Negotiating spaces of belonging: social support in Filipino immigrant youth

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"Ang hindi lumingon sa pinanggalingan, di makararating sa paroroonan."

("One who does not look back at where he came from will not reach his destination.")

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ABSTRACT

"No (person) is an island" (Donne J, 1975, p. 87). The importance of social support in the lives of human beings is evident and for immigrant adolescents the role of social networks is important to facilitate their adjustment within the majority culture and to navigate their identity within spaces of belonging.

This study aims to describe how Filipino immigrant adolescents in Côte-des-Neiges, a district in Montreal, organize social support and how this relates to their mental health. This research is a mixed design with a sequential strategy. Firstly, data about social support from an epidemiological survey of Filipino youth are analyzed. Secondly, ethnographic research elaborates the findings from the quantitative part.

The results suggest that social networks play a dual role of both support and conflict for the adolescents and that there is a complex interplay between migratory trajectory and the strategies for organizing social support and negotiating spaces of belonging.

RÉSUMÉ

"Personne n'est une île"[1] (Donne J, 1975). Si l'importance du soutien social dans la vie des êtres humains n'est plus mise en doute, elle l'est d'autant moins pour les adolescents immigrants qui font face a de nombreuses ruptures. En effet, les réseaux sociaux facilitent leur adaptation à la culture dominante et leur permettent de naviguer entre diverses identités dans différents espaces d'appartenance.

Cette recherche vise à décrire la façon dont les adolescents immigrants philippins, dans le quartier Côte-des-Neiges de Montréal, organisent leur soutien social et les liens entre celui ci et leur santé mentale. Étant donné la complexité du sujet abordé, notre recherche est basée sur une méthodologie mixte. Premièrement, nous avons analysé des données quantitatives relatives au soutien social dans le cadre d'une recherche épidémiologique sur des jeunes philippins. Deuxièmement, une recherche ethnographique a permis d'approfondir nos résultats quantitatifs. Nos résultats ont confirmé le double rôle du reseau social en tant que source de soutien et de conflit pour les adolescents et l'interaction complexe entre la trajectoire migratoire et les stratégies de négociation des espaces d'appartenance.

[1] Our translation

INTRODUCTION

Relationships we maintain with other individuals, whether close and longstanding or ordinary and brief, are among the most important features of life (Milardo, 1988). These social ties have important consequences for society as well as for the individual (Brown & Gary, 1987). There is a large body of literature that studies social support and its beneficial effects. Support networks are one means to provide resources, which can have beneficial effects on individual well-being. They can also buffer or reduce the consequences of undesirable experiences when they occur (Cohen & Wills, 1985). On the other hand, support networks are also a source of obligation, so that the possible joint effects of social support and social strain have to be taken into account.

One of the challenges for adolescents is the shift from a child's essentially family centered network to a peer and then community centered network. Investigating adolescent relationships is compelling, given that peers and peer-relationships can facilitate or impede the development of an adolescent's sense of well-being. Only in the nineties has research on mental health begun to address whether supportive relationships affect adolescents' social and emotional development (Bo, 1996). These challenges are even greater for immigrant adolescents who experience different reference points and changes in relationships, contexts, and roles (Ainslie, 1998).

Immigration plays a huge role in Canada's changing multicultural society. In the reconfiguration of a social fabric, each migrant community establishes or perpetuates a web of relationships, which reflect history, culture and a sociopolitical reality. At this moment the Filipino population is the second largest Asian group in North America (Espiritu, 2003). The Filipinos are a very large and yet relatively understudied group in North America (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001). Very few empirical investigations have included

large numbers of specific ethno-cultural adolescents (Ying & Lee, 1999). Filipino youth experience "emotional transnationalism", which situates them between different generational and locational points of reference. These reference points include their parents, sometimes their grandparents and their own reference points -both the real and the imagined (Wolf, 1997). These possible struggles can have consequences on the construction of their social support systems and on their choice of "spaces of belonging".

In order to address this important dimension of social adjustment, there is a need to gain a better understanding of the challenges and strengths that immigrant adolescents face as they construct their social networks. The relationship between social support and mental health and the construction of social support and belonging as perceived by Filipino immigrant adolescents has not been examined prior to the present study.

The purpose of this mixed design study is to provide an extensive description of how Filipino immigrant adolescents in Côte-des-Neiges, Montreal organize social support and spaces of belonging. It also proposes to clarify and understand how migration-related factors can play a role in these adolescents' choice of network and their perception of social support and how all of this is related to mental health. This current study combines aspects of functional and structural theories by measuring perceptions of support, types and sources of support and their relationship with social identity measures applied to a particular ethnic immigrant adolescent group. Although almost all studies stress the positive aspects of social support, our[1] aim is to focus on a broader and flexible concept of social support: both the helping and holding effects of social support on well-being, as well as its possible negative effects like the burden and obligation associated with social support networks. Furthermore, this research tries to get a deeper understanding of how feelings of belonging interplay with social support factors and how

individuals actively negotiate their ethnic identity vis à vis co-ethnics and the wider society. In this study we explore Filipino community organizations for immigrant youth. We find that they serve an interesting starting point and that they provide a perspective, which lets us explore the construction of social support and its relationship with concepts of social identity, social capital and "space", taking into account the uniqueness of Filipino culture and the particularities of adolescent immigrant status.

The methodology of this two-phase sequential mixed methods study of the construction of social support analyses quantitative results from an epidemiological survey of multiethnic schools and then follows up with qualitative data to understand the topic of social support in depth. In the first phase, quantitative research hypotheses address the descriptive analysis of social support factors among Filipino adolescents in Montreal, as measured by etic and emic instruments developed for quantitative research. We also study the statistical relationships between social support factors and mental health variables. In the second phase of the study, qualitative interviews and observations made in the framework of ethnographic research are used to better understand this complex phenomenon of social support by exploring aspects of social support and the feeling of belonging of Filipino adolescents in different Filipino youth community organizations in Côte-des-Neiges, Montreal. Lastly, triangulation of the quantitative data with complementary qualitative data is performed.

Phinney (1996) stresses the importance of the different dimensions of ethnic linked issues. These are likely to interact in complex ways that will challenge researchers and clinicians to develop more sophisticated models. There is a need both for in-depth qualitative studies that can describe processes in detail and for large scale multivariate studies that can include and examine a wide range of factors. Reliance on an individual's

perceptions as the basis for assessing support in quantitative research can incorporate some systemic biases (Cauce AM, Mason C & Gonzales N, 1994). An analysis of the cultural context in studies of social support and support networks through qualitative research can add a dynamic dimension to the existing studies concerning social support, the majority of which are quantitative.

In order to understand how migration affects people's sense of belonging and identity, it is important to listen to how immigrants themselves interpret their situatedness, and how they culturally construct histories. An ethnography is a method rooted in anthropology that attempts to describe people's perceptions of meanings and events within the context in which they take place (Agar, 1986). Brown (1996) explains that ethnographic approaches to study human behavior and its meaning, offer two advantages: they provide a detailed in-depth analysis of a particular phenomenon, and they also encourage interpretations that arise from within the setting and the participants, rather than risking the constraints of an incomplete or inappropriate preconceived theoretical framework. The mixed research design is appropriate to both understand the relationship among social support and mental health variables and to explore this topic in depth.

This work will first present the research context followed by the research question. Secondly, the methodology is described, referring to both quantitative and qualitative methods. The next chapter is the presentation and analysis of the quantitative results, followed by a chapter of the description and analysis of the qualitative results. Finally, the discussion and conclusion are presented. In the discussion, triangulation of quantitative and qualitative results has been performed. The integration of both results is displayed and interpreted referring to the research questions in the light of the existing

literature. Limitations of the research and directions for future research are also presented in the discussion.

[1] In the text "I" and "we" are used. "I" refers to my own position based on my identity and background and refers also to my experiences in the fieldwork. The use of "we" refers to an inclusive "we" as the voice of collective representatives composed of Filipino community partners and co-researchers

RESEARCH CONTEXT

Belonging in immigrants: anchoring social support through identity and space

"We are born in to relationships that are always based in a place" (Sarup, 1994, p. 93). The sense of belonging is a human need and can be constructed as an intersection of social support, identities and spaces.

Social support: conceptualization

Social support is defined as the perception or experience that one is loved and cared for, esteemed and valued, and part of a social network of mutual assistance and obligations (Wills, 1991). The type of social support evaluated varies greatly between studies and in many cases the type of support is only generally specified. Hundreds of studies conducted with adults suggest that social support enhances both physical and psychological well-being and acts as a buffer against the negative effects of life stress. In general, social support has been studied from two different perspectives: the structural measures of social networks and the social support processes that the network provides for the individual. Social networks can be defined as the existence or "quantity" of relationships. Social support is commonly used to refer to the "quality" or functional contents of the relationships (Cohen & Wills, 1985). The structural model based on a sociological perspective, posits that the benefits of support are derived from the engagement in one or more social groups. In this case, the total number of relationships assesses social support. On the other hand, the functional measures of social support are related to the positive aspects of group interactions and the various types of help perceived as available from or actually provided through members of the individual social networks. Scholars have conceptualized social support as types of help, including informational, instrumental and emotional support, which are available in the social

environment (Thoits, 1986). Two types of measures have been used to assess process support: perceived availability of social support and actual received social support. Measures of perceived social support assess the respondent's perception of being valued and loved and of having persons available who will provide assistance if needed (Cohen & Wills 1985).

The present literature of social support and networks displays some limits. First of all, the research on personal relationships and social network has generally focused on their positive effects. It should be noted that there could be negative consequences of giving and receiving support (La Gaipa, 1995). Secondly, networks exist as dynamic entities, not as ossified social structures and they take their social and symbolic meaning from the ways in which they operate (Wellman, 1985). These aspects are not operationalized in classical social support instruments. There is an urgent need in research to address these dynamic aspects of social support.

Social support and culture – social support and immigrants

There is substantial evidence showing the effects (mostly benefits) of many forms of social support for both mental and physical health (Seeman, 1996). To date, however, there has been little consideration of how the patterns of social relationships that are assumed and practiced in a given sociocultural context affect the use and effectiveness of social support (Taylor, Sherman & Heejung, 2004). By culture we mean the whole social matrix in which action and experience are embedded. The need to understand social support among diverse ethnic groups is evidenced by the paucity of information available on the subject. Understanding social support within a cultural context requires knowledge of the culture in which support is given and received. Research has suggested reliable cultural differences in how people view the self and their relationships that may have

implications for whether or not they use social support with stress (Lin, 1999). Cultural factors have a dual influence on the psychosocial environment: they determine the life circumstances and, at the same time, provide interpretations of their meaning and significance for the individual (Kirmayer, Rousseau, Jarvis & Guzder, 2001).

In their attempts to understand contemporary migration, researchers focus increasingly on the concepts of social networks. In the migration literature, networks refer primarily to personal relationships based on family, kin, friendship and community (Boyd, 1989). Current migration research emphasizes social networks in various stages of the migration process, including 1) decisions to migrate, 2) direction and persistence of migration flows, 3) transnational links, and 4) settlement patterns and incorporation (Hagan, 1998).

Gaines & Reed (1995, p. 97) make the case that there are predictable psychological outcomes of "belonging to a group that has been oppressed or exploited throughout a historical period". They note that one effect is the tendency to emphasize collective values over individualistic values. For migrants, the greater collectivism of ethnic group members may be as much a product of their experience of immigration as a result of transmission from their culture of origin (Phinney, 1996).

Earlier research with immigrants has shown mixed results for the role of social support on psychological distress. One line of research has indicated that individuals with a strong co-ethnic (same ethnicity) social network tend to function better in crisis situations than those with a weak support system (Fawzy, Fawzy, Arndt & Pasnau, 1995; Kessler, Kendler, Heath, Neale & Eaves, 1994; Terry, Rawle & Callan-Victor, 1995). As a social resource, the existence of a co-ethnic community and a strong sense of belonging, for example, has been found to help to reduce settlement stress for many

immigrants and refugees in Canada (Beiser, 1999). In contrast, other researchers have found that immigrants with close ties to their ethnic group tend to have more distress compared with those with additional non-ethnic supports (Boehnlein et al., 1995; Brugha, 1995).

Personal coping resources and methods must be contextualized, taking into account conditions in both the sending and receiving societies. When studying immigrants, the role of social support cannot be assessed in a unidimensional manner. By definition, the uprooting process involves disruption of immigrants' social interactions and fractures social networks. On the other hand, many recent immigrants have "chain-migrated" to rejoin their family and relatives in the new country. In addition, immigrants may also participate actively in social interaction to establish new social networks following migration (Noh & Avison, 1996). Although research on social networks in immigrant incorporation has explained the relative ease with which some immigrant groups adapt to their new environment, Boyd (1989) argues that models of networks are too static; they emphasize only the networks' existence, operation, and persistence but pay little attention to their transformation over time. Others remark on researchers' tendencies to overlook variations in the resources that immigrants draw from their networks (Hagan, 1998). For several reasons, immigrants may face singular barriers to interactions among themselves and with others. Shifting identities among immigrants, who have to renegotiate their identities and roles in the host society, may hinder the formation of strong ties (Wierzbicki, 2004). Other factors like language problems and host-country discrimination restrict networks to fellow migrants and foster ethnic solidarity. The debilitating effects of poverty and economic competition also suggest that

socio-economic status can influence the number of social ties among immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

By underlining the complex interaction between contextual factors and social network, this literature supports Williams (1994) who argues that migration networks must be conceived as facilitating rather than encapsulating, as permeable, expanding and fluid rather than as representing a rigid and bounded structure from the perspective of culture and also from migration.

Social capital

While social support of immigrants is mostly studied on the personal level, the concept of social capital is written from a collective perspective. The significance of networks of kinship and friendship for the process of migration is recognized in anthropology and sociology literature. The role of networks in the settlement in and adaptation to the society of immigration -that is how networks provide social capital- are also important aspects.

Social capital is a socio-economic concept with a variety of inter-related definitions based on the value of social networks. The first systematic contemporary analysis of social capital was produced by Bourdieu (1985) who describes the concept as resources based on group membership, relationships, networks of influence and support. Putnam (2000) speaks of two main components of the concept: bonding social capital and bridging social capital. The former refers to the value assigned to social networks between homogeneous groups of people and the latter to that of social networks between socially heterogeneous groups. Policy makers often try to stimulate bridging social capital in immigrants because of fears of strong intra-group identities and possible marginalisation based on homogenisation. But bonding groups are necessary for

settlement in a country in which ethnocultural groups share a collective identity. These groups have a resilient and protective effect since a sense of belonging and identity are key elements of ownership.

Negative aspects of social capital are described by Portes (1998): the level of social control can be strong and quite restrictive towards personal freedom. Internal differentiation in a group on the basis of gender, generation and social class defines and limits individual action and participation, differences of power and allocation of resources within groups. Group solidarity can be cemented by a common experience of adversity and opposition to mainstream society. In these instances, individual success stories undermine group cohesion because the latter is precisely grounded on the alleged impossibility of such occurences.

The utilisation of social capital is affected by how immigrants use the past to give meaning to the present (Babacan, 2005). Immigrants need to reconstruct social groups in the host country and create a recovery of continuity after displacements and movements between places by stimulating feelings of identity, security and continuity, and by recognition of social and life history.

Social identity and the concept of space

Because measures of social support reflect the extent to which immigrants belong to different groups and are supported by fellow members, social network is partially linked to identity issues and in particular to social identity. It is that part of an individual's self-concept that derives from his or her knowledge of membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tjafel, 1986). Tjafel's Social Identity Theory focuses on individuals' sense of belonging to a group and the attitudes and behaviors that accompany that group.

Group identity is viewed as an integral part of the self-concept (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). Hence, individuals attribute value to a group and derive a higher sense of self from being part of that group. (Phinney & Alipura, 1990). As Jeffrey Weeks (1980) has noted, "Identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others. At its most basic, it gives you a sense of personal location, the stable core to your individuality. But it is also about your social relationships, your complex involvement with others" (p 88). The focus of this research is on the "relational" aspect of identity.

Social identity does not occur in a vacuum, it is elaborated and transferred in different spaces. According to Gupta and Ferguson (1992) we must start envisioning cultures as situated in interconnected spaces, not isomorphically inhabiting bordered places. This idea deploys Anderson's (1983) notion of "imagined communities" in which senses of belonging may be founded, not based on bounded geographical delineations but on multiple grids of cultural symbols across many interrelated spaces.

The notion of space as a site of the Filipino American diaspora can help us to refer to the relations between Filipino Americans and the Filipino homeland and other diasporic Filipino communities. These transnational relations can include kinship, economic, political, religious, organizational and other social ties. More specifically, these are evident in sociocultural transfers from Filipino America to the Philippines by means of monetary remittances, balikbayan (return to the nation) visits and charitable contributions from hometown and other locality associations (Okamura, 1998).

In the immigrant experience, space is an arena where contesting identities become possible or denied and representations of identities are enacted. Space becomes part of identity articulation itself, as it brings about experiences of diversity, displacement,

homelessness and resettlement by immigration, while opening up possibilities for community and agency (Bonus, 2000).

Space as expression for identity negotiations is an interesting dynamic concept in relation to social identity, as both are situated at the personal and collective level.

Social support and social identity in developmental perspective of immigrant adolescents

Most literature of social support, capital or identity concentrates on adults. It is therefore important to consider the possible specificities of adolescence in this domain. Adolescence is a time of profound changes in relationships with peers, the number of acquaintances broadens and an adolescent becomes increasingly aware of the need of belonging to a group. Increased interaction with extra-familial peers and adults within contexts of co-ethnic and majority society are sources for identity exploration and the acquisition of new cultural knowledge and skills during adolescence.

