Storytelling in Project Heart to Heart: A Means to Bridge Generational Gap in Post-1965 Filipino Immigrant Families

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STORYTELLING IN PROJECT HEART TO HEART: A MEANS TO
BRIDGE GENERATIONAL GAP IN POST-1965
FILIPINO IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

by

JUANITA TOLEDO SANTOS NACU

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ABSTRACT

STORYTELLING IN PROJECT HEART TO HEART: A MEANS TO BRIDGE GENERATIONAL GAP IN POST-1965 FILIPINO IMMIGRANT FAMILIES


Director: Susan M. Zgliczynski, Ph.D.

As we share our experiences with others, we also explore its meaning to ourselves and to whomever it is being shared with. This is how stories are told. Most families usually develop a body of stories that is passed on from one generation to the next generation. These stories are used to preserve the family member’s identity, history, and values. The stories touch not only our past experiences, but also influences our present and links it to the future.

This study explored the Filipino American families’ experiences of storytelling as a means of bridging together past, present, and future experiences of grandparents, parents, and children. What was the significance of listening to others’ life experiences? What meaning came about from these stories? How did three generations view their own experiences in regards to bridging a possible gap between each other?
Through a qualitative study approach, I carried out a series of in-depth interviews for exploring grandparents, parents, and children’s experiences of storytelling and understanding related to bridging their past, present and future. All the adult participants are post-1965 immigrants. The data suggests that the grandparents and parents have similar Filipino familial values. They are also resilient in adapting to a new and very different culture. Parents still can relate to the grandparents’ life stories, but the children already have found it difficult. Despite this, the grandparents, parents, and children were able to understand each other’s world more by listening to stories from each other’s generations. All three generational groups recognized their responsibility of passing on their stories to preserve the Filipino heritage. The study provided a 3 Generational Link Model that demonstrates the interdependence of the three generation in preserving their Filipino culture. In addition, a Five-Step Model illustrating Effects of Intergenerational Storytelling emerged from the data analysis.
DEDICATION

To my Family

my husband, Florentino
my children, John Joseph, Hannah Teresa
and Paul Nathan

my parents, Dr. Isidoro D. Santos and Flora M. Toledo
my sisters, Lota, Mely, Sita and Pura
my brothers, Cardito, Bert, Junior and Freddie,
for being part of my life.
I am who I am because of your love, friendship,
understanding and
the stories we shared together.

Thank you for walking the journey with me.
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To Steve: for being the messenger
To Mary AH: for your encouragement and joyful presence
To Dr. K: for your kindness
To USD Filipino Ugnayan Student Organization (FUSO):
   "We did it!"
To my Study Group: Cheryl, Clara and Jaime, for your friendship, patience and guidance; Thanks for the laughter and tears.
To all my “Kababayan,” young and old: for giving so much of yourselves as interviewees for my research. Your stories are my stories. “Salamat po.”
To Project Heart to Heart Team: for all the stories that you shared with compassion, laughter and tears; you have touched so many lives; thank you.
To the Filipino American Community: for being Filipinos
To my Mahal: for being my best friend. I love you very much. I owe you a lot!
To my Children, John Joseph, Hannah and Paul Nathan: for being my children and for who you are. You are my life. I love you.
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CHAPTER I
The Problem

Introduction

In this study I explored through in-depth interviews the effect of storytelling in bridging past, present, and future experiences of three generations of post-1965 Filipino immigrant families. Grandparents, parents, and children were brought together for a one-day Project Heart to Heart conference that used different kinds of storytelling. What was the significance of listening to others’ life experiences? What meanings did these stories have? How did the grandparents, parents and children view their own experiences in regard to bridging a possible generational gap?

A generational gap between children, parents, and grandparents might be an expected natural occurrence. One reason for a gap might be the difference in life experiences, which becomes a larger issue in the immigrant community because each generation grows up in very different cultural contexts (Baptiste, 1993; Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Rick & Forward, 1992; Wakil, Siddique, &
Wakil, 1981). When parents relocate, they use their own cultural context to translate and to understand the new context. As the young mature in a different context from their parents, it becomes more difficult for parents to be understood by the young and for the young to be understood by parents (Lynch, 1992; Rosenthal, 1984) so the ties with their parental culture weaken.

There are two related results of this break in the continuity of experience: parents lose their role as custodians of wisdom or models for the behavior of the young, and as a result, there is a loss of family cohesiveness and shared cultural heritage. Filipino American families, one of the early immigrant groups to the United States, struggle to preserve their family cohesiveness and cultural heritage and to overcome the generational gap by preserving their family stories.

**Background of the Problem**

Since 1970, over a third of all legal immigrants to the United States were Asians and Pacific Islanders (Hing & Lee, 1996). Based on the 1990 census, Chinese immigrants comprised the largest group, about 1.6 million. Filipino immigrants ranked second, about 1.4 million (Chan, 1992; Jiobu, 1996; Kitano & Daniels, 1995; Min, 1995). California
had the largest Asian Pacific American population and Filipinos comprised the largest sub-group with 731,685 (Kitano & Daniels, 1995; Shinagawa, 1996). At the county level, the San Diego Asian Pacific American population ranked seventh (Min, 1995; Shinagawa, 1996). Of the 198,675 Asian Pacific residents of San Diego County, 96,427 are Filipinos, making them the largest Asian sub-group. Filipino immigrants are visible in the San Diego region as a human resource in many fields such as healthcare, defense, business, government, education, and church ministries.

Filipinos consider family the most important reference group, the core alliance system that provides security, strength, and support. Loyalty to family and kin, family solidarity and togetherness, and concern for family welfare and honor are high priorities (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994; Agbayani-Siewert & Revilla, 1995; Baptiste, 1993; Min, 1995; Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Rick & Forward, 1992; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981). Given the importance of the family, a generational gap is a serious issue among Filipinos.

Several studies of Asian immigrants such as Hmong (Rick & Forward, 1992), Filipinos (Heras & Revilla, 1994), Vietnamese (Nguyen & Williams, 1989), Indian and Pakistani (Wakil, et al., 1981) showed similar findings:

1. Children's faster acculturation of disrupted family structure.
2. Children’s challenge of cultural norms and values caused greater tension and dissatisfaction within the family.

3. The number of years in the U.S. affects acculturation and perceived intergenerational differences.

4. The messages children received from their parents regarding traditional values conflicted with American values.

5. Children of immigrant parents were caught up in the problems of dealing with two cultures simultaneously.

6. Adolescent children in immigrant families tended to reject traditional values; this aspect of the generation gap is more clearly manifested among girls than boys.

These findings were also true for non-Asian immigrants in other countries, such as Australia. In a study of Anglo-, Greek- and Italian-Australian adolescents, Greek- and Italian-Australian adolescents reported significantly more conflict with both mother and father than did Anglo-Australians (Rosenthal, 1984, p.55). Rosenthal states that adolescents of immigrant parents are more likely to have greater parental conflicts regarding “. . . coping with new cultures . . . acquisition of new information, learning new responses and skills . . . differences in language, style of primary social relationships” (p.56).

The following illustrates the extent of the problem among Filipino immigrants in San Diego:
Under the auspices of the Federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, a study administered in May 1993 to 1,788 San Diego high school students explored the issue of teen-age suicide. It was found that Filipino teen-agers, especially girls, outnumber teens of other ethnic groups in thinking about taking their own lives (Lau, 1995, p. 19).

When a 1995 survey reported the same results—that Filipino girls were considering suicide at a higher rate than other teens—the Filipino American community recognized the seriousness of the problem and sought to begin addressing it by holding meetings, fostering discussions, and writing articles on the issue. Dr. Rizalino Oadez wrote in a newspaper column of Mabuhay News:

Causes for attempts to commit suicide are chiefly unhappy love affairs, family troubles, school problems, generational and communication gaps, alienation, interpersonal difficulties, and lack of personality traits. These causes may also stem mostly from “identity crisis” that Filipino adolescents usually experienced from 9th through 12th grade. (pp. 5, 12)

Additionally, parents, youth and community leaders suggested a culture clash and a failure of communication between Philippine-born parents and their American-born/raised children as possible causes of the suicide problem. Equally important was a lack of role models in schools who could serve as mentors to Filipino American teenagers (Fernandez Schwimmer, 1995). In addition, a Heras & Revilla (1994) study conducted with participants from two
San Diego universities found that "the second-generation Pilipino-Americans reported significantly lower self-esteem and poorer self-concept." This corroborated the results of previous studies that "investigated the psychosocial adjustment of different generations of immigrant groups and found that later generations are more emotionally disturbed than earlier generations" (p.135).

As has been noted in studies of immigrant parents and their children, a generational gap might be a contributing factor. As ties weaken between young people and their parents, less value is placed on one another's stories. Less time is spent sharing life experiences that may prompt insights regarding differences—insights that could make it easier to respond to one another's needs.

The Filipino American family dynamic fits models of immigration experiences posited by researchers. Margaret Mead's book "Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap" (1970) defined three kinds of culture: postfigurative, cofigurative, and prefigurative. In postfigurative culture, children learn primarily from their forebears; three generations are required to maintain postfigurative culture. In cofigurative culture, both children and adults learn from their peers. In prefigurative culture, adults also learn from their
children; who become the source of new information and skills. A good illustration of the prefigurative culture in operation is the way computer technology is often disseminated. Children learn the technology in school and then become the knowledge resource for parents who have not been exposed to it.

Cofigurative culture begins as a break in the postfigurative occurs (Mead, 1970, p. 1). Members of the society look to their contemporaries for behavioral models. One cofigurative culture example given by Mead (1970) showed elders who were viewed as immigrants and strangers forever, after migration to a new land. In the absence of grandparents who would reinforce the old culture, transition to a new way of life seems easier for the young. Peers become practical models for the new way of life. The same transition happens to the parents; they rely on their contemporaries to learn how to adapt to the lifestyle of a new country. In a cofigurative culture, elders' control of the cultural formation of the younger members is lessened.

Under the Preference Systems and Exemptions provision of the Immigration Act of 1965, Filipino Americans were able to sponsor family members. Most of those sponsored initially were spouses and children of those already in the country. The number of grandparents sponsored increased in
number only when the waiting list for spouses and children lengthened (Liu, Ong, & Rosentein, 1991, p.495). Also, after becoming citizens, professionals sponsored their parents in order to have someone to do childcare. (p.504). Grandparents were usually sponsored to provide support for their children raising families and also to facilitate sponsorship of siblings and their families. When sponsored for immigration by their children, chances were that parents did not exercise the same authority as they had back home. The loss of the grandparents' role as wisdom's custodians deprived the young of a link to the past that would have contributed to their connection with the future and the formation of their identity. Mead (1978) stated that "With the removal of the grandparents physically from the world in which the child is reared, the child’s experience of its future is shortened by a generation and its links to the past are weakened" (p. 49). The absence of someone who actually experienced the past lessens a child’s opportunity to hear first-hand the life experiences that led to its existence in the present. The families whose grandparents did not make it to the U.S. experienced a great loss.

In the prefigurative culture, the child, not the parent and grandparent, represents what is to come. Adults
must learn together with the young. Adults need to alter their behavior: to teach their children how to learn and not what to learn; to teach the value of commitment, not what they should be committed to (Mead, 1970, p. 92). The young become the leaders of their elders.

In a prefigurative cultural pattern, Filipino parents must give up control of what their children can learn. In one of the community meetings held to discuss the suicide issue, Fernandez Schwimmer (1995) wrote that “a college student said that her parents cannot relate to her plans and as a result, college is also difficult and trying time for her” (p.16). How many children end up in nursing and medical careers just because the parents are not familiar with present career trends? Parents direct their children to careers that provided job security when they were back home in the Philippines. Instead of learning from what their children know about career trends here in the U.S., many parents insist on what they know from the past. Filipino parents must use their young as a resource for their own learning; as partners in sorting all knowledge into what is important and what is not. My experience has brought me in contact with Filipino American families who could easily be in any of the three different cultures identified by Mead.
To reduce the generation gap within Filipino American families, an intervention measure called Project Heart to Heart was created. It uses storytelling to link past, present and future, to assist in making family members feel meaningfully and pleasurably connected. Every day each family member brings home a new story from school, from coworkers on the job, from different associations in which they are involved (Parry & Doan, 1994). Grandparents bring stories that contain values they wish to pass on to their children and grandchildren. In addition, the family experiences “cultural narratives” from popular media such as music, television, and movies (Yerby, et al., 1990).

Since groups stay together because of common beliefs, values, desires, and aspirations that promote a way of acting, thinking, or living (Yerby, et al., 1990), the family is challenged to extract its own particular meaning from all of these tales by using their history, values and principles to develop a personal “corpus of stories” that defines who they are as a family and as individuals within that unit. In this way, values that have been the unifying factor in Filipino families can be strengthened by storytelling that counteracts the constant pressures exerted on post-1965 immigrant families through the individualistic values of current society.
Significance of the Study

It is almost inevitable that intergenerational conflicts will result from the different rates of adaptation and acculturation experienced by the thousands of parents and children who emigrate to the U.S. each year. (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994; Agbayani-Siewert & Revilla, 1995; Baptiste, 1993; Heras & Revilla, 1994; Min, 1995; Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Rick & Forward, 1992; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981).

This study was significant because its findings suggest additional ways to help families of immigrants adapt to the environment of a new culture, which in turn can reduce incidents of intergenerational conflict and identity crisis problems among their adolescent children. Storytelling used to connect the past, present, and future experiences of three generations could serve as an intervention measure as well as a preventive measure model for such serious consequences of intergenerational conflicts such as teen suicide. The study also provided much-needed research on Filipino Americans who, though they are the second largest sub-group of Asian Americans in the
U.S. today, are one of the least understood and least researched communities (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994, p.429; Heras & Revilla, 1994).

In response to the survey findings regarding suicide among Filipino American teenage girls, community leaders attempted to form a coalition linking Filipino organizations and the San Diego County government (Lau, 1996, p. B-5). Unfortunately, the effort was not successful and today, different organizations continue to provide the same services they have offered in the past: the Union of Pan Asian Community (UPAC) uses counselors and school outreach to provide suicide intervention; Tulungan Center refers callers to appropriate agencies; Kalusugan Community Services offers methods for improving health and quality of life through positive lifestyle changes; the Filipino American Institute of Life in America (FAMILIA) holds annual youth retreats and family conferences; Project Heart to Heart, a non-profit, community-based organization, supports families by using storytelling to focus on their existing strengths rather than on their perceived problems.

In the study, Project Heart to Heart participants shared their life experiences through storytelling, which helped grandparents, parents, and children to recognize the reasons for their differences and the causes of
communication difficulties. For the listeners, the stories were experiences in themselves, with their own force and influence. Storytelling by people from different generations was shown to help form communication and cultural bridges among grandparents, parents, and children, while preserving Filipino cultural heritage. As Stone stated, “Family stories are not just secondhand accounts of someone else’s experience” (1988, p. 17).

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to learn how storytelling links past, present, and future experiences within three generations of post-1965 Filipino immigrant families. Project Heart to Heart workshop participants were interviewed before and after the experience; the interviews focused on the role of storytelling in addressing a perceived generation gap and the analysis of workshop efforts to develop a better understanding and appreciation of both family relationships and Filipino cultural heritage.

This research studied self-reports about changes in parent/child relationships after the Project Heart to Heart experience and documented how storytelling served as a means to provide continuity in the life experiences of
different generations within families. It also explored the role of storytelling as it aids grandparents, parents and children to better understand their differences by examining the intergenerational life experiences of other families. Moreover, the study provided information on the causes of the Filipino generational cultural gap, the role grandparents can play in bridging it and what additional support was needed to eliminate it.

**Research Questions**

The following questions were addressed in this study:

1. Prior to the Project Heart to Heart experience, how did participants describe their family relationships?

2. After the Project Heart to Heart experience, how did the participants describe their experiences of intergenerational storytelling in Project Heart to Heart?

3. How did storytelling experiences influence the participants' view of intergenerational conflict?

**Assumptions Related to the Study**

The assumptions of this study are:

1. That based on observations and limited research studies, conflicts exist among generations of Filipino American families;
2. That storytelling is a technique that can facilitate communication and build cultural bridges among grandparents, parents, and children;

3. That grandparents, parents, and children, when they share life experiences, can better understand their family dynamics as well as their similarities and differences, and can construct more meaningful family connections;

4. That storytelling enables participants to understand that differences are not always signs of a dysfunctional family but are part of normal family life cycles and individual growth stages;

5. That the historical perspective provided by grandparents and parents provides children with a traditional frame of reference for interpreting present situations;

6. That parents and grandparents can be aided to more clearly understand how conflict is created between them and their children when they interpret present situations based on guidelines from their past;

7. That participants can better understand how family members usually try to bridge the generational gap in their own way as they strive to create family harmony.

Consequently, storytelling becomes an instrument in reducing intergenerational conflicts for the participants.
Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to selected Filipino American Project Heart to Heart participants in the San Diego region. Students ranging from seventh grade through college-age, professionals, parents and grandparents were chosen to be study participants, workshop participants and volunteer team members. The study explored only these particular subjects’ experiences of storytelling in Project Heart to Heart and the perceived effects on their family relationships.

As the designer, founder and researcher of Project Heart to Heart, I can understand that there may be a question regarding the validity of studying my own project. Nevertheless, as a Filipino American, I consider myself an insider who is sensitive to the best interests of the participants and whose greater knowledge about the Filipino American community gives me a better chance at being welcomed than a non-Filipino researcher. Moreover, as a post-1965 immigrant with American-born children and an immigrant parent, I can relate better to the participants’ experiences. As Swisher stated, “Authentic researchers are those who are members of the group about whom they write” (1996, p. 187).

Definition of Terms

Acculturation—“process of mutual cultural change resulting from contact between cultures, during which each
culture influences the other. Typically, however, the dominant culture contributes more to the flow of cultural elements" (Rick & Forward, 1992, p. 85).

Conflict—"be in opposition; incompatible, contradictory" (Webster's New World Dictionary, 1994).

Culture—"the total way of life of particular groups of people. It includes everything that a group of people thinks, says, does, and makes-its systems of attitudes and feelings" (De Mesa, 1990).

Cultural Transition—"a process that begins at the time individuals or families arrive in a new country and ends when they feel comfortable enough in the new country/culture (e.g., with a new language and values) to relinquish some of their indigenous cultural values and become acculturated to the host culture" (Baptiste, 1993, p.342).


Generation Gap—differences in generational processes or systems and non-transmission of values, styles and fashions, behavior (Burr, et al., 1979, p. 129-130).

Filipino American—persons of Filipino ancestry who are citizens of the United States either by birth or naturalization. They are also Philippine nationals who have become permanent residents of the U.S. by virtue of being a
registered alien or immigrant. A Filipino American is also known as “Pinoy” (Pinay for Filipina American).

*Lolo / Lola*—grandpa / grandma

*Mano* or Bless—taking the right hand of the person and touching the back of the palm to the forehead, a Filipino tradition for showing respect and asking for blessing.

*Norms*—“. . . more detailed than value, specify the rules to be followed if a corresponding value is to be actualized” (Traub & Dodder, 1988, p. 977).

*Project Heart to Heart*—a non-profit, non-membership organization for educational and cultural purposes; started in the spring of 1993. Currently, it serves Filipino American families through workshops and conferences that use storytelling for the purpose of bridging generational and cultural gaps.

*Story*—a series of connected events, true or fictitious, that is written or told with the intention of entertaining or informing (Webster's New World Dictionary, 1994). For the purposes of my study, storytelling refers to stories—told, written, or acted—about individuals' experiences as family members and as Filipino Americans.

*Value*—“a general statement concerning standards of preference or goals’” (Traub & Dodder, 1988, p. 977).
CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

Introduction

In order to understand the experiences of grandparents, parents, and children from post-1965 Filipino immigrant families, I focused my literature review on four interconnected areas: generational gap, immigration, Filipino culture, and storytelling. To provide a historical perspective for the issue of intergenerational differences in Filipino American families, I have included information about immigration flow to this country.

The United States is known as "the land of the free." Thousands of people arrive every year to make it their new home. They leave behind friends, relatives, and material possessions in their country of birth. However, what they don’t leave behind is who they have become, growing up in their place of birth and with their families. Everyone is born to specific parents in a certain locality within a specific culture or way of life. "Cultural understanding in one’s first culture occurs early and is typically established by the age of 5" (Lynch, 1992, p.19). Therefore the acculturation level is different for those who move to another country as adults and the children of those adults.
who are born after the move; these cultural differences among members of the same family aggravate intergenerational conflict. This situation is true for most immigrant families, including Filipino Americans (Baptiste, 1993; Heras & Revilla, 1994).

Generational Gap

Generational discontinuity can be viewed from three main perspectives: (a) great gap, (b) selective continuity and differences, and (c) great gap as an illusion (Bengston, Furlong, & Laufer, 1974; Traub & Dodder, 1988). Those who support the theory of a great gap viewed "youth culture as being distinct from, and in opposition to, a dominant adult culture with respect to the acceptance of dominant values" (Traub & Dodder, 1988, p. 976). The selective continuity and differences adherents proposed that the generations’ values conflict little. And those who supported the great gap as an illusion regarded intergenerational conflict as a matter of differences that occur when several people apply the same values to everyday life (p. 977).

Traub and Dodder (1988) stated that in the late '60s and early '70s, the generation gap was of interest because of young adults’ use of illegal drugs and their different lifestyle. Questions were asked about generational continuity and discontinuity. What were the reasons for youth involvement in illegal drug use? Was it because of
differences in the norms that the adults and youths followed? In support of the great gap position, a study was conducted of sociology students at a southwestern university and their guardians. The findings supported the notion of a great gap between youth and adults, which was most apparent in regard to intergroup differences in values and norms—as an example, the study concluded that marijuana usage was a consequence of intergenerational conflict.

