BEHIND THE RESUME: INFLUENCES ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND EMPLOYMENT TRAJECTORIES OF 1.5 AND SECOND GENERATION FILIPINO-CANADIANS IN VANCOUVER

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Abstract

Many Filipino immigrants have moved to Canada as professionals, with high levels of English fluency and education. However, first and second generation Filipino-Canadians are still relatively disadvantaged in the labour market. Despite these negative collective outcomes, individual trajectories differ greatly, with many individuals achieving high levels of education and desirable employment.

My research examines how social surroundings can facilitate or impede pathways to post-secondary education and employment by shaping aspirations and providing connections to the labour market. The research also analyses how gendered childrearing approaches, employment aspirations, peer norms and available role models result in distinct gendered experiences. The study is based on semi-structured interviews with adult children of Filipino immigrants in the Vancouver area who have attended post-secondary education and are employed. It will explain how, in most cases, trajectories are strongly influenced by the social networks in the spaces of the home, neighbourhood, education system and the Philippines.

Dedication

Through this study and other initiatives, I have met many community organizers who are devoted to improving the lives of Filipinos and Filipino-Canadians. I would like to dedicate this thesis to their efforts, as they strive to make positive change within a very unequal world.

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Lastly, I would like to thank the research participants in this study. Without the participation and enthusiasm of research participants, this study would not have been possible. Many participants also went above and beyond to help me with participant recruitment and educate me about issues in the Filipino community.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Research Puzzle

Canada's immigration history has often been referred to as a success case, in large part due to the positive educational and economic outcomes of the children of immigrants, who, as a collective, generally experience upward intergenerational mobility. This positive long term trend contrasts with other parts of the world where the children of immigrants have experienced great difficulties in their host societies. Nonetheless, despite the positive picture for this demographic group, outcomes have varied across ethnic communities with Filipino children of immigrants experiencing unusual downward intergenerational mobility (Abada, Hou, & Ram Bali, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2006). In addition, the children of Filipino immigrants born in Canada, otherwise known as the second generation, display unusual gendered earning patterns in comparison with the rest of the population (Statistics Canada, 2006). Within these statistical patterns, individuals follow many different employment and career trajectories with some pursuing post-secondary education and obtaining meaningful employment.

These unusual outcomes for second generation Filipino-Canadians are particularly surprising in light of the profile of Filipino immigrants to Canada. Filipino immigrants are very well educated, with many more degree holders represented in the community than in other ethnic groups (Statistics Canada, 2006). Many Filipino immigrants also arrive with other valuable human capital such as high levels of English and previous exposure to western culture; both traits due to the legacy of American colonialism in the Philippines. Given these useful skills, one would predict that Filipino immigrants would have an advantageous position over other newcomers in the Canadian labour market.

However, many Filipino immigrants are underemployed in Canada and face barriers to employment such as lack of credential recognition, institutionalized deskilling and discrimination in the labour market (Kelly, Astorga-Garcia, Esguerra, & the Community Alliance for Social Justice, 2009; Kelly, 2010). Some scholars have pointed to the limits of the human capital framework, which assumes skills and education translate into better employment and remuneration, for immigrants and the children of immigrants (e.g. Abada, Hou, & Ram Bali, 2009) as the value of foreign education and work experience becomes devalued in a different context (Kelly & Lusis, 2006). Many scholars also point to the racialization of the Canadian labour market and the discrimination people of non-Anglo Saxon backgrounds face as reasons why even people who were born in Canada face challenges in obtaining employment (Das Gupta, 1996; Oreopoulos & Dechief, 2011). In addition to these institutional labour market barriers, other scholars have examined the nuanced childrearing strategies which lead children to acquire certain skills and aspire to different labour market outcomes as a result of different parenting techniques (e.g. Lareau, 2011). Although there have been many studies at the macro scales relating to immigrants and racialized people's outcomes in the labour markets and several studies on the influence of family upbringing on children's outcomes; there is little literature on the impact of childrearing strategies and social contacts within the immigrant family context as it relates to this topic. Due to this gap, more research on the nuanced social aspects of educational and labour market trajectories within immigrant families is needed, particularly in cases such as the Filipino community, where unusual intergenerational trends exist.

This study examines the influences on the educational and employment trajectories of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians by analyzing the lives of members of this population in the Vancouver, British Columbia, area who have attended post-secondary education and have secured employment. The study takes a positive approach when analyzing trends and experiences by

asking "What went right in the lives of these young men and women?" (Fernandez-Kelly, 2008, p. 122). The research takes into the account the unusual statistical trends of the Filipino second generation while recognizing the variation of trajectories and honouring the individual narratives of individuals within this demographic. The study takes a micro approach and looks at individuals' educational and labour markets outcomes, not as a result of human capital or part of larger economic patterns, but rather at a personal level. Due to this micro approach, an individual's social surroundings, upbringing and gendered experiences are given most importance.

1.2 Research Questions

The research seeks to examine larger trends at the personal level by asking the following research questions:

- What contributes to the educational and employment trajectories of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian men and women?
- How do family, peers and role models contribute to these trajectories?
- How do the employment and educational trajectories of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian men and women differ?

These research questions include specific terminology which needs to be defined. For example, both the second generation and 1.5 generation groups are the children of immigrants. The second generation is generally defined as Canadian-born individuals with at least one parent who was born outside Canada, while the 1.5 generation is considered to be children who were born outside of Canada but have spent most of their formative years in Canada (Sykes, 2008). This study will define a 1.5 generation individual as someone who was born abroad but moved to Canada before their 13th birthday. The

study also examines educational and career *trajectories* rather than *outcomes* in order to recognize that circumstances are not static and one's current situation is only a part of a longer journey. Particularly among youth, who are highly represented in this study, economic and educational outcomes shift as individuals change employment or make decisions regarding post-secondary education. Analyzing trajectories also allows previous and future education and labour market engagement to be considered.

1.3 Thesis Outline

This research paper is divided into seven chapters. The current chapter introduces the topic, the research questions and explains the thesis layout. The second chapter frames the study within a theoretical framework and reviews previous literature on the topic. It argues that looking at intergenerational reproduction through forms of capital is a useful but incomplete analysis of the employment and educational achievements across generations in the Filipino-Canadian community. The chapter also shows how class and aspirations are transmitted from one generation to the next, but how this process becomes more complex within immigrant families. The importance of the space of a neighbourhood and transnational space is also covered, as well as how identity is influenced by social surroundings. Lastly, the processes of gendered identity formation and the creation of aspirations will also be explored.

Chapter three examines the context in which 1.5 and 2nd generation Filipino-Canadians are situated. This includes an overview of migration patterns throughout history from the Philippines to Canada, including the various immigration programs used. It will pay particular attention to the Live-in Caregiver Program, a Filipino-dominated Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) which serves as a pathway to permanent residency. Chapter three also identifies employment trends amongst Filipino immigrants, including the

prevalence of deprofessionalization among this population in the Canadian labour market. The experiences of Canada's second generation with an emphasis on second generation Filipino-Canadians will also be explored along with the particular economic and geographic context of Vancouver, British Columbia, and the surrounding regions. The chapter argues that the experiences of this population are not isolated, but are located within a geographical, historic and economic context.

The fourth chapter covers the methodology which was used, an overview of the research process and my own personal reflections on the research experience. Recruitment strategies, ethical considerations, positionality and gender differences will be explored. In addition, my involvement in events and other projects in the Filipino-Canadian community and their impact on the research process will also be included. This chapter emphasizes my role in the research process and the personalized nature of qualitative fieldwork.

The fifth chapter draws from the empirical research in showing that one's social surroundings, particularly family, peers and role models are instrumental in shaping the educational and employment pathways of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians. These social contacts are important as they help shape young people's aspirations, provide connections to information and opportunities and provide emotional, physical or financial resources to youth. The chapter argues that children look to the people around them as examples of possible career trajectories and learn from their experiences.

The sixth chapter analyzes the gendered trajectories of study participants. It notes the common trends of entering traditionally male and female occupations. In addition, it explains the important finding that many young Filipino-Canadian men and women have very different upbringings with increased parental attention to women in reference to their social lives, academics and careers while men were subject to less parental control but also received less family support.

In addition, potential challenges for men such as peer cultures with an emphasis on materialism and a potential lack of role models were observed. The chapter argues that men and women who have similar backgrounds, such as being in the same family, still have very different experiences and are drawn or pushed towards distinct trajectories.

Lastly, the seventh chapter summarizes key findings of the study and reflects on the broader implications of this research. The chapter points to areas for further research and highlights the significance of the study.

2 Theorizing Intergenerational Reproduction

2.1 Introduction

Labour market analysis is often conducted at a macro-level with ethnic, national and global patterns being examined. In addition, much labour market literature relies on the human capital framework, which stipulates that human capital such as education, skills and experience determine the labour market pathways of individuals (Becker, 1993). This study, however, uses a micro-level approach, draws from Bourdieu, and examines the educational and employment trajectories of Filipino-Canadians at the individual scale. A micro-level analysis allows for a more nuanced understanding of social processes such as social networks, child raising strategies and neighbourhoods and shows how these influence educational and labour market trajectories. This chapter integrates literature on forms of capital (Bourdieu 1984), intergenerational mobility (e.g. Fernandez-Kelly, 2008; Lareau, 2011), space (e.g. Bauder, 2000; Bauder, 2001; Espiritu, 2003; Kelly, 2010) and identity (e.g., Pimlott-Wilson, 2011; Pratt, 2004) to highlight the importance of socialization on educational and employment trajectories.

In general, the second generation in Canada are attending post-secondary institutions in higher numbers than their parents. Higher levels of education mean that members of the second generation are likely exceeding their parents in terms of employment earnings. These trends are widespread among different ethnic groups with one of the notable exceptions being the Filipino community and "black" immigrants in Canada (Abada, Hou, & Ram Bali, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2006).

2.2 Intergenerational Reproduction and Forms of Capital

The current study uses Pierre Bourdieu's forms of capital to focus on intergenerational spaces and identities among Filipino-Canadians. Bourdieu's forms of capital have been utilized extensively to explain intergenerational reproduction. The forms of capital are described as follows: economic capital, which encompasses financial resources; social capital which includes social connections; and cultural capital, which includes aspects such as education, skills and bodily mannerisms. These three forms of capital in various configurations have been shown to be transferable (Bourdieu, 1984). For example, economic capital can create cultural capital with the payment of university tuition; and completing university can result in increased social capital through social and alumni networks and this can help create economic capital (Kelly & Lusis, 2006).

Some scholars (e.g. Bettie, 2003; Lareau, 2011; Willis, 1977) approach intergenerational reproduction from a class perspective showing how class is transmitted within the family and also created by individuals. Although such studies are useful in showing how class is reproduced between generations, the processes are more nuanced among immigrant families. This study is different in that it explores the nuanced complexities of this process among Filipino immigrant families in Canada. Using Bourdieu's forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1984), this study argues for an understanding of intergenerational reproduction through Bourdieu's three forms of capital (economic, social and cultural) while recognizing the particularities of this process in immigrant families.

The three forms of capital (economic, social and cultural) are instrumental in determining class reproduction. Scholars often associate high levels of capital with high class positions (e.g. Lareau, 2011, among others) and Bourdieu's analysis of class also relates to the uneven distribution of capital (Weininger,

2005). However, work by Bourdieu and contemporary scholars (e.g. Fernandez-Kelly, 2008; Kelly & Lusis, 2006; Yan, Lauer, & Chan, 2009) on forms of capital has emphasized that economic capital is not the only resource that promotes upward mobility. Although often under-studied, social and cultural capital are equally important. While economic capital remains useful as a way to augment social and cultural capital through formal means such as university, upward mobility is not easily accomplished without social and cultural capital (e.g. professional networks and wardrobe, manners of speech etc.).

Despite the common transfer of capital across generations, it is not always passed down across generations in a uniform manner. This is particularly the case when parents have acquired their capital in a different cultural or geographic context. The value of immigrants' capital differs: some is very useful in a different cultural context, but some is not. Buenavista's (2009) study of Filipino-American university students whose parents also have university degrees shows some disadvantages of having cultural capital from a different country. In this context, a university degree from a different location is disadvantageous (Buenavista, 2009). Children whose parents are university graduates from the Philippines do not have the same support as children of graduates from American universities. These students did not receive help with the application process or navigating the university's bureaucracy as other students did. In addition, their parents did not understand the different expectations at American universities such as the importance of participating in extra-curricular activities. Nonetheless, the expectation of university attendance from their parents was still present and important (Buenavista, 2009). In contrast, Fernandez-Kelly's (2008) study shows some of the positive cultural capital resources immigrant families can provide. She shows how immigrant families with few financial resources are still able to instill in their children a positive sense of destiny by transmitting to them a family legacy of high status occupations (Fernandez-Kelly, 2008). These examples show how the transmission of cultural

capital across generations is more complex within immigrant families. My study further contributes to this literature by exploring the transmission of capital across generations in a more nuanced fashion.

In addition to the importance of the intergenerational transfer of cultural capital, social and economic capital can also be passed on across generations. The economic capital of parents facilitates middle or upper class trajectories such as post-secondary and private school attendance. The transfer of financial resources, property and commercial enterprises is also common across generations. In addition, social networks are intergenerational as parents' family, friends and business contacts become part of the adult child's professional network. Nonetheless, the transfer of economic and social capital across immigrant families is also distinct. Firstly, economic capital changes value across borders. Currency exchange rates mean that financial resources from the Philippines lose value in the Canadian context. Likewise, property and commercial enterprises in the Philippines have a more limited value in Canada. Thus a family with ample economic capital in the Philippines can have more modest means in Canada. Likewise, business contacts and other social networks in the Philippines have limited value in Canada where local contacts are more important for career advancement and business opportunities.

In addition to theorizing intergenerational mobility in relation to capital, several scholars (e.g. Bettie, 2003; Lareau, 2011; Willis, 1977) examine this process from a class perspective. These studies demonstrate both how class is transmitted and how individuals can create their own class destinies. For example, Lareau's (2011) study of American families shows how cultural capital is transmitted to middle class children in order to provide them with middle class futures. She shows how middle class parents have different parenting styles than working class and poor parents do. She calls the approach of the middle class parents "concerted cultivation" and describes it as a deliberate tactic of

imparting cultural capital. Elements of the "concerted cultivation approach" included promoting a rich vocabulary, making use of "teachable moments" and registering children in team sports and individual lessons (Lareau, 2011). Although Lareau critiques the frantic pace of life among middle class families as well as the lack of time they spend with extended family, she notes how their parenting approach has many benefits. For example, registering children in music or other extra-curricular lessons gives them exposure to non-familial adults, enabling them to negotiate well with adults and promoting a sense of entitlement. Also important is the cultural capital of the middle class parents who are able to resolve problems on behalf of their children, arrange employment for them, and assist with university or college applications; tasks that working class and poor parents were often unable to accomplish (Lareau, 2011). Lareau's understanding of class reproduction is significant to my own research because she demonstrates the micro-processes involved in class reproduction.

Besides the process of parents "teaching" middle class skills and habits, a process of which children are unaware, scholars (e.g. Willis, 1977; Bettie, 2003) have argued that young people are conscious participants in creating their own class positions. The best known study that articulates this idea is Paul Willis' "Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs" (Willis, 1977). The study of male youth in the 1970s in England shows how the "lads" adopt values and habits that are different from the ones their teachers are trying to impart. For example, the study participants appreciate activities such as joking around or "having a laugh" and do not value education. These attitudes — which oppose middle class values — did in fact help the participants as they reproduced their father's employment outcomes as factory workers, positions where education is not needed and the ability to have fun while performing menial tasks is useful (Willis, 1977). The "lads" conceive their futures and employment prospective in very gendered terms as they construct factory work as "tough" and "masculine" and white collar jobs like office work as "feminine". A

more recent study on working class British male youth by McDowell (2003) shows that even once manufacturing industry in the United Kingdom had largely disappeared, the ideals of "tough" and "masculine" work involving manual labour still persisted.

The lads in Willis' study lack the economic, cultural and social capital for upward mobility. Therefore, Willis argues that their preparation for the difficulties of manufacturing work, rather than preparation for white collar professions is appropriate. The experiences of the "lads" in Willis' study can be interpreted in relation to forms of capital – the lads choose not to adopt the middle class cultural capital their teachers are trying to impart due the limited value of education in their factory work destinies. Likewise, their social and economic capital limits their trajectories. However, Willis does not use these specific concepts when describing the lads' active participation in the creation of their own class reproduction, rather his analysis focuses on the culture the "lads" create.

Similarly, Bettie's study on the class positions of American and Mexican-American high school girls shows how class is often performed (Bettie, 2003). She notes how adolescent women must negotiate not only their class, but the racialized expectations of them. She described some middle class Mexican-American participants who performed a working class identity because performing a middle class one was considered "acting white". Bettie notes, however, that although some working class individuals could perform a middle class identity, they did not have the cultural capital to create middle class futures for themselves. Although Bettie argues that the young women she researched were in the process of creating their future class positions, their performance of class was a result of the types of capital they had been exposed to. Bettie's study is distinct from Willis' as she looks at how class and processes of racialization interact. Racialization is not a concept which can easily be

explained through Bourdieu's forms of capital, and is an important factor which is missing from Willis' work. However, both Bettie and Willis place an emphasis on the agency of their study participants in creating their class destinies. Although capital is important in Willis' and Bettie's works, they also point to gender, culture and personal and collective agency as other important factors. Bettie's study is important to take into consideration as it not only looks at the role of family in class reproduction, but the role of the social space of a school and the agency of individuals in creating their classed destinies (Bettie, 2003).

Bourdieu's understanding of class relates closely to several of his other key concepts such as forms of capital and habitus. For example, Bourdieu viewed the 'dominant class' as those possessing economic capital (such as industrialists or commercial employers) or cultural capital (such as university professors and artistic producers). However, Bourdieu also recognizes variations within a class, as the differences between the previous two groups in the "dominant class" demonstrates. In contrast with the "dominant class", he distinguishes the working class or "class populaire" by their lack of cultural and economic capital. Bourdieu's analysis allows for flexibility however, as he does not see class as static or as having strict boundaries (Weininger, 2005).

Bourdieu's class analysis also takes into account his theorization of habitus. The concept of habitus has been described aptly by Judith Butler as "spatially defined, embodied rituals of everydayness by which a given culture produces and sustains belief in its own obviousness" (Butler, 1999, pp. 113-114). He argues that taste, and how taste is manifested through consumption, are strong class dividers. Only certain tastes are valued in society, allowing the dominant class to become the 'taste makers' and determine which habitus are socially valued and by contrast, which ones are not. This analysis is distinct from the Marxist interpretation as it defines class through consumption rather than production. Indeed, Bourdieu looks at class as encompassing employment as a

whole, rather than simply in reference to relations of production (Weininger, 2005). This research study uses Bourdieu's interpretation of class, particularly in reference to his analysis of the distribution of capital throughout society.

In summary, Bourdieu's concepts of capital are a useful framework through which to analyze the production of intergenerational mobility. It is particularly significant as forms of capital enable us to understand the value of both tangible resources such as finances and intangible ones such as bodily mannerisms and social networks. Nonetheless, the various forms of capital are not static and change value, particularly across generations in immigrant families. Class, which cannot be disconnected from forms of capital, is another way to understand intergenerational processes. Class transmission can either be taught, as the middle class families in Lareau's study exemplify, or created through an individuals' surroundings. For example, the participants in both Willis' and Betties' studies are active agents in their class production, however they do so within a specific context and social limitations. Both approaches show how people come to develop their aspirations for the future and how they are able or unable to fulfill various trajectories. While these studies all take a slightly different approach to intergenerational reproduction, the results speak to the process of class reproduction as performed, learned and specific to particular cultural contexts. My study applies this understanding in a uniquely Canadian context and with an ethnic group that has a distinct process of class transmission.

2.3 Space

Despite the wide usage of Bourdieu, some of his work lacks attention to different spatial contexts. This has been partially addressed by geographers (e.g. Bauder, 2008; Kelly & Lusis, 2006) as they combine Bourdieu's forms of capital with particular spatial contexts. As geographers have noted, space is important as it

denotes both the cultural and the social resources available to individuals. This study pays particular attention to issues of space and neigbourhood. The neighbourhood focus is important as it denotes the resources available to individuals and the cultural context in which youth grow up. In addition, neighbourhood is the most immediate way in which young people experience space. The Philippines is also a crucial space as it denotes parents' social contacts, their child raising approaches and their experiences in Canada. With this in mind, this study also considers the importance of the transnational spaces of the Philippines and Canada. Educational spaces such as schools are also extremely important as they denote the peers and role models available to youth. Lastly, the space of the home indicates the resources, parenting styles and cultural expectations youth are exposed to.

Scholarly attention has also been directed towards the culture within a neighbourhood (Rosenbaum, 1991; 1995), the resources available (Ellis & Almgren, 2009; Bauder, 2000) and the social contacts developed (Hanson & Pratt, 1995). Much debate has been based on the 'neighbourhood effect' since Rosenbaum's study of the Assisted Housing Program in Chicago (Rosenbaum, 1991; 1995) where some inner city families moved to suburban areas while others stayed in their inner city neighbourhoods. The children of the families who had moved to the suburbs performed better in school and had better labour market outcomes than those who had stayed in their former neighbourhoods. This difference was attributed to the poverty of adult role models, the physical infrastructure in the area and the peer networks available. The "neighbourhood effect" this study describes includes adapting to the behaviours, values and expectations of a certain geographic area which can help or hinder one's engagement in the labour market (Rosenbaum, 1991; 1995). The study has been criticized for pathologizing inner city inhabitants and for making cultural judgments about lifestyles (Bauder, 2000; 2002a ;2002b). Nonetheless, the study is significant in that it shows how social and physical neighbourhood

resources have a strong influence on the lives of inhabitants. My own study recognizes the importance of neighbourhood resources and social contacts in the development of educational and labour market trajectories.

Perhaps the most important neighbourhood resources available to families are schools. With the exception of private school enrolment, children usually attend public schools in their catchment areas. This means that the quality of education they receive depends on the type of public school in their neighbourhood. In Canada and the United States, the quality of public schools can vary enormously across space. School enrolment also facilitates social ties with peers of a certain socio-economic background and role models such as teachers, sports coaches or school counsellors. These peer networks can have a profound impact on young people's aspirations and they later become part of their professional networks. Spaces of education serve to create labour market subjects and reproduce classed identities. Indeed, many families include schools in their consideration of neighbourhood residency. Espiritu notes that many Filipino-American families choose to live in predominantly white, middle class neighbourhoods in order to reap the perceived benefits of safety, good schools and "mainstream" socialization (1994). Similarly, Gandara's study of Chicano students also shows how neighbourhood has a significant impact on facilitating upward mobility (1995).

Neighbourhoods, and the social networks they establish, are also mechanisms for the transmission of labour market and educational intelligence. Hanson and Pratt (1995) note how labour market information is conveyed in the neighbourhood, making the place of residence especially important. Isolated neighbourhoods are therefore at a disadvantage as flows of communication with the wider community can be cut off (Bauder, 2002b). In addition to a lack of inter-neighbourhood communication, neighbourhoods with poor transportation can physically cut individuals off from employment opportunities, educational

institutions and job-search services. These factors are important to the study as they have a strong influence on intergenerational reproduction and class mobility. They also affect the ability or inability of youth to complete post-secondary education and obtain well paid employment.

For Filipino immigrant parents, the local neighbourhood space in the Philippines is an important component in their migration experience. Many of the first contacts Filipino migrants have in Canada are people they have known in the Philippines or through other friend and family connections. These social connections increase in value in Canada where they can provide settlement assistance and labour market connections (Kelly & Lusis, 2006). Kelly and Lusis note how social contacts such as neighbours or distant relatives who had little importance in the Philippines can play a crucial role in the Canadian context. These social contacts from the Philippines not only become crucial sources of support for Filipino immigrants upon arrival but their families often become part of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians' social networks. Indeed, the experiences and resources first generation Filipino-Canadian parents acquired in the Philippines, although different in the Canadian context, can be instrumental in shaping the lives and trajectories of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian youth.

For 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians, the space of the Philippines, real or imagined, is important in shaping their educational and employment trajectories. In her study of second generation Filipino-Canadians, Pratt refers to Hirsh's concept of post-memory (Hirsch, 1997 in Pratt, 2004). The concept originally referred to the experiences of the children of holocaust survivors who took on their parents' traumatic memories despite the fact that they had never experienced the memories their parents refer to. The concept has also been utilized with regards to other children of immigrants who internalize the (often traumatic) experiences of their parents' migration. The children of immigrants

grow up with narratives of their parents' homeland, whether or not they have physically visited it. These narratives often differ from the lived experiences of 1.5 and second generation youth who learn to see their lives in contrast to that of their parents' homelands. In the case of the Philippines, narratives include positive images of a more communal society, extended family and beautiful scenery but also more negative ones regarding political corruption, poverty and lack of economic opportunity. For young people, the space of the Philippines, real or imagined, becomes part of their identity and influences their aspirations and choices in Canada.

Lastly, the space of the home is an important one, as parenting strategies and resources shape the aspirations and resources available to young people. Within the immigrant family home, youth must learn to reconcile the expectations of their families with those of the host culture. Many studies show that among Filipino-Canadians and Filipino-Americans family is an immense source of stress (Maramba, 2008; Espiritu, 2003). In addition, parenting strategies are gendered with different resource allocation, expectations, and support given to children of each gender. For example, in her study of Laotian-Canadian families, Chevallier notes that many Lao women are expected to make significant contributions to food preparation while men are not. As a result, she shows how women receive more attention from parents and increased socialization in Laotian culture yet have an increased domestic burden (Chevallier, 2007). Likewise, in studies of the Filipino community, women receive more parental attention than men, at times creating immense pressure (Espiritu, 2003; Wolf, 2002).

2.4 Identity

Identity, which traditionally encompasses characteristics such as gender, class, age, "race", ethnicity, nationality, (dis)ability and or sexual orientation is an important consideration in the study. Although the definition of identity in

academia is highly contested (Isin & Wood, 1999), it is now agreed upon that identities can be multiple and overlapping. Identity is relational and is informed through social relations with others. It is formed in part by self-perception, but it can also be imposed by others (Isin & Wood, 1999). Identity, as used in this study, will refer to both personal characteristics and how a person perceives their place in Canadian society.

The process of identity formation is greatly influenced by intergenerational class reproduction and individual geographies. These factors, among others, shape individuals' aspirations for the future. People have certain ideas of what educational or labour market positions are appropriate for themselves in part because of their socialization (McDowell, 2003). Perceptions about which jobs are "good" and "bad" differ between individuals. Bauder's 2002 study, which takes place in the United States, where space is also a marker for race and class, shows how people from different neighbourhoods have distinct perceptions of what type of labour market engagement is appropriate for them (Bauder, 2002b).

Individuals form their aspirations in relation to their perceived identities and social surroundings. Bourdieu argues that people's aspirations are based on their ability to achieve them (Bourdieu, 1973). Therefore, individuals often look to the people around them as examples for achievable destinies. Social circumstances make some pathways 'non-decisions' while others are viewed as unachievable (Pimlott-Wilson, 2011). For example, for many middle class youth, going on to post-secondary education is often a non-decision. Youth are predisposed to make decisions based on the outcomes of those around them; but do not simply replicate the destinies of their social contacts. Rather, they assess the examples around them and make decisions based on these (Pimlott-Wilson, 2011). Nonetheless, making decisions that differ from those of family members and others in their class position is perceived as a risk. For example, going to

university is a very different endeavour for a middle class student than a working class one. For many working class youth, the rewards of university are not obvious since they do not see the benefits of making this choice from the people around them. Likewise, applying to university is a much greater emotional risk for working class youth (Brown, 2011) than middle class ones.

As mentioned, aspirations and therefore the pursuit of certain goals, are constructed in relation to one's social surroundings. Therefore, being able to see others as examples is an important part of the formation of aspirations. For this reason, role models are very important. Maramba's study of Filipino-American young women in college shows how role models of the same background are important in easing the pathway towards college completion (2008). Likewise Fernandez-Kelly's study shows how supportive adults often had a significant positive impact on the lives of young migrant youth. She also points to how supportive adults such as teachers and counsellors can serve as weak ties linking youth to important institutions and opportunities (Fernandez-Kelly, 2008).

Social surroundings are vital in influencing labour market and educational pathways. Peer groups have a great impact on the choices youth deem as appropriate. For example Yan, Lauer and Chan's (2009) study showed that the desire to pursue post-secondary education among minority youth in Vancouver was often due to peer pressure. Social networks are also a way that labour market expertise is conveyed. Almost half of employment is found through personal connections rather than through formal processes. Nonetheless the "quality" of the social ties matters. Mouw shows how it is not the quantity of social ties that leads to improved earnings, but rather the status of these ties (2003). For example, being connected to managers and other high ranking professionals can be especially beneficial. On the other hand, the acquisition of employment through connections has been shown to compound the deskilling of Filipino immigrants (Kelly, 2010). Therefore, Granovetter's theory regarding the

strength of weak ties is also important as diverse social contacts outside a closed group can provide different and useful connections to opportunities (1983).

The way that individuals perceive their identity and how this influences their aspirations is significant to the study as it demonstrates how educational and career goals are constructed according to an individual's social surroundings. Social surroundings not only influence the formation of aspirations but also how young people are connected with different labour market opportunities. The construction of aspirations in relation to identity and the social connections that facilitate career pathways are crucial parts of second generation Filipino-Canadians' trajectories.

Identity is of utmost importance in the contemporary labour market. Many studies have shown how, in the new service centered economy, workers are not chosen because of their skills and experience but rather because of their identity. McDowell notes how workers must maintain a performance with regards to their physical appearance and behaviour. Rather than the tasks that are performed, many workers are expected to perform certain emotions such as being happy and enjoying the work (McDowell, 2003).

While young people frame their identities with regards to their class position, personal characteristics, family upbringing, historical and geographical context, identities are not only chosen but are also ascribed. This is particularly the case in the labour market. In McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer's study of workers in a London hotel, they show how identities such as "...docile Polish cleaners, educated and ambitious Indian waiters and highly sexualized Latin American front office staff..." are constructed (McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer, 2007, pp. 3-4). It is now commonly known that different groups are given different values in the labour market with work performed by women and racialized people being particularly devalued (e.g. Galabuzi, 2006; Das Gupta, 1996; Mann, 2007). Similarly, academics argue that migrant labour is devalued and even the

presence of migrants changes the labour market (Wills, Datta, Evans, Herbert, & May, 2010). However, the distinction between a self-created or self-perceived identity and an ascribed one are not completely separate. McDowell and her colleagues show how workers react to the identities expected of them by attempting to perform a role which matches these expectations of their supervisors and clients. Through this process of interpellation, a back and forth process takes place where identities are ascribed, performed and changed through social relations in the labour market (McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer, 2007).

With regards to labour market pathways, many individuals have gendered concepts of what positions are appropriate for men and women. For example, in McDowell's study of young white working class British men, she describes how they aspire to "masculine occupations" such as positions involving physical labour or occupations they considered "tough". Similarly, Willis' study at an earlier point in time shows how young working class men idealize factory work as being tough and masculine thus making it appealing. Indeed, framing exploitative jobs as "tough" or "masculine" can also be a coping measure (Willis, 1977). McKay's study on Filipino seamen shows how they rationalize their difficult positions through these terms and through their earning potential (2007). These definitions are not universal however, as manual labour performed by racialized men can be considered "dirty".

As McDowell and others show, in the new service economy, workers are hired due to their identity rather than their skills (McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer, 2007). The way that people of different ages, ethnicities and genders are perceived to fit into the labour market also influences how they construct their identity in relation to these expectations. As Filipino-Canadians have been racialized in the Canadian labour market, recognizing the way workers are constructed is imperative to this study.

