Sikolohiyang Pilipino Values in Environmental Justice: How Cultural Values Inform

Political Engagement and Policy Change

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Abstract

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Environmental justice is inclusive of more than just the distribution of environmental

harms, including process equity, or the study of enabling factors like recognition and

participation in the creation of such outcomes. Recognition and participation meaningfully

identify the groups that often experience the most environmental injustice, their contributions to

environmental decision- and policy-making, and what barriers exist to contributing. This thesis

examines the recognition and participation of the Filipino community in the greater Seattle

region within the context of environmental governance. I use the *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* cultural

values to identify the role the Filipino identity plays in informing political engagement and

situate these values within the belief system of the Advocacy Coalition Framework. Results

demonstrate that the Filipino inherent values of community-building play an important role in

choosing to engage with political subsystems and that environmental governance and policy

brokers can learn valuable lessons for improving recognition and participation of BIPOC

communities more broadly.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Environmental justice in the United States developed out of the need to create a movement that recognized the disproportionate environmental harms placed on marginalized communities, ones which were typically omitted from mainstream environmentalism. As the historic, distributive dimensions of EJ have explored how environmental injustices have inequitably impacted BIPOC, LGBT+, low income, and disabled neighborhoods and communities, an on-going effort has been analyzing the systems, factors, and processes which have enabled such injustices to transpire. Two significant aspects of this procedural environmental justice are that of meaningful participation and recognition in the process of establishing environmental laws, regulations, and policies.

Participation and recognition are important not only for policymakers to accurately identify which communities are further harmed by unintentionally negligent or marginalizing environmental decisions, but also for communities to recognize both how they are impacted by environmental injustices as well as how they contribute to a more equitable and inclusive environmental future. This thesis contributes to the discussion around procedural dimensions of environmental justice by exploring how the Filipinx[1] community in the Pacific Northwest senses, interacts with, and is affected by the on-going environmental justice first.

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[1] Throughout this thesis, I will be using the terms Filipino, Filipinx, Filipin@, and Pinoy interchangeably. In the Filipino diaspora in the United States, these terms represent a cultural blending of origins and cultural values from the Philippines mixing with lived experiences in the United States and beyond, as well as taking on a post-colonial identity itself. Different individuals will choose different terms to self-identify, and while there is ongoing discourse surrounding each term, no singular one is more correct than or mutually exclusive to the others. For more information, please read: Cabigao, K. (2021, January 7). Are You Filipino or Filipinx? *Vice*. https://www.vice.com/en/article/qjpwnm/filipino-vs-filipinx-debate-language-philippines-culture-identity

This thesis seeks to identify how Filipino-Americans in the Pacific Northwest sense environmental justice issues, and how they feel represented in or engaged by environmental governance in this region. To accomplish this, first I define environmental justice and its different dimensions, describing its history and importance in the context of the United States. Next, I detail the Filipino-American community, from the original patterns of settlement in this country and the history of activism and organizing, to significant cultural values and how they are shaped through the processes of immigration, diaspora, and acculturation, to how Filipinos are currently perceived as active in the environmental movement. Finally, I explicate the Advocacy Coalition Theory, a theory of public policy process that will be used to situate cultural values and ethnic identity in political systems and movements. This theory connects Filipino-Americans to environmental decision-making and action-taking in the Pacific Northwest region through their primary values and beliefs, and highlights the need to meaningfully recognize and encourage the participation of communities of color like the local Filipin@ community. Through these lenses, Filipino activists in both environmental justice and broader community organizing were interviewed to describe their experiences and interactions with environmental policies and how they sense their values, representation, and participation are recognized today and into the future.

Chapter 2: Environmental Justice

Concern for the environment has a long-standing history in the United States. As early as the mid 1800s, due to the exploitation of natural resources, perceived loss of the grandeur that is the American frontier, and lack of responsibility man took for conserving nature, environmentalism was born out of the work of writers and naturalists George Perkins Marsh and

Henry David Thoreau (Kuzmiak, 1991). Inspired by their writings, the early 1900s saw the rise

of significant environmental giants, including: John Muir, who pushed for the establishment of

National Parks and would found well-known environmental non-governmental organization

(eNGO) the Sierra Club; George Bird Grinnell, who rallied so-called sportsmen into protecting

wild birds, forming a society that became the precursor to the now well-known Audubon

Society; and American president Theodore Roosevelt, who operationalized government power to

create preserves and wildlife refuges (Kuzmiak, 1991). Although supposedly founded on the

morally superior cause of the preservation of nature, early environmentalism – with echoes into

modern day – was fraught with contradictions and exclusion.

2.1 Problems with Early American Environmentalism

In his now well-known essay *The Trouble of Wilderness* (1996), William Cronon

criticizes the early American environmental movement for creating an image of nature that

didn't always accurately reflect its true form. According to Cronon, to many of these early

environmentalists, the wilderness took on two significant forms. Firstly, nature was "sublime," or

comprised pristine, untouched landscapes where one could gaze directly up the true "face of

God" (Cronon, 1996 p.10). Second, wilderness made up the great American frontier, a stage on

which "primitivism" and "rugged individualism" persisted in spite of the development on the

eastern Coast, and one where "a man could be a real man" and not be confined by the structures

of the "femininizing tendencies of civilization" (Cronon, 1996 p.13-14). This construction of

wilderness was intentional to suit American environmentalism. By creating an image of a

pristine and untouched nature, the forced dispossession and displacement of Indigenous

sovereignties off of their lands could be justified. Through the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the

Yellowstone Act of 1872, the Dawes Act in 1887, and other federal land grab and reservation-creating policies, nearly 90 million acres were taken from tribes for private land ownership and the establishment of national parks (Treuer, 2021).

Additionally, Cronon criticizes this construct of wilderness for the paradox it creates; that, if nature is best pristine and untouched, and preservation of wilderness begets a remoteness from humanity and civilization, interceding in its conservation undermines the entire movement. In Cronon's view, this perception of the natural world creates "the dualism that sets humanity and nature at opposite poles," where the development of an ethical relationship with wilderness is impossible (Cronon, 1996 p.17). This dualism effectively separated issues into either environmental or human, or a "crude conflict between the 'human' and the 'nonhuman'" (Cronon, 1996 p.20). This creates important consequences, specifically that wilderness is something to be enjoyed and championed by those without barriers that are human in nature, such as wealth or access. In addition, the movement became unconcerned with human issues that were due to environments that weren't wild; that is, when environmental injustices like pollution exposure and health issues from toxic water supplies transpired, they weren't a concern of environmentalism. This construction of nature and intellectual foundation of the environmental movement in the United States has important repercussions to this day.

Besides Cronon's criticisms of the invention of wilderness as a discursive tool and the discourse surrounding it being used to substantiate early environmental actions, the founding fathers of this movement were also not without their faults. Friend of Theodore Roosevelt and ally to early conservationists, Madison Grant is an often forgotten figurehead left out of American environmentalism's earliest days (Purdy, 2015). This may be because Grant is better known for his contributions to eugenics and white supremacy, writing *The Passing of the Great*

Race, or The Racial Basis of European History, a racial theory book that argued for the superiority of Nordic peoples over other races. Grant was publicly supported by Roosevelt, as well as by Henry Fairfield Osborn, head of both the New York Zoological Society and the board of trustees at the American Museum of Natural History (Purdy, 2015). Osborn was active in racist eugenics movements, himself founding the American Eugenics Society in 1921 (New York Historical Society, 2013). In addition to being in the same social circles of Roosevelt and Grant, Osborn was a well-known friend of John Muir, founder of the Sierra Club. Muir, too, was known for making racist remarks towards both Black and Indigenous people. In an essay collection from 1901 in which Muir describes the beauty and significance of a few National Parks, he states in regards to Indigenous people on land designated as National Parks, "most of them are dead or civilized into useless innocence" (Muir, 1901 p.28).

The offhand racism of their founder perpetuated into the early history of the Sierra Club, both among Muir's successors and the organization itself. Joseph LeConte and David Starr Jordan were two leaders who openly advocated for racist policies and eugenics, promoting forced sterilization and programs that further disenfranchised already marginalized communities (Brune, 2020). Many chapters of the Sierra Club throughout the country rejected potential members on the basis of race until as late as 1960 (Shutkin, 2021). Echoing the concerns raised by Cronon on the dualism of nature versus humanity, Sierra Club members polled in 1972 on whether the club should become involved with "the conservation problems of such special groups as the urban poor and ethnic minorities," only a meager 15% of respondents were supportive (Purdy, 2015 para. 14). Although the organization has taken steps to acknowledge its racist own history, some outspoken members have encouraged leadership to "stay in [their] lane" and maintain a clear distance from issues of privilege, power, race, and justice (Brune, 2020

para. 8). Though these exact sentiments are not as commonplace as they were before, it is undeniable that racism, white supremacy, and support for eugenics comprise the infrastructure of United States environmentalism as it is known today.

2.2 Development of Environmental Justice in the United States

Between the faults of the construction of wilderness and the racist foundations of the movement, many people – often from marginalized communities – were excluded from mainstream environmentalism in this country (Mohai et. al., 2009). In the face of the short-comings of United States environmentalism, a different, grassroots and frontline mobilization took off. In the United States, the environmental justice (EJ) movement grew out of the recognition that "low-income and minority communities continue to bear greater health and environmental burdens, while the more affluent and whites receive the bulk of the benefits" (Bullard, 1994 p.11). As a conceptual construction, environmental justice emerged simultaneously out of the communities internal organizing efforts that recognize their disproportionate impact, as well as from national organizations utilizing the term to communicate the unequal distribution of environmental harm directly to local groups (Čapek, 1993).

Although formally written into law by President Clinton's Executive Order 12898 in 1994, EJ in the United States owes its beginnings to the movement surrounding and implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Bowen & Wells, 2002). Throughout the 70s and 80s, the combined efforts of researchers examining incidents of disproportionate distribution of environmental hazards to marginalized communities and the rising collective voice of activists led to environmental justice becoming a growing concern (examples of research efforts:

Freeman, 1972; Asch & Seneca, 1978; US Government Accountability Office, 1983; United Church of Christ, 1987). Many environmental justice scholars point to the Warren County, NC protests as one of the starting points of environmental justice in the United States (Mohai et. al., 2009). During these protests, African American, rural, and low income community members joined together to voice their concerns regarding environmental harm, which rose to national attention via ongoing media coverage. This incited the US Government and Accountability Office to undertake a regional study of the Southern United States, looking at the siting of four major landfills (US Government Accountability Office, 1983). This report found that each of these sites were located in communities with a disproportionate Black population. Following this report, the United Church of Christ (UCC) Commission on Racial Justice sponsored their own national-level investigation (United Church of Christ, 1987). *Toxic Waste and Race in the United States* (1987) conducted a thorough review using US Census data to reveal the discriminatory siting practices of toxic waste facilities across the country (Bowen, 2002; Mohai et. al., 2009). From its investigations, the Commission on Racial Justice concluded that race was the most important factor in predicting where these waste sites would be located. In addition, executive director of the UCC Commission on Racial Justice Benjamin Chavis is cited as the first person to coin and define the term environmental racism, which he describes as:

> "... racial discrimination in environmental policy-making and enforcement of regulations and laws, the deliberate targeting of communities of color for toxic waste facilities, the official sanctioning of the presense of life threatening poisons and pollutants in communities of color, and the history of excluding people of color &om leadership of the environmental movement (Chavis, 1994)."

In 1991, the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership summit convened in Washington, D.C. This summit led to the formulation of core principles of environmental

justice, which included the expansion of the movement from just communities of color to include women, children, and low income populations (Bowen & Wells, 2002; Cutter, 1995). In 1994, President Clinton issued Executive Order 12898, under which every federal agency must list all "programs, policies, planning, and public participation practices, enforcement, and rule-makings" that directly fall under environmental justice, including human health and environment impacts (Bass, 1998). In processes and practices of the National Environmental Policy Act, such as environmental impact assessments and statements, agencies became federally required to determine and state: the composition of relevant communities (race, class, etc.); the social, health, and economic effects of proposed actions; and what culturally appropriate and accessible avenues exist for the public to read and comment on any plans before they are put into action.