In conjunction with the normative challenges of adolescence, immigrant youth belong to at least two different cultures. They are consistently faced with the challenge of integrating different sets of cultural demands and messages, conflicting interpersonal expectations and the potential threats of minority status and discrimination (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee & Morrise, 2002). The striving for belonging as part of adolescence is thus likely to be more complex for minority adolescents, who are often seeking to belong both to their own ethnic group and to groups within the mainstream culture. This sense of belonging through a successful negotiation of the acculturation process can contribute to an overall positive sense of identity and to overall well-being or wellness (Myers, Sweeney & Witmer, 2000). The connection at some level with their ethnic identity adds to their sense of self in the larger context. Therefore the role of peer groups is especially important because the dialogue between friends reinforces or challenges the notions of

the self (Kuo, 2002). In immigrant youth, supportive communications within co-ethnic and majority networks may be of special importance to the development of culture specific competencies (Kim, 1987; Tietjen, 1994). However, there is a lack of studies that have examined the particular effects of immigration (for example the trajectory) on the construction of social support and feelings of belonging for immigrant adolescents.

An important fact to consider is that ethnic minorities are not simply passive recipients of imposed identities; they can choose their ethnic identity in an active way. Nagel (1994) defines ethnic identities as "the result of a dialectical process involving internal and external opinions and processes, as well as the individual's self-identification and outsider's 'ethnic designations'" (p. 154). She argues that ethnic identity is negotiated by individual actors (whose actions are actively constructed), other group members and outside groups. In addition to dominant representations and stereotypes attributed to groups, an individual's ethnic identity is also shaped by interactions with co-ethnics, the members of one's own ethnic group (Song 2003). On the one hand, membership in a group entitles one to participate in the group's culture and politics; it gives one a claim to distinctive ways of talking, dressing and interacting. On the other hand, membership involves obligations, for instance, co-ethnic members may expect a degree of conformity or similarity in expression of ethnic identity (Zack, 1996).

There are a number of ways in which co-ethnics can mediate individual's ethnic identities. One way is by making individual members aware of the normative values and behaviors expected of them as group members. What it means to be a group member is continuously contested through collective debates about group culture and identity. In this way, individual agency regarding the assertion of ethnic identity is constrained and

influenced by the politics of recognition and authenticity practised within minority groups, just as it can be compromised by racist stereotyping (Song, 2003).

An interesting perspective on ethnic identity is the concept of conditional belonging expressing that belonging can be partial when immigrants identify with the majority culture and one's own ethnic community (Song, 2003). Assertions of conditional belonging resist total, uncontested and unambiguous perspectives on belonging and illustrate how partial, fragmented and multifaceted the experience of belonging can be. There can be a potential tension between individual assertions of ethnic identity and collective determinations about the meanings, cultural practices and identities associated with particular ethnic groups. The specificities of a person's life experiences do not simply mirror group experiences, just as collective identities are not simply reducible to the sum of various individual experiences. The processes that shape ethnic group identities are complex and multifaceted, constructed against a backdrop of history, inter- and intragroup relationships (Parker, 1995).

An important perspective for research on immigrant adolescents is the already mentioned framework of Song (2003): rather than conceiving of minority individuals as simply buffeted between the wider society and their co-ethnics, she proposes to see them as agents who actively negotiate their desired ethnic identities in relation to both insiders and outsiders in a multitude of contexts (Song, 2003). Our aim is to study this from a mental health perspective and relate this concept with social support and mental health factors.

Belonging in Filipino adolescents

The Filipino immigrant community

The Philippines: history and present situation

Located in South-East Asia, the Philippines is a tropical archipelago consisting of 7107 islands that are divided into three island groups: Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. There are about 70 different languages and about 111 cultural and racial groups (Azada, 2002). Tagalog is the national language with English as the second official language. "It's a fond adage of historians" Scott (2000) writes, "that a people without history is a people without a soul. So nation building Filipinos eagerly search for their roots" (p. 11). Facts about the people of these islands prior to contact with Spain are meager. Any Filipino today faces a problem in search of his or her past. In this regard Scott reveals a primary cause for problems concerning Filipinos and their history. The understanding of the development of Filipino identity may be brought to higher relief if we were to look, not in the linear development of Philippine history but in its discontinuities. It is important to come to a common understanding of the Filipino experience of the double colonization: 400 years by Spain, 45 years by the USA. Furthermore, this history of colonization is important because it produced lasting psychological and cultural consequences. The self-concept of the Filipinos as powerless and inferior was reinforced (Chan, 1998). As a result of exploitation through colonization Filipinos are still defining their cultural, racial and historical identity. There is hope that someday Filipinos shall as one people win something of national significance, that they perceive themselves as their own people, no matter whether "other Asians see Filipinos as very 'westernized', while 'Americans and Europeans... see them as very Asian" (Rosen, 2000, p. 23).

Democratic practice under colonial rule fell short of ideal, but Filipinos embarked on independence in 1946 with a respect for democratic values and a familiarity with democratic processes. Despite this, nowadays the Philippine nation exists in an atmosphere of institutionalized and chronic economic crisis (Rogers, 2004). There are currently more than 8 million Filipino immigrant workers in over 186 countries worldwide (Batara, 1998), while the total population in the Philippines is 87 million.

Filipino immigrants in Canada

The Filipinos have migrated to Canada since 1960. In 2001 demographical data indicated that there were 18 985 Filipinos living within a total population of 3 380 645 in Montreal based on ethnicity (Statistics Canada, 2001). They have been challenged with the same barriers as other minority group populations with discrimination, stereotypes and prejudices aimed toward them (Phinney, 1989). At the same time, Filipinos have a different history from other Asian groups, their native land was colonised not only by the Spaniards but also by the Americans. The function of a Filipino-American racial categorization is determined not only by the social, economic and political forces in the United States but also by North American neocolonialism in the Philippines (Espiritu, 2003). In Canada, the government policy (Live-in Caregiver Program), which gives domestic workers the opportunity to apply for permanent resident status after a two-year period of residency, made Canada an attractive destination for migrant workers. The deskilling, stereotypes and abuse of domestic workers can be considered as a continuation of colonialism (Pratt, 2002).

All of this results in the fact that the Filipino community continues to be confronted with the challenge of defining who they are in their new country and the positive aspects of their Filipino culture.

Filipino social support

The importance of the family is stressed in Philippine society. First of all, the nuclear family exists of the husband, wife and children. In addition, Filipino kinship is bilateral, meaning that one's relatives are calculated to include individuals from both the father's and the mother's families (Belen, 1991). The broad Filipino network of actual relatives is called the "extended family", including all of the nuclear family's siblings and their children extending outward. Supplementing the biological extended family is a category of "fictive kin" who are incorporated through ritual relations. This phenomenon is known in the social science literature as compadrazgo or ritual co-parenthood. It refers to "compadre" relations established when these extra familial individuals act as sponsors at marriages and especially at baptisms (Hart, 1977). This system was used frequently in the past to establish a kind of life insurance for the child in case anything happened to the parents, and sometimes it has been used to provide a means of upward social mobility for the child, since the parents search for the most powerful friend or acquaintance to accept this religious and cultural obligation of responsibility (Steinberg, 1990).

As described, the most important ties start from the family and kin group. These family ties are further reinforced in the voluntary organizations and church in both the Philippines and the host country. The interpersonal ties which are established and maintained within the Filipino community in the host society are interactive responses to both the internal needs of the ethnic community and the external pressures from the larger, dominant or encompassing culture (Almirol, 1985).

From its earliest days, the Filipino child learns to internalize the important Filipino social value of "pakikisama" (to accompany or go along with for the benefit of group harmony), which serves as a guiding principle governing family relationships and

interactions in the wider community (Landa F, 1998). "Utang Na Loob" literally means "reciprocity". It is a Filipino ethical principle, which requires that a favor must be given in return of past favors. This concept involves a lifetime obligation to debts and gratitude. It functions as a device of strong social control at all levels of Filipino life (Aranas, 1983). In general, social acceptance is reflected in the day to day social interaction, where maintenance of "smooth interpersonal relations" is the norm.

Filipino social identity

The Philippines too is a multi-ethnic and multiracial nation so the designation, "Filipino" people is as problematic as the designation "American" or "Canadian" people. Negotiations of identities are reflected in a wide range of identity articulations: "Filipinos" as a politico-social construct or as a partial identity used for migration purposes. "Filipinos" can also reflect an attributed identity based on stereotypes present in the host society or a reconstructed identity solely reassured in exile. Negotiations of identities express the ways in which individual members of groups go about asserting their ethnic identities vis-à-vis their co-ethnics and the wider society.

The Philippine nation is a product of homogenization that has privileged certain dominant ethnoracial groups and marginalized others (Bonus, 2000). We see the resulting tensions in, for example, debates over an official language (Tagalog speaking groups versus other ethnolinguistic groups as Cebano and Ilokano). A colonial history along with regionalistic and linguistic diversity in a country of over a thousand islands and two hundred dialects has historically made unity difficult to achieve for the Filipino people (Azada, 2002).

Locating Filipino Americans entails recognizing them as members of an ethnic group in which their identities constantly trace their articulation and circulation between

homeland and settlement sites. All of this occurs in the interplay of economic, political and social forces that define belonging and citizenship (Bonus, 2000).

Filipino immigrant community organizations

Organizations, space and identity

An association or organization is an enduring union of a number of persons morally bound under authority to cooperate for a common good (Aranas, 1983). Associations have different objectives and vary in some respects, the common goals differ from each other and determine the nature of an organization. The voluntary associations may be divided into the following categories: mutual aid, regional, professional, religious and social organizations. These categories are not mutually exclusive since a number of associations fall into several classifications (Almirol, 1985). In the social anthropology of the 1950s and 1960s, there was a substantial amount of literature that demonstrated the role of voluntary associations as adaptive mechanisms for rural migrants in towns and cities (Okurama 1998). Organizations are essential to community. They are, as Greenbaum (2002) suggested, the "institutional underpinnings of group identity...(they) locate ethnicity and serve as vessels for husbanding capital" (p. 7). Ethnic community organizations are spaces that mark the cultural symbols and negotiations that immigrants share with themselves and others regarding their identities (Bonus, 2000).

Organizations in the Philippines and diaspora

It would be an almost impossible task to compile and update a list of Filipino organizations in the US as well as in the Philippines (Pido, 1985). There are at least as many organizations identified as there are provinces represented in the Filipino population. The development of organizations through the establishment of immigrant

associations, can be viewed as corporate representations of Filipino-American ethnic identity (Okamura, 1998).

It is clear that Filipino organizations have played and are playing vital and continuous roles in upholding their cultural heritage and identity. Their existence however, is fraught with concomitant problems (Aranas, 1983). Divisiveness and factionalism in organizations is not a unique Filipino phenomenon, since organizations are composed of individuals and subgroups locked in power relations. What makes the Filipino organizational divisiveness unique is that it is almost always based on leadership personalities, personal, familial, regional-linguistic linkages or highly personalized "community-based" networks, rather than ideological or structural differences (Pido, 1985). According to Pino (1985), in addition to fulfilling individual and group needs through strong social relationships and networks, Filipinos have a high regard and desire for status and power. The Filipinos perceive their subgroup rather than individual efforts in conjunction with others as the most effective way of achieving group status and power to be shared with the members of the subgroup. Consequently, there is a strong and total commitment of individual efforts and resources in the pursuit of the subgroups' interests, thus exacerbating the divisiveness of organizational conflicts (Coser, 1971). Perceiving this as evidence of divisiveness and disunity is, however, an incomplete assessment of the workings of these organizations. Intragroup status competition needs to be understood within the larger history of forced "homelessness". These status-seeking practices may be better conceptualized as acts of status reclamation and not only of status competition (Espiritu, 2004).

There is not much literature describing and analyzing different Filipino organizations and their dynamics in a host country. This research will be an attempt to understand more deeply some aspects and dynamics of these organizations.

Organizations in Montreal

It is difficult to offer a complete list of the organizations that have emerged from and that serve the Filipino community in Montreal. Some are more active than others and there is no single place where they are all listed and no list that is kept up-to-date. Many of the groups are based on religious, social and/or cultural activities. Two umbrella organizations (FAMAS (Philippines Association of Montreal and Suburbs) and the Federation) are settled in Montreal with a mission "to serve as an organization that brings together all people of Filipino origin in Montreal". The fact that two competing umbrella organizations exist, reflects partially the divisiveness in the community.

Filipino youth and belonging

Filipino youth, social identity and mental health

The few studies on Filipino adolescents, largely performed in the United States portray them as fairly successful economically –solidly of middle class status- and apparently well acculturated. However, Espiritu and Wolf (2001) also reveal that in spite of their successful adaptation in the host society, young Filipinos display low self-esteem and high depression levels. They hypothesize that this situation may express dissonance between economic integration and social and emotional adjustment. These seemingly contradictory findings may be reflecting the paradox of rapid assimilation into the successful middle class.

A transnational approach acknowledges multiple locations of "home" which may exist geographically but also ideologically and emotionally, in addition to a plurality of

cultural codes and symbols that go beyond the nation-state (Wolf, 1997). Although the parents of the second-generation Filipino youth are active in maintaining relationships that directly link to the Philippines (Espiritu, 1994), the children of these immigrants maintain these ties at the level of emotions, ideologies and sometimes conflicting cultural codes. Second-generation Filipinos tend to have a "largely symbolic" sense of ethnicity since they experience Filipino culture through family get-togethers and trips to the Philippines. These events are intermittent, brief and disconnected from most areas of their lives. Studies in the US are just beginning to document the effects of a weak cultural and group identity on second-generation Filipino Americans. Few cultural or language schools have been established to promote Filipino culture or pride in Philippine heritage. Those programs and organizations that do support "Fil-Ams" in their search for identity and cultural heritage, receive a tremendous response (Strobel, 1997).

Filipino youth, social support and spaces of belonging

As described before, Filipino social and political processes cannot be fully understood without incorporating an analysis of the family (Mc Coy, 1993). The link with their family as the centre of the Filipino identity is strong in the formulation and understanding of what it means to be Filipino for Filipino adolescents (Espiritu, 1994). While families create the ties that bind and bond, they can also be the sites of intense conflict and contradictions, especially among immigrants (Rumbaut, 1997). Although the family ties of Asian families are praised and admired by those who argue for "strong" families and "family values", we must look more closely at family practices and the price they exact from the children upon whom they are imposed (Wolf, 1997).

Instead of social deviance and rebellion, Filipino youth take on the approved values of the wider community. Primary among these values are a sense of obligation

("pananagutan") that is centered in the family but has implications for the community, especially if one's family is an active participant in a specific activity. Being group focused rather than individualistic, Filipinos instinctively seek out family members and those with whom special relationships, such as the "barkada" (a friendship group with long lasting bonds, Belen 1991) have been carefully constructed (Steinberg, 1990). The transmission of barkada's expressed in gatherings of youth, can be differently interpreted in the host society. In Montreal for example, gatherings of youth in Côte-des-Neiges are perceived as gangs associated with danger and criminality.

There is almost no literature describing and analyzing the dynamics and transnational (dis)continuities of different Filipino community organizations, especially concerning youth. Four different spaces (organizations related with religion, politics, sports and arts) are described.

Concerning religion, there are some researchers who have studied the supportive aspects of religious beliefs and practices during stressful life events (Curbow, 1995; Blazer & Palmore, 1976; Jones, 1995). Few have attempted to examine the support system offered by the church to immigrants and how immigrants are affected by their faith during the stressful events of immigration. The majority of Filipinos consider religion to be the focal point of their social and cultural structures. This strong religious orientation can be traced back several centuries to the introduction of Roman Catholicism by Spanish friars. The arrival of the Americans before the turn of the 20th century gave rise to the Protestant denomination in the country. Because of the strong religious orientation of many in the Filipino community (Gan, 1989), it is likely that religious support plays a major role in their immigration process. From a mental health perspective some researchers have examined the supportive aspect of religious beliefs and behaviors

(Jones, 1991; Mendavia, 1998). Some theorize that religious beliefs and behaviors help unify social structures, establish purpose and foster a sense of well-being (Micley, 1995; Pollner, 1989).

The political situation in the Philippines is complex: despite a democratically inspired base, the reality is far from that. Having no power in Congress or any other branches of government, peasant and farm-worker organizations rely on extra-parliamentary politics- such as marches, demonstrations and alliance building. The open mass movement is but one part of a potent movement for radical change. Its backbone is the left wing consisting of the NDF (National Democratic Front) and its 14 constituent groups, including the CPP (Communist Party of the Philippines), the NPA (New People's Army) and CLN (Christians for National Liberation) (Goodno, 1991). These groups are marginalized in Filipino society and have their links abroad, in the format of small political groups. Since there is no literature on the amount and dynamics of these political groups in a host society, we will have a look at certain aspects of a political group in Montreal.

Basketball, as the most popular sport in the Philippines, receives the most attention from the Filipino press and the sports-minded public. While basketball is an "imported" sport in the Philippines, its people have embraced and enjoyed it as their own. Because of its popularity, professional basketball, under the Philippine Basketball Association (PBA), has been played since 1975 (Amano, 1997). Even though there is not much literature about basketball groups, you can find on the internet a wide range of Filipino basketball websites (from the Philippines and abroad). In Montreal alone, the number of basketball groups is estimated to be around 40.

Music and dance in the Philippines defies a simple description because a wide variety of traditions co-exist. The transmission of Filipino cultural values finds expression in traditions, customs, folkways and habits. Especially under the impulse of Imelda Marcos, the amount of dance groups increased, as did the interest to explore the whole variety of different folkdances (Okamura, 1998). Ethnic and traditional dance is a major Philippine cultural export and in a host society also serves as a way to transmit Filipino culture to succeeding generations.

Conclusion

Belonging as an intersection of social support, social identity and space is a useful construct to understand the sense of belonging in immigrants. Current studies stress the beneficial effects of social networks without taking into account the possible joint effects of social support and social strain. We situate social support in spaces where people jointly construct and negotiate shared understandings and meanings of community and identity. Belonging is a complicated construct for Filipino-American immigrant youth because of the multifaceted sides of this concept and the complex Filipino history related with their struggle for identity. Shared symbols and shared histories are central for shared emotional connection. These are propagated in community organizations, which provide a basis for identity continuity and maintenance, as individuals actively negotiate their ethnic identity vis à vis co-ethnics and the wider society. As a result, belonging is an important construct to study because of its plausible impacts on the strategies of adjustment and the mental health of Filipino immigrant youth.