Margaret Mead (1970 & 1978) introduced three kinds of culture patterns: postfigurative, cofigurative, and prefigurative. In postfigurative culture, children learned primarily from their forebears. In cofigurative culture, both children and adults learned from their peers. In prefigurative culture, adults learned also from their children. Mead herself supported the great gap perspective. She focused on the existence of generational discontinuity caused by a great gap between children and parents, including the role played by grandparents.

According to Mead (1970, 1978), at least three generations were required to maintain postfigurative culture. In the midst of changes, a postfigurative culture remained stable as long as a group of people took the culture for granted and children grew up accepting whatever was unquestioned around them. Mead believed that a "... lack of questioning and lack of consciousness are the key conditions for the maintenance of a postfigurative culture"
When the young relied on their family elders for boundaries, information, and models of behavior, postfigurative culture continued from one generation to the next.

In the cofigurative culture, contemporaries of both the young and the parents replaced the grandparents as models of behavior and source of knowledge. Mead (1970) wrote, “Immigration to the United States and to Israel typifies the kind of absorption in which the young are required to behave in ways that are at sharp variance with the cultural behaviors of their forebears. In Israel, immigrants from eastern Europe placed the elderly grandparents who accompanied their adult children on the shelf” (p. 35). Parents found themselves encouraging their children to adapt new behaviors and lifestyles lived by inhabitants of the new country.

In Mead’s (1978) prefigurative culture, it was not the parents or grandparents who represented what was to come but the child (p. 83). While in cofigurational cultures the elders’ influence on the future of their children gradually lessened, in prefigurative culture development, the young led the older generation through a continuing dialogue. The elders were “immigrants in time,” trying to live in a new era while retaining a past way of life (Mead, 1978; Traub & Dodd, 1988). The young, who lived in a “world community” and were at home in this “time,” held the key for the
elders to understand life in a new era (Mead, 1978, pp. 70-75).

In his book, *Bridging the Generation Gap*, William Self (1970) stated that a generation gap existed between youth and their parents because of the electronic age. “Our world has become a global village, and we have become a part of it” (Self, 1970, p. 31). The electronic age was characterized by a bombardment of information being replaced so quickly with newer information that there was no time to reflect on and digest the facts. Meanwhile, the older generation continued to use yesterday's tools and concepts for today's jobs while the young lived in the present and used tools from the present (Mead, 1970, 1978; Self, 1970; Traub & Dodder, 1988).

Another supporter of the great gap was Richard Reichert. In 1970, he proposed three kinds of generation gaps and corresponding solutions.

1. Developmental gap as the perennial gap between the parents and their adolescent children: time as the solution

2. Empathy gap as the result of circumstantial differences between parents and their children: two-way communication as the solution

3. Value gap due to sociological and psychological differences which occur not only between parents and their children but also in adult relationships: full realization of the dilemma (the most realistic) as the solution (p. 105-109).
I used Reichert’s generation gap model in Project Heart to Heart’s generation gap workshop. The developmental gap explained why there would always be an intergenerational gap. Somehow, at a certain age, we could understand the perspective of our parents; likewise, by two-way communication, the grandparents and parents could understand the children’s perspectives. Knowing and understanding the environments in which each generation learned its values would facilitate seeing one another’s perspective on life.

Rosenthal (1984) compared intergenerational conflict and the culture of immigrant and nonimmigrant adolescents and their parents in Australia. He found higher intergenerational conflict in immigrant families, especially for the group of adolescents who had assimilated into the new culture. He also found that adolescents who strongly identified with the dominant social group and rejected their culture of origin had more conflict with their parents (p.73). Studies of Asian immigrant families (Heras & Revilla, 1994; Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Rick & Forward, 1992; Wakil, et al., 1981) corroborated Rosenthal’s findings.

These findings supported Mead’s (1970, 1978) three kinds of culture patterns in which generation gaps were related to changes in age as well as changes in the environment; the latter was an important factor in the intergenerational conflicts experienced during immigrant
families' acculturation period. The same causes for a generation gap were found in the mentioned studies on immigrant families' acculturation and intergenerational conflicts. Self (1970) pointed out that taking in new information can cause the gap between parents and children. Reichert (1970) proposed the same causes: age difference (developmental gap) and environment (value gap). Traub & Dodder (1988) studied how adults' use of established norms (structured) caused conflict with the young who used emerging norms (here-and-now structure). The "great gap" is a reality that the different generations have to deal with.

For Filipino immigrant families, as ethnic families of color, familistic values are vital adaptive resources for survival (Cooper, Baker, Polichar, & Welsh, 1993). Bridging the gap is critical for maintaining their familistic values in a new country. "As with most immigrant groups, Filipino children acculturate at a faster rate than their parents, whereas their parents continue to function using more traditional values brought with them from the Philippines" (Agbayani-Siewert & Revilla, 1995, p.163). What can be done about this widening gap? Storytelling is a possible solution.

**Historical Perspective on the Problem**

Immigration flow to this nation has been described in waves that rise, peak, and fall. "Each wave has distinctive characteristics that reflect economic, social, and
political conditions not only in the nations of origin but also in the United States” (Muller & Espenshade, 1985, p.7). The waves covered four periods: (1) mid-nineteenth-century entry from western Europe, (2) post-Civil War entry from eastern and southern Europe, (3) early-to-mid-twentieth-century movement of black Americans from south to north, and (4) Latin American, Caribbean, and Asian entry in the 1960s and 1970s. Each wave had its peculiar ethnic composition and each responded to specific economic conditions in the United States (p. 8).

Kitano and Daniels (1995) stated that many modern historians divide immigration history into six periods:

1. The colonial period, during which neither Great Britain nor American colonies had effective control of immigration; the overwhelming number of all immigrants were Protestants from the British Isles
2. The era of the American Revolution and beyond (1775-1820), when war, both here and in Europe, inhibited immigration
3. The era of the “old” immigration (1820-ca. 1880), in which most immigrants were primarily Protestants from the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia, though a large number of Roman Catholic Irish and Germans also arrived
4. The era of the “new” immigration (ca. 1880-1924), when most immigrants came from central, southern, and eastern Europe and were largely Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Jewish
5. The era of the national origins quota system (1924-65), in which rigorous regulation greatly reduced the volume of immigration and most immigrants were from the countries of the “old” immigration or the quota-free “new world”
6. The era of liberalized restrictions (1965 to present), in which most immigrants have come from Asia and Latin America, often called "the Third World." (pp.12, 13)
Contrary to these waves and divisions that show Asian immigrants as recent arrivals, Asians started coming to the U.S. even before the first colony was established in Jamestown (Cordova, 1983; Kitano & Daniels, 1995). The Filipinos in particular settled in the U.S. as a result of the Manila-Acapulco Galleon Trade in the late 16th century. They had established permanent settlements in Louisiana even before it became part of the United States (Cordova, 1983; Filipino American National Historical Society, 1994; Kitano & Daniels, 1995; Macabenta, 1994). Chinese workers were brought to California after the gold rush of 1849 but the invitation was rescinded by the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which originally suspended immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years but was extended indefinitely beyond 1902. To ease the shortage of laborers, Japanese, Filipino, Korean and Indian immigrants were brought into Hawaii and California (Min, 1995, p.1). However, the Immigration Act of 1924 broadened the restrictions regarding racial, national, and ethnic origin, which affected countries in eastern and southern Europe and in Asia. As a U.S. colony since 1898, however, the Philippines was exempt from the new rules, because legally, Filipinos were considered American nationals (Kitano & Daniels, 1995, pp.14, 15).
Finally, the Immigration Act of 1965 ended the restrictions then in place. This law gave high priority to the reunification of families and the recruitment of professionals and skilled/unskilled workers (Liu, et al., 1991, p.492), provisions which were most beneficial to Asians. In 1960, the Asian American population was about 250,000. In 1990, the Asian American population reached almost 7.3 million, about 3% of the total U.S. population (Kitano & Daniels, 1995, pp. 18, 19).

Asians, like other immigrants, came to the U.S. for reasons of economics, betterment of life, education, and religious/political persecution (Baptiste, 1993; Fawcett & Carino, 1987; Kitano & Daniels, 1995). Because of their link with the United States, though, Filipino immigrants have a different historical background.

The history of Filipinos in the United States is, in one way, different from that of all other Asian ethnic groups in the United States: their history was initially a direct and unforeseen result of American imperialism. Because of this, Filipino Americans enjoyed, for a time, a unique status among Asian immigrants. They were not "aliens" but enjoyed a "privileged" status as American nationals. In other ways, the early history of 20th century
Filipino immigrants bears a resemblance to that of other Asian migrations. (Kitano & Daniels, 1995, p.83)

The Republic of the Philippines has had more than its share of conquest and colonization. The Philippines was conquered by Spain in early 1600 and the natives went through Hispanization for four hundred years. Hispanization was followed by fifty years of United States’ westernization. Colonization by the U.S. was called “benevolent assimilation” by President William McKinley and Governor General Taft referred to Filipinos as “little brown brothers” (Rafael, 1993; Zinn, 1980).

Archaeological evidence indicates that 30,000 years ago the earliest inhabitants arrived from the Asian mainland, perhaps over land bridges bared during the ice ages. By the tenth century AD, coastal villagers welcomed Chinese commerce and settlers; these were followed by Muslim traders, mainly from Borneo (Garrett, 1986). In 1521 Ferdinand Magellan claimed the land for Spain (Garrett, 1986; Saulo, 1987; Mayuga & Yuson, 1988), whose imperial rule lasted until the United States, under the Treaty of Paris, gained possession by purchasing the archipelago for $20,000,000 from Spain on December 10, 1898 (Guerrero, 1970; Saulo, 1987; Philippines, 1976). In addition to
paying the money, the U.S. had to fight the Filipinos in order to establish sovereignty.

Less than 10 percent of the 7,000-odd islands are inhabited. There are about 111 linguistic, cultural and racial groups in the country. Besides Tagalog as the national language, another seventy languages and dialects, all belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian family of tongues, are spoken in the Philippines (Mayuga & Yuson, 1988; Guerrero, 1970).

"Filipinos were sailing across to the New World since June, 1565, the start of the 250-year Manila-Acapulco galleon trade. Pinoys were arriving in the New World forty-two years before the first permanent English settlement was established in Jamestown" (Macabenta, 1994, p. 38). Unlike European pioneers and immigrants, the first Filipino immigrants did not come with their families. This situation continued even as the New World became the United States. Early male Filipino laborers in the United States were neither allowed to bring their wives and families with them from the Philippines nor to marry whites in this country. Filipino immigrants were granted formal citizenship only after serving in the US military in World War II, and as a result of the Immigration Act of July 2, 1946 (Ciria-Cruz,
Filipino immigration is described in four waves.

1. First wave, 1763 to 1906—seafaring exiles and working sojourners who also landed in Alaska and Hawaii

2. Second wave, 1906 to 1934—pensionados: students subsidized by the Philippine territorial government, self-supporting students, and laborers.

3. Third wave, 1945 to 1965—post-war arrivals: American citizens (children/grandchildren of Spanish-American War veterans), military personnel (US Army's Philippine scouts) and dependents (war brides and children), students, exchange workers (MDs, nurses, accountants, engineers, technicians, white collar workers)

4. Fourth wave, 1965 to present—beneficiaries of the amendment to the Immigration Nationality Act which abolished the 1924 "national origins" quota system, designed to favor Nordics in order to preserve the ethnic "balance" of the US population. (Cordova, 1983; Castillo, 1990)

The post-1965 immigration changed both the size and composition of the Filipino American population. The amendment allowed entry for both professionals and relatives of immigrants already here (Chan, 1992, p. 265).
Since 1965, almost two-thirds of the immigrants have been professionals, the majority of them Filipino American nurses (Kitano & Daniels, 1995, 91). Back home in the Philippines, we called it the “brain drain” (Carino, Fawcett, Gardner & Arnold, 1990).

The 1965 Immigration Act also had a great impact on Filipino American families since the presence of Filipinos with national status in the U.S. prior to 1965 facilitated the entry of large numbers of family members under the categories of blood or marital relationships (Carino, 1987, p. 310). Within twenty years of the law’s passage, Filipinos were the largest group of Asian immigrants, comprising about a quarter of the total (Liu, et al., 1991, p. 488). “Between 1966 and 1985, Filipinos legally joining their families through the preference system or the exempted categories constituted from 55 to 98 percent of the total immigration” (p. 492). After Filipino Americans already here sponsored relatives, the sponsored family members themselves formed a chain of migration by sponsoring other family members: spouses, children, parents, and adult siblings.

What is the relationship of this history to the present status of Filipino American families? The 1965 Immigration Act brought in more adult immigrants, including
grandparents, to the U.S. There was an increase of adult family members who had Filipino cultural values living with children born or raised in the U.S. with "American" values, giving rise to intergenerational conflict. According to Baptiste (1993):

Immigrants, who become adolescent in the U.S. often experience intergenerational clashes of values with parents and grandparents, because of a fundamental difference between what the adolescents may want for themselves in the U.S. and what parents want for the adolescents. (p.342)


Filipino Culture

In the process of acculturation, Filipino behaviors, values, attitudes, habits are passed on by grandparents and parents to the children. “Culture is learned and transmitted from generation to generation” (De Mesa, 1990, p. 3). Filipino culture contributes to the cultural tension and generation gap perceived between parents and their children. The differences between Filipino and American culture include:
1. Family or group orientation versus individualistic orientation
2. Indirect expression versus direct expression of feelings
3. External locus versus internal locus of control and responsibility

For Filipinos, a harmonious family unit is of primary value (Aspillera, 1986; Bernardin, 1990; Castillo, 1990; Chan, 1992; Isip, 1990). There is strong stress on interdependence and togetherness and family is extended to relatives and trusted friends (Bernardin, 1990; Hockings, 1993; Isip, 1990). Respect is instilled for elders and authority figures and there is strong family pride. Before Hispanic colonization, the family was matriarchal in structure; Irma Isip, Archdiocese of Los Angeles’ consultant to Asian & Pacific Islander Catechesis, said that a perceived shift to a patriarchal structure could possibly be an effect of Hispanic colonization that installed the male as the authority figure (personal communication, March 18, 1998). Unlike their Asian counterparts, Filipino women occupied high positions in the family and society: they were the first in Asia to vote and
to be elected to office (Zaide, 1994); they shared
decision-making with their husbands and they held the purse
strings (Bernardin, 1990; Brough, 1988; Castillo, 1990;
Isip, 1990). “Unlike other Asian groups, family authority
is not patriarchal, but more egalitarian, where husband and
wife share almost equally in financial and family
decisions” (Agbayani-Siewert & Revilla, 1995, p. 160; Chan,
1992). Moreover, there is even a Filipino legend that has
both man and woman emerging simultaneously from a bamboo
branch, in contrast to the Judeo-Christian explanation of
Eve being created from Adam’s rib. This legend is
interpreted as illustrating the equality of man and woman
(Andres & Ilada-Andres, 1987).

Filipinos are noted for their child-centeredness.
Children are looked upon as blessings. Filipino families
tend to be large, averaging five or more children
(Castillo, 1990; Isip, 1990). The first-born has the
greatest responsibility, taking care of her/his parents and
younger siblings’ day-to-day needs, such as school expenses
(Bernardin, 1990).

Religion is so much a part of Filipino life that it is
often difficult to distinguish what is religious and what
is social in major church celebrations. Filipinos’ deep and
personal faith is the very foundation of their values. This

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faith uplifts them through hard times and empowers them in crucial moments. Faith brings hope even during the darkest hours. With God, nothing is impossible (Castillo, 1990, p. 54). Their faith accompanied the Filipinos throughout their history, even before the Spaniards introduced the Christian religion. God is ever-present, especially in nature. Pre-Hispanic Filipinos were animists and regarded natural calamities as their god's sign of displeasure. The gods were worshipped through rituals, nature feasts, charms, and other symbols (p.51). Observing religious traditions has served to keep the Filipino family together (Isip, 1990).

The Philippines is the only predominantly Christian nation in Asia. About 85% of the population is Roman Catholic, 3% are Protestant, 6% belong to indigenous Christian cults, and about 5% are Muslims (Chan, 1992, p. 266).

Education is another important cultural value; it is considered an inheritance and parents take pride in displaying school diplomas in their living rooms. Whether parents are rich or poor, their goal is that the children finish college; offspring who obtain a degree are expected to support their brothers and sisters in return. This obligation is expected by the parents even when the offspring have their own families; it is an example of utang na loob.
Utang na loob (debt of gratitude) refers to reciprocal obligations. The word loob literally means "inside" but when Filipinos use the expression, loob means the core of one’s personhood, where the true worth of a person lies (De Mesa, 1989, p. 1). Utang na loob is an appropriate concept to describe a person in relationship to others because it provides an insight as to what kind of person one is. Relationships are very important and they are strengthened by the acceptance of obligation and responsibility to one another, the reciprocity or utang na loob. Harmony is preserved whenever possible. Confrontation is avoided as much as possible. For the Filipinos, utang na loob often lasts a lifetime (Aspillera, 1986; Hockings, 1993; Santos Nacu, 1994; Castillo, 1990). Final payment of a debt is hard to determine because it is based on service. For example, children are considered indebted to their parents for life because their parents gave birth to them (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994, p. 430). This is a strong value in the family.

Hiya (shame or embarrassment) is a direct result of long years of colonization (Castillo, 1990). Western colonizers are responsible for the Filipinos looking at themselves as lesser than the fair-skinned conquerors who treated them as an inferior race. As dark-skinned natives,
they were not good enough. "The Filipinos were brown-skinned, physically identifiable, strange-speaking and strange-looking to Americans. To the usual indiscriminate brutality of war thus added the factor of racial hostility" (Zinn, 1980, p. 308). Hiya is an inability to meet expected goals and is also tied to submission. Sometimes decisions are made to conform rather than express personal conviction. Rev. C. Moraga (personal communication, February 19, 1998) said that "Hiya refers to being considerate to others. By not being individualistic, we can avoid doing a lot of wrong to others. Hiya is avoiding the wrong and doing the good. Through hiya we become aware of our action's repercussion to a greater society. It is a value unique to Filipinos because other Asians are not all like us." He disagreed that hiya, interpreted as shame, was brought about by colonization; Filipinos, he said, should not blame outsiders for feeling that way. He further stated that it is our own colonial mentality that makes us look at white skin and the English language as better. Furthermore, he said, when interpreting Filipino values one should not overlook the positive. The Filipino values as good or bad depends on the application (C. Moraga, personal communication, February 19, 1998). In hiya, family or group comes first, before the self. Hiya is linked with amor.
propio (self-respect, self-esteem, and pride), which makes Filipinos highly sensitive to personal affront, real or imagined (Chan, 1992; Isip, 1990). Personal insult to one’s amor propio may lead to aggressive behavior. But hiya provides a balance between the aggressive behavior and shaming of others. Filipinos prefer not to express negative feelings and not to ask questions (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994, p.431). As Fr. Moraga said, Filipino values can either be positive or negative, depending on their application and interpretation.

Pakikisama (cooperation or getting along with) is a denial of one’s own wishes for the sake of the group (Aspillera, 1986, p. 55). "Pakikisama is the equitable sharing of goods and services in a spirit of partnership among all who help to produce the goods or render the services. It is the willingness to share the burdens as well as the rewards of living together" (De la Costa, ?, p.43). Pakikisama is an inclination to be always together; an orientation toward group formation, like ethnic groups; celebration of any event with relatives, friends, or associates; participation in fiesta-like events. Pakikisama is a primary Filipino value linked with social acceptance; it is like saying “I will try” instead of saying “no” and
handling delicate situations by the use of a mediator or go-between (Isip, 1990).

The older Filipino generation adheres strongly to community-oriented cultural values, which run counter to the individualistic American values that influence the younger generation. Conflict is inevitable due to a discontinuity of cultural values that results in a generational gap. As Bellah (1985) pointed out, “We live in a society that encourages us to cut free from the past, to define our own selves, to choose the groups with which we wish to identify” (p. 154).

Loyalty, interdependence, respect for authority, family values, religion, education, and extended family relationships are part of Filipino culture. This way of life is what the older Filipino Americans know; it is the culture that enabled generations of Filipinos to survive the tests of time, events, and colonization. Older Filipino Americans are proud to be Filipinos and the majority of parents and grandparents expect Filipinos born or raised here to continue the Filipino way of life in order to succeed. The younger generation is expected to respect their elders by being polite, to use family as a reference group in decision-making, to live at home, to finish college, to help in the education of their siblings, to
support their parents, to attend family gatherings, to put off boy-girl relationships until after college, and to go to church with the family. This way of life embodies the importance of family, religion, education, children, and the practice of utang na loob, hiya, amor propio and pakikisama. Family is the center. Family comes first. Family provides the support system (Andres & Ilada-Andres, 1987).

For the younger generation, this is a big challenge and expectation. More often than not these expectations (way of life) go against the kind of life their peers have (Heras & Revilla, 1994). “Research on Filipino Americans suggests that generational conflict most often arises when parents rely on their traditional hierarchical authority and demand respect and obedience from their children” (Agbayani-Siewert & Revilla, 1995, p.163). Intergenerational conflict for the Filipino American family is a day-to-day reality. What can be done to close this gap? Storytelling may be the answer.

**Storytelling**

According to Livo & Rietz (1986), storytelling is an art form, an ancient form, a ritualized and patterned act, an immediate experience, a negotiation, an entertainment and a game. Storytelling is a means a person uses to
express thoughts, feelings, and experiences in different ways— in oral form, gestures, songs, and literature—for the purpose of passing on traditions, preserving history, healing relationships, building communities. The practice of storytelling is at least as old as the language of mankind; it probably dates back to the first human beings, who left clues in the drawings and etchings found in ancient dwellings. History is passed on through works of art, through oral traditions, and through written literature (Hamilton & Weiss, 1990; Herman, 1993; Jeter, 1993).