This history laid the groundwork for the modern environmental justice movement today. According to the Environmental Protection Agency, environmental justice is officially defined as "the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws" (US EPA). As compared to environmentalism, environmental justice was founded in the concerns, voices, activism, and organizing of communities experiencing the infrastructural, health, and related harm. Environmental justice lacks the romanticism of the sublime beauty of nature, as well as the idealistic primitivism provided by the American frontier (Cronon, 1996); instead, it addresses the criticisms Cronon had for the quixotic construction of wilderness by establishing the environment as not just the great, pristine outdoors but also the arena in which both environmental benefits and harms are distributed. Additionally, as a movement founded to address environmental racism, it overcomes the discriminatory and bigoted foundations of mainstream environmentalism. Environmental justice also differs due to

the breadth and depth of issues it examines; as a justice-oriented movement, critical

environmental justice is intersectional both in the social identities of people it seeks to represent

as well as bridging the social and environmental divide in terms of lived experiences (Chiro

2008, 2020). Coalition politics, which is addressed more at the end of this chapter, is one

significant strength of the environmental justice movement, as it recognizes that marginalized

communities often experience environmental harm and burden through their impact other

systemic issues that often fall into the purview of different social movements (such as labor

justice, health equity, disability justice, reproductive justice, immigration/migrant justice, equity

education, and so many more).

2.3 Dimensions of Environmental Justice

Historically, environmental justice was concerned with the distribution of environmental

hazards and impacts, such as exposure to toxins or contaminants or proximity to waste facilities.

This "outcome equity" (Cutter, 1995 p.114) was empirically based, examining the distance

between marginalized communities and industrial, polluted areas or the statistical correlation

between certain health outcomes and environmental injustices. Distributive justice is based on

the lived experiences of communities that bear undue environmental harm first and foremost,

putting their concerns front and center in the process (Kaswan, 2020). In classic EJ movements

and literature, spatial patterning of siting and proximity to notable pollution and hazards was

both fundamental and necessary to understand distributional justice of environmental issues

(Walker, 2009). Quantifying the harm experienced by communities and the distribution of such

risk and harm is valuable in rationalizing to policymakers the inequitable shoulder of

environmental injustice people from marginalized backgrounds and identities experience over

others (Kaswan, 2020). Despite this reliance on empirical evidence and truly lived experiences to determine environmental injustice, reviews of this early time period and body of work have concluded that research has been underdeveloped and the scientific certitude of disproportionate environmental burden on marginalized communities is not unassailable (Bowen, 2002). This conclusion does not undermine significance of environmental justice, nor the lived experiences of BIPOC, LGBT+, low income, and disabled communities experiencing undue harm; instead, it suggests the need for ongoing and more thorough research regarding distribution of environmental injustices in order to more carefully inform policy-making and action-taking by relevant agencies.

While environmental justice has historically focused on the distributive aspects of where environmental harms are placed, distribution alone does not encompass all forms of injustice. Whereas the roots of environmental justice are concerned with how environmental outcomes and impacts are distributed among neighborhoods of different races, genders, and wealths, procedural justice, or "process equity" (Cutter, 1995 p.117), examines the factors, systems, and processes that lead to and enable these disparities. Procedural environmental justice is defined explicitly as the ability to participate in and influence environmental decision-making processes (Clayton, 1998). Procedural justice is concerned with both the social and historical processes that yield the given outcomes, shedding light on the intentional or neglectful strategies and systems that allowed such injustice to exist. Furthermore, this side of environmental justice considers the exchanges and interactions between power, representation, and access in permitting or preventing engagement with environmental governance at different scales (Suiseeya, 2020). According to Holifield (2012), recognition and participation make up two significant dimensions of procedural justice that overlap with the distributive dimensions of environmental issues to

paint a more complete (but never full) picture of the disproportionate burdens associated with environmental hazards, risks, and beyond.

Recognition, as defined by Holifield (2012), is an affirmation of group difference and identity. Theoretically, recognition was formulated as a co-constitutive relationship between those in power (i.e. powerful actors, nation states, oppressors, or slave masters) and those marginalized (i.e. oppressed, colonized, or slaves) (Coulthard, 2006). This hypothetical relationship isn't reflected in modern day power dynamics because most nations tend to selectively recognize marginalized communities rights (ex. Indigenous tribes) when it is convenient to them or provides labor, land, or resources, as the state does not require the marginalized communities' return of recognition in order to be legitimized (Coulthard, 2006). Although meaningful change in systems of power requires the dual progression of structural and recognitional structures, seeking recognition from those in power denies the marginalized authentic freedom and instead imparts White, Western recognition which is then internalized by the colonized. According to Coulthard, meaningful recognition and authentic liberation can only be acquired by looking introspectively, reexamining one's values and adjusting the struggle for recognition into transformational praxis in which self-worth is established apart from the "subjectifying gaze and assimilative pull of colonial recognition" (Coulthard, 2007 p.16).

The role of states and institutions in mediating recognition in environmental decision-making is another important note of procedural justice. In Hale (2005), the use of modernity and multiculturalism have led states away from assimilating Indigenous groups towards recognizing their rights. In doing so, however, these powerful actors step into a position of legitimizing and validating the rights, effectively enforcing their own power and right to assert recognition when it aligns with their own goals and wants. Additionally, these structures of recognition may be

acceptable to the elite class, who arbitrate the negotiations and maintain their role as those in power; middle class and lower communities might see the recognition of Indigenous, immigrant, and/or other marginalized communities as threats to their own livelihood, demonstrating the role racial hierarchies and cultural racism play in the recognition (and participation) discussions (Hale, 2005).

Participation, the remaining dimension of procedural environmental justice, is concerned with how communities are engaged in environmentalism and whether such communication is meaningful, inclusive, tokenizing, discriminatory, etc. As Suiseeya writes:

"Opportunities for individuals, communities, and other key stakeholders to engage in various governance forums range in intensity from submitting written or oral comments during a public comment period to co-leading international negotiations on maintaining and respecting traditional ecological knowledge. Ubiquitous in environmental governance initiatives across the globe, participation is the most common tool for ensuring that decision-making processes are fair. … Where participation at sites of global environmental governance like the World Parks Congress emerged through attending, listening, presenting, sharing, and networking at different sessions throughout the event, participation at local levels was more diverse. Practices for facilitating participation have included tools to expand the diversity of voices involved in projects, livelihood initiatives, mapping activities, public outreach, consent protocols, and leadership capacity-building, among many others[.]" (Suiseeya, 2020 p.42)

Participatory environmental justice, as a study of procedural justice, examines the ways in which the means of engagement are structurally or intellectually constraining to those seeking to engage or be engaged by environmental governance. In the case of Holifield (2012), when the

Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe were able to translate the environmental risk into culturally relevant meaning and gained greater agency in the risk assessment processes, the community was able to affect greater change and orient mitigation to being more appropriate to their livelihoods. As an Indigenous sovereignty that was formally recognized, their authority had to be acknowledged and therefore included in the decision-making process. However, though participation for racialized and marginalized communities is usually as hard-fought for as Holifield demonstrates, it isn't always meaningful if at all existent. In a study of the Hispanic community in urban Toronto from Gibson-Wood and Wakefield (2013),environmental injustices were sensed through a lens of economic marginalization, as community members experienced environmental health risks through "precarious immigration status and low socioeconomic status" (p.651). Despite this, the community was more concerned with issues of health and settlement and felt that environmental justice wasn't a primary or major concern. This distinct division of social and environmental issues, in the community's mind, stemmed from barriers to engagement, including: language barriers, whether technical jargon or English-Spanish borders; lack of representation and diversity within the environmentalism movement in urban Toronto; and the lack of holistic integration of environmental and social issues that could more effectively engage the community on these intersections (Gibson-Wood & Wakefield, 2013).

2.4 Environmental Issues and Intersections with Other Forms of Social Justice

As mentioned previously, there is an undeniable entanglement between environmental justice issues and other social issues. Seeking to disentangle and entirely separate environmental and social justice undermines the efficacy of both movements when divided; the intentional examination of how these two movements affect, construct, or are impacted by one another can

produce truly intersectional, meaningful results towards authentic justice and liberation. Coalition politics, or the efforts of combining power and articulation of significant issues while recognizing the difference in positions, plans, and strategies, remains one of the primary ways to highlight the direct connection people have to issues. Described by Bernice Johnson Reagon, coalition politics are "transcommunal alliances and communities of practice forged in the knowledge that survival depends not on the retreat to the comfort of 'home' (what some refer to as identity politics), but on the worldly and laborious engagements with the fleshly realities of socio-ecological interdependence" (BJ Reagon 1983, as cited in Chiro, 2008). The intentional, forced separation of what is an environmental issue and what isn't leads to politics of exclusion and inclusion, and resulting in fragmentation of movements (Chiro, 2008). As this thesis will come to explore, the coalition politics of the United States environmental justice movement and its ability to reach across to different systems, issues, and movements is one of the primary draws for Filipinx-American community members to meaningfully and strategically engage in environmental governance in the Pacific Northwest region.

Chapter 3: The Filipino Community in the United States

As a community of immigrants, the Filipinx community has unique values, informed both by inherited values from their Filipinx origins and through their blended identities as migrants into the United States. This chapter will describe the importance of cultural values, both for the community in question as well as for engagement with policy-making and decision-making generally. The latter will be covered more in the following chapter. Next, I capture some of the well-known and studied Filipin@ cultural values, which will be expanded upon from the interviews with participants. I'll build on these cultural values by introducing different types of

migration, the significance of migration on impacting and blending home country values, and discuss some of the pathways of migration Filipinx folks have taken to enter and become citizens in this country. Finally, I'll cover a little of the history of political activism and engagement of the Filipino-American community in the United States, both to demonstrate a trend of leading with cultural values and to lay the foundation for why this particular research question is pertinent to this community.

3.1 How Cultural Values Inform Social Movements and Political Engagement

      Theoretically, the importance of cultural values in social movements and resistance is well-studied. Amilcar Cabral (1974) describes culture as an "essential element in the history of a people," deeply rooted in both the forces and means of production. In the history of resistance movements, or what Cabral describes as the "history of liberation struggles," the expression of the "cultural personality" of the oppressed is an active form of resistance against the oppressor (Cabral, 1974 p.13). Cultural expression, such as shared values, becomes a mutual experience on which collective identity is founded, which is a well-known foundation for organizing and forming social movements (Polletta and Jasper, 2001). In addition to culture, which may or may not be founded in shared racial backgrounds (Cabral, 1974), Oliver describes the importance of racial/ethnic differences in social movements. Racial/ethnic group formation is as informed by the state as it is by social movements, the external forces that contribute to the social construction of ethnicity. Though these boundaries can be defined externally, they are reinforced internally, as group membership and sense of belonging are enhanced by "collective identities, a consciousness of difference, and group organization." (Oliver, 2017 p.9). Because social movements tend to have a specific ethnic configuration (Oliver, 2017), the salience of that

ethnicity and the availability and accessibility of its social networks has important implications in the study and longevity of social movements.

In addition to these framings, other authors have grounded culture as a kind of values-laden material practice. In the Indigenous struggle for liberation from the settler colonial state, culture is a form of reciprocity, of shared struggle and relationships with land and others. Coulthard describes these practices of relationality as "ground normativity," and defines them as "the modalities of Indigenous land-connected practices and longstanding experiential knowledge that inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and our relationships with human and nonhuman others over time." (Coulthard, 2014 p.13). Coulthard sees this "placed-based foundation of Indigenous decolonial thought and practice" (p.13) as fundamental to struggle for sovereignty and liberation, based on the mutual values, identities, and histories that Indigenous people share. The collective identity founded on reciprocity forms the cultural bedrock on which social movements are founded. Whyte builds on this concept of grounded normativity with his term "collective continuance," or a society's "overall adaptive capacity to maintain its members' cultural integrity, health, economic vitality, and political order into the future and avoid having its members experience preventable harms" (Whyte, 2017 p.355). To Whyte, a state without a high degree of collective continuance lacks the human institutions to recognize and meaningfully integrate the collective capacities, or ecologies, of its people. In addition, collective capacities are inherently built on relationships, much like how Coulthard's grounded normativity was based in the relationships relevant to Indigenous decolonial practice. To these Indigenous scholars, recognizing the foundations of social networks and values, relationships, and reciprocity for social movements is valuable as it is these relationalities that mold collective identity, belonging, and lead groups towards mobilization and resistance.