2.5 Conclusion

This study uses Bourdieu's forms of capital in order to theorize the unusual intergenerational employment and educational of the Filipino community in Canada. The value of economic, cultural and social capital in class reproduction and the unique ways in which these forms of capital are transmitted across generations within immigrant families, with the value of capital changing across different geographical and contexts, allows for a deeper understanding of trajectories of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians. In addition, class, as Bourdieu conceives the concept in relation to forms of capital and habitus, is a useful tool for understanding why some individuals continue on to post-secondary education and related employment. The more subtle cultural processes of class formation identified by Lareau, Willis and Bettie are also key to analyzing the micro-processes involved in shaping trajectories. The concepts of capital and class are useful when looking at the employment and educational pathways of young Filipino-Canadians, as they help contextualize individual trajectories as part of a broader phenomenon.

Spaces of the neighbourhood, the school, the home and the Philippines also highlight the institutional and social resources available to youth. These spaces, often determined by a family's socio-economic status, determine the type of support youth receive and what values they adopt from those around them. Analyzing the social and geographical environments where youth form and pursue their aspirations is essential in order to situate trajectories within a larger context. Identity is also an important framework through which to view educational and employment trajectories. Identity is particularly significant in framing which destinies are appropriate and achievable. Gendered trajectories are also shaped by identity as both employment aspirations and the larger labour market are gendered. For example, the type of labour market engagement which

men and women find appropriate for themselves are distinct and hiring practices are highly gendered.

Although many studies continue to look at the labour market from a purely economic standpoint, Peck's 1996 work, "WorkPlace: the Social Regulation of Labour Markets", among others has been influential in showing the social nature of the labour market (1996). In addition, the creation of workers through schools and classed processes is clear. Nonetheless, these studies do not show the individual processes through which individuals form their identity, create aspirations and achieve (or do not achieve) their goals. This study aims to show how forms of capital, intergenerational mobility, space and identity are integral parts of the educational and labour market trajectories of Filipino-Canadians. The immigrant family experience of Filipinos means that the value of capital passed down across generations, the type of social contacts that are available and the parenting styles towards young men and women is distinct from other immigrant groups and Canadian born families. These differences strongly affect the trajectories of Filipino-Canadian youth as they are encouraged to pursue different careers which are seen as gender appropriate and have access to information and opportunities in some fields more than others. Although literature concerning class reproduction and the geographies of aspiration explain some of the individual processes through which outcomes are created, they do not take into account the complexities of the immigrant family experience. It is this gap in labour market, childrearing and aspirational literatures that I wish to address in this study.

3 Situating the 1.5 and Second Generation Filipino-Canadian Experience in Vancouver

3.1 Introduction

The unusual trends in education and employment outcomes among second generation Filipino-Canadians must be analyzed in the context of the history of the Filipino community in Canada, the current challenges of both the first and second generations, as well as the nature of Vancouver's economy and position as a gateway city for immigrants. The Filipino community has a unique history in Canada and migration flows have been marked by gender, occupational and socio-economic differences. The type of migration that both the Canadian and Filipino states have promoted, as well as Canada's gendered and raced labour market, have resulted in particular trends in the Filipino community which will be explored.

This chapter will outline a brief history of Filipino migration to Canada including the types of immigration programs through which many migrants have entered, such as the Live-in Caregiver Program, and the significant labour market sectors where they have been employed. Some of the current challenges facing the Filipino community including deprofessionalization, labour market segmentation and a shift towards temporary residency will also be explored. In addition, the situation of the Filipino-Canadian 1.5 and second generation will be covered, most significantly in reference to their anomalous economic and educational outcomes. These outcomes are seen as anomalous in comparison with other visible minority groups such as the Chinese and South Asian communities. Some of the research exploring identity challenges, family separation and the need for role models will also be covered, as well as the heterogeneous nature of the Filipino community in Vancouver. Lastly, Vancouver's demographics and

history as a gateway city for immigrants will also be explored, including the city's ties to Asia and the distinct make up of its immigrant population. The above mentioned topics provide the context within which the study is situated and will aid in contextualizing the study within current circumstances of the Filipino-Canadian community.

3.2 History of the Filipino Community in Canada and Current Trends Amongst Filipino Immigrants

The Filipino population in Canada is now sizeable, with Filipinos being one of the largest visible minority groups in Canada. As of 2010, the Philippines is the number one source country for immigrants to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011). The Philippines has one of the largest outward flows of migration in the world, in part due to its colonial history. The presence of the United States in the Philippines from 1898 to 1946 resulted in much infrastructure, such as the healthcare and education systems, being modeled after American models (Choy, 2003). In addition, due to the country's colonial history, the use of English is widespread in the Philippines and Filipinos have been highly exposed to western culture. This history, in combination with deliberate policies of labour exportation by the Philippine state, such as the Overseas Recruitment Program started during the Marcos regime in 1974, and recruitment strategies for labour shortages by many economically powerful countries, has resulted in an immense Philippine diaspora. These migration patterns have become even more pronounced due to push factors such as a poor economy and political instability which cause many Filipinos to emigrate. Many Filipino migrants work overseas, primarily in the Middle East, other parts of Asia, and North America. This diaspora has been charged with supporting the Philippine economy and currently 9 per cent of the Philippines' Gross Domestic Product is made up of remittances from abroad and Filipinos residing overseas

are relied on heavily by extended family and friends to provide economic support or assist with migration abroad (Ronquillo, Boschma, Wong, & Quiney, 2011). In addition, the preference towards western trends and products, often referred to as the 'colonial mentality' and the prevalence of migration has resulted in what has been termed a "culture of migration" where working abroad is encouraged and normalized (Choy, 2003; Ronquillo, Boschma, Wong, & Quiney, 2011). Indeed, moving abroad can increase the social status of individuals and families in the context of the Philippines.

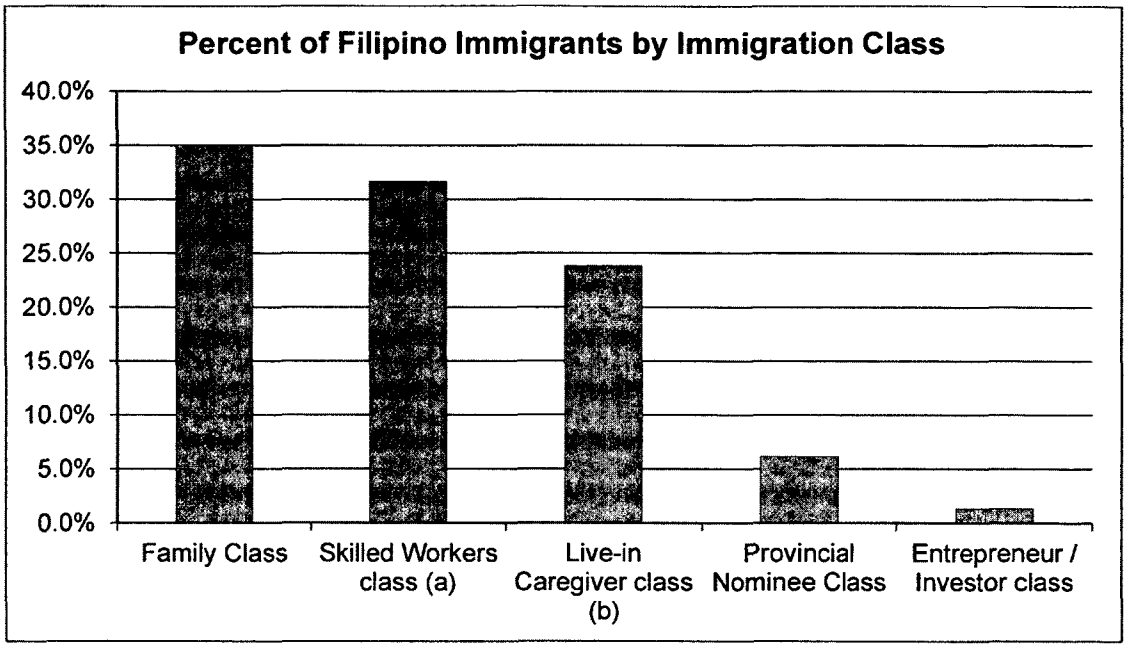
In Canada, migration from the Philippines became significant from 1967 onwards when the federal 'points system' for economic immigrants was introduced. This change in immigration policy marked a shift from a deliberate preference for white European immigrants. The 'points system' resulted in the entry to Canada of immigrants from non-traditional source countries. Nonetheless, many of these immigrants from non-traditional source countries have been racialized in Canadian society and have faced economic and social exclusion. In addition, the 'points system' facilitated the entry of skilled immigrants and marked a shift away from the largely family led migration patterns to a labour market oriented immigration policy (Hiebert, 2000). After this change, professionals from the Philippines started migrating to Canada, mainly settling in Vancouver and Toronto. Migration patterns, as with other communities, have been tied to kinship relations with family and friends playing an important role in the recruitment and settlement process (Chen, 1998). In addition, Canada's labour market needs, such as the need to fill textile manufacturing positions in Winnipeg, also resulted in specific campaigns and settlement patterns. Another significant change in Canada's immigration policy occurred in 1978 when family reunification was facilitated, resulting in the sponsorship of seniors and others outside of working age. Family reunification policies meant that Filipinos in Canada who were engaged in the labour market had more financial responsibility to relatives who had migrated (Chen, 1998). In addition, policy changes in the

1980s created a dramatic growth in newcomers to Canada with immigration quotas increasing two-fold.

Another significant change to Canada's immigration policy occurred in 1981 when the Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM) program was implemented. This marked an increase in Filipina women arriving as domestic workers although many had other occupations in the Philippines (Kelly, Park, de Leon, & Priest, 2011). In 1992 this program was restructured as the Live-In Caregiver Program (LCP). Although technically a temporary work permit, applicants are eligible to apply for permanent residency after completing 24 months of work in a 36 month period. Due to limitations on the work permit, such as being tied to one employer, living in the employer's home and the prohibition of participation in post-secondary education, this program, through which 23.9 per cent of Filipino migrants arrived between 1980 and 2009 (Kelly, Park, de Leon, & Priest, 2011), has been heavily criticized (e.g. Philippine Women's Centre of B.C. 1997, Pratt 1999 among others). Although the Live-In Caregiver Program is now a common way to enter Canada and much literature concerning the Filipino population in Canada focuses on the experiences of caregivers (e.g. Pratt 1999, Spitzer & Torres 2008), most Filipino migrants arrive as economic immigrants (31.7 per cent) and family class (35 per cent)[1]. Very few Filipinos enter Canada as entrepreneurs or refugees (Toronto Immigrant Employment Data Initiative, 2011).[2] Table 1 shows the breakdown of Filipino immigrants to Canada between 1980 and 2009 according to immigration class (Toronto Immigrant Employment Data Initiative, 2011).

[1] These statistics refer to the years between 1980 and 2009.
[2] These statistics refer to the years between 1980 and 2009.

Table 1: Total number of immigrants coming from Philippines to Canada, 1980-2009



(a) Includes 'Canadian Experience Class' (b) Includes 'Foreign Household Domestics' (Toronto Immigrant Employment Data Initiative, 2011, p. 1).

Historically, Filipino workers have come to Canada as immigrants, with the more recent Live-in Caregiver Program being an exception, as caregivers enter under Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Temporary Foreign Workers Program (TFWP) and only later are eligible to apply for a more permanent status. Nonetheless, in recent years, there has been a shift in Canada's immigration policy to favour temporary foreign workers. In 2007, the number of temporary foreign workers exceeded the number of immigrants to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSDC), 2007). Many temporary foreign workers come to Canada to fill low paid positions in agriculture, domestic, service, construction and healthcare positions among others. Among the temporary foreign worker programs, Filipinos are highly represented in the Live-In Caregiver Program and are also

represented to a lesser extent in the Low-Skill Pilot Project. The Temporary Foreign Worker Program has been widely criticized for its restrictive visas and the lack of rights migrants have under this program (see Depatie-Pelletier, 2010; Hennebry, 2010 among others). Many have charged that this change marks an unfortunate shift in Canada's policies where migrants are recruited for their labour rather as part of a nation building strategy (e.g. Canadian Council for Refugees 2010; Siemiatycki 2010).

In addition to the increase in migration from the Philippines to Canada, this migration, as with Filipino migration worldwide, has been highly gendered. In Canada, 57 per cent of the Filipino population is female[3], with the figures being even more disproportionate within the prime working years (Statistics Canada, 2006). This reflects recent shifts in the economy, where a demand for feminized migrant labour to fill service sector positions has risen. As the labour market is highly gendered, with some sectors being dominated by women and others by men, the recruitment of certain professions also results in the deliberate recruitment of a certain gender (Chen, 1998). For example, with garment workers, nurses and domestic workers being historically favoured, a large number of Filipino migrants have been women. As well as workers, a community study also pointed to a disturbing increase in the 1990s of Filipino women being recruited as mail order brides, with many migrating to rural areas of Canada to join their husbands, most of whom are not Filipino (Philippine Women's Centre of BC, 2000).

Much of the migration from the Philippines to Canada has been in the healthcare field. This is part of what is referred to as the "Global Care Chain (GCC)" where women from developing countries leave their loved ones to be cared for by others in order to care for those in western nations (e.g. Hochschild 2001).

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[3] As indicated under the visible minority group category in the 2006 census.

During the 1970s and 1980s many Filipino women moved or were recruited as nurses. While there were large concentrations in big cities, many more rural areas also had Filipino nurses but a very small Filipino population in general. Currently, nurses from the Philippines make up a large percentage of Internationally Educated Nurses (IEN) and there are various recruitment programs in the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan (Boschma, Santiago, Choy, & Ronquillo, 2012). In addition to Internationally Educated Nurses who work in their profession, many who are educated in nursing or other health fields come through the Live-in Caregiver Program (Walton Roberts, 2011). The incorporation of live-in caregivers into the health industry is even more widespread as many "graduates" of the program go on to work in positions such as personal support workers, nurse's aides and other "medical assist" occupations. These trends partly explain the occupational segregation of Filipino women in Canada (Hiebert, 1999).

Filipino men migrate to Canada in slightly lower numbers than women. Many arrive as economic immigrants while in other cases they and their children are sponsored by their wives who have already entered the country as domestic workers or in other occupations. Filipino men have been concentrated in the fields of healthcare, lodging and restaurant services (Hiebert, 1999). In addition, Filipino men are overrepresented in the manufacturing industry (Kelly, 2006). Nonetheless, even with the demand for migrant women in Canada's labour market, first generation Filipino men do earn more than their female counter parts, keeping in line with overall gendered earning patterns in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). The experiences of Filipino men in the labour market, however, still require more research to be fully understood (Kelly, 2006).

Filipino immigrants of both genders experience significant deprofessionalization in the Canadian labour market. Studies (e.g. Kelly 2010, Kelly et al. 2009; Pratt 1999, Pratt et al. 2008) show how professional Filipino immigrants are often

underemployed in Canada. This has been exacerbated by the practice of finding employment through social contacts, compounding the deprofessionalization of the Filipino community (Kelly, 2010). Some of the reasons for these trends of deprofessionalization include the lack of credential recognition, complex and expensive processes to enter regulated professions in Canada, and discrimination in the labour market against a "lack of Canadian experience". Some studies also point to discrimination in the labour market, where Filipino-Canadians have felt discriminated against in the workplace with regards to promotions, remuneration and new opportunities (Goldfarb Consultants, Toronto Star Limited, 1999; Kelly, Astorga-Garcia, Esguerra, & the Community Alliance for Social Justice, 2009). Moreover, the economic pressures that Filipino immigrants face, as they arrive with fewer savings than other ethnic groups (Toronto Immigrant Employment Data Initiative, 2009), often need to send money back to the Philippines to support extended family and work long hours in survival jobs, impedes the ability to upgrade credentials. A Toronto study showed that half of the study respondents arrived with less than $1000 in savings, intensifying the need to find work quickly (Goldfarb Consultants, Toronto Star Limited, 1999). In addition, the Live-in Caregiver Program has been charged as institutional deprofessionalization, as many participants have post-secondary education but are not allowed to work in their professions or upgrade their credentials while in the program (Pratt & the Philippine Women's Centre of B.C., 2008).

The history of Filipino migration to Canada has resulted in a certain demographic makeup of the Filipino-Canadian population. Some of these characteristics include a population in which women, caregivers and those employed in the medical field are overrepresented and a workforce that is heavily segmented (Hiebert, 1999; Kelly, 2006). As many Filipino immigrants have been through processes of deprofessionalization, their children grow up with fewer family connections to high paid professional employment. The history of Filipino

migration, its relation to Canada's immigration programs and the resulting geographical dispersal and economic challenges of the community all have a strong impact on the trajectories of the children of Filipino immigrants. These patterns of migration and settlement have resulted in specific challenges and benefits for the next generation as they negotiate their place in Canadian society.

3.3 Canada's Second Generation and the Children of Filipino Immigrants

Although challenges of deprofessionalization are experienced in particular ways in the Filipino community, other immigrant groups also struggle to find skill commensurate employment in the Canadian labour market (TIEDI 2012). Despite the limited economic outcomes of immigrants from all ethnic backgrounds, in general the children of immigrants born in Canada exceed their parents in terms of educational and economic outcomes (Abada, Hou, & Ram Bali, 2009; Picout & Hou, 2011; Statistics Canada, 2006). This is significant as 15.6 per cent of Canada's population over 15 years of age comprises of individuals who are considered to be second generation (Statistics Canada, 2006). Within these positive collective trends academics have pointed to factors which help and hinder such trajectories. High parental expectations and having two parents together have been linked to academic success (Picout & Hou, 2011) while starting high school late, changing schools or being in English as a Second Language classes has been linked to lower academic achievement among this population (Anisef, Brown, Sweet, & Walters, 2010). In addition, the age when the children of immigrants arrive in Canada or if they were born in the country is also a crucial factor. Abada and Lin's study of the children of immigrants in Ontario shows that 1.5 generation children were much less likely than the second generation individuals to complete university degrees[4] (2011).

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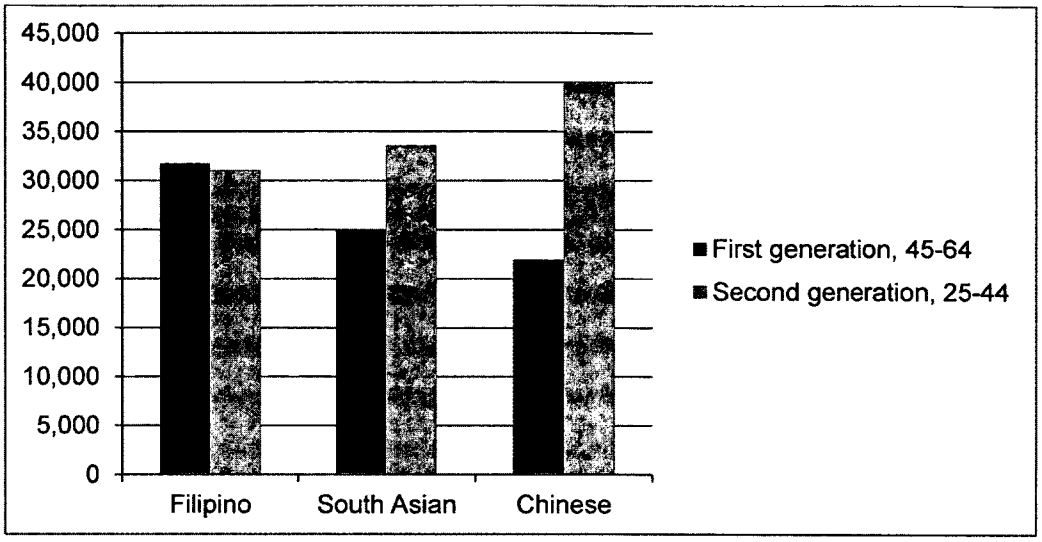
[4] Children who moved under 12 were 19 % less likely to get degrees, 2nd gen 11% more likely than the 2.5 generation (Abada & Lin, 2011, p. 14).

Not unlike the rest of the population, women of this population earn university degrees in higher numbers than men (Abada & Lin, 2011). Education and high earnings are not always linked however, as some populations with lower educational attainment such as the Portuguese and Dutch populations have not been marginalized economically. This could be due to these groups' longer histories in Canada and therefore increased social capital within the ethnic community or due to racism in Canadian society (Abada & Lin, 2011). Indeed, some scholars are skeptical of viewing the high university attendance of second generation visible minorities as a success, as it could also be a way labour market discrimination is being addressed.

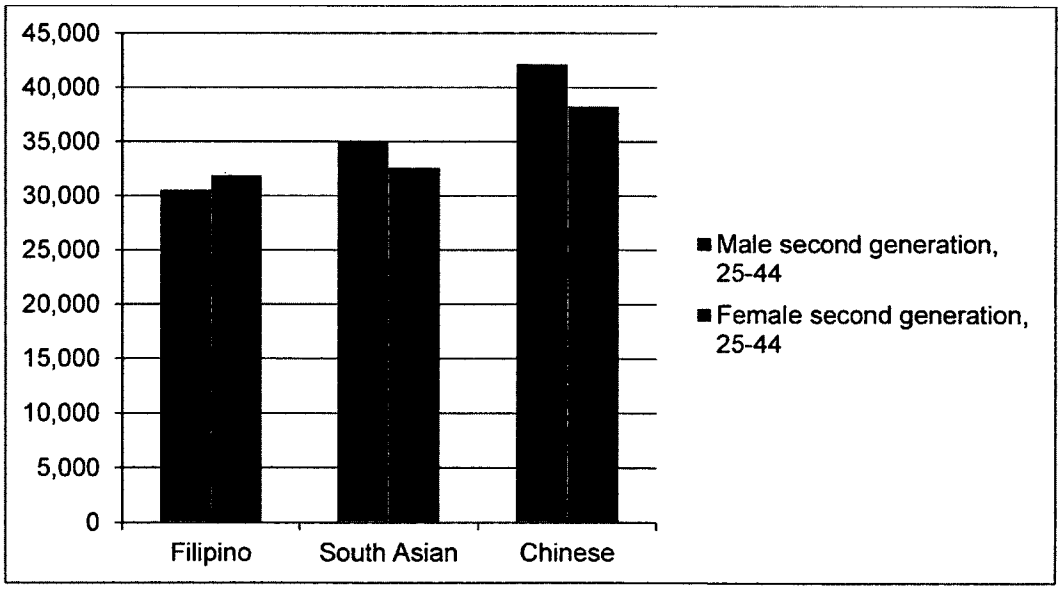
Despite the collective upward mobility of Canada's second generation, there are exceptions. With regards to education, Filipino and "Black" communities have lower educational outcomes than other immigrant groups (Abada & Lin, 2011). In addition to these anomalous collective ethnic outcomes, the Filipino second generation had one of the highest rates of fathers' education, a finding that contradicts assumed patterns of intergenerational transmission of human capital (Abada, Hou, & Ram Bali, 2009). Also unusual is the fact that women of this population earn more than their male counterparts (Statistics Canada, 2006). This counters labour market trends in other ethnic groups and Canada as a whole. Below, Table 2 and Table 3 compare the educational and economic outcomes of the Filipino first and second generation in comparison with other ethnic groups. Chinese and South Asian populations were chosen as comparisons as they also face racial discrimination in the Canadian labour market and have are also relatively recent immigrant groups. Data is taken from the 2006 census (Statistics Canada, 2006).

Table 2: Intergenerational Employment Income Among Filipino, South Asian and Chinese Visible Minority Groups in Canada



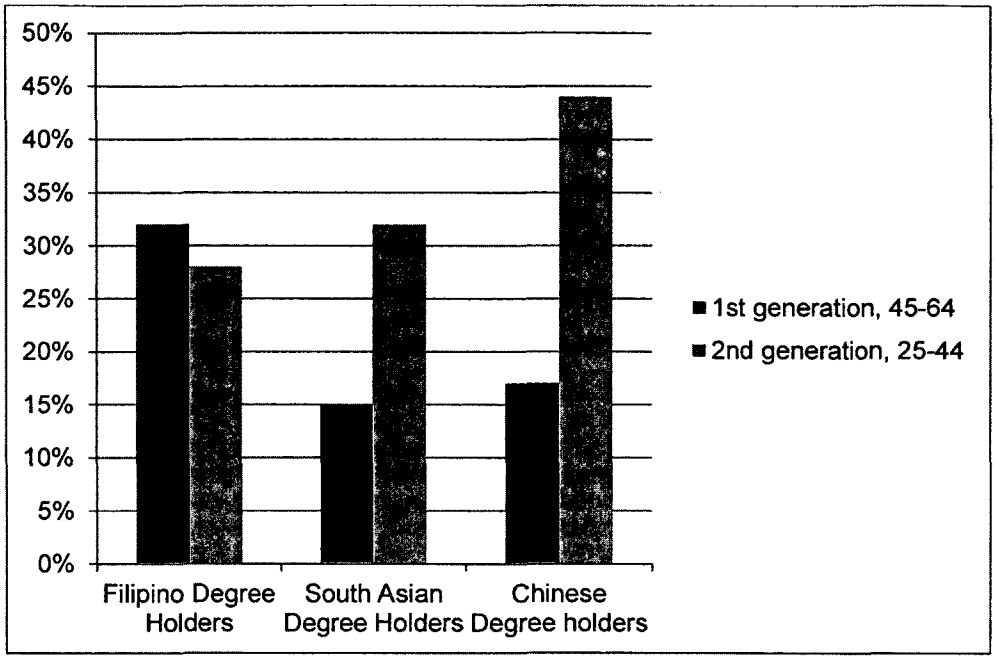
Data source: Statistics Canada, 2006.

Table 3: Second Generation Employment Income Among Filipino, South Asian and Chinese Visible Minority Groups by Gender in Canada



Data source: Statistics Canada, 2006.

Table 4: Intergenerational Bachelor Degree Holdership Among Filipino, South Asian and Chinese Visible Minority Groups in Canada



Data Source: Statistics Canada, 2006.

Some scholars have pointed to gendered experiences of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Americans. Although these studies cannot explain Canadian statistical patterns, these qualitative studies in the North American context are still important to take into consideration when understanding gender differences amongst this population. Firstly, some scholars (e.g. Espiritu 2003, Maramba 2008, Wolf 2002) have found that Filipino-American women have more significant family responsibilities than men, which must often be combined with post-secondary education or paid employment. Secondly, some studies (e.g. Espiritu, 2003; Wolf, 2002) remark on the high parental surveillance and the strong emphasis from family on sexual chastity for girls in Filipino-American families. In these studies, the sons of Filipino immigrants, in contrast to daughters, were generally given more freedom, had fewer responsibilities and

their sexuality was not scrutinized. Wolf also remarks on the mental health challenges faced by young Filipino-Americans, who feel pressured to fit into two different cultures. She comments that much stress is caused by family expectations and the cultural norms of not speaking about problems exacerbate this distress. Wolf's study notes that the young women in her sample experienced mental health challenges more often than men and that the oldest daughter in a family was particularly vulnerable to suicide ideation (Wolf, 2002). Canadian scholarship has been more limited in looking at gendered experiences, an absence that this study seeks to address.

Although there is significant research on the Filipino 1.5 and second generation in the American context, literature explaining these trends in the Canadian context has been more limited. Nonetheless, some trends have been identified. For example, the children of immigrants arriving through the Live-in Caregiver Program have been well documented. Geraldine Pratt has explored the difficulties the children of caregivers face after being reunited with their mothers after years of separation (Pratt, 2010). 1.5 generation children of caregivers are often cared for by other family members in the Philippines while their mothers fulfill the requirements of the Live-in Caregiver Program and endure wait periods during the child's sponsorship. Due to this separation, the children become attached to other family members creating conflict upon reunification (Pratt, 2010). Pratt also points to data collected by the British Columbia Ministry of Education that shows children who speak Tagalog, the main language of the Philippines, have low grade-point averages, are unlikely to be on the honour role and had high drop-out rates (Pratt & the Philippine Women's Centre of B.C., 2008). This data was taken from a Vancouver context and is not specific to all children of caregivers or other Filipinos (many of whom speak English or another Filipino dialect at home).

Both the children of caregivers and other second generation Filipino-Canadian youth also face struggles regarding their identity. As Filipino-Canadian youth are often discriminated against in Canadian society, yet do not identify with the Philippines as their parents do, they are left to negotiate a hyphenated identity. Filipino-Canadians are racialized in Canadian society and youth often face discrimination at school (Pratt, 2004). One of the times when this racism was most evident was in 1999 when twenty-five Filipino-Canadian students were removed from a Vancouver school, Vancouver Technical Secondary School, after a fight with Caucasian students. During this period there were many allegations of racism at the school (Pablo, Smith, & Wooley, Education Activism in B.C, 2008; Amsden, 1999). Youth have also faced racialized violence outside of school, with the murders of several young men. Some examples include the killings which have been viewed as racially motivated of Mao Jomar Lanot in Vancouver in 2003 and Jeffrey Reodica in Toronto in 2004 among others (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2003; Garcia, 2007). Gendered discrimination is also present with Filipino-Canadian women being sexualized in Canadian society and the stereotype of all Filipinos being nannies perpetuated (Pratt, 2004). In addition, the school curriculums and teachers cover a colonial history and do not recognize the transnational lives of young Filipino-Canadians (Austria, 2008).

Nonetheless, many 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian youth are in a more fortunate position. Mendoza's study of Filipino-Canadian students at the University of British Columbia indicates that many students at the institution come from economically stable backgrounds and their parents rarely enter Canada through the Live-In Caregiver program. Despite these advantages, she remarks on their unusual position as privileged minorities within the Filipino community but also minorities in their post-secondary institution, as Filipino students were largely underrepresented at the University. This study also notes how Filipino students are often positioned as "not as smart" as other Asian

groups who are represented in much larger numbers at the University. Many scholars (e.g. (Fernandez-Kelly, 2008; Maramba, 2008) have remarked on the need for role models to demonstrate the positive effects of post-secondary education and to spread the expertise on application processes. A lack of role models can limit exposure to post-secondary education and limit aspirations of youth. Mendoza mentioned how a group of Filipino-Canadian university students at the University of British Columbia have formed a formal mentorship program with local schools with high Filipino populations (Mendoza, 2012). Farrales (2011) also remarks on the need for role models as she describes how the children of Filipino immigrants she studied often asked her for information about going to university which they did not otherwise have access to.

As Mendoza's study notes, educational spaces can accentuate feelings of alienation and difference. Farrales' 2011 study of Filipino high school students in Vancouver also highlights this point. The Filipino-Canadian adolescents in her study depict a divided social structure in Canadian high schools. In particular, the students note that they are often looked down upon by school officials and other students. Many participants in the study were shocked by the differences between themselves and the second generation Filipino-Canadians, whom they felt were unwelcoming and had little in common with the more recently arrived youth (Farrales, 2011).

This situation in the high school social structure is indicative of larger divisions within the Filipino community in Vancouver; these divisions are due to several factors. Firstly, timing of a family's immigration is significant. As Canada's immigration policies have shifted and there have been changes in Filipino migration patterns, Filipino families who arrived in earlier decades had very different experiences in the Canadian society and economy than do more recent immigrant families. Changes in credential recognition and the structure of immigration programs such as the Live-in Caregiver Program have meant recent

immigrants face very different, and often more severe, challenges. However, there are significant differences between youth who have arrived just a few years, not decades, apart.

Other divisions within the community are due to class position in the Philippines. For example, members of the higher classes can usually migrate to Canada as economic immigrants while those in the middle or working class may have to arrive as caregivers thus accentuating their deskilling process in Canada. Political affiliations, regional differences and alumni groups also mark divisions within the Filipino community. Political positions regarding Canada's immigration programs are also divisive, with much political mobilization on both sides. One of the most divisive issues is the Live-in Caregiver Program. Although many see this program as a way to facilitate the entry of co-ethnics and family, others point to the negative effects of the program as a reason why it should be eliminated. The Filipino community in Vancouver is growing and becoming more involved in civil society and the last municipal election saw several Filipino-Canadian candidates running on both the conservative and liberal sides (Pablo, 2011).