Abascal-Hildebrand (1994) pointed out that in telling our stories we bring together our pasts and presents into visions of what we can become in the future. It is an essential connection for individuals who wish to create an understanding and an identity. For as we share our stories with others, we listen to ourselves. As we take time to listen to the stories of others, we realize our similarities. Realization of the connection with others encourages more telling of our stories.

Within the family, story sharing helps build its identity and its character. Yerby, Buerkel-Rothfuss, and Bochner (1990) wrote that the family stories (a) teach moral lessons by promoting and building the conscience of members, (b) connect the generations by forming and reinforcing the collective memory's point of view, and (c) shape and define the identity of family members. A family
can make use of stories to create a meaningful connection for its members. An individual story becomes a collective story (p. 210).

As the members are given voices to share their stories, their experiences become a stepping stone for a better future. As Jeter (1993) stated, "Perceiving and telling stories allows the family to unfold and blossom forth into wisdom for facing the future with hope and fortitude" (p. 281).

Leanne Wolff (1993) saw family tales as part of students' heritage and as an aid for students in understanding the history of their families, their communication patterns and meanings. Believing in the importance of personal narrative, she required her students to write family stories. The result of using family stories in the communication class proved how "family stories promote family awareness, intergenerational sharing, an understanding of family and self, and an appreciation for the uniqueness of the family" (Wolff, 1993, p.1).

Rosenfeld (1993) studied the students' evaluations in Wolff's Family Communication course and found that stories led to (a) self-clarification, (b) a cathartic experience, and (c) bonding (p.17). The study supported Wolff's (1993) belief in family tales as part of the students' heritage and as an aid for them to understand their family history, communication patterns, and meanings. Narratives provided
insights into students’ own families as well as the families of others.

Rappaport (1993) saw narrative studies as a powerful analytical and methodological tool for those interested in the relationship between individual lives and the social processes of communities. In addition, “… narrative approach highlights the nature and functions of the community, the power of its narrative, and how it changes (and is changed by) the members’ personal life stories” (p. 240). This supported Wolff’s belief regarding narrative as an important tool for communication and building relationships.

Bellah and his colleagues’ (1985) coined the phrase “community of memory” that calls for remembering and retelling stories of the past. It is community that tells stories of success as well as failures, pains and sufferings. The family is one setting where children are told stories of parents’ and grandparents’ lives with hope for a better future.

Besides providing identities for individuals, families and communities, storytelling is also used by healthcare givers. Becvar and Becvar (1993), in their article on Storytelling and Family Therapy, quoted William Carlos Williams: “Their story, yours, mine—it’s what we all carry with us on this trip we take, and we owe it to each other to respect our stories and learn from them” (p. 145). In counseling, narratives help clients make sense of their
life experiences. Telling their stories places their experiences in a wider context of the family history, which facilitates the search for meaning.

Family therapists are not the only professionals who use stories with their clients. McMillen (1996), in "The Importance of Storytelling: a New Emphasis by Law Scholars," wrote that "law recognizes the power of storytelling in trying to regulate what stories can be heard." The lawyer is seen as the modern legal counterpart of the oral storyteller. He solves problems by creating a legal story that identifies the client’s problem and suggests a solution (Mckenzie, 1992). For Matasar (1992), a just society is an attainable goal for law only by bringing stories to the front, because stories shape our laws and the legal profession. “Who we were affects who we are and what we advocate” (p. 360). Stories of the past shape who we are and what we stand for.

Storytelling is considered the oldest form of education. By constructing stories in the mind, learning takes place. Somehow children are more open to do classroom work in the context of storytelling (Hamilton & Weiss, 1990) that stimulates their imagination. They can create their own images from what they hear instead of using others’ images.

Storytelling touches everyone: the young, the old, individuals, families, and communities, at home and school, at work and at play. Everyone has a story to tell.
Summary of the Literature Review

It was clear from the literature review on immigration that global historical events and the resulting immigration flow to the U.S. contributed to the generational and cultural gap in Filipino American immigrant families. The evolution of Republic of the Philippines’ relationship with the U.S., from ally, enemy, colonizer, back to ally caused changes in the lives of Filipinos and Filipino Americans. Similarly, it has affected the demographics of the Filipino families who went through separation or reunification whenever U.S. immigration laws were changed to regulate who should be Americans, what Americans should look like (Immigration Act of 1924, quota system) or what skills were needed in the American workforce.

The literature review on Filipino cultural values relative to family, religion, education, and community-oriented relationships provided information for a better understanding of how the values held by the older Filipino generation differ from the individual-oriented American culture. Compared to my search several years ago for literature on Filipino culture, I found more material in the Asian American category. I took this as a sign of increased interest in Filipino Americans and a greater recognition of Asian American authors.

The literature dealing with the generational gap presented different concepts of that phenomenon; writers
theories on reasons for the generation gap ranged from acculturation to changes in the environment to age differences to differences in values and norms. I consulted several studies of Asian Americans that included European immigrants; findings showed heightened intergenerational conflict among immigrant families, with acculturation as the main reason. I found only one study on Filipino American intergenerational conflict (Heras & Revilla, 1994). The findings of intergenerational conflicts in the studies and the lack of specific Filipino American studies make this research more significant. According to Dorothy Laigo Cordova (personal communication, March 27, 1998), founder and executive director of Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS), there is a national need for research papers on post-1965 immigrants. As a result, I received an invitation to present this study at two major conferences to be held in Oregon and in the Philippines.

The literature on storytelling highlighted the importance of linking the past and the present through sharing of life experiences that give value to life, in the present and for the future. Several authors and writers agree on the significance of storytelling to deepen our identities as individuals, as family members and as a community; to strengthen our relationships with each other and to affect our future. The literature also illustrated
the use of storytelling in the professional field by healthcare givers, educators, and lawyers.

The lack of studies on Filipino Americans make this research more significant. Additional information is needed on Filipino Americans as a fast-growing Asian American group. This study on storytelling as a tool for bridging the gap among Filipino American generations or in any Asian American group could be the first on this topic. I did not encounter any literature specifically studying storytelling as a means of bridging the gap.
CHAPTER III
Research Design and Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to discover the effect of storytelling in bridging past, present, and future experiences of three generations from post-1965 Filipino immigrant families: grandparents, parents, and children. I used in-depth interview qualitative method to gather information that is not observable by collecting data from the "native's point of view," which allowed the respondents to share the meaning of their experiences in their own words and from their own perspective (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).

The roots of qualitative evaluation methods are derived directly from traditions of anthropology and sociology which approach the study of human beings as needing to be fundamentally different from other scientific inquiries (Drew, Hardman, & Hart, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1984; Patton, 1987; Silverman, 1993). Patton (1987) stated that "qualitative methods consist of three kinds of data
collection: (1) in-depth, open-ended interviews; (2) direct observation; and (3) written documents, including such sources as open-ended written items on questionnaires, personal diaries, and program records" (p. 7).

**Methodological Overview**

For this study, I used the in-depth interview as the primary qualitative method. I considered this to be ideal because interviewing itself mirrored the data I sought; the means matched the ends, as I asked the participants to tell their stories. In their own words, participants shared reflections about their family relationships and their experiences of storytelling in a gathering of three generations. The purpose was to verbalize meaning that was not usually shared openly. In-depth interviewing was ideal for this study because the purpose was to understand deeply the experience of others and the meaning that experience has for them (Merriam, 1988; Seidman, 1991; Silverman, 1993). According to Patton (1987):

> Interviews add an inner perspective to outward behaviors; to learn about things we cannot directly observe . . . we cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions . . . We cannot observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. The purpose of interviewing, then, is to enter the other person’s perspective (p.109).
As the interviewer, I entered the world of the participants as they perceived it, not as I did. I portrayed their stories, from their perspective (Merriam, 1988, p.72). The objective was to report the subjects' views in the spontaneous and meaningful way that they were actually expressed, with minimum interpretation (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Validity and Reliability

Portraying the world as the participants see it is critical for the validity and reliability of in-depth interviewing as a qualitative method. Parry & Doan (1994) wrote about the legitimacy of one’s story in a world that lacks the tool to measure it:

One is that each person’s stories become self-legitimizing. A story told by a person in his/her own words of his/her own experience does not have to plead its legitimacy in any higher court of narrative appeal, because no narrative has any greater legitimacy than the person’s own. Therefore attempts by others to question the validity of such a story are themselves illegitimate. (pp. 26-27)

As the researcher whose purpose was to uncover and understand what the respondents’ experience of storytelling was, I had to rely on the respondent’s own words for credibility because my findings were not arrived at by means of statistical procedure. “Interpretive accounts are grounded in the language of the people studied and rely as
much as possible on their own words and concepts" (Maxwell, 1992, p. 289).

Patton (1987) suggested that in-depth interviews’ validity and reliability rely on collection of data from the people studied as they see the world plus the researcher’s own understanding. He further suggested that “in-depth interviewing . . . typically include portrayals of the world as understood by the people studied, as well as the researcher’s own understanding” (p. 20). Similarly, according to Guba & Lincoln (1985), when doing in-depth interviews, interviewee and interviewer become “peers” (p. 269). Therefore the researcher’s understanding of the data collected contributes to the outcome of the analysis. Reason and Rowan stated that both the type of knowledge gained and the validity of the analysis are based in ‘deep’ understanding (Reason & Rowan cited in Silverman, 1993, p. 95).

In-depth interviewing is not characterized as looking for answers to questions nor as a kind of evaluation. Instead, the interviewer has to have a genuine interest in the stories of others because the stories and the persons are of worth (Seidman, 1991, p. 3). As the project designer of Project Heart to Heart, I used storytelling as the means of communicating to the participants that I valued the
meaning of their life experiences. As the interviewer for
the study, I brought my belief in the worth of their
stories, my experience as a Filipino immigrant, my personal
background as a parent and member of the Filipino American
community, and as a counselor. Swisher (1986) pointed out
the benefits gained when members of minority groups are the
researchers conducting studies of their own groups:

The importance of minority researchers conducting
research about the groups of which they are members
has been stressed and encouraged by the educational
research community. . . . Authentic researchers are
those who are members of the group about whom they
write. . . . The benefits of the "insider" approach
have been identified as sensitivity to the best
interests of the people studied and greater knowledge
about the community. (pp. 185, 187)

Furthermore, someone always has to interpret the data. As a
result, validity must be evaluated in terms of the
researcher's experience (Merriam, 1988, p.167). I believed
what I personally contributed to the validity and
reliability of the study.

Research Design

In-depth, open-ended interviews have three basic
approaches: (a) the informal conversational interview, (b)
the general interview guide approach, and (c) the
For this study, I used the general interview guide
approach. It served as a basic checklist to make sure I
covered the same areas for all participants. Interview questions (see Appendix A) were developed based on the research questions addressed by the study. The interview guide was designed to find out the participants' background, family relationships, concepts of Filipino values and the generation gap, and their experience of storytelling as it related to their family relationships. The guide was also set up for two interview sessions. The interview questions prior to Project Heart to Heart covered three areas: family background, Filipino identity, and generation gap. The second set of interview questions covered the intergenerational storytelling experience in Project Heart to Heart. The number of questions used were based on the number of topics because the interview guide approach allowed me to ask questions in no particular order, and to explore the topics. I was free to word questions spontaneously. The guide as a framework kept me focused.

Entry to the Population

Project Heart to Heart was founded in the spring of 1993 to provide an opportunity for Filipino youth and young adults to explore the linkages between cultural identity, self-esteem, and academic performance. It started as a one-day field trip for seventh and eight grade, Filipino American students to the University of San Diego. It evolved into workshops and conferences that provided
opportunities for children and parents and to discuss the generational gap and communication topics. Students from middle schools, high schools and colleges, along with parents and professionals, serve as team members who facilitate and present at workshops. Storytelling is the method used for presentations and activities.

I had ready access to potential Project Heart to Heart workshop participants because of my position as founder and project designer and because of the volunteer work I do in my parish, at my children’s schools and with Filipino American professional and civic groups. These contacts afforded me access to students and their parents of students, friends and fellow community volunteers and their family members. As a result, participants were representative of diverse community groups.

I mailed out packets to different community organizations and leaders. It contained a letter of invitation to participate either as a volunteer interviewee or as a regular conference participant (see Appendix B), a registration form (see Appendix C), the dissertation abstract, a description of Project Heart to Heart (see Appendix D), a newspaper clipping (see Appendix E), and press releases (see Appendix F) on Project Heart to Heart and my qualifications.

Participant Selection

In order to have a good cross-section for this research, I targeted eighteen Filipino American
participants: eight youths (four females and four males), six parents (three fathers and three mothers), and four grandparents (two grandmothers and two grandfathers). An arbitrary total of 18 participants was decided on—a number I considered manageable in terms of the time required to collect data from the 36 interviews planned. Study respondents were required to attend the Project Heart to Heart conference. Based on past attendance at the conferences, children outnumbered adults so I included a greater number of children. Grandparents were fewest in number because during the formation of the research proposal, Project Heart to Heart had planned to simply encourage attendance of grandparents at the conferences since I was not sure if we would get a good response. This was also the reason why study respondents were not required to be related to one another.

I personally handled all recruitment logistics, mailing and/or distributing letters of invitation to members of our church youth groups (four parents and two youths volunteered from these groups), to Mount Carmel High School students attending a Tagalog class and to Mira Mesa High School students in a Counseling class (three students volunteered from these classes). The parents of one student and a sister of a friend completed the number of parent volunteers. For the grandparents, I approached several senior citizens in our community, encountering hesitation from potential volunteers, even resistance from their
children. I finally found two grandfathers, one of whom was dependent on the other for transportation. I also approached senior citizens who attended daily masses in our church. Finally, a couple agreed. Due to difficulty in convincing grandmothers to participate, I ended up with three grandfathers and one grandmother.

All volunteers were required to participate in two individual field interviews and attend the day-long Project Heart to Heart conference. They were interviewed before and after their Project Heart to Heart experience. Eleven out of the eighteen participants had another family member present at the sessions, either as a volunteer interviewee or as a regular session participant. However, none of the grandparents had other family members as participants. Besides the volunteers, there were other conference participants who were not part of the study.

The following selection criteria were used:

**Youth**

1. Participant's parents are both adult immigrants to the United States.
2. Participant was born in the United States or immigrated to the United States before first grade school age.
3. Participant cannot speak any Philippine dialect.
4. Participant must be in grades seven through twelve.
Parents

1. Participant was born in the Philippines.
2. Participant must be an adult immigrant to the United States.
3. Participant must speak English.

Grandparents

1. Participant was born in the Philippines.
2. Participant must be adult immigrant to the United States.
3. Participant must speak English.

The week of the conference, I sent a letter of reminder (see Appendix G) to the participants to make sure they had not forgotten the details of their participation and to confirm their attendance. I also encouraged them to invite friends and family members to participate in the conference, a practice Project Heart to Heart encourages because it facilitates building on the conference experience at home.

Protection for Human Subjects

Approval for this research was obtained in February 1997 from the USD Committee on the Protection of Human Subjects (CHPS). Data collection started in May of 1997. In addition to explaining the nature of the study in the letter of invitation, I repeated the following information
to the participants prior to each interview and answered any questions they had.

1. The purpose of the research is to study how Project Heart to Heart uses storytelling in bridging perceived gaps between generations.

2. The Project Heart to Heart conference will last from six to eight hours.

3. Participants will have an in-depth taped interview before and after their participation in the conference. The expected duration of each interview is approximately one hour.

4. There are minimal risks for participants in this study since personal identification will be excluded, allowing them to recount topics that bring emotional responses.

5. The consent form permission allows the researcher and Project Heart to Heart to use the conference video in future presentations.

6. Participation is voluntary.

7. The participants may quit the project at any time.

The consent form (see Appendix H) was signed at the first interview. Parents signed for children under eighteen; these children signed an additional assent form (see Appendix I) to confirm that they understood the study risks and were participating willingly.
I transcribed the audio-taped interviews, identifying them by number and sequence. I used pseudonyms and reviewed the content of the quotes or descriptions to make certain they did not inadvertently reveal a participant’s identity. I did not disclose the participant’s identity in my report on the findings in Chapter IV of this study; instead I coded the transcripts to protect the identity and to report the outcome of the study. I maintained the informed consent and assent forms separate from the data.

Data Collection

Interviews

Each interview took place in the location of the participant’s choice. I asked that it be a private place, with minimal disturbance during the interview. Interviews took place in private offices, homes, empty classrooms and parks.

The initial interview was designed to develop a non-threatening conversational relationship with the interviewee. I started the interview asking about their family background. Then I asked their definition of a Filipino American, leading to the question about their Filipino identity. The last questions were focused on relationships with their parents and grandparents. For the first interviews, there was hardly any change in the sequence of the guideline questions. However, for the second interviews, I had to move the last interview topic
of Project Heart to Heart to the beginning because the participants found it easier to recall the highlights and then to share what they learned from of the storytelling experience.

Most interviews lasted thirty to sixty minutes. Four of them took about an hour and a half. Two of these latter interviews began to speak of sensitive family relationship issues. For reason of privacy, I asked if they would prefer that the recorder be put on pause temporarily. When we returned to the flow of the interview topic, the recorder was turned back on. During the other two interviews, I continued the audio-recording because the subjects shared additional interesting stories about their growing up years and professional backgrounds. In general, the second interview was longer. The interviewees were more comfortable and had more to say. The answers flowed more freely.

I recorded the interviews to provide a reliable reference as I worked on the data (Silverman, 1993, p.11) and because transcripts obtained by audio-recording provided a superior record of 'naturally occurring' interaction (p.10).

I transcribed and summarized each interview, dividing the responses into three categories: grandparents, parents and children. I then sent each participant a self-stamped envelope with a copy of the summary (see Appendix K) for review, comments and additional information. I followed
this with a phone call in case there were any questions. Some shared their feedback by telephone, but most returned summary and comments by mail. The participants seemed satisfied with the summary; some commented on the responses of the other groups.

Observations

In addition to the audio-recording, I took notes of the interview highlights. I correlated this with my regularly written journal observations suggested by the interviews, and descriptive notes on the verbal and non-verbal behavior of the respondents and myself. I used the journal from the planning stage to the end of my study. Also, as I transcribed the interviews, I added notes of my own observations and descriptions of the interviewees as they responded to interview questions. These included tone and volume of voice, facial expressions, body language and personality. To these, I added my own reaction to and interpretation of the responses. I italicized and enclosed my notes in parentheses to differentiate them from the actual interview transcription. Whenever I encountered an interviewee's "Aha!" and significant quotes, I underlined them right away for easier access during the final writing of the analyzed data.

The primary data of in-depth, open-ended interviews are quotations. What people say, what they think, how they feel, what they have done, and what they know—these are the things one can learn from talking to people, from interviewing them. . . . The raw data of interviews are the actual words spoken by
interviewees. There is no substitute for these data. (Patton, 1987, pp. 136-137)

The basis for my interpretations were the inner perspectives of the participants that I analyzed through their responses. As I collected the data, I was able to gather information as to how the use of storytelling in Project Heart to Heart influenced their views of family values, communication, and relationships.

Data Analysis

The data analysis was designed to find out differences and similarities in the participants' experience of storytelling in Project Heart to Heart in relation to their Filipino cultural and family values, family communication and relationships. As a guide, I used Reichert's three kinds of generation gaps as explained in Chapter II: (a) developmental gap, such as age difference, (b) empathy gap, such as differences in circumstances, and (c) value gap, such as difference in upbringing. I identified responses that illustrated each kind of gap. In addition to Reichert's concept, I also used Mead's theory of cultural patterns—postfigurative (presence of the grandparents to maintain culture), cofigurative (parents and children relying on their peers), and prefigurative (children more
informed of the global environment than parents), as explained in Chapter II, focusing on the role of the grandparents in keeping the traditions. Some of the storytelling concepts I used are storytelling as an aid in understanding histories of families, communication patterns, and meanings (Wolff, 1993; Yerby, et al., 1995).

Data analysis began as data was collected. To facilitate this process I took notes during the interview and wrote entries in the journal. I reviewed data from individual interviews for similarities as well as differences, comparing data such as family background (age, place of birth, number of siblings, education, jobs), how they got to the U.S., and comments on the questions. The interview guide helped in the comparisons of responses. I gained insights into meanings and experiences that were common to several subjects. Having children, parents, and grandparents as subjects provided multiple forms of data that served as "important validity checks as each form of data informed the others" (Murphy, 1992, p. 156).

To review data after I transcribed the interviews, I reread the transcription. I marked, underlined, labeled, and developed categories based on the interview questions. Initially, I used the following categories; storytelling, Project Heart to Heart activities, wish for change in the
family before and after, quotable quotes, Filipino values, effects on family, Filipino pride, generation gap, background, and expression of love. I used colored markers and adhesive dots for codes. Although this meant broad topics for initial coding, the interview data elaborated on the general codes, adding greater specificity to the general codes (Jarrett, 1992, p. 178). Once data were coded, I used the Microsoft Power Point program to enter the data according to the categories. This program allowed me to record the summary of data in a slide show format. Printed copies were then sent to the participants asking them if the results were plausible. I added any comments they provided by phone or in writing and narrowed the categories by combining related data.

I conducted the analysis group by group, beginning with the grandparents and ending with the children. I compared individual interviews, using the major themes selected. For each group, I first analyzed the interviews done before Project Heart to Heart, using the themes of the family values, being Filipino and communication, then did the same for the data collected after Project Heart to Heart, looking at their intergenerational storytelling experiences. When I was finished with all the groups, I
compared similarities and differences among the three groups.

