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“You’re Going to Be Successful Much Faster Than I Was”: Community Cultural Wealth
of Pilipino Parents and Their Children’s Academic Trajectories

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

Master of Arts

in

Education

by

JudelMay Castro Enriquez

September 2017

Thesis Committee:

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The Thesis of JudelMay Castro Enriquez is approved:

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University of California, Riverside

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my older sister, AnnJudel, who is one of the strongest women I know. Mahal kita, Ate Ann! Maraming salamat.

I also dedicate this thesis to my goddaughter, Kiara Jaina Li. Ninang misses you and loves you.

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

“You’re Going to be Successful Much Faster Than I Was”: Community Cultural Wealth of Pilipino Parents and Their Children’s Academic Trajectories

by

JudelMay Castro Enriquez

Master of Arts, Graduate Program in Education
University of California, Riverside, September 2017
Dr. Rita Kohli, Chairperson

Research is lacking on Pilipino-American parents' views and involvement in their children's educational and academic trajectories. In light of this, I wanted to understand how Pilipino-American parents utilized their extended familial and community networks in the guidance of their child’s academic trajectory. This is knowledge we can use to inform teachers, counselors and colleges as they reach out to and help this population achieve higher education. I researched the historical and sociocultural aspects of Pilipino parents using the framework of Community Cultural Wealth (CCW) (Yosso, 2005) with two questions in mind: What role do parents play in supporting Pilipino-American students’ academic success in high school, thereby preparing them for entry into higher education? How do Pilipino-American parents’ experiences and insights support their children’s academic success in high school and their future college trajectories? Ten Pilipino parents were interviewed for sixty to ninety minutes about using their experiences, insights, and connections to help their child make educational decisions. I

coded their interview responses and found an overarching narrative of the Pilipino community that foregrounded the parents' immigrant identity in the ways they helped their children succeed in the United States. One main finding was that the parents repeatedly talked about the sacrifices they made to support and help their children succeed in life. Another main finding was the parents' use of their networks and knowledge of education to gather information and work the system. I then connected these two main themes of sacrifice and working the system to four forms of capital (aspirational, familial, social and navigational) within the framework of Community Cultural Wealth. Finally, I found these Pilipino parents were consciously building, accumulating and utilizing these four forms of capital to support the success of their children in schools and ultimately in their future lives as adults.

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“You’re Going to Be Successful Much Faster Than I Was”: Community Cultural Wealth
of Pilipino Parents and Their Children’s Academic Trajectories

Introduction

Research is lacking on Pilipino-American¹ parents' views and involvement in their children's education, particularly Pilipino-American parents' involvement in their high school aged children's academic trajectories. Different ethnic groups are lumped under “Asian” but there are significant differences within this broad group, and Pilipino-American students are not receiving educational supports they should and are “misread” through the model minority stereotype (Buenavista, 2010; Buenavista, Jayakumar, & Misa-Escalante, 2009). Though most of what we know about the six forms of Community Cultural Wealth, defined as “an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression” (Yosso, 2005, p. 77), involve Latinx students, I thought Community Cultural Wealth was a useful theoretical framework for studying how Pilipino-American parents supported their children’s success in high school, college and life because I recognized the same factors that were prevalent to the Latinx struggles in my own personal experiences. Raised in Southern California in a large Pilipino family, while we were close to our ethnic community, we lived near, grew up with, and befriended diverse groups of people, especially the Latinx population. While our culture was often invisible in our schooling, my brothers and sister felt especially culturally

¹ Pilipino-American and Pilipino were used interchangeably in this study and refers to people of Pilipino descent residing in the United States.

connected to the predominantly Latinx student population at our schools. I heard their life and education experiences anecdotally over the years and grew to have feelings of respect that come with shared life struggles. I related to a lot of what they had experienced; their *cuentos* (stories in Spanish) were my *kwentos* (stories in Tagalog) and resonated with me. It was more than the Spanish language was like the Tagalog language. Since both communities were colonized by the Spaniards and were heavily influenced by a Christian background, there are many cultural and linguistic similarities. I have been mistaken as Latina multiple times over my life due to my appearance and last name, as my grandfather was a full-blooded Spaniard. It was reasonable for me to connect with other groups that had similar immigration experiences. My personal experiences and insights helped me to see how the experiences of Latinx students and Pilipino students might be similar.

This study had a specific focus on Pilipino parents who had children attending a high school in a populated metropolitan area in Southern California. Understanding the importance of Pilipino parents' involvement will be important to counselors, teachers and colleges alike who serve this ethnic population. In most instances, Pilipinos had been grouped into one Asian group, but there are cultural differences between the Asian populations. Pilipinos are one of the fastest growing minority groups with 3.2 million Pilipinos living in the United States, and access and retention to postsecondary success is lacking due to the model minority stereotype: "a belief that Asian Americans have achieved academic and socio-economic success in the United States through hard work and regardless of their minority status" (Buena Vista, 2010, p. 116). In reality, Pilipino

youth face many barriers to postsecondary education such as depression, other mental health issues, being marginalized by institutional policies and having a high “push out” rate of “18.7% of the 1.4 million Asian American dropouts ages 16-24, second only to Chinese students of 20.9%” (p. 117).

I sampled Pilipino-American parents from this population because there was not enough research done on this specific Asian population. I sought to understand how Pilipino-American parents utilized their extended familial and community networks in the guidance of their child's academic trajectory, and how we can use that to inform teachers, counselors and colleges in reaching out and helping this population achieve higher education. Reflective interviews were a substantive way to understand the role of community in helping children achieve higher education. In-depth interviews provided depth over breadth in understanding nuances of individual cases, but also patterns of Pilipino-American adults.

My research questions were:

1. What role do parents play in supporting Pilipino-American students' academic success in high school, thereby preparing them for entry into higher education?
2. How do Pilipino-American parents' experiences and insights support their children's academic success in high school and their future college trajectories?

I sought to understand how Pilipino parents supported their children's success in school and in life by drawing on the cultural wealth of the Pilipino community to support their children's academic success.

Ten Pilipino parents were interviewed for sixty to ninety minutes about using their experiences, insights, and connections to help their child make educational decisions. They then filled out a survey of their demographic information. I coded their interview responses and found an overarching narrative of the Pilipino community that foregrounded the parents' immigrant identity in the ways they helped their children succeed in the United States. Pilipino-American parents consistently compared the United States to the Philippines in a "here versus there" phenomenon. U.S. immigrant communities were willing to sacrifice a great deal to achieve themselves or improve the lives of their children.

My community of Pilipino parents embraced this immigrant identity as they imparted their cumulative knowledge and experience to their children in the hopes that their children would take advantage of all the opportunities available to them here that were not so readily available in the Philippines. This stance or orientation informed all their decisions and was crucial to understanding how they positioned themselves as being Pilipino within the United States. One main finding was that the parents repeatedly talked about the sacrifices they made to support and help their children succeed in life. Another main finding was the parents' use of their networks and knowledge of education to gather information and work the system. I then connected these two main themes of sacrifice and working the system to four forms of capital (aspirational, familial, social and navigational) within the framework of CCW. These two main themes were central to understanding the phenomenon that I'm going to talk about. Limitations of the study

included a small sample size, location of this specific Pilipino community and interview questions were not geared towards all six forms of capital in the CCW framework.