Recognizing both academic and Indigenous definitions and significance of culture is valuable in framing Pinoy cultural values because Filipino values are rooted simultaneously in the traditional socialization through families and kinship networks, as well as in the modern movement of diasporic Filipinx communities to return to indigeneity, or to reclaim their pre-colonial identities (for more: Lily Mendoza 2020, Palaghicon Von Rotz 2020). Both the western and Indigenous sensing of culture, as both an element of resistance (Cabral, 1974) and a system of reciprocal relations and obligations (Coulthard, 2014) with humans and the natural world, provide a foundation for more fully understanding Filipin@ cultural values. These frames are additionally important as this thesis's exploration of cultural values of Filipino-Americans is rooted simultaneously in the lived experiences of participants and on Virgilio G. Enriquez's *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (translated: Filipino psychology).

3.2 Sikolohiyang Pilipino Cultural Values

  Sikolohiyang Pilipino is a study of psychology born out of decolonized, Indigenous Pinoy thoughts and experiences, "understood from a Filipino perspective" (Enriquez, 1975, as cited in Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). To Enriquez, *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* was significant because it took an indigenization from within approach, through which psychology – and subsequent understandings of culture, values, and ways of thinking – is informed by the Indigenous Filipino communities first rather than being informed by dominant Western psychological paradigms. Enriquez's development of Filipino values came from a Filipinx orientation, meaning they are pervasive, culturally-rooted sentiments that are based on the lived experiences of people from the Philippines.

Translated to mean a debt of gratitude or gratitude/solidarity, *utang na loob* is an important cultural value in the Philippines (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). This value of reciprocal, "self-imposed" obligation (Reyes, 2015 p.149) to those who have given to you is considered a high priority of Filipin@s, with the (extended) nuclear family and close groups (bonds of family beyond blood, practice known as *copadrinazgo*) most important among them (Posadas, 1999). With roots in culture and religion, the value of family should come before individual goals as a Pinoy individual (in identity and self-worth) come from these bonds. Parents often teach their children shame/self-discipline as well as gratitude and respect to others, especially elders. Loyalty and support is expected from kin, in the form of deference and obedience in addition to material expressions like gifts, remittances, and assistance with immigration matters. Loyalty and ties to kin can be considered inclusive of those within the relevant group, but are also exclusive to anyone viewed outside of those associations, even other Filipino-Americans or broader communities (Posadas, 1999). Pe-Pua describes it further as a "beautiful element of Filipino interpersonal relationships that binds a person to his or her home community or home country" (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000 p.56).

The reciprocal obligation of *utang na loob* is built upon further by both *kapwa* and *pakikisama. Kapwa,* notably difficult to translate into a Western meaning, is a sense of being with others, or the shared self or identity (Reyes, 2015). Enriquez described *Kapwa* as at the heart of " the structure of Filipino values" (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000 p.56), meaning that it goes beyond having strong interpersonal relationships to mean treating others as part of one's self, as *kapwa. Pakikisama* builds off of the core value of *kapwa* to mean the construction and maintenance of interpersonal relationships with others. Whereas *utang na loob* is the drive to give back where one has been supported or gifted previously, most often associated with familial

units or close kinship networks, *pakikisama* implies a getting along with on the basis that they are *kapwa* and there isn't an explicit obligation to return a favor (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). *Pakikisama* is also expressed across a breadth of different relationship types, from familial to working relationships, to even coming together on a national level (Saito, 2010).

Although they seem less directly related to organizing than Enriquez's previously mentioned values, the remaining two values are still seen as pervasive throughout Filipino culture and worth mentioning. *Bahala na,* described as determination in the face of uncertainty, takes on different meanings in different contexts. One major interpretation of the value compares it to Western fatalism, understood as the value of resignation or acceptance of hardship and the withdrawing from responsibility of taking action on the issue or situation (Bostrom, 1968; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). In another translation, *bahala na* is a "positive, functioning response to uncertainty," meaning the determined confrontation and risk-taking in situations that seem uncontrollable (Lagmay, 1997 p.31). The other remaining value is *hiya,* another which has many different interpretations. Sometimes taken to mean shame (Sibley, 1965), or even discomfort from being in a socially unacceptable situation (Lynch, 1961), the proposed most appropriate description would be a sense of propriety or the need to adhere to social norms and rules (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). The meaning of *hiya* can take on different forms and connotations depending on its affixations in the Philippine language, making it especially difficult to translate into a Western understanding.

3.3 Role of Migration and Acculturation in Affecting Cultural Values

Enriquez's cultural values derived from *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* are rooted in an Indigenous Filipinx perspective, but they apply broadly across Filipinos both in-country and

beyond. When considering the communities abroad, however, it is important to recognize the impact of migration on cultural saturation and significance. Migration, as an action of uprooting from a given location to settle somewhere else at a significant distance (great or small), is no small feat. Electing to migrate, whether as an individual or as a member of a greater family, group, or entire community, is not a decision to often taken lightly. Even in situations where the choice to migrate is due to persecution, war, violence, or other matters outside of the individual's purview, resettlement is often viewed as one of (if not the) last resort. In the case of cross-community migration, an almost strictly human phenomenon that leads to the melding of languages, customs, and an overall transformation of human life, there are a variety of reasons humans may choose to migrate (Manning, 2013). From an improvement of their own personal situations or those of their immediate social groups, to seeking to contribute to their destination communities, to the less common but still possible option to migrate for the pleasure of learning new places, people, and ideas, a breadth of factors go into choosing to migrate.

Pinoys have been migrating into the United States since before 1900, and their pathways, social networks, and impacts on the United States have been well-studied. The next two sections will cover a brief history of Filipin@ immigration, as well as how their reception inspired social action that can be viewed in the context of the cultural values previously discussed. Before unraveling the history of Filipino-Americans, it is imperative to recognize the significance of this study and how it informs and molds cultural values. As immigrants or first or second generation Filipinos, Enriquez's *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* values may still hold strong, or they may be diluted through time and distance away from the Philippines. Margaret A. Gibson defines this process of change as acculturation, or the procedure of "culture change and adaptation that occurs when individuals with different cultures come into contact" (Gibson, 2001 p.19). Well-studied in

immigrant communities, acculturation is not a rigid, fixed process but one that impacts each

community differently depending on where in the United States they settle and what other

cultures or identities they come into contact with, informed by "structural and contextual factors

in the receiving country" (Gibson, 2001 p.20). Additionally, there must be significant

understanding of the social context immigrants bring to their destinations, which includes

previous exposures to diverse, heterogeneous cultures, socioeconomic status prior to

immigration, and reasons for migration, among so many others.

The tension of these different factors inform how immigrant communities retain their

cultures in new contexts, demonstrating the adaptability and resiliency of cultural values. In one

ethnographic study from New Zealand, Montayre et. al. examined the socio-cultural impacts of

immigration on the value of *utang na loob.* These authors found that older Filipinos no longer

held the filial expectations that their adult children would take them into their homes as they

aged, a reconfiguration of *utang na loob* directly attributed to immigration into New Zealand and

being in a different social context than the Philippines (Montayre et al., 2020). This study

demonstrates the effect of acculturation on Filipinx cultural values and why it is important to

consider the effects of immigration on culture. Additionally, recognizing that immigrants carry

the conditions and contexts of their origins to the destination of their migration pathways has

important implications when considering meaningful engagement and recognition in

environmental justice. Immigrants don't enter the United States as completely devoid of

environmental concern or values; rather, their intrinsic beliefs interact and blend with the

dominant paradigms of their new society and social context (Carter et al., 2013). Although not

expressly vocalized as environmentalism, and more often than not experienced as the

intersectional problems included within environmental justice, realizing these values shape and are shaped by processes like acculturation is important to remain mindful of.

Additionally, while there are different types of migrations that differ in salient socio-economic of legal-political statuses, from labor migrations to refugee/asylum seekers, to undocumented immigrants, immigrants from the Philippines that end up in Western countries are often describes as members of a diaspora community (Rumbaut, 1994; San Juan Jr., 2001). Defined by E. San Juan Jr., diasporic communities not only share one homeland but also "desire for eventual return and a collective identity centered on myths and memories of the homeland" (San Juan Jr., 2001 p.255). The case of the Filipin@ diasporic community is different, however, in that the aforementioned "myths and memories" (San Juan Jr., 2001 p.255) are not lost due to warfare, violence, or persecution, but due to colonization. The Philippines conceptually exist as a nation colonized by Spain and acquired by the United States before being granted independence. Prior to colonization, culture, values, and beliefs were not of one unified nation but of languages, tribes, localities, regions, and pockets of communities that were as similar as they were different. The yearning for a lost collective identity, therefore, is not one singular universal experience, but many equally significant and varied origins that are inaccessible due to decades of colonization, feudalism, and capitalist development. Recognizing the arc of Filipino migration as a diaspora, or a "transnational social construction," (p.13) is valuable to authentically represent both the factors which pushed Pinoys out of the Philippines, as well as the connections overseas communities retain with the Philippines to this day (Okamura, 1998).

3.4 Filipino Migration to the United States

Filipino presence and settlement in the United States can be traced back to as early as 1883 (Hearn, 1883; Tayag 2021). Officially, Filipinx immigrants started arriving in the United States after this country's acquisition of the Philippines from Spain in 1898 following the Spanish-American War. Filipinos' international migrations would mirror the forces of globalization and capitalism being integrated in the Philippines, in addition to migration pathways for labor.

Many Filipin@ workers, often young male bachelors, started arriving in Hawai'i in the early 1900s to work on sugar plantations. Though their labor became highly sought after, at this point many Filipino workers returned home and didn't settle in the United States. Those few that did remain started the earliest Pinoy communities throughout Hawaii, as well as some making their way to the mainland finding seasonal jobs as seafood processors (canneries) in Alaska or agriculture along Pacific coast states from California to Washington. A handful of the young, Filipino bachelors who arrived in the mainland during the early 1900s were students from wealthy families, sent as an effort to institutionalize Filipinx leaders to the "American colonial administration" (Posada, 1999 p.16). Education and labor comprise the earliest migration pathways predating official United States immigration policies.

Due to the United States' acquisition of the Philippines, the earliest immigrants were officially considered U.S. nationals and were excluded from numerous anti-Asian immigration policies (Posada, 1999). Table 1 outlines significant United States immigration policies and their immediate effects on Filipino immigration. Notable among them is the first change in status, from nationals to immigrants who had to apply to citizenship because of the Tydings-McDuffie

Act of 1943. This change allowed the United States government to implement immigration

quotas, effectively stymying Filipino immigration into this country. Following WWII, this quota

expanded slightly, and the right to naturalization was extended to migrants from the Philippines

due to their role as wartime allies to the United States. While many of the earliest Filipin@

immigrant followed labor migration routes into the United States, the McCarran-Walter Act of

1952 and subsequent Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 replaced the quota system with a

system of occupational and family reunification preferences, which enabled Filipino families to

build on their extended family, kinship, and social networks to immigrate into the country.

