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The Educational Experiences of Filipino Youth in Quebec  
in the Context of Global Migration

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Abstract

*Filipino youth in Montreal have one of the highest rates of not being in school. Reports of behavioural problems, difficulties integrating, school failure and parent-child relationship difficulties have been reported among Filipino Youth who came to Canada after their mothers came to work in Canada under the Live-In Caregiver Program and its predecessor, the Foreign Domestic Movement. Using a sociocultural framework, I interviewed seven Filipino youth to examine the factors that interact to influence their educational outcomes. I discovered that several of their problems were related to long periods of family separation. The inability to develop a close relationship with their mother, along with economic struggles was a source of difficulty and directly affected educational outcomes. The focus of learning French in order to do well in the Quebec High School system is another factor affecting the ability of Filipino youth to succeed in school.*

## Résumé

*Les jeunes philippins à Montréal ont un des taux de non-fréquentation scolaire les plus élevés. Des troubles de comportement, difficultés d'intégration, échecs scolaires et des difficultés dans les relations parent-enfant ont été signalés parmi les jeunes philippins qui sont arrivées au Canada à la suite de leurs mères qui étaient venues travailler au Canada dans le cadre du Programme d'aides familiaux résidants, et son prédécesseur, le programme d'embauchage des travailleurs domestiques étrangers. Utilisant un cadre socioculturel, j'ai interviewé sept jeunes Philippins, examinant les facteurs qui entrent en ligne de compte et influencent leurs résultats scolaires. J'ai découvert que plusieurs de leurs problèmes étaient reliés à de longues périodes de séparation familiale. L'incapacité à mettre en place une bonne relation avec leur mère, ainsi que des difficultés financière sont pour eux de grosses entraves et touchent directement les résultats de l'éducation. L'emphasis mise sur le français, afin de bien s'intégrer au système scolaire québécois, est un autre facteur d'influence sur la capacité qu'on les jeunes Philippins de réussir à l'école.*



The Educational Experiences of Filipino Youth in Quebec  
in the Context of Global Migration

“Delinquents”, “trouble-makers”, “up to no good”. These are some of the phrases that I have heard spoken of Filipino Youth living in the Cote-des-Neiges area of Montreal. “Third highest dropout rate”, “gang-violence”, “drugs” are other words that are associated with this group of individuals (e.g., Lejtenyi, 2003). While some members of the Filipino community are quick to point the finger at parents, the language or the schooling system, I set out to investigate how the youth themselves interpret their educational experiences. I wanted to know how they see the intricate network of social, cultural and economic factors that influence the educational outcomes of Filipino Youth in Quebec.

As a Canadian-born woman of Filipino descent who has had access to higher levels of education, I was interested in exploring the various factors that impede educational success and full integration of newly-arriving youth in Montreal. With help and guidance from various Filipino community organizations such as Kabataang Montreal (“Filipino Youth of Montreal”), and the Philippine Women Centre of Quebec that advocate for the rights and welfare of overseas Filipinos, I became interested in understanding Filipino youth’s issues in the context of global migration. Taking a socio-cultural theoretical lens, I set out to examine how various immigration policies such as the Live-In Caregiver Program

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and educational policies such as the Charte de La Langue Française are shaping the Filipino community today. In particular, I explored the effects of family separation on Filipino youth whose mothers came to Canada as domestic workers under the Foreign Domestic Movement - which has since been replaced by today's Live In Caregiver Program - and how these youth adapt to schooling in Quebec given the language policies and their linguistic and educational backgrounds from the Philippines.

### *Brief Background on the Philippines*

The Republic of the Philippines is an archipelago located in South East Asia. It occupies land mass that is roughly the size of Arizona and has over 89 000 000 inhabitants (CIA, 2006). The Philippines was first colonized by Spain in the sixteenth century. While the Spanish did not educate Filipinos except for the elite, they did convert many of them to Christianity. Today, 80% of the country is Roman Catholic, making it a unique population within Southeast Asia (Salazar, Schludermann, Schludermann & Huynh, 2000). Spanish colonial rule lasted until 1898 when, after the Spanish-American War, the United States took over the Philippines. The United States government then instituted formal education for the masses, and opened up Universities and other institutions of higher learning. The United States would eventually grant the Philippines independence on July 4, 1946, but the Philippines would remain under the influence of the U.S. for years to come (Constantino, 1999).

English and Tagalog are the two official languages of the Philippines.

English is the language of government and higher education (Nical, Smolicz & Secombe, 2004). While 92% of Filipinos aged 15 and over are considered literate, 40% live below the poverty line (CIA, 2006). Due to the current economic crisis in the Philippines, many Filipinos leave their homes to do migrant work in over 180 countries. In 2004, there were 1.33 million Filipinos working abroad, sending home remittances totalling over \$48 billion USD to support their families in the Philippines. There were 12 000 of these workers in Canada in 2004, and 9 000 of these were women. Cash remittances to the Philippines from overseas workers in Canada totalled over \$1 billion in 2004 (Philippines National Statistics Office, 2005).