To understand how these parents positioned themselves as Pilipino in the United States, I begin by introducing you to this community, drawing on my interviews with parents to show how their “here versus there” frame of reference allowed them to accept their struggles in the United States, for example with racism, because they knew it was ultimately better here for them and certainly for their children. I then demonstrate how themes of sacrifice and working the system were interwoven in their narrative of what it meant to be Pilipino living in the United States. Finally, using the Community Cultural Wealth framework, I argue that these themes of sacrifice and working the system represented four different forms of capital – aspirational, familial, social and navigational – to help their children achieve in life. Additionally, I argue that these Pilipino-American parents were consciously building, accumulating and utilizing these four forms of capital to help their children succeed in the United States.

Theoretical Framework

Yosso (2005) explored Community Cultural Wealth (CCW) from the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT) to refute the deficit-focused traditional theories of cultural capital, and posed a strength-based reframing of the knowledge and skills that students and People of Color already have that are unacknowledged as cultural capital. She discussed the origins of CRT, summarized its tenets, related it to CCW and defined CRT with regards to education “as a theoretical and analytical framework that challenges the ways race and racism impact educational structures, practices, and discourses” (p. 74).

She mentioned the five tenets of CRT “that can and should inform theory, research, pedagogy, curriculum and policy” (p. 73):

1) “*The intercentricity of race and racism with other forms of subordination*” – the premise that race and racism are “central, endemic, permanent, and a fundamental part” (p. 73) of how society functions in the United States, and that “gender, class, immigration status, surname, phenotype, accent and sexuality” (p. 73) are from which racial subordination was based.

2) “*The challenge to dominant ideology*” – challenges claims that educational institutions’ claims of “neutral” and “objective” stances are actually “deficit-informed” and “silences, ignores and distorts epistemologies of People of Color” (p. 73). In addition, this idea asserts that these claims are ways to hide the “self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups in US society” (p. 73).

3) “*The commitment to social justice*” – CRT was committed to the “elimination of racism, sexism, and poverty” (p. 74) and aims to empower People of Color and other marginalized groups, and will continue to challenge and respond to oppression.

4) “*The centrality of experiential knowledge*” – CRT acknowledges the “lived experiences of People of Color” as being “legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination” (p. 74). CRT includes “storytelling, family histories, biographies, scenarios, parables, *cuentos*, *testimonios*, chronicles and narratives” (p. 74).

5) “*The utilization of interdisciplinary approaches*” – CRT analyzes race and racism using “historical and contemporary contexts” from “ethnic studies, women’s studies,

sociology, history, law, psychology, film, theater, and other fields” (p. 74). Basically, it doesn’t limit itself to any particular set of disciplines; instead it looks at any context potentially informative to the analysis of race and racism.

Yosso (2005) posits that CRT can therefore be the theoretical framework to challenge and offer a different view about how race and racism function in “social structures, practices and discourses” (p. 70). Instead of viewing People of Color being at a disadvantage, they bring into the classroom a set of capital Yosso coins as Community Cultural Wealth (CCW). She expands on the six general forms of CCW:

1) *Aspirational capital* – “the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers. This resiliency was evidenced in those who allow themselves and their children to dream of possibilities beyond their present circumstances, often without the objective means to attain those goals...these stories nurture a culture of possibility as they represent ‘the creation of a history that would break the links between parents’ current occupational status and their children’s future academic attainment’” (p. 77-78).

2) *Linguistic capital* – “intellectual and social skills attained through communication experiences in more than one language and/or style” (p. 78).

3) *Familial capital* – “those cultural knowledges nurtured among *familia* (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory and cultural intuition. This form of cultural wealth engages a commitment to community well-being...familial capital is nurtured by our ‘extended family’...and friends who we might consider part of our *familia*. From these kinship ties, we learn the importance of maintaining a healthy connection to our

community and its resources. Our kin also model lessons of caring, coping and providing (education) which informs our emotional, moral, educational and occupational consciousness” (p. 79).

4) *Social capital* – “networks of people and community resources. These peer and other social contacts can provide both instrumental and emotional support to navigate through society’s institutions. Scholars note that historically, People of Color have utilized their social capital to attain education, legal justice, employment and health care. In turn, these Communities of Color gave the information and resources they gained through these institutions back to their social networks” (p. 79-80).

5) *Navigational capital* – “the skills of maneuvering through social institutions.

Historically, this infers the ability to maneuver through institutions not created with Communities of Color in mind. In addition, resilience has been recognized as ‘a set of inner resources, social competencies and cultural strategies that permit individuals to not only survive, recover, or even thrive after stressful events, but also to draw from the experience to enhance subsequent functioning’. People of Color draw on various social and psychological ‘critical navigational skills’ to maneuver through structures of inequality permeated by racism. Navigational capital thus acknowledges individual agency within institutional constraints, but it also connects to social networks that facilitate community navigation through places and spaces including schools, the job market and the health care and judicial systems” (p. 80).

6) *Resistant capital* – “knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality,” as well as “maintaining and passing on the multiple dimensions of

community cultural wealth is also part of the knowledge base of resistant capital” (p. 80). Yosso (2005) demonstrated through CCW that people and Communities of Color were presented with multiple sets of knowledge, skills, behaviors and resources that should be valued and acknowledged in educational research and practice.

When reviewing the literature, most of what we know about utilizing the six forms of CCW capital were through Latinx student experiences. I chose to investigate the role of Pilipino-American parents in relation to their children’s educational trajectories such as attending college and researched the historical and sociocultural aspects of Pilipino parents using the framework of Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005). I chose CCW to draw on the forms of capital that represent the community wealth because those are useful concepts for making sense of the Pilipino community. While this framework has been applied to marginalized, radicalized and oppressed groups of students, it also has utility in addressing groups that while not marginalized and oppressed to the same extent are nonetheless not receiving the educational supports they should due to being “misread” through the model minority stereotype. My study will demonstrate the utility of the framework in understanding parental and community supports for other kinds of students, in this case the Pilipino community.

Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review analyzes what has been researched about immigrant groups and schooling, in particular how parents and communities support students in succeeding academically in high school so that they are able to continue on to higher education. I additionally reviewed literature on CCW, which primarily focused on

how Latinx students employed their agency and networks to support their academic success in school. As such, in this review, I am going to focus on work that has employed the CCW framework, first reviewing work on Latinx students and then work on Pilipino-American students.

Research findings have shown that Latinx American students used various forms of CCW in education. Perez II (2017) examined Latinx college students' academic determination, or their motivation and willingness to put forth the effort to succeed and fulfill their goals in higher education. Twenty-one male undergraduates from two universities participated in a face-to-face interview regarding their college education and goals. Perez II found that these students used all six aspects of CCW, including their social capital and familial capital towards educational success. For example, a student named Miguel relied much on his family to maintain his determination to succeed in college and not give in to his fear of failure. Another student named Victor stated that his fraternity brotherhood helped him succeed academically and maintain his grades. Both Miguel and Victor relied on their social and familial capital to sustain their academic determination.