The heterogeneous nature of the Filipino community and that of other ethnic groups is important to remember when looking at broad trends. In Canada, the collective outcomes of the second generation have been very positive, nonetheless, there are great differences between and within ethnic groups. For example, the Filipino second generation, while encompassing a great diversity of experiences, have collectively experienced lower educational and economic outcomes than most other groups. As previously described, the history and patterns of Filipino migration could be a partial cause of these unusual trends. In addition, some scholars have pointed to challenges the children of Filipino immigrants face in Canada such as family separation due to the Live-in Caregiver program, discrimination, negotiating a hyphenated identity, a lack of role models and a divided community. These challenges, though not

experienced by all children of Filipino immigrants, mean that educational and career pathways are negotiated differently than they are with other ethnic groups and the children of Canadian born parents.

3.4 Vancouver's Economy, Infrastructure and Position as an Immigrant City

Vancouver, much like Toronto and to a lesser extent Montreal and Calgary, has served as a major gateway city for immigrants to Canada over the past decades. Within British Columbia, Vancouver has a much larger immigrant population than the other small and mid-size towns in the province. Some reasons for Vancouver's popularity in contrast to other cities in the province include family ties, a pre-existing ethnic community, and its large size (Hyndmann & Schuurmann, 2004). Vancouver has immigrant demographics that are distinct from Canada's other gateway cities. For example, while many refugees have settled in Toronto, relatively few settle in Vancouver (Ley, 1999). In addition, Vancouver receives a high number of business class immigrants and received the highest proportion of Asian immigrants in comparison with other Canadian cities (Hiebert, 2000).

Although Vancouver is one of the most popular destinations for immigrants to settle in Canada, and has the highest immigration rates of any city in British Columbia, immigrants moving to the city face particular challenges. Wages for immigrants in Vancouver are lower than for those in smaller cities in the province. One poignant example is that immigrant women in Victoria earn $4000 more per year than those in Vancouver[5] (Bauder, 2003). In addition, Vancouver's immigrant labour market is also very racialized and ethnically segmented. Hiebert notes that only men and women of European background were dispersed throughout the labour market while racialized immigrant groups are concentrated

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[5] Data is in reference to recent immigrants in 1996.

in certain fields. For example, using census data, he notes the overrepresentation of Vietnamese women in manufacturing, Indo-Canadian women in farming, Filipina women in health care and Indo-Canadian men in taxi driving and machining. However, Hiebert remarks that the children of these immigrants often have distinct labour market outcomes from their parents (Hiebert, 1999).

Vancouver's high proportion of Asian immigrants is a reflection of the area's geographic proximity to Asia as well as its historic and current ties to the continent. Chinese workers comprised many of the first non-European immigrant groups to the area. Many Chinese workers contributed to the Canadian Pacific Railway and resource sectors. Japanese immigrants were also early non-European immigrants to the area, many of them working in the fishery industry. Nonetheless, Asian migrants in Vancouver and other parts of British Columbia have historically faced discrimination. The Japanese World War Two era internment and the Chinese head tax are significant, although not exhaustive examples (McGillivray, 2000). In recent decades, Vancouver has had many business ties with Asia. These ties have been fostered by Asian property development, most notably through the trans-pacific purchase of property from Hong Kong (Olds, 1996) and because much of the city's economy has been based on exports to Asia (and the United States). This contrasted with Canada's main gateway city, Toronto, which had for decades a strong manufacturing industry prior to free trade agreements and therefore a less internationalized economy (Ley & Tutchener, 2001). Due to the city's economic ties with Asia, Vancouver is now considered a world city of the Asia Pacific region. Vancouver's economy is affected by economic patterns in Asia, and the economic downturn or "Asian flu" was strongly felt in Vancouver in the late 1990s (McGillivray, 2000). The 1990s also marked a sharp increase in immigration from Hong Kong as the region was returned to China. Many of these migrants arrived under business or entrepreneurial immigrant classes and benefitted Vancouver's economy. These

connections with Asia are represented in the Asia Pacific orientation of many of Vancouver's secondary and tertiary institutions with the student population, exchange programs, curriculum and research reflecting this focus. Examples of this include the delivery of Asian language classes in some high schools and post-secondary exchange programs for students and professionals (Hutton, 1998). Nonetheless, it should be noted that connections to Asia have been greatly concentrated on East Asia, with China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Japan being significantly represented. Other areas of the Asian continent, including the Philippines, have also had significant ties in terms of migration patterns, but these connections are not represented in business or educational programs to the same extent as other areas. For example, despite the large number of Filipinos in Vancouver, Filipino language classes are sparse and the number of Filipino businesses in the city is relatively limited.

The presence of the Filipino community in Vancouver's business, political and social fabric has been underrepresented historically, given its size as the third largest visible minority group in the city. In comparison to the prominent business and political leaders of the Chinese community and the plethora of civil society groups belonging to other ethnic minorities in the city, the Filipino community has not been represented in the broader Vancouver community to as much as it should. Recently, however, there have been positive political developments, with the second generation Filipino-Canadian MLA Mable Elmore being elected in 2009 in the area of Vancouver- Kensington. The recent 2011 municipal elections also saw a number of Filipino-Canadian candidates running for various municipal positions (however, none were elected) while in Richmond a Filipino-Canadian, Rod Belleza, was (re)elected for another term with the school board (Pablo, 2011). With respect to business, one of the most prominent leaders is Rey Fortaleza, a former Olympic Boxer who runs a media group. The Multicultural Helping House, formerly the Filipino Canadian Support Services Society is the main settlement agency serving the Filipino newcomers and live-in

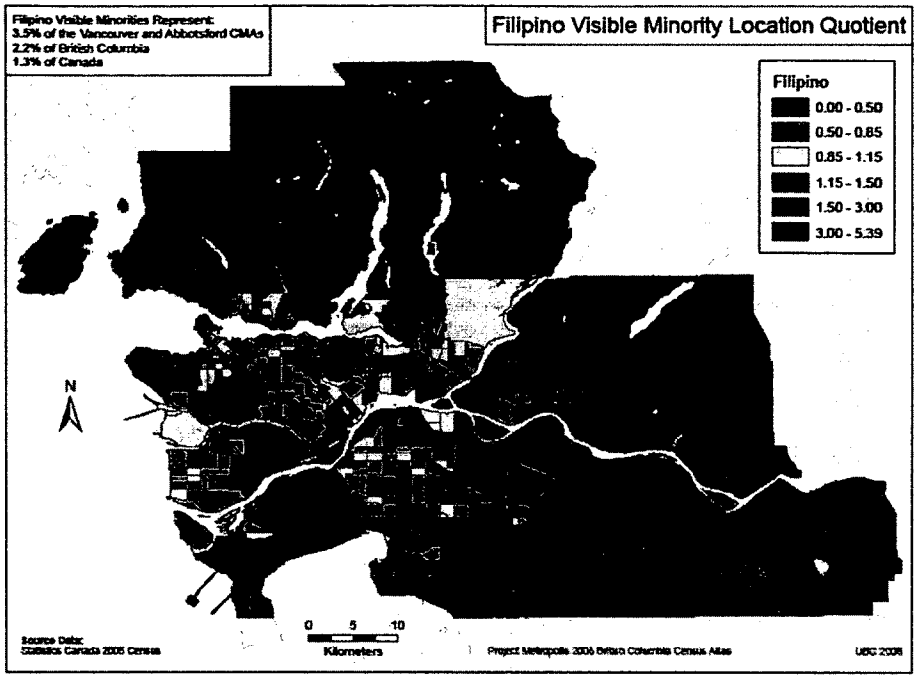
caregivers. Another prominent not-for-profit organization in the city is the Philippine Women's Centre, an advocacy group and support centre which operates the Kalayaan Centre in Vancouver's downtown eastside. The centre also has youth groups, nurses' advocacy groups and domestic workers groups. The organization has produced various research reports and have been strongly advocating for the closure of the Live-in Caregiver Program. Although there are smaller student, professional, alumni and regional Filipino-Canadian associations in the city, the Multicultural Helping House and the Philippine Women's centre have the highest profile and physical presence. Although the emerging presence of more Filipino-Canadian leaders in politics and other sectors is promising, in general, the Filipino community is underrepresented in many aspects of Vancouver life, a troubling situation for such a large community.

After Toronto, Vancouver's census metropolitan areas has the second highest number of Filipino-Canadians with 78,890 people self-identifying as a Filipino visible minority in the 2006 census, versus 171,985 in Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2006). Vancouver's Filipino population is geographically dispersed across the urban region, with slightly higher concentrations in the areas of East Vancouver, New Westminster, Richmond and Surrey as shown in Figure 1. Nonetheless, these regions have very different socio-economic structures and class characteristics, with Richmond being one of the w ealthiest areas and East Vancouver being a traditionally working class, although gentrifying area. The high representation in the suburbs is in line with overall immigrant settlement patterns. For example, in recent decades there has been a concentration of immigrant settlement (of all ethnicities) to the suburbs with two thirds of immigrants settling outside of the central city (Hiebert, 2000). The geographic dispersal of Filipino-Canadians also contrasts with the concentration of other groups such as Chinese-Canadians in Richmond, Iranians in North Vancouver and Indo-Canadians in Surrey. Hiebert has notes the geographic dispersal of Filipinos throughout the urban region and how this dispersal is unusual amongst

visible minority groups (Hiebert, 2000). He also notes how other ethnic groups such as the Vietnamese and Latin Americans, who are represented in smaller numbers, have a more visible presence in Vancouver with areas where ethnic businesses are represented to a greater extent (Hiebert, 2000).

The spatial dispersal of the Filipino community in the city has various consequences. Firstly, it creates challenges for settlement service providers trying to reach out to Filipino newcomers (Hiebert, 2000). Similarly, it means that social gatherings and community events are spread out throughout the region, without a central gathering point. The geographic distribution across the city is also a reflection of the socio-economic variation throughout the community as some neighbourhoods are more affordable than others. One group who do not reflect the socio-economic demographics in their neighbourhoods, however are live-in caregivers, who are highly represented in wealthy areas, due to the "live in" component of the program. Finally, the spatial dispersal of the community can also make political mobilization difficult as most areas lack the demographic concentrations to elect Filipino political leaders to represent them. The election of the Filipino-Canadian MLA Mabel Elmore in a neighbourhood with a large Filipino populations is one of the few exceptions. Below, Figure 1 outlines the dispersal of the Filipino-Canadian population in Vancouver and the surrounding areas. The location quotient in the map indicates the over or underrepresentation of a group in relation to their representation in the unit as a whole. In this case, the location quotient is relative to the 3.5% of the Vancouver area population which Filipino visible minorities represent. The map below shows an underrepresentation of individuals who identify as "Filipino" according to the census in the wealthy areas of west, north and downtown Vancouver and an overrepresentation in central and east Vancouver as well as the suburbs.

Figure 1: Vancouver Area Filipino Visible Minority Location Quotient.



(Hiebert & Coyle, 2006)

One of the challenges for many immigrants to Vancouver is the lack of affordable housing. Vancouver's real estate market is among the most expensive in Canada and has very low rental vacancy rates (Hiebert, Mendez, & Wyly, 2008). Prices in the area increased substantially in the late 1980s in part due to the increased numbers of immigrants arriving and the implementation of neoliberal policies. The housing struggles of many newcomers in the area contrasts with a minority of extremely wealthy homeowners whose income is derived overseas rather than through Canadian labour market participation (Ley & Tutchener, 2001). The purchase of highly priced houses and other developments by immigrants and non-citizens from Hong Kong, China and Taiwan has been

widely publicized and contrasts with the experiences of many other immigrant groups. Due to Vancouver's large proportion of economic and business class immigrants, however, the majority of newcomers do progress in their housing career throughout their time in Canada (Hiebert, Mendez, & Wyly, 2008).

Despite high housing prices, Vancouver is still a popular immigrant destination in part due to its strong educational infrastructure, which is more developed than other cities in the province. At the grade school level there is a secular public system with a standard curriculum and prescribed learning outcomes for each grade level (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2012). There are also independent schools which comprises of religious schools, some special needs schools and alternative teaching methodologies such as Montessori and Waldorf curriculums. There is no religious public school board in British Columbia. Although independent schools receive some government funding, they are all fee paying with tuition costs varying widely (Federation of Independent School Association, 2012). With regards to the educational infrastructure of post-secondary institutions in British Columbia, Vancouver has many well established universities and colleges with some of the most prominent being the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University, Kwantlen University, Vancouver Community College, Douglas College and the British Columbia Institute of Technology. In addition, there are many specialized colleges with strong reputations such as the Vancouver Film School and Emily Carr University of Art and Design. This concentration of post-secondary institutions contrasts with the rest of British Columbia, were such institutions, especially those accredited as Universities has historically been scarce[6].

Vancouver's history as an immigrant gateway city, the structure of its economy, the difficult housing market and the numerous educational institutions provide a

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[6] In recent years many colleges in British Columbia have become accredited as universities however, this is a relatively new development.

unique context for young Filipino-Canadians. The city's ties with Asia and the presence of many Asian ethnic groups is strong, with the representation of the Filipino community being limited in comparison. The economy of Vancouver, which is largely information and service based and has a gendered and racialized labour market, means that some opportunities are and are not available to Filipino-Canadians. The Vancouver context also means that only certain industries are career options for young Filipino-Canadians, that they must navigate high housing prices and also that they must compete in the labour market with the children of other immigrants groups, many of whom are wealthier and better positioned to contribute to Vancouver's (East) Asian centered business endeavours.

3.5 Conclusion

The history of the Philippines and of Filipino migration to Canada, has resulted in a specific economic, geographical and cultural context for 1.5 and 2nd generation Filipino-Canadians. The varied migration pathways of Filipino immigrants, including their immigration class, destination, and time of migration creates a diverse Filipino community in Canada. Despite this diversity, deprofessionalization has been identified as a significant challenge for Filipino immigrants to Canada. In addition, workers in the Live-in Caregiver Program and their families also have specific challenges such as underemployment and family separation. The situation of first generation Filipino immigrants is inevitably linked to the experiences of their second generation children as well, who as a collective do not exhibit the same economic upward mobility as the second generation cohorts of other immigrant groups. Although some research has been completed on issues affecting second generation Filipino-Canadians, including a focus on the challenges of the children of caregivers and the educational experiences of this population, more research is needed.

The study takes into account these wider trends within the context of the Vancouver area. Vancouver is a significant gateway city for immigrants to Canada, however has distinct immigration patterns from the country's larger gateway city, Toronto. Vancouver is unique in its strong ties to Asia, both economically and in terms of its immigrant population, and receives a higher percentage of economic and business class immigrants than Toronto. The city is marked by an expensive housing market, a variety of post-secondary institutions and an information and service based economy. Young 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians navigate their educational and employment trajectories in this Vancouver specific context, as well as within the social and economic patterns of the Filipino community in the area.

4 The Research Process: Finding Stories, Finding Meaning and Finding Myself

4.1 Introduction

In order to understand the larger trends represented in the statistical data, I chose to use a qualitative methodology in order to better understand the lived experiences of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians. This process involved the recruitment of participants, numerous interviews and the analysis of the data. The research process proved to have many unexpected challenges and rewards. It also made me increasingly aware of my own experiences and positionality as I learned about the diverse life stories of so many participants.

The chapter will begin with some background information on the methodology adopted and methods that were used. These include qualitative methodology, including semi-structured interview methods and the life history approach. A reflection on the ethical considerations and steps taken to ensure minimal risk to participants will also be included. Afterwards, I will explain the research design and the changes that were necessary due to participant recruitment challenges. I will then reflect on the personal journey of completing fieldwork, including my involvement with the Filipino-Canadian community and an examination of my positionality within this process. Some of the most pronounced differences between interviews with men and women in terms of the interview dynamics and the way participants framed their experiences will also be examined. Finally, I will discuss how I interpreted the data gathered and found meaning from a disparate set of life stories.

4.2 Research Methodology

I chose to use qualitative methodology for several reasons. Firstly, quantitative information regarding earnings and educational attainment for this population was already available, although slightly dated, through Statistics Canada's 2006 census information (Statistics Canada, 2006). What I hoped to gain from my research was information about life stories that would explain the statistical information already available. I hoped to learn what had happened in an individual's life that facilitated certain pathways and not others, either out of choice or due to the options available (or not available) to them. I felt that the only way to achieve my research goals was through listening to the experiences of the study participants.

In addition, although I had completed a literature review on the topic, I wanted to allow room for unexpected findings. Qualitative research methods are "open ended and unpredictable" (Padgett, 2008), thus allowing room for unanticipated issues to be raised (Silverman, 1993). In addition, qualitative research methods are appropriate for researching subjects which involve emotional depth and for researching the 'black box' of family (Padgett, 2008); aspects I wanted to include in my research. Lastly, qualitative methodology also privileges the lived experiences of individuals, with the intention of finding meaning from these experiences (Padgett, 2008), an approach which complemented my research goals.

Within qualitative methodology, I chose to use the technique of semi-structured interviews. This technique has been described as "a conversation with a purpose" (Eyles, 1998). I like this analogy as it refers to participants as people with whom social relationships, including conversations, are cultivated, rather than treating participants simply as vessels of information (England, 1994). I also believe that research techniques that resemble participants' everyday

interactions, such as conversations, are more respectful and less intrusive. In addition, the information gained from an interview is much richer than that acquired through survey methods, and allows the researcher to gain a much more complex understanding of the issue (Silverman, 1993). Information given through interviewing techniques tends to be more detailed than that acquired through other techniques and is often multilayered (Burgess, 1984). As contradictions inevitably emerge during the research process, having detailed, personalized data from interviews is useful in order to analyze the many nuances of a topic.

As I began my interviews, I realized that the direction of the semi-structured interviews was very similar to the 'life history approach'. This approach is used to see how individual stories explain "larger social trends and how these were experienced at the individual level can be explored" (Ronquillo, Boschma, Wong, & Quiney, 2011, p. 264 in reference to Boschma, Scaia, Bonifacio, & Roberts, 2008), which is exactly what I was trying to do. It also privileges the lives of ordinary people rather than elites (Boschma, Scaia, Bonifacio, & Roberts, 2008) and emphasizes the role of the participant (George & Statford, 2005). A large portion of the interviews revolved around participants' experiences in high school and their employment and education histories. Although other topics were covered, a significant portion the interviews focused on the life history of participants.

The choice of qualitative methodology including semi-structured interview methods and the life history approach reflects the objectives of the research study. The strengths of the methods chosen are their ability to investigate intimate personal experiences. These personal experiences can serve to explain larger trends in the community and broad statistical patterns.

4.3 Ethics

In order to ensure that my research practices were ethical I followed a number of procedures, both bureaucratic and personal. With regards to mandatory bureaucratic procedure, my research proposal, a sample letter of informed consent and ethics forms were submitted to the York University Research Ethics department where the study was approved. The proposal included an outline of the anticipated study methods and forms covered foreseeable risks to participants among other topics. This process was due to the fact that humans were involved in the study and all risks needed to be mitigated.

I also took several optional steps to ensure that the study was conducted ethically. For example, when I met with research participants I explained to them the nature of the study, and that they were free to decline to answer any questions or stop participating in the interview at any time. In order to show appreciation to research participants, I gave them honoraria of a ten dollar gift card to Shopper's Drug Mart. I thought that this would be a good token of appreciation but was not valuable enough to entice otherwise unwilling participants. Since Shopper's Drug Mart has basic necessities as well as more expensive merchandise, I thought this honorarium would be appropriate for individuals coming from a variety of backgrounds. I gave participants the honorarium at the beginning of the interview and let them know that they could keep it even if they decided to discontinue the interview. Through these measures I hoped that the participants would feel comfortable participating in the interview or withdrawing if they felt uncomfortable.

One ethical concern that arose was when I interviewed individuals who knew each other. This happened quite often due to the use of the snowball technique. In these situations, I ensured them of strict confidentiality and of not divulging any information from other interviews to interviewees. However, it was inevitable that

the individual who had connected us would come up during conversation, as this was something we, as strangers, shared in common. In these situations, I assessed which characteristics about the individual could be considered 'public'. For example, a participant's job and where they had attended post-secondary education I understood to be common knowledge. However, information such as opinions, family relationships and aspirations were kept confidential.

When I interviewed family members of individuals I had interviewed, such as parents or siblings, I was especially careful not to divulge intimate information as family relationships are particularly sensitive. Again, I referred to 'public' information such as a person's job or education when appropriate, but not more nuanced details. In these situations it was more difficult to maintain confidentiality than with referrals of friends, because at times narratives of family histories conflicted, much to my surprise. In cases where the information was inconsistent between family members, I tried to maintain a neutral composure so that my emotions of surprise or confusion did not reveal what the other family member had divulged. Although a challenge, I was able to keep personal information about participants or mutual acquaintances private.

Besides the steps I took to maintain confidentiality and ensure participants' comfort, a major ethical consideration was whether, as a white, university educated woman, it was appropriate to study individuals who could be considered 'others'. This is an especially potent dilemma due to the history of colonialism in the Philippines, where I could be seen to represent a privileged, oppressive group. In academia, there is no consensus on whether researching 'others' is appropriate or not, and I chose to use my own judgment and proceed in a reflexive manner with my research. My position as an outsider and a relatively privileged individual will be analyzed later in the chapter.

Although proceeding with my fieldwork ethically presented challenges, the most delicate considerations came upon writing the study results, rather than during

the data collection process. Describing individuals' journeys while still maintaining their confidentiality was a difficult endeavor, one which I hope I have achieved. Since many participants knew each other and the Filipino-Canadian community in Vancouver is relatively small, there was the risk that participants' identities could be discovered. I have tried to include enough information so that the reader can understand the context, yet refrain from including defining characteristics. In addition, I wanted to allow voices of all the participants to be represented in the thesis. However, this was difficult because some interviews were easier to quote than others, and some subjects were not broached in the same amount of detail in all interviews. Giving voice to the research participants and not misconstruing their opinions was a constant challenge in writing the study results. Again, these ethical research dilemmas do not have clear cut answers, but I have attempted to present the findings and preserve anonymity in good faith.

There are many ethical dilemmas when conducting research, particularly when human beings are involved. In order to conduct my research in the most ethical way possible, I adhered to the official ethics requirements of my university, ensured that participants were comfortable and well informed of the study's objective, was reflexive of my position of privilege and presented the research findings with care. These measures were the best way I could see to proceed, given the difficult dynamics of qualitative research.

4.4 Initial Research Design

My research design was created in order to address the research questions in the best possible way. However, due to feasibility concerns the design evolved in order to address the research objectives despite recruitment difficulties.

The initial research design included interviewing second generation Filipino-Canadian men and women within the same family, aged 25 to 44, who had a university degree and lived in the Vancouver area. I hoped to meet with these siblings separately as well as at least one of their parents. The reason I planned to interview second generation Filipino-Canadians of this age group was to make my research directly comparable to the age categories used in the Canadian census. Having a minimum age of 25 would also ensure that individuals had had enough time to pursue and finish a university degree had they chosen to follow that pathway. The upper limit of 44 was determined by the timing of Filipino migration to Canada, which, being relatively recent, means that there are very few second generation Filipino-Canadians above that age.

I chose to focus on university educated individuals in order to approach the research from a positive angle. I was concerned that by concentrating on individuals with low educational achievements I would risk pathologizing the community. In addition, having research participants with post-secondary education would minimize the differences between the subjects and me, allowing me to relate more easily to them. Other reasons I chose to interview educated individuals is because they usually enter a different labour market than individuals without post-secondary and thus I thought it would be difficult to analyze the data if I interviewed both groups. Finally, the gendered differences in earnings were most pronounced among university educated second generation Filipino-Canadians, a key theme of the study.

I wanted to interview various members of the family in order to give me a more nuanced view of the family dynamics and gender differences. This approach would also control for issues such as socio-economic status and neighbourhood, and allow for opinions beyond an individual's self-assessment. I also intended to interview high school counselors and university career services staff to gain their insight on trends they had noticed among the target population. Interviewing

these professionals would also be a way to see if individuals' pathways were influenced by streaming practices or racism by school officials.

Vancouver was chosen as a research site for various reasons. Firstly, gendered earning differences amongst educated second generation Filipino-Canadians were especially pronounced in Vancouver in comparison to other cities. Secondly, as I am from the area and had lived in the city for several years I was familiar with the city. Having knowledge of the city's geography, social services and landmarks made the fieldwork process easier.

Interviewing university educated second generation Filipino-Canadians aged 25-44, their families, high school counselors, and university career services staff was chosen as the intended research method for the study. As described, this approach would allow for the research questions to be addressed in a holistic manner.

4.5 Amendments to the Research Design

Although I still believe that the intended research design would have been an effective research design, once I began my fieldwork it needed to be altered due to the availability of willing participants. Although I had some contacts in the Filipino-Canadian community, recruiting individual participants, let alone entire families, proved to be a slow process. In addition, I had to consider time constraints, as I had limited time in Vancouver and completed my field work over 9 weeks from mid-June to late August 2011.

My recruitment efforts included asking family and friend networks for referrals, advertising at churches, contacting community centres and Filipino organizations, recruiting individuals through Facebook groups, getting referrals from a Toronto based Filipino cultural organization, recruiting at a festival and asking for referrals from my supervisor's contacts.

One of my supervisor's contacts was involved with the University of British Columbia's Kababayan Filipino Students' Association. She proved to be very instrumental in connecting me to five members or former members of the group, many of whom then provided other referrals. I was also able to recruit one to two participants from each of the other methods, some of whom also provided referrals. This snowball technique was useful for both the recruitment of participants and in order to ensure that a level of trust was established. I was no longer a stranger to these individuals and people I had not met trusted their friend's decision to put them in contact with me. Also, because the snowball technique started from several different sources, my sample was not overly skewed to represent one insular social group.

Since recruiting participants was a more difficult process than I anticipated, I decided it was necessary to relax the criteria for research participants. Therefore, I changed the criteria to include 1.5 as well as second generation Filipino-Canadians, individuals who had completed at least one year of post-secondary (although not necessarily a university degree), and individuals rather than entire families. In addition, I included individuals aged 22 and above, rather than adhering to a minimum age of 25.

These amendments changed the composition of the data but still allowed me to address my research questions. Including 1.5 generation Filipino-Canadians meant that there was more of a variety of experiences represented, while all participants had at least experienced their teenage years in Canada. Including 1.5 generation Filipino-Canadians meant that these individuals had been exposed to the Philippines for a longer time than second generation individuals. However, although they had spent a longer period of time in the Philippines, their connection to the country was not always stronger than second generation Filipino-Canadians. I also found that many 1.5 generation Filipino-Canadians related to second generation individuals and vice-versa, therefore narrowing the

gulf between the experiences. Reducing the educational requirements from a university degree to some post-secondary also expanded the range of experiences. This change allowed individuals from a larger variety of socio-economic backgrounds to participate and included career trajectories for which education, but not necessarily a university degree, was required. Lowering the minimum age from 25 to 22 had very little impact, as participants had already completed some post-secondary and very few participants represented the youngest end of the age range.

Interviewing individuals rather than entire families was the greatest change to the research design. By only interviewing individuals, I heard one person's self-reflection about their educational and career trajectories, rather than also having external perspectives. As one does not always have an accurate perception of why their life evolves the way it does, I needed to look at individuals' narratives critically while still respecting participants' authority. Nevertheless, family members are not impartial observers either, and interviewing an entire family would not necessarily have provided a reliable narrative either. Changing the research design to include individuals also had advantages. It was easier to recruit a larger number of individuals than families and to document a wider variety of experiences. In addition, interviewing individuals allowed me to include research participants whose families did not live in the area or were uncomfortable participating in a research study.

Through recruitment techniques and the relaxation of my criteria I was able to interview twenty-six 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians over the nine weeks I was in Vancouver. These interviews represented a variety of different types of experiences, but due to the nature of qualitative research, were not a representative sample. Interviewing twenty-six individuals allowed me to address my research question through a variety of experiences. In addition, the gender distribution among the interviews was almost even. Although each interview was

unique, a few patterns started to emerge in relation to their parents' occupations and entry to Canada. For example, many children of nurses were well supported and often attended private school, while parents in other professions experienced more instability. Due to the emergence of these patterns, I felt that my twenty-six interviews were sufficient in providing information answering my research questions.

Below, table 5 shows some basic information regarding the research participants:

Table 5: Characteristics of Participants

#	Name	Age (22-25, 26-29, 30-35)	Highest level of Education	Field of Employment	Mother's most recent occupation in Canada	Father's most recent occupation in Canada
1	Arlene	30-35	Bachelor's Degree	Entrepreneur/ Arts - FT	Cleaning	Draftsman
2	Angela	30-35	Bachelor's Degree	Education - PT	Nursing	Contractor
3	Qara	22-25	Bachelor's Degree	Education/Arts - PT	Admin & Healthcare support	Janitorial
4	Mildred*	22-25	Bachelor's Degree	Administration – PTx3	Housewife	Business
5	Christina*	22-25	Bachelor's Degree	Fast Food & Childcare – PTx2	Education	Non-profit
6	Clarice	30-35	Master's Degree	Information Technology/ Entrepreneurship - PT	Nursing	Accounting
7	Mila	30-35	Bachelor's Degree	Human Resources - FT	Nursing	Factory
8	Catherine*	22-25	Bachelor's Degree	Accounting, administration - PTx3	Accounting	Machinist
9	Mary	30-35	Bachelor's Degree	Acting & Nursing – PTx2	Healthcare support	Maintenance

10	Raquel*	26-29	Diploma	Childcare – FT	Business owner	Not employed in Canada
11	Mabel	26-29	Diploma	Entrepreneur/arts – FT	Housekeeping/ airline support	Housekeeping/ airline support
12	Janine (Jay's sister)	26-29	Diploma	Admin – FT	Nursing	Janitor
13	Jay (Janine's brother)	30-35	Diploma	Sales & entrepreneur – FT/ PT	Nursing	Janitor
14	Lara (David's sister)	22-25	Bachelor's degree	Dental hygiene – FT	Housewife	Tourism
15	David (Lara's Brother)	22-25	Diploma	Massage therapist – PT	Housewife	Tourism
16	Amelia (Carlos' sister)	30-35	Bachelor's degree	Human Resources – FT	Nursing	Engineering support
17	Carlos (Amelia's brother)	30-35	Master's Degree	Information Technology – FT	Nursing	Engineering Support
18	Jonathan	30-35	Master's Degree	Chiropractic / entrepreneur – FT	Nursing	Nursing
19	Paul	30-35	Master's Degree	Business – FT	Nursing	Sales
20	Jose*	30-35	Master's Degree	Architecture – FT	Information Technology	Industrial sales
21	Bryan	26-29	Bachelor's degree	Information technology – FT	Housewife	Business/IT
22	Anton	30-35	Bachelor's degree	Marketing – FT	Nursing	Not employed in Canada
23	Gerard	26-29	Bachelor's degree	Engineering – FT	Nursing	Machinist
24	Patrick	30-35	Partial Diploma	Banking (credit union) – FT	Healthcare support	Airline support
25	Eric*	22-25	Bachelor's degree	Personal Trainer - PT	Admin	n/a
26	Matt*	22-25	Bachelor's degree	Finance – FT	Admin	Not employed in Canada

*indicates 1.5 generation participants, all other participants are second generation

I was also able to interview three career services staff at local universities and colleges and a Filipino school board support worker. I was not able to interview any high school counselors due to the time of year and staffing issues. The interviews with university career services staff and the Filipino school board support worker were useful because they provided background information regarding university pathways, the labour market, job search techniques, employment patterns and trends within the Filipino community. However, the direct contact many of these professionals had with adult 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians was often limited, thus making it difficult for them to comment on broad trends among this population.

I also wanted to interview participants' parents in order to find out more about their immigration history and the family dynamics. Although many of the participants had a positive response to this strategy, contacting first generation parents and conducting interviews with them was difficult to accomplish. Reasons for this difficulty included a reluctance to participate, language barriers, geographical distances and time constraints. In the end, I interviewed four of the parents and concentrated most of my analysis on the interviews conducted with 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians.

A number of approaches were used in order to recruit study participants. Nonetheless, it was difficult to recruit participants to fit the original research design. Due to these challenges, a number of changes were made in order to ensure the feasibility of the study while still gathering the necessary data to reach the research objectives.

