECTING SUCCESS

While the first research question reviewed the various factors that create a holistic

understanding of the overall doctoral educational experience, this next section will focus more on

the specific aspects that helped participants persist through to degree completion. This section

will answer the second research question by reviewing the emergent themes that surfaced from

the artifacts and interviews. The second research question was: *What kind of program structures,*

intrinsic motivations, extrinsic support systems, and personal support systems helped them

persist through their programs? The focus of this research question was to dig deeper into the

educational experience and look specifically at various program structures, intrinsic

reinforcements, extrinsic and personal support systems, which contributed explicitly to their

tenacity within their doctoral program. In a similar fashion as the last sections, the emergent

themes were conducted through cross analysis of the 11 distinct cases, thus finding the relevant

aspects of each factor. This next section is broken down into four sections addressing salient

factors for each. Figure 4.2 demonstrates the themes and subthemes that answer my second

research question.

FIGURE 4.2: Emergent Themes for Program Features and Support Systems

Intrinsic Reinforcements *(Intrinsic Motivations)*	Academic Support Systems *(Program Structures)*
Strengthening Persistence	
Extrinsic Growth Opportunities *(Extrinsic Support System)*	Non-Academic Support Systems *(Personal Support System)*

Intrinsic Reinforcements

The features of intrinsic motivations that pushed through for persistence manifested in a couple of various forms. It was primarily motivated through the larger purpose or the participant's reasons of why; the underlying reason to push through. These reasons why ranged from community impact, familial stability, or the greater need to overcome the odds stacked against them. These varying factors may seem like they are not all typically intrinsic; however, it was the individual reasons or expectations which continued to lead their way. It was their foundational need to fulfill their calling, it may have been rooted in familial pressures or expectations, but the push was done internally. It was apparent that there was a greater purpose or *why* that helped the women push through the many struggles, obstacles, and spaces of adversity that they had faced. Some of their initial purposes or reasons for pursuing a doctoral degree, to begin with, came through as that final motivation or push to persist to the finish line. Some of the integral reasons why had connections to their roots, whether it was a greater impact on their community, an intrinsic responsibility or obligation to step up for their community,

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increasing representation, and a push to defy the odds against them because of aspects of their identity.

For many of the women, there was a very distinct and direct link to the more significant impact they could have on their community, whether that was the community they were raised in, the Filipinx community as a whole, or even broader for minority communities. For many of the women, this perceived impact that having a Ph.D. would create was a central driving force for originally pursuing the doctoral degree. During the final parts of the doctoral process, many women used their purpose as the final push off to finish. For Nina there was anger towards social injustices against her community, for which she felt responsible to respond:

It was all about the anger for my community. These injustices that the community faced, the injustices of the Filipinas in local public schools for the teachers because they're Filipino said, you can go graduate and get married and go get a job. Right, they never even saw potential in them because they were Filipino. It's that kind of anger that kind of adds to my chip, where it's not it's not about me, it's about everybody. [Nina]

Nina continued to add that she had felt a responsibility to give voice to those invisible within her community. Her qualitative dissertation created a space to share these valuable narratives with the broader community as a way to uncover struggles, hardships, and successes of these women.

I feel like my doctorate means something. Because again it was these women's stories because we don't see a lot of research. I mean we see some quantitative, but we don't have a lot of qualitative of diverse Filipina voices. Which is what I wanted right?... I realized all of these women have given me their stories, and they had trusted me with their stories. And I have this responsibility because I carried this weight of all of their stories because if

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I didn't do something with it, no one would ever know what they had done, what they had

accomplished or even the significance of their lives. So then I was Oh my god, I have to

finish now! [Nina]

For Sophia, her purpose was sparked when she realized the lack of information, loss of history,

knowledge that was available to the community. Realizing that there was such a small group of

individuals who were struggling to disseminate this essential information about her community

ignited passion and responsibility to fulfill those gaps:

I decided that I wanted to write books about Filipinx and to highlight these histories that I

had never learned and that I felt were so important that others had to be exposed to as

well...I think it goes back to that first moment in the bookstore, back in undergrad,

looking at that shelf in the bookstore. All those emotions - anger, shock, bewilderment

about the history that I have never been taught and how much more could be written. The

tired look on my professor's faces. We're a community, and for this history to be written,

people need to step up and get the stuff done. [Sophia]

She continued with the discussion about the drive for her intellectual desire:

I just saw them [Professors] and 1) I saw the great work that they were doing. 2) I saw

how overworked and how tired they were. I thought this is not fair, because if they stop

teaching, then who's going to teach this stuff? So, it was both a kind of intellectual desire,

but also a sense of community imperative. This kind of work had to be done, and I felt I

could do it. I had the passion to do it. [Sophia]

For Audrey, her research interests and motivating factors to pursue a doctoral degree was

rooted in her desire to understand mental health concerns within her community, because her

own family was affected by these concerns. Her desire to help or effect positive change to create spaces for support for minority communities continued to be a driving force for her:

That was pretty foundational for me in terms of wanting to understand psychological issues related to minority and underserved communities…it still really is the reason why I come back to these issues of mental health in my work professionally. [Audrey]

Like Sophia, Valerie also felt a calling of responsibility to increase representation for her community. While this sparked her initial motivation to pursue the Ph.D., her passion was rooted in effecting change for the community and being that resource of knowledge for others.

I think the primary motivating factor for pursuing the Ph.D. was my knowledge that there weren't so many Filipinos, Pinays in particular in those particular positions. I felt obligated. I felt obligated. I think I've always felt obligated like with my mother, going into a prestigious UC, and then again seeing like my friends and my family, my siblings didn't graduate from college, I knew that I was privileged. It was very obvious to me that I was one of the few in my community, so I always felt obligated to finish or to do things, that would basically increase the representation. [Valerie]

While there was an underlying obligation and responsibility for many of the women to create and affect change within their community, there was also a deeper desire to show people that these women could achieve this doctoral status. Tala shared that her identity of resistance, resilience, and struggle rooted her passion to defy the odds stacked against her. For all those people, communities, institutions that pushed back against her success, it gave her more motivation to succeed.

Being underestimated whether that had to do with my gender, race, or class background also was my form of resilience. I feel like that part of my identity really made me be able

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to finish things, like my dissertation. Part of me, when I was writing my dissertation, I was

thinking about when my parents came here they didn't have anything, you know? They

were able to really create a life here. I can finish a little paper, you know? I did that a lot

to myself...because I come from a legacy of survival, a legacy of resilience, a legacy of

love, from my family. [Tala]

In her quest to prove people wrong, part of this intrinsic spark was fueled and rooted within social injustices against her community. There were systemic injustices that were positioning her community on the losing side. For Tala, defying the odds was about overcoming the barriers that were put in place to prevent her community from achieving success, and in this case to get the Ph.D. and ultimately become a full tenured professor.

But I think growing up I was always trying to defy the odds, so I had a different kind of

fire that I needed. I had a fire that helped me continue, pursue, and persist. Because there

were all these moments that told me that I couldn't. And I am one of those people, you

know when you tell me I can't, I want to do it more. I was often doing that trying to prove

people wrong. To get my Ph.D. and become a Professor was to prove to everybody.

Intrinsic was I got to do this--the intrinsic feeling that I have to prove people wrong, I

need to disrupt Legacy of Filipino professors not getting tenure. I need to disrupt that.

Those are intrinsic. Especially to be able to serve students and serve populations who are

like me or not like me, so that I can use my education, not in vain. I don't just serve

Filipino students, so I feel like I also owe it to solidarity and to coalition all of those

things are motivating me intrinsically. I think sometimes the intrinsic would trump the

extrinsic in good and bad ways, because I would not shoot for extrinsic motivators like

pay, like awards or rewards. [Tala]

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Mariam shared that she also felt like she had something to prove to others about her worth and her capacity. She knew her potential and saw the Ph.D. as a way to achieve that level.

Growing up, I think I always had a chip on my shoulder, because I was like an immigrant, even though I was only four and a woman and made to feel always like not equal, with other people so. In terms of the workplace, what motivated me to get a Ph.D. was because I felt like I could do this, I am as good as you are, and the Ph.D. I think gives a legitimizing, you know, thing, factor, piece of paper, degree. For me, I wanted to be…I wanted to work at the highest level in my field like I didn't want to be the secretary. I was a secretary at a college for a long time. I didn't want to be like admin; I wanted to be a professor. [Mariam]

Jill discussed that she also shared the sense of defying the odds against her, which had a lot to do with how society had positioned her as a Pinay, woman of color. She felt that pressure while in her doctoral program and felt like she needed to prove that she belonged there and that she was on the same level as everyone else, despite where she started from or what she started with.

I knew early on, even my dissertation or whatever I'm doing, I have to be two steps ahead of a White person; someone who is not colored. To do better because they don't expect that from me. So until we are at the same level, I always tell people to hustle. That's what it takes. You have to go beyond what is expected of you and show them. Be there because, for every step they have, you have to do ten. That's what's my dissertation, the whole doctoral degree since I was used to that kind of hustle I just use that and took it to a different level. Three years, people kept telling me, no people don't do it in three years. Well, I'm not people. I have two kids, and I have to do it for them. [Jill]

The tenacity and persistence that fueled these participants stemmed from their push against social injustices not only for themselves but for their communities. The theme of their reasons why was regarded through each aspect of conversation for each participant. Ultimately, this continued to be a central aspect of motivating purpose, which continued to fuel and spark the drive to the finish line.