RESEARCH QUESTION

Our main research question guides the inquiry and three subquestions help us to answer the overarching question.

Main research question

What are the perceptions of social support by Filipino immigrant adolescents in Côte-des-Neiges, Montreal and how do these perceptions relate to their mental health?

Subquestions

-What are the spaces of belonging in the Filipino community organizations that they invest in and why?

-What is the influence of the migration trajectory on their choice of space of belonging?

-What are the dynamics between the different spaces of belonging?

Questions in connection with the research

The quantitative part of this research will help to describe social support among Filipino adolescents in Montreal using a classic and well validated measure of social support. It will also shed light on the relationships between social network variables and migratory factors on the one hand and social network variables and mental health measures on the other hand.

There are no existing instruments to describe the dynamics between the different spaces of belonging and to understand why persons/interactions are in particular supportive or difficult for youth. This is addressed through a qualitative design. Also, very little is known about the mechanisms and dynamics of community organizations for immigrant youth. Given this void in the literature, ethnographic research in Filipino immigrant organizations provides an interesting starting point to explore the construction of the adolescent's social network and its relation with identity and the different spaces where

they meet. The concept of space used in the study is broader than the physical space, it also refers to the possibilities of creating a symbolic space in which people can meet, connect and share experiences.

The literature about social identity stresses the importance of the sense of belonging to one's own ethnic group and to the "mainstream" group. Because migration trajectory can influence the ways in which these adolescents balance the different cultures in their lives, it is interesting to understand how migration related factors like separation and length of stay in one's country of origin eventually play a role in the choice of network and the space that adolescents invest in. The possible differences in the construction of social network between first- and second- generation immigrants and the impact of these networks on their adaptation processes and mental health should be considered. This study will also examine how these particular processes may play a role in the mental health of adolescents. In the literature review "belonging" is constructed as the intersection of social support, choices of space and the construction of a social identity. We expect to discover tight relationships between these concepts both in the quantitative and qualitative analysis.

RESEARCH METHODS

Research design

This research uses a mixed methods design. The purpose of the mixed method design is complementarity. Quantitative and qualitative methods are used to measure overlapping but also different facets of a phenomenon. The rationale is to increase the interpretability, meaningfulness and validity of constructs and results by both capitalizing on the inherent strengths of each method and by counteracting inherent biases in methods and other sources (Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989).

The method uses a sequential exploratory strategy characterized by the collection and analysis of quantitative data followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data (see table 1). These two methods will be integrated during the integration phase of the study: triangulation of the quantitative and qualitative data is performed. We seek to elaborate on or expand the findings in the quantitative method with the findings of the qualitative method (Creswell, 2003).

Table 1: Sequential exploratory model

quantitative data collection	→quantitative data analysis	→QUALITATIVE data collection	→QUALITATIVE data analysis	→interpretation of entire analysis

The quantitative part of the study is nested within a larger epidemiological survey which collected data on 255 adolescents aged 12-18 years and their parents belonging to two different ethno-cultural groups: Filipino and Caribbean adolescents in Montreal. The qualitative section is composed of an ethnography, which is a description and interpretation of a cultural group or system. Using ethnographic methods, we examine a group's observable and learned patterns of behavior, customs and ways of life (Harris, 1968). This is ethnographic research of a culture-sharing group (a group sharing a

common culture): the Filipino youth community in Côte-des-Neiges, Montreal. In order to describe the construction of social support and to understand how the adolescents experience belonging in the Filipino adolescent immigrant community, ethnography appeared to be the most appropriate method to present an in depth picture of this complex "issue". An ethnography requires that investigators learn from people as informants (Spradley, 1979). I spent a large amount of time in the field using participant observations as a very useful way to improve the understanding of this complex framework of cultural, sociological and identity-related factors. The method allowed us to seek out and present multiple perspectives of activities and issues and so to discover and portray different views. This study was bounded by time (12 months data collection), place (geographical area Côte-des-Neiges) and context (four Filipino youth community organizations). We chose the area Côte-des-Neiges because of the high concentration of Filipinos living there and because it is also the location of most of the community organizations.

Ethnography aims to generate, rather than test, hypotheses from participants' "rich descriptions"; the intent of this approach is to minimize the possibility that the nature and conduct of the inquiry itself will miss or exclude relevant information (Spradley, 1979). The final product of the ethnographic study is a holistic cultural portrait of the Filipino youth community organizations that incorporates both the views of the actors of the group (emic) and our interpretation of views about social support (etic).

The paradigm of this research is constructivism because we believe that reality does not exist "out there" but is constructed by human beings in relation to each other. Reality is contingent upon human meaning making. We strongly believe that human construction of meaning depends on phenomena in the world. As Espiritu (2003) states:

"Filipino immigrants are not only formed as racialized minorities within the US but also as colonized nationals while in their homeland, one that is deeply affected by US influences and modes of social organization" (p. 3). The perception and meaning of social support are also concepts that are constructed in a dynamic interaction among community members and the host country. Constructivism is the meaning of human interaction with the world and how humans then make sense of that interaction. Constructivists identify the myriad of mental constructions of the world, try to understand them, to locate some consensus among them, and to construct the world based on these understandings (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Research relationship

I want to learn from my participants as "informants". My role as a researcher assessed my active participation in the Filipino community where I strive to form for reciprocal relationships with the participants. I believe that my personal and social characteristics influenced the process of data collection, the quality of the data I gathered and my analysis of them. As an Indonesian immigrant from Belgium I came to the research project not as an "objective" outsider but as a fellow Asian immigrant who shared some of the experiences of my participants. I had a particular position in the community: a close-stranger position. On the one hand, the adolescents and parents accepted me as an Asian immigrant and identify with me, on the other hand I'm not a Tagalog or other local language speaking Filipina. I don't claim that the shared experiences (as an immigrant) and partially shared identity (as an Asian) granted me a complete "insider" status into the Filipino community, the differences in histories, cultures, languages, and at times class backgrounds remained important. It is however

clear that I could enter the Filipino community easily and that parents and youth were willing to talk to me about a variety of topics. Parents spontaneously started conversations with me most of the time in Tagalog. When they found out that I was not a Filipina, they remained motivated to communicate and discuss issues. They also considered it important and useful that I was doing research in the Filipino community. The fact that I am not a Filipina and in that sense an outsider in the Filipino community, even helped parents and youth to be more open about certain themes. Like one of the youth once stated, "I can't talk now, there too many Filipinos here". Sometimes persons perceive it as safer to share personal thoughts and experiences with an outsider. People from the community organizations welcomed me in a warm way and guided me smoothly through the Filipino community. At the end of my fieldwork, I was invited to different social activities of the groups like to Christmas dinners. One of the key-leaders expressed, "You also belong to our group now, so you can join us for this event".

I realize that being a professional, a researcher and a woman beyond adolescence could place me at a distance from adolescents. However I had the feeling that the shared experiences enabled me to bring to the work a comparative perspective that is implicit, intuitive and informed by my own identities and positionalities. Research about methodology and the insider-outsider debate questions the role of race relations in research, calling attention to the predominance of white researchers in the production of scholarship about minority experiences with race and ethnicity (Beoku-Betts, 1994). Because of my previous experiences in voluntary community work with youth and my clinical work as a resident child and adolescent psychiatrist, I believe I have gained many skills to positively and resiliently interact with adolescents.

I also realized the biases that this position brought up. I used analytic memos to help me to be aware of these biases. I organized frequent "member check" meetings to discuss different themes of insider-outsider status soliciting informants' views of the credibility of the findings and the interpretations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Quantitative data and methods

Sampling

The study population consisted of Caribbean and Filipino migrant adolescents. A total population of 633 potential participants was targeted; these were high-school students in geographical areas of Montreal with large Filipino and Caribbean communities. The adolescents had to have been born in Canada to immigrant parents (second-generation adolescent immigrants) or have immigrated to Canada with one or both parents (first-generation adolescent immigrants). The final sample consisted of 254 adolescents. The adolescents were 12 to 19 years old, with a mean age of 14,87 for the Caribbean sample and 14,88 for the Filipinos. They were recruited through the Montreal English and French school boards. Parents and adolescents first received, through the school, a letter describing the research strategies and purposes. Research assistants called the parents and talked to them about the study and set up appointments for interviews. Both parents and adolescents signed consent forms and were interviewed in the location they preferred by trained interviewers in the available language they preferred (usually Tagalog and English)

Data collection

The instruments used in the survey are:

Social Support

The Arizona Social Support Interview Schedule (ASSIS, see appendix C) is a semi-structured interview that includes five components of social support: structural support, potential (perceived) social support, real (enacted) social support, satisfaction with support and need for support (Barrera 1983). The scoring procedures provide variables indexing total network size, the number of persons who have supplied support during the past month, the number of network members who are sources of interpersonal conflict, and satisfaction with support received in the five functional areas. Data on age, sex and ethnicity of network members is obtained. For this research, satisfaction with support was not measured. Internal consistency coefficients were .87 for the Support scale and .85 for the Conflict scale.

Mental health

The Youth Self Report (YSR, see appendix D) is a questionnaire, which assesses adolescents' overall mental health (Achenbach, 1991). The YSR is a 118 item instrument with eight problem behavior subscales: Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, Anxious/Depressed, Social Problem, Thought Problems, Attention Problems, Delinquent Behavior, Aggressive Behavior. The Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, and Anxious/Depressed subscale combine to form the Internalizing scale. The Externalizing scale is comprised of the Aggressive Behavior and Delinquent subscales. The YSR has been extensively used in educational and psychological research. In our sample, YSR internal consistency coefficients were .86 and .88 for the Internalizing and Externalizing scales respectively.

The Pearlin Mastery Scale (Pearlin, 1975) contains seven items that assess the extent to which an individual feels confident in her or his ability to control his or her life (see appendix D). The scale employed here is a commonly used measure that has been found to have a direct buffering relationship to stressful life events, compared to indirect buffers such as the intervention of coping and social supports (Pearlin, Lieberman, Menaghan, & Mullan, 1981). The internal consistency coefficient was .631 for this sample.

Family variables

The Family Environment Scale (FES, see appendix E) consists of 90 items describing 10 dimensions of the family environment (Moos & Moos, 1986). We used two subscales to assess conflict and cohesion behaviors, which different family members could adopt toward each other. Each scale is composed of 9 items to be answered as either True or False. The FES is one of the most widely used scales in family research. The internal consistency coefficient was .73 for the Cohesion scale and .67 for the Conflict scale in the Filipino adolescent sample.

Collective Self-Esteem

The Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES, see appendix F) is a 16-item scale (Luthanen & Crocker, 1992) which was developed to assess individuals' perception of their collective ethnic identity. Four specific dimensions are measured: membership esteem (judgment of one's own worth as a member of a group), private collective self-esteem (judgment of how good one's social groups are), public collective self-esteem (assessment of the way others evaluate one's collectivity) and importance of identity (perception of the importance of one's social group membership to one's identity). The CSES has been used before with adults and adolescents in crosscultural settings in

Quebec (Rahimi & Blake, 2001; Rousseau, Drapeau & Rahimi, 2003). Internal consistency alpha was .81 for the Filipino adolescents.

Data analysis

Quantitative analyses focus on these aspects:

1) Description of social network: percentage, mean and frequency, Wilcoxon Signed Rank test and Independent-Samples *t*-tests were used.

2) Relation between social network and migratory variables: Pearson Bivariate Correlation analyses were performed in order to explore the relationships between social support and migratory interval-variables. Migratory variables are age at migration, age at separation, migration duration (length of time in host country since migration) and separation duration (duration of separation).

3) Relation between social network and mental health: Pearson Bivariate Correlations were performed in order to explore the relationships between the interval-variables of the ASSIS and mental health variables. One-Way Anova was used to test the statistical significance of the differences among the obtained means of two groups (adolescents involved versus not involved in organizations) in relation to mental health.

Qualitative data and methods

Sampling

For the qualitative data, the participants were Filipino youth in Côte-des-Neiges, Montreal. Because of a long collaboration with the Filipino community, I could rely on a gatekeeper who introduced me to certain Filipino youth organizations. Also, one of my thesis committee members is a Filipino professional who referred me to a variety of people. The age range was broad. I focused on youth from 14 to 26 years old. I also

talked with key-leaders and parents in order to obtain a broader perspective and a better understanding of the construction of social networks among the youth. Firstly, I used the big net approach, as suggested by Fetterman (1989): mixing and mingling with everyone. As my research progressed, the focus narrowed to specific portions of the Filipino adolescents. The big net approach ensured a wide-angle view of events before the microscopic study of specific events began. I took advantage of opportunities ("opportunistic sampling") and established criteria for informal interviews of individuals ("criterion sampling"). These interviews were used to gain some perspective on the Filipino youth organizations and the contexts that led to different forms of behavior and group choice (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1993).

Data collection

Data collection took place over 12 months through participant observation and informal interviews.

Participant observation

Participant observation characterizes most ethnographic research and is crucial to effective fieldwork. It combines participation in the lives of people under study with maintenance of a professional distance that allows adequate observation and recording of data (Fetterman, 1989). Participant observation was done in different spaces of the Filipino community where adolescents interact with their peers. The different spaces were identified from the results of the epidemiological study by the adolescents and consisted of youth community groups: the basketball group was the most visited group, while the religious group and dance group were the second and third most visited groups. The gatekeepers of the community groups gave me information where the adolescents gathered and also directed me towards the political group.

The participant observation involves an active participation. In that regard, I was directly involved in a number of activities. For example, I was involved in the organization of the Filipino Youth Congress of 2005 organized by the political group. The active participant seeks to do what other people are doing, not merely to gain acceptance, but to more fully learn the cultural rules of behavior (Spradley, 1980). Time of observation depended on the activities that took place: an average of 10 hours/ a week and in the summer the amount of time spent in the field increased because of the school holiday and the youth congress which took place at the end of August. In the fall I spent at least 12 hours/ a week going to the different spaces. I wanted to know the cognitions and feelings associated with knowing the cultural rules for behavior as the adolescents experienced them. Participant observation reduces the problem of reactivity of people changing their behavior when they know that they are being studied. Lower reactivity means higher validity of data (Creswell, 1998). It also gives an intuitive understanding of what is happening in the Filipino youth organization and allows me to speak with confidence about the meaning of data. Field notes and analytic memos were used to collect data.

Physical artifacts

Physical artifacts are also a part of my data collection. Artifacts collected included such items as how the place of the meetings was set up, how people were dressed, what objects people used and deemed important.

Interviews

The interview is one of the most important data gathering techniques for the ethnographer. Informal interviews are the most commonly used interview method in ethnographic work. Interviews explain and put into a larger context what the

ethnographer sees and experiences (Fetterman, 1989). Informal interviews took place in the different groups and I also talked with a lot of Filipino individuals that were not directly involved in any of the four youth community organizations in order to obtain a broader perspective on social networks. Most of the interactions were informal, loosely structured and conducted in English. I met and conversed with first- and second-generation Filipino immigrants in stores, coffee shops and at Filipino community centers.

Data analysis

Data analysis of the qualitative data begins early in the data collection and begins with reflections on the data (sentences, words of participants, field notes, ...) in a form that produces rich descriptive and low inference data which is sensitive to understanding the primary unit of analysis. I recorded my own reflections as analytic memos and remarks on logs.

We used three aspects of data analysis as suggested by Wolcott (1994): description, analysis and interpretation of the culture-sharing group.

Description of the Filipino youth organizations is a good and important starting point for writing an ethnography. Like Wolcott states (1990), "Description is the foundation upon which qualitative research is built...Here you become the storyteller, inviting the reader to see through your eyes what you have seen..." (p 28). We tried to show different perspectives of social support factors through the views of the informants. The meaning of social support and social identity issues is a complex phenomenon. A high level of participant observation helped me to write a detailed description of what happens. Thick description detailed the places where Filipino youth meet each other, their actions, events, and words on the scene.

For Wolcott (1994), analysis is a sorting procedure considered as the "quantitative" side of qualitative research. This involves highlighting specific material introduced in the descriptive phase or displaying findings through tables, charts, diagrams and figures. We analyzed using systematic procedures like those suggested by Spradley (1979, 1980), who calls for building taxonomies, generating comparison tables and developing semantic tables. We looked for patterns of thought and behavior, searching for issue-relevant meanings about social support and belonging (see table 2). We contrasted data from first- generation and second-generation immigrant adolescents. The "middle level" system of coding (Lofland, 1971) can form a framework to deal with codes based on the following sorts of phenomena: acts, activities, meanings, participation, relationships and settings.

Table 2: Patterns of social network

1) individual:
   - personal reasons to join versus mission of the group
2) within the group : interactions
   - between the youth, also with a focus on first- and second-generation youth
   - between the parents
   - between the leaders of the groups
   - between youth-parents
   - between youth-leaders
   - between parents-leaders
3) between group : interactions and dynamics
   - and other community groups
   - and host society
   - and the Philippines

In the final stage of the analysis, we made an ethnographic interpretation of the Filipino adolescents in the youth organizations. We tried to develop generalizations in an

attempt to relate patterns to each other and interpretations for meanings of social interaction. We read the literature that seemed relevant to help me understand the overall patterns that we found.

In the integration stage, triangulation of the quantitative results with complementary qualitative data was performed (see table 3).

Table 3: Methods matrix

Question	Data Collection	Data Analysis	Results
Construction of social support	-quantitative data • epidemiological data -qualitative data • informal interviews • participant observation • artifacts	-quantitative data • correlations -qualitative data • categories -> themes • thick description ⇨ description ⇨ analysis ⇨ interpretation INTEGRATION: → triangulation of quantitative data with qualitative complementary data	-quantitative data • tables -qualitative data • tables figures • narrative

Validity

Following the standards for naturalistic research (Moschkovich, & Brenner, 2000), internal validity or credibility was sought by prolonged engagement in the field. Since we used different data sources (epidemiological data, informal interviews, participant observation) triangulation was done. Triangulation has been generally considered to be a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Also member

checking was done in the data collection phase. Key-informants had the opportunity to discuss my data collection and data analysis.