Name of Policy	Year	Description	Impact on Filipino Immigration
Tydings-McDuffie Act	1943	Provide independence to the Philippines through a 10 year transitional period, guaranteeing independence by 1945 (Britanica, n.d.).	This act changed the status of Filipinos in the United States from nationals to fully immigrants, allowing the government to restrict their immigration through quotas.
Luce-Celler Bill	1946	Amend the Nationality Act of 1940 to extend naturalization rights to immigrants from the Philippines and India (H.R. 3517, 1946).	Due to their role as wartime allies during WWII, Filipinos were granted naturalization rights in the United States. This act additionally imposed immigration quotas on Filipinos.
McCarran-Walter Act	1952	Rescinds the Immigration Act of 1924's prohibition on Asian immigration and strengthens the national origins quotas, excluding immigrants from the Western Hemisphere (H.R. 5678, 1952).	This act was the first to establish family reunification as exempt from immigration policy quotas, setting the stage for the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.
Immigration and Nationality Act	1965	Amend the McCarran-Walter Act to eliminate national origin quotas in favor of a system of family and occupational	U.S.-based Filipinos took advantage of the family reunification efforts, sponsoring siblings and family members to create chains of migration. Very

		preferences (H.R. 2580, 1965).	few Filipino immigrants came through the professional visas and occupational preferences at this time.
Eilberg Act, Health Professions Educational Assistance Act	1976	Amend the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 to 1) limit labor immigrants to those already qualified as having a job (H.R.14535, 1976), and 2) increases restrictions on who qualifies for immigration as a medical professional to those who have either graduated medical school or have attended a health professions school in the United States (H.R. 5546, 1976).	Filipinos who immigrated to the United States as medical practitioners became valid to immigrate only if they had an immediate job offer, completed the required two examinations to prove proficiency, and demonstrated English competency.
Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA)	1986	Outlaw the hiring of individuals unauthorized to work in the United States and establish a system to verify legal status of employees (S.1200, 1986).	Undocumented Filipino immigrants came in the form of temporary workers or visitors who stayed past the limits of their visas, or buy forging marriage papers. Through this act, Filipinos currently undocumented in the United States could apply for permanent residency.

Table 1. An overview of United States immigration policies from 1943 to 1986, including their impact on Filipinos immigrating into the country.

Family reunification became one of the foremost reasons and means of immigration for Filipinos in the United States. As Pinoys who qualified for the system of preferences of the Immigration Act of 1965 immigrated into the country and naturalized, they became immediately eligible to sponsor siblings and immediate family members, creating chains of migrations. The other option besides family reunification was occupational preferences, which usually drew

Filipinx medical practitioners and nurses. The Eilberg Act and Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1976 affected Filipino physicians to a great degree, but didn't have as much of an impact on Filipino nurses who could still secure immigration through temp work visas (H1A).

Today, family reunification channels remain one of the most significant pathways for immigration and naturalization of Filipin@s into the United States. Between 2002 and 2012, 79% of all Filipinos granted lawful permanent resident status obtained greencards through family reunification (Migration Policy Institute, 2014). The remaining 21% were granted lawful permanent resident status through employment-based preferences, many as nurses or care workers. While 428,000 Filipinos naturalized as United States citizens in this decade, an estimated 270,000 were living without legal authorization in 2011 alone (Hoefer et al., 2012). Undocumented Pinoys enter the United States often through temporary visas (H1A), still as seasonal labor on farms as well as care and health workers.

While recognizing the historic and modern so-called pull factors that drew Filipinx immigrants into the United States is important, it is critical to mention a few of the so-called push factors that lead to native Filipinos to seek migration out of the Philippines in the first place. As previously mentioned, individuals and communities seek migration for any number of reasons, one of them which is economic gain. Starting in the mid-1960s, the political dictatorship of the Philippines at the time recognized the economic potential of outsourcing labor to other countries and developed a system to facilitate the exportation of labor (O'Neil, 2004). These established official labor export policies seek to regulate and protect the rights of migrant workers, as well as encourage only temporary work. The Philippines Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) maintains with both private and public employers abroad and manages the contracts under official Philippine law.

Paired with the facilitated outflow of temporary workers, Filipin@s who migrate and settle elsewhere also send financial support back to their families in the Philippines in the form of remittances. Both overseas temporary workers and migrants who have been granted lawful resident status in other countries send money back to their families in their home country, which also bolsters the domestic Philippine economy. Seeing a similar rise since the 1970s, an estimated US$ 17.4 billion was counted by the central bank of the Philippines (Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas) as remittances (Bayangos & Jansen, 2011). In 2008, the Philippines received roughly 12% of its gross domestic product in the form of remittances (Ang et al., 2009). Remittances come as both financial support as well as material, often in the form of *balikbayan* (translated: repatriate) boxes. Founded in the values of reciprocity (*utang na loob*) as well as caring for *kapwa*, these material gifts, foods, and trinkets are sent to families as extensions of the individual or community sending them (Alburo, 2005). Both push factors of the Philippines – labor export and remittances – help to enable Filipino migration internationally.

3.5 History of Filipino Political Engagement in the United States

Having covered a general overview of the Filipino migration history in the United States, I now move to match Filipinx cultural values with the patterns of settlement in the United States in order to examine the trajectory of political engagement and activism. The importance of culture and the collective identity of Filipino-Americans in engaging with structures of dispossession and marginalization can be seen throughout their history in this country. As long as Pinoys have been immigrating into the United States, so too have they been engaging in and shaping political systems and structures. One of the earliest notable events was the Filipin@ presence and involvement in organizing the Delano Grape Strikes.

As previously mentioned, some of the earliest migrants into the United States were young, male bachelors recruited as labor on various farms, plantations, and canneries all across the West Coast. Many worked seasonally, traveling North and South along the coast in fields and processing plants to take any economically viable (albeit often unsustainable) job. In Delano, CA in 1965, Filipinos and Mexicans both made up the majority of seasonal grape pickers. Both of these communities were kept in near destitution without access to reliable shelter, relegated to mere pockets of community in the forms of dance halls and other public spaces, and separated from workers of other ethnic backgrounds due to language barriers. More often than not, these farmworkers were exploited and paid less for their labor (Mabalon, 2013).

As an effort to organize and fight for better conditions, Mexican and Filipino farmworkers began to strategize on unionizing, though at first on divided fronts (Romasanta, 2019). The Mexican laborers were led by the now well-known Cesear Chavez, who organized a more passive campaign. The Filipino farmworkers, led by respectively lesser-known, militant labor activist Larry Itliong, sought a more forward approach of direct action and strikes as negotiation tactics. It was Itliong who reached across the aisle and sought to build coalition with the Mexican workers, seeking their solidarity in strikes to improve their chances by standing together (Morehouse, 2015). Despite the language differences, the mutual resentment for the state of farm work they tolerated and desire to improve their situation drew these ethnic groups together. It was here that Itliong and Filipinx leaders created and made use of the unity clap, a gesture and expression of coalition-building where *isang bagsak* (literally, one down) became a rallying cry for action against cultural divides (Pasion, 2020).

Due to the combined efforts of Filipin@ and Mexican laborers throughout the strikes, which lasted for 5 years, the two groups came together to form the United Farm Workers union

(Morehouse, 2015). This event was a significant point in Filipino history as it marks a moment in which Pinoys choose to take a stand against a structure of American racial capitalism, yielding a desired outcome for all involved. This pattern of political engagement and standing with and for the Filipinx community repeats itself throughout the history of Filipino people in the United States. From the Delano Grape strikes on, pockets of Filipin@ communities along the West coast hold demonstrations against injustice. In Carlos Bulosan's *America is in the Heart,* a memoir which has "secured its place in Asian American literature" (Lewis, 2014 p.39), many of the experiences in author and poet Bulosan's life are wrapped up in the political activism of his Filipinx peers, from the ongoing effort to organize farmworkers to engaging in the resistance of oppression internationally (Bulosan, 1946). To this day, Pinoys across the United States continue to take a stand for their beliefs, leading with their values and directly engaging structures of imperialism to fight for the recognition, liberation, and empowerment of all Filipin@s across the globe.

The significance of Filipino cultural values can be clearly seen in practice, both through historical political engagement as well as in action-taking today. Organizations like Bayan USA, which has a significant national presence as well as regional locations that specify action to Filipino-American needs and concerns of that region, are born out of the kinship and culture of Pinoys. With the goal of raising consciousness and mobilizing Filipino-Americans towards the goal of progressing national democracy in the Philippines, actively taking a stance against "imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism" (Bayan USA). Through the alliance organizing and mobilizing Filipino workers and peasants towards collective freedom, the culture rooted in identity and shared values is operationalized towards the goal of liberation. The values directly and indisputably guide the strategies and actions taken by the organization, which acts as

a collective force rallying Filipino-Americans towards a greater cause. Action is rooted in the community (*utang na loob, kapwa,* and *pakikisama*), which acts as both culture (Cabral) and relationality/reciprocity (Coulthard).

Filipinos and Filipinx-Americans, through their histories of immigration, settlement, organizing, and activism, provide a unique window into the significance of cultural values and ethnic identity in impacting willful engagement with environmental governance. As immigrants and/or members of the diasporic, blended identity of Filipino-Americans, this community possesses the unique opportunity and capacity to contend with both the Filipin@, marginalized, and erased identity and that of an American citizen. This "positionality" uniquely sets up Filipinx citizens in the United States "reverse the history of dispossession by recolonizing their rightful place on American historical ground" (Campomanes, 1993 p.6). This thesis contributes to the narrative of reclaiming, of re-writing Filipinx organizing into the history of environmental justice, governance, policy-making, and action-taking, against the "injunction to forget" Pinoy efforts and impacts on United States history (Lowe, 2006 p.vii). Although Filipin@ contributions are not forthright, well-studied, or immediately evident, through interviews capturing past, present, and future efforts of FIlipino activists involved in both explicitly environmental and connected social justices, and illustrating these coalition politics and values in work through the advocacy-coalition framework, we can begin to unravel the role the Filipino community has played in environmental governance today.

Chapter 4: The Advocacy Coalition Framework

To ground the significance of Filipinx cultural values in environmental governance and justice organizing, this thesis will use the advocacy-coalition framework (ACF) from Paul
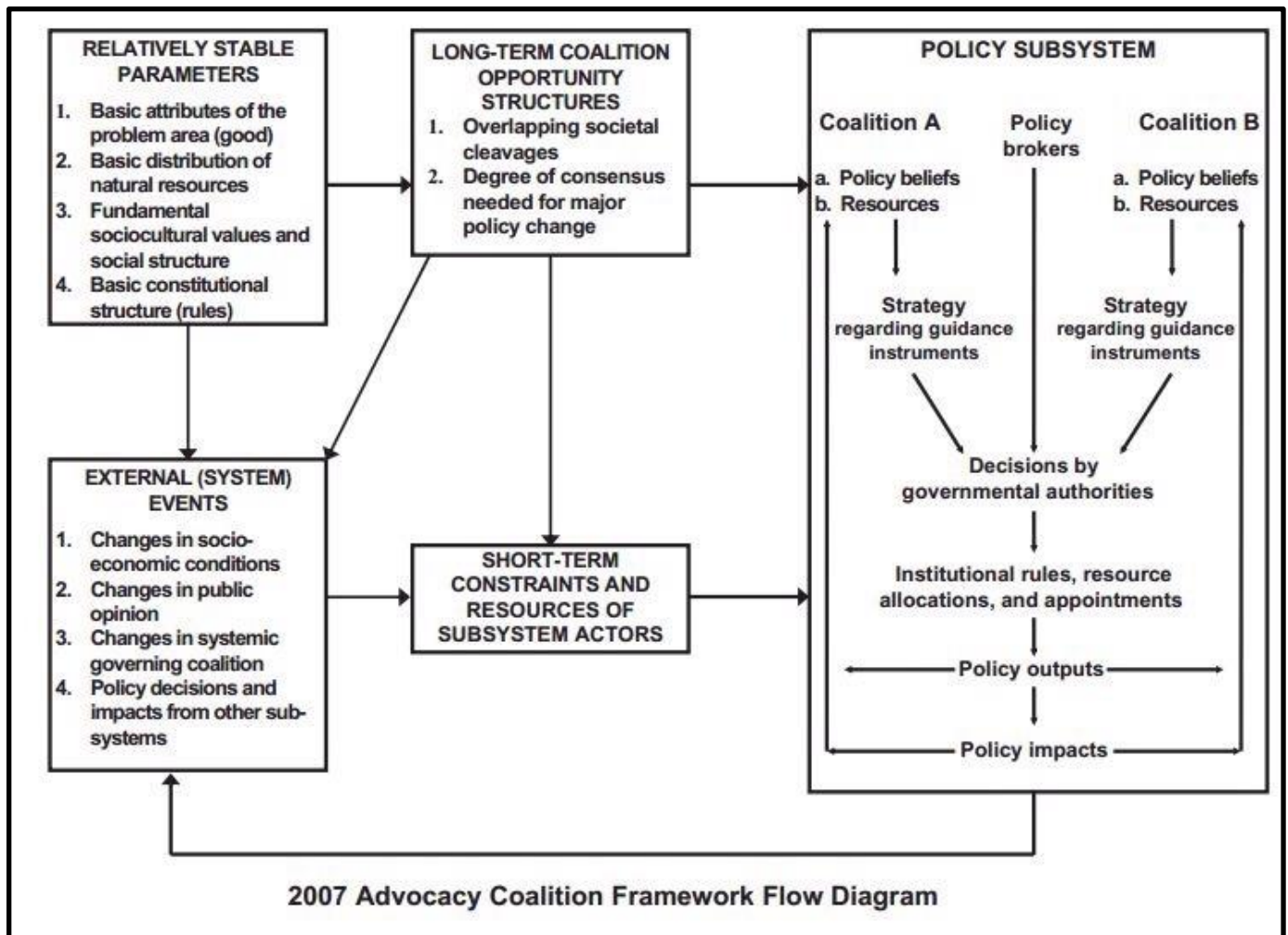
Sabatier and Hank Jenkins-Smith in the 1980s. This theory of public policy examines the process

of policy change over a longer scope of time (typically a decade or more), departing from typical

stages models that rely on causal transitions from one step to another and does not deeply

examine what causes or sources incite activity within a stage or transition to the next (Cisneros,