Kouyoumdjian, Guzman, Garcia and Talavera-Bustillos (2017) was another study that found Latinx students using various forms of CCW. They examined what unacknowledged resources and challenges these students faced through their college experience. The sample consisted of 114 first- and second-generation Latinx undergraduates who completed a survey regarding challenges and supports that affected their ability to complete their college education. The results showed that these students

utilized aspirational, familial, navigational and social capital to support their educational success. Specifically, the top six categories of sources were family, institutional support, financial stability, self-determination, and romantic partnership/sustainable or loyal friendships.

Luna and Martinez' (2013) study also demonstrated how Latinx college students used various aspects of CCW to overcome educational challenges in their research. The authors conducted focus groups interviewing fifteen Latinx college students, who were already a part of a larger study, and asked the students to provide possible factors that contributed to their academic success. The researchers found that participants primarily used aspirational, familial, social and navigational capital to excel academically. Specifically, the students' parents were particularly influential in shaping their academic aspirations and process of pursuing higher education. For example, students like Linda, Alfredo and Alder were repeatedly pushed by their parents to go to college, stressing the importance of higher education to building a "better life" than the ones their parents experienced.

The literature on Pilipino students and connecting their experiences and success with Community Cultural Wealth show similarities with the Latinx population. Surla and Poon's (2015) study used the CCW framework to identify the factors that influenced Pilipino-American and Southeast Asian American students' decision-making process for college education. Seven Pilipino and Southeast Asian American high school senior students from the Chicago region participated in photo elicitation and follow-up interviews that allowed them to explain their college selection process. The researchers

found three major decision-making factors. First, the students' family and friends heavily influenced their motivation and purpose for attending college. Second, students' family and peers helped them identify "good" colleges and universities to consider. Third, the college or university's proximity to immediate or extended family also significantly influenced their college-going decisions. Surla and Poon's findings supported the theory that families play a central role in the decision-making process regarding higher education.

Another example of how CCW was used by Pilipino students was in Tokunaga's (2016) study that showed how a group of eight Asian American female students that included three Pilipino girls demonstrated "creativity and improvisational skills to invent their own community" (p. 1096). These students exhibited the use of familial capital by forming their "Basement Group" as a reaction to their struggles of displacement, isolation and alienation in their U.S. suburbia community. The group used this space to allow for flexibility in their cultural identity and a rejection of mainstream values and beliefs, which indicated the use of navigational capital to overcome their struggles. Tokunaga concluded that these "youth spaces" such as the one formed by the Basement Group amplified CCW among immigrant youth and should be viewed as such instead of being dismissed and undervalued in research.

Two studies that used the CRT framework to explain Pilipino-American educational experiences were Buenavista, Jayakumar, and Misa-Escalante (2009) and Buenavista (2010). Buenavista, Jayakumar, and Misa-Escalante's (2009) asserted that Asian Americans including Pilipino-Americans were categorized as "model minority," a

myth that allowed this group to be ignored, misrepresented or distanced from the available resources, support, and attention that can assist with obtaining and overcoming barriers towards higher education. Asian American and Pilipino students were placed in liminal status where they were viewed as non-minorities and were assumed as not needing institutional support, and yet they experienced the same challenges and barriers that People of Color experience. They also were often left out of resources that can assist with academic support. They concluded that Asian Americans have been marginalized and misrepresented in educational research and policy that in turn continue the process of misrepresentation and marginalization.

Buenavista (2010) summarized the literature of CRT and used the theory's five tenets to explore the barriers facing Pilipino-Americans in pursuing post-secondary education. Students who were undocumented faced challenges of discrimination, lack of institutional support and feelings of invisibility that got in the way of them trying to obtain postsecondary opportunities. Language barriers resulting from immigration also posed a major threat. Another barrier was the tendency for U.S. Pilipinos to be underemployed, where their jobs did not reflect their higher attained degree. Additional barriers included family consolidation to minimize financial difficulties potentially resulting in increased stressed from overcrowding in a home, choosing less selective institutions due to perceived college costs, and desire to stay close to home to reduce expenses and prevent placing financial burdens on their families.

Comparing the literature between Latinx student and Pilipino student experiences showed there were commonalities and differences between the two groups of students. A

commonality between Latinx students and Pilipino students was exemplified by Ferrera (2016) who stated that parents have the greatest responsibility of racial socialization and enculturation of children. She studied thirty second-generation Pilipino Americans (SGFAs) from the Chicago area using a mixed-methods approach to figure out why SGFAs experienced challenges in forming their ethnic identity. She concluded that SGFAs' ethnic and racial identities were heavily influenced by their parents or family, similar to Latinx students (Kouyoumdjian, Guzman, Garcia & Talavera-Bustillos, 2017; Luna & Martinez, 2013; Perez II, 2017; Surla & Poon, 2015; Yosso, 2005). Family was an essential aspect as to why these students continued to be resilient in their educational goals. Another similarity was the use of networks through peers for both Latinx and Pilipino students (Perez II, 2017; Tokunaga, 2016). A primary difference between the two groups of students was that Pilipino students experienced *constrained enculturation* which was the concept of idealizing and encouraging assimilation into the American culture while devaluing the primary language through discouragement of that language (Ferrera, 2016). This is opposite of Latinx families maintaining linguistic capital through bilingual communication skills (Yosso, 2005).

The main points from my literature review that informed my study was how parents played a huge role in the success of these Latinx and Pilipino youth through familial and aspirational capital. Literature showed that communities came together to support their own, and there were many factors that lend Pilipino students to pursue higher education and be successful at it. Community Cultural Wealth and the different forms of capital can be easily transferred to immigrant populations such as the Pilipino

community with the concept of resiliency and using the capital around them to navigate life and education. This is relevant to my research since parents play such a monumental role in their children's lives, and I chose to focus on Pilipino parents and their roles of providing capital to their children. A gap in literature that needs to be filled is to hear from Pilipino parents how and what they are doing to help their children attend higher education.

I am using the CCW framework to understand the success of Pilipino immigrant students in schooling. We do not know as much about Pilipino-Americans as we should in regards to CCW about how parents use the capital and opportunities around them to get ahead in life and to work out more opportunities for their children, and the literature reflected this as they mainly focused on the students themselves. My contribution was to look at the Pilipino-American parents and communities using the CCW framework and figure out how they navigated life and the educational system to help their children attend higher education. The research on Latinx students that used the CCW framework resonated with me in the similar themes and experiences both in my personal experiences and now as a researcher. My personal experiences and insights helped me to see how the experiences of Latinx students and Pilipino students might be similar. The theoretical framework of CCW could help me understand how parents and communities support Pilipino students much in the same way the literature showed how parents and communities supported Latinx students.

Methods

Recruitment

I researched and contacted a dozen schools in a populated metropolitan area in Southern California. I received a call back from the assistant principal of Amaryllis High School², Mr. Jon Lee, in the Marigold Valley Unified School District and received verbal and written consent via e-mail and access letter to conduct and recruit willing participants at the school he served. To recruit participants, I sent an e-mail and a recruitment flyer to Mr. Lee that had information on who I was, what my research study was, who I was looking to recruit, and ways interested parties could contact me. Mr. Lee then sent a mass e-mail using the high school's server to all parents and families of the school. He sent the recruitment flyer, his endorsement of the study, and ways to contact me should parents be interested in participating. Parents interested were encouraged to contact the researcher directly to have questions answered. Once parents confirmed their willingness to be a participant in the study, I sent an e-mail invitation or texted back the participant individually to schedule an in-person interview at the day, time and location of the participant's choosing.