Extrinsic Growth Opportunities

Some major extrinsic factors played a crucial role in helping some of the women complete their doctoral program. Employment opportunities and financial motivation was a huge factor for many of the women. For some of the participants, there was a job that depended on the Ph.D. at the end or some sort of financial obligation or enticement that helped them push through the end. For some of the other women significant life changes were happening, such as having a baby that helped them speed up their process at the end. Either way, there were essential growth opportunities, which motivated women to make the final last push to the end.

For Tala, after taking a longer break between data collection and writing, a job opportunity opened up for her. Even as the underdog in the application process, she got the job; however, she needed to finish the Ph.D. to secure the job. After focusing on her career and community involvement for years, and delaying progress of her dissertation, she pushed through to finish the Ph.D. degree, once and for all.

> *The extrinsic was getting a job, and if you don't finish, you don't get the job, or you don't get the pay that you deserve. [Tala]*

Tala remarked that the career opportunity was one of the biggest motivators to help her finish. Nina continued to share that when she finished her Ph.D., she was able to secure a high director

position of diversity programs at a higher education institution. One that she would've been passed up on had she not had that degree. She stated:

> So that alone, it raised my glass ceiling, it's still there, but it provided a lot more opportunities, just having a doctorate, you get to sit on at a lot of different tables, and people give more weight to the words that come out of your mouth, which is so weird. [Nina]

For Nina, financial motivation was another salient factor in helping her finish her degree. Realizing that the only way to open that next door in career advancement and promotion was to have that Ph.D., she knew that she needed to get it done. Affording a family within a community with a high living cost, the promise of a promotion gave that extra push to the finish line.

> To get the next promotion, you have to have a doctorate. I was sort of like no, no, no, that's fine. Once you have two kids it's like "Oh My God I need more money" and the only way I can get a raise is if I get a promotion and the only way I can get a promotion is if I have a doctorate, so once I finished I went up for promotion right after that. [Nina]

Sophia also had the extrinsic pressure of securing the post-doctoral position. She needed to finish in order to seize that opportunity. While she had made steady progress through her program, she ultimately picked up the pace to make the deadline in time.

> What most people should do you when they're about to finish their Ph.D. is go on the job market. I didn't get a position that year, but I did get a postdoc on the east coast. Usually, when you get a job or a postdoc, you have to finish because you can't not take this opportunity. I feel like I was kind of a slow and steady wins the race type of writer. When this opportunity came up it turned into, okay I need to just get my butt in gear, and I need to get as much together as possible and as quickly as possible. [Sophia]

In a similar situation with Clarisa, she knew that working full time in academia was going to take up more of her time, which would delay her progress with her dissertation even more if she didn't finish quickly.

> *That's what I remember about the writing process. I was really disciplined once I was sort of under a different time pressure because I knew that working full time in a professional role, wasn't the same as working 30 hours in paraprofessional work. [Clarisa]*

Funding and financial support through the doctoral program was another common theme that was woven throughout the discussion. The availability of funding for particularly the women from UCLA really helped to supplement the cost of their doctoral education. For these women the extra financial support allowed them to continue to work on their research and complete their writing in a less stressful environment. Some women were able to prioritize their doctoral program, and that was very helpful in their successful completion. Sophia was able to secure multiple fellowships, grants, and scholarships while she was in her doctoral program and she named this as one of the main things that allowed her to be successful.

> *Those two things were really critical for me to be successful, at least being supported financially and enabling me to engage in the kind of research and opportunities that I needed to get my work done. [Sophia]*

Clarisa and Mariam also shared that by securing funding and scholarships, it provided them with the extra resources and time to spend working on their dissertation, instead of focusing on making money.

Another extrinsic factor that impacted some of the participant's motivation to finish was that there were life changes that were happening, particularly in their personal and family lives. Josephine and Mariam became pregnant during the tail end of their dissertation process and

knew that they needed to finish before their hands were full with raising their children. Josephine shared:

> *There was a timeline now because of the pregnancy. Like If I don't do it now, then I have to think about before the baby or after the baby. [Josephine]*

Mariam shared that she was under similar pressure to get the dissertation completed before the baby was born.

> *I wrote most of it in the last five months because in that same time I got married I got pregnant I defended in like three days later had a baby so I was like I got to do this right now, I got to be done. [Mariam]*

These varying factors of financial, career growth opportunities and expanding and changing families continued to put pressure on finishing their degrees, thus contributing to the push to the finish. While things such as funding helped to alleviate some of the doctoral student pressure, there was still a lot that was going on for these women. Thus, continuing to have additional support like funding made all the difference for women who had it. It is important to note that the discussion of funding in the forms or scholarships or grants was only a topic brought up primarily by UCLA alumni, not UHM.

Academic Support Systems

The most substantial finding that emerged from the data that every woman mentioned was the factor of support systems and its significant influence and impact that it had on their persistence within their doctoral program. Within the category of academic support systems include any academic related form of social support, these would consist of colleagues, cohorts, writing groups, mentors and advisors.

Mentors played a significant role in the participant's educational experience. For many women their key mentors, which were typically role models, their advisors, or other faculty members who helped them along the way were big motivators for the participants. Many influential mentors helped to unlock the bigger potential for each participant. For Tala, her advisor had continued to be a lifelong mentor and friend.

I was really lucky because my first class with my main advisor. He told us you already got in here you don't need to prove it, you're here to learn. That was very different for me, because I felt like at a place like [undergraduate institution] it was so competitive, and you have to always prove that you belonged there, it was a different environment for me. I still was a ruckus, I made waves. I think my youth, often got the best of me, because I was very impatient. I would often go to my other advisor in panic, I would always go to him and go oh my gosh I want to quit the program, why am I getting a Ph.D.? You know it's not going to do anything. I would get so impatient, impatient with my classmates, impatient with myself, frustrated that I had to go through all these hoops. He'd always say, trust the process…. I wouldn't have survived without those moments being in my Ph.D. program without being able to run to these people… they were patient with me and showed empathy and showed care, all the things that I hope that I embody when I work with my students. [Tala]

For Nina, her boss was a significant mentor for her and encouraged her to continue her education and gave her the flexibility which helped her to progress.

You know first coming from all these White communities that I came from; getting to work for a Filipina was amazing and one who was so supportive. She gave us the freedom to do what we want it but she also because she had a Ph.D., she's like you all need to get a

Ph.D., You all need to go to classes, and she encouraged us to do so, and she was totally flexible with our time in allowing us to do it. [Nina]

Even though Audrey ventured out of her field into the field of public health to find a mentor, she found a mentor who helped her with navigating through academia and helping to develop her skills as a researcher, along with providing the emotion support.

I felt like he kind of understood where I was coming from and he helped give me a break because he was he said he would mentor me for one of the hurdles we had in our department, which was to work on a publishable paper…. I think that was a huge thing, because then not only did I find someone was supportive emotionally, but he also helped develop my skills, and it was because of him, I really attribute taking the quantitative route and developed more statistical skills, and that gave me latitude and options within my field trip to study mental health issues and sort of ground myself that way. So one barrier, being not knowing how to navigate through some of these hurdles and some of these milestones within the program, but then finding a key mentor, like my mentor through public health gave me a lot of instrumental support. [Audrey]

The academic support that Jill's mentors provided her was helpful in her growth as a scholar. Since English is not her first language, Jill shared that she often struggled with academic writing and having her professors help her with her writing really made the difference in her success and confidence levels.

I was just so lucky that I had a lot of support from faculty who are so helpful in reading and my committee was awesome because they would read everything. They were really harsh critics, but I needed that kind of stuff. [Jill]

Valerie shared that one of her biggest mentors during her doctoral program was an unlikely ally that she had not expected. Valerie also shared that she had other mentors that she identified with, in regard to identity or experience of marginalization.

> *She was a White queer woman, and she basically had my back during many instances when other faculty didn't. She never told me about it, other faculty would and so I had to learn how to trust white allies. I think because she was queer and she understood marginalization and the importance of women empowerment and women doing non-normative things such as getting a Ph.D. she eventually became one of the best mentors I've ever had. Because she modeled that you don't have to do things the normative way. [Valerie]*

In addition to having influential mentors to help support the participants through their doctoral journey, another essential aspect of their support system was different networks related to academia. These various support networks included colleagues, the program cohort of students, friends within doctoral programs, and writing groups. All of these types of networks helped to create levels of accountability for these participants and created spaces of support and motivation both directly and indirectly.

Tala discussed that building relationships with others and having that support through her life has been the most significant impact on her life. The importance of building that sense of supportive network has made all the difference in her success.