2021). Through the ACF, actors seek to satisfy interests and beliefs by converting them into

policy, with the varied constraints and bias of individual members translating into behavior of

the coalitions and effect on policy-learning over time. Applied in the past to a broad range of

policy topics, like stakeholder analyses of marine protected areas in California, changes in

Canadian climate change policy, and United States nuclear affairs, the ACF has demonstrated

applications across marine, climate, and environmental affairs (in order: Weible, 2007; Liftin,

2000; Lantis, 2019). While the ACF has implications for long-term changes in policy subsystems

and arenas, for the sake of this thesis it is used to explain stakeholder behavior in engaging with

policy subsystems and the role of different norms, beliefs, and values in informing such

engagement (Weible, 2007).

4.1 Advocacy Coalition Framework Intellectual Foundations

The advocacy coalition framework is predicated on three primary hypotheses. These

intellectual foundations guided the development of the framework, and still generally apply to

different policy subsystems studied today. Firstly, actors within this framework are aggregated

into coalitions: units of measurement in which stakeholders gather around similar (though not

necessarily homogeneous, see Pierce, 2011) belief systems and interests. Belief systems in ACF

are grouped into three hierarchical categories, where deeper beliefs are resistant to change while

secondary policy beliefs, like what specific actions to take, are more willing to compromise

within a coalition (Cisneros, 2021). The different types of beliefs and their roles in coalition-forming will be described in more detail below.

Second, the ACF departs from the use of technical information as the primary force of policymaking, towards what the authors call policy-oriented learning (Cisneros, 2021; Policy Approaches, 2017). This learning consists of the efforts policy actors make to improve their understanding of issues and the means of addressing or solving them. Coalitions with distinct and separate belief systems, within a forum to debate their disparate views, can lead to learning across belief systems. While these conflicts don't always affect the coalitions involved, they can shape and inform the views of the governmental authority who acts as the ultimate decision-maker. Finally, ACF believes in policy change, in which disturbances that are internal or external to the subsystem shake the belief systems of the coalitions, which results in some policy-oriented learning. Policy change of this type is insufficient to change the core attributes of governance programs, but may shakeup the approaches or beliefs of the coalitions involved.

RELATIVELY STABLE PARAMETERS

1. Basic attributes of the problem area (good)
2. Basic distribution of natural resources
3. Fundamental sociocultural values and social structure
4. Basic constitutional structure (rules)

LONG-TERM COALITION OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

1. Overlapping societal cleavages
2. Degree of consensus needed for major policy change

EXTERNAL (SYSTEM) EVENTS

1. Changes in socio-economic conditions
2. Changes in public opinion
3. Changes in systemic governing coalition
4. Policy decisions and impacts from other sub-systems

SHORT-TERM CONSTRAINTS AND RESOURCES OF SUBSYSTEM ACTORS

POLICY SUBSYSTEM

Coalition A   Policy brokers   Coalition B

a. Policy beliefs   a. Policy beliefs
b. Resources   b. Resources

Strategy regarding guidance instruments   Strategy regarding guidance instruments

Decisions by governmental authorities

Institutional rules, resource allocations, and appointments

Policy outputs

Policy impacts

2007 Advocacy Coalition Framework Flow Diagram

Figure 1. Flow diagram of the different elements of the Advocacy Coalition Framework. Graphic from Weible et al., 2016 p.6, as cited in Cairney, 2013.

4.2 Advocacy Coalition Framework Overview

The primary unit of analysis for the ACF is the policy subsystem, a smaller unit of a much larger political system which is characterized by a central topic or geographical constraint and includes the relevant venues or arenas in which policy actors can influence the subsystem (Cisneros, 2021; Policy Approaches, 2017). Policy subsystems span multiple governance levels (from state agencies to regional councils, to smaller hyper-local initiatives) and are influenced by broader socio-political and economic contexts. Actors are aggregated into coalitions based on

shared values, and these coalitions engage with the policy subsystem. This means that coalitions can include regulatory agencies with more power and non-governmental/grassroots organizations simultaneously, privileging the indirect stakeholders unlike other dominant public policy theories. Over time, subsystems mature, evolve, and divide, based on the interactions between relevant stakeholders/coalitions, the use and accessibility of venues, how the policy design benefits are distributed, and so on (Cisneros, 2021). Therefore, it is the direct influence of the coalition that affects the policy subsystem, and the policies directly.

Within policy subsystems, there is significant interaction among coalitions. The diversity of values and opinions that form coalitions guides the actions taken by the coalition, which can lead to competition, symbiosis, or independent action-taking across coalitions (Cisneros, 2021). The breadth of beliefs that guide action within a policy subsystem can also catalyze coordination across subsystems, as is the case for environmental justice interacting with other justice and equity initiatives within a geographically overlapping area. Stable parameters, such as fundamental socio-cultural values, can affect the long-term opportunity structures that advocacy coalitions have for influencing government authorities relative to the so-called openness of the political system, which depends on the number, type, and accessibility of venues they used (Sabatier, 1998, as cited in Cisneros, 2021). In contrast, dynamic events or external shocks like crises, disasters, and other such events that rapidly and often drastically change in public opinion, influence the short-term resources available to and constraints imposed on advocacy coalitions (Nohrstedt & Weible, 2010). These resources can include the legal authority to make decisions, financial resources, information, leadership, and others (Sabatier, 1998, as cited in Cisneros, 2021).

By including actors and stakeholders within the framework of advocacy coalitions, more than just regulatory agencies are included, more thoroughly investigating a diversity of actors with power to influence the policy process beyond specialists (Cisneros, 2021). These coalitions are built on shared normative and causal beliefs in addition to mutual interest, allowing the ACF to be inclusive of journalists, researchers, activists, and more. The actors within coalitions seek to satisfy their interests and beliefs by converting them into policy; the constraints and bias of the actors translates into the behavior of the overall coalitions, which affects policy-learning over time.

4.3 Belief Systems of the Advocacy Coalition Framework

The belief systems of coalitions into which actors are aggregated are organized into a three level hierarchy. At the deepest level are the core beliefs. The beliefs on this level provide ontological and normative definitions of issues, which are most general and most resistant to change over time. These ontological and normative constraints inform the policy core beliefs (Cisneros, 2021). Deep core beliefs include things like the nature of human beings, appropriate norms for basic social justice, ordering of primary values (liberty and equality, etc.), and more.

Proceeding the deep core beliefs are the policy core beliefs, or cognitive filters specific to a policy arena such as immigration or environmentalism. This level contains fundamental value priorities, defining the cause and seriousness of policy issues, and identifying the corrective measures that should be pursued to address such problems (Cisneros, 2021). Policy core beliefs are constrained by deep core beliefs, as this level includes the positions to achieve the normative positions of deep core beliefs. Policy core beliefs are resistant to change, but less so than deep core beliefs. Additionally, these beliefs act as the glue that hold coalitions together;

actors aggregate around similar policy core beliefs, willing to compromise their secondary beliefs but not their deep core beliefs.

The third and final level of the coalition's belief system are the secondary beliefs, which are an extensive set of narrower beliefs. This level includes corrective measures to address problems at a specific location or narrower overall issues rather than an entire policy subsystem (Cisneros, 2021). The secondary beliefs include policy preferences, which can act as cleavage between or reasons for bonding within coalitions. Secondary beliefs include convictions held about specific programmatic initiatives, appropriateness of budget allocations, preferences for appointments to policy positions, or other administrative or strategic values. This level is the most susceptible to change when compared to the other two levels (Cisneros, 2021).

4.4 The Advocacy Coalition Framework, Cultural Values, and Environmental Justice

The ACF acts as a particularly apt theory of public policy to apply to this thesis because it creates space for normative, cultural values relevant to different stakeholder communities to be visible and important in determining how community members form groups to take action, as well as determine what actions they choose to take. The deep core beliefs, the unshakeable foundation of the hierarchical belief system, include sociocultural identities like ethnicity, demonstrating their role in forming coalitions and informing policy actions (Sotirov & Winkel, 2016). Filipinx cultural values, rooted in an individual's or community's identity as Filipinx, are oriented around interactions with others and behaviors in social settings, which can guide the community's behavior and interactions with others. The Filipino sociocultural identity, therefore, acts as a cognitive filter that guides the policy core beliefs of Filipinx community members.

Through qualitative interviews with Filipinx activists directly involved with the environmental justice policy subsystem of the greater Seattle area, this thesis will be able to situate those values as deep core, policy core, or secondary beliefs to determine what role cultural values play in the formation of coalitions or in engaging with the policy subsystem's venues or other coalitions. This process of situating further acts as a mechanism of recognition, determining the importance of cultural values not only to the Filipin@ community but also to other regulating agencies, coalitions, and governing authorities who make up the policy-making force within the subsystem.

In addition, ACF is a helpful tool in characterizing the environmental justice policy subsystem and rationalizing the actions taken by the Filipinx community within the subsystem. While this community holds environmental beliefs (policy core beliefs) informed by their cultural values and sociocultural identities (deep core beliefs), the actions taken (secondary beliefs) don't always appear entirely environmental in nature. However, although subsystems are constrained to a geographic range or specific issue, they are not singular and fixed but fluid, permeable, and capable of adapting and evolving (Jones & Jenkins-Smith, 2009). Environmental justice itself is highly adaptive, intersectional, and inclusive of other social justice issues, enabling the advocacy coalition framework theory to ground a number of policy-oriented and -influencing actions as within the subsystems. This can lead to modeling the Filipinx community as contributing to and engaging with the EJ subsystem, even if they aren't always meaningfully recognized as doing so. In addition, in identifying the importance of venue accessibility to influencing policy-making in ACF, this theory can discuss important barriers to entry or issues in access experienced by the Filipinx community, which can lead to more inclusive and equitable governance in the future.

Chapter 5: Methods

This thesis will use the belief systems of Paul Sabatier and Hank Jenkins-Smith's Advocacy Coalition Framework to ground the *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* cultural values. By interviewing respondents on how they sense their Filipino culture and identity within the environmental justice work they do, the significance of the *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* values can be established, as well as what role they have in informing engagement with the environmental decision-making policy subsystem.