4.6 Involvement with the Filipino Community: The "Filipino Youth Transitions in Canada" Study

In addition to my thesis research, I was also involved in another study regarding Filipino-Canadian outcomes, the Filipino Youth Transitions in Canada (FYTiC) study. This was a much larger study focusing on Toronto, Hamilton, Vancouver and Winnipeg. The research design included key informant interviews, focus groups and an online survey. The goal of the study was to analyze intergenerational class reproduction among Filipino-Canadians. I was involved with some of the key informant interviews in Toronto and Vancouver and was hired as a Graduate Assistant to transcribe interviews.

My involvement in this study allowed me to better understand trends amongst first and second generation Filipino-Canadians. For example, through these interviews I learned about the importance of remittances, the social dynamics between live-in caregivers and other members of the community, different childrearing strategies, the transmission of culture across generations, the lack of Filipino language acquisition among youth and the struggles of newly arrived adolescents. This additional information, although not a direct source of data my thesis study, provided me with a background where I was better able to prepare appropriate interview questions, understand challenges facing the community and meet community leaders.

Meeting community leaders, especially in Vancouver, was also useful because it allowed me to understand the landscape of Filipino-Canadian civil society in the area. Even more importantly, it allowed me to gain legitimacy within the Vancouver Filipino-Canadian community and people came to know and trust me. Having mutual acquaintances with participants was another way to establish trust during my fieldwork. One of the community leaders also connected me to several of her friends who participated in my thesis study.

In addition to my involvement with the Filipino Youth Transitions in Canada study as a Graduate Assistant, I was a member of the study's steering committee. This position involved providing opinions on the direction of the study, the research methodology and recruitment techniques. Leading up to my fieldwork and afterwards, I met with the other steering committee members to discuss the study. Although they were not involved in my thesis research, meeting other researchers of Filipino-Canadian studies allowed me to have colleagues with similar interests and expertise. They were able to give me advice on my thesis work, explain cultural differences and support me during my research work. In addition to what I learned through my participation in this study, meeting the other study researchers allowed me to have a support system during the research process.

Being involved in another study was useful as it helped me gain expertise in the subject area, meet key players in the Filipino-Canadian community and gain trust through social connections. Although I did not use the data gathered from this study directly, knowing additional information allowed me to better contextualize my research.

4.7 Involvement with the Filipino-Canadian Community: Cultural Events

In addition to my involvement with the Filipino Youth Transitions in Canada study, I attended several cultural events and a conference organized by the Filipino-Canadian community over the course of my fieldwork in order to gain a deeper understanding of Filipino culture and establish connections. Prior to commencing the research process I also took Filipino language classes with a Filipino cultural organization in Toronto.

The Filipino language classes proved invaluable in several unexpected ways. Admittedly, my long term language acquisition was not significant. Although I

improved over the course of the term, after the classes ended I only remembered a few words. That being said, even knowing a few words in Filipino often served as an excellent icebreaker and created a rapport with participants or collaborators during some social situations. The most useful element however, was the cultural information I learned about the Philippines and about the experiences of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian youth. This information related to food, cultural norms, music, media and the arts. For example, calling elders *tito* and *tita* was something I learned from the language classes, as well as terms such as "jeepney" and "sari sari store" which are specific to Filipino culture. In addition, through my contacts with this organization I was able to recruit a participant for the study who then referred me to others.

While I was completing my fieldwork I also attended a variety of other events. The first event I attended in Vancouver was a conference organized by the University of British Columbia and the Congress of Progressive Filipino Canadians. The conference had a series of academic and community speakers, many of whom spoke based on a Marxist ideology. Priorities articulated at the conference were banning the Live-in Caregiver Program, creating a universal child care plan, stopping the exploitation of transnational workers and improving educational and employment attainment for youth. During the conference I was able to meet a lot of people and learn about some of the community work being done in Vancouver and across the country. This conference was useful in understanding the dynamics and politics of various segments of the Filipino-Canadian community in Vancouver; information which was necessary in order to conduct my research in a tactful manner.

The need for research regarding trends within the community was articulated several times during the conference, and many people were happy to learn that I was completing research on this topic. However, others, although espousing the

need for more research, were wary of academic research and the agendas of universities.

Other events I attended included the 2011 Metro Vancouver Philippine Summer Festival and the Pinoy Fiesta 2011. Both festivals included many performers, food venders and displays by Filipino or Filipino-serving organizations and businesses. I was able to recruit a few participants through the festivals and enjoyed the festive atmosphere. However, I did not feel that they served to deepen my cultural understanding of Filipino culture in a significant way.

I also attended the Pinoy Indie Film Festival Vancouver 2011 with a participant who invited me to join her and her friends following our interview. We saw the screening of the film "Bakal Boys", a documentary about poverty in the Philippines and I was able to socialize with more Filipino-Canadians and discuss my research with them.

Another, quite different, event I attended was an information session by Citizenship and Immigration Canada for Live-in Caregivers organized by a predominantly Filipino Catholic church. One of the participants who volunteered with the church had invited me to attend. I described my research to the attendees, socialized with them and learned more about the nuances of the Live-In Caregiver Program through the presentation.

The informational event for Live-In Caregivers was the day after the Philippine Summer Festival. While at the information session, I mentioned that I had attended the festival the day before, assuming that the attendees were aware of the event. However, the people I spoke to did not know what festival I was referring to even though it was in the same city on the same weekend. This was one of several incidents which forced me to re-evaluate my assumption that there was a "Filipino Community" in Vancouver. The singular "community" I had been

referring to in my research was an erroneous assumption, and in fact, the more accurate term would be the plural: *communities.*

Some of the reasons for these plural communities include timing or arrival, generational differences, political affiliations and regional and linguistic differences. In addition, socio-economic status and immigration class, which as often linked, are large dividers. These divisions affect the neighbourhoods where people live, their career trajectories in Canada and their level of marginalization or privilege. One of the biggest dividers I observed was between individuals who participated in the Live-in Caregiver Program and economic immigrants. More information on the background of the Filipino-Canadian community in Canada is included in the context chapter.

Participating in cultural events allowed me to learn more about Filipino culture, Filipino-Canadians civil society and establish connections in the community. In addition, along with my research and participation in the other study, being involved with community events allowed me to understand the nuances which separated the community into communities.

Table 6: Participation in Filipino-Canadian Events

Events	Title	Description
September 2010- present	Filipino Youth Transitions in Canada (FYTiC) study	Research study participation
September -December 2010	Kapisanan Filipino Language classes	Language & culture classes
June 18-19 2011	CounterSpin: Deepening our Understanding of Settlement & Integration	Conference
July 23, 2011	Hataw Pinoy 2011 Metro Vancouver Philippine Summer Festival	Festival
July 24, 2011	St Mary's Church Information Session on Live-in Caregiver visa regulations with presentation by Citizenship & Immigration Canada Officer	Information session
August 6, 2011	Pinoy Fiesta 2011	Festival
August 23, 2011	Pinoy Indie Film Festival: Bakal Boys showing	Film festival documentary

4.8 The Fieldwork Experience

Conducting fieldwork was an emotional experience that involved a steep learning curve. Through much of my time conducting fieldwork I felt frustrated and powerless in my attempts complete my research within time and budget. The fieldwork also gave me an opportunity to meet people I would not have met otherwise and learn about their lives. I was privileged to have this experience, although at times wondered what type of information to provide them about myself in return.

The main challenges of my fieldwork were that of recruiting participants and interpreting how their experiences could help explain the broader patterns I was

trying to understand. For the first month, I had hardly any participants despite all my recruitment efforts. My frustration built as my efforts did not always translate into leads for participants. As time progressed however, I started getting more referrals and learned that I should have been more patient as the number of interviews I was able to complete, given the time frame, was actually quite high.

Throughout my research, I had the opportunity to learn about people's life stories that I never would have otherwise. This was a privilege and I was amazed at the complexity of many participants' life experiences as well as the variance between them. I quickly learned that there was no "typical" 1.5 or second generation experience.

Each interview had a different dynamic and invoked different emotions whether it was inspiration, awkwardness, curiosity, compassion or disbelief. I was surprised at how exhausted I felt after each interview and how doing two one to one and a half hour interviews felt like a very full day. As an inexperienced interviewer, processing the information that was being provided while also thinking of what to follow up on and what direction I wanted to take the interview next was very intellectually challenging.

As will be explored in the empirical chapters, the experiences of participants varied enormously. Some participants had experienced privileged, almost uneventful lives, while others were shaped by major family conflicts, changes or trauma. I found the life histories of the participants very engrossing no matter what the experience was. One thread which stood out to me was the resilience of many of the participants. Many participants spoke of what must have been very difficult situations such as family separation, death in the family, divorce and coming out to family and friends, in what seemed to an outsider as a very casual manner. Of course, I do not doubt the pain that many of these experiences would have involved, but was impressed at how clearly they articulated their experiences and how many participants appeared to have come to peace with

many extremely challenging situations. Considering I had met very few of the participants before the interview, their ability to share personal information with a stranger was impressive.

As participants were sharing some of the highs and lows of their lives, I wondered how much information about myself to divulge. Much literature espouses that the researcher share personal information with the participant and the principles of reciprocity is considered good practice (Valentine, 2005). Indeed it does seem a bit unfair for the flow of information to only go in one direction, and the nature of interviews in many ways contradicts social norms. As Mohammad (2001) comments, although the provision of personal information occurs seamlessly in our daily lives, during the research process this is a much more conscious act.

I always shared some personal details with participants such as where I studied, where I grew up and why I was interested in the topic. Of course, sometimes I had a lot in common with participants and other times I did not. With some of the first interviews I conducted, I felt compelled to share more personal details of my life in order to put participants at ease as they were opening up about sensitive topics. For example, when I asked one participant when her parents separated and was surprised to hear that it was only a year ago, I volunteered that I had had a similar experience with my parents having separated in recent years. While this information provided common ground for both of us, I quickly became uncomfortable until the conversation shifted to a different topic. I realized then that although the participants may have been comfortable sharing this information, I had to evaluate whether I was comfortable enough to continue a conversation on the topic once I had introduced it. I also found that sharing more personal details or anecdotes shifted the tone of the interview, and led to an increased interest about me which distracted from the flow of the interview and its original purpose. Therefore, in later interviews I developed a balance of

providing enough information to establish a relationship of trust, but not so much that I became uncomfortable or that it disrupted the course of the interview.

Conducting fieldwork for the first time was an experience filled with unexpected challenges. From the frustration of recruiting participants to managing the interview dynamics, I needed to learn many new skills and experienced a range of emotions. Finally, since I was an integral part of the research process, knowing how to present myself in order to preserve my own comfort and address the research questions were important abilities.

4.9 Positionality

In qualitative research, the researcher is an integral part of the research process and affects the type of responses given by participants. Indeed, the researcher *is* the instrument of data collection (Padgett, 2008). Therefore it is important to be conscious of the traits which affect one's positionality such as gender, age, class, "race" and so forth (Skelton, 2001). This is especially important as the type of information shared is a result of the researcher's presence and participants' reactions to the researcher (England, 1994). It has been also argued that research is embedded with ethnocentric biases (Geertz, 1973). This means that the researcher has a tendency to favour their own cultural viewpoint rather than appreciate others. These factors meant that being conscious of my positionality as a young, white, middle class graduate student was extremely important.

Although my positionality meant that there were many differences between myself and the research participants, many similarities also existed, and should not be ignored. Many participants related to me because I was of a similar age, also from British Columbia and attending post-secondary education. With some participants, we commiserated over the difficult economy, experiences in post-secondary, and difficulties in finding a career path. I was also surprised how

many participants were familiar with the research process as they or their friends had completed Master's degrees. In fact, many participants regarded me as a university student rather than a researcher. For most individuals, this established common ground as they had recently completed university.

Besides having a lot in common with many participants, some participants held a higher social position that I did. For example, some participants were managers or embedded in prestigious careers. This led to complex power dynamics, as although usually the power dynamics are skewed toward the researcher, in this case their markers of gender, occupation, and class led them to be more powerful than I was. As I mentioned, for some participants, my position as a graduate student trumped that of being a researcher. I recall one instance where the participant attempted to give me career advice when describing his career transition and said "you could take this as advice for when you are you know...working". This comment made me realize that as a graduate student, some assumptions, for example that I had not been engaged in the labour market, were being made about me.

However, despite many of the similarities I had with the participants, or cases when they were in a more powerful position than I was, the power dynamics between the researcher and participant, as well as my position as a white middle class researcher could not be ignored. It has been argued that the researcher holds power at the expense of the researched (Nast, 1994), an argument I can understand as the researcher largely controls the topics covered and the flow of the interview. In addition, the researcher chooses how to conduct the research and how the research is presented (England, 1994).

Due to the inequalities within Canadian society, global power imbalances and the history of colonialism in the Philippines, my being white with a British heritage creates a position of privilege. Although I was aware of the challenges of visible minorities in terms of experiences of racialization, exclusion in the labour market,

and discrimination with housing and social integration; the interviews made me realize the full extent of my privilege. For example, most Filipino families move to Canada due to the economic situation in the Philippines, which is a result of a colonial history and uneven global economics. In addition, some participants' parents' experiences of deprofessionalization, family separation due to Live-in Caregiver Program or economic necessity and family strain due to the migration experience were all factors that my family did not experience. This was despite the fact that my father was an immigrant, however being white and British, his family's migration process was not marked by these challenges.

Skelton argues that it is important to anticipate and work with the difference between oneself as a researcher, and those researched (2001). Difference is not necessarily a negative thing, and there will always be some difference between the researcher and the research participants even if they have a similar background. The key, Skelton argues, is to incorporate this difference into the research design rather than ignore it (2001). Acknowledging my ignorance regarding some aspect of Filipino culture and the experiences of the children of Filipino immigrants helped maintain an open relationship with participants and reduce possible misunderstandings.

Although I realized my "whiteness" would influence the research, I had not realized there would be assumptions regarding my identity before I met participants. However, most participants assumed I was Filipino-Canadian before meeting me. In one case a participant directly passed me because he was looking for a Filipino-Canadian individual. I was later informed that this assumption was perpetuated by the fact that my first name, Julia, is common in the Philippines and that my last name, Mais, is in fact a Filipino word. Later on in the interviewing process, I made a point of describing myself so that participants would not be surprised as my identity as a Caucasian woman.

My positionality was an important factor in the research project. While there were many differences between myself and the participants, we also shared a lot in common. For example, we had experienced in post-secondary education, the challenges of being young workers in a difficult labour market and were from British Columbia. Having similarities with and differences from my research participants created unique dynamics in the research process. One of the main differences, that of not being a Filipino-Canadian "insider" will be explored shortly.

4.10 My Position as an "Outsider"

Not being of Filipino heritage, participants viewed me as an "outsider". This had both benefits and drawbacks. One drawback was my lack of knowledge about Filipino culture and language. In addition, I did not have the personal experience of growing up Filipino-Canadian. Although I had read extensively on the topic and attended the Filipino language classes, the nuances to any culture are great and take many years of immersion to comprehend in a significant way. In addition, academic learning cannot replace first-hand life experience that I did not have. I also wanted to be careful not to make assumptions about the lives of the participants or inadvertently insult them. Although it was good that I was conscious of these possible missteps, this preoccupation led me to be less relaxed during interviews, likely affecting the dynamics of these encounters.

Nevertheless, being an outsider also had advantages. Since I did not have personal experience, I could take a more removed approach and did not assume that participants' experiences were similar to my own. One participant explained that she felt being an outsider was an advantage. She commented that "...I think your position though, it's a good one, because you are coming from, you're

looking at it objectively and impartially. Like if I was doing it, I would probably give more prominence to people who had shared my struggle or my experience" (Qara, Study Participant).

In addition, many participants tried to explain to me elements of Filipino culture or of their experiences they did not expect me to know. Had I been Filipino-Canadian, I believe there would have been an implicit assumption that I knew "what it's like" when in fact, I may not have. However, when I read over the interview transcripts I noticed how many broad statements there were about Filipino culture and experiences. These statements were often different and contradictory from one participant to another. Therefore, I started to interpret these explanations of Filipino culture, as being the participant's experience with Filipino culture and not as a universal truth that could apply to anyone. I was also conscious that participants were reacting to me as an outside and 'performing' the way they wanted me to understand Filipino culture. The message that participants were trying to convey was different for everyone, so this 'performance' changed between individuals.

Mohammad explains how one's identity is presented needs to be negotiated during the research process and how being of a certain "ethnicity" does not guarantee one "insider" status (2001). In addition, she explains how some individuals would be more likely to share information with someone who was in fact an "outsider" while others would be more comfortable sharing with an "insider" (Mohammad, 2001). Due to these ambiguities, I do not believe my position as an outsider was a disadvantage, however, certainly the data would have been different had it been collected by any other individual, Filipino or not.

During the research process, there were many situations, such as the cultural events described where as a non-Filipino-Canadian I was in the minority. Although this was not my first time in this situation, as I have lived abroad and my partner's family is of another ethnicity, I often still felt self-conscious.

For example, the following quote from my research journal shows how I felt during an event:

> I did feel out of place at the festival, even with [a Filipino-Canadian colleague] and her crowd. There were many references I couldn't catch- places in the Philippines, mutual acquaintances, Tagalog expressions. All the 2nd gens [the colleague] met, she had at least one mutual acquaintance with, and that was with only knowing very basic things about them.

My lack of knowledge regarding these references and mutual acquaintances was inevitable, as I was not a part of the community. However, as I met more people through my research and attended more and more events, I became more comfortable. In addition, my knowledge of references to prominent figures within the community, schools and churches with high Filipino populations and knowledge of Filipino culture grew, allowing me to more easily participate in conversations regarding these topics.

When I attended the information event for Live-In Caregivers, I felt very self-conscious entering a room of 50 caregivers and Filipino organizers. However, after leaving the event, I realized that my discomfort was due to my own insecurities rather than any real judgment from others. In my research journal I explained my feelings following the event where "Afterwards a few people came up to me and asked me about myself...I realized I shouldn't be self conscious, it is not that there is a dislike of a white person in a Filipino context but curiosity. Some people seemed very appreciative that I had come too."

Also, the participants I interviewed all had different experiences with the Filipino community. Some had grown up with many other Filipino-Canadians, while others had not. In fact several participants told me that they felt, or had felt in the past, uncomfortable at Filipino events and were in fact more comfortable with

non-Filipinos as this is what they had grown up with. Therefore, my feelings of awkwardness and lack of understanding to cultural references, is not necessarily directly related to my being an outsider, but simply a product of my experiences.

Due to my position as an outsider and my own personal experiences, at times I struggled to understand references to Filipino people, places or cultural phenomena. However, this position also had advantages as I did not privilege certain experiences or expect to fully understand all of them. Despite these advantages, at times I felt uncomfortable being a minority at Filipino-Canadian events, leading me to wrestle with feelings of self-consciousness. My position as an "outsider" was both useful and limiting, however, being an "insider" would also have involved its own benefits and challenges.

4.11 Differences between Interviews with Men and Women

There were significant differences between the interviews with men and women both in terms of the dynamics between myself and the participants and in terms of the narratives the participants presented. The interviews with the women in the study were much more relaxed, and from my perspective had a similar atmosphere to chatting with a girlfriend. These interviews were often interspersed with laughter or comments about our relationships. For example, one woman and I shared our displeasure with our respective partners' fascination with cars, one participants explained to me how nervous she was about moving in with her boyfriend and another participant ended our interview with the friendly encouragement "you go girlfriend!".

The interviews with men were much more formal. While most were comfortable, in a few there was a stiff atmosphere. There was more small talk and unintentionally, I believe I shared less personal information with them.

Two interviews in particular stood out as being especially uncomfortable. One was unpleasant because the participant did not appear to be enjoying the experience and seemed to give information in a defensive manner. Therefore I rushed through the interview so he could go home, which affected the atmosphere even more. After finishing the interview, the participant did actually have quite a few questions about the study, making me wonder if I had misjudged his body language and demeanor. Another interview was uncomfortable for a different reason, in that the participant seemed to enjoy finding out more about me as an individual rather than continuing with the interview theme, which led me to feel that the interview was not dissimilar to a date.

The different dynamics between interviews with men and women could be due to a variety of reasons. Inevitably, I had more in common with most of the women in the study. I also have very few close male friends in my personal life, which made me wonder if my communication skills were better suited to female participants. However, I believe there usually is more formality between strangers of different genders and perhaps a male researcher would have been more appropriate for these interviews. McDowell comments that as women are often seen as "unthreatening", difficult issues can be broached more freely (1998). Although I believe the men in the study saw me as "unthreatening" I do not believe this they were more open with me than they would have been with another researcher. These dynamics are an example of how social relations are always a part of the research process and cannot easily be removed (Geertz, 1973).

In addition to the different dynamics, I also noticed that men and women framed their experiences differently. Many women explained their difficulties with the job search process, finding an appropriate career and the challenges that they experienced with their families. In contrast, men often articulated their journeys

in terms of accomplishments and pride in what they had achieved. There was much less detail to how they got to where they are now, and much less description of the struggles involved. Another reason for these presentations of accomplishments could be my positionality as a young, female researcher. Had the researcher been another Filipino man, perhaps the men's desire to present a good impression would have been less.

As interviews are a way of seeing how individuals make sense of their own lives (Valentine, 2005), framing experiences in different ways is to be expected. It is possible that men and women have different ways of doing this, with men focusing on achievements and women on the processes involved.

The Canadian labour market is gendered, with men earning much more than women and engaged in full-time employment to a greater degree. Therefore, it would be likely that the women did in fact struggle more in their careers. However, I also believe that just because the women elaborated on the struggles they faced, that this did not mean the men did not experience them, but that they simply wanted to present themselves in the most positive way possible.

The accomplishments articulated could also be due to the self-selecting nature of research participants. As participation was voluntary, those who did not want to speak with a stranger regarding their lives would not have participated. I became increasingly aware of this fact when a friend spoke to one of her friends about participating in the study. After she spoke to the potential participant about the project, she explained to me that since he was unemployed, he was not feeling confident and therefore did not want to participate. This is an understandable reaction, and something I struggled to overcome, as I was interested in learning about all different types of experiences.

One Filipino-Canadian friend explained to me that the concept of shame or *hiya* was very sensitive for men, and that he did not think that unemployed or

underemployed men would participate for this reason. I asked several people for advice on this problem, but none knew what a good solution would be. I was also disconcerted when over the course of my fieldwork five potential male participants cancelled last minute with vague reasons given.

There were several differences between the interviews with men and women. Firstly, the dynamics were different. The interviews with women were more friendly and relaxed while interviews with men were slightly more formal. In addition, the way men and women presented their experiences were different with women focusing on challenges and men on accomplishments. One concern which arose was the self selecting nature of research participants with some men declining to participate. These differences and challenges were inevitably influenced by my positionality and were important factors to consider in the research process.

4.12 Interpreting Research Data

In qualitative methodology, data analysis does not commence after the data is collected but during the process. As the researcher changes throughout the research process, the lessons learned from past interviews inform the next (Garrison, 2011). Although I attempted to make sense of the data during the research process, I found this to be very difficult. Each individual's story seemed so unique that it was difficult to draw conclusions regarding the interviews as a set. In addition, due to my inexperience with qualitative research, I had a hard time analyzing the interviews for the illustrative points within each of them, and rather attempted to analyze the interviews as a representative sample of the population, which it was not.

After completing my fieldwork I transcribed the interviews and looked for themes in the interview transcripts that I coded and organized through NVivo software.

In addition to combing through transcripts for key themes, coding them and comparing the type and quantity of data on each theme, I also relied on my intuition to discern important patterns in the data. The most useful step in this process was reading and rereading interview transcripts with a critical eye, and flagging which passages were important and why. During the data analysis stage, I also spoke to more experienced researchers about the process and read more about qualitative methodologies.

It was not during the fieldwork, but only after several months of analysis, transcriptions and distance from the interviewing process, that I was able to find the meaning behind the data that is outlined in the empirical chapters. One of the ways I was able to find meaning was by reading different types of literature. For example, I had not read a lot regarding geographies of aspiration or the importance of social ties previous to the fieldwork. When I reread the transcripts keeping in mind these ideas I had not considered before, I noticed patterns I had not previously paid attention to.

Another aspect that influenced my interpretation of the interviews was a few memorable anecdotes from interviews. Although these anecdotes from interviewees were not more important than other participants' narratives, I found that they stuck out in my memory. These anecdotes, such as the description of a certain role model, the effect of meeting a new group of friends and intergenerational conflicts, illustrated the profound effects of one's social environment, a key theme in the thesis. When I reread through all the transcripts keeping in mind these memorable anecdotes I found others that echoed similar themes. Although this process risked giving some interviews more weight than others, it still helped me in determining trends in the data. As well, although privileging some narratives over others is not a balanced way to interpret data; I believe it is a natural human flaw to remember some situations more vividly than others. Upon reflection, these prominent anecdotes were from interviews where I

connected exceptionally well with the individual. Perhaps these dynamics allowed for a freer transmission of information, or aided in making these anecdotes resonate more than others.

Finding meaning in the qualitative data was not a process that was obvious to me. Rather, it required a lot of time, effort, additional reading and new skill development. Actions which helped in this process were reading a more varied literature, speaking with more experienced researchers and rereading transcripts with different themes in mind. In the end, through a combination of these techniques and new skill development, I was able to glean meaning from the qualitative data gathered.

4.13 Conclusion

In conclusion, using qualitative methodology allowed me to address my research questions by finding out the more personal aspects of people's lives in order to explain larger statistical patterns. This process needed to be completed within an ethical framework which involved conscious choices with regards to confidentiality, compensation of participants and my presentation of self. Within the qualitative methodology used, the intended research design needed to evolve in order to accommodate the number of available willing participants while still maintaining the study's integrity. This change involved creating a different research design to accomplish the same goals, a challenge which required careful thought. My position within the study as a young, white, university educated researcher was also an important element as it affected the type of data gathered and how participants reacted to me. As described, the interviews with men and women were very different in part due to this fact. After completing the fieldwork, interpreting the research data required a multifaceted approach, increased learning and reflection in order to gather meaning from the information collected.

The research process was a very personal experience. Being embedded in the research meant that I was not just collecting data but also meeting new people, making friends, hearing varied life stories, attending Filipino-Canadian events and negotiating research ethics. Many of these situations were inspiring and memorable while others produced feelings of discomfort. The different elements of the research process have all become part of my life experience, affecting not only the research findings of the study, but also my lived experience as an individual.

5. Not in it Alone: How Educational and Career Trajectories are Influenced by Family, Peer and Role Model Networks

5.1 Introduction

Social networks such as family, peers and role models influence the trajectories of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians by shaping aspirations, providing social and financial resources, and transmitting information about employment and education. These networks include family social connections formed in the Philippines and in Canada as well as peer groups cultivated from school, neighbourhood, and work environments. The type of networks available to Filipino-Canadian youth and their ability to reach their goals are a result of the quantity and resources a family has and how they choose to utilize them. The resources, both social and financial, these individuals have is often a directly affected by their parents' status in the Philippines and their migration history to Canada.

In this chapter, the influence of family in terms of expectations of children, the transmission of family history, the formation of aspirations, the availability of resources and the social support systems available will be examined. The Philippines, and how it is viewed as a place of educational and employment opportunity will also be discussed as well as the effect of neighbourhoods and schools. The effects of siblings in terms of their position as role models, sources of emotional support and career and educational advisors will also be discussed. Lastly the role of peer groups and role models (sometimes belonging to peer groups or family networks) in shaping trajectories and connecting people with employment is examined. All of these factors steer the educational and employment trajectories of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian youth.

5.2 Parents' Expectations

Parents have a strong influence on the career and educational trajectories of 1.5 and 2nd generation Filipino-Canadians. One of the ways in which they shape these trajectories is by conveying expectations. These expectations then become internalized or rejected. Expectations common to both men and women will be discussed presently while gendered differences in family expectations will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

In terms of educational expectations, parents expressed their anticipation of post-secondary attendance in a variety of ways. Some parents who wanted their children to pursue post-secondary education spoke of "when" rather than "if" children would attend college or university; others hired tutors, insisted on high grades in high school or enrolled their children in private schools. These actions served to instill a sense of destiny in children, knowing that they were bound for post-secondary education. Acts such as enrolling children in private schools or hiring tutors also put children in contact with educated adults who could serve as role models and other children whose families had similar expectations, thus cultivating important social resources. Hiring tutors or registering children in extra-curricular activities also gave children the skills to negotiate with adults which would serve them well in their professional and social lives as adults (Lareau, 2011). Actions such as starting educational savings plans serve to both instill the expectation of post-secondary attendance in children and to facilitate this process financially.

Many participants were sure of their parent's desire that they attend post-secondary. Jose explains how he felt his parents' expectations that he attend post-secondary very acutely:

Julia: when you were growing up, did you get the impression that they [Jose's parents] wanted you to go to college or university?

Jose: Yeah. Again it's a prerequisite of being a Filipino parent, you have to want your son or daughter to go to college, at least in my family, yeah. But I know as with a lot of families too, education is always number one growing up. You can't really negotiate, if you decided not to get an education, it's...I wouldn't say excommunicate, but extremely, extremely frowned upon.

-Jose, 30-35, Architect, 1.5 Generation

Mila, a human resources professional, had internalized the idea of not only going to post-secondary, but university in particular. She does not identify her journey to university as being a product of her parents expectations but as something she "just knew". Below is an example of how Mila had internalized the idea of going to university:

Julia: And did your parents convey to you when you were young, any expectations they had in terms of employment or education?

Mila: No, we just kind of knew. That's a good question.

Julia: Ok, what did you know?

Mila: We kinda knew that we had to go to university, after high school we had to go to university, get a degree and get a good job. What the job was, they...we didn't know. So they never said things like "you should be an engineer, you should be a doctor" things like that. And they never said, "you should go to university" you should just know.

-Mila, 30-35, Human Resources Professional, 2nd Generation

She elaborates on her decision to go to university rather college, and how this was an important to her:

> Yeah, yeah, I don't know, somehow I had this idea that going to college would not look good. Like, it was built inside me that going to college was not good enough, in comparison with university, because I guess it's seen as a better school and people still think like that. And even if I went to *(name of college near her hometown)* you can do two years there, transfer to SFU (Simon Fraser University) and then get the exact same degree as I have here. So I don't know, who am I to... I guess that's just the way, the way I was raised. But I know a lot of people after university going, "I would have been better off if I'd just gone to BCIT (British Columbia Institute of Technology, technical college)" *laughs.*
>
> -Mila, 30-35, Human Resources Professional, 2nd Generation

Mila's preference for university over college and certainty of her destiny as a college graduate is clear. Going on to university after high school is a pathway that Mila has internalized so well it seems like an 'obvious' choice. Although Mila cannot locate where this sentiment came from, it appears that her family expressed the value of university to her in many subtle ways throughout her childhood. It is significant that although her family expectations to go to university were very strong, she mentions that not many people from her high school had gone on to obtain degrees, a fact that she did not recognize until years after graduation. In this sense, although Mila was physically surrounded by people following different pathways, it was clear to her which decisions would be appropriate for her, and she did not consider pathways such as working full time or attending college to be options. Therefore family socialization was much more important to Mila than the influence of her peers.

Parents' expectations are very powerful, and participants felt that the disappointment of not living up to those expectations very deeply. Bryan explains how when he failed a year of university, he felt that his parents looked to his other siblings to be "successful" rather than himself.

> Julia: And did your parents have different expectations of your sister versus the two brothers?
>
> Bryan: No, again they all just wanted us to succeed, and succeed in what we were doing and what we chose at. And when I failed that was a betrayal of my parents' trust to them because I had chosen a career path and I had failed at it, and they saw that as a betrayal of trust. So then they focused their attention toward my brother and sister at that point, looking for, you know their child to succeed, the one that would succeed.
>
> -Bryan, 26-29, Information Technology Professional, 2nd Generation

Bryan's description of his parent's reaction to his 'failure' is compelling, as he describes their disappointment and how they focused their attention on his siblings instead. This quote shows the emotional impact of deviating from parents' expectations and how not fulfilling them can take a toll on relationships.