> *I feel like that's kind of the backdrop to my entire story, is that I've had so many people that I've been blessed to have in my life, that were challenging and supportive at the same time. Caring, like authentic caring. I'm not sure what else because it's really the people who helped me get through those things, not specific things that I did. [Tala]*

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For Mariam, she found a sense of belonging once she got into her doctoral program because she was for the first time surrounded by other inspiring Pinay scholars. She built a great support network out of these other women, who were simultaneously going through a similar experience.

> *Going into the doctoral program like the Ph.D. program, once I entered it, it was great. At the time being at UCLA, there's like a critical mass of us Pinay Scholars there. But it was, it was amazing to be there to feel like I belong. [Mariam]*

This support system was critical in helping her through her struggle with depression and getting her to the finish line. They were not only accountability partners, but they were also there for her to just share in the sense of struggle. Mariam shared that this group shared a reciprocated relationship, where she got to support them as they also supported her.

> *I think the extrinsic was my support network. The other Pinay scholars, like we got to do this, we have to. Even when one of us dropped out, we're like oh come on, like you got this far and you got to be out there with us, stand with us or whatever. So that kept me going the social part, I think had I been alone I would have just quit… I would have quit, definitely. I think I did quit in my mind a few times, but I got back up. [Mariam]*

Perlas also connected with a group of Pinays that helped to encourage her to persist through. In addition to that encouragement, they continued to inspire each member of the support network to pursue a Ph.D., building a strong base of Pinays with doctoral degrees:

> *It was almost like not a peer pressure but a peer support. We were immigrant women here, all bright, we inspired each other to do a Ph.D. So all of us practically got a Ph.D.…..never give up, and the best thing is to be surrounded by people who support you, and that's your strength. Because otherwise you know you just mope around and feel sorry*

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for yourself, nothing happen. You have to look for pillars around you to support you, and

there are a lot of good people around to support you. [Perlas]

For Jill, she found a sense of community and support amongst her cohort. She shared that

they bonded over their similar identities of being wives and mothers. Jill shared that they

engaged in a healthy sense of competition, which was motivating for all the women to continue

to make progress.

I was just so lucky that my cohort even though there's three of us, it was like a perfect

match. The cohort before us they were all single and young…It was perfect! God's timing

is perfect. I was like, I could've been in that cohort; you know? And I would've felt

absolutely lost. We encouraged each other, and I think that helps. We were competitive. It

was like "Oh I finished that part; did you finish this part? Oh wow yeah, let me get it up

too". So we used to each other as a temperature gauge of where we were supposed to be,

and we encouraged each other. [Jill]

Valerie also shared the bond that was created through her academic community of color,

which she met through her doctoral program. The bond and support that they shared have

transcended the limits of graduate school, as they continue their forms of support even now in

their careers.

It really was this community of color, Scholars of color, young scholars of color, that

we've developed a strong network. We ate dinner together we studied together we helped

each other during exams. Now, what's happening, we help each other with job talks so, we

help each other with Fellowship applications, job applications, everything…and we

validated each other, and we pushed each other, and those people are still some of my

best friends. And it's funny because that is something that structural at UCLA, there's a

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critical mass of Faculty of color, who politically made it their project to admit and work

with and produce Scholars of color. [Valerie]

Writing groups were discussed as playing an influential role in support, feedback, and accountability through the dissertation process. Through the dissertation process, there is limited structure, and a lot of the progress through it is up to the individual. Writing groups helped to create accountability partnerships for the participants. Many of the participants shared that they utilized writing groups to help aid in their success. Clarisa shared that her writing group helped her stay disciplined and supported many other graduate students who participated in it.

I'll go back to my writing group, where a lot of us got through the dissertation proposal by

meeting pretty regularly and trying to hold each other accountable. [Clarisa]

Audrey shared her experience with writing groups and how she used various types to keep her going and to keep her accountable.

I created different writing groups with different kinds of people. I had an online writing

group for setting goals and writing a certain amount on a weekly basis. If you didn't post

then, you couldn't be part of the writing group…There are a lot of things are included in

writing, like brainstorming, just sitting down writing notes on articles, that's part of the

writing process, I realized. Then also finding folks…I sought people out in Ed [education]

in Soc [Sociology], and other people of color to write in Cafes. We would meet on a

regular basis to write, to set aside hours to write and it was cool because we could chat if

we wanted to. But we knew our time there is intended to just write. That was a different

accountability because I actually have to get up, shower, put on clothes, and be

presentable so I can go and write. That was helpful too…I had one really good friend who

we swapped writing. She still does that for me today, where before I send out an article, if

I feel like I need another pair of eyes, she'll read through my stuff and point out things.

Those three forms of accountability and support with writing was really really helpful.

[Audrey]

Josephina had a small writing group, made up of one person, but it worked for her style of writing.

I found one, and we both had the same style. She was really busy cause she already had kids and I liked it because we would just carve out blocks of time to write, like on Sunday mornings -- it would only have to be on weekends. She wrote similar but different topics, like K-12 retention. However, K-12 retention is different than Higher Ed retention. At least we had each other to like go meet at a place and just write and then you know come up for air, talk a little bit and then keep writing. [Josephina]

Imperative to the persistence, tenacity, and drive for these women were strong and present support networks. In looking at the process of socialization and guidance through a doctoral program, it is essential to have the necessary mentors and colleagues to help one through navigating the program structures within academia.

Non-Academic Support Systems

The last aspect of personal support systems that played a crucial role in success for participants were family or their significant others, which is also characterized as non-academic support systems. Some of the women were married, in relationships, or had families that they had to balance their dual or triple roles and responsibilities. For the participants who were trying to balance their family and school lives, it helped to have a supportive family or partner who helped them with the demands of being a doctoral student.

For Jill, as a military wife, her husband was away during her doctoral program, so she was going to school full time, working, and being a single mother to their two kids. She got to a point, like many of the other women where she was ready to quit, but her family support system helped to push her through.

Before I had to defend my dissertation, there was a moment... You get into this space where you just say I'm done. I am done! I will not finish, and it was when I was writing my second to the last chapter. I was just tired…. I'll go mad. I'll go crazy. Like absolute crazy because I couldn't see anything in the forest anymore, the trees. They were completely covered in darkness. That's what I think a support system is helpful because once I did that and people started noticing that I was like I don't care. What's another year? I would rather have another year than where I am now…. and then my husband, he was like, "Oh my gosh she is collapsing." So he like flew in and said, "You need to finish this. You came so far." I think we all had our wall. Then it comes right back [motivation]. I think I needed a week of that and then I had to come back, finish, and defend my dissertation. [Jill]

Audrey, Josephina, and Nina also praised their partners as being such strong support for them while through their program.

All of the support I had along the way whether it be from family, from friends, from my partner; that was huge too, because of my partner. [Audrey]

Having a great partner; just supportive or just being there for me. Not that he wrote or typed anything, or did my lit review. But, just having that support, so it's not school all the time or writing. There's someone I could go out with or if I want to have a drink, and he has friends we can go out with. [Josephina]

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For Nina, her husband got his Ph.D. before her, so he knew the process and the challenges that she was facing during the last phase of her writing.

> *He didn't care; he's been through it. He knew. He was totally supportive. In the last, probably four months of writing we go home we'd all eat dinner, and then I leave, and I go to Starbucks, and I'd stay at Starbucks until like 10:30 at night… Having a partner who totally supported me…"I got the kids. Do whatever you got to do. Go finish". [Nina]*

While Nina's husband helped out in one space of her triple roles (mother, student, and professional), she has been able to persist.

While there can sometimes be a misunderstanding between family and the academic expectations from a doctoral program, it has appeared that the overall factor of having familial support offers varying types of support not felt by other support groups. While academic support groups can provide emotional and academic support and guidance, only family can provide practical assistance in addition to emotional support.

SUMMARY

This chapter reviewed the relevant themes that emerged from the data collected from the 11 participants via one-on-one interviews and artifact sharing. While each participant comprised an individual case, these findings emerged from the cross case analysis. The intent was to gain a complete understanding of Filipina doctoral experiences within American higher education; it was not to compare the programs, universities, academic rigor, and varying institutional features. The emergent themes focused on the individual and professional growth and transformation that individuals underwent through their doctoral journey. The second set of emergent themes highlighted significant resources and features that were critical in the participants' academic success within their programs. The next chapter will serve to delve deeper into the emergent

findings, applying them to theory and discussing further implications for research and practice, which developed from these findings.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

In this last chapter, I start by addressing the two guiding research questions through analysis and discussion of the emergent themes as presented in chapter four. Themes of growth and transformation concurrently formed participants' overall doctoral educational experiences, as they were confronted with racial, class, and gender issues through the process of academic socialization. This qualitative research intended to examine Filipina doctoral educational experiences as they successfully progressed through their programs to completion, with a focus on disaggregating Filipina educational narratives from the broader AAPI racial category. Through focusing on Filipina voices and illuminating them through the presented educational narratives, primary gaps in literature were confronted. The goal was to extend understanding of doctoral education narratives that deviate from traditional student experiences. Since the diversity of higher education student populations continues to increase within the Nation (Rendon, Jalomo, & Nora, 2011), it is imperative to recognize the multiplicity in student experiences in an effort to increase retention and improve program pathways for higher academic success. The current study examined the unique doctoral program experiences of a sample of Pinay women in two public research university settings, UHM and UCLA. Through employing a case study approach, this inquiry provided a platform to share higher educational Filipina experiences, while identifying resources and support systems salient to achieving doctoral degree success.