In addition to the research questions, I used also the following to serve as guidelines in the analysis: (a) What connections were there among the experiences of the participants? (b) What did the participants and myself understand now that we did not understand before the interviews? (c) How were the interviews consistent with the literature on storytelling and the generation gap? (d) How inconsistent? (e) What new insights did I gain? (Seidman, 1991, p. 102). “The last stage of interpretation and analysis, then, calls upon the researcher to ask what the research meant to him or her . . . what was the experience like, how do I understand it, make sense of it, see connection in it” (p. 102).

**Summary**

The research study was designed to understand the ways in which Filipino American children, parents, and grandparents interpreted an experience of intergenerational storytelling offered by Project Heart to Heart as a means of bridging the past, present and future in regard to family values, communication and relationships. In-depth interviewing was selected as the appropriate qualitative
methodology the richness of their experiences to capture through their own storytelling.

The study was an opportunity to explore the importance of storytelling in understanding differences and similarities; to find meaning in a common experience as echoed by another. The meaning and richness of an experience cannot be measured with numbers. Qualitative interviewing provided a framework for the participants to use their own language to express themselves (Patton, 1987, p. 115).

The findings appear to confirm that in-depth interview was an appropriate research tool for capturing the richness of individual yet similar experiences; the participants’ increased understanding of the complexities of the generation gap will surely enhance family cohesiveness.
CHAPTER IV
Presentation of Findings

Introduction

As we share an experience with others, we also explore its meaning for ourselves and whomever it is being shared with. This is how stories are told. We tell stories as an attempt to figure out the meaning of our experience (Yerby, et al., 1990). We select certain details to make up the story that is coming out of the experience.

Most families develop a body of stories that is passed on from one generation to the next. These stories are used to preserve each member's identity, history, and values. As family members share their stories beyond their family boundaries, those who listen to them recognize their own stories as well. Stories touch not only our past life experiences but also influence our becoming as an individual now and in the future.

There are 18 people you are about to encounter through their stories of growing up with their families in two different countries—the Republic of the Philippines and the United States—at different times, with different people.
who touched their lives, some by choice, some by virtue of
birth. To help you walk their journey, this chapter is
divided into three sections, each of which includes stories
to help us connect with the ways our 18 participants are
trying to make sense of their lives. The first section
presents general profiles of the 18 participants as shown
in Table 1, all of whom are introduced with pseudonyms.

The second section offers the major theme of
Generational Link, which includes sub-themes of Family
Values, Being A Filipino, and Communication. The three sub-
themes give the readers a taste of the grandparents’ way of
life in the early 1900s and the parents’ way of life in the
mid 1900s in the Philippines, with the family as the center
of their lives. In addition, the children’s way of life in
the U.S. in the late 1900s is also presented. The stories
in this section, relating experiences spanning almost a
century, tell how grandparents, parents, and children
regard each other. Their lives are linked because of birth,
way of life, and similar heritage. Differences in their way
of life cause conflict and discontinuity in their
relationships.

The third section presents the second major theme of
Storytelling as a Link, and includes the sub-themes of
Understanding Family and Self, Building a Community of
Table 1. Participants Profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>AGE OF ENTRY</th>
<th>NUMBER OF SIBLINGS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
<th>PARENT'S JOB</th>
<th>PROFESSION</th>
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<td>65</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Rancher</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>Teacher</td>
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<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
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</tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARAH **</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>6/11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>TEACHER</td>
<td>Teacher / Administrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURA</td>
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<td>37</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>Chemical Engineer / Lab Analyst</td>
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<td>USN / Accountant</td>
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<tr>
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<td>HW</td>
<td>USN / Assembler</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Teacher / Clerk</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>RN / USN</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>RN / Architect</td>
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<tr>
<td>GRACE ***</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RN / USN</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: ASTERISKS INDICATE FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS
Memory, Passing on of Family Values and History, and Intergenerational Sharing. This section offers the participants’ experiences of storytelling with each other in the non-threatening environment of a Project Heart to Heart conference. The participants shared how the experience of storytelling brought about understanding, enlightenment, appreciation, and healing of family relationships. It was an experience of rediscovering storytelling as a learning tool and a means of building community.

Profiles of the Participants

Grandparents

Jessie is a 73-year-old immigrant, born in Mindanao, Philippines, who came to the United States in 1989. His daughter, who is a nurse, sponsored him. He is the eight of sixteen children who grew up on their family ranch. He is married and has eight children and eighteen grandchildren. He finished pre-law studies in 1948, obtained a B.A. in Psychology with a minor in Sociology in 1954, and became the head of the political science department of a university. He was a Lieutenant Colonel in the reserve armed forces. Currently, he volunteers for community agencies such as medical centers and senior citizen
centers. He lives with his wife and helps in the care of his grandchildren. Jessie became an American citizen several months after the interview.

Lino is a 78-year-old United States citizen, born in Luzon, Philippines, who came to the United States in 1983 as a WWII veteran. He is the youngest of seven children who grew up on a rice and tobacco farm. He is married and has eight children and nine grandchildren. He obtained an M.A. in Education in 1965. As the superintendent of a science and technology institute and the executive director of the school’s training institute, he traveled extensively in Asia. Currently, he helps manage a senior citizen center. He lives with his children.

Pilar is a 74-year-old immigrant, born in Luzon, Philippines, who came to the United States in 1980. Her daughter sponsored her and her husband. She is the fifth of ten children who grew up on a farm. She is married and has five children and nine grandchildren. She graduated from college with a B.S. in Elementary Education and studied for a Master’s degree but was unable to finish her thesis. She taught for 34 years. In the United States, she worked for a daycare center and in a school district food service department before retirement. She lives with her husband, Pepe, another of this study’s participants.
Pepe is a 79-year-old immigrant, born in Luzon, Philippines, who came to the United States in 1979. His daughter sponsored him and his wife. He is the fourth of five children who grew up on a farm. He is married and has five children and nine grandchildren. He obtained his B.S. in Education and became a high school principal. He finished his Master’s and worked as a professor in a trade and art school for teachers until he retired. As an immigrant, he worked as a security officer and assembler in an electronics firm. He retired in 1989.

Parents

Laura is a 44-year-old immigrant, born and raised in Luzon, Philippines, who came to the United States in 1979. Her brother, who is in the U.S. Navy, sponsored her parents, who sponsored her. She is the fourth of seven children. She is married and has two children: a girl, 16 and a boy, nine. Both were born here in San Diego. She has a B.S. in Medical Technology. In the United States she worked in a bank and studied computer programming. Currently, she works as a program analyst for a community college. Laura is the mother of Carol, another of this study’s participants.

Sarah is a 53-year-old immigrant, born in Visayas, Philippines, who came here in 1980. Her older brother, who
is in the U.S. Navy, sponsored her parents, who sponsored the rest of the family. She is the fourth of six children of a first marriage. Her father, who was a college administrator, has 11 children with his second wife. She met her husband in San Diego. They have two children: a boy, 14 and a girl, 13. Sarah received her B.S. in Elementary Education in 1965 and taught for 16 years. Her first job as an immigrant was as a production assembler, then as a payroll clerk. She stayed home with her children for five years. Next, she worked as a teacher, to be with her children and to receive free childcare. In 1987, she became the director of the same preschool and daycare center. Sarah is the mother of Jose, another of this study's participants.

Pura is a 43-year-old immigrant, born in Luzon, Philippines, who came to the United States in 1991. Her oldest brother, who is in the U.S. Navy, sponsored her parents, who sponsored the rest of the family. She is the third of seven children. She is married and has one son, six, to whom she teaches Tagalog. Her son was born in San Diego before her husband arrived as an immigrant. She finished college with a B.S. in Business Administration. Currently, she is the copy editor for a local Filipino
American newspaper and a drug and alcohol treatment specialist at an Asian American community center.

Bert is a 47-year-old immigrant, born in Luzon, Philippines, who came to the United States in 1974 when he was in the U.S. Navy. He has one brother and five sisters. He sponsored his parents as immigrants. All siblings are in the United States except one sister. He is married to a nurse. They have three girls, 16, 14, and 3. He has B.S. in Chemical Engineering. He presently works for a Veterans Administration medical center as a clinical laboratory scientist.

Reggie is a 44-year-old immigrant, born in Luzon, Philippines, who came to the United States in 1972 when he was in the Navy. He is the oldest of three children. He is married to a nurse and they have three girls, 17, 16, and 15. He graduated from high school, finished one year of college and joined the U.S. Navy. He sponsored his parents. In 1993 he retired. He works as an accountant for his sister’s home health agency in Los Angeles and comes home every weekend.

Ramon is a 43-year-old immigrant, born in Luzon, Philippines, who came to the United States in 1975 when he was in the U.S. Navy. He is the fourth of five children. His mother lives with his stepfather. Ramon is married to a
nurse and they have two children: a girl, 17 and a boy, 16. He finished high school and two years of college. He retired from military service in 1996. He works as a test technician for a turbine company. Ramon is the father of Grace, another of this study’s participants.

Children

Jose is a 14-year-old ninth grade student born and raised in San Diego. His sister is 12 years old. For recreation, he spends time with his family and relatives on Sundays, goes on family vacations and fishes with his father. His mother Sarah is the director of a preschool and daycare center and his father works in a hospital housekeeping department.

Ric is a 16-year-old eleventh grade student born and raised in Portland, Oregon who moved to San Diego with his mother and two brothers in 1997. He is the oldest son. His mother is a nurse and his father, retired from the U.S. Navy, works for the U.S. post office. They divorced in August, 1996.

Eddie is a 17-year-old, eleventh grade student born and raised in San Diego. He has a sister, 20, and a brother, 11. His father retired from the U.S. Navy, works as a clerk at the San Diego police department. His mother is a nurse on disability who works as an assembler for a
computer company. His only living grandparent resides in Los Angeles. He is active as a student leader of the Filipino American club.

Paul is a 13-year-old seventh grade student born and raised in San Diego. He has an older sister, 16 and a brother, 21. His father is in the U.S. Navy and his mother does inventory work. His only living grandparent resides in the Philippines. He is a member of the football team.

Carol is a 16-year-old eleventh grade student born and raised in San Diego. Her brother is nine years old. Her mother sponsored her father. She was already five years old when her father arrived as an immigrant.

Agent is a 16-year-old eleventh grade student born and raised in San Diego. She has an adopted sister, 23, a brother, 20, and a sister, eight. Her father is retired from the U.S. Navy due to a permanent medical disability. Her mother works as an assembler of medical instruments. Agent works part-time to pay her bills. Her grandma took care of her until the age of seven.

Janet is a 13-year-old seventh grade student born in Redlands and currently living in Las Vegas with her parents. She has a brother, 27, and a sister, 29. Her father is a retired architect and her mother, who is a
nurse, works for a government agency. Janet loves to dance. She can perform over twenty Filipino native dances.

Grace is a 17-yea-old eleventh grade student born in New York and living in San Diego with her brother, 16, and her parents. Her mother is a nurse. She stayed home for six years when Grace was young. Her father, Ramon, is another of this study’s participants.

With a general profile of the 18 participants, we move on to enter the world of the first group, the grandparents; then the parents and last, the children. In this way, we get the opportunity to find out more about their background in their own generation, in their own time.

Generational Link

Family Values

For Filipinos, family refers to parents, siblings and relatives. They practice familistic values in which the norms are collective support, allegiance and obligation. Filipino traditions of familistic values also include hierarchical patterns of authority. These norms are more challenged in the family structure of post-1965 immigrants, in which grandparents were sponsored by their children rather than being the first immigrants in the family
structure. Family values are one of the bridges linking generations with one another.

**Simple and Frugal Life.** All the grandparent participants grew up on farms. As children, their environment consisted of home, school, and farm. They lived a simple but frugal life.

Pilar (GP) is the fifth of ten children, five boys and five girls. The girls in the family were not expected to work in the fields. They did all the housework. Even though Pilar loved to socialize, the distances between towns did not allow that:

> Our parents were really home-centered. Life was work, home, and church. That was all. And also with neighbors for small gatherings like for prayers, death in the family; those were the things we went to. We lived in the barrio (rural area). We just lived by ourselves. We just worked. We lived on the farm. We did not go places. . . . We did not have much social life. I missed that. I liked social.

Hard work was part of the simple and frugal life. Sons were expected to work on the farm with their fathers. There were no school buses for students. There was hardly any free time left for play because of the time spent going to school and then working on the farm.

Jessie (GP) is still very healthy and strong. In college, he was a member of the track and field and other
varsity teams. This good health could probably be attributed to his childhood way of life:

. . . Because we were a big family, we were focused in the richness of labor. We had a farm, a ranch. Our upbringing was from school to the farm. And we would walk the distance because there was no transportation. Every summer, we would have two carts and would go to the farm. It would take as much as six hours of travel from the town to the farm. Every Sunday evening we would go back to school in the capital. Every weekend, we would go back to the farm. This was when we were still young. But when we were already in the intermediate grades, we were already housed in town. But we’re also going home every weekend. That was our routine. Sometimes my cousins and I, about eight of us, would run from school at 2 o’clock in the afternoon. We would get to the farm about 9 o’clock in the evening. The eight of us would just run to the farm; that’s how we were brought up. That was a very good training that we had.

Daughters were expected to take care of the family needs at home. They had to make sure that when those who worked on the farm got back from the farm, they had food ready to eat. Pilar (GP) stated, “My father was the only one who worked in the farm. The girls did household chores: laundry, ironing, cooking, cleaning. Working in the farm was not compulsory. We were reared to stay home.”

Being used to a simple and frugal life helped Lino (GP) to survive his college years with bare necessities:

We were very poor. We could not even iron our clothes. What we did was to wash it, press it, put it under our pillows, and wore it to school. . . . So, when my relatives in my barrio knew that I was already a school superintendent, they even cried when they saw
me. This was the boy riding in the carabao (water buffalo).

Of the parent participants, only Bert & Reggie grew up on the farm. The rest grew up in towns and cities. Still, they had to live a frugal life because of the size of their families. Laura’s (P) parents tried to make it financially while keeping the family together. Her father went to work while her mother stayed home and looked after the children:

My mother did not work in the Philippines... My dad was the only one who worked at my grandmother’s factory... so money was tight. Just imagine. There were seven of us. We lived in a rented house. That was, like, the early ‘60s when I was in elementary school. Our life was a little difficult. We (siblings) were born two to three years apart. My mom was only 18 years old when she got married during WWII.

Bert (P) and his brother had to work on their grandmother’s farm away from their parents who had to make their living in another town. It was school, home, and farm life routine every day. “I raised cattle. We just went to school. Then came back home, got grass for the cow, cattle, and horses. Then we studied and went to bed. It was hard work.”

In contrast, the children participants no longer live a simple and frugal life. They have the conveniences of transportation, an abundance of food, and nearby schools. Their parents have access to credit cards for instant
funds. Therefore, parents can easily provide the material needs of the children.

Grace (C) shared how she took things for granted because her parents gave her whatever she asked for:

I know my mom would get me, like, clothes or whatever if I whine and act like a little baby (laughed). In fact, I know it was different for her when she was growing up because they did not have a lot.

Pilar (GP) shared with her grandchildren her observation of their daily school schedule:

When we went to school, we brought shrimp paste and rice wrapped in leaves, and banana, if there were ripe ones, for lunch every day. We walked to school so far away. But you, you have fried chicken, soda, and get a ride to school. And you don’t like chicken for two days in a row. We had the same meal morning, lunch, and dinner. We survived.

Navy life played a big role in the lives of the five children participants. Experiences included frequent moves at short intervals, separation from their fathers and relatives, attending new schools and having new friends, relying mostly on the available family support system, experiencing illness, having different places of birth for the siblings, and travel. Four of the participants shared their experiences. Agent (C) said, “My brother and I were both born in San Diego. The youngest sister was born in the Philippines when my dad was stationed there from 1988-1991.”
Grace (C) was born while her dad was away. They lived with relatives:

My mom told me that when my mom came here, I think my dad was in Chicago for more training. She stayed with my aunt. She was pregnant with me. They were very supportive and helpful even after I was born. We joined my dad in Chicago. . . . We moved to Hawaii, then California. It was hard for my mom. We were in Navy housing, with two kids at home not even a year apart—a lot of stress on her. I know my mom did not want to work while we were young so that she could spend time with us. She finally worked when we were in Hawaii.

Paul (C) went through the same experience:

We always moved wherever he’s stationed at. So we’re always traveling. . . . I’ve been to Japan and Guam. My brother and sister have been to other places that I don’t even know of. . . . We came here. I don’t have any idea when. I was born here in San Diego.

When asked what would he change in the past, he replied:

I think instead of moving around, I will stay in one area. Not only stay in one area, permanent friends. Like, instead of my dad and mom running around trying to find things and stores they could go to, just (spend time) talking to them.

Their father’s choice of a Navy career gained citizenship for the children, but it also resulted in complicated and difficult living patterns for the family.

Strict Discipline. Participants grew up with either a mother or a father who was a strict disciplinarian. Both parents could occupy the top level in the family hierarchical pattern of authority. Parent authority was not
questioned. For some families, grandparents continued to occupy that role.

Lino (GP) recalled, “Just a look at the eyes of my father, when we were eating, I had to eat everything on my plate.” For Pepe (GP), it was his mother whom he remembered as very strict. “My mother was so strict! If you have too much play, she got angry.” For Pilar (GP), even having a hair permanent was not allowed. She did it anyway! “Ako ay nagpakulot (I had a hair permanent). I really remember that! My father did not talk to me for a while!” (laughed)

But Lino (GP) was really determined to go to college even though his parents already said no. This was due to lack of money. However, he persisted. He questioned and then ignored his parents’ decision. He took the national entrance exam for Philippine Normal College anyway. Fortunately, he fulfilled the top 25% student admission requirement. His parents changed their decision because education also was one of their important goals for the children:

When I finished high school, they wanted me to stop because they could no longer afford to send me to college. The old idea of the people in the Philippines was that once you stopped studying or got out of school, they thought it was better for you to marry. I did not. I finished the high school. I told my father, “If you don’t send me to school in Manila (city), you might be punished.” They finally decided to send my
brother and me so that I would have a companion in the city.

Grandparents observed that today’s parents are not as strict as they had been with their children. Pepe (GP) thought that his daughter was continuing to discipline her children, but “milder.” He realized that it could be because they were now in the U.S. Pilar (GP), as a grandmother, disagreed with the parents’ practice of allowing their children to sleep over at friends’ houses.

Jessie (GP) perceived the need to discipline his grandchildren. So he gave reminders to his children about disciplining them:

Now that they can understand because they are parents already, I mostly tell them about how they discipline their children. "There was a time when with you, I punished you by spanking. The way you should bring up your children, that would be your own. I am directly concerned just how you bring up your children. It is your children you discipline. I just leave that to you."

Reggie (P) considered firmness an important trait that he learned from his parents:

Well, the big thing that I learned from my parents is firmness. If they say something, it becomes a law. It is not broken. The others are togetherness or closer bonding, respect for elders. I think these are good traits that we should impart to our children.

Strict discipline was used to keep order and to maintain family cohesiveness. Some participants felt that strict discipline combined with hierarchical authority
damaged the family. For Ramon (P), respect for his father’s authority or maybe even fear of his father kept him from doing anything about the father’s physical abuse of his mother:

There was a lot of violence in the family. My mother was beaten up by my father a lot of times. I had so much respect for my father that I really did not know what to say or to do. I kept myself quiet. What else could I do? I was 17 or 18. When I joined the Navy, my father decided to leave and to retire. He took all the money and left.

As a parent, Reggie (P) asserted authority over his family. When his own father tried to practice authority over Reggie and his family, it resulted in a break in their relationship for a while.

Even though the grandparents considered parents less strict, children still complained about limited freedom. Jose (C) said, “I would like my mom to be less strict about the time coming home and level out house chores between me and my sister.” Carol (C) had a similar wish:

Maybe, like, for them to be little less protective. For them to understand when maybe I want to spend time with my friends in the weekend. I don’t really go out, like, to parties like other kids. Like, if I tell them about a project, maybe they would, like, lessen some things they put on me on the weekend, the chores, when I have big projects.

Ric experienced his grandfather’s strict discipline:

One time we were at his house and were eating chicken and rice. . . . We’re done with our plate and about to throw it away, and he yelled at us, “What’s this! You
Ric’s (C) grandfather occupied the top level of their family hierarchical pattern. Compared to other participants’ experience of the grandparents as the “gatherer” of the family, Ric’s experience was the opposite. He attributed his parents’ divorce to his grandfather’s authority over his father’s family:

My wish now is that my dad would be strong and that if he finds another family again with another person, I hope he does not carry the same thinking as he followed my grandfather . . . so he would not make the same mistake with my mom.

Appreciation of Parents. Grandparents’ parents, who were strict with them, worked hard to provide for their basic needs and education. All of the grandparents related a strict upbringing. Yet appreciation was expressed for their upbringing and their way of life.

Pilar (GP) recalled a hard life growing up on the farm with her parents as hard workers. In looking back, she is content and grateful to her parents for everything they did for her:

Parents worked, worked, worked from sunrise to sunset. Mahirap (difficult). . . . They sent us to school. Kahit na malalayo, pinilit kaming nakapag-aral (Even though schools were far away, they persisted in sending us to school). Kung di naman mamahalin ang mga damit (If we did not have expensive clothes), at least they provided for us. Hindi kami nahuhuli sa iba
naming barkada (At least we were not out of style in comparison to some of our friends). My parents are not really poor. Average. Dahil masipag sila (Because they were very industrious).

In addition, Pilar (GP) was grateful that her parents were able to give her a better life than what her parents had:

I’m contented how they brought me up, the way they raised me. I am already satisfied. And also, when I compared my training with my parents’ training, their parents were stricter. I was able to go to school. My parents were not able to. They worked in the fields. I did not do that.

Lino (GP) expressed the same appreciation for his parents and their hard work, “For me, being poor is a blessing. Hard work is a very important part of their life.”