Amaryllis High School

Amaryllis High School is a public high school that is part of the Marigold Valley Unified School District located in a large metropolitan city in Southern California. It is ranked in the top 50 schools in California and ranked in the top 300 schools nationwide. It serves about 3,000 students and grades ninth through twelfth. It has a 99% graduate

² Pseudonyms were used for all school and district names in this study.

rate and 49% of the students are female. Amaryllis High School is eligible for Title I Funding and have a student teacher ratio of 27:1. Advanced Placement (AP) course work and exams have a participation rate of 71%. Enrollment is comprised of 66% Asian, 18% Hispanic, 11% White, 3% Black, 1% Hawaiian Native/Pacific Islander and 1% of two or more races.

Data Collection

I received fifteen willing parents to participate in my study, and I interviewed the first ten participants who scheduled a set day and time. Most of the interviews were conducted in the local library in a private room that was checked out for two hours. The rest of the interviews were conducted outside of a local Starbucks in an isolated table. Participants were informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time with no negative consequences to them at two different times. The first time was via an introductory e-mail to the participant along with the consent form that I asked the participant to review. The second time was during the in-person procedures when I thoroughly explained the consent form to the participant. Once consent was given from the participant, I conducted the interview and asked them to talk about themselves, where they grew up, what was their education like, who and how their children were, their goals for their children, past and current involvement in their child's high school education, why they chose the high school their children were attending and what they see themselves doing to help their child with college decisions. They were also asked to reflect upon their cultural knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts in helping their child attain higher education.

There was a total of ten Pilipino parents that were interviewed for sixty to ninety minutes about how they used their experiences, insights and connections to help their child make educational decisions. Some of the questions I asked were: ‘What are your goals for your children? Where did you grow up? What was your education like?’ Permission for audio recording was obtained in the consent form, and I used a laptop with the laptop’s video recording application as equipment to record the audio of the interview. Participant names were collected during the interview, but pseudonyms were given to each participant to protect their privacy. I removed identifying information of each participant for the purpose of this study. Participants were compensated for their time with a \$10 Albertsons supermarket gift card which was given to them after the interview was completed. After the interview was concluded, participants filled out a general demographic survey.

Data Analysis

I transcribed the interviews, and transcripts were coded and re-coded for emergent themes and themes related to the research goals. Two main themes I found were sacrifice and working the system. I then connected these themes to four forms of capital (aspirational, familial, social and navigational) within the framework of Community Cultural Wealth.

Participants

The ten participants in the study were self-identifying Pilipino parents who were English-speaking and had at least one child attending Amaryllis High School in the Marigold Valley Unified School District at the time of this study. Out of the ten

participants, nine were female. Ages ranged from thirty-three to fifty-two. Seven of the ten participants were four-year college graduates, one obtained a high school diploma, one had a professional degree (M.Ed.), and one had some college. Eight participants were married, one was divorced, and one was separated. Nine parents spoke English only at home and one parent spoke both English and Tagalog. The range of their household income was between \$12,500 to \$350,000. One Pilipino parent had one child, five Pilipino parents had two children, and four Pilipino parents had three or more children. Out of the total twenty-seven children from all the parents in the study, two were young adults not attending school, four were in elementary school, one was in junior high, eleven were in high school, and nine were attending college.

Ada: graduated with a bachelor's degree in Business Administration and was born and raised here in the U.S. She received multiple scholarships growing up and referred to herself as Ilocano and a darker Pilipino. She spoke quickly, ran marathons in her pastime and loved watching her son play basketball.

Allison: was born in the Philippine capital of Manila, dreamt about living in the U.S. since she was a teenager and immigrated to the U.S. as a young adult after earning her bachelor's degree in Management. She spoke both Tagalog and English in the Philippines, however, she had difficulty understanding colloquial English when she first arrived here. She was married, worked for a financial company, and had one son who was graduating from high school soon; he planned to attend a private institute.

Angela: was married with five children and immigrated to the United States when she was four years old. She considered her and her family to be very friendly and were

involved in their church community. Even though they lived in a fairly affluent neighborhood, she stressed that she and her husband taught their children that they were not going to keep up with the Joneses. She expressed the open communication she had with her children and her need to educate them about sex, drugs and drinking.

Anne: her parents were hard working immigrants who had high expectations for her and her two siblings. She graduated with an Associate's degree in Business at a local community college and then went on to graduate with an Accounting degree from a four-year university. She was divorced and heavily involved in their Christian church and community. She considered her family a tennis family since that was the main sport her children played.

Gia: was half White and half Pilipino, had family that owned multiple restaurants, and she did not mind driving extra miles in search of good food. She would have preferred to live in a more diverse neighborhood since her current city was comprised of mostly Asians. She gained a lot of experience from a young age working in sales, and she and her husband were self-employed and owned a marketing business.

Marlie: was born in the Philippines and immigrated here when she was fourteen years old. Her husband was Hispanic, and she emphasized how important it was for them to support, adjust and understand the personalities of their children. She worked as a nurse and kept open communication with her children as well and did not consider any topic to be taboo including sex, divorce, abortion and religion.

Mary: came to the United States when she was fifteen years old and was a little disappointed with how easy the school system was here compared to the Philippines, as

she liked to study. She obtained a degree in Computer Science and considered herself a Pilipino at heart. She stayed connected to her friends both here in the U.S. and in the Philippines through Facebook. Her family was part of the Pilipino ministry at their local Catholic church, and she wished her daughter to travel abroad to learn about different cultures and peoples.

Nicole: was born and raised here in the United States, attended a private Catholic school from Kindergarten to twelfth grade, had a passion for scenery and was raised to be a strong “I can do anything” woman. She moved around a lot growing up, so she loved having a diverse group of friends. She was very talkative and not shy in expressing her opinions about everything from the current administration to her ideal school community that would include more inclusion of families that were not necessarily focused on nationalities. She worked as a nurse for over two decades and was currently retired.

Sonny: came from a military background and moved around a lot growing up wherever his dad was stationed. He was a high school Social Studies teacher and his wife was from Puerto Rico and worked as a nurse. Sonny mentioned that his teaching job helped him be a better parent since it connected him to his children and kept him up to date with the topics kids were talking about.

Tita: was born in the Philippines and came to the U.S. when she was fifteen years old. She graduated college with a Mathematics degree and said Mathematics came very easy for her. Her immediate family lived in neighboring cities from her family, and they would often meet a couple times a month to attend church, for celebrations and for school events.

Findings

Sacrifice: Aspirational and Familial Capitals

Various parents in the study spoke about the sacrifices they made to support and help their children succeed in life. The willingness to undergo hardships was an integral concept to the identity of an immigrant parent, and it was all for the good of their children. These Pilipino parents were willing to sacrifice time, energy, money, comfort, their values and beliefs, and new experiences to help themselves and their children. This theme of sacrifice and the parents' ability to overcome hardships and still achieve great things despite experiencing hardships represented the presence and use of different forms of capital that served as the cultural wealth of the Pilipino community by these parents. Specifically, parents used aspirational and familial capital from the Pilipino community to consciously and strategically support the aspirations and success of their children.