Considering most people articulate their goals in terms of emotional happiness (Brown, 2011), the cost of deviating from family expectations is one that participants calculated carefully. In addition, obedience is a virtue that is espoused widely in Filipino cultures of child-raising, in part due to the importance of Catholicism. Therefore, following family expectations is especially important (Ronquillo, Boschma, Wong, & Quiney, 2011).

Another way that parents encourage post-secondary trajectories is through the transmission of family histories. Even though many Filipino immigrants and their families struggle in Canada, their pre-departure social standing influences their sense of self. For example, Christina, a sociology graduate, grew up hearing

stories how her grandfather had multiple advanced degrees and singing cheers from her father's prestigious university, Ateneo de Manila. Christina had internalized her family's high social standing in the Philippines and adopted these tendencies as her own. For example, she explained that she had chosen to attend the University of British Columbia because of it had a good reputation and had hoped to go to a "fancy school" like MIT, Berkeley or even Ateneo de Manila herself. Fernandez-Kelly explains this transfer of family history as a way of communicating a certain idea of destiny to a child, even if the immigrant parents themselves may not be high achievers in the host country (Fernandez-Kelly, 2008). This process allows individuals to strive for more than their family's current post-migration circumstances. This phenomenon can explain how Christina, whose family had lived in Vancouver's notorious Downtown East Side upon arrival (an area known for it's high levels of drug use, prostitution and homelessness) still felt certain of her destiny as a post-secondary graduate.

Indeed, family histories propelled individuals towards different destinies in a number of ways. While some individuals, like Christina, felt empowered by their parent's social standing in the Philippines, others were motivated by their parents' perceived sacrifice. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, children of immigrants often experience the narrative of their parents' migration as ever-present in their lives. They appreciate the difficulties of migration even if it was before their birth, or before they could remember. Marianne Hirsh refers to this phenomenon as 'postmemory' (Hirsch, 1997). For 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians, the Philippines, and how they perceived their parents' lives there to be, plays a powerful role in shaping their lives in Canada.

Matt, the manager of a finance business, describes how the migration experience of his parents drives him to succeed. When asked what motivates him, he expands:

> A combination of things actually, one thing that kind of motivated me was when I saw my parents and they're working hard, and I know the sacrifices that they made for me to help me get to where I am. So in order for me to repay them I need to, in a way, exceed them. That's the way I see it, like my parents moved here to give us a better opportunity, so for me it didn't make any sense that you know, you have a better opportunity, yet you don't do better than them. So if they move up the ladder then you should go higher, because you started higher.
>
> -Matt, 22-25, Finance Professional, 1.5 Generation

Other participants also commented that knowing how hard life was in the Philippines led them to take advantage of opportunities in Canada.

One participant, Gerard, explained that he felt this motivation more than his peers as he had been able to spend a lot of time talking with his parents about their experiences, something he felt not all families had a chance to do. He explained that knowing his family's history motivated him and made him more appreciative of the opportunities available in Canada. Knowing one's place in a broader narrative, like Gerard does, is important for individuals. The Philippines, which participants may or may not have visited, nonetheless takes up an important place in their imagination, and can serve as a motivating force.

Family expectations are transmitted both overtly and subtly and play a strong role in shaping children's aspirations. Deviating from these expectations often creates emotional upheaval and strained relationships, perpetuating an adherence to family expectations. The aspirations of youth are formed in part by the values imparted by their families as well as through the transmission of family history. The understanding of family history can empower youth by placing them within prestigious narratives or can serve as a motivating factor by recognizing

family sacrifices in the migration process. Family is perhaps the single most influential factor on the trajectories of youth.

5.3 The Philippines

Aspirations are formed not only due to family history and expectations, but due to the transnational nature of many people's lives. For example, many people saw the Philippines as a place of educational and employment opportunity as well somewhere they had a personal connection with. Many participants explained how they wanted to work or study in the Philippines. For some, this was a reality they had pursued, for others goal and for the remainder, an idea which they did not have immediate plans to act upon.

Arlene had already been engaged with the Philippines professionally by performing there several times. Although she saw the Philippines as a place of opportunity, and " ...for awhile my plan was to go there and try to be a celebrity or a star or something" (Arlene, 30-35, Entrepreneur, 2nd Generation), she has now shifted her engagement with the Philippines to include humanitarian work and family visits.

Jose and Jay both articulated business or philanthropic engagement with the Philippines as a plan for the future. When I asked Jose about his goals for the next five to ten years, he explained how he wants to have a deeper connection to the Philippines by operating a business or humanitarian venture.

> Julia: And what do you hope for with your personal and professional life in the next five, ten years?
>
> Jose: Maybe move back to the Philippines. Or at least start something there that will make it more worthwhile than just vacationing...go back a few months of the year to work on some business I started so I can have some fulfillment and say that I live there for a reason right.

-Jose, 30-35, Architect, 1.5 Generation

Jay also includes business opportunities in the Philippines as part of his future plans:

> Jay: I'm kind of interested in real estate and things like that in the Philippines, and I'm planning on doing business there too, so it'll be like a second home.
>
> Julia: Like with your company or something else in the future?
>
> Jay: Yeah, cause I do want to spread [his industry] in the Philippines and I do want to make money there as well, so I kind of make my name in the Philippines. So I will be having connections with them, definitely, I see that in my future.
>
> -Jay, 30-35, Sales Professional and Entrepreneur, 2nd Generation

Several other participants considered moving to the Philippines but practical considerations kept them from following through with these plans. For example, Eric wanted to go to university in the Philippines in order to play basketball. He explains "I wanted to go back to the Philippines to play basketball, to play university basketball, cause here they're all tall and that. So I wanted to go back" (Eric, 22-25, Personal Trainer, 1.5 Generation). However, when he mentioned this idea to his friends and family, they dissuaded him from going ahead with the plan. He explains a friend's reaction to the idea:

> He said "you're going back to the Philippines to pay the same tuition, and it's like lower level of education to UBC, you know. So then I was like, "I guess so". And I even talked to my parents about it, my grandparents, and they're like "you want...we worked hard for you to come here, and then you're going to go back to the Philippines?"
>
> -Eric, 22-25, Personal Trainer, 1.5 Generation

Anton also researched moving to the Philippines: "My first visit back when I was an adult I had a really good time and then I was like 'oh maybe I should, you know maybe I'll move there, see what it's like'. So I started asking around, you know, are there jobs in my field and what type of money can I be making there?" (Anton, 30-35, Marketing Professional, 2nd Generation). Although he got connected with employment there, he decided not to go ahead with it due to the lower pay in comparison to the wages in Canada. At the time of her interview, Mabel had applied for a position in the Philippines and was considering the opportunity.

In addition, several participants had siblings who were studying in the Philippines, one at a Bachelor level and another at a Masters level. Another participant wanted to pursue a Master's degree in the Philippines but did not think it was realistic due to financial considerations.

In an interview with a Filipino mother whose daughter was studying Political Science in the Philippines at a Master's level, she explained how her daughter could benefit from the social connections of the family in a way that would not be possible in Canada.

> ...[In Canada] I don't think she'll have a chance. But there, because of the connections there she can start with like a UN, Asian chapter, and get that exposure before stepping back into North America ...plus my brother has contacts that will allow her to at least get a job right, just entry and then she can do something after. It's all connections right. It's who you know. And here, I don't know anyone. And there, she'll get in.
>
> -Charlene, 1st Generation Mother

This quote shows how the family's social capital is much more useful in the Philippines than in Canada, and how even after raising their children in Canada, they do not see them having the same opportunities without important Canadian

social connections. It also reflects the other participants' sentiments that the Philippines is a place of opportunity and somewhere that is open to them for career and educational advancement.

Many 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians see the Philippines, actual or imagined, as a place of opportunity for business and education. This perspective is despite the fact that most participants' parents left the country for economic or political reasons. In most cases, the ambition of extending one's career and education to the Philippines did not materialize, but the aspiration of these transnational endeavors is still important. Many participants calculated the benefits of understanding two cultures and incorporated the Philippines into their conception of which pathways were available to them to them.

5.4 Family's Social Networks

For Filipino parents, transnational and local social ties play a role in shaping what expectations they have of their children. Jay explained why he thought his parents wanted him to go to post-secondary after high school and how they were disappointed when he decided to take a break from school:

> I think because I was the first generation, the first one born here I guess I had to show an example, because we still have ties to the Philippines, we're still in touch with family there, so I guess they wanted to show that their son was going to college and not work.
>
> -Jay, 30-35, Sales Professional and Entrepreneur, 2nd Generation

This concept of maintaining appearances is important in Filipino culture and many participants explained their frustration at being seen as markers of their parents' success. Some participants interpreted their parents' expectations of them as a result of social pressure.

For example, when I asked Mabel, who lived with her single mother, whether much attention was paid to her homework during grade school she responded as such: "My mom did. My mom did just because when my mom was raising us single she did care about our grades because it was a reflection on how she raised us right?" (Mabel, 26-29, Entrepreneur, 2nd Generation). Likewise, when rationalizing his parents' support of his decision to study in eastern Canada, Jose explained that one of the reasons was so that his father could "brag a little bit more" (Jose, 30-35, Architect, 1.5 Generation).

Parents' social circles played a large role in their settlement experience in Canada. Social contacts were often formed from networks in the Philippines or people they had met upon arrival in Canada. Many people described how their parents' friends or family had helped them find their first home in Canada, or let them stay with them when they first arrived. The decision to move to Vancouver at all was often a result of parents' social contacts. For example, several participants explained that it was the influence of their mother's nursing colleagues from employment elsewhere in Canada or abroad that had led their families to choose Vancouver as a place to settle in. Other parents had been connected to employment through social contacts. Qara explains how her mother found employment in Canada:

> Qara: She made friends through the church and the church actually set her up with getting a job with the government, the service accountant. And then her childhood friend that was living here in Canada, and she set her up with the care aid, working at the care home [in addition to the government job].
>
> Julia: Ok
>
> Qara: So both of those were connections. Yeah they really helped her.
>
> -Qara, 22-25, Arts Professional, 2nd Generation

Qara's mother's contacts, as mentioned, were from her social circle in the Philippines and the church she went to in Canada. Therefore, her hometown in the Philippines and neighbourhood in Vancouver played an important role is determining the type of employment she gained in Canada and therefore the financial resources available for Qara and her siblings.

The fact that parents' social circles were often formed though employment contacts meant that participants had contact with a lot of adults in the same professions, for example, nurses had many contacts who were also nurses. This also meant that as children, the participants were exposed to a limited number of professions and gave them fewer examples of the types of employment that would be available and achievable to them. Many participants who were interested in different professions than their parents had to look outside these social circles for role models and sometimes found them in peers, teachers or coaches.

Family social networks, whether developed in the Philippines or in Canada have a large impact on 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian youth. Parents' networks become those of their children and provide examples of what is achievable, as well as information about education and employment. These connections also influence the employment opportunities of Filipino parents thus affecting the resources available to the family.

5.5 The Importance of Neighbourhoods and Schools

Besides parents' social contacts becoming their own, parents also influenced their children's social groups by their choice of neighbourhood. The choice of neighbourhood, usually a result of affordability, determined the socio-economic level and ethnic background of their peers. It also affects the type of services,

quality of schools and accessibility to transit for youth (Bauder, 2000). However, some factors such as schools were more important than neighbourhood for youth. For example, many participants attended private school, which meant their schools were not necessarily in their neighbourhoods and their social networks were formed largely at that school rather than locally. Neighbourhood effects also varied among individuals, with those having resources being less influenced than others.

The Filipino-Canadian population is dispersed throughout the Lower Mainland, however, the majority of study participants had grown up in the suburbs. Others had grown up in East Vancouver, an area historically associated with large Filipino populations. Many participants, however, had moved neighbourhoods several times during their childhoods due to their parents' difficulties in finding safe and affordable housing. While some participants moved within the same municipality, others moved throughout the Lower Mainland.

While there are differences between these neighbourhoods with Richmond being traditionally middle class and East Vancouver working class, the socio-economic characteristics of the neighbourhoods were not decisive factors in determining one's pathway. Many participants from East Vancouver were raised to see university attendance as an expected 'next step' and had similar outcomes to participants from wealthier neighbourhoods. In addition, professional networks that are often formed in grade school or in the neighbourhood can also be formed at university, thus balancing out possible disadvantages.

It is also notable that people do not necessarily socialize or work within their neighbourhood. For example, Filipino parents in healthcare field often worked in the West Side of Vancouver or downtown. In addition, youth's social groups revolved around their schools rather than their neighborhoods that were not necessarily interchangeable. For example, Gerard's family lived in a suburb but we went to school and church in East Vancouver. He explains how his family's

life is in a different location than where they lived: "Because we would be in north Delta, but then our life sort of, would be in Vancouver right, that's where most of our activities were" (Gerard, 26-29, Engineer, 2nd Generation).

In addition, many Filipino parents' social groups were made of contacts they had known in the Philippines or people they had met at their place of employment, rather than from activities in their neighbourhoods. For participants, school and later college or university are where most of their social networks were formed. Although school and neighbourhood are often synonymous, a large number of participants attended private schools. The breakdown of private and public school attendance can be found at the end of this section. Going to private schools meant that many participants commuted. Some participants at private schools commuted large distances, while others attended private schools within their municipality but not necessarily their neighbourhood.

There were several reasons why parents decided to register their children in private schools. One of these reasons related directly to neighbourhood. Parents living in working class neighbourhoods saw this as a way to mitigate what they viewed as the negative aspects of their neighbourhoods. For example, Mary's parents wanted to protect her from the 'bad influences' of her 'rough' neighbourhood so they enrolled her in private and public school on Vancouver's West side, rather than in East Vancouver where they lived. This decision was also so that Mary's school could be geographically closer to their employment.

> Mary: I didn't go to school in East Van, I went to school at uh, in the West side of Vancouver, so I went to a private Catholic school, and then, mid way through school I decided to go to another, to a public school which was also in the West side.
>
> Julia: Ok

Mary: So my parents both sort of work in those areas so they really wanted me to be closer to them so they could pick me up...and back then, I don't know what it's like now, but back then the schools where we lived, my parents felt like it was a rough neighbourhood and I would have bad influences so they made me go to a school on the other side.

-Mary, 30-35, Actor and Nurse, 2nd Generation

Just as Mary's parents had enrolled her in private school to compensate for what they saw as the negative effects of their neighbourhood, one single mother enrolled her children in private school since so that he could get more attention. She explains that:

Angeline: At first they were going to go to a public school... but then since I was a single mom I thought they needed more support...

Julia: Did you find that the boys got more support at [name of private school]?

Angeline: Yes I think so. I don't have anything against public schools, but they have a lot of kids to deal with, and I think at [their private school] they could get a bit more attention.

-Angeline, 1st generation Mother

The most important consideration for many Filipino parents who chose to enroll their children in private schools, however, was that they could go to a Catholic school. In British Columbia there is no public Catholic school board and therefore all Catholic schools are fee-paying. The preference for Catholic schools is developed, in part, due to the situation in the Philippines, where there is a larger disparity between public and private schools. Due to the importance of Catholicism in Filipino culture and the colonial history of the education system, many private schools there are Catholic. Therefore, registering children in

private Catholic schools is commonplace for individuals of high socio-economic status in the Philippines and thus, many Filipino parents see it to be appropriate in Canada as well. For example, Angeline states that she "...wanted to send them to a Catholic school because that was the same as in the Philippines" (Angeline, 1st generation Mother). Of course, the religious aspect of these schools is also an important consideration. Likewise, Charlene, who enrolled her four children in Catholic school, explains how this was the most important factor in deciding where to send her children for school:

> Julia: And how did you and your husband decide on a school for your children?
>
> Charlene: Catholic school. It had to be a Catholic school.
>
> Julia: Ok
>
> Charlene: We didn't really care then, we didn't really look around then, just the catholic school, is it driving distance?
>
> Julia: Mm hmm....And then there probably wasn't a huge choice of Catholic schools in [small suburb]. *Laughs.*
>
> Charlene: No, no I think there's just one, just one.
>
> -Charlene, 1st Generation Mother

Charlene also explained how their home's proximity to the Catholic school was an important consideration they considered when purchasing their house. Likewise, other parents also moved so that their children could be closer to their private school, or so that they would be in the catchment area for good public schools. In contrast to public schools, Catholic private schools are not very numerous in Vancouver and the surrounding areas. This means that it is unlikely a Catholic school would be in ones' neighbourhood, unless a family specifically chose their housing due to the proximity to such a school.

Despite the prevalence of enrolling children in private schools, there were large differences between the private schools in terms of the quality of education and the socio-economic status of peer groups. Many participants attended elite private schools, with tuition costing thousands of dollars a year, where most of their peers were wealthy and the majority of graduates went on to university. Meanwhile, many others attended private schools that were only several hundred dollars a year and were largely made up of other children of immigrants. These more accessible private schools allowed for families with fewer financial resources to give their children a Catholic education. However, the later private schools had fewer students going on to university after graduation. One participant explained how most of his peers at his private school did not go on to post-secondary right away.

Although many parents chose private school education for their children, others decided to register their children in public school. For some this was an economic choice, but there were also specific programs that made public schools attractive. For example, Mila explained why her mother registered her in a public school when all of her Filipino-Canadian peers went to Catholic private schools:

> Julia: Did you go to a private school?
>
> Mila: A public school
>
> Julia: Ok
>
> Mila: Yeah, actually it was very interesting the way my parents chose that, because the other four Filipino families [in her small town], out of the five, we were one of them, they all went to private school and they did that because it was Catholic. It was funny, my mom always tells me this story of when she chose, she decided for me, she liked... they have a French Immersion program, so she thought 'can I get her to learn another language, or should I get her to learn the religion?' 'Oh I'll get her to do the

> language'. So all my other cousins [peers], ...they ended up at the private school and we went to public school.
>
> -Mila, 30-35, Human Resources Professional, 2nd Generation

Although Mila went on to university and benefited from the French Immersion program, as it helped her with her career, she also mentioned that not many of her peers from high school went on to post-secondary as she did.

One parent also explained how he felt that his daughter was fortunate to benefit from high quality education and participate in the International Baccalaureate program at her high school. John explains how he was happy with his daughter's public school education:

> Well basically, she was lucky enough to get into one of the better elementary schools in [name of suburb], and after a while the process was finding a high school in the catchment area of where we lived. We were lucky enough to be near [name of high school], and [name of high school] had a good high school program, so we registered her in the other high school program for the first two years and then eventually pre IB and IB.
>
> -John, 1st Generation Father

Despite many people having good experiences in public schools, attending private school also had unexpected benefits. As many families moved several times in their search for appropriate accommodation, children in private schools did not need to change schools during these moves, while children attended public school did.

For example, Mabel's family moved a lot, disrupting her schooling. Among other disadvantages of this instability, she was not able to participate in extra-curricular activities due to this or become engaged with her classes.

She explains her frequent moves and school changes:

Mabel: Oh yeah so when we moved to Vancouver we lived in Burnaby at first. But my family, we moved a lot and I, like I said I ended up going to like seven elementary schools and four high schools and it was basically just the whole renting factor of it

Julia: Ok. Was it just looking for an affordable place, a nicer place?

Mabel: An affordable place yeah, but eventually we did end up buying a place but then we had to sell it because my parents broke up. That's the reason why. So we had to sell the house.

-Mabel, 26-29, Entrepreneur, 2nd Generation

She reflects on the experience of changing schools so often "...I liked school, I remember it, but in terms of education wise, I don't remember much, because I was always moving and everybody taught so differently. But I was ok, I made friends really easily and it was fun to go to and everything" (Mabel, 26-29, Entrepreneur, 2nd Generation). Mabel's case is contrasted by Clarice's, whose family also moved several times. In her case, since she attended a private school, she did not need to change schools. This consistency in terms of education and school peers in the face of housing instability, made it easier for her to become engaged with academics.

Mabel's situation is a case where her neighbourhood, geography, education and peers are all interconnected. Meanwhile, Clarice was less affected by the neighbourhoods where she lived. For individuals who attended private school, the connection between their neighbourhood and their education and peers was weaker. Commuting to go to school lessened the 'neighbourhood effect' on the participants. For many, private schools had positive effects, but it was depending on the caliber of the school, it did not guarantee university entrance and well connected peers as some of the most prestigious schools do. Indeed, the use of private schools means that not everybody is affected by their neighbourhood to

the same degree as those with more resources can choose to establish ties outside of where they live.

Neighbourhood and grade school education, which are traditionally interconnected, have a large impact on young people's trajectories. However, for many participants who attended private school, the effect of their neighbourhood was minimal compared to the influence of their schools, both with regards to the education they received and the socio-economic background of their peers. In addition, family expectations and resources play a large role in forming trajectories. Therefore, while some public school students saw attending post-secondary as an 'obvious' next step, some private school students did not. These differences are due largely to family background and child raising strategies. In addition to the effect of family and peers, the disparities between and within both the public and private school systems create a variety of outcomes both expected and unexpected.

Table 7: Public and Private School Attendance

	Public School	Catholic Private School (accessible)	Catholic Private school (prestigious)	Non-Catholic Private School
Eric	X			
Mildred	X			
Patrick	X			
David	X			
Anton	X			
Lara	X			
Mila	X			
Paul	X			
Mabel	X			
Raquel	X			
Bryan	X			
Carmela	X	X		
Gerard		X		
Jose		X		
Janine		X		
Jay		X		
Matt			X	
Mary	X		X	
Carlos			X	
Jonathan			X	
Amelia			X	
Qara				X
Clarice				X
Unknown: Arlene				

5.6 Family Structures

Parents' immigration histories also affected the resources that were available to participants and thus the type of goals they feel are within reach. Indeed even

the ability to immigrate in the first place and under which program is determined by the financial and human capital of individuals. For example, the requirements of federal economic immigrants and Provincial Nominees are different from those of the Live-in Caregiver Program. As mentioned, the types of jobs parents had, the neighbourhoods they lived in and the type of support they had depended very much on parents' social networks.

The timing of parents' immigration was also a key factor that influenced participants' lives. For 1.5 generation Filipino-Canadians, their age at migration was an important factor in how they dealt with settlement into Canadian society and culture shock. In addition, those who moved as children had access to fewer resources as their parents struggled to establish their financial and social capital in Canada. These factors led to significant differences amongst 1.5 generation Filipino-Canadians and between 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians.

Individuals born in the Philippines were also more likely to experience family separation than 2nd generation Filipino-Canadians. For example, Raquel lived in the Philippines with family members while her mother worked overseas as a caregiver until the age of ten when she and her brother joined their mother in Canada. Her relationship with her mother, until recently, had been fraught with conflict and Raquel experienced loneliness and culture shock after moving to Canada. Other 1.5 generation participants had to move without immediate family or had parents return to the Philippines for financial reasons.

Nonetheless, family separation also occurred for some second generation participants as well, for example, Anton's parents separated and his father had been living in the Philippines since he was a child. Lara and David's family moved from Canada to the Philippines for eight years and then back again, however, while they were in the Philippines their father worked in Canada for six months of the year. Although family separation was at times due to immigration problems and requirements, such as Raquel's situation with the Live-in Caregiver

Program, other times it was due to parents' relationship problems, the need to fulfill employment contracts and economic reasons.

Parents' relationship status also affected what resources were available to participants during their childhood and beyond. Having a single parent increased the strain on resources for housing, school and extracurricular activities. Housing in particular is a challenge for immigrants in Vancouver and the surrounding areas, as it is a very expensive housing market. Of course, having fewer financial resources also meant living in neighbourhoods of lower socio-economic standing and thus fewer links to upward mobility.

Living with single parents also meant that children had to take a more active role in running the household and caring for younger sibling. For example, one participant who lived with a single mother explained the domestic burden on her and her brother:

> Raquel: So I didn't really see her that often and when we did it was like "I need you to do the dishes, how come the foods not ready?" and I think we were expected to be adults when we were still teens
>
> Julia: Mm hmm
>
> Raquel: No you're the parent, you should take care of me, I shouldn't have to cook for you. You know I shouldn't have to remind you to buy groceries you know things like that.
>
> -Raquel, 26-29, Childcare Provider, 1.5 Generation

Another participant who lived with a single mother explained that she couldn't join extra-curricular activities in part because she needed to look after her younger siblings. Participants with two parent families, or whose parents separated after childhood, explained their domestic responsibilities as being surprisingly light and many said that their mothers took on most of the household work so they could

focus on school. Some participants even had nannies from the Philippines to help with the housework and childrearing. Participants whose parents separated during adulthood, although experiencing the emotional strain of family conflict, were much less affected by the limited availability of resources and domestic responsibilities than those whose parents separated when they were children.

One participant, Qara, described her parents' separation as one of the elements that led her to her career as an artist.

> It was in high school when I really honed in. That was when I was really like, I love art, I wanna pursue it. And that was also during the time when my parents' divorce and I really found a refuge in art and expressed myself through it and dance and visual arts. So that's, so that was probably the first few years when I was like 'I love this and I wanna do it'.
>
> -Qara, 22-25, Arts Professional, 2nd Generation

Although Qara's parents did not encourage her pursuit of art as a career choice, she said they accepted it and there had not been major conflicts regarding this decision.

Besides parents being separated or together, there were also non-traditional family structures. For example, although his parents were together, Matt's father lived in the Philippines for eight years, only recently returning to Canada. He had not been able to find suitable work in Canada and returned to the Philippines to pursue business endeavors. Another participant, Eric, did not know his father and had been adopted by his grandparents in order to come to Canada when he was eight. His mother only joined the rest of the family many years later when the family decided to facilitate her immigration through the Live-in Caregiver Program. Although Matt describes the experience as being similar to having a single mom, in Eric's family where he lived with his cousins, uncle and

grandparents, he describes having received a lot of adult attention and only moderate domestic responsibilities.

Some of the participants from single parent families took time off before pursuing post-secondary. A common explanation for not pursuing post-secondary after high school was that they did not know what they wanted to pursue and thus did not feel that it was worth the money or effort. Some participants started post-secondary a few years later when they felt 'ready', when they became interested in a certain subject, or when they were prompted to do so by external factors such as being laid off.

A family's immigration history and parents' marital status dramatically affect participants. Family financial and social resources are largely tied to their migration history and marital status. This means that the children of economic immigrants born in Canada and parents who are still together are at an advantage. Although there are exceptions, the emotional and financial disadvantage of parents' migration through the Live-in Caregiver Program, migrating during childhood and having separated parents is clear. These factors mean that there is an increased chance of family separation, the experience of settlement challenges and a strain on family resources.

5.7 The Benefits of Financial Resources

As mentioned, family structure affects the financial resources available to families. Having two parents who are still married means that there are more financial resources available than if the parents are separated. Of course, socio-economic status in the Philippines and the financial resources a family has upon arrival in Canada are also crucial. Financial resources not only affect the type of aspirations youth form through their exposure to the adults in their lives, family history and familial expectations, but also their ability to achieve these

aspirations. The ability to achieve these aspirations is increased by having the resources to ensure a good education for children, as well as stable housing. Another important element is how having financial resources affect parent's careers and therefore their ability to spend time with their children, encourage them, impart important values and help with homework.

Financial resources influence the ability of parents to provide a quality education for their children. As mentioned, some parents do this by enrolling their children in prestigious private schools that emphasize university trajectories and cost thousands of dollars a year. These private schools also ensure that students get a lot of interaction with teachers and other adults, enabling them with negotiating skills and a sense of entitlement that will serve them well as adults (Lareau, 2011). Some parents also enroll their children in tutoring so that they can get extra preparation for university or other types of post-secondary.

Gerard, who attended "Kumon" tutoring from grade one to twelve explains how he felt it helped him be prepared for his university education in engineering. He explains that:

> I went into sciences, so [for example] math...if I hadn't had the background in doing that, then I probably wouldn't of had the skills to go into...engineering.... cause my parents were definitely of the mindset that when it comes to difficult math, we won't be able to teach you.
>
> -Gerard, 26-29, Engineer, 2nd Generation

Even for parents who did not enroll their children in private schools, the ability to afford to live in a neighbourhood that was in a catchment area for quality public schools was a way to ensure that their children received the education that would put them at an advantage when applying to post-secondary institutions. These advantages include programs such as French Immersion and the International Baccalaureate program. However, even for public schools that did not have

these specialized programs, going to one with quality education in a neighbourhood where other students were also being encouraged to excel and pursue post-secondary was an important step in enabling youth to achieve their goals.

Financial resources also translated to educational savings programs for youth or parents paying university or college tuition. Situations where tuition was covered by parents meant that the need for students to work was lesser while they were attending post-secondary. Not having to balance work with post-secondary studies allowed students to concentrate on academics and participate in resume-building extra-curricular activities such as clubs, sports, volunteering or student associations.

Gerard explains how he was dissuaded by his parents from working during university and agreed that it was a good idea to focus on his studies and live at home to save costs during university:

> Gerard: I know it's always preferred, well in my family at least, that you finish university and get a job related to that and start working earlier...and I kind of see why in terms of time management, I mean everybody has different priorities but I didn't see that working in a retail job would actually, like the income that I would make, compared with the income I would make as a professional would be, you know...
>
> Julia: Yeah
>
> Gerard: Just sort of weighing the pros and cons. So I see their point. But I know a lot of friends like to see themselves as independent, but I sort of think, maybe this is my family or Filipinos, but if you start handling money when you are young, then you're more and more disinclined I guess to study.
>
> -Gerard, 26-29, Engineer, 2nd Generation

Some participants who needed to work in order to support themselves and pay for tuition put off post-secondary education, chose to complete diplomas instead of degrees or made educational choices based on tuition fees. However, it should be noted that a minority of participants' parents could cover the entire cost of their children's post-secondary education and many participants, even those who had attended fee paying grade schools, took out student loans.

Financial resources not only provided educational advantages but also the ability to have safe, suitable and stable housing. The ability to buy rather than rent is a big advantage in Vancouver's difficult rental market. As mentioned, having appropriate housing also allows youth to have consistency in their schooling. Another, more subtle advantage of having financial resources is that it allows for more time for parent-child interaction. Parents who are working multiple jobs or taking on extra shifts do not have time to spend with their children, a major problem in the Filipino-Canadian community. Spending time with children, or adolescents, provides an opportunity for values to be transmitted and communication skills to be learned. For young children, having adults help with homework and ensure they are keeping up with their schoolwork is important. As the school system caters to families who do not work in the evenings by assigning homework and expecting parent-child interaction, children whose parents work in the evening are at a disadvantage.

Parents with more financial resources are usually those who work in their professions in Canada. This means they have not been disadvantaged by having to work in survival jobs and going through deskilling processes. It also means that children have professional role models who they can look up to and who can teach them soft skills regarding professional employment in Canada. In addition, parents in professional careers have networks with other professionals, allowing their children access to these networks as they go on in their careers.

For example, when I asked Catherine, an accountant, how she got her current and previous jobs, she explained that her network and her mother's connections helped her. She described getting referrals from "... classmates, family and friends sometimes, because my mom's an accountant so she knows a lot of accountant friends. ... so I get hook ups sometimes". She also explains how her mother's education helped her become confident in her decision to pursue accounting and assisted her through her post-secondary education. She explains that one of the reasons for going into the field was that "I knew that if I had any problems in school my mom could just help me" (Catherine, Accountant and Administrative Professional, 22-25, 1.5 Generation).

Having financial resources allows for immigrant parents to upgrade their skills, spend longer on their job search and have the cultural capital that comes from being from a high socio-economic position. Parents' socio-economic status and family size also has an influence on the family's financial resources, as many Filipinos, including most of the participants' families, sent remittances to the Philippines. None of the participants described this practice as a major drain on family resources, although several expressed their disagreement with the practice of sending money to family abroad. Nonetheless, sending remittances can be detrimental to opportunities in Canada and often creates family conflict.