Parents attributed their survival as a family to their parents’ good character, inner strength, and perseverance. Laura (P) shared, “My mother is very resourceful. As long as she has the strength to do it, she will do it. I remember when we were in the Philippines. Even though we did not have money or something, she can do it.” Bert (P) had a high regard for his mother:

Actually I really learned a lot from my mom. She is very religious. She also has that compassion. She is helpful to relatives and friends, whoever are asking for help. She is well respected and much loved by her children and grandchildren.
In contrast, Ramon’s (P) mom was “tough-minded and tough-hearted.” He attributed this to difficult times she had when his father abandoned the children to her care.

Children recognized their parents’ effort to provide the best for them. And they responded in different ways. With her father away a lot, Grace (C) showed her appreciation for her mom’s attempt to keep the family together. “I could feel how she was stressed and I guess I would ask her where my dad was. I tried to help her out by taking care of my brother, make sure he stayed good.”

Carol (C) did her part:

I obey them. I don’t do anything bad because I listen to what they teach me. I respect them, too. They are the ones who take care for me. I have to give something back to them. . . . Anytime I can, like mother and father’s day, I do a little something special. I get a card, my little present. Just to show them I appreciate them.

**Family First.** The grandparents grew up knowing that they were expected to support their younger siblings. Finishing school and getting a job meant using part of their earnings for their siblings’ education. Finishing school did not mean being on your own and only taking care of yourself. Pepe (GP) said, “They wanted the older children to help the younger children in their studies. That was their first priority. This (taking turns
supporting the other siblings) was common among Filipinos.”

Similarly, Sarah (P) shared the same practice:

Back home, we were brought up with hardship. As a big family we struggled to get an education. We experienced difficulty with our financial situation. We learned to share and to sacrifice for everybody. Altruistic attitude was instilled on the older children; that you were kind of responsible to help your younger brothers and sisters. We were also taught to respect our parents and elders. That’s how we were brought up. Being able to help them (parents) out so that everybody could help the other siblings to be successful.

Reggie (P) expressed a different view about the practice of supporting your siblings’ education in relation to his children. His goal was for his children to be independently:

I tell them, like when we have family gathering. Our ultimate goal for them is for them to have their own job. “If you can attain that,” I say, “that’s my final retirement. It’s having seen you guys on your own, having your own job, having your own place to live, taking care of your own. That’s my maximum goal.”

Ramon (P) expressed the same about his children having independence, as long they already know how to take care of themselves. Reggie’s (P) and Ramon’s (P) goals for their children were already contradictory to the Filipino practice of supporting your sibling’s education.

The Filipino family value of allegiance, putting family first, contributed to the grandparents’ decision to emigrate to the U.S. They came to meet the needs of their
children and to be with their children. It was not an easy decision to leave their roots. Yet their devotion to their children influenced their final decision to come.

Lino (GP) came one year before retirement, to sponsor his son. It took him, a WWII veteran, two years traveling back and forth to finalize the papers of sponsorship. His daughter, who was already in the U.S. and in the family way, also needed her mother's help when the baby was born:

I was not very willing to come. But just because of my son, I came. I would have been retired already. My wife was determined to come to America. "You, you," pointing the finger at me, "already have a chance to go to the U.S. and you are still thinking about your Filipino citizenship." At that time, my daughter was in the family way. She was thinking of her mother coming to the rescue, to take care of her child. We took care of the child. The boy's now finishing high school.

When Pepe (GP) came here, he had children and grandchildren in Australia, Italy, Los Angeles, and San Diego. No one was left in the Philippines. "In 1979, I retired and came to the U.S. because I wanted to taste life in America." He came to join his family, lived with his daughter for two years. Currently, he and his wife live in their home where their children and grandchildren come to gather and visit. His family is together again.

Filipino family time involved more than the nuclear family. Parents' family time included gathering with
grandparents, siblings, relatives, and in-laws. Some families whose grandparents lived in the same community were able to continue their family traditions of the Philippines with their children and extended families. Sarah (P) was one:

Every weekend we make sure, after we go to church, we go visit grandpa and grandma. And we make sure that every weekend we would set a day with one of the brothers; we will have a dinner there. Extended family members like relatives, the in-laws, nieces and nephews are included. So papa would make a lot of pansit (noodles) or arroz caldo.

All the children participants were born in the United States. Their parents, who were adult immigrants, entered the United States as U.S. Navy personnel, registered nurses, or as dependents of their parents. They had smaller families— an average of three siblings. Friends seemed to be the center of their relationship rather than the family. This caused conflict in terms of priority and how the family members spent quality time. Eddie (C) recognized how much his parents valued the family and that he valued it, too:

I value family. But I think my parents value it more. They tell me I should spend more time with my brother. I am usually out with my friends. I don't mind. They try to keep tradition. They told me all they did was work. I believed they worked hard. But they did not have places to go, like typical places to go. I know that family is number one.
Carol (C) had a nine-year-old brother. She babysat her brother, but preferred to be with her friends:

Filipinos at our school, they, like, tend to form cliques. I mean, I guess, similar background. We feel more comfortable with each other. I mean, I’m friends with other ethnic groups. But the people I tend to hang out with are mostly Filipinos. . . . Right now, my friends are important to me.

Paul (C), age 13, had a brother, 21, and a sister, 17. He was active in sports and very friendly. “For me, friends are important. I always go to someone for help or I’m always going to people.” And Eddie (C), age 17, loved to be with his friends. Time with friends came first before time with family, “I like to go to the movies....go out to be with my friends, because it is fun. . . . My parents think I’m putting them first. But I don’t do that. I just like to go out.”

Janet’s (C) sister and brother were both married. She was the only child left at home. Her dad, who was retired and had medical disability, took care of her. She relied on a friend as companion:

I am different from them (parents). I always have to go out with a friend. Because most of my life I have lived by myself, I mean without my brother, 27, and my sister, 29. They are already married. I always want to go out with somebody. My parents want to join the YMCA. And asked me if I want to join, too. Yeah, but I would want a friend to come with me ‘cause I am always alone.
Being A Filipino

There are 111 linguistic, cultural and racial groups in the Philippines. The national language is Tagalog or Filipino, but another 70 languages and dialects are also spoken today. For the Filipino immigrants and the children born in the U.S., being called Filipino American and maintaining the Filipino identity had different meanings. The participants shared their thoughts, feelings, and experience of being Filipino Americans.

Blending of Filipino and American Heritage.

Grandparents had strong feelings about preserving the Filipino culture. They were willing also to blend the two cultures, Filipino and American. Pilar (GP) stated:

Our color, our skin, our physical features are Filipinos. We have to preserve our beautiful culture and to be proud of our country while we are here. Since we are here, we have to adhere to American culture. As U.S. citizens, a part must be from America, a part must be from the Philippines.

Lino (GP) had the same thought about integrating Filipino traditions into the new society. For Pepe (GP), children born here are Americans but with Filipino blood. So they need to learn what is good from both cultures. For Jessie (GP), there is a conflict of having both. Filipino Americans are still colored brown after becoming an American citizen. They are not Caucasians:
We are Filipino Americans. And also we have distinct cultural traits which although we become naturalized American citizens, we cannot remove our values and our background. Because, then it is the one that ties us to our beginnings. So there is a big question. If we go on to classify ourselves as Filipino Americans soon after we are naturalized, that creates a gap between us and the rest of the Americans. That’s why we cannot. That’s one way diversity becomes a problem in one aspect.

Jessie (GP) became an American citizen several months after the interview.

Pura (P) considered the words Filipino American as just another label. However, Bert (P) and Reggie (P) thought otherwise. They believed that you had to know about the Filipino culture before you could be called Filipino American. Reggie (P) stated:

About the younger generation, even they are Filipino American, the Filipino aspect especially in my case, when the kids are not brought up with the whole cultural view of being a Filipino. They are not even considered Filipinos because they have lost the values. They don’t have the experience, the feel of being true Filipinos. They don’t know what is it like, especially in my case. You have to have experienced the culture, to be able to share the same culture.

Ramon (P) wanted to be called Filipino instead of Filipino American. Yet he claimed that his thinking was already like an American:

I think the values of an American, the ways at work, how they speak, how they discipline people . . . When you are with American community, you conduct yourself as an American. When you are with Filipino community,
you conduct yourself as a Filipino. So you are basically doing a double identity in the same personality.

Sarah (P) believed that those born in the Philippines could not get away from their Filipino roots because they were brought up back home. Similarly, Laura (P) looked at the Filipino identity as family closeness that would never go away.

Grandparents were willing to learn American culture but at the same time preserve the Filipino culture. Parents were already experiencing changes in their values and way of life. They recognized their children lacked knowledge about Filipino culture. Most of the children participants did not relate being a Filipino American to their own roots and heritage. There were signs of change in what being Filipino American meant from generation to generation.

Children participants Eddie, Ric and Agent considered being Filipino American as just separating where you came from. Ric (C) added that he and his parents had two different cultures:

Well, it’s different because my parents, they were raised in the Philippines, with all the Filipino things where they grew up. I was born in America with the American tradition. So, when you relate to us and my parents from the Philippines, it’s kind of different.
Paul (C), however, referred to the Philippines as his country, recognizing his and his parents' roots. Jose (C) associated being Filipino American with his mom's parenting style as "more strict."

Grace (C), Carol (C), and Janet (C) had concepts similar to those of their parents and grandparents. Being Filipino American meant understanding the Filipino heritage and practicing American values. Grace (C) said, "We do live here in America. Most of the values belong to American society. But we want also to mix it in with our own values and beliefs." Janet (C) shared, "... the persons understand their heritage and can learn more about it here (U.S.)." When Carol (C) was asked about the meaning of being a Filipino American, her response was:

I guess having a heritage that dates back to the Philippines ... I guess you, like, live kind of two lives. You're both Filipino, in the sense you have Filipino blood. And you know where you came from and your Filipino background. At the same time, you have your life here in America as an American teenager.

When asked if her parents were Filipino Americans, she answered:

I think so. They've adapted to the life here. When I went back to the Philippines, it was totally a different lifestyle. They have two worlds. They have their Filipino past. And then, they are still Filipino. But their life is different now in America.
Language Barrier & Discrimination. The grandparents, being used to hard work and an active life in the Philippines, looked for jobs or volunteer work. In the workplace, they encountered a language barrier and discrimination.

Pilar (GP) worked when she got here. And in doing so, she encountered the language barrier. Even though she was fluent in the English language, she was not used to hearing it as the native language. She accepted the challenge of building her self-confidence by taking college classes:

When I got here, I worked in the food services at a unified school district for two years. Then I applied at a daycare, where I worked for 13 years. While working, I went to school at Mesa College. I took Child Development, Speech, Arts, and Diction, so that I could practice my English. Our English is different (laughed). I can’t speak when I’m with an American.

Jessie (GP) also encountered a different way of thinking in the workplace. He realized that being a Filipino, but being different from what he was expected to be as a “typical” Filipino, worked to his disadvantage:

Being a Filipino as a person has its advantages and disadvantages. As an example, in 1992, I worked here in the job corps. I was a residential adviser. My supervisor was colored and so subject to discrimination with us. There are those colored people who don’t have the same opinion how we talk things over. So we are not of same wavelength. So we argued. And they take it against them. So I said, “You are what you are. I am what I am. If you don’t understand me, then we just do it this way.” In my case, being a Filipino with my upbringing, I’m very straightforward.
and blunt. That’s the way I was trained. And it’s a very advantageous part of me, disadvantage in a way. Some think because I’m colored, and I talk the way I talk, then they sort of—they don’t expect me to be what I am. It becomes a disadvantage. They don’t expect us to be assertive.

Some of the parents also shared similar experiences of a language barrier and discrimination as Filipinos. Pura (P) expressed this with a frustrated voice, “. . . my accent, my accent, my accent; I don’t want to lose my accent. And I’m proud of my accent!” Reggie (P), who was a high school graduate when he joined the Navy, recalled his early years:

The only thing I could recall vividly was when I first came to this country, I could hardly speak the language. That was a big barrier. Because you tend to digest what is being said in your own dialect, to reformulate an answer, and then to convert that back in English. And that takes some time, some “lifetime,” when you convert. I think that was one thing that I felt belittled at that time, in my first years in the military.

He also related an incident at work where he chose to give in even though he did not agree with his supervisor:

Well, when I was a disbursing clerk, I was in the service counter. I was customer-oriented. I shared with a lot of people (spoke Tagalog with Filipino servicemen). Our supervisor used to say, “You can’t speak Tagalog in the counter.” “Why not?” But I can see his point and I can see my point. I needed to balance the situation. I let him win because his reason was valid.

Pura (P) had been in the U.S. for only six years.

During those years she observed and experienced
discrimination. So when asked about her life as an immigrant, Pura (P) had this to say:

Of course it cannot be compared to the difficulties that the early Filipinos suffered before. Especially when discrimination was still too strong. But discrimination is still in today. You can still feel it. I feel it, in the grocery store sometimes. But I try to make friends with everybody.

Pura’s (P) comment was not limited to Caucasians discriminating against Filipinos. She also observed this with Filipinos doing it with other ethnic groups and to themselves:

And then many times, I find discrimination among Filipinos. I’m very, very sad to admit that many Filipinos are very racist. I hear them say, like, “Don’t buy house there because there are many black. It is not safe.” . . . I know it is a reality. But to generalize it (pause) . . . if there is trouble they would say it is the black or if it were a Filipino, it is because they are Filipinos. “You are a Filipino, too. What are you saying?” It is the labeling, all these labels. Look at the person.

None of the children speak Tagalog or other Filipino dialects. Parents used English language to communicate with them. Only Paul (C) mentioned his parents trying to teach their children the Tagalog language:

I only know a few words and interesting facts about it (Philippines) . . . My parents were trying to teach me the language. But I did not take it well. My sister and brother do. They (parents and siblings) speak the language in the house. I could understand a few things, not whole phrases.
The language barrier was not only experienced in the workplace and outside their homes. In relation to children not knowing the Tagalog language, Sarah (P) expressed a wish for her children:

One thing I would want to change. I hope that they are able to talk in Tagalog. And I am trying to teach them so that I could express myself in Tagalog. Then they could get that feeling of what I want to instill in them: that love and care, the things that I would like them to be. So I will not be groping for words. So that’s one drawback that I feel that I need to change.

Reggie (P) had regrets:

If I could start all over again, I would say I would have imposed more values and culture of what being a Filipino is. Starting with the dialect, starting with speaking in their native tongue. But that did not happen.

The children did not mention a language barrier as an obstacle or difficulty for them. English was their native language.

**Communication**

As immigrants with different native languages, grandparents and parents encountered a language barrier. Yet they were able to overcome this. The children did not have the same language barrier as the grandparents and parents. They were also more expressive of their feelings, which the older generations were not used to.

**Expression of Affection.** Grandparents were not used to hugging and saying “I love you.” They did not experience
these expressions of affection in their families. Physical contact was in the form of mano or blessing with the hand.

Pilar (GP) shared her experience:

Before we left the house, we mano. When we got back to the house, we mano. There was no hugging. I just learned that here. Even our children did not say “I love you” . . . When I just arrived here and others kissed me, I had goose bumps. Now, not anymore. I do it, too. (laughed) . . . Although, until now, I still cannot say “I love you.” It feels awkward. We just say, “Be good. Pray.”

Parents related the same experience of not being hugged or told “I love you.” And they wished their parents did. Pura (P) said:

They don’t express their love in terms of words, not expressive. Even hugging, we did not have that much before. But I know they care for me since I was small. . . . I wish they could be more affectionate in terms of physical affection, like hugging. . . . for my father to be more expressive with his feelings, for him to show it more outward. I have no question about his love. It is a very cultural thing.

Ramon (P) expressed the same need. “I never heard ‘I love you’.” However, it was interesting to note that Ramon’s daughter Grace (C) expressed the same thing about her father, Ramon. Grace found it difficult to share how she could not recall her dad ever saying, “I love you.”

Dad (pause)—I know this is awkward but it may not be the right word (could not come up with words, hesitant, thinking) it seems like until now, I don’t think I remember him (pause), I don’t remember a time when he told me “I love you.” I know he cares. (Follows with this statement right away) Maybe he did when I was a baby or younger.
For this, Grace (C) wished that her dad could say those words. “I’d like to see more expression of his caring, besides anger.” Agent (C) had the same longing. She shared a special moment with her mom:

I wish they would tell me they love me more often because I don’t know. It is nice to hear that coming from them. I have not heard it in a while. I remember the last time my mom said that. It was over the phone when she called me from work and she was asking me how I was doing. And before she got off the phone, she said “I love you” and I said “Oh, I love you, too, mom,” and then I hung up. And then I started crying. I don’t know. The last time I heard that was over a year ago or so. . . . I know my mom isn’t really expressing herself. Yeah, ’cause I know that she’s like that; same with my father. They’re kind of both the same. They can’t really express what they feel. I kind of understand that. And sometimes I myself can’t express how I feel. And don’t say anything. But I kind of wish that they could say it more often or just “I care for you” or something. I know they do but I would like to hear it.

It was different for Paul (C) who said about his parents, “Always continuous every morning, they say, ‘I love you’.” Carol (C) also shared that her grandparents had always said, “I love you” to her.

Even though the grandparents shared how their parents did not express affection openly, still they did not wish for the physical and verbal expression of affection. They were already thankful for the other ways their parents showed love for them. Two of the parents wished their parents had done it. For the children, who were more
expressive of their feelings and thoughts, hugging and saying "I love you" were normal ways of communicating their affection. They would like the same expression from their parents. Paul's (C) parents were doing that already. For grandparents, it was hard to do what they had not been used to giving or receiving from their own children. However, they had started responding to their grandchildren's hugs but not yet to saying "I love you."

**Passing on of Filipino Values.** Grandparents definitely were trying to pass on the Filipino values. Some of the parents were trying but at the same time adapting to the individualistic values. The children seemed to be aware of the values but did not necessarily practice them. If they did, they did it to a lesser degree.

Grandparents were passing on Filipino values by practicing the values with the grandchildren and teaching the grandchildren how, and telling stories during gatherings and babysitting time. The grandparents also reminded the parents to follow Filipino values whenever they had the opportunity.

Parents recognized the influence of the grandparents, especially the grandmother, in their parenting style. As Pura (P) said:
I should say that we are similar in ways (parenting style) to my parents. Their priority was their family. It is also my priority. That’s why my husband and I decided that I would attend to our child, stay home with him. I am doing this now.

The grandmother was prominent in the sharing of the parents. Laura (P) shared how her mom kept the family together:

My mother is the one who gathers us. “Oh, we will have a reunion in Seattle next year.” She gathers us and talks to us. Just like last December, we planned to go to the Philippines in two years... My mother is also the one who tells us, “Help your brother. He just lost his job.”

The children experienced the grandparents sharing Filipino values. Grandparents served as their link to Filipino values, history and life in the Philippines. Erik (C) said, “The only one I talk to is the one in Los Angeles. She is the one who teaches me the culture.” Jose (C) shared, “My grandparents talk about belief in God. They talk about religion during our visits to them. We pray together, like, the rosary after meals. Grandpa sits down with us, telling stories.”

Lino (GP) did his part by reminding the children when they forgot to bless. “I teach them to kiss my hand. They line up.” Jessie (GP) did the same, “This granddaughter of mine is 14 years old. I don’t know how she was treated at home. She answers in “Yes. No. Yes.” “What?” “Yes.” “What!”
(laughed). "Yes, grandpa, lolo." "Why is it difficult for you to say that?"

Parents did their part. They shared stories about simple and frugal life, siblings helping other siblings, and focused on the value of education. Carol (C) remembered stories:

My mom said that when they were in the house there (Philippines), like, seven kids with grandma, grandpa, they, like, have to separate the rice in, like, little portions for everyone. She said that they didn’t have as much money as they do now. It was harder back then. But it was whole lot simpler, too.

Agent (C) recalled some stories:

I know they struggled a lot. Like school, my mom told me about how they couldn’t afford the jeepney fares to go to school. So she had to walk far every day, carrying books and everything. It was the same thing with my dad. But they still offered to help their family ‘cause my mom is the second oldest in the family, oldest girl. So she had to do a lot of teaching and everything to her younger siblings. And my dad is the second and so I’m pretty sure he had to do the same.

Parents reminded their children of the value of education and rewarded them for good grades. Janet (C) said, “They want me to get good grades so I can travel a lot and get all important things. They want me to got to University of Santo Tomas (Philippines).” For Ric (C) and his brothers, it was monetary reward. “My parents don’t give money like my grandma does. The only time they give is
for the grades. “All right, I’ll give you $100 if you get straight A’s.”

Carol (C) experienced hearing the same story and message from both her mom and grandma:

My grandmother here in U.S., she is the one who mostly talks about what happened in the Philippines. It’s, like, she tells me pretty much the same thing as my Mom tells me, except at a greater level, like not to waste food because back then in the Philippines, they didn’t have that much. It’s pretty much the same as what my Mom tells me. . . . She’s always telling me. Like, if I say, “Oh, that’s a nice car.” “Oh, you can have that when you grow up if you stay in school and do everything right.” And I guess that’s a typical Filipino family where the grandma and grandpa are really involved in your life.

Not all the children participants experienced passing on of Filipino values from grandparents and parents. Having a grandparent at home was not an assurance that the children learned a lot from that generation. Even though Agent (C) lived with her grandma for several years, she did not know much about her and their family history. Somehow, there was a lack of communication:

If she could just let me know little more about her. I really don’t know much about her. Even though I lived with her practically three fourths of my life. I just want to hear about what she has to say about her life. Because, I mean, it’s interesting. I really don’t know much about my family history. That’s why I really would like to know that.
For Ric (C), his grandparents' telling stories was not enough. It took a visit to the Philippines to understand the stories his grandparents told him:

I don't really know a lot about how they lived. But they tell me a lot of stories about what happened. But I cannot really picture it. And then when I went there, yeah, 'cause, like, they did not have any buses. They walked, like, two miles to school and then. . . . They start telling us that the way we live is so much easier from their lives, "Because you have everything." And that when they were kids, they have to do everything.