I spent 12 months in the field. I was intensively involved in the Filipino youth community organizations so that I could provide a thick description of all my observations written with the voice of the participants in order to have the lowest interference possible. Purposeful sampling was also an important choice that strengthened the external validity or applicability. As described in the sampling part, I used opportunistic and critical sampling. Because of the cooperation between my supervisor and other co-researchers and the use of member checks, the reliability or dependability of this study was enhanced.

Given my own bicultural background I needed to be aware constantly of my consequential presence throughout the data collection process as it was not possible to remain completely detached, neutral and independent from my observations and interviews. By being alert to this role, I was aware of my influence and how my positionality affected the data analysis process. I used analytic memos organized into an audit trail to underscore objectivity or confirmability and to create a space for the practice of reflexivity as is suggested by Anfara, Brown & Mangione (2002).

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

The present investigation had 2 main objects :

1) to describe the social network of Filipino immigrant adolescents

2) i) to assess links between migratory variables, family relations and social network

ii) to assess relations between social network and mental health variables

Participant characteristics

Table 4: Sociodemographics of Filipino sample

Variable	Category	Mean (years) – Percentage
Age		14.88
Years in host country		6.35
Gender	Boys	56.6
	Girls	43.4
Immigrant generation	1st	72.5
	2nd	27.5
Immigrated separately	No	40.5
	Yes	59.5
Income parents	less than $12.000	2.96
	$12.001-$30.000	35.55
	$30.001-$50000	38.52
	$50.001 and over	22.96
Parents' education	Primary	1.18
	Secondary	10.24
	Postsecondary	42.13

One hundred and thirty six Filipino families participated as subjects in this research. The adolescents ranged between the ages of 12 and 19, with a mean age of 14.88 years. All adolescents were sampled from one of three Montreal School boards.

Description of the social network of Filipino adolescents

Table 5: Global social support and conflict perceived by Filipino adolescents

	Global support		Conflict	
	Percentage	Std deviation	Percentage	Std deviation
FAMILY				
Mother	17.84	13.721	2.89	9.485
Father	9.9	10.069	4.71	17.305
Siblings	8.44	12.378	18.5	36.721
Extended family	8.43	12.709	1.01	8.651
OTHER ADULTS	2.84	7.598	13.1	30.395
FRIENDS				
Filipino friends	38.25	24.407	18.74	35.227
Non-Filipino friends	11.15	34.541	12.77	30.313

From the perspective of Filipino adolescents, Filipino peers (38.25%) were considered as the main source of support (see table 5). The section "other adults" consisted of such persons as teachers, church-leaders and community organizers. In terms of conflict, Filipino adolescents mentioned Filipino friends and siblings the most.

Comparisons by immigration trajectory showed that second-generation youth reported significantly higher rates of potential non-Filipino support, consisting of non-

Filipino friends and teachers (t = -1.989, p < .05). In terms of potential support from Filipino friends, there was no significant difference between first- and second- generation immigrants.

Table 6: Instrumental versus emotional support perceived by Filipino adolescents

	Percentage Instrumental Support	Percentage Emotional Support	t-test
FAMILY			
Mother	7.55	8.28	-0.066
Father	5.00	3.10	4.119**
Siblings	2.86	2.55	0.626
Extended family	3.64	2.31	2.241*
OTHER ADULTS	0.64	1.41	-1.991*
FRIENDS			
Filipino friends	6.54	12.41	-5.792**
Non-Filipino friends	2.95	3.6	-1.18

As shown in table 6, we divided the questions of the ASSIS relating to social support in two sections: instrumental and emotional support. An example of an emotional support related question is "If you wanted to talk to someone about things that are very personal and private, who would you talk to?" An example of an instrumental support related question is "Who are the people who you could call on to give up some of their time and energy to help to take care of something that you needed to do, things like driving you someplace you needed to go, helping you do some work around the house, ...?" As shown in table 6, the perception of the father as supportive was significantly higher in instrumental support (t = 4.119, p < .01) than in emotional support. On the

contrary, concerning Filipino peers, the adolescents reported higher levels of emotional support in comparison with instrumental support ($t = -5.792$, $p < .01$).

Table 7: Involvement of Filipino adolescents and parents in community organizations

Filipino community groups	Percentage organizations (reported by adolescents)	Percentage organizations (reported by parents)
Church	11.0	13.2
Sports	28.7	5.1
Culture	3.7	2.2
General	/	14.0
Regional	/	7.4
Others	4.4	5.1
Total (including combination of groups)	54.4	51.5

More than half of the Filipino adolescents were active in Filipino community organizations (see table 7). The percentage who were active in non-Filipino groups was negligible (< 1 %). The highest participation rate was reported in sports clubs (28.7%), religious groups were the second most visited groups (11.0%). Almost seven percent of the adolescents were active in two or more groups (3.7% in a combination of church and sports). Looking at the first- versus second-generation immigrants, there was almost no difference in participation rate : 52 % of the first-generation immigrants and 50 % of the second-generation immigrant youth were involved in community groups.

More than half of the parents were active in Filipino community groups. They mostly participated in the general group. These are the umbrella Filipino organizations that represent the Filipino community in Montreal. Since there is a conflict going on, two different umbrella organizations exist in the Filipino community in Montreal: FAMAS

(Philippines Association of Montreal and Suburbs) and the Federation. Their function is many sided: such as to maintain and promote social traditions and heritage, to interact as an established united organization with Canadian political institutions and to defend the rights of Filipino immigrants. The second most visited group was also the church group like the youth. Four percent of the parents were active in two or more groups.

Finally, we looked at relations between the parents and youth who were involved in organizations. We used the Wilcoxon Signed Rank test, a nonparametric test applying to matched pair studies. There was a significant positive correlation between parents and adolescent's participation in community groups ($p < .000$).

Links between social network, migratory variables, family variables and mental health

Social network and migratory variables

A Pearson *r* correlational analysis was performed on the different aspects of social network (potential versus real, support versus conflict) and migratory variables. As shown in table 8, there was a significant difference noted in the size of the conflicting network comparing first- and second- generation immigrants with second-generation having larger conflicting networks, while there was no difference in terms of the supportive network. A *t*-test was conducted to compare separated versus non-separated youth in terms of their social network, the results revealed no significant differences between both groups.

Table 8: Pearson Correlations between Social Network and Migratory Variables

	Migration Characteristics					Separation Characteristics				
	First- vs second-generation immigrants			Age at migration[1]	Migration duration[2]	Separated vs not separated[1]			Age at separation[3]	Separation Duration[1]
	Mean		*t*-test	*r*	*r*	Mean		*t*-test	*r*	*r*
ASSIS, size of potential conflicting network	1st	2nd	-2.86**	-.007	.074	sep	non	1.19	.031	.007
	1.01	1.64				.97	1.36			
ASSIS size of real conflicting network	.61	1.11	-2.56*	-.057	.100	.58	.82	.797	.050	-.063
ASSIS size of potential supportive network	15.73	15.3	.351	-.053	.076	15.6	16.4	.372	.180	-.210*
ASSIS size of real supportive network	9.58	10.1	-.535	-.044	.069	9.61	9.27	-.206	.178	-.213*

$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .00$

[1] Excluding the adolescents born in Canada

[2] Length of time in host country since migration excluding the adolescents born in Canada

[3] The duration of the separation excluding the adolescents born in Canada

Results also indicated that while their was no correlation between factors like age at migration and length of time in host country since migration ($p > .05$), there did exist a significant correlation between the duration of separation and the supportive networks (potential supportive network: $r = -.210$, $p < .05$ and real supportive network: $r = -.213$, $p < .05$). The longer the duration of separation lasted, the smaller the size of supportive network. Longer stays in Canada were also associated with a larger size of the supportive

social network (potential supportive network: $r = -.259, p < .01$ - real supportive network: $r = -.347, p < .01$).

Social network and family relations

Table 9: Pearson Correlations between Social Network and Family Relations

	Family Cohesion	Family conflict
ASSIS, size of potential conflicting network	-.063	.202*
ASSIS size of real conflicting network	-.209*	.243**
ASSIS size of potential supportive network	.214*	-.018
ASSIS size of real supportive network	.086	-.038

$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .00$

Significant relationships between the supportive-conflicting network and family cohesion-family conflict emerged (see table 9). Reports of family cohesion gave a positive relation with the size of supportive networks. Family conflict gave the opposite picture and a positive significant relationship with conflicting network.

Social network and mental health

Mental health (i.e. psychological distress) was assessed using internalizing and externalizing scores of adolescents on the YSR. The Sense of Mastery Scale was also used. An interesting finding was the fact that the scores of the Support scale of the ASSIS didn't have a significant relation with mental health variables (see table 10). On the contrary, the size of the conflicting network (potential and real) was significantly related with mental health variables on the YSR and the Mastery Scale.

To look at possible joint effects of social network on mental health, we studied relationships between the Support scale and the Conflict scale of the ASSIS. Significant correlations were found between the real Support scale and Conflict scale ($r = .262$, $p < .01$) and the potential Support scale and Conflict scale ($r = .233$, $p < .01$).

Table 10: Pearson Correlations between Social Network and Mental Health Variables

	YSR: internalizing symptoms	YSR: externalizing symptoms	YSR: total score	Mastery Scale
ASSIS, size of potential conflicting network	.175*	.141	.179*	-.239**
ASSIS size of real conflicting network	.255**	.247**	.283**	-.260**
ASSIS size of potential supportive network	.034	.003	.022	.146
ASSIS size of real supportive network	.057	.075	.073	.101

$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .00$

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to see if any significant difference existed between the mean scores of youth who are involved versus not involved in a community organization on mental health variables (YSR and Mastery Scale). Results of the one-way ANOVA revealed no significant differences between both groups.

For a better understanding of these findings, we wanted to study more precisely any possible differences between first- and second -generation immigrants. Ninety-nine subjects were first-generation immigrants and thirty-six subjects second-generation.

First- versus second-generation immigrants

Externalizing symptoms related with conflicting networks were significantly more present in second-generation immigrants (see table 11). For first-generation immigrant youth, significant positive correlations were found between internalizing symptoms and conflicting networks. The level of well-being based on the Mastery Scale confirmed this result.

Table 11: Pearson Correlations between Social Network and Mental Health Variables in first- versus second-generation Filipino youth

	YSR: internalizing symptoms		YSR: externalizing symptoms		YSR: total score		Mastery Scale	
	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st
ASSIS, size of potential conflicting network	.131	.231*	.372*	.077	.249	.176	-.146	-.344**
ASSIS size of real conflicting network	.363*	.252*	.481**	.186	.456**	.248*	-.235	-.333*
ASSIS size of potential supportive network	.035	.034	.234	-.065	.125	-.014	.097	.171
ASSIS size of real supportive network	.029	.077	.114	.057	.069	.075	.084	.100

$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .00$

We also studied different aspects of the potential supportive network : emotional versus instrumental support and Filipino versus non-Filipino support. In the second-generation immigrant group, we noted a consistent positive correlation between mental

health variables and different aspects of potential support. Thus, Filipino adolescents with a larger perceived supportive (emotional or Filipino) network, also had more internalizing (emotional support: $r = .338$, $p < .05$ and Filipino support: $r = .371$, $p < .05$) symptoms. Although the results for externalizing symptoms were not significant, they were consistently positively related with the size of the network. In the same line the Mastery Scale gave a significant negative correlation with potential emotional support ($r = -.339$, $p < .05$) in second-generation immigrants. In the first-generation immigrants group, there were no significant correlations between YSR and different aspects of support. Emotional and Filipino support were negatively correlated with YSR (emotional support: $r = -.079$, $p > .05$ and Filipino support: $r = -.013$, $p > .05$).

Collective Self Esteem

Correlations were conducted in order to explore possible links between collective self-esteem, mental health variables and social network. Comparing collective self-esteem in first- versus second-generation immigrants revealed no significant differences.

As shown in table 12, it was clear that significant positive relationships between the supportive network (potential and real) and the different aspects of collective self-esteem (total collective self-esteem and potential social support: $r = .258$, $p < .01$) were present. There was a significant difference between these groups in global collective self-esteem between youth active versus not active in organizations ($t = -3{,}327$, $p < .000$): the youth involved in community organizations reported significantly higher levels of collective self-esteem.

Table 12: Pearson correlations between Collective Self Esteem and Social Network

	ASSIS, size of potential conflicting network	ASSIS size of real conflicting network	ASSIS size of potential supportive network	ASSIS size of real supportive network
Private self esteem	.018	.066	.205*	.265**
Public self esteem	-.057	-.063	.188*	.083
Member-ship esteem	.027	.012	.245**	.206*
Importan ce of identity	.065	.189*	.120	.071
Collecti-ve self esteem	.021	.076	.258**	.211*

$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .00$

Overall, when taken together all aspects of collective self-esteem did not appear to be significantly related to emotional and behavioral symptoms and the feeling of well-being. However, there was a significant negative correlation between externalizing symptoms (YSR) and Public Self Esteem ($r = -.221$, $p < .01$).

QUALITATIVE RESULTS

This chapter describes the collective structure of Filipino youth networks in Montreal as perceived by the youth and examines the relationship dynamics that take place in and around the youth networks. The first part is a picture of organizational life in Montreal with portraits of the four main Filipino community organizations for youth. The second part describes the expectations of the different actors about the groups for the youth and the reasons that led the youth to join the groups. The third part focuses on the different levels of networking in and between the community groups.

A picture of organizational life in Montreal

This descriptive part gives a picture of Filipino organizational life in general. It is followed by a description of the four Filipino community groups for youth: a religious group, a political group, a dance group and a basketball group. The history, the structure, functioning and the mission of each of the organizations are presented (see table 13). These aspects of the groups are described based on observations, talks with informants and when available, an examination of various textual materials. Official documents were available for the dance group and the political group.

A perspective on Filipino organizations in Montreal

A number of respondents had an ambivalent global perception about Filipino organizations in Montreal. People often spontaneously started to talk about the fragmentation of the community:

> The Filipino community in Montreal is too fragmented, it would be better to have one unity, one leader and one voice. The municipal is also confused by all the different organizations. A lot is about power.

This statement by a key-leader in one of the organizations reflects a very common perception about the organizational life of the Filipino community. There are currently more than 56 different Filipino community organizations. There is no single place where they are all listed. Parents complained that there are too many organizations and consider this as a proof of fragmentation and disunity in the community. A variety of explanations were given for this tendency: "We come from different regions with different identities" or " Filipinos like to debate, are political and very competitive. There is a strive for power". One of the key-leaders of a Filipino group explained the power issues by telling me, "It's the Spanish influence: we have a temperament of pride. On the other hand, we had a history of colonization and lack of power. Maybe this is a compensation mechanism". The youth didn't comment on the fragmentation explicitly. The different regional associations, which their parents participate in, seem to have another meaning for the youth, who merely gather in general Filipino organizations which they chose because of the activities they offer. The loss of a regional identity (dialect, food and culture) was a worry for some parents.

On the other hand, a remark by a main Filipino political leader illustrated another aspect of the community, emphasizing the possibility of unity beyond fragmentation, "There is still a unity despite the differences and issues between groups and individuals. For example when someone is discriminated, the whole community reacts as a group". Youth and parents reacted enthusiastically about the dynamic organizational life in the Filipino community, "We love to gather" or "A summer without picnic is not a real summer for the Filipinos".

Portraits of the groups

The religious group

The Catholic youth group was founded 5 years ago especially for youth aged 12 to 17 years old because this age group tends to be overlooked. As a key-leader stated, "It's a confusing age, the youth need to be supported in their religion".

This youth group is a dynamic part of a bigger group, the Youth Ministry, situated in one of the parishes in Côte-des-Neiges. The Youth Ministry has different components: Liturgical Girls Team, Altar Boys, Lectors, Choir (children and youth), Catechism, First Communicants, Confirmation and the Youth Group. Every week the youth meet on Saturdays from 17h to 18h and on Sundays during the mass. As this group was in charge of a Christmas play, most of the members were also involved in acting and singing in the play. They practiced twice a week. The discussion group on Saturdays covers a variety of topics, which are linked with a bible story. Themes like sacrifice and pride to be Catholic were discussed. A key-leader described the following discussion-themes: "Family, dating, love and religion". Two young people in their twenties are paid by the church to organize all of the activities. In addition, there is a whole group of young leaders –usually former group-members- who have certain responsibilities in the group. In the summer, some of the leaders went to Köln for the Youth Christ Days. A variety of social activities like visiting a cathedral or an amusement park were also organized on a regular basis. The members of the church group were not exclusively of Filipino ethnicity, although the majority were Filipino. Other group members were a mix of Sri Lankan and Jamaican. Food was always present during the meetings, sometimes Western fast food (like Kentucky Fried Chicken) and sometimes Filipino dishes. The group leaders acknowledged that they had to stimulate the youth to come in the beginning (for example

by calling them before every activity) while now people attend on a regular base. The atmosphere was relaxed during the meetings. The structure was flexible during the practices: members were chatting and laughing but also doing homework on the side.

The mission of the Youth Group is "to spread the Word". A young female key-leader explained, "The youth have to be stimulated to be proud being Catholic. Sharing the religion is a common goal." Referring to the Christmas play as a part of their mission, she added, "The Christmas play is also a way to increase the youths' self-confidence by performing and striving for a satisfying result." The mission is supporting youth during their adolescence by creating a space where they can strengthen their religious values, build a religious identity and share experiences with other peers.

The political group

The political group was founded in 1999 because of the increasing problems of gangs around the Côte-des-Neiges area. One of the youth, a former labor organizer, formed this group, which started out as a union of several "barkada" and transformed them into the organization it is today. The concept of a barkada is a friendship group with long lasting bonds (Belen 1991). In the host society the barkada's can be interpreted differently. In Montreal, gatherings of youth in Côte-des-Neiges are perceived by outsiders as gangs associated with criminality.