5.1 Interviewing

As a qualitative study based on the experiences, perceptions, and personal values of members of a specific community, this thesis uses interviews as its primary methodology. Interviews, described literally as an "inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest," are a qualitative knowledge production method based on the interaction between an interviewer and an interviewee (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009 p.2). Interaction serves as the core, foundational element of the interview, as the length, structure, number of participants, and motivation for interviewing can vary broadly (Fontana & Frey, 1994). Interviews serve to gather deeper, more detailed information regarding the interviewee, especially information about beliefs and values, which are difficult to capture through surveys or other qualitative methods (Kanazawa, 2018). While interviews can be entirely conversational or unstructured, most interviews consist of the interviewer preparing questions to be asked, which is considered a structured interview (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Kanazawa, 2018).

This thesis uses a semistructured interview method, which blends aspects of both structured and unstructured interviews. Semistructured interviews rely on a prepared interview guide with a combination of different question types for the interviewer to have on hand, while also enabling the flexibility to adapt to where an interview is flowing (Kanazawa, 2018). Questions were prepared to discuss interviewees experiences regarding Filipin@ community organizing within environmental justice and the role ethnic identity and cultural values has played in informing that coalition-building and action-taking. The interview guide (Appendix I) structured the flow of the conversation to cover and neatly transition across all the topics. Flexibility was important, however, when topics took a different turn, or if interviewees answered a different question than the one asked.

Additionally, this thesis used expert interviews to explore the given research question. As an initial study seeking to situate cultural values as fundamental to policy subsystem engagement and its implications in environmental justice and for the Filipinx community, interviewing experts is a meaningful first step in scoping out this topic (Kolb, 2008). These types of interviews rely on expert knowledge from individuals within a field or industry who have demonstrated expertise, experience with, and proficiency to be able to talk about a subject at a higher level (Kolb, 2008). Furthermore, in the exploratory phases of a research process, interviewing experts allows for a "more efficient and concentrated method of gathering data" than other types of interviews or qualitative methods (Bogner et al., 2009 p.2). Through learning from expert knowledge, a more narrowly focused understanding of Filipino cultural values representation in environmental governance and roles in political engagement can be distilled, which can be built on and discussed further in future studies.

5.2 Sampling

Recruiting interviewees for this thesis relied on a purposive, snowball sampling method. Purposive or non-random sampling for qualitative, social studies like this one is valuable for really honing in on participants who suit the target criteria, rather than randomly gathering participants and data that may not fulfill the requirements of the research question (Kanazawa, 2018). Because the selection criteria for participants required experts who are well-versed or established in the environmental or Filipino-ethnic organizing space within the geographic constraints of the greater Seattle area, a nonprobability, purposive sampling method is both the most appropriate and effective. Expert sampling of this nature is valuable because there is a current lack of "observational evidence" (p.3) to determine the recognition and participation of the Filipinx community within the policy subsystem of environmental justice (Etikan et al., 2016). In addition, this thesis takes advantage of the peer-to-peer connections and recommendations of the participants being interviewed, using a convenience sampling method called snowball sampling. In snowball sampling, "referrals provided by respondents to other potential respondents" generates a network of connections to other individuals who suit the niche selection criteria (Kanazawa, 2018, p.316).

Utilizing this sampling method, participants (n=3) were identified as experts who have demonstrated involvement in environmental justice, environmental governance, or Pinoy activism and organizing, and have the experience to discuss the intersection of these topics. As organizers, community members and leaders, and Filipinx individuals themselves, these experts are capable of speaking on the role of cultural values and identities in forming their political engagement strategies, as well as how they have viewed Filipinx representation, recognition, and participation in action. Interview questions were structured to lead interviewees through the

different topics and guide them in making connections across cultural values, environmental justice, and the systems of environmental governance within their own experiences and purview.

In compliance with COVID-19 safety instructions, interviews were remotely conducted over the telecommunication software Zoom. Blacksmith et. al. discuss the potential implications of technology use in a different type of interview, namely that there was a lack of social cues and responses that are typically present in in-person interviews that was viewed unfavorably by participants (Blacksmith et al., 2016). Because this thesis is a qualitative research interview and that the subject matter does not greatly rely on social behavior or body language to answer the given questions, this is not considered to be a significant issue.

5.3 Coded Analysis

In order to analyze the interviews, videos were recorded via the telecommunication software used and manually transcribed for input into Atlas.TI software for coding. Coding refers to the process by which transcribe interviews are processed and organized into "units of meaning," including "ideas, beliefs, types of actions or behaviors, processes, or outcomes," among others (Kanazawa 2018, p.329). As semistructured interviews, coding and analysis in this way prevents the pitfalls of unstructured interviews, where the interviewer can have unintentionally high influence over the direction of the interview and can lead to unexpected, irreproducible, and sometimes problematic conclusions (Fontana, 1994). Despite this, coding has come under scrutiny from being biased or unreliable, due to that fact that often only one individual may be coding the interviews without standardization in the classification and unitizing of the codes themselves (Campbell et al., 2013; Guetzkow, 1950). To combat these issues, codes were derived directly from the literature definitions and understandings of

procedural environmental justice (recognition and participation), definitions and sensings of

belief systems and venues from the advocacy coalition framework, and translations of Filipino

values from Virgilio G. Enriquez's *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*. While some bias will yet remain, as a

primary, exploratory study, this work could be reproduced with other investigators and asking a

broader range of interviewees to either confirm or contest the reliability of this thesis.

Chapter 6: Results

6.1 Filipino Community Sensing of Environmental Justice

In discussing environmental justice, all respondents mentioned the intersectional nature

of this movement as both unique and a motivator for involvement. By expanding the dimensions

of environmentalism to be inclusive of more people and different issues of inequity and harm,

more people are represented by environmental justice. Respondents brought up numerous

different examples of the types of atypical topics covered by EJ, including health justice, racial

justice, reproductive justice, infrastructure justice, food justice, transportation justice, social

justice, LGBT+ and gender justice, immigrant justice, and housing justice, among an breadth of

different explicitly environmental concerns like greenhouse gas emissions, climate change, heat,

pollution and toxicity, and noise pollution. Respondents stated that this intersectionality of

environmental justice issues, or coalition politics (Reagon, 1983), enables the movement to be

more accessible to and inclusive of more people. One respondent describes the role of this

intersectionality in making EJ more accessible:

> "Even if there are 7, 8, 12 different Filipino community groups of different missions and
>
> work, let's see where it is there are these intersectional things that are coming through
>
> through an environmental justice lens. Because there are so many intersectional issues.

There's an opportunity right now to reclaim certain things as understanding there is an environmental justice thread. So that's why I think the opportunity is there, and I would much rather see us assert it, because the government doesn't know what to do."

Rather than representing the environmentalist's ideal of preserving wilderness, respondents argued that environmental justice is rooted in the lived experiences of frontline communities. By being permeable to other social issues, the intersectionality of these issues with lived environments is meaningfully recognized. Though this makes environmental justice difficult to succinctly define or describe, it is more accurately reflective of communities who disproportionately experience the harm. As one respondent states:

"Some people will say you know, I'm an environmentalist, but they are more concerned about their daily needs. Environmental justice is a very new term, so to hear back what angle they are of their interest, so a lot of when we talk to people, we find out what their biggest concerns are. So if they are worried about health, that is definitely connected to the environment. Or food, or their workplaces. It's just a different way of understanding the issue, because I don't think it's an everyday conversation, so we have to raise it to the EJ or to the bigger issues, starting where they are at."

Additionally, across the board respondents stated this intersectional nature of EJ allowed them to make connections with more folks in broader communities who aren't as visibly invested in explicitly environmental matters. Respondents were able to connect issues of food and health justice to environmental issues to ground injustices in enabling environmental factors, which they all stated was a strength of EJ. For example, in the context of typhoons in the Philippines, one respondent states:

"We found whenever there is a natural disaster, Filipinos here are always worried about

their families back home. So there's fundraisers and educational forums, and it's a way to

really link to the environment. Because people don't jump to the trees but oh my gosh,

my family don't have electricity or their house was swept away by the flash flood. And

we're able to talk about like, why are there flash floods? Because the logging companies

tore down all the trees. Or why don't they have electricity, why isn't the government

helping them? So we are able to connect those issues to them beyond just what's in front

of them. Because we have to start from where people are at."

When considering to what extent members of the Filipinx community engage in

environmental justice, respondents reported that there was a high level of participation. Across

the board respondents stated that Pinoys, both as individuals and within coalitions, engage in

environmental justice activities. Respondents were able to describe participation at different

scales, from local to international actions, as well as historically versus present day.

Additionally, they were able to list Filipin@s engaged in their respective organizations, as well

as Filipinx community members they interact with across different organizations.

 Interestingly, one respondent stated that Filipinos are able to participate better than most

due to being raised as Filipinx. Specifically, because Filipinos are used to being around and

within complex social networks, navigating these nuances is less difficult and translatable to

other complex systems like governance and bureaucracy. As they state:

"But the other thing is, I realized because we as Filipinos are so used to the extended

family system, dealing with complicated governmental structures is nothing to us. We'll

navigate, right. … So you look at these things and you go, don't do direct action? Who

are the bridges? Who are the Aunties you can go to? And it's amazing, because that's

how doors open! You may not find a Pinay, but you go and find a kindred spirit and get the work done."

While these respondents perceived no barriers to Filipin@ participation in local governance, all of them reported various issues regarding recognition of this community's involvement and contributions to environmental justice. Many of the respondents brought up this issue in terms of impact versus representation, where frontline Filipino communities who bear the majority of the environmental harm and burden are often omitted from spaces to make change. Lacking a seat at the table occurs at different scales, as respondents brought up both local and international examples of recognition neglect. Respondents identified this aspect of recognition as a critical aspect of environmental justice in general, one which is relevant to all communities of color beyond just the Filipino community. The lack of recognition of Pinoy presence, and action-taking within environmental justice mirrors the erasure of Filipinx history in the United States.

When considering reasons for this lack of recognition, many respondents pointed to the efforts from environment decision makers and the necessity of regulatory agencies to improve their representation and engagement of diverse stakeholders. However, in addition to this, respondents also reported an under articulation of Filipin@ involvement on the behalf of the community. In their words, Filipinx activists participating in the environmental justice movement don't actively seek recognition and aren't engaged in EJ actions for acknowledgement. Rather, the community is more humble in their approach, doing the work for the sake of getting it done rather than being recognized for their efforts. As one respondent states:

"[B]ecause on the one hand there is erasure, and on the other hand there is a fundamental

humility in our approach. When you think about the level of inclusion, it's that we're

there for the cause and aren't necessarily trying to get the credit. ... There's no harm and a

certain level of self-effacing and it's not necessarily deferential, but it's just a 'I don't

need the credit' type of thing. And yet there is a need to also speak up now and articulate

what our particularly unique perspective really is because there is an attachment of

serious practical issues and political issues."

6.2 Sikolohiyang Pilipino Values and Political Engagement

Moving beyond perceptions and experiences regarding environmental justice,

respondents described different Filipino cultural values and what they mean to the individual.

Perhaps the most highly discussed was that of *pakikisama.* While not always explicitly stated as

pakikisama but other Filipino terms like *bayanihan* and *marunong makisama,* or through similar

expressions of non-obligate relationships and community-building, this value came up the most

across all interviews (n=11). To respondents, *pakikisama* acts as the glue to hold Filipinx

communities together and coalitions together, rallying together behind environmental justice

even when times are difficult. As one respondent states:

"The challenge is going to be, particularly for communities of color, is how can we stick

together. I think for Filipinos, because we are not the only ones with this kind of

disposition and set of values of getting along, our tendency to *pakikisama* sort of thing,

there is an opportunity for leadership there too. There is an opportunity to lead with hope,

to lead with discipline, determination, and a set of solutions that are not so impossible."

As the previous quote suggests, *pakikisama* applies beyond just Filipino communities but to broader communities of color. By seeing other communities of color for the mutual struggle for justice – *kapwa* – and seeking solidarity, *pakikisama* holds different communities together in coalitions. As mentioned previously, *pakikisama* wasn't not always explicitly expressed, but similar Filipino expressions were used to convey the same values of community-building. For example:

> "There's an interesting thing that I feel like, there's a word that is a value and way of life for us, that is '*marunong makisama*,' which is 'to get along' and to be with others. It goes to that whole thing of being in community. And that's our existence. In some ways, we look at the funny things that say like, 'Filipinos are the most active on social media,' like we are incredibly social! And in some ways there is this kind of thing where there is this tendency in our values to be inclusive and be in relationship with others, and to be in relationship with others also means if the others are more dominant in dynamic we blend in with it."