Based on the context of the stories told and the primary role of the grandparents, there was still a gap, in spite of parents' and grandparents' attempts to provide continuity of Filipino values. Also, parents like Reggie (P) and Ramon (P), were already adapting individualistic values, as mentioned earlier. Their goal for their children was that they be self-sufficient. Their children were not obligated to provide for their siblings' education anymore.

**Storytelling as a Link**

**Understanding Family and Self**

Sharing stories during Project Heart to Heart clarified family members' intentions, feelings, and thoughts that were not understood in their own home environment. There were moving moments of realization of the hurt and damage done in the past because of an
inability to understand self and family members. Pepe (GP), who presented himself as a strict disciplinarian, shared a very emotional moment during the Project Heart to Heart storytelling experience:

What I think that touched me very much was the stories, the revelation of the children about what happens at home and how they try to change their ways in order to be in harmony with their parents. As they say, they begin to know that their parents really loved them. Yet, because of this new environment that they see around, they want to do the will of the environment. But there is a restriction on the other side, which they are trying to solve for them, to help the family run harmoniously. After the talk of the girl, I really could grasp (pause, could not speak, in tears, very much moved in recalling the experience).

Pilar (GP) appreciated how intergenerational storytelling helped her learn from the younger generation and evaluate her own values:

Storytelling plays an important role in the learning of the participants. How I learned is through storytelling. . . . The experiences that I had could enrich my value; improve my relationship with my children and grandchildren with what I have picked up and learned from them. I think what I can add to my present experiences will make life better, not only for my children, but for me, also, directly to me; to improve myself. What I knew before, my old habits, I will get rid of the negative ones and I will replace it with positive ones. So, if I am able to replace the negative ones, I will deal better with my children, my grandchildren, and other people, not only with my family. I really like the storytelling.

Jessie (GP), who had a background in sociology, claimed that the stories affected his perspectives in dealing with his children and grandchildren:
It gives me better perspective on how to deal with the behavioral changes and matters in bringing up children. We are now in a different social environment and in the course of my dealing with my children, I am affected by how our grandchildren are being reared by our children. So there is no better compromise than get to know the values of this environment and the way I reared my children and putting it into focus. So I believe now that I’m more aware of these changes for me, in my children, and my grandchildren.

Sarah (P) accepted that pride kept her from saying "I’m sorry" to her children in the past. Being able to look at her own behavior allowed her to leave room for mistakes for her children. “Sometimes you expect too much. It’s okay to accept that they are growing up. They make mistakes. It’s a matter of respecting them, too.”

Ramon (P) experienced storytelling in Project Heart to Heart as therapeutic. “The most I can remember is how people are able to talk freely for themselves and by themselves. I think it is very therapeutic to be able to talk to somebody without any hesitation.”

For Bert (P), storytelling brought back painful memories of his father’s alcoholism. Long-time feelings of bitterness, anger, and sadness were recalled. At the same time, he realized how his own children had encouraged him to forgive his father and to start a new relationship with his father. After the storytelling experience, he had this to share:
What the storytelling did was released what was inside of me. What I never told anyone, I opened up. . . . because of what I just said, I have better understanding. I will accept it the way he (father) is, because he is sick of alcoholism.

Likewise, Ric (C), after the storytelling experience, saw the good side of the times he had with his dad.

“Joseph’s story helped me realize the good things I had with my dad. Maybe that helped me understood and kept me stronger inside.”

Jose (C) understood more why his parents wanted to spend time together:

I kind of understand my parents more. How, like, the way they communicate to me. I understand it more, like, how they want me home certain time and how they are always wanting to spend time with us. They just want to spend time with us. That pleases them a lot.

Through the storytelling, Agent (C) was able to reflect on what happened between her mom and herself:

I guess I realized how much I have taken for granted everything. And so now, I know not to do that. It is important. . . . My mom and I used to argue. I guess now, I realized, maybe not to argue as much. Because I do so bad with that.

Building a Community of Memory

Lino (GP) believed in the sharing of himself with the community. His wish for his children, too, was to expand their circle of friends to the larger community.

Storytelling for him was a good means to bond with others because their stories connected them with one another.
Similarities brought understanding and compassion for others:

Storytelling played a very great part because storytelling is really experienced by somebody affected by the talk, affected by the story. It is a real experience. The different stories affect the lives of both the parents and the children. They really experienced it. You cannot deny. The story comes from the heart, a real experience of the individual. It is a good testimony.

Laura (P) found similarities of experience with the participants, such as family experiences of the children and grandparents. This brought back memories of her life in the Philippines:

When the children started sharing, as if they were my daughters. What they shared sounded like when my daughter confided on me because they have similar experiences. . . . The old lady reminded me of my mother. It was just like seeing and hearing my mother. She (other participant) was just, like, sent to me. . . . The parents, we had the same stories, because we had the same life experiences in the Philippines. Here, they are also the same, as if it is only one experience. I don’t know. Maybe it is because of the same culture. So, when you get here (U.S.), you still have the same life experiences. You can relate to them: the same origin, same experience, and one culture. Sometimes you already forget your life in the Philippines. But from stories, it is revived. That’s good to know.

Hearing stories that were similar to participants’ own experience gave a sense of community. They were not alone. Others could understand their experience because they experienced the same. Bert (P) said:
You’re sharing it (storytelling) to others. In this way, you gonna be supporting each other and that might open up the same experience. “I experience the same thing.” So, you can say to the world that you are not alone. They experienced the same thing. You should not be depressed, or be disappointed, or be sad, whatever, or feel bad. Because, you are not alone. I think that’s one good reason why storytelling is important in that Project Heart to Heart.

Bert (P) added how he found himself described in the stories of the children:

What I remember most was when this young lady, her name is Karen, she portrayed my personality. “Have you done your homework? Did you do your laundry? Did you clean the house? What have you done today?” (laughed) And the other guy, he portrayed me as his father.

Reggie (P) felt connections with the stories. He was able to use the stories to reflect on his past experiences:

Actually storytelling is sharing of actual experiences. And there are parts in the storytelling that actually touched part of me, of my own experience. So in doing so, it re-emphasized what happened to me was supposed to be what should have happened. Like, did I make the right decision at that time? That’s the good thing about storytelling part. One way or the other, it will touch something in you, like, something comparable to the story being told. And in Heart to Heart, that’s what happened in my case. A mirror, it mirrored my experience. In essence, it strengthened the resolve of my experience that may have been mingling in my mind...

Ric’s (C) hearing stories about other children’s experience with their dads served as a link to the past and brought back good memories. In addition, the stories served as a link with his peers. He called the similarity of
pleasant memories experienced by his peers as heart-touching. Something that he could relate:

Just listening to Joseph, it's just heart-touching that brings back memories. How my dad and I were together. It really helped me, like, made me think about just one thing, then the whole thing. And how we used to bond, just having a good time. . . . And not just think of one specific thing (divorce). We were gone. And that's it. . . . We had good times, too.

Eddie (C) enjoyed the grandparents and parents' stories. At home, he did not have time or opportunity to listen because of his time spent with his peers:

The story I heard. How people shared their beliefs. Especially when I heard some from the parents and grandparents. I hear from teenagers a lot more. Hearing from grandparents, that was good. What I heard would become memories. If nothing happens now, there are no memories, too.

Agent's (C) mother came with her to attend the Project Heart to Heart conference. Both of them related with the stories, “Oh, the stories! You want to cry. Like the memories took me back to memories, at one skit. My mother and I started crying.”

Passing on of Family Values and History

Jessie’s (GP) experience with storytelling reaffirmed his responsibility of passing on Filipino culture. “The elderly has to be the bearer, going down to the young.” Pepe (GP), after listening to the children’s stories, realized that it was not just passing down whatever he
thought was important. The children had to make their own decision as to how much of Filipino culture they would like to retain:

Give them the freedom of deciding for themselves. You have to explain your side to them, what you like them to be. . . . Share the positive side or bright side of the historical background, pointing out the dark side of the present (American value), so that they can apply it in their lives.

For the children, hearing the stories of the parents and grandparents made them realize how knowledge of family history and traditions was very significant in preserving their Filipino and family identities. Carol (C) shared:

I guess it’s kind of more important now, the stories. I don’t really know that much about my great grandpa. It’s kind of lost. I know a lot about grandparents now because I know them, but not like earlier. They didn’t really tell me about when they were little kids. I guess it’s more important to learn your history, like where did they come from. I want to know about their grandparents, great grandparents. . . . I remember my mom showing me pictures. “Oh, that’s you!” Going to school, doing dances, being a princess or whatever.

Paul (C) had the same enlightenment:

It makes me more determined to get to know more about my parents, and my past that I really took for granted, because I always thought that what’s in the past you can’t change. Just go through life. So I’m trying to get a deeper insight what my culture or heritage was.

For Ric (C), storytelling made him aware of what he needed to know:

For some reason, I have not sat down with my mom yet. But hearing stories from others helped me know what I
want to know. Where I came from. And how it relates to me. How it changed.

Grace (C) complained about her family’s lack of time for talking about their family history:

We don’t discuss our family history unless I bring it up, like, when I want to know or something. But then, I guess I can try to find out about where I come from. And where the generation actually came from. Just sharing, not to forget who they are. I’ve always been interested in my family history. It’s just that what is missing is time. Someone is off somewhere. I’m off somewhere. I don’t know. More time...

Similarly, Reggie (P) mentioned time and busy-ness in life as an obstacle to sharing family history. He also had regrets for what he did not do with his children:

I think I should have told more stories about my past. If I really think about it, I never really tell my kids anything. So they are being kept in the dark what actually I am. Yeah. I believe to impart the value that I have as a Filipino, that I should share experiences and the stories with my kids. Sometimes because of the busy-ness of and then the life, you just don’t have time to actually sit down and share it. Especially now, the kids say, “Hi. Bye.” Then they are gone.

The storytelling experience helped Ramon (P) realize the significance of sharing himself with his children and in the future, his grandchildren:

The storytelling will greatly affect the way I’m gonna be talking to them, especially my kids, their own kids. I’ll be a grandfather. I’ll be passing along who I am, what I am, where I came from, what I know about my culture.
For Laura (P), after her experience of storytelling she said, “... passing on to my children what I have learned. Make sure they don’t forget where they came from. Pura (P) mentioned how her son remembered stories told to him, “I try to tell my childhood memories to my son. It is amazing what he remembers!”

**Intergenerational Sharing**

In Project Heart to Heart, participants had the opportunity to hear/experience stories of different generations. Even though most of the stories were told by strangers, participants found commonality. They were able to understand the stories based on their own experience. The stories provided a link between peers and among generations.

Jessie (GP) looked at his storytelling experience as a way to learn more information about his grandchildren and to fill in what Filipino values were missing from what the parents were passing on:

... a better idea on how to assimilate the knowledge that I have of my history as a fill (addition) to the knowledge that I have gained of my children and that of the added knowledge of their children who are here. So a constant filling of extra information can yield a better foundation for a family setting. Because in the sharing of the children here, telling how they feel, their own pain, opened up my mind on how children who are here feel and how they either believe really that they are shortchanged. Some parents don’t give them the basics of how they are as Filipino.
Pilar (GP) shared what she enjoyed most and what provided her with enlightenment, information, and insight:

... Interaction, sharing, parents with parents, grandparents with parents, parents with children. Children who were raised and born here, interacting with us. They are living in a different world. That is a big challenge. Their experiences are different from mine.

Pura (P) considered storytelling as a significant tool not only for bridging the gap between generations but also with your own peers. “Storytelling is a big significance because it is sharing. It is a great tool in bridging the gap, not only in generation but also among peers.”

Bert (P) considered storytelling a growing experience because different generations shared their experiences:

It (storytelling) will help me, not only as a better parent but a better person. Because this understanding of how people behave, how they act, and how they felt, and you’re putting yourself in their shoes. I think you gonna develop more understanding and communication. And, probably there will be no fight (family), especially if you have a close understanding.

Laura (P) cried hearing stories from the children:

When the kids shared, as if they were your own children. We have the same experiences. I was touched. When the youth shared to the grandparent and parent groups, I identified with their stories. I cried. I felt sad.

In the same way, children appreciated hearing stories from other generations. Janet (C) shared, “We told experiences we got. And what I like about that is you learn
about other people and you learn about different
generations and what they had done.” Through the stories,
Agent (C) saw similarities and differences that made her
understand what her sister and mother went through. The
stories came alive in role-plays where grandparents,
parents, and children were portrayed:

A lot of the skits were about families and realistic
situations that are still happening within the
families. And how people realized we are in the skit,
whatever. It makes everybody think about it. . . .
Basically, I guess people realized what’s going on or
something. What are they doing, good or bad.

Eddie (C) felt enlightened about his parents’ ways. “I
just have a better understanding of everything. Not
everything, but I just know why things happen the way they
do. And why parents do this.”

Intergenerational storytelling in Project Heart to
Heart was a unique new experience for the participants.
Usually in Filipino gatherings, the three generations are
in separate groups. The opportunity to gather and to share
their stories with each other brought back memories,
painful and pleasant, while providing new memories to help
create more pleasant memories for the future with their
families.
Summary

This chapter presented findings from the 18 participants, from the world of the old and the new, of Filipino culture and American culture, of familistic values and individualistic values. The reader entered three different worlds: the grandparents’, parents’ and the children’s, and experienced how each attempted to live in his/her world. This journey to the past offered a glimpse of the three generations’ hopes for the future. It touched on the simple and frugal but good life, hard work and productive life, difficulties and survival, conflicts and acculturation, discontinuity in family relations and experiences.

The three generations of participants strove in their own way to maintain the link that connected their worlds. Grandparents tried to pass on their family values from the Philippines. The parents tried also but started to adapt individualistic values. The children found living in two worlds difficult. Nevertheless, they tried their best to blend the two.

The reader also experienced with grandparents, parents, and children what it was like to experience storytelling with three generations. For the grandparents, the experience helped them to understand what it was like
for the children to live in two worlds. The realization challenged them to change their ways of dealing with the children. The children’s message was received as coming from the heart. Parents related the stories as if they were their own and their children’s stories. The experience was a time of reflection on their ways of parenting. The children experienced a sense of loss for not having valued their family history before because of a lack of appreciation for what they had.

Further discussion of these findings occurs in Chapter V.
CHAPTER V

Discussion of the Findings

3 Generational Link Model: A Conceptual Framework

Discussion of the findings is based on the conceptual framework as shown in Figure 1, that emerged from the stories told by the participants in my study. Three worlds represent the three groups: in one, the Filipino flag represents the grandparents; in another, the parents represented by both Filipino and American flags occupying equal amounts of space; in the last, the children are represented by Filipino and U.S. flags also, but the Filipino flag occupies only a quarter of the space. The flags represent Filipino and American culture and the arrows represent the relationships among the three generations. The framework explains graphically the connectedness of the three generations. As the reader continues, the framework is explained in narrative form, a story. Every story that we tell has structure: a beginning, a middle and an end. This story also is structured
chronologically: past, present and future. The reader becomes part of this story. The participants' story has been told, individually and as a group of three generations. Still, as the reader continues, getting closer to the end, the participants' experiences take on more meaning. For as the findings are summarized by looking back to what had been told, it is the reader and the author who try to give meaning to their experiences. And the story continues.

All the adult participants arrived in the United States after the 1965 Immigration Act whose primary goal was family reunification. The secondary goal was recruitment of occupational immigrants. Before this law was passed, only 200 Filipinos could enter legally per year. Post-1965, a minimum of 20,000 Filipinos immigrated to the U.S. per year.

As a result of this Immigration Act, our adult participants arrived in the U.S. sponsored by their professional children or children in the military service. Grandparents were sponsored primarily for the reason of sponsoring parents' siblings or to provide familial support such as childcare to the parents. The grandparents arrived at the ages of 59-65 and the parents, ages 20 to 36. All children participants, ages 13 to 17, were born in the U.S.
Figure 1. Three Generational Link Model: Three worlds represent the three generations: grandparents, parents, children; the flags represent Filipino and American culture and the arrows represent the relationships among the three generations.
Discussion of Major Themes

In this section I will discuss the major themes which are Generational Link and Storytelling as a Link. Within these major themes, common threads emerged from all the generations. Participants' stories and understanding of their life experiences were so similar that they were interwoven, as if the experiences happened in one family. As a result, themes often overlapped from the very beginning of the storytelling. The common themes are:

Family Values
Being a Filipino
Communication
Understanding Family and Self
Building a Community of Memory
Passing on of Family Values and History
Intergenerational Sharing
Generational Link

The grandparents grew up in an agricultural environment where children helped in the family livelihood. Their parents worked hard to support their big families. They lived a simple and good life of hard work. The grandparent participants were prepared for maturity based on familistic values in which the norms were collective
support, allegiance and obligation. The grandparents managed to obtain college degrees after WWII. They had their own families and led successful careers as teachers. Right before or after retirement they immigrated to the U.S., leaving behind a memorable and fruitful life in the Philippines.

The parent participants arrived in the U.S. at a much younger age. Only two of the six parents grew up on the farm. The rest had bigger towns or cities as their childhood environment. They lived with smaller families. Only one was a teacher (as compared to all teachers in the grandparent group), three were U.S. Navy men (one college and two high school graduates), one was a medical technologist, and one a business administration graduate. As immigrants, both grandparents and parents were resilient in adapting to a new and very different culture. They survived. The data suggested that they still have similar Filipino familial values. They provided mutual support. Family was still the same Filipino family, comprised of parents, siblings and relatives.

The children participants were all born in the United States, far away from their parents’ and grandparents’ country of birth, across the ocean, a different world altogether. The children, unlike the grandparents and two
parent participants, didn’t have to work on the farm to help in the family livelihood. Instead of having homegrown fruits and vegetables to eat, they relied on the supermarket for their food supply. Instead of spending hours walking or running to school, they were taken by car. Instead of living on a farm, they lived in the city where houses were built side by side. The children spent a lot of time with friends. They only had one or two other siblings at home. Parents and grandparents had 16, 10, 7, or 5 siblings as playmates.

The demographics of the participants from one generation to the next reflect the changing nature of the Filipino culture as it transitions from country of birth to America. The demographic shift results in (a) smaller families, (b) smaller support systems, and (c) fewer stories. This cultural change is represented by the kind of flags and space they occupy in the world of each generation.

The relationship between generations does not exist by choice. They are consanguineously related. However, this relationship is not enough to sustain the familistic values carried over from the Filipino culture. Each generation plays a vital part in maintaining the connectedness of their worlds in spite of their widening cultural
differences. They need each other to uphold the familistic values. Without the support of one generation, it is not possible to continue the familistic values. Support will not exist without communication to facilitate understanding of cultural differences and the Filipino heritage that they have in common.

Between the grandparents and parents, similar familistic values still served as their link. They could still communicate because of similarities in their backgrounds. However, parents and children didn’t grow up in the same environment. Parents tried to continue the values but their children’s environment defined maturity in terms of individualistic qualities. Lino (GP), a grandparent, made a comment about this particular difference between the parents and their children:

It is more difficult for parents with children born in the U.S. That makes a difference. So our problem of generation gap, I think it would be harder for people whose grandchildren were born in the U.S. because they started in a new society. Whereas, we (grandparents), our children are still of Filipino mentality; no difficulty there.

If this difficulty is not overcome, the time will come when the grandparent dies. His world will be gone from the framework. The parents will take their place as grandparents. The children will become parents. There will be a new world. This world will have lesser space for the
Filipino flag as shown in Figure 2. When the children become the grandparents, their grandchildren’s world will be completely occupied by a U.S. flag.

Since family plays a central role in Filipino culture, change of familial values will greatly affect the transmission of Filipino traditions. Grandparents play a significant role because they are the culture bearers. They are rich resources of Filipino history and traditions. Any change in grandparents’ role in the family affects the transmission of Filipino family values.

The grandparents who participated in the study were very much a part of parents’ and children’s lives. They have maintained a very visible role in their children’s families. When they came to the U.S., their motivation was to keep the family together and to be with their children. They came to sponsor their children as immigrants. They came to support their children’s struggle for a better life by doing childcare for them. Their presence supported their children in the practice of the Filipino familial values. Mano or blessing was practiced. Lolo and lola were the hosts for frequent family gatherings. Their grandchildren experienced what it was like to have a grandma and grandpa. Children participants recalled memories of their
Figure 2. Three Generational Link Model: Movement and addition of worlds; loss of space for the Filipino flag and gain of space for the American flag.

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grandparents as storytellers and babysitters. Their grandparents were the source of information about life in the Philippines. Unfortunately, one child participant attributed his parent’s unsuccessful marriage to his grandfather’s authority over their family.

As parents relied on grandparents for support, grandparents felt needed and loved. Even though differences existed between parents and grandparents, they were allies in continuing the Filipino values. Parents continued supporting the grandparents’ role of gathering the siblings for reunions and family time together with relatives. With fewer children, parents adapted to the new environment by trying to balance family and career lives. Mothers stayed home while their children were young. And when it was time to pitch in to meet their financial needs, fathers assumed maternal roles so that their wives could work. Parent immigrants discovered that the best survival tool they possessed in the U.S. was their ability to work hard. They reorganized their family living patterns to accommodate a shift in parental employment patterns. Their children felt supported and encouraged in their education. Parents continued to share stories of life back in the Philippines, to instill appreciation and perseverance in their children.
More parents were open to expressing their love in kisses and hugs and saying the words “I love you.” For the sake of their children, parents gave up years of college work and accepted skilled jobs for survival in their new country.