#### *Philippine Migration*

The Philippines diaspora is one of the largest in the world (San Juan, E., Jr., 2000). While various factors have contributed to the large migration of Filipinos, the most important is the political and economic crisis in the Philippines. The Philippines, with a debt currently standing at \$US 65.71 billion (CIA, 2006), depends on the remittances of migrant workers to sustain their economy. In 1972, when under Martial Law, then-president Ferdinand Marcos instituted Labour Export Policies that would encourage Filipinos to work abroad and send remittances back to the Philippines. This was seen as a temporary solution for the economic crisis in the Philippines, but the number of migrant

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workers originating from the Philippines is still one the largest of all other countries around the world (Rodriguez, 2002). Filipino men work as sea-farers, as truck drivers in oil producing countries, and as factory workers worldwide. Filipino women tend to work as nurses, as teachers and as domestic workers and nannies (Philippines National Statistics Office, 2005).

Canada has experienced three major waves of migration of people from the Philippines. The first wave was in the 1960s when Canada was in need of nurses and other healthcare professionals to work in Canada. The nursing profession played a large role in this: almost half the Filipinos immigrating to Canada in 1970 were nurses. From a Canadian perspective, one out of four nurses in Canada in 1967 was from the Philippines. In the 1970s through Canada's immigration policy that encouraged family reunification, the Filipino population in Canada increased to include children and the elderly (Beltran-Chen, 1998). The third wave of Filipino immigrants was in the 1980s, and is associated with a decline in professionals coming into the country, and an increase of "unskilled" workers. Beltran-Chen (1998) notes that this is indicative of a number of Philippine immigrants who have university degrees but are working as nannies and domestics since these are the positions that are in high demand. Canada's Foreign Domestic Movement and the more recent Live-In Caregiver Program (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002) are major factors in the increase of unskilled Philippine workers in Canada.

Today, Filipinos form the third highest immigrant group in Canada after

those from China and India. A significant portion – 67% - of Filipinos in Canada are female. This is likely due to the nature of the jobs available to them in Canada – nursing jobs in the 70's and domestic work more recently (Beltran-Chen, 1998). From 1995 to 2004, over 115 000 Filipinos became permanent residents to Canada. Many Filipinos in Canada are still working as temporary, migrant workers. In fact, immigrants from the Philippines comprise the second largest group of migrant workers to Canada, after those from the U.S. A large portion of these Filipinos are domestic workers. In 2004, over half the Filipino immigrants to Canada were live-in caregivers and their dependants (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004).

In the context of Quebec, Montreal hosts the fourth largest population of people of Philippine origin in Canada. Numbers from the 2001 census indicate that there were 18 985 people, aged 15 and over, of Philippine origin. It is a new population: only 27.8% of Filipinos in Quebec aged 15 and over were born in the province (Immigration et Communautés Culturelles Quebec, 2005). So, over 70% of Filipinos in Quebec are immigrants or temporary workers. The male to female ratio of Filipinos in Quebec reflects the rest of Canada: 59.9% are women. As Beltran-Chen (1998) alluded to the gross under-employment of Filipinos in Canada, over 27.6% of Filipinos have a university diploma, compared to 14% of the whole of Quebec. Yet, Filipinos are being paid a median salary of \$16 874, much lower than the median salary for the whole of Quebec at \$20 665. In terms of women, 30.2% of Filipino women in Quebec have a university diploma. Yet,

their median pay is \$15 538 compared to the \$16 178 for all of Quebec women.

The majority of Filipino women are working in the service sector and in the health sector. A large portion of these women are working as live-in caregivers.

### *The Live-in Caregiver Program*

Live-In Caregiver Program (LCP) was introduced in 1992 by Citizenship and Immigration Canada in response to a lack of a national day care program, and because of the inadequate healthcare support in the public sphere (Pratt, 2004). This program was largely based on its predecessor, the Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM). The LCP requires 24 months of working, living in the home of the employer, either as a nanny or as a caregiver to the elderly or the disabled. Major requirements of the program include a Canadian equivalent to a high school education and some training in healthcare or in early childhood education (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002). Women of Philippine origin, with their high educational attainment and their fluency in English, are prime candidates for working as live-in caregivers. The major attraction for this program is the promise of permanent residency upon completion of the program – something that is different from working in Hong Kong or Singapore. Another pull towards the Live-In Caregiver program is that it is easier to apply for this program than it would be to apply as an independent immigrant: not only is Philippine education and professional training not seen as being on par to Canadian training, but it is much more expensive to apply for independent

immigrant status as it would be to simply come in as a migrant worker.