Consistent with the focus of Peminist Critical Theory, emergent themes exposed the significant roles that race, class, gender, and place played in constructing participant's doctoral experiences. This chapter addresses how findings from the research contribute to theory building and provide implications for future research and practice. Through deeper analysis, synthesis,

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and extraction of the research findings, four salient features of participant voices emphasized the unique doctoral educational experiences for these 11 Filipinas: impostor phenomenon, decolonization, community-based orientation, and relationships.

IMPOSTOR PHENOMENON: VALUING VOICE

My voice was never valued, ever. Trying to make it valued, all of a sudden in my dissertation was not natural…I wasn't there yet; I am now. [Mariam]

Exemplified within the opening quote of this section, Mariam shares her internal fear of self-doubt in her academic capabilities. Feeling as if she had little value in her voice, contributed to this self-defeating perception that ultimately led to her struggle and depression through the program. These feelings of being an impostor within higher education were echoed through other participant stories, as demonstrated below. The implications that the racialization of Pinays had on a concept like the impostor phenomenon was salient in understanding how this type of perception plays out within the landscape of academia. Researchers emphasize the internalized impact that impostor phenomenon can have on overall academic success (Clance & O'Toole, 1987; Cokley et al., 2013; Parkman, 2016). It is important to note that the impostor phenomenon is a learned behavior that one can assume in several ways. While it was unexplored how these participants learned such a concept, it can be understood as a reaction to how Pinay are racialized within society. This racialization includes the impact of colonial mentality, and how they are situated within gendered and cultural expectations, especially when additional misperceptions like the model minority myth are layered onto societal expectations (Buenavista et al., 2009). The potential impact that colonial mentality has had on the impostor phenomenon will be further explored in the next section. There continues to be a misperception of Filipinx students within

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education, being overlooked or ignored within the larger Asian American educational experience (Buenavista et al., 2009). This leads to this diverse population not getting the necessary support to succeed in their academics (Buenavista et al., 2009). Tala, Nina, Audrey, and Mariam highlighted significant experiences of feeling pushed aside or not getting the educational guidance needed from critical teachers or mentors throughout their education. These women also shared their demeaning negative self-talk and thoughts, which led to their hesitation, increased vulnerability, and feelings of inferiority within their doctoral programs. When examining isolating student experiences and impostor phenomenon from the internal level, women like Tala, Nina, Audrey, and Mariam, highlight the adverse outcomes on one's value and self-worth. For all the participants, as women of color situated within institutions of higher education navigating a chilly academic culture, they were exposed to unique challenges, tensions, and experiences of marginalization that were detrimental to their identity formation and socialization within their doctoral programs. The impostor fears experienced were heightened when dealing with the combined effect of feeling isolated, alone, and misunderstood, all while often attempting to overcompensate for the fears of inadequacy. While the majority of women experienced impostor phenomenon manifested in one way or another, there were a few who did not address this aspect as significant in their experience. Although Clarisa discussed her struggle with finding her place within a career path that was suited for her personality, she did not touch on personal vulnerability, hesitation, or negative self-talk about her abilities or her capacity.

The continual lack of validation that women, like Mariam, received through her program contributed to these feelings of inadequacy, doubt, and fear of failure. The intimidation and impostor fears functioned within the context of academic space, especially when pitted against the systemic functions of power and privilege. The personal impact on one's progress was stifling

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and ultimately prevented steady growth through the program. It was an ongoing effort in which participants like Nina, Tala, Mariam, Audrey, and Valerie continued to work actively to empower their voice, strengthen their confidence, and push up against power and privilege, even in their post-graduate careers. While the participants found sources of support, they also encountered systems of non-support. For women, like Valerie, Audrey, and Tala, many experienced various acts of marginalization and discrimination while navigating through academia. For example, Valerie experienced hardships with other faculty members. Although the experiences varied, all participants shared how their sources of support and non-support influenced aspects of their identity formation, socialization, their engagement in capricious dimensions of place, and their overall attainment.

In understanding the internal components of the participant's educational experiences, there is a discussion surrounding the innate desire and intrinsic motivations to achieve success at different levels. Some of the women highlighted their intrinsic purpose to prove their worth and receive validation of that worth. Despite the challenges that these participants faced within their doctoral programs, such as the isolating student experience, personal problems, and struggles with impostor phenomenon, they were able to dig deep and tap into their intrinsic motivators to push through to the end. The intrinsic motivators used to complete their programs came in the form of their identity of resilience, resistance, and survival. For example, Tala and Valerie shared their struggle to push back against the forces of privilege to fight for their spot to gain access to positions of power. Understanding the motivation of validation, proof of capacity and ability, and the act of defying the odds continued to allow the participants the aptitude to develop self-advocacy and self-confidence.

Voice, as a central feature of this research, emphasized the participant's navigation of previously being silenced. Struggling to find value in their voices, as a form of strength, power, privilege, and knowledge focused participant discussions within this area. Through struggling with Pinay identity and the underlying cultural values, steering through a cold and competitive academic culture, and overcoming perceived internal barriers guided these Filipinas to finding their voice and believing in the worth that it had for themselves and their communities.

DECOLONIZATION: REDISCOVERING VOICE

I feel like that was part of my challenge in grad school, because I wasn't willing. I saw it as a colonial process, getting a Ph.D. and I was pushing up against that a lot. I didn't resist the academic rigor it was the other stuff, it was the socialization. [Tala]

Tala opens the discussion of decolonization by talking about the process and socialization of getting a Ph.D. as being colonial. Her active resistance against being academically socialized was a part of her decolonization process. She actively pushed up against the colonial aspects of her educational experience, as a way of engaging within her decolonization process. Although not all participants experienced the process of decolonization in the same way as Tala, it remained as a salient feature of participant experiences through their doctoral educational journeys.

Pinays and the broader Filipinx community are racialized within the Asian American identity, leading to the continued misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the issues that this community faces. The historical impact and various features that make up this group are dynamic and rooted in longstanding colonial history and mentality.

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As a result of the established colonial history of the Philippines, a dominant mindset embedded within Filipinx identity is colonial mentality (David & Okazaki, 2006; Leonardo & Matias, 2013). According to David (2013), "historical colonialism and contemporary oppression has been deeply internalized by many Filipinos and Filipino Americans such that they now have a CM (colonial mentality)-consistent cultural knowledge system" (p. 101). He further suggests that Filipinx may hold colonial mentality and exhibit the perceptions automatically, unconsciously, and unintentionally (David, 2013). Thus, this deep-rooted internalized oppression is not easily shed but can be reversed through a process of decolonization. Nadal (2011) states, "people who have higher levels of colonial mentality are likely to be less enculturated, to have low self-esteem, and to have low collective self-esteem; concurrently, they are more likely to be depressed" (p. 96).

In the last section, participant experiences of impostor phenomenon were explored as an aspect of how Pinays are racialized within society. As a feature of their racialization comes the longstanding colonial history and colonial mentality that accompanies that. The colonial mentality can be linked to experiences of impostor phenomenon, because the outlook that is reinforced is that of being less than and not good enough. These feelings are magnified in American higher education, particularly graduate education, which are often reserved for the dominant elite populations. Due to the origins and lack of transformation within American educational culture over time, academia was still heavily influenced by its purposes to educate White male elites, not Pinays.

Some of the participants, such as Valerie and Tala, engaged in conversations that centered their identity around one of Pinay resistance. The systemic struggles through academia combined with the marginalization and ethnic discrimination that these women experienced

continued to discourage participants from finding their sense of belonging within American academia. The emergent themes explored participants' negotiation of their Filipina identity as a salient part of the internal process of identity formation. This identity formation is inclusive of personal knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, self-concepts, skills, and developmental history. Individual identity formation is managed through internalized privilege or oppression that is a result of historical events, dynamics of power and politics, current issues, and systems of oppression. The negotiation of identity can be dynamic, evolving, and fluid. Racial identity is not a completely structurally imposed status (Rockquemore, Brunsma, & Delgado, 2009). Private racialized selves become "a political device that simultaneously challenges and reinforces existing racialized social structures. It is also a cultural boundary marker rooted in negotiations, strategies, and tactics of 'doing race,' and intimately tied to material, historical, and gendered systems" (Rockquemore et al., 2009, p. 30). Internally, there is a critical consciousness that is engaged when unpacking the situational context of operating within systems of oppression or privilege, which is tied to acknowledging one's privilege or marginalization within varying dimensions of place. When understanding and unpacking the negotiation of self and one's colonial mentality, it is crucial to understand the ways in which identification, history, and experiences, shapes identity development. Identification is established by engaging with formal, cultural, or social structures (Rockquemore et al., 2009).