Children were viewed positively by grandparents and parents. They were perceived as very independent even at an early age. Grandparents and parents saw this independence through the lens of the Filipino familistic value of interdependence. The children were growing in a different environment. They shared their world’s individualistic qualities with their parents by expressing their thoughts and feelings openly. The grandparents welcomed their hugs, kisses and “I love you.” At the same time they questioned some practices that differed from the way of life they knew years before. As the older generation expressed concern over the diminished knowledge of the Filipino heritage, children were teaching their parents and grandparents their way of life.

**Storytelling as a Link**

A five-step model illustrating the effects of intergenerational storytelling emerged from the participants’ experience in Project Heart to Heart as shown...
in Figure 3. The steps were education, communication, enlightenment, appreciation, and healing.

The first session of the Project Heart to Heart conference introduced Reichert's Generation Gap model of developmental, empathy, and value gaps to present the participants with new information they would have in common. Communication was facilitated through listening and sharing stories, watching and participating in role-plays, playing and reflecting. The exchange of information fostered enlightenment as past family experiences took on new meanings. Some of the what's and the why's were answered and the participants appreciated themselves and their families, who they were as individuals and as a family. They recognized what they had taken for granted all those years: that each family member had gifts to offer for the well-being of the family. Healing happened in different ways. Bert (P) accepted his father's alcoholism as a disease. Ramon (P), another parent, understood why his mother was so hard on him and his siblings.

Through education, new information facilitated a better understanding of experiences. Through understanding, the door was opened for communication. Through communication, enlightenment was experienced. Through
Figure 3. Five-Step Model illustrating Effects of Intergenerational Storytelling

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enlightenment, appreciation of family members became easier. Through appreciation, healing took place. Differences were made up. Intergenerational storytelling in a non-threatening environment, focusing on the goodness of the family and the commonality of experiences, accompanied by compassion and love, closed some of the gaps and helped resolve some of the conflicts.

Participants from different generations expressed their love for their grandparents, parents, children, and grandchildren. They told of their longing to be their own person: as someone who had reached that point already, as someone who accepted that it was their turn to bring up their own children, and as someone who wanted love, attention and independence all in one. How could they be who they wanted to be without losing their connectedness with their families? Storytelling provided hope for the participants.

As they listened to stories told by members of different generations, ages 13 to 80+, they heard their own stories. They cried with one another. They healed their hurts with laughter. They saw their grandparents, parents, and children in the stories. And for the first time, they understood their way of life. Pepe (GP) shared, “Now I can understand. I can feel their pain.” They saw themselves. “I
need to change my ways," said Pilar (GP) They saw their lives played in the skits and saw what was missing from their lives. Time with each other was one.

Participants entered the world of the other generations with great openness, allowing themselves to hear and to see what they could not in their own families. Bert (P) shared, “What the storytelling did was release what was inside of me.” Their stories were listened to. Similarities were noted, as were differences. But each one’s story was heard and seen through individual storytelling and group role-playing.

Participants recognized the powerful and revitalizing force of story as mover of the heart and mind, a natural part of communication. Everyone is a storyteller, to a certain degree, and the participants came to the important realization that storytelling can bridge the past and present, bringing new meaning to their experiences and the understanding of their families.

Storytelling linked the three generations. Pura (P) said, “Sharing in storytelling is very significant. It is a great tool in bridging the gap, not only intergenerational but also among peers.” There was excitement about the implications for their families. Ramon (P) said, “The storytelling will greatly affect the way I’m gonna be
talking with them.” And Art (P), another parent, said, “I think I should have told more stories about my past.” Paul (C), one of the children participants said, “It makes me more determined to get to know more about my parents, and my past that I really took for granted. . . .”

Hearing others’ stories clarified what the participants still didn’t know about their family history and Filipino heritage. They saw storytelling as a good way to transmit their Filipino heritage and family history.

Before the experience of storytelling in Project Heart to Heart, the participants were not aware that in agreeing to share their life experiences, they agreed to tell stories, most of which had not been told before. After experiencing storytelling with different generations, in an atmosphere of trust and respect, they realized that what they went through was all storytelling. Somehow, for them, it was like a rediscovery of the ancient oral tradition of storytelling, which extends back thousand of years and is as old as the spoken language. They found a means to help bridge the past, present and future of their family generations; to preserve their family values, identity and Filipino heritage. Stories told could help sustain the links between the three different worlds of generations.
Summary

The reader observed many differences among the grandparents, parents and children right from the very beginning of the stories told in this study. They were stories of the old and the new worlds, new beginnings, new families, old and new cultures that were in contrast and at the same time similar. The stories were voices of people who wanted the best for their families, people who made daily choices of who came first, self or family. For the older generation the choice of other seemed to be a natural one. The spirit of connectedness had been inculcated by the Filipino familistic values. For the children’s generation, it was not a natural choice anymore. The stories were mostly told in love, even in the telling of past hurt. For the participants, storytelling was re-discovered as a means to strengthen what they already have, a link to their past, present, and future.

The study was the story of the grandparents and parents who had their beginnings in the Philippines and the children who had their beginnings in the U.S. The grandparents grew up without having life in the U.S. as part of their future. In contrasts, parents grew up with an awareness of possible life in the U.S. The children participants grew up in an environment where their parents
and grandparents continued to adapt and to struggle, trying to blend the Filipino culture with the American culture. The immigrants survived by seeking help from within their family support system. The children struggled also to blend their American culture with their parents' and grandparents' Filipino culture. Besides their families, their friends were considered their source of support. Conflicts resulted from differences in values, individualistic as opposed to familistic values. Parents were caught in between the children and grandparents. In addition to conflicts, there were generational gaps in the three generations' relationships. Since grandparents were not considered above the authority of the parents, they were not recognized as the source of wisdom and the culture bearers. Then they experienced intergenerational storytelling in Project Heart to Heart. They found commonality in life experiences. They were not alone. Someone understood. Someone listened. Someone cried with them. Someone told their stories. The experiences that had been kept in their hearts found voices. Finally, their stories were told with love and compassion.
CHAPTER VI

Relationship to Previous Research, Implications, Recommendations and Conclusions

Introduction

In this chapter I will present a procedure summary and will discuss how the findings relate the previous study and literature, state implications, offer recommendations and present a conclusion.

Summary of Procedure

This study examines the effects of intergenerational storytelling on Filipino American families by doing in-depth interviews of 18 participants whose ages range from 13 to 79 years old: four grandparents, six parents and eight children. The interviews were conducted before and after the storytelling experience that took place in a Project Heart to Heart one-day conference. The adult participants immigrated to the United States following the 1965 Immigration Act. The children participants were born in the U.S. In the initial interview, participants were
asked about their family background, Filipino identity and relationship with their families. During the second interview, participants were asked to describe their responses to intergenerational storytelling and how the experience influenced their view of intergenerational differences.

Relationship to Previous Research

This study’s finding that conflict and an intergenerational gap exist among the immigrant grandparents, parents and children corroborates work done by Baptiste (1993), Heras and Revilla (1994), Nguyen and Williams (1989), Rick and Forward (1992), Rosenthal (1984), and Wakil, Siddique and Wakil (1981). The finding that parents and children differ in their approach to socialization supported the finding of Wakil, et al. that as children’s demand for greater freedom increases, some changes in important values, like respect for authority, may occur. In the study by Nguyen and Williams (1989), the generation gap increased with the time of stay in the United States. This I consider similar to the value gap among the grandparents, parents and children (Reichert, 1970). The grandparents and parents grew up in the Philippines where they had acquired different familistic
values as opposed to the children who grew up in the US and had acquired individualistic values. At age of 5, one’s culture is usually established (Lynch, 1992).

A study by Cooper, Baker, Polichar, and Welsh (1993) showed how familistic values are linked to the communication patterns between adolescents and parents, and adolescents and their peers. The lesser the communication between parents and adolescents, the closer adolescents are to their peers. This is similar to Mead’s co-figurative cultural pattern in which peers are sources of knowledge (1978). This may explain my finding of the Filipino American children’s preferences for their friends’ company. The Cooper et al. (1993) study found that Filipino college students’ patterns of communication generally appeared more formal with fathers than with mothers. The majority of the three generational study’s participants also had similar relationships with their parents, more formal with their fathers. The researchers linked it to hierarchical patterns in families. Filipino familial patterns are strongly hierarchical: grandparents, parents, and then children.

In the Cooper et al. (1993) study, the core of the model was “the transactive interplay of individuality and connectedness, which functions as an important mechanism for both individual and relational development” (p.74).
Children participants' used more 'individuality' language, which was seen in their assertions and disagreements with their elders. The grandparent and parents participants used more of 'connectedness' language, which was expressed in acknowledgement of, respect for, and responsiveness to others. The three generations' differences in communication generated conflict, as well as a gap in the understanding of another's perspective.

The three generational family structure of the Filipino immigrants is a good example of Mead's (1978) postfigurative culture which required at least three generations to maintain. The children participants pointed out how they got Filipino culture information from their grandparents and the grandparents supported their children in passing on the value of respect for elders. Two participants had grandparents who still gathered the whole family together almost every week. Children in the study held Filipino values similar to those of their parents and grandparents, such as respect for elders, the importance of family, religion, and education, and the value of hard work. The study, though, showed that there already were signs of questioning these practices. For this reason, as the children start questioning the practices when they conflict with their way of life, such as wishing to spend
more time with friends than with family, the postfigurative culture will be harder to maintain. Besides requiring three generations, the postfigurative culture is maintained only when cultural practices are not questioned. The parents’ arrival in the U.S. after 1965 and the children’s birth in the U.S. before their grandparents’ arrival here resulted in the loss of the grandparents’ position at the top of the family hierarchy. Therefore, their authority as a source of wisdom is less than when they were in the Philippines if it is not lost totally. The children who did not grow up sharing the same environment with them questioned their authority over the family.

The findings showed that the parents were still maintaining their familistic values but were starting to adapt to their children’s world by allowing such things as sleep overs and early age socials. The children were already leaning toward their peers as role models and sources of knowledge. Therefore, parents and children showed movement toward Mead’s (1978) cofigurative cultural pattern. I consider smaller family size—fewer children, further apart in age—as a contributing factor in the transition to a cofigurative cultural pattern. There was an outward direction to seek out friends.
There were also some signs of Mead’s (1978) new prefigurative cultural pattern because of the children’s constant exposure to high technology through school, recreation centers, movies and TV. Also, this contributed to a value gap between the children and the adults. The grandparents and parents did not have the same amount of exposure to a technological environment (Reichert, 1970). Self (1970) also found the same cause of a gap due to electronic age. That was in the 1960s. We are now in the 1990s and the gap is even wider. The study showed an overlap of cultural patterns, which were signs of transitions.

Traub & Dodder (1988) pointed out that the “great gap” concept presented youth as being opposed to the “dominant adult culture with respect to the acceptance of dominant values” (p.976). However, the situation in the Filipino American family is that the adults and their values are not the dominant culture and values in the larger society, but only in their family environment. The “great gap” of the 1960s, then, is applied in a different context in the 1990s. In terms of conflict, this study’s finding did not show existing high tension due to intergenerational differences. The desire for change focused more on the
physical expression of affection and a lack of transmission of Filipino values and culture.

The findings of a generational gap due to differences in age, circumstances and upbringing related to Reichert’s (1970) three kinds of generation gap: developmental, empathy and value gap. The study showed the presence of all three gaps, particularly the value gap, as they related to countries of birth, familistic Filipino values and individualistic U.S. values.

Participants rediscovered that storytelling, as described by Abascal-Hildebrand (1994), Livo and Rietz (1986), Parry and Doan (1994), Yerby, Buerkel-Rothfuss and Bochner (1990), can enable a person to express his thoughts and feelings, to express experiences in different ways, for the purpose of passing on traditions, preserving history, healing relationships and building communities. In the study, participants experienced healing, bonding and recognition of their responsibility to pass on their traditions and history by telling stories. Participants experienced an increased understanding of their family history just as Wolff (1993) found in her work on family communication and Rosenfeld (1993) discovered in his study of the participating students.
Implications

3 Generational Link Model

For this study, this conceptual framework emerged as the graphic representation of how storytelling helped sustain and maintain historical, cultural, familial links among Filipino American grandparents, parents and children. I consider this model a cultural and sociological concept that crosses cultures and that can provide the foundation for a social science theory. “The main features of qualitative research therefore make it generalizable to theory rather than generalizable to different research populations. Yin (1991) argued that expanded theory is the major goal of qualitative inquiry” (Drew, et al., 1996, p. 161).

The concept provides a means to understand the significant role of each generation in maintaining family communication in order to preserve who they are as a family unit, as individual family members, and as members of a diverse global community. The family is called upon to keep their identity and to contribute to the enrichment of life in the global environment.
Project Heart to Heart

Storytelling gives life to individual experiences and gets a message across different generations.

In Project Heart to Heart workshops, storytelling served to link grandparents, parents, and children. This link helped them understand their family dynamic as Filipino American families with strong Filipino cultural values. They heard similarities of experiences, which helped reduce their anxiety level. "Before attending Heart to Heart and working on the Kabataan Pinoy Pride Conference Committee, Anna Repato, 16, couldn’t talk to her parents. ‘Right now, I’m starting to talk to them’. . . . Anna has found others at the conference who share similar stresses. The conference taught her she’s not alone ...” (Nguyen, 1996, p.B-3). From another group of participants, “The students were relieved to hear that what they experience at home in terms of parental expectations of their academic performance is typical of many Filipino American families” (Dela Rosa, 1994, p.11). Another participant stated that her grandmother’s gift for sharing stories inspired her to share her own experiences of how she coped with her parents (Nguyen, 1996, p. B-3). Ginger Reyes (1994), a columnist who writes from a youth perspective, noted:
We children, don’t know what it’s like to be a Filipino coming into the United States for the first time. Our elders went through a lot in order to give the first generation Filipinos a better life. We shouldn’t take what they give us for granted. The skits alone demonstrated that a generation gap exists between our parents and us. In a way, this conference narrowed the bridge that separated our culture.

Because of this, a lot was learned. Adults heard what we had to say as we in turn listened to them. (p. 6)

In another Project Heart to Heart conference, Marc Pastor (1996) wrote how this experience differed from other social programs that depended “solely on quantitative theories to make a human impact. . . . unique in its willingness to accept into its methodology the uncertain alchemy of the human heart. . . . The core of the activities and workshops of Project Heart to Heart is in the open sharing of stories” (pp. 4-5).

The Project Heart to Heart program provides an environment for intergenerational storytelling that can serve as a preventative and/or intervention measure for Filipino and other immigrant families. In a real sense, we all have an immigrant in our family tree.

Based on the study’s findings, storytelling as a tool for bridging the generational gap needs more emphasis at the beginning of the conference where concepts are introduced to the participants. For the facilitators’ training, “storytelling” instead of the word “sharing” will
be used. Information about how to tell stories will be included in the facilitator’s training. This study’s findings can also be used as an example of how storytelling can help the participants.

Grandparents as Culture-Bearers

By 1980, elderly Filipino Americans were the largest (26.7%) subgroup in the Asian American elderly population, according to U.S. Bureau of Census (Tompar-Tiu & Sustento-Seneriches, 1995, p. 100). Grandparents usually lived with their children and took care of their grandchildren. Most of them had lost their respected elder status. They had to redefine their roles in the family.

Grandparents are culture-bearers. The conceptual framework shows their significant role in preserving Filipino heritage and family values. If their children recognize this significant role, they gain status in the eyes of their grandchildren. Instead of being seen as childcare givers only, they are also mentors to their grandchildren. Time spent with their grandchildren will have an added dimension. Grandparents will be empowered knowing that their life experiences are valuable to their grandchildren. And this is also good for their mental health.
Suicide Prevention

Family troubles, generational and communication gaps, and culture clash are some of the possible causes of suicide. Family therapists support the use of narrative in helping their clients find meaning in life (Becvar & Becvar, 1993). Storytelling is a good place to start in order to help parents and their children better understand one another’s culture. Roberts (1994) stated, “Family stories are a rich resource in therapy that help us understand who we are, and at the same time they can be used as blueprints to rework and change who we are” (p.xiii). Jeter (1993) asked, “Can a story alone raise consciousness and change behavior?” (p.285). This question was based on the universality of the human condition and was pose in the context of discussing how during WWII people of different religious orientation chose to shelter Jews from the Nazis.

For this study, Project Heart to Heart provided a non-threatening environment for storytelling and relating to one another’s similar human experiences as a family.

Loss of Filipino Identity

This study is not limited to the importance of storytelling. The findings are significant to the survival of a heritage. When the conceptual framework emerged during
the final analysis of the data, I was excited to have a visual representation of the direction in which the Filipino American family is going. But as the possibilities dawned on me, I got concerned. Our grandparents of the post-1965 immigration were getting very old. My own mother is 82. Our family here will take her back to the Philippines in May, that she may spend the remaining years there. The Filipino American community is slowly losing a source of Philippine history and stories of early days in the country. There is more concern about us not doing well in preserving history and Filipino heritage. What will the future look like for our Filipino heritage? We really need to do something to instill in our younger generation the importance of connecting with our grandparents and parents. We need to share our stories. We need to make time.

As the Filipino American family gets smaller in size, we lose the sense of community. When we had big families, our siblings were our playmates. Now there are only one, two, or three siblings in many families, each separated by several years apart. Siblings seek friends outside the family. As friends take priority, family becomes second. Parents are finding less time to spend with their children. Our familistic values are weakening and giving way to individualistic values.
The good news is that there is at least a tool of communication that we know works. I myself was surprised when the oldest of the grandparents was the one most moved by the story of the children. He was willing to change his own ways because he finally realized that the children were doing their best, too. The children were trying to balance two different worlds. This transformation and others that took place during the study meant that sharing of our stories with our families, peers, and other generations could help us maintain our family, because it can help us understand each other. For minority groups, familistic values are important because they are seen as adaptive resources for ethnic families of color, especially concerning such things as racism, immigration, or poverty (Cooper, et al., 1993).

The bigger implication is that the 3 Generational Link Model is applicable not only to the Filipino American family but to any family that recognizes the importance of the intergenerational connection for preserving family traditions and identity. Storytelling helps give the family members an identity.

Voice

Currently, in spite of the large number of Filipinos in the Asian American population, we are still considered
invisible. In history books, Chinese, Japanese, and other Asians are included; Filipinos are not even mentioned. As a nation assimilated by the U.S. during half a century of colonization, the Filipinos have been westernized. As a result, we have lost our voices, the only resource for discerning our reality and our own judgement. Without our legitimate voices, there is self-doubt (Parry & Doan, 1994), p. 27). We have been silenced by the dominant culture. Without identity, we will remain silent as Filipinos. Our familistic values are our hope for recovering our voices. There is an urgency, for our elderly are slowly fading away. As immigrants, most of them lost their identity as culture-bearers. Our younger generation are becoming more autonomous and losing the link with their roots. We need to strengthen the links. Storytelling is a means. Yet, it is not enough. Families need a structural and institutional support to maintain their values (Lin & Liu, 1993).

International Conference

I have been invited by the executive director of the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) to present this study at their 7th National Conference on July 30, 31, & August 1, 1998 to be held in Portland, Oregon. On August 5, 6, 7, 1998, I will be part of the FANHS
delegation of Filipino American scholars to do presentations in the Philippines in collaboration with the Philippine National Historical Society, as part of the Centennial Celebration of Independence.

I was informed that my study on post-1965 immigrants is one of the few available nationally. As a result, I was invited to fill that lack in the delegation. The significance of this study is not limited to the local Filipino American community. The study is not yet completed and there is already a demand for it, nationally and internationally! The findings can be shared with Filipinos in the Philippines and may result in a comparison of family life experiences between Filipinos in the U.S. and the Philippines. I am very interested to know if they can relate to the findings of my study. Actually, there is already a request to do Project Heart to Heart in one parish community during my visit and we are considering the possibility of training a local team.

**Recommendations**

After reflecting upon the experiences of the grandparents, parents, and children, I offer the following recommendations for future research, for professional
practice, and for community use, especially in the Filipino American community.

Future Research

1. Research the effects of storytelling in other fields, such as education, mental health, and family communication.

2. Do further research on Filipino American tri-generational value differences (a study was done in India, [Mallick, 1977] and with Japanese Americans [Connor, 1977]).

3. Develop a quantitative methodology for storytelling research that will produce quantifiable and measurable results.

4. Refine the 3 Generational Link Model further and test it in other applications.

5. Apply 3 Generational Link Model to the longitudinal study of the tri-generational gap in cultural identity.

Professional Practice

1. Use intergenerational storytelling as an intervention measure for suicide ideation and other youth
behavioral problems. Storytelling may provide a necessary link among youth, parents, and grandparents that may promote a sense of self worth. Moreover, storytelling will provide helpful multi-generational client histories.

2. Encourage family therapists to use intergenerational storytelling with patients, especially immigrants. This recommendation uses the same rationale as the preceding one.

3. Instruct community agency staff members in the use of intergenerational storytelling to develop community-based Intergenerational Interaction Programs that will establish family-like environments (Powell & Arquitt, 1978).

4. Design a storytelling curriculum for students from grade school through college. Matasar (1992), a law teacher and legal scholar, stated, “In legal scholarship and teaching, narrative is an instrumental necessity that gives us a chance to create a more just legal system” (p. 361). McKenzie (1993) wrote an essay to explore the role of the lawyer as storyteller and offered suggestions “by bringing the model of the legal storyteller into the classroom” (p. 252). In the field of education, include in teacher training curricula, especially at the elementary grade level, a multicultural family reference system that
expands the definition of “nuclear family” to include grandparents and that instructs students in the lower grades that they can ask for help from both their parents and their grandparents. This approach may help sustain the link between the children and their grandparents as the children learn to view their grandparents from a different perspective, not simply as a babysitter or just another relative.