Aspirational capital. Aspirational capital is defined by Yosso (2005) as “the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers. This resiliency was evidenced in those who allow themselves and their children to dream of possibilities beyond their present circumstances, often without the objective means to attain those goals...these stories nurture a culture of possibility as they represent ‘the creation of a history that would break the links between parents’ current occupational status and their children’s future academic attainment’” (p. 77–78). For these Pilipino parents, their hopes and dreams for their children’s happiness and success shined in the *kwentos* they imparted. Sacrificing time, money, and energy was worth it if their children could learn from their struggles and used it to build a better future for

themselves. They justified their actions and their sacrifice because it was worth it for them to know that their children would have better lives.

For Allison, she came to the United States after she graduated college in the Philippines with no papers. Upon arriving here on a tourist visa, she worked for a painting company, took any job that was offered to her, and was paid under the table at minimum wage for years even though she was a college graduate. Allison also good-naturedly shared the story of when she first started working for the painting company answering phone calls, she struggled with the job because she wasn't as fluent in English.

They needed someone who could take directions quickly in English, but when I was picking up the phone, I was talking to customers...and they spoke English so fast. I had to write down their name quickly and their address quickly, and I didn't do such a, I was poor at my job. I would forget the South or North of the addresses. [laughs] So the painters when they go to the address, they would get lost because my address was wrong.

Despite the language barrier, Allison worked hard and found other things to do around the office. The owner recognized this and offered her more hours and duties. She told her son, "You don't have to go through that. You're going to be successful much faster than I was. If I was able to be someone okay with my job, what more are you." She shared her excitement with me at the prospect of her son's unlimited opportunities that awaited him in college and beyond. As Allison sacrificed comfort and her personal values and was willing to be underemployed, she employed aspirational capital. She held on to the hope that it wasn't always

going to be that way, and she was still better off here than if she had stayed in the Philippines. This was also important in that this was a story about herself—overcoming hardships and barriers to become successful—that she shared with her son, so the creation of a history or story that demonstrated the possibilities for her son’s success here in the United States.

For many of these Pilipino parents, immigrating from the Philippines to the United States was a hardship and forced them to grow up quickly. Marlie made it known early on to me in the interview that she was willing to go through a lot for her children, and she “went through these hardships so [her] children doesn’t have to.” Some of these hardships included migrating from the Philippines to America, growing up with very strict parents, and balancing traditional Pilipino values with American values. Tita said that it was in the 1980’s when she migrated from the Philippines at the age of fifteen, her single mom was displaced from her job soon after, so they were poor, and “no one helped me out. I struggled two years in high school, nobody helped me and told me to go to college. Nobody told me about financial aid.” She eventually went on to a four-year university and graduated with a Mathematics degree. She admitted that she wanted her oldest son to “hopefully be better than what I’ve accomplished...I’m hoping he gets a master’s (degree).” Because of the harder course load in the Philippines that she grew up with, Mary pushed her high school aged daughter to do more and get better grades in classes. She believed by doing so, her daughter could have the grades to get into a master’s program. These are all evidence of aspirational capital because these parents understood that to survive in their new environment and take advantage of new

opportunities, they would need to grow up quickly and learn fast. They used these experiences and momentum and strived to provide more opportunities in life and in education for their children than they had growing up. They understood the hardship of being an outcast and not receiving educational support and were resilient in the face of adversity; these parents could maintain the possibility of their children being more successful than they were by easing their children's path to education.

Some parents were resilient despite experiencing racism and sexism. Allison worked for a marketing company, and she complained that "the senior management that are male kind of would discriminate, especially the white guys. There is discrimination for being a woman as well and being Pilipino. When I speak English, I have an accent, and they'd always ask me where I'm from. So, I kind of don't like that kind of question; I get asked a lot." When she spoke about her son's chances of being discriminated against, Allison answered with "because he was born here, I hope not, and I don't think so. He speaks English very well, and his vocabulary's pretty wide and he gets along with different cultures." Discriminated for her ethnicity, Allison stayed resilient and dreamt of a future where her son could use his superior English speaking skills and ability to get along with others to land himself a job where he's respected. In Ada's case, she would tell stories to her son about her experiences growing up, being called black, being told to go back to Africa, and how her classmates warned others not to touch the books she read because "the black girl touched that book." Due to this, Ada remembered becoming "a shy person. I would just sit on the wall for recess and lunch. I wouldn't play or go on the slide because I was like anything I touch, nobody would touch it." Because her son is

half-African, she shared these stories with him, so he can be aware of them and to not let it push him down. These stories were examples of aspirational capital because these Pilipino parents showed resiliency in the face of obstacles and hoped their children would be able to do the same.

For a couple Pilipino parents, they forewarned their children about sacrificing their time, comfort and energy now to have an easier life later as a sort of preemptive sacrifice. Allison advised her son to “graduate college first, that’s the first step. And then don’t get married right away. If you marry, your priorities change, and then if you marry, your priority will be both of you. Once you have kids, your priority will be your kids, and you will not have time for yourself or maybe it will be delayed a little bit.” Education is first and foremost in Allison’s eyes and advised her son to look beyond the present moment towards the future to be financially secure with a degree, as Allison explained she and her husband had a lot of lean years in the early stages of their marriage.

Gia understood this sentiment very well, as she had her first child at the age of seventeen when she was a senior in high school and was unable to graduate. She explained that at twenty-four years old, her friends were going out and having fun while she was working sixty hours a week to support her and her son. She explained she tells this story to her son, so he would know and understand the sacrifices she made for him to survive to get to this point. She also tells this story to him to forearm him with the reality and hard work that comes with having a child unexpectedly. Gia encouraged her son to focus on his education first, so he would not struggle with trying to support a family like she did before she was mentally and fiscally prepared.

These Pilipino parents understood that their children could have a better chance of success in life by living here in the United States than in the Philippines. They made it very clear they expected their children to be more successful in education, career and life than they ever will be. Despite the barriers and hardships they have undergone and know their children will face, they maintain a positive outlook for their children's futures. These stories and sacrifices both "nurtured a culture of possibility" and "resiliency" of aspirational capital that was present and accessible in the Pilipino community.

Familial capital. Yosso (2005) defined familial capital as "those cultural knowledges nurtured among *familia* (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory and cultural intuition. This form of cultural wealth engages a commitment to community well-being...familial capital is nurtured by our 'extended family'...and friends who we might consider part of our *familia*. From these kinship ties, we learn the importance of maintaining a healthy connection to our community and its resources. Our kin also model lessons of caring, coping and providing (education) which informs our emotional, moral, educational and occupational consciousness" (p. 79). In this Pilipino community, sacrifice was shared among family members, and it was commonplace for these parents to take strength and advice from their family and community.

Most of the community's *kwentos* (stories) were about day-to-day struggles and how family alleviated practical and emotional stress with their support and advice. Allison recalled surviving day-to-day with whatever money she could make with her part-time desk job. There came a point in time when the owner of the painting company she worked for told her she didn't have the right papers, and it was difficult for them to

put it on their records since they can only pay so much in cash. They cut down her hours and that was it; she was out of a job. Luckily, the cousin that she was living with at that time referred her to another company and that was how she found a job in the management industry, which was her current profession. Allison reminisced how nice it was that her cousin opened her home to her to live in and helped her find a job. Living with and having the presence and support of her cousin helped Allison to cope with the stresses of being new to the country, an example of familial capital.