For negotiation of the Filipinx self, there was a weaving together of these three factors, which illuminated the ways that these women interacted with their educational experiences, personal challenges, and intrinsic motivators. Interpersonally, being Pinay for many of the women came with an understanding of cultural values, which created pressures, opinions, or beliefs for the participants to abide by or follow. Culture changes over time and is dynamic,

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meaning that while these beliefs are guiding, they are also influenced by the surrounding context. For these women, their cultural beliefs appeared to be learned values primarily from their family influences and through engagement with others, such as values of debt of reciprocity, shame, and putting family first (Nadal 2011). Focusing on the sociological dimension of place, the context consists of a combination of culture, place, identity, and cultural experiences (Gruenwald, 2003b). For many of the women, their identity was contingent on their experience within the sociological dimension of place (Gruenwald, 2003b). The interpersonal impact that cultural values had on the educational experiences for the participants situated family as the central facet in which other cultural values stemmed from, thus, directly impacting participants' actions, expectations, and beliefs.

Results suggested that participants' cultural values were specifically attached to their families and where they were from. The role of place meant more than just the geographical space, such as the Philippines or America. For women with immigrant identities, assimilating to the American culture was experienced differently through the generations. While the transition from the Philippines to America caused pressure to assimilate economic, identity, and cultural values, the combination of the geographical and sociological dimensions of place continued to influence the participant's identity formation and decolonization. Engaging one's colonial mentality, which continued to praise Whiteness and American culture while denigrating the Filipinx self, illuminated the participant's interactions and experiences of culture and class as situated within the confines of the American society (Leonardo & Matias, 2005; David & Okazaki, 2006). Thus, when negotiating the Filipinx identity within these spaces, there continued to be dissonance between what it meant to be a Pinay versus a Filipinx American and an American.

According to David (2013), "decolonization is the process of reducing CM (colonial mentality) by critically examining common feelings, attitudes, and behaviors that are indicative of CM among Filipinos…tracing it back to Filipinos' historical and contemporary experiences of oppression" (p. 179). The process of decolonization is inclusive of deconstructing this toxic consciousness and replacing it with positive factors empowering the Filipinx mind, body, and culture. According to Nadal (2011), "the purpose of decolonization is to reject colonial mentalities that have been passed on through generations of colonized peoples" (p. 100). A remedy or resolution to the psychological construct of colonial mentality and the effects of impostor phenomenon is decolonization. As Halagao (2013) asserted, the decolonization process moves toward self-acceptance, within a space of being able to critically reflect on the oppression endured; for many participants, this place of decolonization happened in their educational journeys while unpacking experiences of self-hate and inferiority. Halagao (2010) affirmed that there is a rediscovery of voice, history, ethnic roots and often this process grows curiosity or anger; "it is an epiphany of awareness" in the humanizing process (Halagao, 2010, pp. 497-498). While this epiphany happens through the course of decolonization, there is still a space needed for reflection and for tending to the unpacking of the toxic mentality (Strobel, 2001), followed by the need for action (Halagao, 2010; Strobel, 2001). For many participants, such as Nina, Jill, Josephina, Tala, Valerie, Mariam, and Audrey, they found that their decolonization process happened through their education.

Individual identities were deconstructed and transformed through their educational process, uncovering the remnants of their colonial history and colonial consciousness. This process of decolonization was magnified as the participant's gained awareness of the differences in their experiences as reflected in their peers. The continued misperceptions and

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misunderstandings of Filipinx identity exemplified the community stereotypes held about this population. Participants such as Valerie, and Tala, continued to break down these stereotypes through achievement and persistence through doctoral programs, which were created for White males. In struggling to negotiate their identity through academia, it was also being able to overcome or move past the perceived identities and stereotypes of what people thought Filipinas should be or are like. These participants engaged in a discussion on continuing to break down the community and societal stereotypes, through their engagement with curriculum, activism, and interactions within academia. For example, Tala and Valerie became very involved within social justice activism during their educational careers, while Sophia pushed back against not seeing herself or her community within the curriculum. Despite what faculty had encouraged them to pursue, participants like Sophia, Audrey, Josephina and Valerie stayed true to their passions about uncovering knowledge about their communities and themselves even if it wasn't deemed valuable in the academic world. Their persistence was part of their process of decolonization, for themselves, their families, and their community.

When straddling the spheres of American values versus the individual Filipinx values, participants, such as Mariam, Nina, Jill, and Valerie experienced an increase in internal tension. With family at the forefront and centered around decisions, actions, and behaviors, the participants continued to engage in dual or triple roles, which often conflicted. When faced with personal challenges while progressing through their doctoral programs, a majority delayed their progress within their program because they prioritized their family and loved ones. For example, Nina and Jill were raising children through their doctoral programs and often had to balance their time between their duties as a mother, a student, and a professional. While this could be true for many different doctoral students, there was a learned, and obligatory sense of duty and

responsibility emphasized among these participants. As women, wives, or mothers, these expectations to be nurturing and present with their families continued to create tension between being a scholar or fulfilling their gendered dual or triple roles within the family and academic units.

Although participants' families encouraged their higher achievement when parents discussed and instilled the values of education and economic stability the implication as perceived by these women was to improve the family unit. For families, education was not merely for the purpose of growth and learning but seen as a means of securing a notable profession that would provide financial stability. For these reasons, when education continued into graduate school and the doctoral level, the significance for families appeared to be misunderstood, because it had appeared that enough education was completed to get a good job. The financial outcome did not always outweigh the long enduring journey to getting a Ph.D. as observed by the participant's families. Tala shared that when she landed her faculty position, her father questioned her salary in relation to the amount of time she spent in school and seemed shocked that she was not going to be making as much considering the investment she put in. Valerie shared similar experiences that despite having more education, she was not making as much as her sister. Although, financial stability was a driving factor for participants like Valerie in pursuing higher education the outcome was not always apparent through the salary.

There are many facets to decolonization, class consciousness, and what it means to be Pinay within American society. There continues to be multiplicity within the Pinay community, which varies on factors like upbringing, place, parent's education, waves of immigration. Economic stability and striving for upward mobility functioned as a central motivator for a majority of the women. Salient to this discussion of class is that nearly all of the women are of

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1.5-generation college students and many of their parents came highly educated, as teachers, engineers, or physicians, to America post 1965 immigration (Buenavista, 2007, 2013; Espiritu, 1995). Having educated immigrant parents and being positioned within American society, which places different values on their skills and knowledge really impacted participant's class consciousness, their individual educational experiences, and what it meant to be Pinay. For many of their parents coming over with aspirations for the land of opportunity, they found extreme underemployment and ultimately classifying many families as working-class within the U.S. Being situated within the colonizer's country, which glorifies and values anything American over Filipinx reinforced participant's understanding of their social class and their access to resources, power, and privilege. According to Nadal (2011), "When the professional immigrants came to the United States, they chose to separate themselves from the working-class Filipino Americans who lived in less affluent metropolitan neighborhoods" (p. 113). While some participant's such as Clarisa and Mariam were raised outside of Filipinx enclaves with physician parents, their class consciousness and experiences are different from participants who were raised within working-class urban neighborhoods, like Valerie and Tala. For Valerie and Tala, this low working-class and experience of underemployment drove their motivations to help their families gain financial stability. This differed for participants like Clarisa and Mariam, with having experienced the opportunities afforded by higher education, their parents expected them to attend college and the conversation was not as much about how they could afford it, but more around what they would study.

The purpose of education was to get a noble or good job, which meant one that would allow them financial stability and security. Education for the parents of many participants was valued based off of class and the perceived social mobility that education could afford. However,

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the investment and the outcome for obtaining a Ph.D. or doctoral degree is often deferred. This because the doctoral process is a lengthy and enduring investment, while the financial gains are through delayed gratification.

Once in graduate and doctoral programs, many families did not see the full value, including financial gain, opportunity, and status, of their doctoral degrees, thus losing or altering the meaning for some families. The UCLA participants discussed how they were able to secure financial support, through grants or scholarships, although it was a battle to gain this support. The UCLA participants shared that funding for Filipinx students was particularly tricky because of the way the population is racialized and marginalized within the community. Filipinx students are categorized as Asian Americans, making them ineligible for many different funding opportunities. As a result, many of the participants emphasized their need to work and hustle for grants and scholarships, to keep their debt down and still be able to pay for school without the need for loans. Despite the financial burdens of school, there was still considerable pressure for Filipinas to assimilate with the expectation to earn a high salary and gain upward mobility within society. The marginalization that was discussed by participants, such as Clarisa, Valerie, Tala, Jill, and Mariam, surrounding the struggle for financial assistance, grants, and scholarships demonstrated another form of racial, educational, and class disparities that this population encountered. Economic gain or debt was a primary motivating factor of persistence to finish their degrees in the end.

The participants engaged in the struggle of decolonization through the idea of how to operate within a system, while not buying into it, attempting to dismantle it, while still achieving a status reserved for a dominant population, all the while distancing themselves from it at the same time. The struggles of finances, with the continued pressure for upward mobility, were

central for some within this process of decolonization. The ever-present class consciousness played out in not only participant's process of decolonization, but their activism, fight for justice in their communities, and their value of education. Achieving the American Dream, based off of meritocracy is not as simple as the parents of many participants laid it out to be. The harder one works, and the more education one has is not directly correlated to social mobility. While the conversation for the next generation may change in opening different opportunities, participants found themselves fighting within the economic hierarchy of American society.