The formation of aspirations, but also the ability to achieve those aspirations, is largely helped by the financial resources of a family who can contribute in direct and indirect ways in order to provide their children with the educational, cultural and financial advantages to allow them to reach their goals. This assistance comes in a variety of forms, be it private schools, tutoring, stable housing, providing access to professional networks, being role models or spending time with their children. Nonetheless, these resources only assisted youth in attaining their aspirations; they are not a requirement for the achievement of goals. Many youth without these resources were still able to achieve their goals

through their personal qualities, the assistance of school and post-secondary staff, supportive peers and talent. However, financial resources make it easier and more likely for youth to reach their educational and career goals.

5.8 Siblings

Besides parents, siblings also had an influence over participants' career and educational aspirations. Younger siblings often saw their older brothers or sisters as paving the way in regards to what was expected of them, and what was achievable. Older siblings often served as role models or intermediaries between the younger sibling and the parents. In most cases older siblings gave support and ideas of which trajectories to pursue and "set the bar" in terms of what accomplishments should be achieved.

Mila is an example of one of these people. She explains how her sister is an inspirational force for her.

> I looked up to my sister. A lot. I think I looked at what she did. And lucky for me she was very driven and she was just very determined just to get to the top. So I was able to just sort of follow her. I'm the younger sister so I am much more laid back and not as driven and determined. I certainly have goals and I'm going to school and stuff, so a lot of people would say that's good but what she has achieved is higher than me.
>
> --Mila, 30-35, Human Resources Professional, 2nd Generation

Mila's sister not only shaped her ambitions and inspired her, but connected her with her current job.

The admiration, camaraderie and support felt towards siblings was common among participants. Several individuals with younger siblings also had similar

stories of being a role model for their younger siblings and took on the role of giving the younger sibling career and education advice. Siblings have very different experiences with the Canadian education system and labour market than their immigrant parents do. In addition, many parents were not engaged in fields relevant to their children's interests, and they did not have the first-hand knowledge of navigating the labour market as young, Canadian educated individuals that siblings did. Parents' advice and knowledge of the labour market was developed primarily in the Philippines and was not always applicable in a Canadian context.

Catherine is an example of an older sibling providing advice on education and employment to both her younger sister and her parents. From watching her peers struggle to find work after graduating from university, she tries to advise her parents about her sister's options. In cases like Catherine's, the older sibling takes on the role of advising both the younger sibling and the parents. Catherine's concern for her sister's career after she finishes university also shows how her knowledge of the labour market is different from that of her parents. For example, although her parents clearly found education to be very important for their children and encouraged them to earn degrees, they were not involved in their career paths. While for some disciplines, such as medicine or engineering, the career path is obvious, this is not the case with all degrees. The importance of education was emphasized by several parents without the recognition of what different forms of education would mean for their future career paths, earnings and happiness. Parents often lacked the labour market knowledge and professional networks to help their children in their careers once they have finished their post-secondary education.

Catherine explains how she was raised and the recommendations she would give her sister:

Catherine: ...No my parents never really said, "this is what you should do, this is what you should do" but yeah, they just wanted us to get a degree. But now, cause my sister is in university now, I'm telling my mom, you should maybe encourage her to...she's getting a B.A. in English, but she's only there because it's... I think it's ok to get a B.A. in English if you know what you're going to do, like I'm going to be an writer, I'm going to do this, do that, be an editor, whatever, God knows what, right? But she's just there because she wants to get a degree, and I don't think you should do that. I think you should specialize or something. And so my parents are telling her to do or to start thinking of something better.

Julia: Or even do a minor in something more concrete.

Catherine: Yeah, yeah, cause you don't want to be jobless when you graduate right? I told my sister to get good grades, just in case she can't get a job so she can go to law school or something. Because you never know, right?

Julia: Yeah

Catherine: You always have to have a backup plan, you can't just do whatever in school right? So she's actually switching to communications, she says she wants to do PR, so I'm like that's good, because she's in second year right, and I thought that maybe third or fourth year might be a little too late to switch over.

-Catherine, Accountant and Administrative Professional, 22-25, 1.5 Generation

Catherine had managed to convince her sister, or convince her parents to advise her sister to completely change majors.

In other cases the dynamics were different, yet the intention of supporting a younger sibling was the same. For example, other ways siblings supported each other was by defending a sibling's career goals to their parents and acting as a mediator when there were conflicts regarding educational and career choices between the parents and the sibling.

In a small number of cases, relationships between siblings were not always so positive however. In certain circumstances, siblings served as polarizing forces where one of the siblings deliberately distanced themselves from the other sibling. In the few cases where this occurred, the individual had been disappointed by their sibling's behavior and wished to compensate for this individual by excelling and becoming a model family member. Although this was a more negative experience than that of following a positive role model, having a disappointing sibling was also a powerful motivator to excel. It is interesting to note however, that the distancing from the other sibling was not because the sibling had been unsuccessful or were involved with criminal activities, but that they viewed them as having broken cultural norms, for example by having a child early or moving out of the family home. Whether a good or bad example, younger siblings can learn from their older siblings and other family members which actions to follow, and which to do differently (Schultheiss, Palma, Predragovich, & Glasscock, 2002; Pimlott-Wilson, 2011).

Eric is one example of someone who disapproves of his sibling's actions and has modified his actions accordingly. He explains:

> Eric: I kind of feel like I have to work harder to make up for their mistakes. So I feel like I have to pull more of my weight, so, yeah.
>
> Julia: Um, so do you mean their mistakes of like moving out?
>
> Eric: Yeah moving out and getting pregnant or whatever.... Like the way she chose to do things, yeah, well I mean that's what made her the person

she is today so you can't undo that. But yeah, I don't know I have this thing on my shoulder that I have to make it right, for what they've done, the disrespect that they have shown.

-Eric, 22-25, Personal Trainer, 1.5 Generation

There were other ways in which individuals altered their behaviour because of their sibling's decisions. Jose explains his complicated position as the older brother of three sisters.

Julia: And did you feel that as the oldest you had different responsibilities? Was there something different expected of you? Were you in charge of taking care of everyone or anything?

Jose: Yeah I think so, everyone has a... if you grew up in a Filipino household there are certain roles you play and the big brother you are expected to kind of take care, and to achieve I guess, and you felt like this tremendous pressure. And psychologically that pressure can really get to you, right. Because you are trying to, you feel like you always have to achieve or you're not going to be, and you always have to put that force on yourself, and you always ...you freak out if your sister is doing a bit better than you, because in the end that's the essence of being the big brother in the household, is traditionally, it's a sense of responsibility...

Julia: And do you think you and your sisters influenced each other in terms of choices in education and in jobs?

Jose: I think very, ...very strongly but indirect. Like of course we encouraged each other once in a while, but it's a deeper psychology than that. Like my sister, I had a decision, after I finished [two years] at BCIT (British Columbia Institute of Technology) I was going to finish at BCIT or go to university. And university would have been the much bigger sacrifice but the bigger pay off, but I decided, you know what, I'm gonna stay home

and finish at BCIT. But the same day that my sister decided she was going to go to McGill was the same day I decided to go to the University of Manitoba. I thought I have to be a bit better, or I can't make the lower decision right.

-Jose, 30-35, Architect, 1.5 Generation

In contrast to Jose's experience, many older siblings did not feel that they were influenced by their younger siblings at all, but rather thought they influenced them by giving advice or being a role model. Through these examples, it is apparent how labour market outcomes are not only the product of personal choice and ambition, but of an individual's position within a family and a wider social context.

Sibling birth order played a role not only in terms of role modeling and decision making but also with respect to the type of parenting individuals received. For example, some participants commented that their parents had learned from the experience of raising older siblings so they were better prepared when it came to raising the younger one. Likewise, Catherine commented that her parents were less established when she was growing up, allowing her younger sister to have access to more opportunities.

She explains:

Catherine: Yeah, my sister definitely had a better upbringing than I did. Because my sister was five years younger, she got the tuition paid for and I didn't and she was able to go to camps when she was little and I wasn't able to go to [summer] camps...I think I know why, because when immigrants come here right, like Filipino immigrants, they have less money, less resources, and then obviously for the second kid, they're better

Julia: They're more established.

Catherine: Yeah, so I understand that. If I had a first kid and I was struggling, I'm definitely not going to give them a lot of opportunities.

-Catherine, Accountant and Administrative Professional, 22-25, 1.5 Generation

One of the participant's mothers echoed these sentiments with her perspective that she thought that her oldest (male) child had a harder time than his siblings. In this case the oldest was six when he moved to Canada and his other siblings much younger.

Charlene, a Filipino mother, explains her perspective:

Julia: Do you think that there was any child who had it easier or harder?

Charlene: [name of child] had it hardest. Because he was the first one and I am just trying, I am just assimilating to know what the culture is all about. I feared for everything, you know.

-Charlene, 1st Generation Mother

Nonetheless, despite Catherine and Charlene's comments, many individuals who were the first born in their family did not feel any sort of deprivation, and did not have many complaints about their upbringing.

Besides the family's adjustment to Canada and accumulation of resources, many individuals within the same family had very different experiences. Some of these differences were tied to gender, which will be explored in a later chapter, but others were due to external factors. For example, for a few individuals whose parents separated during adulthood or their late teens, their younger sibling effectively grew up with a single parent, whereas they had not. One participant's mother passed away when he was a teenager, leading him to have a very different adolescence than his two older siblings did. Alternatively, some younger siblings received increased interaction with parents once the older

siblings had started post-secondary education. Several of the participants were only children, and their upbringing was characterized by a high level of parental support during both childhood and adulthood.

Siblings, particularly older ones, had a large impact on their brothers and sisters. Siblings served as role models, provided information about educational programs and the labour market which parents did not have, and mediated if there were disputes between parents and siblings. However, some participants did not have good relationships with their siblings, leading them to take different directions rather than following in their footsteps. While some participants described being influenced by their younger siblings, many stated that these siblings had a negligible effect on their trajectories. All of these factors show how even within the same family, where socio-economic status is constant, each experience is unique.

5.9 Peer Groups

Some of the participants did not have parents or siblings who encouraged them to pursue post-secondary and onward with their careers. For example, one woman, Lara described how her father was indifferent to the pursuit of post-secondary education. Lara, a dental hygienist, whose parents did not have degrees, was determined to obtain one in order to keep up with her friends' accomplishments. She explained her shock at her father's suggestion of not pursuing post-secondary and said that many of her Filipino friends from high school are now pursuing advanced degrees.

> Lara: And most of my friends their parents are professors at the university and stuff like that. So a lot of my friends went into med school, engineering, professions like that. So you have to also be in a profession that is somewhat respectable, I guess.

Julia: Ok, so do you mean you have to be in a profession that's respectable because of your social circle?

Lara: My social circle, yeah. When we moved back to Canada [after spending several years in the Philippines] one of the things that my dad said was you don't really need to go to university, you can just go and do a trade or something and I was like "what? I have to go to university, all my friends are in university, I can't not go to university!" like my best friends, both of them in the Philippines, they have their Masters already. So I'm like "I have to be there too".

-Lara, 22-25, Dental Hygienist, 2nd Generation

In this case, as well as in others, peers were an important factor in developing the self perception of being destined for post-secondary and for professional careers. Lara's peer group of highly educated friends were from her time studying in a university town in the Philippines where she had attended an exclusive school. Thus the location where she developed these friendship was highly influential in the formation her educational goals. Jay also explained how his peers were an important motivator to pursue his career and how he changed his peer group in order to pursue his goals.

Jay: Cause I was hanging out with this set of people who didn't want to go anywhere. And when I hung out with my [Filipino-Canadian] family friends, I felt left behind, and I had to catch up and I didn't want to do nursing but on a different field, but at least I feel comfortable, and it's because of them. I feel that they helped me achieve what I could achieve and achieve what I'm going to achieve.

Julia: Ok, so were you attracted to that group of friends like when you wanted to make a change in your life, or was it just kind of, that led to something else?

Jay: Yeah, like one of my best friends, he's the godfather of my son, he started calling me up and I started calling him up and we started getting to know each other and he had a year left, a year left before he finished nursing, and me I was a labourer and yeah, he opened up my eyes a lot to let me know that anything is achievable. So I wasn't stuck on this playing field where I thought I would be for the rest of my life.

Julia: Ok

Jay: Yeah I think he pulled me, I gravitated...

-Jay, 30-35, Sales Professional and Entrepreneur, 2nd Generation

Jay's change in social circles was an important element in facilitating the change he wanted to make in his life from being a labourer to working in sales and starting his own business. Jay thought that before he had made this change he was "...heading in a direction where I could have been I bum" (Jay, 30-35, Sales Professional and Entrepreneur, 2nd Generation). Jay's description of the two social groups shows the positive and negative influence peers can have, depending on the culture of the peer group. Many participants complained that they felt many male peer groups had cultures which did not promote the attainment of long term goals, a phenomenon which will be discussed in a later chapter.

Matt is also an interesting case where peers played an important role in shaping his aspirations. Although his family encouraged him to pursue post-secondary, they did not have a lot of resources. He credits his peer group of other second and 1.5 generation Filipino-Canadians for encouraging him. He feels that his group of friends is unique due to their ambitions and describes them as very supportive of one another.

Matt: I think my group of friends was all different, I don't see a lot of Filipinos in my level of education...

Julia: Mm hmm

Matt: And I guess for us, we were all close right, so I guess everybody's personalities have rubbed off, so it was like "hey do you want to do this, do you want to do that" or we set a standard for ourselves in a way.

Julia: Mmm hmm. Yeah that, that not necessarily pressure, but peer influence.

Matt: It's like, somebody is like that, you know what, I have to do that too, you know?

-Matt, 22-25, Finance Professional, 1.5 Generation

The majority of participants had both positive peer pressure from friends and family support for their educational and career trajectories, however for those without a lot of family support, peer support played an even more important role.

Peers also connected each other with employment. Although parents often helped their children gain employment during adolescence, in later years peers become more important. These connections were especially useful as many participants entered professions that their families were not engaged in. People spoke of how they had been connected with employment through classmates, friends and colleagues as well as through professors and professional networks. While some peers connected participants with opportunities with employers, others directly employed them. For example, Mildred's friend, a doctoral student, hired her as his assistant. Also, one of Mary's friends owned a spa where Mary had worked as an esthetician.

Friends also served as role models and exposed individuals to careers they would not have considered otherwise. For example, Arlene got the idea of starting a performing arts company when she became friends with other people making a living on artistic careers. She had not been exposed to full-time artists

previously and therefore had not considered it to be a possibility. She explains that she "... got involved in a black box theater group and from there I met a lot of people who were making a living for themselves as artists, so I realized it was something I could do" (Arlene, 30-35, Entrepreneur, 2nd Generation). The support and role modeling of these friends had a strong impact on her decision to make a career change. Several other participants referred to friends they admired personally and professionally.

Peer groups often provided participants with positive peer pressure that helped shape their aspirations. They also provided support, served as role models and encouraged each other to pursue their goals. In addition, friends provided support and transmitted labour market intelligence to each other. Peer networks were also instrumental in referring individuals to employment and or even employed them directly.

5.10 Role Models (Outside Family and Peer Networks)

Role models, whom I define as adults who guide and support another individual, were important in the career and educational trajectories of many participants. Often these role models were found within family and friend networks and many participants described how they had been encouraged by aunts, cousins, neighbours, peers or other supportive adults in their lives. Indeed, supportive non-parental adults have been identified as key to healthy development as have been linked to higher self-esteem and less problem behavior in adolescence (Sterett, Jones, McKee, & Kincaid, 2011). However, for participants who did not have the emotional or career support within their home or peer groups, adults outside these networks proved to be influential.

For example, one participant, Patrick, felt that his parents were unsupportive and found the sports coaches and teachers at his high school to be very helpful. He

explained: "Like I really looked up to people like that and they really helped out, like they're real, you know , uh they're there to help you out...Whereas at home it was more criticism, so I always looked at people who had a positive attitude very highly" (Patrick, 30-35, Banking Professional, 2nd Generation).

Another participant, Paul, explained how a teacher at his high school was also very influential for him. He explains how the teacher's observation led him to make a career change, leading him to go on and complete a Bachelors and Masters degree in the field of business.

> Julia: did anyone help you make the decision to go to SFU [Simon Fraser University] for business? Like friends or career counselors?
>
> Paul: Um...SFU particularly?
>
> Julia: Well that direction.
>
> Paul: That direction, so business, then yes. I had finished my first year at Simon Fraser University where I had been taking Chemistry, and the most difficult math, I was taking, some other really, I can't remember exactly what I was doing in first semester but it is totally different from what I am doing now. So I went back to my old school, and I was just having a chat with my old teachers, and one of them reflected and said, "you know, I never considered you, Paul, to be someone who is interested in sciences".
>
> Julia: Ok
>
> Paul: "I always thought you would be more of a business person because you are so good with people." So after that talk, I changed my career.
>
> -Paul, 30-35, Business Professional, 2nd Generation

Of course, the availability of strong mentors such as teachers, counselors and coaches would depend in part on an individual's geographic location, as schools

which serve high socio-economic brackets would have more resources. This also meant that at private schools, where there is typically more teacher-student interaction, the availability of role models is greater. Teachers often gave concrete school and career advice, whereas immigrant parents were not always in a position to do this. For example, teachers suggested whether to go to university or college and which ones, or suggested a career direction. Fernandez-Kelly identifies the importance of teachers and high school counselors in providing information about local education systems and labour markets which the immigrant parents may not have (2008).

Nonetheless, some participants felt that they had not received accurate information from school teachers and counselors. One participant thought that he had received faulty information from a college professor about which university to go on to and regretted taking the professor's advice. Another participant, Matt, also explains how his school counselor dissuaded him from pursuing his goal.

He explains:

> Matt: ....I wanted to become an engineer.
>
> Julia: Ok
>
> Matt: That's what I wanted. But I was misled by the counselor, that's what happened....And I guess I didn't do enough of my own research because they told me, engineering is not a very good profession to get into right now, so obviously I just believed them and what do I know right?
>
> -Matt, 22-25 Finance Professional, 1.5 Generation

Being a role model can also be a motivating force and affected ones actions in a positive way (Schultheiss, Palma, Predragovich, & Glasscock, 2002). Matt explains how he did not have a mentor but found inspiration through taking

career development workshops at his university and by being a mentor for Filipino high school students:

> Matt: ...while I was doing that, that's when I started realizing...if I am going teach these kids about goal setting and about career and personal planning, then I should know these things too, and not only should I know them but I should practice it.
>
> Julia: Yeah
>
> Matt: So that's how I sort of, I took in all these things that I got from all these sessions and people talking and giving me all this information [the career development workshops], so in the end I just kind of used that to find my own inspiration.
>
> Julia: Ok
>
> Matt: When I was teaching all the kids about it, then that's when I became more and more interested right. And that's when I started to get interested in planning my own future right.
>
> Julia: That's interesting that you would get that from mentoring other people
>
> Matt: Yeah cause I didn't really have a mentor myself, so from teaching them, I got something out of it.
>
> -Matt, 22-25 Finance Professional, 1.5 Generation

The importance of role models cannot be underestimated. In response to the question of what sets apart students who go on to well-paid job, an employment counselor at a local university explained that "there is no doubt in my mind that it has to do with guidance. The students who do well and move on to do well have a mentor or they have good parents" (Employment Counsellor, local university).

In fact, often multiple role models are needed for different periods in their lifespan and with different aspects of their lives such as career and educational decision-making as well as emotional support.

Role models provided encouragement, information and exposure to different pathways that participants may not have received otherwise. This support and expertise was especially useful for individuals who did not receive it through family and friend networks. Being a role model was also helpful for participants to gain a clearer sense of their goals and what they needed to do to achieve them. Nonetheless, some participants felt misled by their role models. Therefore the effects of these influential individuals can be both positive and negative.

5.11 Conclusion

Social networks such as family, peers and role models have a strong impact on the educational and career trajectories of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians. They do so by shaping aspirations, connecting individuals with resources and information, and supporting individuals as they pursue their goals.

Family has a tremendous impact on the types of careers individuals are exposed to, the encouragement or discouragement they receive, what resources are available to them and which social circles and institutions they belong to. Family also determines the resources available to individuals, the schools children attend and the neighbourhoods where they live. The availability and quality of these resources facilitates of impedes the achievement of certain career and educational trajectories. Besides parents, siblings are also very important because they serve as role models to one another, provide mutual support, mediate between parents and siblings and connect each other with employment. Similar to siblings, peers also play a crucial role, as they can serve as role models as well, provide positive peer pressure, connect each other to

employment and help one another navigate the Canadian labour market and education system. Lastly, besides role models within family and peer networks, influential adults such as teachers, counselors or coaches can be very important in directing pathways. Peers and role models are particularly important in cases where the family is not supportive, lacks resources or if the type of family support does not align with the individual's goals.

The Philippines, both materially and imagined, plays an important role in determining young people's trajectories. Parents' resources and social contacts are largely shaped in the Philippines as they shape the type of immigration experiences and the childhoods of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian children. Likewise, the 'choice' of neighbourhood and schools, which is often a reflection of the availability of resources of a family, further influences the types of social ties and educational experience of young people. The memory or impression of the family's stature in the Philippines and parents' migration experience is also key in shaping the type of aspirations individuals have for themselves. Lastly, young Filipino-Canadians include the Philippines in their educational and career considerations, with some engaging with the country directly and others including transnationalism in their future goals.

Processes within the family and other social networks have a large influence on the level of education and the type of labour market engagement 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians achieve. Family, peer, and role model networks are instrumental in the formation of young people's aspirations, their connection to the resources and information as well as their ability to achieve their goals. Although educational and career paths are often portrayed as being a result of individual decisions and abilities, in reality, social surroundings have a large impact on these trajectories

6 Similar Circumstances, Different Realities: How Gender Shapes Distinct Career and Educational Trajectories

6.1 Introduction

Gender is a significant factor in determining the pathways of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians. Participants' gender shapes the type of career advice they are given, their reception in the labour market, the aspirations that are encouraged, the social ties that are established and the educational and career pathways that are seen as appropriate. Filipino-Canadians men and women experience different type of socialization within the family, with different expectations being projected on sons and daughters. These expectations are in part a result of first generation Filipino-Canadians migration experiences and their views of what is appropriate and achievable for men and women. Canadian census statistics show distinct employment and earning patterns between Filipino-Canadian men and women of all generations. Among the study participants, different trends in career paths, areas of study and decision-making processes were apparent. Although the participants' experiences were not representative of wider census data, analyzing the processes involved in shaping their trajectories is an important piece of discovering the reasons behind gendered career differences in the Filipino community.

In this chapter, the collective experiences of first generation Filipino-Canadian parents will be outlined, followed by the particular parenting styles commonly experienced by men and women in the study. The engagement of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians women in feminized professions, their domestic responsibilities, and the encouragement to pursue nursing as a career will also be examined. In addition, the conflicts between young adults and their parents with regards to career choices will be examined as well as perceptions of

materialism among male peer groups. The strategies towards entrepreneurship of both men and women will be described followed by the career decision making processes of men. Lastly, the perception that there is a lack of Filipino-Canadian male role models and the influence of fathers on their sons will be discussed. All of these themes serve to explain gender differences between Filipino-Canadian men and women. Family socialization, societal norms, gendered self-perceptions and the history of the Filipino community in Canada are all strong factors that explain gendered patterns of employment and education.

6.2 First Generation Parents' Experiences

The experiences of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian women are influenced by that of their mothers and fathers and other first generation immigrants in the community. Many of the study participants had mothers who came to Canada from the Philippines, directly or through another country, to work as nurses. This provided the women with stable, well paid employment almost immediately upon arrival and enabled them to continue working in their pre-departure professions. Other participants had mothers who came to Canada as live-in caregivers, textile workers or looked for work in a variety of fields upon arrival. Although some of the participants' fathers came to Canada as economic immigrants and facilitated their wives' immigration process, in most cases the women's employment enabled the couples' migration to Canada. The experience of the participants' families is therefore similar to overall patterns within the Filipino community, for example, female led migration, the numerical dominance of women and their overrepresentation in feminized industries.

Participants' fathers, in contrast to the female nurses and caregivers, usually had to look for work upon arrival in Canada. Many of the fathers who were professionals in the Philippines could not continue working in their professions in Canada. However, some found positions where they could use their skills and a

minority did continue in their professions. Some of the occupations where participants' fathers were employed included nursing, engineering, accounting, custodial work, manufacturing, maintenance, machinery, sales and IT support. Because many of the men could not work in their professions, often women were the primary breadwinner and made many of the family decisions.

Due to the strong position of the mother in many families, many young Filipino-Canadian women had strong role models to look up to. In addition, the numerical dominance of Filipino women in Canada led women to have many options in terms of female Filipino-Canadian role models. However, as Daniel Hiebert has noted, Filipino women are the most occupationally segmented group in Vancouver (Hiebert, 1999). This means that although 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian young women had many supportive female figures in their lives, these women could not necessarily serve as career mentors for youth entering a more diverse variety of fields. This also meant that men grew up with male role models often in blue collar occupations, whereas women often had professional role models.

Jonathan explains that although he admired his father who was a nurse, he did not see a pattern where men of his father's generation were family breadwinners:

> Jonathan: "...they don't all have steady employment. They all have, a lot of them, men and women have nursing degrees but don't practice, or have tried business ventures that have failed, typically, like in all honestly, the men are, are unemployed and the women are working, so...
>
> Julia: Ok
>
> Jonathan: And most of them of that generation, they all have adult children who are all working, married, educated...But of my parents' generation, most of them are retired obviously, but even in the years towards

retirement age, I know that they weren't working. Except the women were working- I remember.

Julia: And what were the women working in?

Jonathan: Mostly things like physiotherapy or nursing. That's it...It was some sort of professional schooling, professional job, it wasn't just retail or anything like that.

-Jonathan, 30-35, Chiropractor, 2nd Generation

Jonathan's quote shows the imbalance between the genders in his parents' generation and the strong role that women play in supporting the family. It should be noted however, that although many of the participants had mothers who were breadwinners, many Filipino women, as racialized immigrant workers, do struggle with low paid work in the labour market. It is significant that the majority of participants' mothers did not have service sector jobs despite the overrepresentation of Filipino women in these positions. The mothers' stable employment is likely a facilitating factor in their children's largely professional pathways.

As a collective, Filipino men and women have had different migration trajectories with the strong demand for feminized labour precipitating female led migration from the Philippines. Within the sample, many of the mothers were nurses and many fathers were employed in blue collar occupations. The quantity of mothers in nursing in the sample is at odds with larger patterns of Filipino immigrant women working in low paid jobs. This difference means that many families in the sample had a significant and reliable source of income, thus allowing for the resources which could help the 1.5 and second generation children. This imbalance between first generation mothers and fathers is also the context in which participants grew up, found role models and developed their perception of gender roles.

6.3 Gendered Parenting Styles

Some Filipino parents also had different childrearing strategies for their sons and daughters. Women often reported stricter parenting with regards to their social lives, schoolwork and careers.

For example, Jose explains the different ways his parents treated him compared to his sisters:

> Julia: Do you think you had it harder than your sisters then? Did anyone have it easier or harder?
>
> Jose: No, I had it easier than my sisters, yeah, it was completely...I had no discipline really, I was free to do whatever I wanted as a teenager, and I look back at that and think, I wish they cared a little more....But no, my sisters were, even now they're 25 and my parents still freak out about stuff they have to do, and for me- I never had anything imposed on me, I never had a curfew, yeah...It was very. I think that's very common in Filipino families, the overprotection of the females.
>
> -Jose, 30-35, Architect, 1.5 Generation

Likewise, Mary describes the difference between her and her brother:

> Mary: There was always a double standard. So my brother's younger than me, but he could do a lot more things than I could. That's how I feel.
>
> Julia: So he could go out partying?
>
> Mary: Yeah. Easily. Uh, I mean for example his driver's license - now I was eager to get it at 16. He couldn't care less because he had people to drive him around, but when he did get it he was allowed to drive the car anywhere he wanted, whereas I, I could only drive down the street and

then eventually to school. And it was very restrictive. They were a lot more strict on me than they were on him.

Julia: Yup

Mary: Now around the house, well my parents are very strict, and they are very, well I wouldn't say devout, but they are, they do follow the Catholic rules and very old fashioned Filipino beliefs, so I had to act a certain way. There's a certain expectation for a girl. There's girl's work and then there's boys work...I was expected to clean the house, but at the same time my mom wanted me to do my homework instead of clean the house.

-Mary, 30-35, Actor and Nurse, 2nd Generation

In addition to different parenting styles towards their sons and daughters, some households were also multigenerational and grandparents' views were also taken into consideration. Janine explains this situation:

Janine: I know our parents tried really hard to treat us fair, but I know as a girl, ...our grandparents...I guess because they were in the Philippines for much longer, even to this day because I'm a girl, I'm supposed to take care of him in a sense. So I think I'm supposed to have that role...But like my parents are a lot more lenient and they think everybody should pull their own weight but like washing the dishes, all of the goods, cause I remember cause I was cooking or washing the dishes and my grandpa was like good, you're going to be a good wife, that kind of thing. ...That sort of expectation they have, my grandparents had, of my role in the family, but my parents have been here so long they're not really like that.

-Janine, 26-29, Administration Professional, 2nd Generation

Although Janine states in the beginning of the quote that her parents tried to treat her and her brother fairly and it was her grandparents who had the more

traditional views, later in the conversation, she complained of stricter parenting during her teenage years. She expands:

> Julia: In terms of your social lives, like with friends and boyfriends, girlfriends?
>
> Janine: Oh man, he got away with so much more than I did. I guess that's another thing, now that you brought that up, he got to go out and stay late, I'd have to call at 9, come back by 10, even though when I was his age, they still had those restrictions on me, I guess it's just cause he's the guy and being the girl, it's like shame on you kinda thing, but I rebelled pretty bad, so my parents started to back off on me, but just growing up and watching him do all that and then when I hit his age and I couldn't do it, I was so mad at him, and I was so mad at my parents it was like "it's not fair cause Jay got to go out, and duh duh duh" and things like that but just because I'm a girl I had to obey.
>
> Julia: Ok so a tighter leash then?
>
> Janine: Much tighter
>
> -Janine, 26-29, Administration Professional, 2nd Generation

This stricter parenting style towards women over men was not necessarily fair, but one of the consequences was that women received more adult attention than men. Another participant, Paul, mentioned that he thought the stricter parenting style helped guide women through important decision-making processes. In contrast to the protective parenting style towards daughters, the approach towards sons was more removed. Many parents allowed their sons to have much more independence, did not monitor their whereabouts as closely, and let them have more social time instead of studying or being involved with family activities. Gerard mentions how this stricter attitude towards women gives them an advantage over men:

...in a certain sense I think that females get a bit more support in terms of the education factor as well, sometimes from the parents, I don't know it might be, "ok my sons just playing basketball " or "he's just doing that" I don't know, these sort of thing, but they don't really think of the future. And then maybe the parents are like "ok this girl is bright, maybe she has more potential". I think maybe it is a mix of factors in terms of parent's support, parental support and things like that...

-Gerard, 26-29, Engineer, 2nd Generation

As a result of the decreased parental support and supervision some participants mentioned that either they themselves or siblings and friends hadn't done as well in school. This created a cycle where it was assumed that the parents had lost confidence in them pursuing post-secondary or other endeavors and focused their resources on the female children who showed more 'potential'. Patrick explains his perspective where he felt that his sister received more support than he did and he didn't feel that his parents supported him:

Patrick: Yeah, the females...really were focused on school...primarily because of the fact that the parents wanted them, the women, to go to school, and then the guys it was almost like it was ok for them to not do school and go to work right away. That's what I found.

Julia: Why do you think that is? Did they want them to be making money earlier, or just weren't as concerned that they'd go off track?

Patrick: I think it has to do with the parents, like in my family for example, especially with my younger sister, because they felt she was younger and because she was a girl, they babied her. They gave her whatever she wanted, and one of the things that they wanted her to do was to go to school, so that's what she did. So they paid for her school and it was easy...Whereas with the guys that I know, including me, I was a trouble

maker in high school, so my parents, I think they almost got to a point where they just want me to do whatever to get out of the house. That's what I'm thinking. And I've had a few other friends that were kind of like that, some of them had nothing to do and ended up in a job that eventually panned out.