Later, Allison and her husband had to “bite the bullet” and decided together for Allison to work full-time, so her husband could be a full-time student and receive a computer certificate. She was told by one of their godfathers that “it’s going to take forever for him to finish the two-year course, so let your husband go back to school full-time. That way, he graduates much sooner and he’ll be able to get a job with a higher pay sooner as well.” Allison said it was difficult but worked out fine because her husband doubled his salary in his first computer job. This cultural intuition that was passed down from one of their family members placed them in a better position to financially support their family later. Because she received help and advice when she struggled, Allison and her husband felt it necessary to help family in kind. They allowed her nephew, her husband’s older sister’s son, to live with them while working out his own personal issues; they do this without asking for rent money. He had been living with them for at least ten years and helped them out from time to time by picking up their son from school whenever she or her husband can’t. This kind of kinship tie and caring for extended

family's well-being was a form of familial capital expressed by this Pilipino community that benefitted all those involved.

Family and staying nearby to help family members was a huge part of the Pilipino community, and many Pilipino parents opted to stay close to their family as much as possible for financial and emotional support. For most of these parents, staying close to home meant less financial worries for their families. When Anne got divorced, she moved into her parents' house to share the financial and maintenance responsibilities of owning a home and taking care of two growing boys. "I became a single mom, and it was just the three of us. I moved back in with my folks and they helped me with a down payment to return to this community." Anne mentioned sacrificing her pride in asking her parents for help after her divorce. However, in retrospect, she said coming back to be in her community again and to live with her parents afforded Anne and her two sons a way to take advantage of their family's love and the community's support. She and her two boys became involved in their church and volunteered many hours in the community. It also not only allowed her sons to spend more time with their grandparents but provided an opportunity for her sons to attend a competitive school "with good programs" in an award-winning district.

In Gia's case, her older sister passed away shortly after giving birth, and Gia looked at herself as one of her nephew's surrogate moms, as she was one of his primary caretakers as he grew up. To this day as he attends high school, she continues to check up on him on a regular basis by talking to him on the phone, calling him over when she cooked his favorite Pilipino dish (a popular meat and potatoes dish called adobo) and

checking up on him for practical things. She'd ask questions and jokingly threaten her nephew with "Is your room clean? I'm going to go to your house and see if your room is clean." Even though it takes time, energy, and the use of her resources and finances, Gia sees it as her obligation to her sister to help raise her nephew in her place. She shared stories of her sister to him, so he can know who his mom was; this was a prime example of familial capital and how Gia shared the "cultural knowledges nurtured among kin that carry a sense of community history and memory" (Yosso, 2005, p. 79) to her nephew.

Mary said, "I was practical; I chose my university based on its location closest to home. I didn't want to be a financial burden to my parents, so I never experienced the dorm life, that kind of thing. I didn't experience that social part of moving to another city or even traveling abroad and studying a quarter or semester elsewhere." Mary felt the need to sacrifice her own aspirations, hopes and dreams in order to lessen the financial burdens to her family. She used this example of sacrifice to build both aspirational and familial capital with her daughter by encouraging her to study abroad to experience different cultures; she knew this would help her daughter be more competitive in applying to colleges and with her interactions with different groups of people in the work force. This encouraged a "culture of possibility" that Mary never got to experience which she hoped her daughter would. Traveling and studying abroad could also be interpreted as a way for her daughter to develop her "emotional, moral, education and occupational consciousness" (Yosso, 2005, p. 79).

When deciding on where to live, Nicole would have preferred to live in a more diverse city such as Madrona where she grew up. But, she had also mentioned that her

“parents are aging and between my sister and brother, I have more flexibility and time than my siblings. Luckily, my husband agreed with me in living locally since my parents are getting older and they drive but short distances. At least we’re lucky enough that we can have each other nearby.” This exemplifies Nicole sacrificing comfort or preference in order to make herself more available for her aging parents. It was the same for Angela in wanting her parents nearby for support. Her mom, a retired nurse, lived with her and her family to help cook and take care of her five children when she or her husband was out of the house. These parents understood that commitment to their family members was a way to give back to those who nurtured them growing up.

These ways of staying connected to family and alleviating the collective family burdens in a variety of ways was something shared between these Pilipino parents, their family members and community. They know and understand that they’re stronger together and use these familial connections to keep each other grounded and focused. Struggles are shared between family and community members which made the relationships tighter and helped alleviate stress felt where not just one person carried the burden. These parents were utilizing familial capital in supporting the present and future success of their children.

Working the System: Social and Navigational Capitals

The Pilipino community made it clear that they were willing to sacrifice time, energy, money, and comfort for the sake of helping their children succeed in life. Another theme that these Pilipino parents relayed was how they were working the system to help their children as immigrant parents. The second finding represents the parents’ use of

their networks and knowledge of education to gather information and work the system for the benefit of their children, and this entailed using two forms of capital from the CCW framework, social and navigational capital. These Pilipino parents knew and understood the value that education provided their children, so they consciously and strategically used social and navigational capital from the Pilipino community to increase their children's aspirations and chances of educational and life success.

Social capital. “Social capital can be understood as networks of people and community resources. These peer and other social contacts can provide both instrumental and emotional support to navigate through society's institutions. Scholars note that historically, People of Color have utilized their social capital to attain education, legal justice, employment and health care. In turn, these Communities of Color gave the information and resources they gained through these institutions back to their social networks” (Yosso, 2005, p. 79–80). The Pilipino parents in this high school community made use of their networks of people and community resources to work the system, get ahead and take advantage of educational benefits that would otherwise be unattainable for their children.

Many of the parents stated that Amaryllis High School was in a very competitive school district and was ranked in the top nationally. Some of the parents had to be creative in finding out ways for their children to attend such a highly ranked high school since they lived outside of the school district boundaries. Tita explained that the neighborhood where she lived was divided between two school districts, Tulip Unified School District and Marigold Valley Unified School District. Marigold Valley Unified

School District was well known by parents within the city and neighboring cities as more academic and competitive. Her house fell in the Tulip Unified School District, so she fought to get her children to attend Amaryllis High School which was in the Marigold Valley Unified School District. “I know so many parents, my friends, who would drive all the way from (a neighboring city) to go to Amaryllis High School. They know it’s the better school. So, I need to make sure my children go there too.” This parent gained access to this highly ranked high school by drawing on her social networks through word of mouth and recommendations within her community contacts.

All parents had an implicit understanding that you either had to live within Amaryllis High School’s district boundaries or use a home address within that district for their family to attend that high school. Angela used her sister’s home address to send all her children to Amaryllis HS, and Marlie heard from a friend of hers to apply for an inter-district transfer if she had no local address to use. Marlie didn’t want to risk being denied, so she used her mother’s local address; this allowed her children to attend this highly ranked high school. She said, “Of course as a mother, as a parent, you want to send your children to the best school as possible and I will do everything I can to do that” even if it meant bending the rules. She also chose this high school because of its competitive nature and believed her children will be ready for the challenges in the real world and will be more prepared to take advantage of the opportunities, academically and financially, this country had to offer.