In gaining insight through varying factors that impact one's process of decolonization, there are conversations of class consciousness and experience, upbringing, Pinay racialization within American society, values of education, and relationships with others. Through finishing their doctoral degrees, these women shared the transformative experiences that their doctoral program had on their internal identity development and decolonization; ultimately, unpacking how they were situated within society and their obligation to rise up against the hegemonic systems of oppression that they [individually/community] interact with daily. For all women, this degree was able to situate and secure them a foot in the door to access opportunities, systemically and individually, to a newfound place that would have otherwise been untouchable. However, class consciousness and how they are situated as a Pinay within American society is still an ever-present identity that the majority of participants continue to confront every day. This continued experience enacts their engagement of power and resistance against their predisposed place within society as a Pinay. Their continued persistence through their doctoral programs was a decolonizing process in itself, pushing past through the stereotypes and colonial processes of academia for Filipinas.

COMMUNITY-BASED ORIENTATION: UTILIZING VOICE

It goes back to that first moment in the bookstore… looking at that bookshelf, and all those emotions, anger, shock, bewilderment about the history that I have never been taught and how much more could be written…We're a community, and for this history to be written, people need to step up and get this stuff done. [Sophia]

This quote helps to exemplify the need, the internal motivation or calling, and the urge that Sophia and many other participants felt about creating positive changes within their communities. Sophia's emotional response, propelled her need to step up and help to tell the stories of her community and her people. This community-based orientation demonstrates the active engagement of participants and how they've used their education to produce differences in the communities that they are a part of. When examining the motivating factors that the participants employed to persevere through their doctoral program, their purpose was often rooted in the form of social justice and acting on their process of decolonization, which had a direct impact on influencing their communities on a macro level. Many of the women, such as Tala, Sophia, Valerie, Audrey, and Justine had been inspired by effecting change within their communities, bringing uncirculated knowledge to others, achieving a positive influence as a whole, strengthening their communities, and lifting as they climbed. This was the key motivation that started many of the women, like Sophia, Audrey, and Tala, into the program and kept them going until the end. While some of the women, like Tala and Valerie, discussed graduate school formalities as a colonial process, as buying into the hegemony operating society, it was a salient process and balance to gain social and economic mobility within society and overall as a community.

In understanding that many participants' motivations behind their passions stemmed from the impact on the community, including their families that were situated within those communities (Espiritu, 2001; Monzon, 2013). Some artifacts that were shared represented that commitment. For Tala, even though her artifacts seemed on the surface level very individualistic, her meaning and intent behind her choices were to demonstrate her larger support network and the relationships built and the knowledge shared amongst others. She emphatically stated themes of encouragement, social justice, and about connections and support between people. Her artifacts were representative of her collaboration and the "lifting as we climb" mentality, which linked back to her community, but also as a visual representation within the community as a Filipinx scholar. For the participants, their chosen artifacts continued to position a sense of place within their Pinay identity. Increasing the representation of Filipinx scholars within academia is one way to continue to demarcate a space for these academics within this ivory tower.

Representation matters and as much as they might want to remove themselves from the process, they could not. Being Pinay are structures acting on larger formations of power because they are Pinay. All of these women continue to work in higher education as a necessary step towards being able to continue to engage their Pinay resistance and to lift others as they scale the ivory tower.

RELATIONSHIPS: SHARING VOICE

The best thing is to be surrounded by people who support you, and that is your strength…You have to look for pillars around you to support you, and there are a lot of good people around to support you. [Perlas]

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This quote synthesizes the priority of support systems when going through a doctoral program. We need others. Pillars of support of family, friends, colleagues, and advisors have been shown to make the difference in completion and increasing motivation to finish through the program. Perlas' quote exemplifies just that, highlighting the positive aspects of what a good support system can do for an individual. Having a support system is imperative in progress, self-care, and overall well-being. The individual driving purpose or external motivators that participants shared as salient in finishing the doctoral program were intimately connected to family or community (Espiritu, 2001; Monzon, 2013). Whether it was having children, gaining economic stability, or fulfilling a mother's dream, these were all linked off the value of the relationships with others and the interpersonal process and impact on the individual. This is also seen within the supportive relationships that helped the women persist through their programs. Many of the women, such as Tala, Sophia, Nina, Audrey, and Valerie discussed that their ability to create positive changes for their communities was sparked by experiences of injustices that were perpetrated against their community. The underlying confrontation of marginalization, resistance against power and privilege, and the connections built within the community continued to serve as the many different driving purposes for their achievements. Getting a Ph.D. allowed participants better access to create overall change with an impact that would not only include their family but the community around them.

All of the participants named support networks, systems, and mentors as vital motivating factors not only in planting the seed of potential but also in watering that potential through the process, allowing them to bloom and grow into critical Pinay scholars. The investment in people has shown, through the participant narratives, that the encouragement and belief had opened the door of opportunity for them. Mentor's roles often included advocating on their student's behalf

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or providing them opportunities to build academic skills and growth (Jairam & Kahl, 2012). The investment in the participants was a salient factor in redirecting or shifting their entire life path.

Support networks, as discussed previously in the emergent themes, played a crucial role for many of the participants in finishing their dissertation and doctoral program (Ellis, 2001; Jairam & Kahl, 2012; Peltonen et al., 2017; Sverdlik et al., 2018). All women cited both professional and personal support networks as significant factors in their overall progress. Thus, it is no surprise that many of the recommendations shared by the participants highlighted the s feature of support networks. The interpersonal aspects of the emergent themes help to unpack the different systems of support or relationships with others, which look at the ways communication is influenced by privilege or marginalization. Reinforcing previous findings in doctoral education, critical support networks allowed various types of professional, emotional and practical support for participants (Ellis, 2001; Jairam & Kahl, 2012; Peltonen et al., 2017; Sverdlik et al., 2018). By addressing the interpersonal process and the effect that it may have on the participants' educational experiences, we can understand what systems are pertinent to persistence and identify the central role of relationships with others. All participants had to create silos of support from allies within the academic structure to climb collectively (Ellis, 2001; Jairam & Kahl, 2012; Peltonen et al., 2017; Sverdlik et al., 2018). For these students, these key faculty members and mentors were the support systems in academia, pushing these women forward allowing them to break down the hegemonic barriers set before them.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEORY

The results contribute to several insights in understanding the conceptual framework of Peminist Critical Theory. When considering the specific tenets outlined in chapter one, there were four essential and integrated tenets illuminated for understanding these women's doctoral

educational experiences: Pinay Herstory, Racialization of Pinays, Intersectionality, and Love for Pinay.

Pinay Herstory

Pinay Herstories are counternarratives to dominant traditional experiences that are typically shared and are stories from historically oppressed populations. Refocusing these narratives through a Pinay critical lens acknowledges the omission of these stories within this field. Pinay stories were virtually absent in describing students' doctoral experiences as expressed in the current literature. The sprinkling of narratives in existing research about Pinay educational experiences generally resided within larger Filipinx American experiences or sociological occurrences within the communities, not specific to higher education (Buenavista, 2009; Okamura, 2013). In challenging the dominant narratives through the exposition of Filipina stories, this research uncovered a variety and multiplicity of Pinay experiences, opposing the essentialist notion of one type of Filipinx/a. Revealing educational experiences that confront issues of marginalization and ethnic discrimination concerning race, gender, and class continues to allow a once voiceless population an opportunity to oppose dominant types of oppression within higher education.

Racialization of Pinay

The racialization of Pinay can be understood as the reification of this identity, which is continuously confronted with prescribed heteronormative values and beliefs, remnants of colonial mentality, which attempt to constrict individuals within a specific image or box (de Jesus, 2005). The danger of this is in the limiting and denigrating factors, which does not account for individuals that fall outside of the demarcated space or those who are unable to attain the level of expectation. A primary factor of this racialization deals with the continued pressures of

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gendered expectations. As understood within the societal patriarchal systemic structures, as Pinay are the keepers of the cultural lineage and are responsible for cultivating that legacy through their reproductive labor (Espiritu, 2009). When applied to the understanding of educational experiences, females often hold dual or triple roles (mother/student/professional), which are in constant conflict as the goals and expected outcomes of each role is contradictory (Prikhidko & Haynes, 2018). Additionally, there is a prescribed cultural component of expectations when it comes to meeting these gendered responsibilities for families (Espiritu, 2001), all while continuing this laborious process of decolonizing one's mind, beliefs, and body.