In addition to *pakikisama, utang na loob* was mentioned by all respondents as something relevant to their cultural identities and practices (n=5). As relationality based out of obligation and a debt of gratitude, *utang na loob* is a value expressed in extremely close bonds. This is often reflected in familial ties or ties to country or homelands. As an individual surrounded by family who was raised steeped in Filipin@ culture, *utang na loob* distinctly made up how one respondent approaches their work:

> " I think this would even be a really interesting conversation with our coalition as we do our summit: how do you demonstrate community? And for me, I was raised in this thing of *pakikisama*, and also this other term of *utang na loob*, in which you have – on the

worst of days, you have like this sense of "you owe me!" But on better days, your

community and one's existence is very much relational. My grandparents lived with us

for a time, and all my relatives would come over almost every other day, and you always

made space even if you were a little cranky and you always had a sense of community.

To exist is to exist together. To me, that is what I bring."

To respondents, *utang na loob* not only came up in situations where their own families

were involved, but also in reaching Filipinx community members through their own extended

families. For example, one respondent stated when organizing abroad in the Philippines:

"I do know that the Philippines, we do have a culture of helping each other and taking

care of our families and ensuring people have enough to eat and we saw this during

typhoons during the pandemic, Filipinos starting a community pantry and doing typhoon

relief when the government wasn't doing it themselves. In the Philippines, the

government was not serving the people the way the people were serving the people."

Both *pakikisama* and *utang na loob* represent cultural values underscoring the importance

of relationships to Filipino people, though in different capacities and contexts. Despite the

difference – strong family ties versus extended social networks and connections over shared

identities – both are well-represented in the respondents' answers. Only one other *Sikolohiyang*

Pilipino value came up naturally in interviews and it was that of *bahala na* (n=3). As a Filipino

cultural value that is typically translated to a resigned acceptance of one's own hardships and

fate, the role of *bahala na* in activism and challenging injustices may not be readily apparent. To

these respondents, however, *bahala na* represents a dimension of the Filipin@ identity and

convictions that needs to be challenged. As one respondent states:

"You might have heard the saying, *bahala na*, it's a saying in the Philippines that's just like, it's what happens or whatever happens let the fates decide. And it comes from our feudal background when we were colonized by the Spanish, you know just pray to god. Despite that part of our culture, there is another part of our culture that was constantly fighting to change our conditions. The fight for the land, kick out the Spanish. I think that's the part of our culture that we have to fight against, the *bahala na*, this is just how it is and just accept it. The other side of the coin, there's the part of our culture that will resist that."

In a less explicit expression of resisting *bahala na* and the aspects of Filipinx culture that would rather accept injustices and burdens as they come, another respondent explains:

"... [E]ven though last year was really hard and the work ahead is hard, and we could burn up as a planet, but we're going to be steady and be strategic and be creative and have fun – and we're going to do this with joy. And I think that's what Filipinos do."

Finally, cultural values from the Philippines are transformed through processes of immigration and acculturation. One respondent who directly emigrated from the Philippines and settled in the United States with their family reflects on the impact the immigration process had on their sense of identity and belonging in this country. This came up in a sense of feeling excluded from United States politics more broadly, which includes environmentalism. Interestingly, immigration caused this respondent to feel more aware of their salient Filipino identity, especially against the background of an so-called American identity:

"So my story is, I was brought here by my parents in 1969 as an immigrant, I was 14 years old. I think as a Filipino, we are so heavily socialized in terms of what is a Filipino so there is never any question. Whereas in America, people are not really socialized as to

what an American is. So when we came, I was really sensitized to colorism and

colonialism."

These two identities, Filipino and American, contrast in different ways throughout this

respondent's experiences within environmental justice. One important point that they made was

how each is perceived by broader communities and coalitions within the policy subsystem. As

they state:

"The other thing that I want to underscore is, there are many different Filipino ethnic

groups doing different languages. It's almost like you break it down, and we have that

overarching character, you know. Earlier I said to you, I always, even when I was getting

disciplined, it was like, a Filipino doesn't do that. We don't do that, kind of a thing. And

what's missing in my cultural landscape is, is not really clear and not really articulated

what an American is. An American is brave, patriot, economic, but it really doesn't have

that part of the story that says what is our responsibility to the land. So that return to

indigeneity is really powerful. Because you know, that long-term thinking, that multi-

generational thinking. It's so interesting to me because the white groups I work with: they

don't get it, they're trying, but they don't always get that they're not going to be at the

table – and I had this conversation, I just said it's not about you, it's just that the

conversation stops when you're at the table! And we're trying to get a conversation

going. And I think that's Filipino."

6.3 Filipino Identity and Advocacy Coalition Framework Beliefs

Finally, participants were asked about how their identities as Pinoys impacted the work

they did as to situate sociocultural convictions within the beliefs system of the advocacy

coalition framework. Starting on the first and broadest level are the deep core beliefs, those which are the most resistant to change and are the most foundational to the individual. According to the advocacy coalition framework, primary values like role and significance of identity are represented here. When asked how being Filipinx informs their practices, respondents answered that their cultural identity is indispensable to who they are and what they bring to the table in terms of environmental justice action-taking. One respondent comments:

" You know I don't think about it because the foundation of who I am is my culture and upbringing. And that's what I bring to the table. I think that's what makes us helpful in changing the dynamic from being a science-driven, inquisitive kind of a – like cap and trade, like are you nuts? Because we still have, I think we still have visions and memories of what it can be. It may not be here, but we translate them."

Moving up from the deep core beliefs are the policy core beliefs, the level at which the foundational convictions are applied to specific policy realms. In this case, policy core beliefs analyze how Filipin@ cultural identity constrains respondents' perceptions about environmentalism and environmental justice, and if there is any significant linkages between the two. Reflecting on the community's history of political engagement and how the Filipino identity has been applied to different political arenas in the past, one respondent states:

"And I think that's what Filipinos do. Because, you know, look at the demographics, look at our history, and look at our ability to adapt to situations and find happiness still. We have this propensity for joy. It's a joy in obligation of doing something really hard, but finding hope with it. I think that for me is who I am and that's how I was raised, and I thought at some point I would get over it but I'm still doing it. And I think that's important because, for our frontline communities, for Filipinos who actually feel like

we've come this far, we've contributed so much, we're so much apart of the under articulated, underestimated part of American history and international history, that we still do it. We're going to go with a group of Filipinos, and most of us are still smiling even under stress."

Additionally, policy core beliefs are those values which act as a cohesion point for coalitions. This means that actors within a policy subsystem tend to aggregate around shared beliefs at this level, willing to compromise their secondary beliefs and preferences but unwilling to be moved on their deep core beliefs. Policy core beliefs, therefore, represent the ability of deep core beliefs (Filipino identity) in making connections within policy subsystems (environmental justice). While the applications of specific *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* values will be explored more on this level of the advocacy coalition framework in the discussion, respondents did state the importance of cultural values in reaching across to mobilize on specific actions. In one comment in particular, a respondent says:

"I'm not fluent in Tagalog, but I'm still able to connect with the elders and our different sectors of our community because I'm there to listen and to help make the connections, and also to help mobilize some of the action so it's not just like we have to live in this forever! We have the power to change it! And that's part of the justice part that people are yearning for, the change, to change their conditions. So we do need that spark of hope that this isn't forever. … And so how do we spark that? Because climate change, yes it's happening, the environment is destroyed, but we still play a factor in it as people and it's not over yet. We still need to move and survive."

Finally is the level of secondary beliefs, or the expression of the policy core beliefs through specific action and policy preferences. This level of the advocacy coalition framework's

belief system is the least resistant to change, meaning individuals are the most willing to

compromise on these beliefs. To explore the policy preferences of respondents, they were asked

to discuss what actions they as both community members and leaders have taken within

environmental justice. These actions represent both their preferences through demonstrated

action, as well as how the Filipinx cultural values entrenched in environmental justice are acted

upon. Respondents listed a number of different policy actions they have been involved with in

the past, including: researching key, understudied environmental justice issues like noise

pollution; affecting popular culture and shifting values within the community through

educational campaigns; lobbying for different legislation, like the H.E.A.L. Act; advising

regulating agencies through initiatives like the Environmental Justice Council; serving as a legal

toolbox to advise community groups; fundraising and distributing community grants; organizing

and advocating for other campaigns and rights, like labor rights of farmworkers in Eastern

Washington; joining other direct actions, like the effort to halt the BP Oil Rig from traveling to

and being installed in the Arctic; and so many more.

In addition to the salience of advocacy coalition framework belief systems in informing

political engagement, respondents also commented on the accessibility of the environmental

justice space to members of the Filipin@ community. Through discussing the venues by which

individuals can engage with environmental governance, these respondents brought up key

barriers that prevent inclusivity and representation of diverse actors. One of the foremost areas

highlighted by respondents with the potential for improvement was the general recognition and

increased participation of BIPOC individuals, communities, and leadership. This level of

inclusion has to be an engagement initiative from the level of decision makers in order to

improve the accessibility of the overall environmental justice subsystem. According to

respondents, while communities themselves can organize and seek access into decision- and change-making processes, governance plays a vital role in moderating the openness of different venues. All respondents recognized the ongoing efforts being made to be more inclusive of different Black, Indigineous, and people of color communities, but they also shared the sentiment that more must be done.

Additionally, a few respondents stated that environmental governance needs to do a better job on recognizing the intersectional nature of environmental harms and issues to be more inclusive. One respondent stated:

> "There's just some effort needed among organizers and groups engaging our communities to really link and raise and connect, or understand where they are coming from or write it off. Like 'they don't care about the environment,' because I've heard that before from mainstream groups and government officials. Like they say those groups don't even know anything about the environment or care about it. Actually our people are very much impacted and have a lot of knowledge. I guess it goes back to speaking the language, like it's two parts. First is speaking our native language, which helps connection. But also, speaking the language of the communities, so that there can be built an understanding and appreciation of what knowledge they have."

Through the validation of lived experiences and meaningfully realizing how environmental injustices transform to affect issues beyond traditional environmentalism, respondents believe policymakers and regulations can become more equitable in their approaches and practices.

Chapter 7: Discussion

Based on respondents' answers to interview questions, the dynamic between core Filipino cultural values, the belief systems of the advocacy coalition framework, and their implications for environmental governance and justice as a whole can be better illustrated. Importantly, all respondents were able to make direct connections between their Filipinx identities, the type of work they do, and the broader frame of environmental justice without being prompted. Despite *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* values like *utang na loob, pakikisama,* and *bahala na* being brought up in the interview process, no question directly suggested or raised these terms, suggesting their importance to members of the Filipin@ community and the validity of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* as a framework for understanding Filipino cultural values (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000).

One of the clearest connections is between the *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* values and the policy core beliefs level of the advocacy coalition framework. As the applications of the deep core beliefs to different policy arenas, policy core beliefs combine the empirical and normative positions individuals have on issues (Cairney, 2019; Cisneros, 2021). In a similar fashion, *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* represents the applications of Filipino culture and identity in social contexts, applying convictions like *pakikisama* and *utang na loob* to a Filipino community member's relationships and networks (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). In the case of these respondents, their strongly held cultural values surrounding community-building and being in relationship with others at different levels and scales was an expression of their Filipino identities. In this way, Filipino cultural values directly inform how respondents form their policy core beliefs, guiding their sensing of the policy problem in question (environmental decision-making) and how to approach solving it.