Julia: Yeah

Patrick: Yeah, but for me, like I didn't, by the time I smartened up I had very little options because my parents didn't want to help me out right.

- Patrick, 30-35, Banking Professional, 2nd Generation

This is an example of how, due to lack of support, Patrick did not do as well as his younger sister; however because he was not doing as well, his parents then supported him less as they lost confidence in his potential. Patrick did not graduate high school with most of his friends but returned to finish the credits he needed for graduation, a choice he made through the influence of his peers. He later completed one year of a business diploma and is now in a management position at a credit union. It is interesting that he mentions his younger sister being 'babied' in part because she was girl, as this was a term other participants used to describe how male children were treated in the family.

Jose, an architect, has a nuanced take on the gendered parenting styles. He explained that having more independence was a positive thing for him, but that he feels this approach allows men to succeed or fail more easily, and that many Filipino-Canadian men do not have other factors pushing them to succeed. He explains:

Jose: ...they're [Filipino men] not in that platform where females have to, they just do whatever their parents say, whereas males they just, they're a bit more.. independent. *They have more chances to fail or succeed, but the bottom line is that they're more susceptible to paving their own way....*

But given those circumstances, the Filipino male is, there's...its not very.. there's not very successful avenues for them, because of the conditions that they live in.

Julia: What types of conditions?

Jose: Just growing up not having a role model, not having a sense of passion for something, always feeling like, this pressure you have to succeed. It's very different, it's very unique in Filipino culture.

-Jose, 30-35, Architect, 1.5 Generation

The gendered roles participants experience in their families is telling. Although often brothers and sisters have many constant factors such as parents' education, family resources and socio-economic status, they can have very different upbringings within the same family. The level of supervision and control over women in terms of their education, careers and particularly their social lives, was significantly higher than for men. Although these parenting styles were imbalanced, many women actually benefitted from this increased contact with adults and pressure to focus on their schooling. By contrast, men were given a great deal of freedom, allowing them more choice in their career and educational decisions but also receiving less support. Along with parents' migration experiences, these gendered parenting styles greatly affected the direction of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian men and women.

6.4 The Pressure on Women to Enter the Field of Nursing

For both men and women, parents expressed that financial stability was an important consideration in career decision making. However, as opposed to men, many parents strongly encouraged their daughters to pursue nursing. Mary describes the stark difference in expectations between her and her brother:

Mary: Because I remember in grade eleven we were choosing, I was choosing my courses for the year, and this was a new school for me.

Julia: Yup

Mary: And anyways I remember reviewing this with my mom. And all of it was in the arts, and that's where I would excel probably. And I remember showing her like English lit, and Geography etcetera and she's like "what are you going to do with this?" and I was like "well what do you mean?". "well how are you ever going to be a doctor or a nurse?" and I was like "I'm sorry, but I never expressed that I wanted to do either one" and I was quite confused, and then she says "well you can't do anything with these courses" so then I had to change them, which was awful because I failed at almost everything.

Julia: Mm hmm

Mary: Yeah, whereas my brother she says "well I'll be happy if you're a mechanic" and I'm like "I'm sorry, what?"

Julia: So you have to be the doctor and he's the mechanic?

Mary: Yeah. Oh I can remember that growing up as a teenager. So yeah funnily enough, I was supposed to be a doctor or a nurse and my brother was supposed to be a mechanic.

- Mary, 30-35, Actor and Nurse, 2nd Generation

While Mary's example is extreme in terms of the different expectations her parents had of her and her brother, many men were encouraged into a variety of careers such as engineering, medicine, business or left to follow their specific interests, the encouragement of nursing as a career choice for women was a recurring theme.

As mentioned, many of the participants' mothers were nurses themselves and this profession has played a key role in the history of migration from the Philippines (Choy, 2003). For many women in the Philippines, nursing is seen as a pathway to a better life overseas and many first generation women were encouraged by their own families to enter this profession (Ronquillo, Boschma, Wong, & Quiney, 2011).

Mary, who did pursue nursing, describes her trajectory and the involvement her parents had in it:

> Mary: Yeah I attempted just one year of general studies because I didn't know what I wanted to do, and then after that one year, I decided to apply for nursing school, with the influence of my parents
>
> Julia: So did they push nursing?
>
> Mary: I think they did. *Laughs.* I think they really did.
>
> - Mary, 30-35, Actor and Nurse, 2nd Generation

Mary goes on to describe how she pursued nursing without enjoying it and how her family dissuaded her from other careers. She is now also pursuing an acting career while working part-time as a nurse. The fact that Mary completed a nursing degree knowing it was not a good fit for her and then pursued an alternative career after graduation shows the strong influence of family expectations. Nonetheless, it is also indicative of the widespread feeling among women that one's career was not entirely one's own choice, but also that of their families. The woman's role in the family unit is such that their careers are often not viewed as individual destinies but are rather cast in terms of how they will affect the rest of the family unit.

Another example of an individual who felt pressured by her family to enter the nursing profession is Clarice. Her mother still encourages her to study nursing

despite the fact that she already has several degrees in unrelated fields and plans to open her own business. The following conversation hints at the family dynamics with regards to her career direction:

> Julia: And how do your parents feel about your educational and career choices?
>
> Clarice: Well, at first my mom really wanted me to be a nurse. I think it took her a while to realize that I wasn't going to go in that direction. She still mentions it once in a while.
>
> Julia: Oh wow, she still hasn't given it up.
>
> Clarice: She hasn't totally given it up, but yeah...
>
> -Clarice, 30-35, Information Technology Professional, 2nd Generation

Beyond the immediate family, contacts within social networks influence career considerations. The wider social circles and members of the same class background have ideas of what a suitable career is. Janine explains the expectations of members of her family's social circle with regards to nursing:

> Julia: Ok, so nursing was something that was pushed then?
>
> Janine: Yeah and even her [Janine's mother's] friends would talk to me about it, like why don't you get into nursing instead of doing all that, ...one of my mom's friends like went off on me, like about how I should get into nursing, even though it's hard, and he [the friend] tried to make it sound glamorous. And I was kind of offended, I was like "ok my parents came to Canada to give me opportunities and then I'm just going to follow in their footsteps?, like then why did we leave and come to Canada you know ?"
>
> -Janine, 26-29, Administration Professional, 2nd Generation

Janine has internalized the struggles her parents made to come to Canada before she was even born, as described with Hirsh's concept of postmemory (Hirsch, 1997). It is interesting that she states "why did *we* even come here?" when she herself has never actually come to Canada but was born here. The passage also insinuates an acknowledgement of the sacrifice involved in the immigration process. This excerpt demonstrates how she has internalized the view of Canada being a land of opportunities and the Philippines being one of constraints. It also shows how nursing, much like in the Philippines, is still viewed as one of the best career pathways for women.

Alternatively, some mothers actively discouraged the pursuit of nursing.

For example, Mila explains how her mother advised against the career choice of nursing:

> Mila: My mother told me never to be a nurse.
>
> Julia: Really? I've been hearing the opposite, about people who were pushed into nursing.
>
> Mila: My mom would come home and she was exhausted, at least one or two times year she would say, 'do not go into nursing, do not go into nursing.'
>
> Julia: So she didn't like it then?
>
> Mila: She did not like it. She didn't like it at all.
>
> -Mila, 30-35, Human Resources Professional, 2nd Generation

Whether it was the encouragement or discouragement of nursing pathways, it was usually the mothers, rather than other family members, who were the most persistent source of encouragement or discouragement towards certain career paths.

Nursing is an area where both first and second generation Filipino women are highly represented. Raquel describes why it might be viewed as an attractive career for many others. In referring to the second generation women she is friends with, she states:

> ...it still seems like even if you are Filipino and you were born here and you were raised in Canada .... it still follows those...similar paths that Filipino women like our moms or our aunts or whatever have um taken before, so I don't know if that is because we respect what our parents say and if they say "why don't you try nursing?" we're like "why not?" It worked out for so and so and they make good money out of it.
>
> -Raquel, 26-29, Childcare Provider, 1.5 Generation

This quote shows how individuals see those around them as examples of what is achievable in their lives and which examples would be to follow or reject (Pimlott-Wilson, 2011). Nursing is seen as an acceptable and achievable career for a Filipino woman in Canada. Alternatively, although some men do go into nursing, it is not seen as an obvious profession for them. There is no equivalent profession to nursing for men in terms of nursing's prevalence, relatively high pay and professional status. The prominence of Filipino-Canadian women in nursing and the lack of a similar profession for men, in terms of compensation is one of the main reasons for the income differences between genders.

Many women in the study were encouraged to pursue nursing careers. This pressure was often strong and sustained as it persisted despite the demonstrated interest of women towards other careers. Nursing is seen as a relatively well-paid and achievable career for Filipino-Canadian women. The prevalence of nursing across generations is, in part, due to the encouragement of parents but also through the exposure young women have to the profession.

The dominance of the nursing profession among Filipino-Canadian women is a key factor is explaining women's economic advantage.

6.5 Conflicts with Families Regarding Career and Educational Choices

As examined through several of the examples regarding the nursing profession, many women had conflicts with their families regarding their career and educational decisions. Career and educational decisions often caused strained relationships between women and their parents. The reasons for these conflicts among women in the study could be because there was often greater attention paid to women's career and educational pathways, whereas men were often given more independence and flexibility with career choice.

Women chose to negotiate with their parents in a variety of ways. Some women rationalized their career choice by educating their parents about their industry of choice. For example, when Clarice told her mother the type of earnings she could expect in her industry, it made her mother feel better about her decision not to pursue nursing.

Others made their feelings clear to their parents in a way that showed they still valued their opinion. For example, Janine was very upset that her mother would be disappointed in her decision not to pursue nursing and expressed the following to her:

> Janine: But I did ask her, because I felt kind of bad cause a lot of her friends' daughters are nurses. And I asked her once "are you disappointed that I didn't get into nursing?" but we all know that if I see blood I'm the first one to faint, like I get all queezy...And she as like "I love you more and if nursing is not your thing, then you need to do what you need to do". It made me cry because I'd thought she's be disappointed,

but, she'd still suggest it now, like "why don't you go back to school" but she knows that I'm not going to get into nursing.

-Janine, 26-29, Administration Professional, 2nd Generation

This quote shows both how Janine's mother appreciated her feelings of not wanting to pursue nursing, however has not let it go completely. Indeed, for many participants, knowing their parents disapproved of their career choices was an uncomfortable reality they lived with.

Arlene explained that her parents were not happy with her career decision to open a business however she does not regret following her interests. She explains her parent's reaction to her career: "My parents were very into stability. They can't understand what I do [being an entrepreneur]. When I decided to make a career out of my art they said 'I don't want my daughter to be a beggar'. They don't understand being an entrepreneur or self employed" (Arlene, 30-35, Entrepreneur, 2nd Generation). Likewise, Angela's father continued to want her to become a doctor, however, she went ahead and pursued teaching.

Men in this study had fewer conflicts regarding their careers, however some men in the study did have disagreements over post-secondary education. For example, Eric's mother wanted him to go to post-secondary after high school when he wanted to take a break. Later in the conversation, Eric explained how once he had started college he began to enjoy his courses and did not regret following that path despite his initial reluctance. He explains a disagreement he had with his mother at the time, and how forceful he felt she was.

Julia: So that was your family that was, that wanted you to go [to post-secondary]?

Eric: That was my mom, yeah. When I wanted to take time off she said she was disappointed in me, I swear she said she was disappointed in

me, that I'm choosing to take a year off. I guess in the end I appreciate it because now I'm done, so.

-Eric, 22-25, Personal Trainer, 1.5 Generation

Due to parents' increased attention to their daughters, the encouragement for women to pursue nursing and the importance placed on job security for both genders, many women had conflicts with their parents over education and career paths. Although some men also had conflicts with family over these decisions, they were not as common. Women often needed to justify their education and career decisions to their parents and did so in a variety of ways. These conflicts between women and their parents also meant that they had a great deal of dialogue on the topic of education and careers with their parents and needed to be able to defend their decisions.

6.6 The Dominance of Feminized Professions Among Women

Although nursing was rejected by most participants, the majority of the women in the study were in feminized professions. For example, participants were employed in the fields of teaching, childcare, nursing, human resources, administrative work, nursing and dental hygiene. Although there were exceptions such as an accountant, entrepreneurs and artists, the prevalence of typically female professions was obvious.

Many of these professions consider 'typical female characteristics' to be important elements of the job. For example, caring, communicating well and making people feel good are seen as innate female characteristics which are important employment assets (Bradley, Erickson, Stephenson , & Williams, 2000). Teaching, nursing and childcare can all be seen as professions where 'maternal traits' are an advantage. Employers often hire individuals not on which skills they possess but rather on personal characteristics their age, race or

gender. Certain skills or characteristics are assumed to be a part of these elements of identity. McDowell argues that employers read workers' bodies with the expectation of certain performances due to gender, race or country of origin, and the workers then respond by trying to fulfill the expectations of the employer or customer. Through this process of interpellation traits assumed to be female become performed by the individual (McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer, 2007).

Many of the women had found their work in coded professions through referrals and recommendations. For example both the administration staff, the child care workers, a human resources professional and the dental hygienist. Although some of the women's employment could be viewed as 'accidental' because they were recruited by friends or acquaintances (for example, this was the case with the receptionists and a child care worker) others pursued their careers very openly. The prevalence of feminized professions among Filipino-Canadian's social networks also perpetuates the engagement in this type of employment. In McDowell's 2003 book, she describes accidental workers as those who were offered work without deliberately looking for it (McDowell, 2003). However, those who were connected to employment through connections were usually actively looking for work, and friends or family were able to connect them with employment.

Many of the participants pursued feminized professions after a calculated assessment of their interests, strengths and experience. For example, Lara pursued a feminized profession in a very well thought out way. She explains the reasoning that went into her choice of dental hygiene as a career:

> ...When I was younger I wanted to be a doctor. Because in the Philippines everyone wants to be a doctor right, that's their thing. And then when I watched shows like ER and stuff I was like, there's no way I can do that. So I always knew I wanted to be in a medically related profession - doctor was out of it, like no way, other options were nurse, I

> can't remember what the other ones were, so when I was doing career planning there was this website where you can put in your likes and dislikes and I was like "oh dental hygiene looks pretty interesting" I always had a good experience with dentistry, so I was looking at the requirements, and I'm not very good at math, I suck at math, so I was like "ok, where, I want to do something where I don't have to do math". So I was looking at all the requirements that you need to get into university, and so I was like "hygiene it is".
>
> -Lara, 22-25, Dental Hygienist, 2nd Generation

It is interesting that Lara had belittled her desire to become a doctor by dismissing it as part of a much wider trend and basing her decision not to study medicine on popular media, while her decision to study dental hygiene was so meticulously thought out. As opposed to the individuals whose career trajectories were shaped by parental influence, Lara was influenced by peer pressure and what "everybody" wanted. It is also striking that Lara "always knew [she] wanted to be in a medically related profession" as this is an area where Filipino-Canadians are overrepresented. Interestingly, her brother also expressed a desire to enter a medical profession when describing his career interests.

Amelia also had a very well thought out rationale for specializing in the feminized profession of Human Resources as part of her Business Degree and entering the field:

> I ended up doing a focus in HR [within a Bachelor Degree] because my background in hospitality was kind of managing people. So I was like, "I like that and I think I'm good at that" so I'm going to follow that stream.
>
> -Amelia, 30-35, Human Resources Professional, 2nd Generation

However, it should be noted that it was Amelia's entrenchment in the feminized service industry that led her to another feminized field of human resources. The expectation that women possess emotional intelligence in terms of working with people is something that women internalize and then perform.

When describing the career choices of people in their social circle, many participants also mentioned that the women in their social circles were employed in female coded professions primarily in the medical field such as registered nurses, occupational therapists, medical assistants, behavioral interventionists and care aids. Employment in the service sector and hospitality, such as positions as flight attendants, baristas, casino workers and bartenders were also common. Therefore, although most women in the study sample took different career paths than their mothers, on a larger scale, the second generation is reproducing similar career paths as the first generation in health care and the service sector. Despite the difference in the specificity of careers, however, participants were still replicating involvement in sectors dominated by women.

Many women in the sample were embedded in female coded careers. This trend was due to their own aspirations, assessment of their skills and opinions on what constitutes a 'good job'. The prevalence of finding work through social connections also encourages the persistence of women employed in feminized industries. Although the careers of the women in the study were not an intergenerational reproduction of their mother's professions, widespread employment in industries dominated by women persists.

6.7 Women's Family Obligations

Women's careers were shaped not only by family expectations but by domestic obligations as well. Some women in the study had children and shaped their work lives around their family obligations. Angela, a teacher, explained how she

declined a full time teaching position in favour of on-call work so she could spend more time with her son. She had previously worked full-time but did not feel that this was sustainable with her family obligations. Similarly, Mary, a part-time nurse and actress, explains how she has had to limit her acting jobs so she could spend more time with her family.

Another participant, Amelia, explained how her career goals had shifted as she had recently had a child. For her, flexibility and a positive work environment were now more important than increased pay and responsibility.

She elaborates:

> Julia: What do you find important in a job?
>
> Amelia: I think, well I think my view of that has changed somewhat, because my daughter is twenty months and I just returned to work last December. So I think for me it's about, it's about flexibility- so being able to be somewhat career oriented, and also have a family life, is really important.
>
> Julia: Mm hmm
>
> Amelia: I think just the challenge is important, so the ongoing learning, the mentorship that someone was able to provide me and you know, I think, it's probably just the stage of life I'm at, that I'm not really looking for career progression, I'm just looking for career enrichment at the moment. And I think that will change as you know, life changes.
>
> -Amelia, 30-35, Human Resources Professional, 2nd Generation

Her statement shows how labour market engagement and ambitions shift throughout one's life course (Hanson & Pratt, 1995).

The importance of the work life balance is more pronounced for women who carry the majority of the domestic labour burden and alter their labour market attachment accordingly (Cohen & Brodie, 2007). The men in the study overwhelmingly described their career goals in terms of increased pay, prestige and responsibility, and reducing their engagement in the labour market was not a goal for them.

Women in the study often made career decisions around their family responsibilities, a trend which was not obvious among men. Women who had families of their own at times pursued part-time rather than full-time work and placed more importance on the quality of their work environment than on career progression. These choices, which reflect the wider employment patterns of women in Canada, no doubt gives men an advantage over women in their careers.

6.8 Entrepreneurship among Men and Women

Some women did choose careers that were not feminized and not traditional for women. Among these were an accountant and several entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurship is relatively uncommon among the second generation as a whole in Canada (Ray, 2011). However, although in general there is a decline in entrepreneurship for immigrants (of all nationalities) across generations, for women, entrepreneurship rises between the rates of immigrant mothers and second generation daughters (Abada, 2011).

Several women in the study had their own businesses or were planning on starting one. The reasons behind this varied. Arlene, for example, started a performing arts company. She pursued this route out of passion for her art and the ability to make a living out of it. She acknowledged that her parents were upset at her decision to leave her engineering job and become an entrepreneur.

Despite the strain this created in their relationship, Arlene was sure that her decision was a good one and encouraged other young people to pursue careers in the arts. Arlene used her background in the Filipino community as inspiration for some of her projects and collaborated with other Filipino-Canadian artists. The Filipino community was not, however, her main target audience.

Mabel was also involved in the arts but became an entrepreneur through a sequence of different events. She had been involved with the arts and had been organizing events for several years. Once she went to college she became well known for her events and the college asked her to publicize one of their campaigns. In order to obtain this contract, she needed to have a business and thus formalized what she had been doing casually. She is very involved in the Filipino community but works both within and outside the community.

Clarice, the third example of the female entrepreneurs, was planning to start her own business due to her inability to find work in her field. Although very well educated, Clarice was in a very competitive field and had not been able to find suitable employment. She was in the process of conducting market research for her business, which was in the field of education.

Although Clarice's motivations to open a business was part of a strategy to deal with her difficulties becoming engaged in the labour market in a meaningful way, is similar to why many immigrants open businesses, the other female entrepreneurs did so as a way to make a living while following their passion. Another difference is that while many immigrants serve an ethnic market, these women all chose to target a varied 'mainstream' clientele.

Two of the men in the study were also entrepreneurs: Jonathan opened a chiropractic clinic with his wife and Jay started a business selling sports fan gear while also working full time at his day job in sales.

Jonathan was the only entrepreneur in the study who had a business outside of the home, as the others were home based. He and his wife had opened their clinic in an area of Vancouver known for its large Filipino population. Jonathan's wife was Chinese and they planned to market to both the Chinese and Filipino communities of Vancouver as well as other members of the public. They had signs outside their clinic in Chinese to attract the Chinese clientele and although they had not specifically marketed to the Filipino community at the time of the interview, the Filipino market had been a factor in their choice of business location. Jonathan commented that he had gotten many referrals from Filipino-Canadians.

He explained that he was able to get more business from Filipino-Canadians because of his ethnicity:

> Julia: Do you think that Filipinos that you don't personally know would come to you because of your background?
>
> Jonathan: Oh yeah, and they do. ...they do come, and the referrals come quickly after, once they find out that there's a Filipino, they really love to identify another Filipino.
>
> Julia: And they can refer their family and stuff
>
> Jonathan: And coworkers, because a lot of Filipinos work together.
>
> -Jonathan, 30-35, Chiropractor, 2nd Generation

Jay's sports business did not specifically target the Filipino community at the moment; however he had plans to expand the business to the Philippines as well. When asked about spending time living in the Philippines, he explains that he would like to become involved in business there and expand his company to target that market.

Julia: In the future, would you guys [Jay and his sister] like to continue going back there every once in a while or have you ever thought about living there?

Jay: Oh yeah, I'm kind of interested in real estate and things like that in the Philippines, and I'm planning on doing business there too, so it'll be like a second home.

Julia: Like with your company or something else in the future?

Jay: Yeah, cause I do want to spread [this industry] in the Philippines and I do want to make money there as well, so I kind of make my name in the Philippines. So I will be having connections with them, definitely, I see that in my future.

-Jay, Sales Professional and Entrepreneur, 30-35, 2nd Generation

Jonathan and Jay's business strategies aimed to engage both Filipino or Filipino-Canadian consumers as well as others. This strategy of marketing to co-ethnics is similar to that of many first generation immigrant business owners. For many immigrants, serving an ethnic market can be in part due to lack of language skills, knowledge of Canadian customs or due to exclusion from the workforce. Jonathan and Jay did not experience these barriers, but saw their networks within the community as an opportunity.

Teresa Abada's study on entrepreneurship among immigrants and second generation individuals shows that the children of immigrants often choose entrepreneurship as a path to personal fulfillment rather than as a solution to labour market exclusion, which is a motivator for many immigrants (Abada, 2011). These motivations are seen with Arlene, Mabel, Jonathan and Jay who opened their businesses out of choice rather than necessity. However, Clarice is opening her business in part as a way to become engaged in the labour market.

Despite the majority of women being in feminized professions, some varied from this trend and were entrepreneurs. These women started businesses as a way to pursue their goals and become engaged in the labour market in a meaningful way. Several men in the study also started businesses. However, while women marketed their businesses to a mainstream clientele, men wanted to target Filipino and Filipino-Canadian customers in addition to Canadians from other backgrounds. The emergence of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian entrepreneurs shows a shift in employment patterns within the Filipino community. As many Filipino parents emphasized the importance of stability, these individuals were pursuing their goals despite the risk involved in opening a business.

6.9 Career Decision-Making Processes of Men and the Adoption of the Breadwinner Role

Just as many of the women in the study were employed in feminized industries many of the men were engaged in industries traditionally viewed as masculine, such as business, information technology, architecture, engineering and banking. Many of the men took a pragmatic approach to their career and educational choices and considered the financial aspects of their choices. These considerations were given more weight than for the women in the study, many of whom described their career strategies in terms of pursuing their interests.

For example, Anton describes why he made the decision to switch from taking arts courses to business ones in his second semester of university:

> I was taking like psychology, sociology and English and whatever and stuff during my first semester at Kwantlen. *And they were fun and all, but it just didn't click to me as a practical thing.* So then after first semester I started taking a few business courses, so I took...[an] intro to marketing course,

and accounting and all that. And I quite enjoyed the marketing end of it, which led me to what I do now.

-Anton, 30-35, Marketing Professional, 2nd Generation

He later goes on to describe his goals for the future and how financial stability is an important factor:

I want to be able to...like I'm building my base- financially now, so like you're in your 30s, like I'm 31, and in the next 10-15 years will be when I earn the most money. And because I'm not married and I'm not connected, I don't have kids or anything. So I can focus on my career right now, so I can set myself us to be financially free, then you know , when I retire, hopefully by 50, 55, so it's like earn as much as I can right now, and keep doing, maintain the momentum that I've created with my career and keep moving forwards.

-Anton, 30-35, Marketing Professional, 2nd Generation

Likewise, Gerard, an engineer, mentioned that he would like to go back to university to pursue a Master's in Business Administration for financial reasons:

Julia: And what would be your motivations for going back to school?

Gerard: Hopefully better income....Because one of my personal goals, or things I see, is because I was an only child I do want to have a lot of children, so if I have a lot of children in a place where the standard of living is very expensive means that you have to support them all, right? And then best case I can support them through family funds and things like that, meaning they don't need to work, right.

-Gerard, 26-29, Engineer, 2nd Generation

Even though many of the men in the study grew up in families with female breadwinners, many of the men echoed Gerard's sentiments of wanting to be the male breadwinner and feeling responsible their families or the families that they planned to have. Although in practice, within the Filipino community women are often responsible for both the finances and the childrearing, this cultural norm of having a male breadwinner still persists.

Matt also explains how he views the career goals of his peers as gendered. When asked about the different motivations of his male and female Filipino-Canadian peers with regards to their careers, he also remarks on men wanting to earn money:

> Julia: And have you noticed any difference between the types of jobs your male and female friends go into?
>
> Matt: *Laughs...*Yes, for the guys, I think we are, we're in a way... we're all out to make money. All the guys are like 'yeah we want to get into business', whereas the girls are all into the more social stuff, into the sciences, a bit more into the helping people side.
>
> -Matt, 22-25, Finance Professional, 1.5 Generation

Beyond being financially stable, Anton also describes how important having a lucrative career is to him as he describes friends he looks up to:

> Anton: I have some friends actually who are like doing quite well for themselves, that I look at as a role model. Like one guy in Toronto, that is the rep for [a television channel] and whenever he's in Vancouver we chat and have drinks and whatever. And where he's at, is kind of where I want to be in five years so, he's got his own, he left [the television channel] where I am now and started his own production company for TV shows,
>
> Julia: Ok

Anton: And owns several blocks of condos in Toronto and easily makes six figures, so I'm like you know ...

Julia: Toronto "bling"

Anton: Yeah exactly. He's Toronto "bling" and that's what I want, and I'm on my way there, so if I can continue to do well, and sort of set myself up , and it sounds materialistic, but I want to grow my assets so I can secure a good future or I don't have to work as hard later on.

-Anton, 30-35, Marketing Professional, 2nd Generation

Men and women in the study emphasized different considerations in their career and educational decision-making strategies. Men emphasized the importance of remuneration, practicality and the ability to be self-sufficient and support others. Meanwhile, women's narratives had focused on their interest in a certain field. The considerations of the men are those which will likely lead them to a well paid career, mirroring the overall Canadian population rather than their demographic. Although the men in the study also had a genuine interest in their chosen career, pursuing a career solely due to practical considerations rather than genuine interest can have negative outcomes.

6.10 Perceived Male Peer Cultures of Materialism

Although for Anton and other participants in the study, the desire to be well off financially came from a grounded context of planning ahead, providing for family and being financially stable, the importance of materialism for some men came up often in interviews as something that was problematic. For example, many people mentioned a culture among young men where material goods such as cars were extremely important to one's social stature. Others suggested that they thought young Filipino-Canadian men were putting off post-secondary education in favour of short-term financial gain.

Jose explains his opinion:

> Jose: ....the problem with Filipinos today, is that just having stuff, material things, before actually investing in something huge or investing in education. But appearance is so important, you don't necessarily have to *be* successful, you've just gotta look like you're successful, and that's such that's such an important part of the culture, and that's for the very...male trait,....males don't have the grounding as much so they are more susceptible to follow these false things. ..And that's why they just want that material stuff and they do that through jobs that are not very promising. But they work maybe three, four jobs at minimum wage just to get that nice car or those nice clothes and stuff like that.
>
> Julia: Ok yeah
>
> Jose: And they just live for the weekend, because that makes them look good and they get to tell people, you know 'well I live here', and in their eyes when they look in the mirror, they feel good - that's success in itself, even though it's a very false sense of success.
>
> -Jose, 30-35, Architect, 1.5 Generation

Raquel laments what she sees as male materialism as well:

> I think guys can be more like "I've got my car, I've got gadgets, I'm good". Whereas the girls, or women have been like "ok I can have those things, I can have you know, a nice designer bag, but I also want, you know, I also want this career to go with all of that stuff, that I have...Whereas I think some guys are like "I'm good, I have my stuff, I have my stereo"
>
> -Raquel, 26-29, Childcare Provider, 1.5 Generation

Many of the women had sentiments similar to Raquel's in that they felt that men did not want to further themselves in their careers but were comfortable once they had reached a certain point.

Nonetheless, valuing material goods was not just a male trait, one of the women also described that one of the things she admired about her role model was "...having nice things you know...people with the clothes and the new gadgets, stuff like that" (Mabel, 26-29, Entrepreneur, 2nd Generation).

This culture of materialism was something that appeared in some male peer groups. However, most of the participants recognized the need to invest in long term goals. Many peer groups, as Matt mentioned earlier, also had a positive effect on individuals. Some examples of this were peer groups that promoted the value of post-secondary attendance and even the pursuit of advanced degrees.

Many participants perceived a culture of materialism among some Filipino-Canadians, especially men, which they found disconcerting. Purchasing material goods and favouring instant gratification rather than investing in long-term goals is a trend which was observed of some male peer groups. These habits may help explain why women's earnings surpass men's in this population due to a more sustained investment in education.

6.11 Perceived Lack of Male Role Models

One challenge many participants articulated was a perceived lack of male Filipino-Canadian role models. Although many of the participants felt that they themselves had had positive role models in their lives, they commented that many of their male peers had not been as fortunate.

Jose explains that he does not feel the community has many role models. He explains how he feels that this absence is a substantial problem:

> I mean role models are every important and we don't have one that really defines. You know other cultures, they have like, a CEO or something, Filipinos, we just want things really quickly, it's the way the culture is. There is usually just celebrities and false idols you know.
>
> -Jose, 30-35, Architect, 1.5 Generation

Carlos also explains that he doesn't feel that there are many male role model in response to my question on the topic: "Like if you were to ask me if I have any Filipino role models, I couldn't give you any, and I don't think there are any. Yeah it's weird. I think I'm lucky that I have the dad that I do since I would consider him a role model" (Carlos, 30-35, Information Technology Professional, 2nd Generation).

Jay expands on how he finds that this problem is not as prevalent for women as it is for men:

> Julia: And for your friends and family, do you notice if many of them have male role models?
>
> Jay: Not on the male side there is not very much. I know for girls, they have their aunt, or their sister or their sister's friend, but for guys, no. I don't think there's any role models for the men. I guess now there's Manny Pacquiao [a boxer] for the younger guys, but back then I don't think we had a lot.
>
> Julia: Yeah. Ok, and do you have any speculations as to why that might be?
>
> Jay: No, I have no idea actually, because all my guy friends now, if I asked them if they had a role model, they'd be like me, they'd say no.
>
> -Jay, 30-35, Sales Professional and Entrepreneur, 2nd Generation

One career advisor explained to me what she viewed as the difficulties of finding a role model. She felt it was quite rare that youth find role models and assumes it is usually the other way around:

> Julia: Of the people who do find a mentor, how do people find them?
>
> Sarah: I think the mentor finds them. A teacher takes special interest in them or something. There is definitely not a big culture of mentoring.
>
> -Sarah, Career Counsellor, local university

The reasons why there could be fewer male than female Filipino-Canadian role models could be in part the numerical dominance of women in the community. Since many Filipino women migrate for employment in feminized professions, more women than men immigrate overall. In addition, the process of migration, the trend of female led migration and the prominence female breadwinners among Filipino-Canadians has disrupted gender norms. As women are often instrumental in providing for the family and raising the children, they are often seen as the 'strong' parent. In addition, as mentioned, many of the participants' fathers were unable to find work in their professions, while those who were nurses were able to. This also led to a shift in family dynamics. This imbalance is exacerbated by the service oriented nature of the Vancouver labour market where traditionally well paid masculine positions are not as prevalent as in other cities, leading to limited opportunities for first generation Filipino men.