The political group exists of young leaders (people in their twenties and early thirties) and youth (12 years and up). The boundaries between these two groups were not always clear and there was a fluid and informal transition of youth going to the position of key-leaders. The leaders had informal meetings, which took place in different public spaces like coffee houses such as Tim Hortons. Sometimes meetings were organized in the house of one of the key-leaders. He stated that this group has "a non-hierarchical

structure, everything is discussed and approved by all the members." The activities consisted of a broad range of different components: one of the most important goals was organizing workshops to create more awareness for Filipino youth concerning Filipino history and political issues. This group also organized a Filipino Youth Consultative Forum in cooperation with a group of second-generation immigrants. "Understanding our past, creating our future" was the motto of this conference with a main goal of addressing the issues that Filipino youth are experiencing in the host society. It was a national conference of Filipino youth from different Canadian cities and New York and political, historical and social topics were discussed. During the conference the following workshops were organized:

1) Filipino history
2) Racism and discrimination
3) Education and Filipino youth
4) Family separation: root causes of migration.

These topics were also the most frequently discussed themes in the meetings in general.

The purpose of the organization is to get kids out of gangs and stimulate them to put their energy in more useful pursuits. One of the goals is to train young people to become group leaders by managing responsibilities and supporting them in their process of independence. The key leaders consider themselves as a progressive, politically active organization that deals with realities other organizations may be more hesitant to address: drugs, family problems, racism, Filipino politics and American foreign politics. Racism, racial profiling and discrimination were the main topics in workshops and at the conference. There was an exchange of personal experiences, which were discussed by the key-leaders and the other members. Both goals (helping youth and the political agenda)

work hand in hand and are overlapping. Sometimes the goal to help the youth was more explicitly present while the political agenda stayed implicit. In other cases, the political agenda was very clear. One of the main goals was also to create a place where Filipino youth can gather, meet, organize meetings and inform themselves. "Café XXX" was a project and a work in progress. In conflicts with other institutions (host society but also Filipino mainstream community), the political group defended the rights of their disadvantaged members by, for example, discussing concerns with the police.

The dance group

The Filipino dance group was formed in August 2003 when almost all the dancers of another Filipino dance group left with their parents to create a new group because of internal conflicts.

The dance group is composed of children, youth and their parents living in Côte-des-Neiges, Montreal. It's open for all ages but until now, the group consists of performing artists in the age-range from 5 to 22 years. They have practices every week on Sundays from 13h30 until 17h30 and performances at least once a month. The performances are held for a variety of occasions: weddings, community-service and Filipino celebrations. Their dynamic repertoire includes the following suites: Tribal dance from the North of the Philippines, Muslim dance from the South, Spanish dance and the Rural Philippine suite. The main leader and teacher aimed to teach the youth the Filipino culture: for example by singing traditional folksongs. Although the focus is on Filipino youth, they welcomed other age ranges. As the main leader described, "Our group has an open atmosphere and is inviting everybody who wants to learn the different dances." At one of the practices, a group of caregivers (Filipino women who came under the live-in caregiver program) joined and learned a few dances. Parents were highly

involved, the main leaders were also parents of youth involved in the dance group. Leaders were young, mainly second-generation persons who have a long experience in dancing and were responsible for teaching the other children under the supervision of the teacher. During my fieldwork, one part of the group again decided to split from the main group. There were conflicts between some parents and the key-leaders concerning the goals of the dance group and the ways to teach the youth. According to one of the main leaders: "The leaders –second-generation youth- don't know, don't share and don't respect the Filipino values anymore so how can they transmit these values to the children?" With the "newborn" group (after the split), a redefinition of the goals was needed and has been discussed with all the parents. There is an emphasis on family-atmosphere. During the practices the smaller kids ran around and friends and siblings were always welcome to watch the dances and play. Food was always present during the practices and performances with parents bringing food for the youth and for themselves.

This mission of the dance group is more than focusing on arts, the main leader states that the dance group "entertains Filipinos and non-Filipinos about the depths of the Philippine nature". It is also a learning channel for the dancers and a way to share the Filipino culture and values with mainstream society through cultural exchange. The name of the dance group refers to the transfer of customs and traditions. "Love, hope, peace and harmony and the infinite venue of our dreams and aspirations" is the slogan put on the flyer of the dance group. Their main goal is broader than the dances themselves: it is a transmission of cultural heritage to the younger generations in Canada. Another goal is to raise self-confidence and responsibility among the youth: at the end of every practice a small performance took place. The youth also learnt to teach other youth the dances they know.

The basketball group

The basketball group started 10 years ago when the former president arrived from the Philippines and couldn't find a basketball group to join "possibly because of his height". He began to train some children on the street and the group was born.

At this moment, the basketball group consists of 120 youth and their parents. There are 6 boy teams, organized by age and one girl group, which has just started. The practices are on Friday-evenings (20h30-22h; 22h-23h30) and the Filipino leagues take place on the weekends. You need to have "Filipino blood" to participate in this league. In summer the kids can join sports camps. A lot of social activities are organized for the youth and their parents, like barbecues and potlucks. There is an official board with a president, vice-president, treasurer and secretary. Every group has a trainer (one of the youth playing in the highest division) and a parent who is responsible for the practical arrangements of the group. The president supports the practices and the competition and he is the one who decides the strategies during most of the competitions. The basketball group is supported by one of the Filipino umbrella organizations and is officially part of their structure. Besides the exhaustive intra-community competition, they also participate in inter-community competitions for example with the Black community.

The mission of the group is to teach Filipino children and adolescents to play basketball. One of their main explicit goals is also to create a safe space for the youth. The president claimed with pride:

> The practices are organized on Friday night (until 23h30) on purpose to force them not to hang around in the neighbourhood and have 'wrong' occupations like having sex, drugs and alcohol, ... This is a space where they can lose energy by keeping them from the street.

Besides the sports-activities and the socializing aspects, there is also a broader focus: leadership training. The purpose is to train the youth to write their curriculum vitae and to support them when applying for jobs. One of the leaders in the umbrella organization stated, "The youth are stimulated to know their rights but also to become 'good citizens' of Canada." According to a trainer: "Teaching discipline maintained in the group during practices and competition are important goals and a 'lesson for life'".

Expectations of the different actors about the groups for the youth

Different voices are present in the community organizations. This part describes the expectations of the different actors for the four groups, taking into account the mission of each group –as expressed by the leaders- and the reasons why youth join the organization according to themselves and their parents.

The religious group

Leaders emphasized the importance to share religion with other Filipinos and non-Filipinos in a church group. In general, Filipino families are very religious and weekly church-visits are facts of life. Parents and Filipino umbrella organizations stimulated their children to go to church. A main leader of one of the umbrella organizations stated, "It is one of our goals to maintain our traditions in Canada so we encourage the youth to go to church". Being a member of a youth church group is a very acceptable activity for the youth, according to the parents. A parent stated:

> Understanding our religious identity is an important step in our children's search for their own personal identity. I believe in the saying 'A family that prays together, stays together' I make sure the whole family goes to church almost every Sunday.

The parents knew the leaders and the mission of the group very well, were mostly involved themselves in one of the church groups and had a high level of trust in the organization.

For the youth, sharing religion and meeting up with their friends are important reasons to join. A female member aged 26 told me:

> I joined the group from the beginning when I immigrated to Canada. I was already involved in different church groups in the Philippines. Now, my engagement even increased since I'm also a member in another prayer group. Sharing a common goal 'religion' is the main reason for me to join such a group.

Because most first-generation immigrants claimed to be religious prior to their immigration, church involvement was not a new phenomenon to them; rather it was a continuity of their religious identity and faith. They considered this also to be a good way to integrate in the Filipino community of the host society. The support obtained from the church group seems to serve to maintain or preserve the ethnic as well as religious identity of the first-generation youth.

The youth group looked very accessible, people could pop in when they wanted and were welcomed in a heartwarming way. Even for the Christmas play –while stimulating the youth to come to all the practices- there was a very open and flexible atmosphere. In this way it was inviting for youth to participate, even if the activities sometimes lasted almost their whole weekend.

The political group

The leaders had their own history of immigration and a lot of challenging experiences dealing with the adaptation in the host society, in this case Montreal. They wanted to support youth dealing with similar experiences, for example managing going to

French school, dealing with racial profiling by police, ... Most of the youth were recruited on the basketball court. The group leaders were focusing on adolescents who dealt with problems (like adaptation problems in the host society and conflicts in the family) and often had a high level of anger and frustration because of these challenges.

The youth-members were mostly looking for a safe space where they could feel comfortable and where a certain structure exists. A first-generation boy said:

> I experienced a lot of problems coming from the Philippines and going to school here because of the difficulties in French school. I was de-motivated and dropped out but now I'm back in adult school because of the stimulation of this group.

The adolescents were stimulated to be exposed to their Filipino background and history. One of the leaders is a young second-generation boy who described, "There is a need for support. I want to help young people struggling with the same issues like I did and still do". Another active female member described a turning point when she went to university, "I realized that I had to be aware of Filipino history and immigration-issues. I decided to study political sciences and fight to support young Filipinos in their struggle in the host society".

There was no voice of the parents because of –as we will describe more fully later- an absence of parents' involvement in this group.

An important influencing factor in the expectations of the different actors was the clear extreme left stance of the group although this vision was not explicitly expressed. It was more offering a structure to the youth within a certain framework. Sometimes there were problems in spreading the activism, which caused a tension in the interaction with other people. For example, a benefit concert (to sponsor the Youth Conference) was organized. Different Filipino music groups performed for the cause but had to become a

member of this political group before they could perform. This was not well received, so the key-leaders of the group had to cancel this policy.

The dance group

The transmission of Filipino culture and heritage is the main mission of this group, according to the main leader and teacher of the dance group.

Children were recruited by networking of family and relatives. After performances flyers of the group were distributed. There was a huge network of friends and relatives. Most of the children were encouraged by their parents, who attach importance to the transmission of Filipino culture. "I had to come for my parents, I didn't have a choice" said a 14 year old adolescent. Some adolescents made a conscious choice to come by themselves after realizing the importance of their Filipino heritage. A 20 year old male dancer described:

> I had a difficult adolescence and rejected my 'filipino-ness'. I was not conscious of these struggles until I watched a dance performance I was suddenly triggered. It was a tribal dance and in a sense I felt re-connected with my roots and I decided to join the dance group.

There was a mix of boys and girls, the majority were girls who like to dance and perform. Transmission of the Filipino culture is one of the most important aims of the dance group's organization, the main leader of the dance group stressed this in a speech:

> This dance group is focused on the Filipino values. I wish for a conscious effort of Filipino parents to maintain and preserve our culture and heritage and to set an example to their children on what values they should fighting for.

On the other hand, the youth considered the dance group as merely a space where they could meet and interact, their expectations were thus directed towards dance and social gatherings with their Filipino friends.

The basketball group

Basketball is a popular sport in the Philippines, where every street has a basketball court. A lot of boys like to play basketball in the streets or in the park in Côte-des-Neiges. The methods and aims of the basketball group's board existed of approaching these youth to let them join in an official group. The goal was to improve their basketball-skills and let youth play in a structured way. They provided food and drinks to attract them to come to the group. One of the most important aims of the basketball group is to keep the youth from the streets by doing sports.

Parents were also happy and encourage the kids to join the group instead of hanging around in the streets with their friends. A mother said:

> They learn to be disciplined and to work for a goal. That is important because I have the impression that youth here have too much freedom. My son is not really Filipino anymore, he doesn't respect me and disobeys a lot. He is still Filipino in his choice of food.

In turn, parents stressed the socialization function of the group for themselves, they described how important it is for them to gather during the practices, competitions and other activities. One of the fathers said, "I also played basketball and I enjoyed a lot, now my son is playing in this group. For us as parents it is also important to meet other Filipino parents, we are friends too."

This also has an influence on the children. Like a young second-generation adult told me, "For my father basketball and music were the sources of support when he came

to Canada. I was raised with a lot of music and basketball." Newcomers had expectations towards the basketball group to get in touch with other Filipino youth. Second-generation youth were stimulated by their parents to play in a Filipino basketball group and often formulated why they like to join a group as "I also play in other basketball groups but I enjoy the Filipino basketball group a lot, it is really different. It's more like a big family".

Networks: balancing support and conflict

Different dynamics of networking among the youth emerged in the analysis of the data. Four categories of processes involving negotiation or tensions can be identified: collective versus singular voices, first- versus second-generation youth, the degree of involvement of the parents and the dynamics of the organizations with the external world and in particular other Filipino groups, host society and the Philippines (see table 13 and table 14).

Collective versus singular voices

The balance between cohesion around collective goals and eventually a common ideology and the need for expression of individual youth varied among the different groups.

In the church group, space existed for the youth to express their feelings and worries at an individual level. Difficult collective issues like racism though were not explored in the discussions. One of the key-leaders stated, "I think it would be interesting to discuss racism with the youth but I don't know how to approach it and what kind of message I have to give." Singular voices were not a source of conflict, people tended to blend in this harmonious group where differences did not seem to be a problem. Leaders really tried hard to pay attention to individuals.

On the contrary, singular voices in the political group were difficult to manage. The political framework was quite clear and there was a strong engagement and activism asked of participants in the group. The leaders had an active resistance towards capitalism from the United States and Canada and from the political leaders in the Philippines. Although this framework was quite rigid and very ideological, youth could find a lot of support and structure through this collective reframing of their experiences of adversity. The political group offered a structure and a collective voice adapted to different aspects in their life and giving meaning to the hardship associated with adaptation and life in the host country. It also provided a space to share their experiences with other people. This common political meaning allowed them to channel their feelings of anger, suffering and frustration towards the host society even when the latter seemed to stem more from familial or personal difficulties.

Singular voices did not have a lot of place in the dance group. A clear-cut vision of Filipino culture and the transmission of these values to the younger generations were proposed. The issues, which opposed the second-generation youth and the "older generations" in the dance group is an example of difficulties negotiating different opinions and views concerning tradition and change.

In the basketball group there seemed to be no need to have a space for singular voices. The focus of the youth, parents and trainers were all attuned to playing basketball without a shared explicit religious, cultural or political framework. In this sense belonging to the group could fit almost anyone and did not involve a personal commitment.

All the groups claimed to have a horizontal structure of leadership in the organization. This reflected an expression of the high value for democracy and equity and

a need for a collective voice. For example in the church group, there was not a clear structured hierarchy between the leaders. When I asked who was in charge for the Christmas play, they stated that "all leaders were responsible and that there wasn't 'one director'". In reality there was still a kind of hierarchy in all the groups but it is interesting that all key-leaders claim to have a horizontal structure in the decision-making. An exception is the basketball group where a hierarchy was explicitly present but the president also explained that they have a democratic board and that all the parents can be intensively involved.

Related with the horizontal structure was the presence of an informal structure of the groups working in double ways. On the one hand, in contrast to a rigid and official structure, a flexible and familial atmosphere could be more open, inspiring and supportive for members. Filipino youth in the dance group addressed their teacher as "Tita" (aunt). In the political group, the leaders were called "Ate" (older sister-older brother). In this social system, a relationship is immediately created that denotes familiarity and connectedness with each other. On the other hand, an informal set up of the organization can invoke lack of clarity and vague boundaries in the interactions. The blending of family in organizations and the existence of vague boundaries between family and group members can give the feeling that the organizations are a prolongation of the family and can create obligations and burdens for some members.

First- versus second-generation youth

In the different groups first- and second-generation youth were unevenly distributed as if the groups did not respond in the same way to the distinctive needs of these two groups.

In the religious group there was a mix of first- and second -generation immigrants. As a participant observer it was not always clear who was born here and who not. The key-leaders acknowledged that there are differences but didn't want to stress the possible difficulties between the first- and second-generation youth. As a member stated, "There is no gap between first-and second-generation youth, we share a lot and that's important." A lot of interconnections existed, people were relatives or knew each other since birth (because of the connections of the parents).

The focus of the political group was on first-generation immigrants. One of the attempts last year was to "bridge the gap" between first- and second-generation immigrant youth. During this process, people from "both sides" discovered that they share common issues. But despite these beliefs, the cooperation between the two groups didn't work. The difficulties between first- and second-generation youth were for example expressed in the struggle in a relationship between a first-generation man and a second-generation young woman. In the beginning of their relationship, this was not easily accepted by both sides. One of the reasons can be the political agenda of the group. A second-generation active woman stated, "I'm an activist but I can't and don't want to dedicate my whole life to activism." Another reason can be the difference in experiences and perceptions about living in Canada as a Filipino immigrant. All of the main leaders are first-generation immigrants who wanted to support the newcomers in their adaptation process in Canada and share their experiences. In contrast, a second-generation member said, "I'm in French class now and there are some FOB's (Fresh off the Boat Filipinos). I don't feel to have contact with them, I don't feel allied with them." The use of language expresses a possible barrier between first- and second-generation youth: the discussions

were usually in Tagalog with a mix of English. Most of the second-generation youth understood Tagalog but couldn't speak it fluently.

In contrast to the political group, most children in the dance group were second-generation immigrants. The language spoken by the youth and the teacher was English. Parents were speaking Tagalog or one of the dialects to each other. First- and second-generation conflicts existed in terms of a clash between "Filipino" values and the "westernizing" attitudes of the second-generation youth. Complaints about a lack of politeness and respect for the elderly were common. "The youth express themselves too rudely. They teach the kids without patience." was one of the comments of the main leader. A young second-generation leader explained, "We are dancing in this group since we're children so we know how to dance and to teach the kids. The 'old generation' doesn't trust us and they are not open to changes." Since the main goal is to transmit Filipino values, this evolution in "maintaining" versus "evolving" of Filipino culture, caused a lot of tensions resulting in the split of the group.