For Allison, since she lived in Amaryllis High School’s school district, she was approached by a cousin of hers for permission to use their home address to send their two

kids to that high school. At first, Allison was surprised her cousin would ask her this since she didn't know the reputation of the school yet, as her son was still in elementary school when this happened. "You start to gather more information and just looking at the population of the kids and also the parents, you see Koreans, you see Chinese, and they're very competitive. My previous employer told me it's a very good high school and the quality of the education is comparable to a private high school." She did her research and used the list of subjects offered, the variety of it and the number of AP courses offered to corroborate what her employer had told her. This was a prime example of social capital in Allison taking advice from someone in her network and then also paying it forward by allowing her cousin to use her home address as their own which allowed her cousin's children to attend Amaryllis HS.

Tita chose to connect more with her son and his extracurricular activities by being heavily involved and volunteering for her son's field and track team. She has lead the parent group, manned the snack bar, rounded up volunteers for the track meets, was a timer for the frequent track events, donated snacks and coordinated the occasional Bingo night held at the school as a fundraising event with other parent volunteers. "Mostly I do it because I enjoy it, it's helping out" and she could meet other parents and see her son run and compete. This illustrated social capital because by helping in her son's field and track team, it expanded and strengthened her network. This then yielded her access to resources and knowledge that she's used to support her son's success such as when another parent in the track and field team that she befriended recommended an internship program that their sons could both sign up for.

Another example of the use of social capital in this Pilipino community was how Nicole encouraged her children to speak openly to her brother, their uncle, about higher education. “Both my brother and sister are college graduates. My brother is continuing his education; he has his Master’s degree and picking up his PhD right now, and both of them have talked to him. He’s talked to both of them and said ‘If you’re going to go further, there’s options.’ He’s actually helped me with all these financial aid options.” This was one way of utilizing social capital by providing emotional support and practical knowledge from Nicole’s brother. This was important to this family, especially to the children, in understanding they were not alone in pursuing higher education and could rely on someone in their social network who had undergone the process.

These Pilipino parents made great use of their networks in friends, employers, family members and the community as a whole to provide their children and those they knew with high quality education. This Pilipino community used institutional and emotional support along with returning resources and knowledge gained back to their networks. Working the system represented the presence and use of social capital that represent the cultural wealth of the Pilipino community by these parents.

Navigational capital. Navigational capital “refers to the skills of maneuvering through social institutions. Historically, this infers the ability to maneuver through institutions not created with Communities of Color in mind. In addition, resilience has been recognized as ‘a set of inner resources, social competencies and cultural strategies that permit individuals to not only survive, recover, or even thrive after stressful events, but also to draw from the experience to enhance subsequent functioning’. People of Color

draw on various social and psychological ‘critical navigational skills’ to maneuver through structures of inequality permeated by racism. Navigational capital thus acknowledges individual agency within institutional constraints, but it also connects to social networks that facilitate community navigation through places and spaces including schools, the job market and the health care and judicial systems” (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). Navigating the school system by forming essential relationships with the teachers and school goes a long way for these Pilipino parents in increasing the chances of their children’s educational success.

For Gia, she had high expectations for her son’s high school and was not shy about visiting the campus and e-mailing his counselors. Laughingly, she said, “I’m always at his school. His school knows me there. I just feel like the more you participate in their lives, the closer I’ll be to my son.” Whenever her son’s grades start to slip, she’ll be on the phone calling the counselors and asking what’s going on. She has even gone so far as to reprimand her son’s football coach when her son was failing a class. She explained that she has literally pulled him out of football games. “I can’t check up on him all by myself all the time. I need help.” She confronted the coach and asked if the coach knew about her son not passing a class, and the coach said, “Yeah, but doesn’t he have a 2.5 GPA?” Gia said, “That doesn’t matter. That’s a problem for me if he still plays but is failing a class. He’s not playing today.” This was a prime example of how this Pilipino parent chose to assert her agency and showcased her social competency as a parent and member of this school community by placing education at the top. It was also an example of maneuvering through a structure of inequality; the coach did not see the value of

academic success for her son and focused only on his success in sports, which applied to students of color could represent racism.

As a high school Social Studies teacher, Sonny knew that the school system wasn't perfect and could be harsh to students of color. He worried that barriers his children would face are "stereotypes. My wife is Puerto Rican, she's not white and you can tell my kids are mixed. They know how to speak Spanish conversationally. As they get older, it might be a conversation that might prevent them from, let's say, getting into that next level because come on, we're a materialistic society, and it's all about looks, right?" He entreated his children to be opportunistic in life and in school by being open to new experiences and to take chances. He taught them to communicate well in their classes, as that would benefit them in making a positive impression to their teachers and peers. Having experienced racism himself, Sonny was teaching his children how to be resilient in a social institution that might not necessarily value People of Color, a form of navigational capital. Sonny navigated in this specific structure of inequality permeated by racism and taught his children ways to be resilient in face of adversity.

Most of the Pilipino parents willingly made themselves a resource to support their children growing up. To be at home with the kids, be present to attend field trips, volunteer in the classroom, Angela believed that it made her children more confident in themselves. She also advocated for her daughter to re-take a test that her daughter did not do well in to which the teacher agreed. She believed the teachers were more willing to work with her and her child when she was present and volunteering in the classroom, so she chose to be a housewife to be more available for her children. Another determined

Pilipino parent, Mary advocated for her daughter frequently by “asking the teacher for a second chance or special compensation and for extra credit” whenever her daughter’s grades started to slip from an “A” letter grade. Anne was in constant communication with her older son’s school counselor especially when she had questions about colleges, the SAT and applications since she knew it took a lot to prepare for them. Ada showed me text messages from her son’s Science teacher of their conversations about expectations and test results. These Pilipino parents understood that they needed skills to help their children maneuver and succeed in high school by navigating institutional constraints, obstacles and setbacks by communicating and working with teachers and counselors. They taught their children resiliency through their actions and direct involvement in their education.

Having attended a private, Catholic school from Kindergarten to twelfth grade, Nicole was skeptical of public high schools and went so far as to visit Marigold Valley School District to talk about their ratings. “My husband and I are all about research. The district gave me a side-by-side comparison of their rankings compared to other schools, and I was surprised. I felt lucky they were so nice to me, that they did that. I thought they were going to bullshit me and tell me to look it up myself.” This was the start of her forming an essential relationship with the school, a relationship she used to help her children navigate the school system. Another example of when Nicole showed agency was when she spoke to her second daughter’s English teacher about adding more women authors of color in their required book list. She knew this was important for her daughter to grow up reading about Communities of Color and their contributions to literature and

society, and so navigating and maneuvering in a racist system with the lack of representation of diverse groups in the curriculum.

These Pilipino parents made use of their network in navigating the educational system to place their children in a better position to succeed in school and in life. Even through feelings of stress and worry, these parents stayed resilient and helped their children “sustain high levels of achievement, despite the presence of stressful events and conditions that place them at risk of doing poorly at school and, ultimately, dropping out of school” (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). The parents understood that they needed to be skillful in communicating with teachers and counselors and arm their children with strategies to be able to do the same. Working the system represented the presence and use of navigational capital that represent the cultural wealth of the Pilipino community that these parents belong to.

Discussion

Using the Community Cultural Wealth framework, I argue that these themes of sacrifice and working the system represented four different forms of capital – aspirational, familial, social and navigational – that were used by these Pilipino parents to help support their children achieve in school and life. But these forms of capital were not simply knowledge and resources that these parents had access to due to their membership in the Pilipino community, but cultural wealth that these parents consciously and strategically built, accumulated and skillfully utilized to support the academic success of their children in school and ultimately in their future lives as adults. It was important to realize that the sense of agency for these Pilipino parents were purposeful, and they were

successful in gaining access to opportunities that would benefit themselves or their children's lives.