Indeed the position and attitudes of fathers was given as a reason why some young men have more difficulties. Carlos explains how his peers were strongly affected by their fathers:

> Those guys like to generalize as a group, their dads, like it's not surprising that they got into that kind of stuff in my opinion because if you just look at the way their dads are, and I think this is in the Philippines as well, in the

> Philippines you see the dads they just hang around drinking, that's just what they do, and it's very hands off with the kids and stuff like that.
>
> -Carlos, 30-35, Information Technology Professional, 2nd Generation

In comparison, Jay describes how he admires his father and how, although he does not specifically identify him as a role model, he had a positive impact on his life. He reflects on how his father helped him and how he could have easily followed a different path had it not been for his father's help:

> Jay...my dad caught me, I was heading in a direction where I could have been a bum, I could have just lived in my parents' basement and been a bum...My dad pointed something out, that he felt I was going nowhere....
>
> Julia: So your dad tried to convince you to start something else too?
>
> Jay: Yeah, well he made me aware. Like "watch out, you're heading in this direction."
>
> -Jay, 30-35, Sales Professional and Entrepreneur, 2nd Generation

These quotes exemplify the different influences male mentors such as fathers can have.

Despite the assertions mentioned earlier that there is a lack of male role models, the men in the study themselves were very admirable and could have been, or were in fact, role models themselves. The men were largely well employed, highly educated and had many commendable personal characteristics. Many were involved in the community, for example Jose had founded a group for second generation and 1.5 generation Filipino-Canadians who wanted to learn more about their culture, Gerard led a youth group with his church, Matt had participated in a formal role modeling program for Filipino immigrant youth and Jonathan was director of the alumni association for his old high school. Therefore, it is possible that there is not a *lack* of male role models, but that there

is a *lack of access* to the ones who do exist for many young people in need of guidance.

Many participants felt that there was a lack of male Filipino-Canadian role models for youth. Role models are extremely important sources of support, inspiration and connections to resources. The position of first generation Filipino men in the labour market in comparison to the professional women such as nurses could be a reason why they are not regarded as role models to the same extent. It is also possible that the youth who need role models are not being connected with the ones that do exist.

6.12 Conclusion

Gender plays an important part in shaping young people's aspirations and ability to achieve those aspirations. The legacy of participants' parents, first generation Filipino immigrants, affects the next generation. The prominence of female Filipino immigrants in nursing the lack of an equivalently well paid and professional career route for Filipino immigrant men means that many women were breadwinners and many 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians are encouraged to pursue this pathway. Without a similar 'masculine' option, often Filipino-Canadian women earn more than men.

The family is also important in terms of parenting styles. Many parents paid more attention to their daughter's education, employment and social lives that they did with their sons. This imbalance meant that women received a lot of adult attention and pressure to do well in school. Men, on the other hand were given more freedom, which meant they had a greater variety of career option, and their approach to learning was their own. Despite these perceived advantages, many men lacked the support women received from their parents.

In addition to the legacy of their parents, men and women approach their careers differently, for example with women focusing on their interest in a field and men considering the remuneration and practical considerations of their employment. Within these approaches, women in the study were largely represented in feminized professions and men in typically masculine ones. An exception to this trend was a number of women, as well as men who had pursued entrepreneurship and started businesses. Nonetheless, many women balanced family responsibilities with their careers and their employment goals included a work life balance while men embraced the male breadwinner model. The desire to embrace the male breadwinner role, however, is not always achievable as men faced challenges such as peer cultures of materialism and a lack of male role models.

Despite the similar circumstances of young 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian men and women, such as shared cultural values and upbringings; there are pronounced differences in their experiences. These differences are due to the collective history of Filipino migration to Canada, family socialization, the gendered nature of the labour market and the adoption of gender norms in reference to careers and education. These factors lead to the gendered employment patterns among 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians today.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Key Research Findings

This study contributes to current research on the Filipino community in Canada in order to determine why some 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians follow trajectories that include post-secondary education and employment. It also aims to show the role of family, peers and role models in determining educational and employment trajectories as well as how these trajectories differ between men and women. The study approached these research questions through a qualitative methodology which comprised of semi-structured interviews with 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian young adults aged 22-35 regarding their life histories, as well as interviews with Filipino-Canadian parents, post-secondary career counselors and community leaders.

One of the most important findings of this study is the importance of social surroundings in affecting the educational and employment pathways of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians. Family, peers and role models are instrumental in determining one's aspirations as well as one's access to resources, information and opportunities. For example, many participants made decisions about their choice of post-secondary education programs due to the example or advice of social contacts. The choice to even go on to post-secondary education was a 'non-decision' for many as their families' expectations and the examples of people in their close social circles made this decision an obvious one. Likewise, individuals only pursued careers they were exposed to and which they had the knowledge to be able to pursue. This is one of the reasons why nursing, which is a prevalent career in the Filipino community, is being reproduced in the second generation as they have role models, labour market intelligence and encouragement. These findings reflect the research by

Pimlott-Wilson who emphasizes the role of family socialization in determining why young people aspire to some careers and not others (Pimlott-Wilson, 2011); as well as research that emphasizes the importance of role models (e.g. Fernandez-Kelly, 2008).

For young Filipino-Canadians, their peers and role models, who are often located in the neighbourhood or educational setting, are largely determined by their parents' resources. For example, families with more financial resources can afford to live in desirable neighbourhoods or send their children to prestigious private school where they will be exposed to children with relatively privileged upbringings. The geographic location where Filipino immigrant parents reside and their ability to afford private schools is very much related to parents' socio-economic status in the Philippines and their migration pathway. For example, families who were wealthy in the Philippines can enter Canada as economic immigrants, can live in desirable locations and can afford to upgrade their credentials (if necessary) in Canada. By contrast, immigrants with fewer resources may come through the Live-in Caregiver Program, would be restricted to affordable neighbourhoods and may need to work multiple low paid jobs. Therefore, the space of the Philippines, in addition to neighbourhood educational spaces in Canada, has a significant influence on the children of immigrants.

In addition to the importance of parents' socio-economic status in the Philippines and their migration history, childrearing strategies are important. Participants explained how family expectations and family history determined their sense of destiny. For example, some parents explained how the family had held prestigious occupations in the Philippines even though this was not the case in Canada. This family history can be important in forming a young person's ambitions (Fernandez-Kelly, 2008). As well, the availability of parents to spend time with their children was important. Some parents were in a position to increase their children's cultural capital by hiring tutors, having educational

savings plans or sending their children to high quality private schools. These actions also increased children's abilities to interact with important institutions as well as non-familial adults - important skills which facilitate middle class trajectories (Lareau, 2011).

These findings show the importance of Bourdieu's economic and cultural capital in educational and employment trajectories (Bourdieu, 1984). Economic capital enables the acquisition of cultural capital through access to tutoring, private schools and post-secondary education. Social capital, including role models in schools and neighbourhoods, well positioned peers and family friends are also important in linking young people with information and opportunities. The type of social capital one has is also partially dependent on one's access to economic and cultural capital, making the three forms inter-related (Kelly & Lusis, 2006).

The intergenerational reproduction of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians is distinct from youth with Canadian born parents. The economic, cultural and social capital acquired in the Philippines such as property, university degrees, work experience and social contacts often loses value in the Canadian context. For example, many participants had very well educated parents, especially fathers, who were working in blue collar jobs. From the sample, this problem was more widespread for fathers than mothers as many participants' mothers were recruited to work as nurses in Canada and their Filipino nursing degrees were recognized. Due to the devaluation of capital and deprofessionalization, some study participants did not benefit from the economic and social resources their parents would have had with locally acquired capital. Nonetheless, many participants were still able to get information and opportunities from their families. Peers were also a particularly useful resource for information about job opportunities, post-secondary education, and labour market intelligence. Peer groups were often developed at school or post-secondary, areas apart from their parents' influence.

Many men and women in the study were employed in traditionally feminine or masculine industries. Several studies have pointed to the gendered career aspirations of young people (e.g. McDowell, 2003; Willis, 1977). This phenomenon was also the case in this study. Within these gendered occupations, the topic of nursing stood out, with many women saying they had been strongly encouraged to pursue a career in this field. This prevalence is, in part, due to the history of Filipino migration to Canada and the important role nursing played in this migration. Parents' experiences in the Canadian labour market, which were different for men and women, also affected their children with regards to how they served as role models and the labour market intelligence youth were privy to.

Gendered trajectories were also found to be, in part, due to distinct parenting styles. Many respondents explained that women were given more attention with respect to their education, careers and social lives, while men were given more independence. This pattern led to increased parental involvement and monitoring of women, and what was sometimes seen as a lack of support for men. Similar patterns have been found in qualitative studies in the American context (e.g. Espiritu, 2003; Maramba, 2008). In addition to gendered parenting styles, men and women also approached their careers differently, with many women describing their choices in terms of interests and men in terms of the remuneration. Among many men in the study, there was a strong identification with the traditional male breadwinner role. Men and women described different challenges in their educational and career trajectories with women identifying family conflict, balancing family responsibilities and difficulty securing desired employment to be barriers. Men often framed their trajectories in terms of successes, but problems such as a lack of male role models and peer cultures of materialism were identified.

7.2 Areas for Further Research

Although this research has filled knowledge gaps with regard to the micro processes involved in determining the educational and employment trajectories of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians, more research is needed. This study included a focus on gender differences, in part due to the unusual statistical pattern of men earning less than women among second generation Filipino-Canadians. Although some factors such as family upbringing, peer influence, and the effect of nursing on gendered earnings were identified; many of the men in the study were engaged in or in the process of entering well paid careers. A study focusing on men who have taken different trajectories, such as those who did not finish high school or are embedded in entry level service work is an important area for further research and would be instrumental in further explaining the gendered income disparities in this population.

Another area of further research would be to analyze how the outcomes of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians varies across time. As immigration policies, labour market trends and economic cycles change over time, so do the type of employment Filipino immigrant parents obtain. Parents' employment affects their children in terms of resources available, ties to professional networks, information about employment sectors and neighbourhood location. For example, many of the participants in the study had mothers who were nurses and thus had stable and relatively well paid employment with which to support their families. However, over time the recognition of Filipino nursing credentials has shifted and it is now more difficult for nurses trained in the Philippines to work in their profession in Canada. In addition, as the number of workers in the Live-in Caregiver Program has expanded, one would predict that the problems the children of caregivers experience such as family separation, family reunification problems, low levels of family resources and difficulty in education

would also increase. Documenting the experiences of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians over time would provide an important reflection of immigration policy and economic changes, as well as a measurement of the successful integration of Filipino-Canadians in society.

7.3 Significance of the Study

The study is significant for several reasons. Firstly, it is important as it shows the diversity in experiences among the Filipino-Canadian population. Previous research in the Canadian context has focused on the deprofessionalization of Filipinos and their subordination in the labour market (Kelly, 2006; 2010; Kelly, Astorga-Garcia, Esguerra, & the Community Alliance for Social Justice, 2009), as well as the Live-in Caregiver Program (Kelly, Park, de Leon, & Priest, 2011; Pratt, 1999; Pratt & the Philippine Women's Centre of B.C., 2008) with some emerging research on the role of Filipino-Canadians in the healthcare field (Boschma, Scaia, Bonifacio, & Roberts, 2008; Ronquillo, Boschma, Wong, & Quiney, 2011; Walton Roberts, 2011). Within this research there is little information on the experiences of the children of Filipino immigrants, with the exception of studies on the children of caregivers (Pratt, 2004; 2010). Although some participants in this research study were children of caregivers, most had mothers in different occupations and this was not the primary focus of the study. This research illustrates the processes which lead 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadians to go on to post-secondary and employment, thus showing some of the successes, rather than challenges of the community. The study also shows the immense variety of educational and employment pathways, shedding light the diverse labour market engagement of this population.

The study is also important as it demonstrates the micro-processes involved in shaping youth's trajectories. Often, labour market information is analysed at the broad macro level, depicting overall patterns, but does not illustrate how

individuals come to engage in various occupations. This study recognized the broad statistical patterns, but also shows what leads individuals towards trajectories that include post-secondary education.

Lastly, the study is significant as it concerns a growing population exhibiting unusual economic outcomes. As second generation Filipino-Canadians, as a collective, show downward intergenerational economic outcomes, research is needed to understand this demographic (Statistics Canada, 2006). In addition to expanding the literature explaining the current trends among this population, this study is important since the number of second generation Filipino-Canadians is growing. As the Philippines is now Canada's primary source country for immigrants, many more 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian youth will be growing up in Canada. The experiences of 1.5 and second generation Filipino-Canadian youth are vital as they serve to inform the trajectories of the next generation.

Appendix

Appendix A – Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

Master of Arts Study: Filipino-Canadian Masculinities and Labour Market Outcomes for the Second Generation

Researcher: Julia Mais, Master of Arts Student, Department of Geography, York University, 4700 Keele St. Toronto ON, jmais@yorku.ca

The purpose of my research is to discover why second generation Filipino-Canadians enter the employment sectors that they do. I wish to examine the influences and barriers that lead people to enter certain careers and not others. In particular I wish to look at how the family, school system, neighbourhood and the home affects different outcomes for second generation men and women. I will be paying particular attention to the role gender has in this process. The research will be conducted through semi-structured interviews.

In order to conduct this research, I wish to request your participation in my study. This will involve questions related to Filipino Canadian family expectations, home life, social lives, education, career paths and job search processes. The interview will take between 30 and 120 minutes.

Participation in the research has minimal risk and I do not foresee any discomfort from your participation. Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. If you decide to stop participating, you will still be eligible to receive the promised pay for agreeing to be in the project. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York

University, or any other group associated with this project either now or in the future. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. I will be recording the interviews, however, if you prefer simply answering questions without being recorded, I will take handwritten notes. The data, comprising of sound recordings, transcripts of the recordings, and handwritten notes notes will be held in a locked facility and destroyed after five years. Only research staff will have access to this information. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact me or my Graduate Supervisor - Dr. Philip Kelly either by telephone at (416) 736-2100 ext.22499 or by e-mail pfkelly@yorku.ca. You may also contact my Graduate Program at gradgeog@yorku.ca or (416) 736-5106. This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, York Research Tower, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca).

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I _____(print name) consent to participate in the study "Filipino-Canadian Masculinities and Labour Market Outcomes for the Second Generation" conducted by Julia Mais. I have understood the nature of

this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature Date

Participant

Signature Date

Principal Investigator

Appendix B - Study Information Sheet

York University MA Research Project

"Filipino-Canadian Masculinities and Labour Market Outcomes for the Second Generation"

Julia Mais

Who: My name is Julia Mais and I am a Master of Arts Candidate in Human Geography at York University. I can be contacted at jmais@yorku.ca or 604 800-4777 for additional information. My supervisor is Dr. Philip Kelly and can be contacted at pfkelly@yorku.ca

What: I will be studying the influences and barriers that lead second generation Filipino-Canadian males and females into certain jobs and not others. I will be looking at how the home, the neighbourhood, the school system, and social networks influence employment outcomes. In particular, I will be paying attention to why men and women have very different experiences in their employment outcomes.

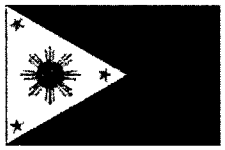
Why: Second generation Filipino-Canadians have not collectively been experiencing the upward social mobility often expected among the children of immigrants. Filipino men, in particular, have seen lower than expected levels of educational achievement and employment earnings. It is important to identify the reasons behind this pattern in order to find ways of enabling Filipino youth to reach their full potential.

How: I will be conducting interviews with Filipino-Canadians who were **born in Canada or moved as children**. I am looking for individuals over 22 years old who are not currently enrolled full time in post-secondary education. In addition, I will be interviewing high school counselors, university career centre staff and

Filipino-Canadian community leaders to learn their perspective about trends in the community. Respondents will receive a $10 Shopper's Drug Mart gift card as a token of appreciation.

When? Interviews will take place until August 27, 2011. Interviews take between an hour to an hour and a half. The results will be accessible to the public in the form of a thesis by summer 2012. In addition, I intend to publish a report which will be circulated to policy makers in 2012.

Where: Interview candidates should reside and/or work in Vancouver and the surrounding municipalities. Interviews can take place in a neighbourhood of the respondent's choice.



Appendix C - Facebook Recruitment Message

Hi there,

My name is Julia Mais and I am working on my Masters thesis regarding the employment and educational paths of Filipino-Canadians who grew up in Canada.

I know that it is a bit strange to get a message from a stranger on facebook but I saw your profile on the 'Vancity Workshops on Filipino Language, History and Culture' group and wanted to invite you to participate in my study. This involves participating in a one hour interview about your education, employment and upbringing. The interview can take place at a coffee shop near your home or work.

All the information from interviews in confidential and respondents receive a $10 Shopper's Drug Mart gift certificate.

If you would like to participate in an interview or would like more information on the study, please let me know. I can email you some more details if you would like.

Thanks and I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Julia

Appendix D - Sample Recruitment Email

Hello,

My name is Julia Mais and I am a candidate for the Master of Arts program in Human Geography at York University. I am writing to see if you may be able to help me with my research study. My thesis pertains to gendered second generation Filipino-Canadian employment outcomes in Vancouver.

Second generation Filipino-Canadians have not collectively been experiencing the upward social mobility that many other children of immigrants do. In addition, the economic returns on education for this population are lower than for many other groups. Filipino men, in particular, have seen lower than expected levels of educational achievement and employment earnings. I am trying to identify the reasons behind this pattern in order to find ways of enabling Filipino youth to reach their full potential.

In order to complete my research this summer I am currently recruiting respondents who could provide insight on this issue. I would like to interview Filipino-Canadian adults, born in Canada, about their employment and educational trajectories. I am also hoping to interview Filipino-Canadian community leaders such as Pastors, sports coaches, and youth group leaders about their observations.

Interviews will last between one hour and an hour and a half. Interview questions can be provided in advance if requested. All respondents receive a $10 Shopper's Drug Mart gift certificate. All interviews are individual. I have attached some basic information about the study, but more information can also be provided. Interviews will be held until August 31 at the respondents location of preference.

If you would like to participate in the study, or know someone who does, please let me know. I can be reached at jmais@yorku.ca or 604 800-4777.

Thank you so much for your help. I really appreciate it!

Warm Regards,

Julia

Appendix E – Question Guide for 1.5 and Second Generation Filipino-Canadians

Themes

- Role models
- Parents expectations
- Geography of home, schools, work
- Filipino identity
- Social circles
- Expectations for the future
- Employment history
- Educational choices
- Job search

Basic Information

How old are you?

What is your job?

What is your highest level of education?

Where were you born?

Where do you currently live?

Who do you live with?

Family

When did your parents move from the Philippines to Canada? In what year?

Where in the Philippines did they move from and where in Canada did they move to?

Has your family moved since arriving in Canada? Please explain.

Under what program did they immigrate?

Did they immigrate at the same time? If not, who moved first? How long of a separation was there?

What were your parents jobs in the Philippines? What are their jobs now?

Are their circle of friends mostly Filipino?

Are your parents still married? If not, when did they separate?

Who did you spend more time with? Why?

Were your parents separated due to immigration or work during your childhood?

Would you describe one of your parents as more dominant than the other? Would you say that one of them has more of an influence on the family decisions or dynamics?

When you were growing up, who paid for most of the household expenses? In your living situation now, who pays for most of the expenses?

Do you have any siblings? What is the birth order? Were they born in Canada or the Philippines?

When you were growing up, what expectations did your parents have of you? Please describe this in relation to domestic duties, school work, career plans and your social life.

Was there a difference in the expectations of between yourself and your brother/sisters? If so, how would you explain this difference? What was the difference between expectations of yourself and a sibling of the opposite gender? Of the same gender?

Did your siblings have a role in influencing your school life, career aspirations or social life? Did you influence theirs? How so?

Do you think that any of your siblings 'had it easier' or 'harder' than others?

What are your siblings occupations? What do you think of their outcomes? Are they in a job that you believe is appropriate for a man or woman of Filipino heritage?

What language did you speak growing up? Was this enforced?

Do you still live with your family? If not, at what age did you move out? Why?

Social Life

When you were growing up, did you have many Filipino friends? For example of your 5 closest friends in high school, how many were Filipino?

Of those friends, what type of careers are they in now? How many decided to attend university?

Today, do you have many Filipino friends? For example, of your 5 closest friends how many are Filipino?

What occupations are these friends in? Have they attended University?

Are most of your friends male or female? Do you find you get along better with males or females?

What type of activities do you like to do with your friends? Are these activities normally done with only female or male friends or mixed?

Was there any particular friend or role model who influenced your decision to go to university? Was there any friend in particular who influenced your career choice? Was this person Filipino?

When you were growing up, how much freedom did your parents give you to socialize with friends? Were there any friends they especially liked or disapproved of? Why?

Now, do your parents influence your social life or try to limit the time you spend with friends?

Are you in a romantic relationship? If so, please describe if you are dating or married and if it is a heterosexual or homosexual relationship.

Do your parents approve of your choice of romantic partner? Why or why not?

Have your parents, presently or in the past try to influence or limit your choice of romantic partner and/or how much time you can spend with them? Why do you think that is?

Who pays for most of the household expenses in your home? Please refer to both when you were growing up and now.

Education

What high school did you attend?

Was it public or private? Catholic?

Were there many other Filipinos at your high school?

Did your parents help you with your homework? Expect a lot of chores from you? Get involved with the school ie parents council? Limit the time you spent with your friends so you would study more?

What made you decide to go to university? Were there any memorable situations or people who led you to this decision?

Were any of the teachers or counselors role models to you? If so, please describe them.

Would you describe yourself as a good student in high school? Why or why not? What type of activities did you do outside of school?

Would you say there were specific social expectations of males and females at your high school? For example, was it expected to participate in certain activities, behave in a sexual or chaste manner, be engaged in academics or not?

Do you think there were specific expectations of Filipinos in your high school? Was there a stereotype? Was this different between females and males?

Did you experience discrimination in high school from your peers or teachers?

What aspect of high school did you find the most challenging?

Did many people from your high school go on to University? Did many people of Filipino heritage?

What University did you attend?

Why did you decide on that University? Was it the location, academic program, acceptance rates etc?

If you attended University close to home, why do you think that was? Family obligations, financial considerations, or another reason?

How did you finance your education?

Were there many other Filipinos in your University? In your program?

Did you experience discrimination at university from your peers or professors?

Was your program dominated by mostly men or women? Would you describe your choice of study as specifically 'masculine' or 'feminine'?

Why did you choose your major? Were any of the following factors: personal interest, financial expectations, friends in the same program?

Outside of your classes, were you in any clubs or activities? How did you spend most of your free time?

Did you have a part-time job during university? What was it? Did this influence your career now?

Was there pressure from your parents to study a certain subject? On a scale of what to ten, how much influence did your family have over your choice of major?

Did you participate in any career programs in University? If so, what were they? Did this influence your current career?

Work

Why did you decide to work in the field that you do?

Were there other types of work that you were considering? Why didn't you pursue them, or if you did, what challenges did you come across?

Are there many other Filipinos at your work? For example, how many others are there at your company/organization? In your position?

Are there more females or males at your work place?

Do you consider your job to be 'masculine' or 'feminine'?

Have you been promoted since you got your job? Why or why not?

What does your family think of your job? What about your friends and romantic partner?

How did you find your job? What job search tactics did you use?

Where there any types of jobs, or specific companies that you did not want to work for? Why is that?

If your job close to your home? Was this a factor when applying for the job?

Are any family members or friends in the same field as you? Did they influence your decision to pursue this career or help you get your job?

What are your future career goals? What if your dream job?

Identity/ Filipino-ness

Are there situations where your feel proud to Filipino and other situations where you shy away from it?

Are there aspects of your culture you feel has benefitted you and other aspects you would not choose to carry on?

Do you consider yourself to be Filipino, Canadian or Filipino-Canadian (or Canadian-Filipino)?

Appendix F – Question Guide for First Generation Filipino-Canadian Parents

Basic Information

How old are you?

What is your occupation?

What is your salary?

What is your highest level of education?

What is your place of birth:

Where do you live?

Family

When did you move to Canada? What were your motivations?

Where in the Philippines are you from? What city and neighbourhood in Canada did you move to? Are you still there or have you moved since coming to Canada?

Under what program did you immigrate?

Did you immigrate with your spouse and children? If not, who moved first? How long of a separation was there?

What was your job in the Philippines? What is it now? Did you find it difficult to find work that met your qualifications?

Are you still married? If not, when did you separate?

Do you think your relationship with your husband/wife changed after immigrating to Canada? Are you dividing up the tasks of working for money and domestic labour in the same way as you did before?

Who pays for most of the household expenses in your home?

How many children do you have? Can you describe the birth order? Were they born in the Philippines or in Canada?

What did you expect of your sons and daughters with respect to domestic help? Their school work? Their career paths? Their social lives?

Do you have different expectations of your sons and daughters? If so, how would you explain this difference? Do you have different expectations of children of the same gender?

Do you think that your children influenced each others choice of study or career path? How so?

Do you think that you are 'harder' on your son or daughter?

Social Life

Are most of your friends in Canada Filipino? In what type of careers are they in?

Do you attend many Filipino functions as a family?

Has your son and daughter ever had friends that you disapprove of? Why is that? Who do think is the best type of person for your son or daughter to be friends with?

When your children were growing up, how much freedom did you give them to socialize with friends? Now that they are adults, do you still influence their social activities and friends?

Is your son or daughter in a romantic relationship? What do you think of their choice of romantic partner? What type of person do you think would be the best type of partner for your son or daughter? Does it differ by gender?

Did you impose rules about dating when your children were growing up? Were they different for your son and daughter? Now, that they are adults do you still influence their romantic lives?

Education

Were your children in public or private school? Why did you make that decision?

Did you expect your children to attend university? If so, how did you convey this to them?

What type of help did you give your children during grade school? For example did you help them with their homework? Get them tutors? Send them to private school?

Did you help your children financially with University? Did you help them in other ways?

What type of subjects, if any did you encourage your children to study? How did you encourage them? Why did you think this was the best choice for them?

What University did your children attend?

Did you help them decide on that University? If so, why did you think that University was most appropriate? Did you think different institutions were more appropriate for your son and your daughter?

Was it important to you that your children study at an institution close to home? Why is that?

Do many of your Filipino friends have children in University? Why do you think that is?

While your children were studying, did you think it was appropriate for them to be in clubs or sports outside of school? Why or why not? Would you have preferred your children got more involved with some and not others?

Did your children work during university? At what job? What did you think of this part-time job?

Employment

What is your occupation now? What was it before you immigrated?

What are your children's occupations? What do you think of their jobs?

If your son/daughter was not in this occupation, what other types of jobs do you think would be appropriate for them? Are there any jobs or sectors you would NOT want your son or daughter to be in?

Did you encourage them to pursue these careers or help them get the positions?

Have you faced discrimination in the labour market in Canada? Do you think your children have?

Have you noticed Filipino men and women entering certain occupations? What about their adult children? Does this differ by gender?

Have you noticed Filipino men and women entering certain occupations? What about their adult children? Does this differ by gender?

Appendix G – Question Guide for First Generation Filipino-Canadian Parents in Phone Interviews

When did you immigrate? Under what program?

When you came to Canada, why did you decide to locate in xxx? How did you find a house?

How did you decide which school to send your children to?

Did any of your children struggle in school?

What type of rules/discipline did you set for your sons or daughter? Ie dating, social life, studying,

What did you expect of the males and females? Oldest and youngest?

What do you think of the pathways that your children have taken?

How did each of your children perform in high school? How did you feel about that?

Who made most of the choices in terms of education, finances, parenting, you or your husband?

Why do you think Filipino-Canadian men of the 2nd generation are struggling?

What did most of your male and female friends do here? And their children?

Do you notice divorce being very prevalent? As a result of the stresses of immigration?

Do you think that you are 'harder' on your son or daughter?

Did you expect your children to attend university? If so, how did you convey this to them?

What type of help did you give your children during grade school? For example did you help them with their homework? Get them tutors? Send them to private school?

Are there any jobs that you would have wanted your son/daughter to go into? Anything you wouldn't?

Have you helped your child get a job?

Are there any personality traits that stand out for each of your children?

How do you think the parenting style you used differs from that of other Filipino parents? Non Filipino parents?

Appendix H – Question Guide for University and College Career Services Staff

What trends to you notice in terms of educational and employment outcomes for second generation Filipino-Canadians? Why do you think that is? Is it different for men and women?

Is this population achieving good marks in their classes?

Are there any majors that are more popular with students or Filipino heritage? Among those, do you notice differences between males and females?

What type of services is this population utilizing? For example, co-op programs, casual work programs...

Of the students that you work with, what percentage do you believe are of Filipino heritage?

What type of parental pressures do you think this population in facing? How does it differ for males and females?

What other types of pressures do you think this population faces?

How well do the students 'fit in'? Do you observe racism towards them from their peers? Do you observe racism from professors or administrators?

Do you believe that they are experiencing racism from employers?

Are there any common career goals you have noticed with male and female Filipino-Canadians?

Do the Filipino–Canadians you work with have a lot of work experience? How would you describe their resumes?

Do you have other observations?

Appendix I – Questions for School Board Support Worker

General

Can you tell me a bit about yourself? What does your job entail and what do you do outside of work?

Are many of the students at your school Filipino-Canadian? What percentage?

Do your work directly with these students very often? In what capacity?

Academics/career

What trends to you notice in terms of educational and employment outcomes for second generation Filipino-Canadians? Why do you think that is?

Does this differ by school? Neighbourhood? Parent's immigration history? Parent's encouragement of Filipino culture or assimilation?

What role do you think community and peers play?

Are there any common career goals you have noticed with male and female Filipino-Canadians?

Are there any classes that are more popular with students or Filipino heritage? Among those, do you notice differences between males and females?

What type of extra-curricular activities, if any, is this population engaging in?

How many do you believe are attending university? What do you think is stopping others from attending?

Is this population achieving good marks in their classes?

Do many youth work outside of school? How do you think this affects their education and careers? What leads them to take on employment outside or school and then continue in it or go to post-secondary?

Family

Do you observe families encouraging any types of courses or career paths?

Is this different with males and females?

Do many parents come to you or the teachers about their son or daughter's education? Why or why not?

Do you observe/ think there are any differences in achievement with regards to birth order? How much of an influence do you think siblings have on academic engagement and career direction?

What type of parental pressures do you think this population in facing? How does it differ for males and females? Ie are parents 'harder' on their sons or daughters?

Mental health

Are there any mental health or social problems that this population is disproportionately experiencing?

What other types of pressures do you think this population faces?

Engagement/ Identity

Is there a strong sense of Filipino identity? Is this a positive one? Do you notice a correlation between cultural attachment and academic and employment success?

Do you think youth who are involved with clubs, church, sports, youth groups do better academically? Why? Do you think the involvement leads to success or vice versa?

What aspects of being Filipino benefit youth the most? Ie family, values, Are there any that you think put youth at a disadvantage?

Racism/Integration

Do the students you observe stay together or mix with students from other backgrounds?

What is the perception of youth of Filipino heritage from their peers? From their teachers?

Do you notice divisions amongst the Filipino-Canadian youth?

How well do the students 'fit in'? Do you observe racism towards them from their peers?

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