The basketball group was a real mix of first-and second-generation immigrants. The trainers were speaking French, English and Tagalog. The president of the group stated, "The adaptation of the newcomers is much easier when they can join the basketball group, they also learn to speak French or English faster." Sometimes there were arguments between first- and second-generation youth because they had different values. "The Philippines-born youth for example are not used to express openly their opinion and having respect for the elderly is important for them" was one of the comments of a mother of a basketball-player. One of the second-generation players claimed, "The newcomers play in a dirty way". But –according to parents, trainers and youth- in general, these tensions were not problematic and the trainers took care of this.

Involvement of parents

The degree of involvement of parents also varied highly from group to group.

In the religious group, the involvement of the parents was more from a distance but still with a lot of control. Most of the parents were involved in other organizations from the same parish. The parents knew the key-leaders and supported the youth group financially or as advising organs when necessary. The contacts with parents were in an informal way, after mass for example.

In the political group, the parents of the youth were not involved. The focus was mainly on youth who had problems like drop out from schools and family problems so the leaders recruited youth without involving their parents.

This is in contrast with the dance group where the parents of the children were very much involved. Around 15 parents stayed during the practices and brought food and drinks for the youth. They enjoyed themselves by chatting, watching and playing cards. When there were issues, the parents argued outside of the practice hall. This was a unique situation according to the main leader, "We want to have the voice of the parents in the decision making of the dance group. The aim is to create a horizontal structure without a real hierarchy". Parents were highly involved in the organization but the real decision-making was still in the hands of the main leader and founder of the dance group. The parents were also intensively involved and needed in the preparation of the performances: they dressed the youth and put their make up on. The parent-child bonds were strengthened in the dance group. For the parents, the dance group had an important socialization function. It was a space partially created for the parents to meet people from the same background, they shared food, language and the stories of the children.

In the same line, the involvement of the parents was quite high in the basketball group. A lot of the parents were present during the practices and competition. They had the opportunity to be members of the board. The decision-making of the basketball group was in the hands of the board, which consisted of the president (the founder of the group) and parents. The president said, "I have a lot of support from the parents, I couldn't realize all this work without their help. In the first months, it was really hard and it were the parents who kept me on the right track." For the parents, socialization was considered important not only for the kids but also for themselves.

Table 13: Different aspects of the organizations

	Religious group	Political group	Dance group	Sport group
Place of meeting	1 public place, basement church, CDN	different public-private places scattered in CDN	1 public place in CDN	1 public place in CDN
Language spoken	mainly English	mainly Tagalog	mainly English, parents speak Tagalog	a mix of English, French and Tagalog
Mission of the group	Sharing religion and supporting youth in their adolescence	Creating awareness and taking action concerning political-social issues (like racism)	Transmission of Filipino heritage through culture	Space for adolescents to keep them from the street through sports
First- and second generation immigrants	Mix first-and second-generation	First- generation	Mainly second-generation	Mix first- and second-generation
Involvement parents	from a distance	almost absent	very high	high
Connections with other groups	Bonding ++ Bridging +/-	Bonding ++ Bridging -	Bonding ++ Bridging +	Bonding +++ Bridging +
Strategies of group	Cohesive group Avoid discussions political issues, avoid conflicts	Working on losses and exclusion phe-nomenon Conflicts are channeled towards host society Place of belonging for marginalized individuals with high level of suffering and anger	Strengthen link between parents-kids Conflicts between first- and second-generation: tradition versus change	Non 'threatening' meeting place Conflicts channeled through sports and competition

Dynamics of the organizations

The groups all had some links either with other groups within the community, the host society or with groups in the Philippines. Connections should be considered on different levels. First of all, the individual level in which adolescents are involved in different groups. At this level the parents are also interacting in different groups. Secondly, the groups themselves interact as an organ with other groups in Canada and the Philippines, establishing a collective connection to a wider network (see table 13 and table 14).

Interactions with Filipino groups

On the individual level, a lot of interconnections existed between the dance group, basketball group and church group. Adolescents were sometimes involved in two groups or had friends in another group. They came to support a basketball game, for example. There was a clear fluidity and continuity between the different groups. Between the political group and the basketball group interconnections also existed since the youth in both groups were recruited on the basketball court. The key leaders of the political group often came as supporters for the youth in competition and played basketball with them. The same tendency existed for the parents: sometimes they also participated in several groups. In contrast with the youth, they chose sometimes not to be extremely involved in different groups because it was highly time consuming.

The level of inter-group interactions is less obvious since interactions were more complex and subtle. The dance-group had a lot of relationships with other groups because they were invited to dance on different occasions. In the period of my fieldwork, the political group invited the dance group for the Youth Conference. Also other Filipino organizations like one of the Filipino Scholarship organizations asked them to dance at

their benefit event. The main leader of the dance group even expressed that –since there so many organizations- the amount of invitations to perform were too much for the group. Moreover, the dance group gave performances at private events like birthdays and weddings. They were also present at most of the Filipino celebrations.

Because of the leagues, the basketball group had contacts with the other Filipino basketball teams. The youth, leaders and parents knew each other well. The church group had contacts with other groups in their own parish. The political group took a more drastic stance not to interact with the "mainstream" Filipino organizations because of their "corrupt" mentality by criticizing that "these groups don't spend the money for the people who really need it." For example at an important Filipino celebration like Pesta Senanyan, the political group refused to participate. In particular, connections with religious groups were non-existent.

Interactions with host society

On the group level, the dance group interacted quite often with the host society by giving performances at different non- Filipino occasions. They participated in cultural events during the summer. The dance group also had a mission of charity. Before Christmas time, they gave three performances at homes for the elderly. During these performances they demonstrated different kinds of Filipino dances and also sang folk songs, Filipino and also Jewish and mainstream Christmas songs. On an individual level, during a few practices, "white" friends came to watch the dances. Before the split in the dance group, one "white" father was involved. According to one of the main leaders, "He was so rude and non-sensitive", adding "our president likes whites so she accepted a lot of him."

The president of the basketball group claimed that they participate in intra-ethnic leagues, sometimes they are involved in competitions with the Black community. But he mentioned too that this happens when there is time left, thus the Filipino leagues were the priority. The referees were mainly Quebecois men.

In the church group, a mixture of ethnicities is present, although 95% are Filipino. In the summer a big group of the leaders went to Köln for the Catholic youth days. They had a great time, sharing their religion with people from the whole world. In Montreal, there didn't seem to be a lot of interactions with the host society on the group-level. The church-community of that particular parish was not exclusively Filipino, the priest was Quebecois for example but still the biggest part of the church-members were Filipino.

The political group had a critical attitude towards the host society, they mainly criticized different issues like the abuse of domestic workers by the LEP-program and the existing racism in the police and in other levels of society. One of the participants in the political group expressed the anger as "We don't have to educate the whites, they have to educate themselves, we don't put energy in that." Another member of the political group expressed, "My friends are like the United Nations, they are coming from different places in the world. More precisely, they are only from developing countries." The political group tried to defend the rights of the Filipino youth for example by communicating with

Philippines. One of the parents was responsible for this issue and went every year to the Philippines to arrange the order. The political organization sent money to "sister-organizations", political groups with the same political stance. Even though their budget was limited, their aim was to send money regularly. Leaders were going to the Philippines regularly to be "exposed" in Filipino society. For the dance group the importance of the Filipino culture and the connection with the Philippines was obvious: all the dances are traditional dances created out of a rich cultural history of the Philippines. The teacher was involved in one of the most important dance groups in the Philippines so she left her mark on the cultural aspects of the dances and other activities.

Table 14: Dynamics of the organizations

	Filipino community	Host Society	Philippines
The religious group	other groups of same parish	charity	?
The political group	groups with same political stance, non mainstream groups	criticism	other political groups (financial)
The dance group	performances	charity	teacher/ traditional dances
The basketball group	Filipino leagues supervised by one of the umbrella organizations	intra-ethnic league	t-shirts

DISCUSSION

While on the one hand some of the general results of this study confirm well established knowledge about the importance of peers and family for adolescent social support, other results underline the dual role of support and conflict that social networks play for adolescents. In addition, this study demonstrates the complex interplay between migratory trajectory and the strategies for establishing social networks and spaces of belonging for immigrant adolescents.

The construction of social support and belonging

Three important groups for the Filipino youth emerged from the descriptive data : the peers, the family and the community.

Peers

For the adolescents, peers -specifically Filipino friends- are an important source of support. This is in line with past research (Rosenthal, 1986) where it is claimed that for members of ethnic-minority groups, the sharing and identification with friends from their ethnic group may provide an important platform for exploration of ethnic identity. Although there is no significant difference in the size of perceived social support from Filipino friends between first- and second-generation immigrants in this sample, second-generation youth report significant higher levels of perceived social support from non Filipino sources, which indicates diversification of the social network within time.

The rate of within-ethnicity friendships (77 % of the total friends in perceived global support) in our study is in the same range as past research in immigrant groups (Way & Chen, 2000, Wierzbicki, 2004). Of course, different factors play a role in friendship selection in connection to social support: it is shaped both by characteristics of

the individual and features of social settings that involve both the individual and the broader sociocultural milieu. This impact of the milieu on the development of networks is present in our sample -the adolescents are sampled from three different schools located in multicultural areas, where a lot of Filipino immigrants settled- confirming Wiezbicki's assertion (2004) that people who reside among co-ethnics would be expected to have more "homophilous" (associates similar to themselves) ties because they have more contact with co-ethnics. The importance of Filipino peers is also obvious in the qualitative research: the youth articulated the importance of having Filipino friends with whom to talk to about school, family and life in general. The four youth community groups clearly offer a space for Filipino youth to share experiences and negotiate identities. These groups allow youth to strenghten part of their Filipino identity within peer relationships and also provide them with a space to negotiate identity within a heterogeneous community gathered around culture, sport, religion or political interests.

Centrality of family

In the quantitative results, family support (mother, father, siblings and extended family) is reported as equally important for first- and second- generation immigrant adolescents and constitutes almost half of the total perceived social support. As described by Okamura (1998), for Filipinos, one's family (including extended family members) is a key source of individual and social identity and a source of material and emotional support and security.

This centrality of the family is also reflected in the qualitative data: the groups are all family- oriented although in different ways. In most of the activities, the presence of children is obvious, they are running around and playing while activities are going on. There is usually a high level of participation of the nuclear family and extended family

members in the organizations, with the exception of the political organization. The blending of family in organizations and the vague boundaries between family and group members can have double-edged effects concerning social support versus social strain. This will be further discussed in the second section of this discussion.

Importance of community affiliation

The large quantitative survey looked at the spaces in the Filipino community organizations that Filipino immigrant adolescents and parents invest in. We found that many youth and parents are likely to be involved in community organizations: fifty percent of the participants (youth and their parents) are part of one or more community organizations. These results cannot be compared with other Filipino or other immigrant groups as there is little literature about this topic. The adolescents are involved in different kinds of groups, mainly sport groups (28, 7 %) and church groups (11 %). Cultural groups are also mentioned (3,7 %). Political groups were not reported in this study. Interestingly, there is no difference in the percentage of first- versus second-generation immigrants participating in community groups.

In the qualitative data, there is strong evidence that the community youth organizations provide both opportunities and "meeting grounds" for social support networks to form among the participating Filipino youth. Concerning the other half of the Filipino youth who did not report being involved in community organizations, key informants of the community referred to the existence of many informal groups of youth and the possibility that these youth might be more "integrated" and interact more with non-Filipino peers.

The profile of social networks observed in the groups is a reflection of typical migrant needs confirming that social support from friends, families and other members of

their ethnic communities are critical resources for immigrant populations. Studies have shown that immigrants who have friends and family members to provide them with resources and support reduce their stressful experience related to living in a new environment (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996).

The high participation rate in community organizations may reflect the importance of the collective orientation in the Filipino culture (Slonim, 1991) and the importance of ethnic community groups to provide social capital. According to Enriquez (1998), Filipino religious values underscore the importance of establishing close interpersonal relationships with one's family, relatives and other members of the community. The organizations establish a safe place where youth of Filipino heritage can find refuge in accepting, appreciating and taking pride in their ethnicity. It can be argued that Filipino youth who participate in community organizations form meaningful bonds because they are accustomed to invest in these kind of relational "family-like" ties (Ho, 1992). For example, younger Filipino youth in the dance group, addressed their teacher as "Tita" (aunt). In the political group, the key-leaders were called "Ate" (older sister-older brother). In this kind of social system, a relationship is immediately created that denotes familiarity and connectedness with each other. In Filipino culture, there are recognized relationships among persons that are not just based on actual kinship but also recognize other forms of personal connections (Okurama, 1988). An examination of how interpersonal relationships are woven into the fabric of Filipino culture and beliefs points to the importance of mutual social support among the youth.

Ethnic community organizations are sites of space-making and identity contruction based on a diversity of networks. The fact that the adolescents are involved mainly in Filipino community organizations rather then in non-Filipino organizations is a

sign of a strong community belonging but may also reflect a certain lack of "integration" and "ghetto-ization", according to some of our key-informants. This might be caused by certain internalized expectations of the Filipino community members that they can not have a voice, an expectation which stems from the Filipino history and is reinforced by experiences of exclusion in the host society. According to the political group and the basketball group, discrimination against Filipino immigrants forced youth to form their own groups in order to escape these forms of exclusion. On the other hand, adherence to an ethnic group's dominant values and norms, particularly if they differ from those held by the wider society, can provide group members with an important sense of belonging and self-determination (Song, 2004).

These different tendencies are all observed in the different community groups. They confirm the assertion of Almirol (1985) that the interpersonal ties which are established and maintained within the Filipino community are interactive responses to both the internal needs of the ethnic community and the external pressures from the larger, dominant or encompassing culture.

Relation between perception of social network and mental health variables

Social network as a source of support and conflict

Little research has investigated adolescent networks in relation to youths' psychological well-being. Until now, research has been dominated by a model focused on the beneficial effects of social networks (for a review, see Cohen, 1985). More recently, researchers have challenged these assumptions and have urged a greater attention to both the problematic as well as the supportive aspects of social bonds (Rook, 1992). In this study, we try to maintain a broad concept of social network together with a balanced perspective on the dual effects of social relationships.

The quantitative results reflect the possible duality of social networks: the scores of the Support scale of the ASSIS don't have a significant relation with mental health. As opposed to the findings of previous research in which the positive effects of social networks are stressed (Cohen, 1985 ; Thoits, 1992, Vega et al. 1989), our study found that a larger size of the supportive network (perceived and real) has no significant relationship with a more positive mental health. As we mentioned before, little research has investigated the joint effects of social support and social strain. In our study, a significant correlation exists between the Support scale (perceived and real) and the Conflict scale (perceived and real). This confirms our perspective of the inherent duality of social networks: those people who are perceived as being supportive are also the ones the adolescents have the most conflicts with. Furthermore, the family cohesion scales and the family conflict scales are significantly correlated. This confirms the perspective of Wolf (1997) who states that the paradox many young Filipinos are facing is that while parents want and expect their children to come to them with their problems, reflecting the Filipino family ideology that one should go to one's parents when having troubles, the parents themselves are often at the basis of some of these problems.

We have to be aware that other factors could affect our quantitative results. Concerning the validity of our instrument (ASSIS), it is possible that the measurements may not be culturally sensitive enough. This scale has been developed among white, middle class samples. The ASSIS is also a structural measure of a social network. Although it might seem logical that the number of social connections would be strongly related to functional support, studies that have examined the issue consistently find rather low correlations between .20 and .30 (Barrera, 1981 ; Cohen et al, 1982). It seems

plausible that adequate functional support may be derived from one very good relationship, but may not be available to those with multiple superficial relationships.

The qualitative results also reflect the inherent duality of social networks. Both positive and negative aspects of social networks are present and intertwined in the organizations.

The positive aspects of social networks (*positive social capital*) are obvious in the functioning of community organizations. Group social support is an important aspect of these organizations, which foster significant social networks among Filipino youth. The major concern of the community organizations is to provide a framework for the web of in-group interpersonal relationships: members (youth and their parents) extend and renew their ties. The Filipino youth find a sense of belonging through these associations since these associations are strongly inclined to familism and mutual interdependence. A high level of charity –like fundraisings for good causes- was present in all of the groups, which can express the importance of social support. Furthermore, these social networks function to integrate network members into a set of social norms through the affirmation of what are appropriate behaviors and values, and they help each other mobilize psychological resources when faced with emotional difficulties. Youth-leaders collectively serve as role models of ethnic pride and human agency. Bonding social capital "brings people together who are like one another in important aspects (ethnicity, age and gender) whereas bridging social capital refers to social networks that bring together people who are unlike one another " (Putnam, 2000, p. 78). In all the organizations, the bonds of similarity are made more salient. Also in the dynamics between the groups, it is clear that bonding capital is much more present than bridging capital.

On the other hand, aspects of *negative social capital* were also present in the organizations: the danger and burden of an exclusive group membership can restrict individual freedoms. Excess claims on group members is one of the potential dangers of social capital: some parents and youth were tired of going to a huge "compulsory" number of Filipino events. In addition to dominant representations and stereotypes attributed to groups, an individual's ethnic identity is fundamentally shaped by interactions with one's co-ethnics (Song, 2003). Membership in one's group also reflects the double-edged aspect of social networks: it entitles one to belong to this group but it also involves obligations and pressures. Individual freedoms may be outweighed by the obligation to conform as part of a group membership. Especially in Filipino culture where family orientation is stressed and social values like pakikisama (to accompany or go along with for the benefit of group harmony) are guiding principles governing family relationships and interactions in the wider community, following the obligations of group membership is highly important.

Along the same line, analysis of the qualitative data lead us to the hypothesis that access to a singular voice seem difficult in several of the groups. The level of social control is high in the community and for some youth this poses an unbearable situation and serves as a reason to opt out of the community. The pressure towards the youth to achieve well in school is present in the family and the community in general. For example, in some organizations' newspapers, portraits of "successful youth" were displayed to serve as role models. Another aspect of negative social capital is that group membership based on common experiences of opposition to dominant social forces may lead to downward shifts of social mobility (Song, 2003). It is important to recognize that ethnic minority themselves can be active in boundary-keeping practices and in the

maintenance of exclusionary discourses about ethnic membership. According to a key-informant, the focus on bonding social capital in the organizations and also on an individual level can close off bridges to new information from diverse social networks. Similar findings in the ethnographic research show that homogeneous environments can constrain intergroup relations: all of the organizations had few links with the host society.