The Pilipino parents in this community were successful in building capital to help themselves and their children. They made connections with different groups in their space and community (parents, teachers, family members, etc.) and used this network to build their knowledge of how America's social system and educational system operated. An example of this was Allison's cousin opening her home for her to stay in and referring her to a job in the financial field. Nicole knew she could visit the school district and ask for their rankings in the state and in the nation. Another example of purposefully building capital was when Tita heard from friends in another city how good Amaryllis High School was compared to the high school her home address delegated to her. For Nicole, she built capital by doing research and visiting the school district to figure out the high school's national ranking.

Besides building capital and drawing on their community, these Pilipino parents accumulated capital by consciously and strategically seeking to expand their networks, which gave them access to additional resources and knowledge that they could use to support their children. An example of this would be the times when the parents were involved in their children's sports teams and volunteered their time. Tita mentioned it helped her son feel supported in his extracurricular activities and gave her a chance to make friends with other parents both in and outside of the Pilipino community. Gia's high expectations for her son's high school led her to be in constant communication not

only with her son's teachers but also his counselors and football coach to ensure he was doing well in school and not just in sports.

Finally, these Pilipino parents put these forms of capital into action and utilized the knowledge they had built and the network they had expanded to ensure success for their children and themselves. They were conscious and strategic but most importantly skilled in drawing on these forms of capital to make decisions and take actions that supported their children. One could build and accumulate capital by living in affluent neighborhoods or attending schools with more resources, but these Pilipino parents showed that they were good at skillfully using the capital around them to yield benefits for their children. Allison could utilize her capital by listening to her godfather's advice on letting her husband attend school full-time even though that meant she had to be the primary breadwinner for at least two years. It was worth it for them though when her husband doubled his income on his first job after receiving his computer certificate. A few parents such as Angela and Mary willingly made themselves a resource for their children by volunteering in the classroom and communicating with the teachers on a regular basis to help their children's grades. It was not just that their community had wealth and that they drew on this wealth, but they were consciously and strategically building and accumulating wealth and then skillfully using that capital to support their children.

Community Cultural Wealth focuses on and learns from the array of cultural knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed by socially marginalized groups that often go unrecognized and unacknowledged. Almost all the parents I interviewed stated

that there was not much Pilipino presence in the school, and they wished for a Pilipino student organization or a Pilipino parent club that they and their children could be involved in. They noted most of the clubs on campus, the largest clubs, are comprised of the Korean or Chinese communities, thus, those clubs and groups received the most recognition and funding for programs. They viewed participating in this study as another way to inform the high school and the community of their willingness to be more active and to be taken seriously.

When asked if they thought Pilipinos were represented in the school, nine out of ten parents said, “No.” Mary said, “That’s something I’d like to see, definitely. They don’t have a school organization that’s Pilipino based. There’s programs that Amaryllis High School sends out like, this event is sponsored by the Chinese-American or Korean-American. This is good, we’re putting together programs for our kids. But there’s none from Pilipinos. It would be nice to see that as a resource for my kid.” Marlie specified that she felt other communities were treated differently from her family and the Pilipino community because “we’re talking about money here. We’re talking dollar signs here. The more a community or an organization can produce dollars, the more they look up to you. It’s all about how much money you have, so if we have like maybe a Pilipino community, at least we can be recognized.” Anne complained that, “I absolutely think other communities are treated differently than the Pilipino community. Some places offer more support and services. I hear it from my cousins and friends that live in cities with more of a Pilipino presence.”

The Pilipino community might be unrecognized and unacknowledged in this school due to the small population of Pilipinos in this city and high school, but these parents made themselves known by their skillful use of the capital and wealth that surrounded them. These Pilipino-American parents were not shy in speaking up or acting on ideas if they thought it would benefit their children. They chose not to stand by and let the school dictate their actions or be in total control of their children's education. The significance of building, accumulating and utilizing these four forms of capital showed in how these parents embraced their immigrant identity as they imparted their cumulative knowledge and experience to their children in the hopes that their children would take advantage of all the opportunities available to them here that were not so readily available in the Philippines. This orientation puts these parents in a position to compare opportunities, educational and financial success and way of life from the Philippines to the United States.

This study adds to our existing knowledge in that not only Latinx students employed Community Cultural Wealth for educational means. Aspirational capital for these Pilipino parents stem mainly from their identity of being an immigrant and comparing the Philippines to the United States in a "here versus there" phenomenon. They recognized the opportunities that living here afforded their children in being successful. Family influences college-going decisions such as staying local to be close to emotional and practical support (Surla & Poon, 2015). Social capital was used extensively to gain knowledge about the educational system through networks in the community, and resilience was shown and taught using navigational capital.

Pilipino parents' helping their children succeed is an important topic for research because Pilipinos are stereotyped as "model minorities" and thus are not given enough support and resources. This population of students and parents can easily be overlooked and discounted in education because they are perceived as just another Asian and therefore do not need help. Per Allison, "It is customary that it's the reputation of Koreans as high achievers and Chinese are high achievers." Angela had his sophomore son who was "stressed out with the "A" status, and he thinks that if he got a "B" grade, people would look at him differently." The Pilipino community also experienced racism in the schools, were oppressed and the forms of capital of the community were devalued by schools. This study showed how Pilipino students and their community does have wealth and that these forms of capital are utilized by parents to support their children's success in school – in fact, used consciously, strategically and skillfully to achieve these ends. Using the Community Cultural Wealth framework was appropriate for the Pilipino community, as they recognized the wealth and capital around them and used that to ensure the success of their children.

A preliminary finding that was suggested by my analysis but without sufficient data to be a main finding in my study was the possibility of a new form of capital: sacrificial capital. Sacrificial capital could be defined as giving up comfort, money, energy, aspirations and time for the betterment of somebody else. One example of sacrificial capital would be one of the Pilipino parents, Mary, who gave up time and energy to help her *kumares* or best friends immigrate from the Philippines to the United States since she was the first of their group to do so. A second example would be how

most of the parents chose to cut down on their work hours to spend time with their children or be a stay-at-home parent to devote more time to the care of their children. Another example of what could be sacrificial sacrifice is how willing the parents were to drive long distances for their children to attend a highly ranked school. The significance of this form of capital among the Pilipino community I studied would be to expound on the framework of Community Cultural Wealth and how capital can be used differently between different groups of people; in this case, the Pilipino immigrant community. There is potential for further insights about Community Cultural Wealth by investigating this form of capital in future research.

Limitations of the study included a small sample size, location of this specific Pilipino community, and interview questions were not geared towards all six forms of capital in the CCW framework. I acknowledge that linguistic capital and resistant capital might be present in this Pilipino community, but the nature of my questions did not generate that kind of data and so did not fit in this study. If Community Cultural Wealth is defined as “an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression” (Yosso, 2005, p. 77), then the Pilipino community living in the United States could use this framework to explain their resiliency and how counselors, teachers and programs alike could understand the motivations behind this community’s actions and work with them in the success of the Pilipino students and its community.

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