For these Pinay scholars, the constant and continued pressure that they experienced, balancing the expected individualistic student roles against the collectivist cultural, gendered pressures of procreation and mothering roles, added considerable stress on their sense of duty, obligation, and academic achievement. Some women felt they had to choose to prioritize one role over the other, but since their ethnic identity was imperative to their motivations behind their higher educational goals, their familial duties consistently trumped their student responsibilities. This continued to interfere with the full integration and socialization into their academic cultures. The interference created dissonance in their academic and ethnic identity, causing continued pressure, stress, and feelings of inferiority, all which contributed to feelings of being impostors and a decrease in overall wellbeing. All participants continued to work within higher education in some capacity after completing their degree; thus, their student roles were transformed into professional academic identities. Understanding the translation of their experiences of being socialized in academia from doctoral student to a professional academic is essential in identifying protective factors for this specific population. Understanding this tenet through the academic socialization stages reveals continued dissension for Pinays being pulled in opposite

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directions, straining to overcome barriers on both ends, as doctoral students and as academic scholars.

Intersectionality

The intersectionality tenet within Peminist Critical Theory provides an added layer of perspective regarding doctoral student identity. For these women pursuing doctoral degrees, the challenge of defining a professional academic identity was magnified when adding the complex layer of being Pinay. The participants' processes of decolonization and class consciousness were additional mitigating factors. There were many intersections of identities that were integrated into a singular experience. The ways that these participants co-created and reflected on their meaning making experiences through their doctoral program consisted of many facets, each adding additional layers of complexity. Being Pinay, at its root, underscored the salience of intersectionality and the socialized ways that one was racialized in being a specific type of Pinay. The participant narratives accentuated the variety within the Pinay identity. A sense of place and their engagement with the various types of place identity also contributed to transforming their understanding of themselves as situated within their community settings. Many of the women identified their passions, motivations, and tenacity through their interaction with place, as they desired to serve the communities with which they identified. Thus, for theory building, the results imply continuing to engage in research that moves past the essentialist notion of what it means to be female, Filipina, or a doctoral student. Furthering such research means being more inclusive regarding varying identity factors such as place, generational status, sexual orientation, and moving past binary categorizations opening inclusivity for all who identify within the Filipinx population.

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Love for Pinay

Love for Pinays was intertwined with the emergent themes of lifelines, academic/non-academic support systems, and motivating purpose. Central to all of these findings was a collectivist self as it applied to relationships with others. The interviews revealed the significant theme of connections of love, through relationships with families, colleagues, and the community. Situated within this theme was empowerment and encouragement, a "lift while we climb" mentality, which directly affected the lives integrated with participants' lives. This theme originated within a collectivist cultural notion, either for love of family or community. Often doctoral education is viewed as an individualist practice, one which is primarily managed alone, especially when progressing through the dissertation stage. The extreme isolation which was identified within the participant experiences was evidence of the individualistic nature of the academic structure. In contrast, for these women, professional and personal support structures supported a deep connection, relationship, and trust/between groups of individuals. Fostering these connections and engaging these supportive relationships, such as including personal support networks in the educational process can potentially alleviate additional stress through the educational contextual misunderstandings that families often have regarding doctoral programs.

When critically understanding Pinay doctoral educational journeys, it is imperative to recognize the holistic experience through the varying intersection of their identities. The multilayered analysis and acknowledgment of the multiplicity of identities, as contextualized by the differing racialization of what it means to be a Pinay doctoral student or academic professional, helped to illuminate the significant protective factors that aid in academic success, such as the building of relationships and the importance of support networks. All of these factors contribute to the counternarrative voiced. The strength in investigating critical stories that

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challenge and confront hegemonic systems of oppression, continue to break down barriers of misunderstandings and misrepresentations of Filipinas and their unique experiences within American higher education, outside of the typical context of culture or sociological occurrences within this population.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Several implications follow from the research findings, these implications for practice continue in bolstering support resources for students, addressing internal challenges of motivations, and areas for further research. As previous research on doctoral students indicated (Ellis, 2001; Gardner, 2009; Jairam & Kahl, 2012; Peltonen et al., 2017; Sverdlik et al., 2018), support systems were a critical factor in the finishing of one's doctoral program, which came in the form of both personal and professional assistance. Thus, it is imperative that doctoral students get adequate encouragement that is needed while progressing through their doctoral programs. This resource system should be twofold, in that there should be spaces for both personal and academic help. Although both forms of networks were shown to promote emotional care, practical assistance was provided by non-academic resources. For institutions of higher education, mentorship and colleague support groups, through the forms of friends or writing groups increased positive socialization for students. Thus, this adaptation to academic culture allows students to continue to maintain motivation and eases progress while navigating through programmatic structures. Creating silos of support for future Pinay scholars will be invaluable to the growing network within the community. The support from critical mentors or support systems establishes the basis for growth and for a scaffolding network of scholars of color, who have the intention to lift as they climb.

Participant narratives revealed that Filipinx and other AAPI populations are prone to experiencing impostor fears while progressing through their doctoral programs. Overcoming and pushing through these fears, contributed to additional challenges for these students in their program. While these impostor feelings do not necessarily prevent success, they can dramatically limit one from achieving their highest potential (Clance & O'Toole, 1987). Without the right support and resources to encourage these women to override their fears, this syndrome can be debilitating to their success in their program and their highest potential in future careers. Understanding that the participants experienced varying levels of colonial mentality as a result of the historical impact of colonialism on Filipinx society, the impostor phenomenon and feelings of inferiority can be linked to the impact of this psychological state. A potential remedy that many participants pointed to in their discussion was their experience with their own decolonization and how that rediscovery of their own voice helped them to overcome varying hurdles of their experiences with impostor phenomenon. Fostering curriculum and areas of support which promote spaces for processing through decolonization can be helpful for participants who struggle with impostor phenomenon and internalized oppression.

Due to the extensive research that has been done on impostor phenomenon, researchers and scholars are starting to understand the somewhat predictive nature of this experience. For this reason, programming of all sorts and on all levels can be implemented across education to continue with more preventative efforts as well. Utilizing the disaggregated Filipinx narratives shows that this population may be more at risk when navigating through academic culture. For institutions of higher education and graduate and doctoral programs, it would be helpful to implement impostor phenomenon programming into their student life areas of campus. According to Parkman (2016) in a number of colleges, "the offices of student life, academic

success, multi-cultural affairs and counseling have worked to develop workshops for all students helping them to define success, identify strengths, deal with failures, understand perfectionism and set more reasonable expectations for themselves" (p. 56). For this reason, programming can be implemented across all levels of education to continue with more preventative efforts as well. Although, there is not one right way of implementing impostor phenomenon programming within higher education, the salience of the discussion is to start to understand how to best address these effects within higher education and how to confront and challenge the impact so that it is no longer a debilitating fear which creates larger barriers within doctoral programs.

The educational journeys in which these women embarked proved to be transformative, with a continuing impact on their overall identity development as experienced through their college career. There was an overwhelming consensus among the participants that through the doctoral education process their identity continued to be formed and transformed. Participants' reflections on their personal experiences provided insight into features within programs and personal supports that facilitate a positive experience for enhancing chances for student success. For the majority of the women, the doctoral degree was the hardest experience that they had endured and the most isolating. The struggles that these Pinay scholars faced within their doctoral experience, such as marginalization, ethnic or gendered discrimination, navigating a chilly academic climate, funding issues, or having a lack of support within their programs, are still challenges and hurdles that they continue to battle. Most of them chose to work in academia for varying reasons and have continued to persist through the continued challenges that they face—that is, mountains regarding race, class, and gender issues that need to be climbed. To face these continuing obstacles, these Pinay scholars felt at least more protected with their Ph.D. armor and weapon.

A significant impact of this study is uncovering the need for continued research in different areas when it comes to Filipinx or Pinay students, with a focus on disaggregating Filipinx voices from the larger AAPI experience. There is a greater need to increase research that continues to focus on the intersectionality of identities, past gender, race, and class. Recommendations for future research should include the salient identities of place, generational status, and colonialism. In addition to understanding the impact that intersectionality has within educational experiences, it is also important to include others encompassed in the Filipinx population, not just those that identify as Filipinas. Extending the varying counternarratives within the Filipinx population will continue to challenge the normative cultural values and stereotypes of this group. Thus, providing a space for often silenced or invisible stories within educational research, facilitates the re-examination of essentialist notions of Filipino"ness" and prescribed values which often delineate the identity boundaries of Filipinx. Acknowledging the multiplicity and diversity that exists within this population, allows for greater inclusivity and understanding of concerns and issues that Filipinx encounter.

CONCLUSION

This qualitative case study research focused on exploring Filipina experiences in doctoral education at two public research institutions, UHM and UCLA. Illuminating voice through sharing Pinay herstories and utilizing Peminist Critical Theory uncovered emergent themes addressing the guiding research questions found that doctoral educational journeys were of filled with spaces of growth and transition. The aspects of growth and transition that were exemplified were, motivating purpose, being Pinay, navigating the academic road, and lifelines. The second guiding research question prompted participants to identify critical aspects of program features and support systems, that aided in their success to degree completion. Overall, the findings

pointed to the experiences of impostor phenomenon, decolonization, community-based orientation and importance of relationships. This study addressed a need to broaden our understanding of student experiences in doctoral education, through presenting voices that were largely unheard in previous higher education research.