Additionally, policy core beliefs relate directly to specific policy subsystems and often acts as the glue that holds coalitions together (Cairney, 2019; Cisneros, 2021). When an individual's cultural values orient them towards community-building and acting in relationship to diverse, often underrepresented communities on the basis of mutual struggle and solidarity (*kapwa*), working together in coalitions becomes a natural and uncontested option. This demonstrates that members of the Filipinx community not only lead with cultural values, but these values directly inform their connection-making and coalition-building processes. Respondents stated that they often sought out other Pinoy or BIPOC individuals based on mutual interests and similar understandings of the problem and the local environmental decision-making policy subsystem. Within the geographic and topical constraints, cultural values like *utang na loob* and *pakikisama* are operationalized to draw and hold together coalitions, which is a valuable insight for policymakers seeking to be more equitable and inclusive.

The breadth of actions taken by respondents in this interview to engage with the political subsystem of environmental decision-making has important implications. All respondents discussed a variety of policy preferences in their answers, from advocating and campaigning for the passage of certain acts within the legislative arena to leading education efforts among their coalitions and communities represented. Firstly, this ability of the respondents to meet their communities and organizations where they are reflects the needs and wants of their coalitions through action and policy engagement. Relational values like *pakikisama* and *utang na loob,* as cultural values representing community-building and acting in relationship with others, guides Filipin@ activists and political engagement to represent more than individual wants and needs. Respondents also felt motivated by addressing community concerns more than seeking acclaim

for their actions, which may explain the lack of recognition of Filipinx contributions and presence within the environmental decision-making space.

In addition, the diversity of actions taken to address environmental issues demonstrates Filipino community members' desires to seek venues which are inclusive of and accessible to more people than just policymakers and regulatory agencies. By seeking to represent a broader set of interests and engage communities on their specific environmental concerns, respondents sought approaches or policy preferences that were the most equitable to the people they sought to engage. Respondents felt that Filipino community members, as being well-equipped to navigate social and kin networks within their own community, are especially apt at navigating bureaucracy and finding approaches or allies to engage with decision-making better. The sum of all these aspects of how cultural values inform and guide action-taking from Filipino community members indicate the importance of meaningfully recognizing cultural values and how they inform engagement from the community-led side.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

This thesis shows that Filipino values both explicitly and implicitly guide political engagement, including in environmental decision-making. Policy brokers with decision-making authority within the local environmental political subsystem have a responsibility and obligation to become more equitable to diverse communities that often bear the brunt of environmental injustices. While considering the distribution of outcomes is important, ensuring that the process of policy-making is inclusive and representative of a variety of actors is just as significant. This thesis demonstrates how communities of color lead with their identities and cultural values, informing interaction with decision-making processes for engagement within their control.

Policy brokers have an opportunity to recognize this role of social identity in participation and be more meaningfully inclusive of such considerations. This can include shifting models of engagement or venues to being more appropriate or accessible spaces for different stakeholders to participate (Gibson-Wood & Wakefield, 2013). This may also involve community-led, co-production based models, in which communities in question are brought in as partners to or leaders of the decision-making process rather than as a target of an inquiry in which they had no role in shaping (see Latulippe & Klenk, 2020).

In particular, policy brokers can learn from the Filipino community itself on ways of being more inclusive. Adopting an environmental justice lense – where applications of environmentalism are intersectional with other justice issues, and that lived experiences encounter nuanced versions of the environment that must be meaningfully represented – is one paramount approach to improving equity within environmental decision-making and governance. Just as the respondents in this thesis stated, building coalition among stakeholders around shared interests and understanding of environmentalism can lead to a strengthened community, who has more resources through solidarity and who can then seek to engage more with the decision-making subsystem. Community building in this way requires meeting BIPOC and low income communities where they are, uplifting and meaningfully recognizing their values, concerns, and approaches in order to encourage participation. Finally, respondents distinctly avoided performative equity, or approaches that did not meaningfully represent the organizations or coalitions they were members of. Policy brokers can learn to introduce DEI initiatives or environmental justice policy that better represents the needs and wants of marginalized communities.

Future studies can take the themes that emerged here and engage broader organizations and community members. This thesis interviewed only a limited number of experts on how they perceived engagement and recognition of the Filipino community, which may not be demonstrative of how the wider network of Filipinos in the greater Seattle region may feel. Through more interviews, focus groups, and/or surveys, other organizations can be represented and the results of this thesis can be expanded upon. In addition, the advocacy coalition framework provides a thorough theory for characterizing political subsystems within a given topic or region. While this thesis only relied on the belief systems of the ACF to analyze a narrow subset of stakeholders, identifying who compromises the policy brokers and governance in this situation and including the equitable distributive dimensions of decisions and policy outcomes can yield a more thorough illustration of how culture and social identity impacts an overall subsystem.

Environmental justice, as an inclusive movement that makes environmentalism more tangible and rooted in relevant social causes, has the capacity to engage communities previously ostracized and marginalized by its historic predecessors. Meaningful changes require a critical examination of the procedural equity of decision-making processes, including but not limited to the dimensions of participation and recognition. While this thesis elucidates the role of cultural values of the Filipino community within a specific region to highlight the importance and potential of engaging this community, more work needs to be done to create meaningful change on a greater scale.

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Appendix 1: Interview question guide. As a semi-structured interview, this thesis followed an

interview format where questions were structured to achieve certain outcomes or objectives, but

flexibility was allowed if respondents answered a question elsewhere throughout the interview or

if a prepared question came up as redundant. The table below includes the interview questions

prepared, as well as a rationale for why the questions were phrased and sequenced as they were.

PHASE 1: VALUES	
Are Filipino values represented in policy-making? Why or why not?	This introductory question serves to prime respondents on the nature of the interview and get them to consider their own experiences and interactions with governance and general. While not explicitly environmental in nature, this question incites participants to think about how they have firsthand witnessed Filipino representation. This gets at the core of recognition, one of the dimensions of procedural environmental justice.
What are the specific problems preventing Filipino peoples' involvement in environmental decision-making?	Transitioning on past recognition, this question asks respondents to consider how they have perceived Filipino community participation in environmental decision-making processes. This question is leading, meaning it implies one particular stance (that Filipinos aren't participating in EJ) in order to have respondents consider if they agree or disagree and to clarify their own take on the question.
What are the barriers causing these problems?	This question grounds procedural environmental justice in the advocacy coalition framework's understanding of venues, or the accessibility of the environmental justice space to diverse actors like the Filipino community. It asks respondents to consider their answers to the previous two questions and identify any barriers or issues that stand in the way of meaningful recognition or participation. This question assumes respondents have spent ample time within the policy subsystem to be able to comment on the nature of said barriers, and may pose an issue if respondents have not been highly active or involved in the space for a long period of time.
How can local environmental policy-making change to be more inclusive of	This question serves to change directions from the previous question, moving away from a damage/problem-oriented focus towards a change and progress-oriented one. It creates a space in which respondents can imagine how inclusivity, recognition, and

Filipino people, culture, and values?	participation can thrive within EJ, from the perspective of the local Filipino community. The question also works to transition out of the perceived and intangible environmental justice space into respondents' specific experiences and actions.
PHASE 2: ACTIVITIES	
What kind of environmental justice activities does your organization partake in?	This question asks what types of environmental justice activities the interviewee participates in. Respondents are able to answer either what activities they have chosen to participate in as a member, or what activities they have led or chosen to undertake as activists and leaders. This gets at the respondent's secondary policy beliefs from the advocacy coalition framework by demonstrating policy preferences through previously taken actions.
Do you see Filipino people or values reflected in environmental justice activities?	This question seeks to determine how the respondents view Filipino participation and/or Filipino values recognition within the policy subsystem of environmental justice. Respondents are limited by their experiences within EJ, and they may not be able to comment completely on how meaningful this representation is.
Is there any facilitation or efforts to center Filipino voices in EJ activities or policymaking?	This question tries to identify the efforts made by governance within political subsystems to be more open and accessible to diverse communities. It may also identify how respondents feel about the current level of effort being made, and if they have acted on these feelings. This question relies on the respondents to have engaged with some level of governance and policy-making to be answered meaningfully.
PHASE 3: PERSONAL BELIEFS	
How did you first get involved in environmental/social justice movements and organizing?	This question transitions into the personally-informative dimensions of being Filipino in the environmental governance sphere. As a transitional question, it invites the respondents to cover their broad history in social activism and involvement with environmental justice or related movements.
What drew you to being politically engaged in this way?	This question moves beyond the prior one, asking the respondents for motivations or reasons that they may have chosen to get involved in their respective fields or movements. This can reveal their policy core or secondary beliefs from the advocacy coalition framework, by determining what choices have informed the actions they have taken.

Do you feel like your identity as a Filipinx person has influenced your degree of political involvement?	This question digs deeper into how being Filipino particularly impacts their motivations, convictions, and actions taken. It connects the first phase of generally identified Filipino values and grounds them in the advocacy coalition framework. This question may pose an issue if respondents feel that being Filipino is not significant to their roles and should be omitted if this is anticipated to be the case.
(How) has your culture and Filipino values influenced your involvement in environmentalism? social justice?	If the previous question is answered affirmatively and that being Filipino is significant to the respondent, this question grounds the values and beliefs (from the advocacy coalition framework) in environmental justice and intersectional social issues. This question effectively ties all of the sections together to determine the degree to which cultural values and identities inform interactions with environmental governance, equity, and justice.

Appendix 2: Content analysis coding guide. Using the Atlas.TI qualitative coding software, interviews were transcribed and coded for emergent themes related to the two theoretical frames (the Advocacy Coalition Framework and *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*), as well as respondents' lived experiences with working in and around environmental justice. The following table describes the code groups and each code used.

Code Group	Code	Comment
ACF		Coded interview text with responses relevant to different elements within the advocacy coalition framework.
	Deep Core Beliefs	Deep core beliefs provide ontological and normative definitions of issues, which are most general and most resistant to change over time. For this project, deep core beliefs encompass ideas surrounding sociocultural identity, or sense of being Filipino.
	Policy Core Beliefs	Policy core beliefs act as cognitive filters for the deep core beliefs, applying those most strongly held convictions to particular policy arenas like environmentalism. This level contains fundamental value priorities, defining the cause and seriousness of policy issues, and identifying the corrective measures that should be pursued to address such problems. Policy core beliefs also operate as the glue that bind coalitions together.
	Secondary Beliefs	Secondary beliefs include policy preferences to address problems at a specific location or narrower overall issues rather than an entire policy subsystem. Witnessed through the action-taking by respondents, which demonstrates secondary beliefs.
	Venues	Describes the means by which coalitions interact with the policy subsystem itself, often identified in terms of accessibility. May describe EJ issues around recognition and participation.
EJ		Coded interview text with responses relevant to different elements from theoretical environmental justice.
	Intersectional Issues	Recognizes that environmental justice encompasses more topics beyond standard environmentalism. As a movement and theory that departs from the preservation of wilderness, environmental justice includes other realms where environmental harm may be experienced, which does not always appear overtly environmental or ecological in nature.

	Participation	An element of the procedural dimensions of environmental justice that identifies to what degree constituents are able to engage in policy-making and decision-making processes, and whether this participation is considered meaningful to the marginalized community or what barriers might be preventing such participation.
	Recognition	An element of the procedural dimensions of environmental justice used to describe the intentional and meaningful ways by which systems of governance formally recognize constituents or advocacy coalitions.
Value		Coded interview text with responses relevant to Filipino values, as described in Virgilio G. Enriquez's *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*.
	Bahala Na	*Sikolohiyang Pilipino* value, related to how one acts in the face of hardship and uncertainty. Usually taken to mean resignation and acceptance of one's circumstances, but can also represent the confrontation and risks taken in the face of such difficult situations.
	Immigration	Denotes when values or sense of cultural identity were explicitly changed or linked to the respondent's experiences as an immigrant. May demonstrate acculturation, or the blending of home and destination values to produce new, changed convictions.
	Pakikisama	*Sikolohiyang Pilipino* value of community-building and reciprocity devoid of obligation. Builds off the understanding that all people are in relationship to one another, and that this relationality forms social networks and meaningful working relationships.
	Utang na loob	*Sikolohiyang Pilipino* value of gratitude or solidarity out of obligation, often in return for some previous kindness. Similar to expressions of filial piety in other cultures, utang na loob describes the sense of responsibility people have to their families or fellow countrymen.