These tensions of support and strain can explain some of the internal fragmentation of the Filipino immigrant community, reflecting a complex interaction of cultural, historical and political factors. It is possible to think that these conflicts are not only a burden but also a way in which the Filipino immigrant community is establishing itself in a dynamic way. According to key informants of the community, these conflicts partially arise as manifestations of the existing regionalization in the Philippines. It is foreseeable that these conflicts may diminish in the future when for the future generations regionalization doesn't remain as important an issue and when more structured services are offered for the Filipino community by the host society. These tendencies are in parallel with the on-going process of negotiating different spaces of belonging in the host society.

The same joint processes of support and strain seem to be present at the family level. Wolf (1997) suggests that "the family seems to offer an extremely magnetic and positive basis for Filipino identity for many children of immigrants, yet it is also a deep source of stress and alienation, which for some has led to internal struggles and despair" (p. 458). She explains these feelings by underlining the fact that the second-generation youth have a hybrid identity, some of which draws on an image of Filipino culture and languages, a close connection with their parents and Filipino notions of "the family" as well as identity drawing from their host society experiences. This results in experiencing

multiple and contradictory tugs and messages and feelings being pushed and pulled. These issues were brought up in the groups, but it didn't seem to be that problematic, possibly because of a protective effect of the organizations but also because these collective tensions might offer an acceptable channel to difficult personal and family experiences in the host country.

Collective Self-Esteem

In our study, collective self-esteem measured with the Collective Self-esteem Scale developed by Crocker and Luhtanen (1992) appears to be strongly related with different aspects of social network and participation in Filipino community organizations. This relates to the literature in which Phinney (1996) suggests that those who are involved in social activities with members of the same group and who participate in cultural traditions are more likely to be committed to the ethnic group.

Social networks function to validate each other's ethnic and social identity. In the organizations these negotiations of identities often emerged, for example in sharing the concept of "Filipino time". Tardiness is not viewed as bad behavior but as normal behavior when the strict observance of rules is not a top priority. In affirming the practice of "Filipino time", members affirm a sense of time at odds with the discipline of normative clock time. Like Bonus described (2000), official time is thus rearticulated and redeployed as a marker of ethnic difference rather than a standard into which one is assimilated.

In our qualitative research, it is clear that Filipino youth are looking for a place to belong and that belonging is a complex construct. First- and even more second-generation youth tried to search and express what it means or doesn't mean to be Filipino, taking into account different reference points. This refers to Bonus (2000) who states that as a

result of the complex interplay of different factors like history, colonization, culture and immigration, Filipinos are still defining their cultural, racial and historical identity.

Another important finding is the presence of tight relations between collective self-esteem, social network in the quantitative data and which also establish a relation with space in the qualitative research. This confirms our framework of belonging as an intersection of social support, identities and space.

Results from former research suggest that collective self-esteem might be important in helping people cope with threat, reduce uncertainty, and achieve a high level of subjective well-being (Crocker et al., 1994; Zhang, 2005). In the quantitative part of the present study, correlations between mental health and collective self-esteem are present but not consistently significant overall. Further quantitative and qualitative research to study the relations between collective self-esteem and mental health, would be interesting.

Influence of the migration trajectory on the social network

The analysis in the quantitative research reveals that age at migration and duration of migration (the length of time in host country since migration) are not significantly related to the perception of social networks. Surprisingly, there are also no significant relations between the experience of separation and social network. In turn, findings from the correlational analysis between migration trajectory and conflicting network identifies a significant relation: second- generation youth report a significantly larger perceived and real conflicting network in comparison with the first-generation youth. Different factors can play a role here : first of all, the outward appearance of harmonious relations is very important in Filipino culture. A "culture clash" can be present in the host society since in

"western" culture, the value to confront directly is in contrast with the "Filipino" attitude of avoidance of direct confrontation. First-generation Filipino-Americans are likely to regard confrontation with apprehension and dismay (Cimmarusti, 1996) and therefore the first-generation youth in our study in Canada might not tend to report negative aspects of their network, while second-generation immigrants can express negative experiences more easily. This hypothesis has been confirmed in the qualitative research : different respondents (key-leaders, first- and second- generation immigrant youth) confirmed similar differences in attitudes between first- and second-generation immigrants. The second-generation youth were considered to be more "direct", "rude" and less respectful towards elderly. Secondly, first-generation youth may have different expectations towards life in the host society. They (and their parents) chose to immigrate, and may evoke an attitude of forbearance and acceptance of suffering in the migration project. Intragenerational analyses concerning psychological well-being reveal protective mechanisms associated with first-generation immigrants (Harker, 2001) who moved to a new country with the knowledge or hope that their lives would be improved. On the contrary, the second-generation youth who are born in Canada, feel entitled to fair and equitable treatment and may not accept so easily the difficulties they encounter in the host society caused by experiences of exclusion and racism. Finally and partially overlapping with the latter, the fact that first-generation immigrant youth report less conflictual networks can be due to the presence of less conflicts in the life of first-generation immigrants in comparison with second-generation youth. This can be due to less discrepancies in values between generations. There is increasing evidence described in the literature that over time and across generations, the psychological well-being of immigrants declines rather than improves (Rumbaut, 1994; Rumbaut, 1997).

These differences between first- and second-generation youth also influence the complex ways in which they relate to the community organizations. Based on the ethnographic fieldwork, we will now discuss the differences in the spaces of belonging chosen by first- versus second-generation youth by relating to an analysis of the youth' reasons for joining an organization.

The community organizations are spaces that are not only havens for the caretaking of unique, static identities, but also sites for the unfolding of multiple, expanded identities, as Filipino Canadians come to identify their own situation with the collective needs and interests of diverse groups. At the organizational level, ideas about being Filipino and American, the prototypes for identity and behavior in the Filipino-American community are publicly examined (Almirol, 1985). Espiritu (1994) states that first- and second-generation youth may differ among themselves not only in degree but also in the nature of their identification with ethnicity, which has an influence on their choice of spaces of belonging. For the first-generation, being Filipino is deeply subjective, concrete and cultural, born out of "common life experiences that generate similar dispositions" (Bentley, 1987). For the second-generation, it is largely cognitive, intermittent and political, sometimes forged out of their confrontation with and struggle against the dominant culture. Rejecting narrowly and rigidly defined definitions of being Filipino and Canadian, the first- and second-generation Filipino youth in the organizations seem to negotiate their ethnic identity and spaces of belonging in a fluid and multi-linear way.

Strategies to negotiate individual identities in a group

The different ways in which the youth negotiated their identities in the groups coincide with the categories proposed by Song (2003). She describes three, not

necessarily mutually exclusive, ways in which individuals may try to negotiate their ethnic identities in a group.

1) opting out of an ethnic group: stepping out of one's ethnic group by disidentifying with that group
2) adherence to dominant scripts of behavior: conforming to dominant norms and scripts of behavior associated with a group
3) manipulation of an individual identity within a group: subverting or manipulating dominant stereotypes and images attributed to them by the wider society, as well as scripts of behavior imposed by their co-ethnics

Having this framework in mind, it is interesting to explore how Filipino immigrant youth try to negotiate their ethnic identities in the host society and in their community. It can help to understand why Filipino first- and second-generation youth want to join a Filipino organization. Even if we discuss the strategies separately, it is important to conceptualize this categorization as existing along a continuum.

Opting out and reconnecting

This is the most common strategy among the second-generation youth in the organizations, who described an opting out of the Filipino community at one point by disidentifying with their group and disrupting other people's assumptions about their ethnicity. Interestingly enough, this happened with youth of parents who were very active in the Filipino community, partially as a counter-reaction, but also among youth whose parents didn't focus on cultural transmission. This latter strategy stemmed from their desire to succeed in mainstream society. Some second-generation youth stated explicitly that they had closer ties with their non-Filipino friends before. Usually, this opting out strategy stopped at a certain point when they realized the importance of their Filipino

heritage. This resulted in a search for (re)-connection with their culture. Being involved with a Filipino community organization provided them with the opportunity to finally be with other Filipinos and to alter previously unfavorable perceptions. This illustrates the critical role that supportive institutions –ethnic clubs, ethnic studies programs- play in the process of identification (Espiritu, 1994). This strategy didn't emerge for the first-generation youth in our study, which may be because their shorter duration of stay in the host country is related to a strategy more in line with dominant (in this case Filipino) scripts of behavior.

Dominant scripts of behavior

Some of the second-generation youth and most of the first-generation youth observed in the groups tended to make some use of the strategy of adherence to dominant (in this case: Filipino) scripts of behavior. In their migration to the host society, first-generation youth and their families find places where they have access to a co-ethnic support system. The second-generation youth described growing up in families, which were highly involved in Filipino community organizations. A strong network of the whole family had settled in these organizations. Their friendships in these organizations had grown to the extent that they and their parents considered the friends they had made to be parts of their "family", and vice versa. They spend most of the time in a Filipino-centered universe where they "hang out" with other Filipinos, eat Filipino food and enjoy Filipino music. Strict adherence to such scripts and clear observance of ethnic boundaries may provide the youth in these organizations with a strong positive sense of belonging and kinship with other co-ethnics. Youth in the political group, who felt rejected or had experienced racism and exclusion by the wider society, can be particularly attracted to this strategy. In the dance group, where feelings of marginalization in the host society

were not explicitly present, the importance of tight boundaries on the grounds of cultural preservation and group solidarity, also led to this strategy. These community get-togethers are important because they nurture and reinforce Filipino claims to "community" and "home" (Espiritu, 1994). This finding is in the same line as the results of the CILS (Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study) research in the United States (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001). This study found that ethnic change over time for second-generation Filipino youth has not gravitated toward an assimilative or American national identity but rather towards an immigrant or national-origin identity. At the same time, however these spaces can be also problematic because they signal who is "in" but also who is not. This illustrates the potential duality of social networks, where both support and burden can be in operation, as discussed previously.

Manipulating individual identity within a group

The concept of "conditional belonging", in which individuals felt they had a partial identification with Canada despite possible experiences of being marginalized (Parker, 1995) emerged in the qualitative data for both first-and second-generation youth, regardless of which ethnic identity negotiation strategy the youth were using. Even if the negotiation of belonging and membership can be different for first-and second-generation youth, conditional belonging appears to be a shared reality. Most of the youth who tend to use adherence to dominant scripts of the Filipino community also have links with the host society and identify to a certain extent with the host culture. The conditional belonging to the host country and the Filipino community is thus not a separate category but should be conceptualized as existing along a continuum in overlap with the other strategies.

First- versus second-generation immigrants : conflict versus support

In the quantitative results, the size of the conflicting network (potential and real) is significantly related to mental health variables. The larger the size of the conflicting networks –both perceived and real- the more externalizing and internalizing symptoms and the lower sense of mastery in their life they report. Analyses by Barrera (1981) indicated that the score for conflictual network members was positively correlated with symptomatology, and only the index for satisfaction with support showed the typical beneficial main effect of networks. Externalizing symptoms are significantly related to conflicting networks in the second-generation group, while in the first-generation group significant correlations were revealed between a conflicting network and both internalizing symptoms and a sense of mastery. These differences suggest that first- and second-generation immigrant youth may have different ways to deal with tensions. This may be hypothesized to be due to either cultural differences influencing the ways of expressing difficulties or because of divergent expectations.

A highly surprising finding for second-generation immigrants, was the positive relation between perceived-real social support and externalizing-internalizing symptoms of the YSR. Furthermore, there is even a significant positive relation between the mental health variables and emotional and Filipino support. There are several possible explanations for this particular relationship between social support network and psychological distress. First, it is possible that the second-generation youth who have emotional and behavioral problems may express a wish and need for more support. Another possibility as already mentioned, is the underestimation of burden caused by social networks and the fact that the second-generation youth may be more vulnerable to these burdens because of intergenerational tensions. Zhou (1997) confirms an increase of

conflicts between generations resulting from different rates of "acculturation" by parents and children. These hypotheses are in line with our previous analysis: Filipino second-generation youth seem to have to cope with multiple pressures. These pressures partially stem from the different and sometimes contradictory reference points and the duality of the social networks in their lives. This can result in the presence of psychological struggles for second-generation youth.

Organizations as spaces of belonging for first-generation versus second-generation adolescents

Youth can have different ways of negotiating their spaces of belonging. For first-generation youth the organizations offer a space where a continuation of their involvement as it was in the Philippines can take place. This was the case particularly in the church and basketball groups. Another strong reason to join a group is the search for support within their own community. Because many first-generation parents and adolescents are involved, in one way or another, in these intense ethnic networks in Côte des Neiges, it becomes possible for the community to reinforce norms and to promote a high level of communication among group members. In this sense, the community as an important source of social capital not only makes resources available to parents and their children but also serves to direct youths' behavior. This is part of the mission of different groups like the basketball group and the church group. This type of social capital helps many adolescents to overcome adjustment difficulties and unfavorable conditions such as linguistic and social isolation, poverty and gang subculture and to ensure a successful adaptation for first-generation youth and their parents.

The organizations in their turn offer specific spaces of belonging for first- or second-generation youth. Some of those places are "non-threatening" for both first- and

second-generation youth, by which we mean they are not questioning differences in negotiations of identity of their group members. They have a general supportive role. The basketball group for example, is an ethnic Filipino group that focuses on sports without a shared explicit religious, cultural or political framework. This group is easily accessible for both generations of youth. Other organizations in the community focus on first-generation immigrants with a mission to construct a community. This community is guided by symbolic resources drawn form their past, affording first- generation Filipino immigrants a place among the various communities that constitute public life in Montreal. These spaces are not readily open for second-generation immigrants whose organizational life is governed by resources drawn from the cultural milieu of Canada and the Philippines as represented by their parents. For example, the political group is focused on first-generation youth. An attempt to bridge the gap between first- and second-generation youth was not successful because some experiences and perspectives of the leaders were difficult to reconcile with the experiences of the second-generation youth. The political group offers a supportive space for first-generation marginalized individuals with a high level of suffering and anger. Other organizations offer a space more for second-generation youth: the dance group is an organization that gives opportunities for second-generation to (re)-connect with their Filipino heritage and culture. Filipino tradition and religion is also the main focus of the church group, which is easily accessible for first- and second-generation youth who want to share religion.

Limitations

As with all research studies, there are several important limitations to this study.

First, there is the methodological limitation of the sampling procedure within the quantitative and qualitative research. In the survey, a relatively high refusal rate existed which, according to community representatives, reflects a distrust towards host country institutions. Youth that dropped out of high school were not represented in the quantitative sample. These facts make the sample less representative. In the qualitative research we used the big net approach to meet a broad range of youth in the organizations. The fact that the youth in the sample were all involved in organizations in one way or another also reflects a selection of the Filipino youth, which limits the generalizability of the results.

Secondly, notwithstanding the internal consistency coefficients of the ASSIS (Arizona Social Support Interview Schedule) of .87 for the Support scale and .85 for the Conflict scale, the ASSIS may not be sufficiently culturally sensitive. The ASSIS only reflects the strucural measures of a social network. On the other hand, the qualitative data tend to confirm most of the results of the quantitative research. Another limitation of our use of the ASSIS is that the Conflict scale is based on one question, so that we have to be cautious in the interpretation of these results.

Another limitation lies in the fact that we didn't measure the individual self-esteem as a way of examining psychosocial well-being in the quantitative research. Rumbaut (1994) found that among all of the different nationalities surveyed in the CILS, the Filipinos (and the Vietnamese) had the lowest self-esteem scores. Using a scale for individual self-esteem could allow us to shed further light on certain relationships between mental health and social support.

Finally, a further limitation of the study is that participants were not asked to rate their satisfaction with their current level of social support. This presents a limitation as there is a body of evidence from prior studies that suggests that a person's level of satisfaction with their social support is more strongly related to well-being than it is related to the actual size or structure of their social support network (Thompson, 2004). The qualitative results were used as a complement to the quantitative results to shed some light on the level of satisfaction.

Directions for future research

Future research needs to examine the form and content of family relationships and friendships by in depth interviews of the youth, their parents and the leaders of the organizations. It would be interesting to compare these with interviews of youth who are not involved in organizations to increase the generalizability of the results.

A continuation of qualitative research within the Filipino community of Montreal would be useful since so many complex factors are playing a role in social network formation. According to a community key-informant, minority status based on region and religion within the Filipino immigrant community would also be an important subject for further research.

Further quantitative studies in the area of immigrant youth would be improved by longitudinal studies devoted to immigrant adaptation including mental health, collective self-esteem and the role of social networks.

Finally, in this research, we considered belonging as an intersection of social support, identities and space. It would be interesting to continue to understand in more

depth the construction of belonging in order to build a theoretical framework for this complex concept.

CONCLUSION

This study described the role of social networks in a dynamic Filipino immigrant community. It also enriched the understanding of the construction and alteration of networks taking into account the complexity of the context in which they are embedded and the dynamics that underlie these relationships.

The quantitative data suggested that first- and second-generation Filipino youth had differences in the composition of their social networks, particularly in the conflicting part of their network. Joint effects of social support and social strain also revealed the ambivalent relation between social network and mental health variables. These results were supported by the qualitative findings. Social relationships seem to provide a complex mix of uplifting and disheartening experiences. Neglecting either kind of experience will hinder our efforts to develop a comprehensive understanding of how social ties affect health and well-being. Particularly for Filipino youth, normative development is rooted in maintaining family harmony. A balanced perspective on the adaptive significance of social relationships requires an acknowledgment of the important benefits that stem from supportive transactions with others as well as a recognition of the distress that results from discordant transactions with others. Our quantitative and qualitative results suggested that Filipino second- generation youth seem to have to cope with multiple pressures partially stemming from the different and sometimes contradictory reference points available to them and the duality of the social networks in their lives.