REFLECTION

I end this research narrative with a personal reflection on how my standpoint or positionality impacted this study and the transformational growth that I experienced during this research. My positionality significantly shaped what I was studying, why I studied it, and how I studied it. I acknowledge that my belief systems and values that I explored impacted how I conducted the study and how I interpreted the data. My standpoint was the compass that guided the research, directing where and how this project unfolded. My journey through my own past provided me with a clearer understanding of my standpoint epistemology in embarking on and completing, this part of the journey.

My personal experiences of struggling through my doctoral program exposed a gap within the literature regarding Pinay doctoral experiences, in particular from a holistic and strengths perspective. The essence of who I am as a woman, Pinay, and scholar reflected the population I chose to study. I chose this research because I am deeply connected to it. These Pinays, scholars, daughters, activists, and friends that I met were projections and mirrors of my own identity. My background provided a lens to view the experiences of these women. I feel a connection to them through the potential shared identities. It was personally meaningful for me to provide a platform of empowerment for these women to share their transformative herstories with the confidence that others would benefit from their voices. Providing a space for a unique voice of color is essential, particularly with the misrepresentations and contingent visibility we see with this

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population. The rich descriptive data gathered was essential in revealing the depth of their lived experiences.

My status as an insider/outsider is contingent on my positionality. Labrador (2015) noted, "What makes a researcher an insider/outsider is not solely an academic exercise but is actively and continually negotiated in the field among and between the researcher and research participants" (p. 17). Throughout the study, I negotiated the space between the participants and myself, with an understanding of how my positionality might provide privilege as an insider or not. My awareness of this positionality was essential, because of how greatly it influenced each aspect of this study. I conducted this research so that Pinays can be visible and that we can inform the narratives written about our communities and us. I conducted this research so that we can carve a space for Pinays in education so that it is no longer challenging to name at least eleven Filipinas with doctoral degrees in our communities. In developing the results text, I recalled moments, voices, and faces of support within each participant that I met and interviewed. Their continued encouragement echoed in my head as I attended to the obligation and responsibility that I had absorbed to share these narratives. Perhaps Tala expressed it best:

I feel like life is a series of birth and death, with births, getting a Ph.D. is one of those moments. I could not do what I do now without the Ph.D. and everything that came along with it. Not the paper, but the people, the experiences.

Although I took part as a character within these shared narratives as a researcher, each participant, each Pinay Scholar, each empowered female honored me with the privilege to share her story, such that they have now become influential characters in my own educational and professional journey, and in my own narrative.

APPENDIX A: AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE

Agreement to Participate/ Consent Form
Voices of Filipina Academic Success: Pinay Educational Experiences in Doctoral Programs

Rachel A. Quinajon
Ph.D. Student in Educational Administration: Higher Education
University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa

Purpose: The purpose of this research is to explores the experiences of Filipinas through the completion of their doctoral program at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa (UHM) and the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). It seeks to answer the *how* and *why* these Filipinas persisted to complete their doctoral degree, while providing a voice to their challenges and accomplishments.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this research study is completely voluntary and you may stop your participation at any time, without any penalty or loss to you. You may refuse to include your responses in this study at any time, without consequence and questions.

Activities and Time Commitment: If you do participate in this project, I will meet with you to complete one interview at a time and location, which is convenient for you. The interview may take up to two and a half hours and will consist of artifact sharing and about 12 interview questions total. The questions asked will cover a range of your background, experiences in your education, with a specific focus on your doctoral program. Sample questions are: "What are big challenges that you faced while going through your doctoral program?" and "What was the motivating factor that led you to obtain your doctorate?" With your consent, I will audio-record the interview session, so that I can analyze and transcribe the content. You will be one of at least ten participants in the study, if you agree to participate.

Benefits and Risks: This research will provide you with the opportunity to contribute to the limited research that we have in this area. The result of this research will contribute to the fields of higher education particularly when it comes to the Filipinx population. I believe there is little risk to you in participating in this research. However, when in the interviews you may become distressed or uncomfortable in answering the questions or discussing the topics. If this happens at any time, you may skip the question, take a break, stop the interview, or withdraw from the project altogether. If at any time you become uncomfortable or distressed, I can also provide you with necessary resources that may support you.

Privacy and Confidentiality: All information collected will remain confidential and your identity will remain anonymous. All information will be stored in a safe locked place, where only my advisor and I will have access. After using and analyzing the data, all data will be destroyed. The results will be presented using pseudonyms as to further protect your identity and participation within the project. All findings will be reported in a way that protects your privacy and confidentiality.

Questions: If you have any further questions regarding the research project, I can be contacted by phone- (808)443-3108 or by email at quinajon@hawaii.edu. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. Ronald Heck at rheck@hawaii.edu. If you have any questions or concerns regarding human subject's research and rights for the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa please contact the Office for Research Compliance by phone at (808) 956-5007 or uhirb@hawaii.edu. You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

Please check if the following applies to you.

_____ I identify as Female

_____ I identify as Filipinx/ Filipina

_____ I have graduated from either UCLA or UHM at least one year prior to today, with either a Ph.D. or an Ed.D.

I have read and understood the above consent and agree to participate in this research project.

_____   _____
Print Name   Date

_____
Signature

_____ Copy Provided to Participant

APPENDIX B: INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Hello Dr. _____,

You have been invited to participate in my research study, that I am conducting as part of my dissertation. The purpose of this research is to explores the experiences of Filipinas through the completion of their doctoral program at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UHM) and the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). It seeks to answer the *how* and *why* Filipinas persisted to complete their doctoral degree, while providing a platform to voice to their challenges and accomplishments. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw your participation as any time without consequence or penalty to you.

If you do participate in this project, I will meet with you to complete one interview at a time and location, which is convenient for you. The interview may take up to two and a half hours and will consist of artifact sharing and about 10-12 interview questions total. The questions asked will cover a range of your background, experiences in your education, with a specific focus on your doctoral program. Sample questions are: "What are big challenges that you faced while going through your doctoral program?" and "What was the motivating factor that led you to obtain your doctorate?" With your consent, I will audio-record the interview session, so that I can analyze and transcribe the content. You will be one of at least ten participants in the study, if you agree to participate. If you are out of state or off-island, I will plan to meet you to complete the interview face to face. Participant criteria are that you have self-identified as being female and of Filipinx ancestry. Additional criteria are that you have graduated with either a Ph.D. or Ed.D. from either UCLA or UHM at least one year prior to this date.

I will provide the interview questions for you ahead of time and I will ask you to bring to the interview 1-2 artifacts that symbolize your journey through your doctoral program to share. You will have the opportunity to check any data collected to ensure that I have accurately portrayed your story. You will get to choose your pseudonym to ensure confidentiality and protect your privacy within the project.

This research will provide you with the opportunity to contribute to the limited research that we have in this area. The result of this research will contribute to the fields of higher education particularly when it comes to the Filipinx population. I believe that there is little to no risk to you participating in the study.

If you would like to participate in this research, please review the agreement to participate form/consent form and respond by email to set up a future interview.

If you have any further questions regarding the research project, I can be contacted by phone- (808)443-3108 or by email at quinajon@hawaii.edu. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. Ronald Heck at rheck@hawaii.edu.

Thank you for your time and consideration,
Rachel A. Quinajon,

APPENDIX C: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. **Background**
   a. Where were you born and raised?
   b. Tell me about your family?
   c. What values were important in your family/culture? Did any of those values apply to education?
2. **Education Experience**
   a. Tell me about your college experience. *Were you satisfied with those experiences? (What role does satisfaction play?)*
3. Was there a particular critical incident or motivating factor that led you to pursue/begin your doctoral degree?
4. Are there some personal, educational, and workplace experiences that stand out in that shaping your career path or your desire for further study?
5. **Doctoral Experience**
   a. As you look back on your journey to complete the doctorate—could you think of or share an artifact that symbolizes your journey through your doctoral program?
   b. Was your Doctoral program experience similar or different from your earlier experiences in pursuing your undergraduate and master's degree?
   c. Can you recall any big successes that you enjoyed during the program?
   d. Were there any big challenges that you faced in the program? Were there any challenges that you faced personally (i.e. family, career) that may have interrupted you progress?
      i. Were you able to overcome these challenges? How did you manage?
6. Dissertation Process. Did you have a difficult time identifying and selecting a dissertation topic, or did a research area just seem to appear for you to study? Can you talk a little about that process of selecting a topic and completing a study?
7. **Factors that Might Account for Your Success**—In the next section, I'd like you to think about various factors, values, beliefs etc. that might account for your success in completing your degree.
   a. What role did your identities (or intersection of identities) play in your progress/success through the doctoral program?
   b. Can you identify any intrinsic or extrinsic factors that might have been crucial in finishing your doctoral degree?
   c. How long did it take you to finish your degree?
   d. While in the process of your Doctoral degree, what motivated you to complete your program?
8. How has your life changed since obtaining your doctoral degree? How do you rate this experience against other important life experiences you have had? Would you do it again?
9. How did the doctoral experience change your orientation of your profession?
10. What advice would you give to Filipinas pursuing their doctoral degrees?

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