Community Use

1. Replicate the Project Heart to Heart program model in other ethnic groups.

2. Include grandparents in school district-sponsored parent involvement programs.

3. Use intergenerational activities such as dialogues and storytelling in community service-oriented programs.

4. Provide storytelling classes for senior citizens.

5. Include instruction on storytelling in Parenting Classes.

Conclusion

At the beginning, my objectives in choosing my dissertation topic were to document experiences of participants in Project Heart to Heart as a source of hope
for us, Filipino immigrant families, to experience in-depth their stories of transformation, and to provide a much-needed literature source about Filipino Americans. All these objectives come from the very heart of my personhood as a mother and adult Filipino immigrant who struggles to keep my identity and my Filipino heritage, that I may pass it on to my children. The objectives may sound selfish or noble depending on the reader's life experiences. For what I share is a story of who I was, who I am, and who I want to become.

As a Filipino immigrant to the United States in the early 1970s and with all my children born here, I can strongly relate to what Mead has written concerning the cultural conflict between the immigrant parents and their children. I am constantly made aware of how difficult it is to pass on to my children Filipino familistic values, traditions and cultural heritage. As a parent coming from a culture that values the extended family and community relationships, my experience with the individualistic approach to survival in the American society made me more aware of how important it is to establish constancy in our family value system in harmony with our cultural history.

As a stakeholder, I am in a better position to understand the experience of a generational gap and to
explore areas that may provide answers applicable to bridging the generational gaps. I approached the study as a member of the community and not as just another professional community outsider who might point out the needs and possible solutions as if the community did not have the resources to do so. McKnight stated, "When the capacity to define the problem becomes a professional prerogative, citizens no longer exist" (1995, p. 48).

Equally important are Parry & Doan’s (1994) statement:

The contemporary family is, as never before, a crossroads in which its different members go forth to and return from different worlds where different languages are spoken, different stories are told, and different selves are employed. Every vestige of the world of unities is under attack. In the face of this, the only recourse parents have in dealing with the problems their children face in coping with the only world they have ever known are the stories they bring out of their experiences. (p. 26)

The people who volunteered shared their stories. Their voices were heard. In listening to their stories, I heard my husband, my children, mother, myself. In listening, those who gathered together remembered. Ric (C) said, “I am
listening at the same time remembering."
In gathering, we built communities. Eddie (C) shared:

Its what is out there. I don’t know what goes on in other houses. Hearing the stories, I know what’s going on inside. . . . It’s just like seeing through the walls. You hear their stories. And it happens to most families. Most Filipinos act alike in ways. So I could relate to them.

In building communities, we give hope to one another. Eddie (C) said, "I went for one day. It’s gonna help me for the rest of my life."

As the researcher, when I started this scholarly journey, I had no idea where it would lead me. I gave up my nursing career to stay home with my children and I led the busy life of a multiple-role woman for my three children and my husband as the sole breadwinner. We made the commitment to do an even better job than our parents did in parenting us. We decided which parenting ways we would like to continue. As our children grew, we began to be concerned about what they were telling us about them being different and us having different ways of parenting than other kids’ parents. Out of the widening gap concern, Project Heart to Heart was conceived.

In the spring of 1991, twenty-two years after obtaining my degree in nursing, I went back to school for
my Masters in Pastoral Care and Counseling at the University of San Diego.

During my studies at the university, in order to fulfill an institutional requirement, I co-founded the Filipino Ugnayan Student Organization (USD FUSO), to host Project Heart to Heart, a one-day field trip for my two children and their 7th and 8th grade Filipino American classmates from Black Mountain Middle School to University of San Diego. I organized this event because as a Filipino American parent immigrant, I wanted my children to have a glimpse of the future with the help of college students as role models. In the fall of 1993, I started as a student in the Ed.D. Leadership Studies program in the School of Education.

I started on this scholarly journey questioning why I chose this path. I am starting to see some road signs at a distance from where I am standing, the path that I took, a "road less traveled." I thank God for His love and mercy. So many times during this journey, I cried in the depth of my heart:

Psalm 31: 2-6, "In you O Lord, I take refuge; let me never be put to shame. In your justice rescue me, make haste to deliver me! Be my rock of refuge, a stronghold to give me safety. You are my rock and my fortress;"
for your name’s sake you will lead
and guide me.
You will free me from the snare they set for me,
for you are my refuge.
Into your hands I commend my spirit;
You will redeem me. O Lord, O faithful God.

After having chosen to share this scripture verse, I realized that this particular psalm is a Psalm of David for the leader, a prayer in distress and a prayer of thanksgiving for escape. As a leader, I pray that I may only serve my God. For in serving Him, I serve with love, and the service is for all of us, His children.
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Appendix A

Interview Questions

Interview #1

A. **Family Background:** Tell me about your family (grandparents, parents, siblings; birthplace immigration, job, activities)

B. **Filipino Identity:** What does it mean to be a Filipino American? (differences, similarities from the rest of the society)

C. **Generation Gap**
   1. How are you different from your parents/children in terms of what is important in your life? (e.g. privileges, responsibilities)

   2. What did you learn about being Filipino from your grandparents and parents? How?

   3. What do you know about your parents/grandparents lives in the Philippines and as immigrants?

   4. How do your parents/children/grandparents express their appreciation or love for you?

   5. How do you express your love for your parents/children/grandparents?

   6. How do you wish your parents/children/grandparents express their love for you?

   7. If you could change your parents/children/grandparents, what would you change?
Interview #2

A. Family Background
1. What do you know now about your family that you did not know prior to Project Heart to Heart experience?

2. How would your experience affect your attitude toward your family history?

B. Filipino Identity
1. What did you learn about your Filipino identity? How will the knowledge influence your attitude toward your Filipino identity?

2. How will the knowledge influence your family relationship?

C. Generation Gap
1. What did you learn about your parents/children/grandparents?

2. How will the knowledge influence your family relationship?

3. If you have a chance to go back to the past, what would you do differently to have a better relationship with your parents/children?

D. Project Heart to Heart
1. What are the highlights of your Project Heart to Heart experience?

2. What in Project Heart to Heart experience help to provide enlightenment, insights, and information?

3. Because of Project Heart to Heart experience, my relationship with my parents/children/grandparents will be better because ______________.
May 16, 1997

TO: Dear Parents and Youths

FROM: Juanita (Mrs. Santos Nacu)
484-4068

RE: Project Heart to Heart

I am a doctoral student in Leadership Studies at the University of San Diego School of Education. My approved dissertation proposal is a qualitative research on "Storytelling and Project Heart to Heart: A Means to Bridge Generational Gap in Filipino American Families."

The purpose of the study is to document the perceived effects of storytelling experiences in Project Heart to Heart on three generations of Filipino American families. I propose to study the role of Project Heart to Heart in bridging generational gap and to learn how the participants perceive the workshops in its efforts to develop better understanding and appreciation of both family relationships and Filipino cultural heritage.

I would like to know if you would be available for the Project Heart to Heart scheduled at Scripps Miramar Ranch public library on Saturday, May 31, 1997 from 9:30 AM to 4:30 PM. As participants, you may either (a) volunteer to join the dissertation subject pool, or (b) attend as regular participants.

I will select eighteen subjects from the dissertation subject pool; eight youths, six parents, and four grandparents. I will request for individual interviews, approximately an hour each, before and after the Project Heart to Heart experience. Individual identities and information will be kept confidential. I will pay for their workshop meals and handouts.

I NEED YOUR PARTICIPATION TO MAKE MY DISSERTATION POSSIBLE. Please call for any question and if interested to participate at 484-4068. By doing so, you will enable me to provide informed consents, to set up interview schedules, and to do interviews prior to the May 31st Project Heart to Heart schedule.

As an active community volunteer myself, I am aware of your very busy schedule. I ask you to consider my invitation for the following reasons. Your participation will:

a) enhance your own family relationships, self-growth, and community building
b) contribute to scholarly research designed to support Filipino American families
c) contribute to much needed literature and study data concerning Filipino Americans

Thank you for your kind consideration. Salamat po.

Sincerely yours,

Juanita Santos Nacu, RN, MA
Appendix C

PROJECT HEART TO HEART REGISTRATION FORM

May 31, 1997
9:30 - 4:30 PM
SATURDAY
SCRIPPS MIRAMAR RANCH LIBRARY
10301 SCRIPPS LAKE DR.
SAN DIEGO, CA 92131

Presented and Facilitated by:
Project Heart to Heart Team
San Diego, California

For more information, call
428-0740 or 484-4068

REGISTRATION

First come, first serve. Limited number of participants.

Name: __________________________ Phone: __________________________
Address: __________________________

Status: __________________________
- Grandparent
- Parent
- Student

Grade: __________________________
- 6th
- 7th
- 8th
- 9th
- 10th
- 11th
- 12th

Birthplace: __________________________
- USA
- Philippines
- Other

Age Immigrated to USA: __________________________

Fluent in Tagalog: __________________________
- Yes
- No

Registration Deadline: Wednesday, May 28, 1997

Project Heart to Heart is designed to bridge the generational and cultural gap between youths and parents, to enhance and to nurture their relationship.

The workshops are highly interactive, personal, heart warming, and dynamic.

Participants: Grades 6-12 students, College students, Young adults, Parents, Grandparents.

Activities: Storytelling, Role Plays, Small Group, Large Group, Reflection, Play.

Presented and Funded by:
Project Heat to Heart Team
San Diego, California

For more information, call
428-0740 or 484-4068

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Appendix D

PROJECT

HEART TO HEART
...an outreach program for Filipino American youth.
8959 Oviedo Street, San Diego, CA 92129

MISSION

WE AS FAMILY MEMBERS ARE CALLED TO CREATE AN ENVIRONMENT OF LOVE, COMPASSION AND RESPECT
...ONE THAT ENCOURAGES HEALING OF RELATIONSHIPS AND CONTINUED GROWTH
...ONE THAT BUILDS BRIDGES TO NARROW THE GENERATIONAL AND CULTURAL GAP
...ONE THAT FOSTERS WHOLENESS IN THOSE WE SERVE. THOSE WHO SUPPORT OUR WORK AND THOSE WE COME IN CONTACT.

GOALS

TO HELP THE FAMILY UNIT EMPOWER THEMSELVES
TO LEARN HOW TO IMPROVE OUR COMMUNICATION
TO UNDERSTAND, RESPECT AND ACCEPT OUR DIFFERENCES
TO IMPROVE OUR RELATIONSHIPS
TO EXPRESS OUR LOVE FOR EACH OTHER

TO GET IN TOUCH WITH OUR CULTURAL IDENTITY
TO GET IN TOUCH WITH OUR FILIPINO ROOTS
TO ACQUIRE KNOWLEDGE OF OUR FILIPINO HERITAGE
TO INCREASE AWARENESS OF OUR FILIPINO IDENTITY

TO DEVELOP POSITIVE SELF-AWARENESS
TO RECOGNIZE OUR GIFTS AS AN INDIVIDUAL AND AS A FAMILY
TO DEVELOP OTHER-ESTEEM
TO TRANSFER ALL THE ABOVE ATTRIBUTES INTO POSITIVE ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND ACTIVE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

OBJECTIVES

TO SHARE OUR STORIES
TO EXPOSE OURSELVES TO POSITIVE ROLE MODELS
TO PROVIDE EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS
TO PROVIDE WORKSHOPS FOR REFLECTION AND ACTIVE INTERACTION AMONG DIFFERENT FAMILY MEMBERS

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**Project Heart to Heart** is a non-profit organization for educational purpose (since January 1996); designed to bridge the generational and cultural gap between youth, parents, and grandparents, to enhance and to nurture their relationship. The workshops are highly interactive, personal, heartwarming, and dynamic. Project Heart to Heart started in Spring 1993 as a one-day field trip to University of San Diego for grades 7-8 Filipino American students and has evolved to what it is now today.

**Team Presenters:**
- Youth Team - grades 7-12, college students*, professionals (young adults)
- Parent Team – parents and grandparents
- University of San Diego Filipino Ugnayan Student Organization (USD FUSO)

**Participants:** grades 7-12, college students, young adults, parents, grandparents

**Workshop Methods:**
- Storytelling
- Dyads
- A-V Presentation
- Role Play
- Small Group
- Large Group
- Short Talks
- Play
- Song

**Topics:** (partial list)
- Parenting
- Self Identity
- Cultural Identity
- Communication
- Parent and Teen Concerns
- Parent-Youth Relationship
- Self-Esteem / Other-Esteem
- Faith Journey
- Generation Gap
- Peer Pressure

**Presentations:**
- *One Day Conference, 8:30 AM to 4:00 P.M.: a total of 5 workshops (2 sets of simultaneous workshops and one plenary session)*
- Half-Day, 8:30 AM to 12:30 PM: two workshops
- One Workshop: 90-120 minutes

Presentations are customized according to the needs of the requesting group. One information workshop may even be given days prior to the conference schedule.

*Recommended presentation

**Previous Presentations:** (partial list) University of San Diego, University of California San Diego's Pan Asian, Black, Chicano / Latino Staff Associations, and Women's Caucus, Diocese of San Diego, Poway Unified School District (PUSD), San Diego Unified School District (SDUSD), University of the Philippines Alumni Association (UPAA) San Diego County, Filipino American Institute of Life in America (FAMILIA), PUSD Filipino American Parent Student Group, California Association for Counseling and Development (CACD), Samahan Dance Company
Filipinos bridge cultural gaps at USD conference

Event aims at stronger ties for youths, parents

By Pham-Duy Nguyen

Until yesterday, 19-year-old Sara San Juan had never hung out with Filipino friends. "I don't kick back with a lot of Filipinos," San Juan said.

Yesterday, San Juan got a chance to meet about 180 Filipino-American youths at the Kabataan Pinoy Pride Conference. The one-day event at the University of San Diego was aimed at bridging cultural and generational gaps between Filipino youths and their parents.

Joel San Juan had brought his niece, Sara, to the conference for her first real exposure to the Filipino community. "I wanted her to touch base with her Filipino heritage," he said. "It's important to get an opportunity to talk to each other and share experiences, to see your culture not as a hindrance, (but) to see it as an asset," he said.

Sara San Juan wished her 14-year-old brother, Erik, had come along, too, for the cultural introduction. "He's proud of his roots but my parents wanted to assimilate us into the white culture and forget who we are," said the Vista resident. Both her parents are Filipinos, but her mother is remarried to a Caucasian, San Juan said.

Previous generations of Filipino immigrants tended to hurry their children into the mainstream and place less emphasis on cultural identity, said parent and organizer Juanita Nacu.

But events like Kabataan Pinoy (which means "Filipino youth" in Tagalog) signal a new awareness among the older and younger generations, Nacu said. The younger generations are more aware of their roots and the older generations are beginning to become role models," said Nacu, a doctoral candidate in education at the University of San Diego.

Nacu said the idea for the conference grew out of concern for her children. The conference for 7th- to 12th-graders was organized by high school students, and college students served as advisers.

Funding was provided by the Asian and Pacific-Islander Tobacco Education Network and the Southern Coast Regional Board. For Mary Grace Almandez, president of USD's Filipino Ugnayan (which means "to link" in Tagalog) Student Organization, bringing together Filipino youth attracted her to the project. Her grandmother's gift for sharing stories inspired her to share her own experiences of how she coped with her heritage. "I see a lot of parents practically give up," said Almandez, 20, who has worked on Project Heart to Heart, a group that brings parents and children together every few months to air out the issues and reach understandings. "We need to communicate and compromise," she said.

Before attending Heart to Heart and working on the Kabataan Pinoy Pride Conference Committee, Anna Repato, 16, couldn't talk to her parents. "Right now, I'm starting to talk to them," she said.

Anna is constantly trying to do the right thing because she is the oldest of three children. "I feel like I'm the one who has to set the boundaries, I'm the guinea pig," she said.

But Anna has found others at the conference who share similar stresses. The conference taught her she's not alone, she said.

Joel San Juan said parents need a conference, too. Since children are growing up in a very different social environment than their parents, parents need to be open-minded and supportive, he said.

When she arrived at the conference, Sara San Juan said the Filipino-American experience seemed alien to her. Near the end, however, she said she realized that the Filipino community is like a big family.
Appendix F

PRESS RELEASE (partial)

"There is no greater act of faith than to trust the complexities of the human heart. Project Heart to Heart, a non-profit organization created by Juanita Santos Nacu, embraces such acts of faith to forge connections between parents and their children. In a world where social programs depend solely on quantitative theories to make a human impact, Project Heart to Heart is unique in its willingness to accept into its methodology the uncertain alchemy of the human heart. In fact, to label Project Heart to Heart as just a program only scratches the surface of Santos Nacu’s vision. The core of the activities and workshops of Project Heart to Heart is in the open sharing of stories. To Santos Nacu, "Our stories become the means we have for bringing together our past and present into sense of future." Such melding of the past and present is best seen in the experiences of Project Heart to Heart participants. John Atienza, a graduate of USD, joined Project Heart to Heart when it originated on the USD campus three years ago. "I was doing Project Heart to Heart for about a year," he reflects... before I got the courage to ask my parents to come to a workshop. Ever since then, I've been able to talk to my parents, especially my father. I never thought I would have meaningful conversations about issues, about things that are pertinent to my life and that were pertinent to his life in his time. I can't imagine not listening to them anymore."


"Thumbs up to the Mt. Carmel High School Fil-Am Club for its sponsorship of Project Heart to Heart, a day-long seminar at the school designed to help Filipino American youth explore linkages between faith, cultural identity, self-esteem and academic performances. The day features informative sessions involving college students, high school students and parents."

Editorial (January 5, 1995), Penasquitos News.

"...It didn't matter if you weren't Filipino, you just went in as yourself and voiced your opinion. The neat thing I'll remember about this conference is that parents and children had a chance to tell one another their views on things... the skits, alone, demonstrated that a generation gap exists between us and our parents. In a way, this conference narrowed the bridge that separated our culture. because of this, a lot were learned. Adults heard what we had to say as we in turn listened to them."

Appendix G

Tuesday, May 27, 1997

TO: Volunteer Interviewees
FROM: Juanita

A BIG thank you for your time, kindness, and willingness to support me and my required doctoral dissertation. You are making possible the documentation of storytelling and Project Heart to Heart’s impact in bridging the generational gap in Filipino American families. For the completion of the study, here are some reminders for you:

- Required attendance this Saturday, May 31 Project Heart to Heart from 9:30 to 3:30*
- Schedule follow up individual interview within two weeks (June 1-14) **
- I will pay for your $10.00 registration donation
- Please call for any question: 484-4068

I encourage you to invite your family members and friends to attend. Even though attending workshops for enhancement of family communication and relationships are definitely needed for family survival, our busy daily schedule prevents us from making it a priority.

Deadline for your family members and friend’s registration is THURSDAY, MAY 29. The more participants we have, the better is your Project Heart to Heart experience. Please share the enclosed registration form.

* If for any reason, you can not make it this Saturday, please let me know by Thursday. I need to find another volunteer whom I need to interview by Friday

** We can do the interview scheduling this Saturday
Appendix H

University of San Diego

CONSENT TO ACT AS A RESEARCH SUBJECT

Juanita Santos Nacu, a doctoral student in Educational Leadership, is conducting a research study on Storytelling & Project Heart to Heart: A Means to Bridge Generational Gap in Filipino American Families. Since I have been selected to participate in this study as an expert in Project Heart to Heart, I understand that I will be asked to share my family relationship, experiences, and stories as a facilitator in Project Heart to Heart.

I understand that this data collection will encompass individual and group interviews. This data collection and participation will take approximately two hours. I also understand that this data collection will be video taped. Participation in the study may involve minor fatigue due to emotional responses and group interactions.

My participation in this study is entirely voluntary. I agree not to make any financial claim or ask for remuneration from Juanita Santos Nacu for my participation in this study. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that such withdrawal will not affect my ability to participate in Project Heart to Heart.

I understand that my identity and the information I provide you will not be confidential. I understand that you may use my name in any publication or public presentation of this study. In addition, video-taped material will be used by Juanita Santos Nacu and Project Heart to Heart in workshops and training of facilitators.

Juanita Santos Nacu has explained this study to me and answered my questions. If I have other questions or research-related problems, I can reach Juanita Santos Nacu at 484-4068. I can also contact the dissertation committee Director Susan M. Zglicynski, Ph.D., (619) 260-4538.

There are no other agreements, written or verbal, related to this study beyond that expressed on this consent form. I will receive a copy of this consent document.

I, the undersigned, understand the above explanations, and on that basis, I give consent to my voluntary participation in this research.

_____________________________________________    ____________________________
Signature of Subject (Parent/Guardian)                Date

_____________________________________________
Location (e.g. San Diego)

_____________________________________________    ____________________________
Signature of Researcher                            Date

_____________________________________________    ____________________________
Signature of Witness                                Date

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Appendix I

University of San Diego
CONSSENT TO ACT AS A RESEARCH SUBJECT

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I understand that my identity and the information I provide you will not be confidential. I understand that you may use my name in any publication or public presentation of this study. In addition, video-taped material will be used by Juanita Santos Nacu and Project Heart to Heart in workshops and training of facilitators.

Juanita Santos Nacu has explained this study to me and answered my questions. If I have other questions or research-related problems, I can reach Juanita Santos Nacu at 484-4068. I can also contact the dissertation committee Director Susan M. Zglicynski, Ph.D., (619) 260-4538.

There are no other agreements, written or verbal, related to this study beyond that expressed on this assent form. I have received a copy of this assent document.

I, the undersigned, understand the above explanations, and on that basis, I agree to participate in this research.

Signature of Subject (under 18 years of age) Date

Location (e.g. San Diego)

Signature of Researcher Date

Signature of Witness Date