In the qualitative analysis, we explored the various organizational spaces constructed by the Filipino immigrant youth. Different kinds of social relationships and social capital were developed and husbanded in these organizations to pursue different

shared goals- the retention of cultural traditions, the creation of community and a unified voice, or the development of a greater political voice within mainstream society. Teamwork that denoted mutual support and cooperation was present in all the groups. Filipino immigrant youth found a sense of belonging through these organizations since these organizations were strongly inclined to familism and mutual interdependence.

Organizations are spaces where immigrants can reconstitute their identities as multilayered and productive. Some organizations focused on first-generation youth, reinforcing pre-existing identities. This sustained the regional and cultural diversity that already existed among Filipinos in the Philippines. Organizations for second-generation youth offered a context in which new identities constructed out of the heterogeneity of the Filipino immigrant populations could be forged by deploying different forms of social capital. Some of the places are non-"threatening" spaces for both first- and second-generation youth with a generally supportive role.

The community organizations offer fields of belonging, interaction and communication, and some individuals participate in several of them. An attempt to grasp the concept of belonging in immigrants led us to the construction of an intersection of social support, identities and space. The intertwining of these relations was supported by the quantitative and qualitative results.

By emphasizing the active role that immigrant organizations play in the intergenerational transmission and articulation of identities, we have shown that immigrants do not passively adapt to the dominant culture. It is important to notice that the first- and second-generation Filipino youth in the organizations seem to negotiate their ethnic identity and spaces of belonging in a fluid, active and multi-linear way, rejecting narrowly and rigidly defined definitions of being Filipino and Canadian. These

negotiations of their spaces of belonging are shaped by both co-ethnics and mainstream society members on both the individual and collective levels.

This research on social support and the process of adaptation and mental health may enable counselors to take into account specific ethnic identity issues when designing clinical interventions for immigrant youth populations. Particularly for the Filipino immigrant youth who are negotiating different points of reference (like strong family-oriented versus more individualistic values), this research can provide more understanding in clinical practice about the importance of social interactions and the possible struggles linked with this. The complex relationship of burden and support may have important implications for clinical interventions.

This research made clear that community groups are important supportive spaces of belonging for first- and second-generations immigrants. It is therefore useful to support community groups in a structured way, for example by providing funding on a stable base. Strengthening the community groups can serve as a way to foster adjustment in the host country by developing strong anchors in the culture of origin. These groups may provide the necessary stability and strength to then establish bridges with the host country world.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX B: ETHICS CERTIFICATE

Centre universitaire de santé McGill
McGill University Health Centre

May 16, 2003

Dr. C. Rousseau
Psychiatry Department
Montreal Children's Hospital

Dear Dr. Rousseau,

Re: MCH001-13 Family Reunification – A Study of West Indian Adolescents Reunited with their Families after Separation Experiences

We received an Application for Continuing Review of the Montreal Children's Hospital Research Ethics Board for the research study referenced above and the report was found to be acceptable for ongoing conduct at the McGill University Health Centre. At the MUHC, sponsored research activities that require US federal assurance are conducted under Federal Wide Assurance (FWA) 00000840.

The re-approval for the study, consent and assent documents was given via expedited review of Dr. J. McDonald, the Chair of the Montreal Children's Hospital Research Ethics Board on May 15 2003 and will be reported to the Research Ethics Board (REB) at its meeting of May 26, 2003 and will be entered accordingly into the minutes.

All research involving human subjects requires review at a recurring interval and the current study approval is in effect until May 15, 2004. It is the responsibility of the principal investigator to submit an Application for Continuing Review to the REB prior to the expiration of approval to comply with the regulation for continuing review of "at least once per year".

However, should the research conclude for any reason prior to the next required review, you are required to submit a Termination Report to the Committee once the data analysis is complete to give an account of the study findings and publication status.

Should any revision to the study, or other unanticipated development occur prior to the next required review, you must advise the REB without delay. Regulation does not permit initiation of a proposed study modification prior to REB approval for the amendment.

Sincerely,

Madeleine Hollingdrake

Madeleine Hollingdrake
Coordinator,
Montreal Children's Hospital Research Ethics Board

/mh

Centre universitaire de santé McGill
McGill University Health Centre

Le Centre universitaire de santé McGill (CUSM) comprend l'Hôpital de Montréal pour Enfants, l'Hôpital général de Montréal, l'Hôpital neurologique de Montréal et l'Hôpital Royal Victoria. Le CUSM est affilié à la Faculté de médecine de l'Université McGill.
The McGill University Health Centre (MUHC) consists of The Montreal Children's Hospital, The Montreal General Hospital, The Montreal Neurological Hospital, and The Royal Victoria Hospital. The MUHC is affiliated with the McGill University Faculty of Medicine.

Psychosocial Adjustment of Caribbean and Filipino Migrant Adolescents

Researcher: Dr. Cécile Rousseau
In Collaboration With: Dr. Toby Measham, Dr. Myrna Lashley, Dr. Caminee Blake, Mr. George Mackenzie, and Ms. Thelma Castro (De Jesus)
The Montreal Children's Hospital: 934-4449

Consent Form for Parents

The purpose of this study is to learn more about the emotional and social health of Caribbean and Filipino youth. In particular, the study's purpose is to take into account the points of view of the Caribbean and Filipino communities in order to understand better how these children are doing. The goal of the study is to learn more about what the Filipino and West Indian communities and the Canadian community in general consider as important aspects of these children's lives that help them to be emotionally and socially healthy or the opposite.

In order to learn more about this, we will be asking youth from the Caribbean and Filipino communities about how they are feeling emotionally and socially. We will also ask them about what they consider to be important to reach their goals, as well as what interferes with their reaching their goals, and how they, their friends, families and communities deal with this. We will also ask adolescents' parents for their viewpoint on these questions.

The benefits of participating in this study will be to help promote the well being of young people in the Caribbean and Filipino communities and in Canada as a whole. There are no risks anticipated for participating in this study. The participant can contact the ombudsman at the Montreal Children's Hospital, Elisabeth Gibbon at 514-412-4400, extension 2223 regarding his or her rights as a research subject.

1. I accept to participate in this study.
2. I accept that my child_____ participate in this study.
3. The details of our participation in this study have been explained to me by the interviewer _____. My participation involves an individual interview that will last about 45 minutes. My child will participate in an interview that will last about 1 ½ hours. I understand that the research team will suggest helping resources for my family if we request them. We will also be contacted in two years time for follow-up interviews of the same duration. Finally, I agree to a further contact within ten years time of my first interview.
4. I've been assured that all the information collected in this study about my child or family will remain anonymous and confidential, so that no individual information concerning us will be shared with any other individual or organization. I also understand that my child's research file is confidential and that I will not have access to it.

5. I understand that I can ask for more information concerning my participation in this study or about the study itself.
6. I am freely participating in this study and I understand that I can stop participating and withdraw my consent at any time.

Signed in Montreal on _____

_____ _____

Respondent's Signature Respondent's Name

_____ _____

Interviewer's Signature Researcher's Signature

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
approved for 12 months
from Oct 19/01
signed

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
approved for 12 months
from Oct 18/02
signed

MONTREAL CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL
OF THE MUHC
RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD
APPROVED FOR 12 MONTHS
FROM: May 14/03
SIGNED: _____
CHAIRPERSON

Psychosocial Adjustment of Caribbean and Filipino Migrant Adolescents

Researcher : Dr. Cécile Rousseau
In Collaboration With: Dr. Toby Measham, Dr. Myrna Lashley, Dr. Caminee Blake, Mr. George Mackenzie, and Ms. Thelma Castro (De Jesus)
The Montreal Children's Hospital: 934-4449

Assent Form for Adolescents

The purpose of this study is to learn more about the emotional and social health of Caribbean and Filipino youth. In particular, the study's purpose is to take into account the points of view of the Caribbean and Filipino communities in order to understand better how Caribbean and Filipino children are doing. The goal of the study is to learn more about what the Caribbean and Filipino communities and the Canadian community in general consider as important aspects of these children's lives that help them to be emotionally and socially healthy or the opposite.

In order to learn more about this, we will be asking youth from the Caribbean and Filipino communities about how they are feeling emotionally and socially. We will also ask them about what they consider to be important to reach their goals, as well as what interferes with their reaching their goals, and how they, their friends, families and communities deal with this. We will also ask adolescents' parents for their viewpoint on these questions.

The benefits of participating in this study will be to help promote the well being of young people in the Caribbean and Filipino communities and in Canada as a whole. There are no risks anticipated for participating in this study. The participant can contact the ombudsman at the Montreal Children's Hospital, Elisabeth Gibbon at 514-412-4400, extension 2223 regarding his or her rights as a research subject.

1. I accept to participate in this study.
2. If I am under 18 years old at the time of this interview my parents or guardians also agree with my participating in this study. My participation involves an individual interview that will last about 1 ½ hours. I will be asked to fill out forms about how I am feeling and acting in my life, about who and what is important to me, and about what obstacles and help I have found which affect the way in which I live my life. I understand that the research team can refer me to helping resources if I request this. I will also be contacted in two years time for a follow-up interview of 1 ½ hour's

duration. Finally, I agree to a further contact within ten years time of my first interview.

3. I've been assured that all the information collected in this study about me will remain anonymous and confidential, so that no individual information concerning me will be shared with my parents, my school, or any other individual or organization.
4. I understand that I can ask for more information concerning my participation in this study or about the study itself.
5. I am freely participating in this study and I understand that I can stop participating and withdraw my consent at any time.
6. I authorize my school to share my school report with the research team.

Signed in Montreal on _____

_____ _____

Respondent's Signature Respondent's Name

_____ _____

Interviewer's Signature Researcher's Signature

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
approved for 12 months
from date of this
Oct 19/01
signed

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
approved for 12 months
from date of this
Oct 10/02
signed

MONTREAL CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL
OF THE MUHC
RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD
APPROVED FOR 12 MONTHS
FROM: May 14/03
SIGNED:
CHAIRPERSON

APPENDIX C: ARIZONA SOCIAL SUPPORT SCHEDULE (Barrera, 1983)

A1. If you wanted to talk to someone about things that are very personal and private, who would you talk to?

A2. During the last month, which of these people did you actually talk to about things that were personal and private?

Relationship to adolescent	Age	Ethnic group (or home country)	During the last month

B1. If you needed to borrow $250 or something valuable, who are the people you know who would loan or give you $250 or more, or would give you something (a physical object) that was valuable? You can name some of the same people that you named before if they fit this description, or you can name some other people.

B2. During the past month, which of these people actually loaned or gave you $250 or more or gave or loaned you some valuable object that you needed?

C1. Who would you go to if a situation came up when you needed some advice? Remember, you can name some of the same people you mentioned before, or you can name some new people.

C2. During the past month, which of these people actually gave you some important advice?

D1. Who are the people who you could expect to let you know when they like your ideas or the things that you do? They might be people you mentioned before or new people.

D2. During the past month, which of these people actually let you know that they liked your ideas or the things that you did?

E1. Who are the people who you could call on to give up some of their time and energy to help to take care of something that you needed to do – things like driving you someplace you needed to go, helping you do some work around the house, going to

the store for you, and things like that? Remember, you might have listed these people before or they could be new people.

E2. During the past month, which of these people actually pitched in to help you to do things that you needed some help with?

F1. Who are the people who you don't get along with or who you can expect to make you angry and upset? These could be new people or people you mentioned before.

F2. During the past month, which of these people actually had some unpleasant disagreements with you or actually made you angry and upset?

G1. Who are the people who you could get together with to have fun or to relax? These could be new names or ones you've listed before.

G2. During the past month, which of these people did you actually get together with to have fun or to relax?

APPENDIX D: MENTAL HEALTH QUESTIONNAIRES

YSR

	Very true or often true	Somewhat or sometimes true	Not true
2 I drink alcohol without my parents approval (describe): _____	2	1	0
3 I argue a lot	2	1	0
5 There is very little that I enjoy	2	1	0
7 I brag	2	1	0
12 I feel lonely	2	1	0
14 I cry a lot	2	1	0
16 I am mean to others	2	1	0
18 I deliberately try to hurt or kill myself	2	1	0
19 I try to get a lot of attention	2	1	0
20 I destroy my own things	2	1	0
21 I destroy things belonging to others	2	1	0
22 I disobey my parents	2	1	0
23 I disobey at school	2	1	0
26 I don't feel guilty after doing something I shouldn't	2	1	0
27 I am jealous of others	2	1	0
28 I break rules at home, school, or elsewhere	2	1	0
29 I am afraid of certain animals, situations, or places other than school (describe): _____	2	1	0
30 I am afraid of going to school	2	1	0
31 I am afraid I might think or do something bad	2	1	0
32 I feel that I have to be perfect	2	1	0
33 I feel that no one loves me	2	1	0
34 I feel that others are out to get me	2	1	0
35 I feel worthless or inferior	2	1	0
37 I get in many fights	2	1	0
39 I hang around with kids who get into trouble	2	1	0
42 I would rather be alone than with others	2	1	0
43 I lie or cheat	2	1	0
45 I am nervous or tense	2	1	0
47 I have nightmares	2	1	0

	Very true or often true	Somewhat or sometimes true	Not true
50 I am too fearful or anxious	2	1	0
51 I feel dizzy or lightheaded	2	1	0
52 I feel too guilty	2	1	0
54 I feel overtired without good reason	2	1	0
56 Physical problems without known medical cause:			
a) Aches or pains (not stomach or headaches)	2	1	0
b) Headaches	2	1	0
c) Nausea, feel sick	2	1	0
d) Problems with eyes (not if corrected by glasses) (describe): _____	2	1	0
e) Rashes or other skin problems	2	1	0
f) Stomachaches	2	1	0
g) Vomiting, throwing up	2	1	0
h) Other (describe): _____	2	1	0
57 I physically attack people	2	1	0
63 I would rather be with older kids than kids my own age	2	1	0
65 I refuse to talk	2	1	0
67 I run away from home	2	1	0
68 I scream a lot	2	1	0
69 I am secretive or keep things to myself	2	1	0
71 I am self-conscious or easily embarrassed	2	1	0
72 I set fires	2	1	0
74 I show off or clown	2	1	0
75 I am too shy or timid	2	1	0
81 I steal at home	2	1	0
82 I steal from places other than home	2	1	0
86 I am stubborn	2	1	0
87 My moods or feelings change suddenly	2	1	0
89 I am suspicious	2	1	0
90 I swear or use dirty language	2	1	0
91 I think about killing myself	2	1	0
93 I talk too much	2	1	0

	Very true or often true	Somewhat or sometimes true	Not true
94 I tease others a lot	2	1	0
95 I have a hot temper	2	1	0
96 I think about sex too much	2	1	0
97 I threaten to hurt people	2	1	0
99 I smoke, chew, or sniff tobacco	2	1	0
101 I cut classes or skip school	2	1	0
102 I don't have much energy	2	1	0
103 I am unhappy, sad, or depressed	2	1	0
104 I am louder than other kids	2	1	0
105 I use drugs for nonmedical purposes (don't include alcohol or tobacco) (describe) : _____	2	1	0
111 I keep from getting involved with others	2	1	0
112 I worry a lot	2	1	0

(Achenbach, 1991)

Pearlin Mastery Scale

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
1- You have little control over the things that happen to you	5	4	3	2	1
2- There is really no way you can solve some of the problems you have	5	4	3	2	1
3- There is little you can do to change many of the important things in your life	5	4	3	2	1
4- You often feel helpless in dealing with problems of life	5	4	3	2	1
5- Sometimes you feel that you are being pushed around in life	5	4	3	2	1
6- What happens to you in the future mostly depends on you	5	4	3	2	1
7- You can do just about anything you really set your mind to	5	4	3	2	1

(Pearlin, 1975)

APPENDIX E: FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

	True	False
1 Family members really help and support one another	1	0
3 We fight a lot in our family	1	0
11 We often seem to be killing time at home (*wasting time, being bored*)	1	0
13 Family members rarely become openly angry	1	0
21 We put a lot of energy into what we do at home	1	0
23 Family members sometimes get so angry they throw things	1	0
31 There is a feeling of togetherness in our family	1	0
33 Family members hardly ever lose their tempers	1	0
41 We rarely volunteer when something has to be done at home	1	0
43 Family members often criticize each other	1	0
51 Family members really back each other up (*support*)	1	0
53 Family members sometimes hit each other	1	0
61 There is very little group spirit in our family	1	0
63 If there's a disagreement in our family, we try hard to smooth things over and keep the peace.	1	0
71 We really get along well with each other	1	0
73 Family members often try to out-do each other (*competition*)	1	0
81 There is plenty of time and attention for everyone in our family	1	0
83 In our family, we believe you don't ever get anywhere by raising your voice	1	0

(Moos & Moos, 1986).

APPENDIX F: COLLECTIVE SELF-ESTEEM SCALE

	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neutral	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1 You are a worthy member of the (*home country*) community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2 You often regret that you belong to the (*home country*) community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3 Overall the (*home country*) community is considered good by others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4 Overall, your membership in the (*home country*) community has very little to do with how you feel about yourself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5 You feel you don't have much to offer to the (*home country*) community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6 In general, you're glad to be a member of the (*home country*) community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7 On average most people consider the (*home country*) community to be more ineffective than other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8 The (*home country*) community is an important reflection of who you are	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9 You are a cooperative participant in the (*home country*) community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10 Overall, you often feel that the (*home country*) community is not worthwhile	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11 In general, people respect the (*home country*) community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12 Belonging to the (*home country*) community is unimportant to your sense of what kind of a person you are	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13 You often feel you're a useless member of the (*home country*) community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14 You feel good about belonging to the (*home country*) community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15 In general, people think that the (*home country*) community is unworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16 In general, belonging to the (*home country*) community is an important part of your self-image	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(Luthanen & Crocker, 1992)