Unfortunately, there are many social and economic problems associated with the Live-In Caregiver program. Due to the “live-in” nature of the program, these women are vulnerable to many different kinds of abuse. First, although the program has guidelines restricting the number of hours that these women are supposed to work, they often work overtime and often are not paid overtime wages. Geraldine Pratt of UBC has published focus group studies to this effect. She cites, for example, a woman who was told that she was considered a family member and therefore should not be paid overtime as a member of the family (Pratt, 1999). In the documentary *Brown Women, Blonde Babies*, another Filipino domestic worker describes a situation in which she would ask for her pay every pay day rather than having her employer give it to her freely. In the documentary, this same woman discusses an incident where the male head of the household made sexual advances towards her (Guy, 1992). Cases of sexual and physical abuse have been discussed widely with respect to Philippine domestic workers.

According to research from the Philippine Women Centre of British Columbia (Pratt and PWC-BC, 2003), the rigid conditions of the LCP also have an impact on the economic conditions of Philippine immigrants to Canada. Philippine women who come into Canada under the LCP are not allowed to work outside of their employers’ home. They are being paid minimum wage. They are overworked and have little energy to study and develop their skills to practice their trade once their LCP contract is complete. They often end up doing more

live-out domestic work, or work in the service sector – jobs that do not reflect their skills. Many of these women have left their families back home in the Philippines and are sending a large portion of their salary home as remittances to their families (Beltran-Chen, 1998; Stasiulis and Bakan, 2005). The costs of application for permanent residency and the high costs of paying for their husband and children's applications for permanent residency often leaves them impoverished.

Many women working under the LCP in Montreal live in the borough of Côte-des-Neiges/Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. It is an area composed of mainly newly arrived immigrants. Sixty percent of Quebec's Philippine population resides in this area, which is widely noted for its poverty and poor living conditions (Immigration et Communautés Culturelles, 2005). According to research by Centraide (2005), the area of Côte-des-Neiges has a large number of low income individuals, and an important population of single parents. It is a destination of choice for many immigrant groups and has two main challenges: the adaptation of immigrant communities and the fight against poverty. It is important, therefore, to understand the needs and the challenges facing Filipinos living in this area.

#### *Transnational Filipino Families and Reunification*

The hardships of Philippine women are not contained within a Canadian context. For the women who leave their children back home in the Philippines in order to make money and give their children a better life, the issues of



transnational identity and transnational families is significant. Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (2005) has conducted extensive research regarding transnational families. In her interviews of children in the Philippines whose parents were working abroad, she found a situation that is very much gendered wherein families whose mothers worked abroad were regarded much more negatively than families whose fathers worked abroad. Explanations relate to the traditional views of gender roles held by Filipinos. Fathers are considered the money-earners of the families while mothers are expected to care for the home and family. So, in father-away families, the idea that Daddy comes home only every 10 months instead of every evening is more acceptable than the thought that Mommy is away working rather than at home nurturing the family. Yet, as Madelene Santa Maria (2002) mentions in a description of Filipino families, girls tend to feel more obligated to support their families. Mothers do tend to work abroad as there are very few opportunities for Filipinos to work in the country and still maintain a comfortable lifestyle for their families. Often very highly educated women, they sacrifice their prestigious jobs as office managers and administrators to make more money abroad as nannies and domestic workers (Parreñas, 2005).

In transnational families in the Philippines, Parreñas (2005) has found that for father-away families, the mother willingly takes over the role of her husband, as disciplinarian. However, in mother-away families, their husbands who stay back home in the Philippines tend not to take over the female traditional roles of caregiver and house-manager, instead delegating these roles to other women.

Children in mother-away families tend to be cared for by their aunt, their grandmother, or another domestic worker. In some cases, it is the oldest daughter of the family who gains responsibility for caring for her siblings and for managing household revenue and expenses.

As discussed by Parreñas (2005), children in mother away families may experience feelings of abandonment, a lack of intimacy and what she describes as a commodification of mother-child bonds. That is, the geographical distance of mothers from their children lead their children to feel abandoned and emotionally distant from their mothers. Also, the money provided by the mother tends to become of foremost importance in her children's lives, leading them to value greatly the material possessions afforded to them by their mother's work abroad. There is also a stigma attached to growing up in a mother-away family: feelings of invalidation from not being part of an intact family, feelings of not being properly raised, ideas of being less intelligent as compared to students whose mothers live with them at home. As Parreñas (2005) has encountered in her research, there is recognition and acknowledgement, but very little support from government organizations, from churches and from schools regarding mother-away families.

In fact, Parreñas (2003) has uncovered a social stigma of mother-away families that is evidenced in how the media portrays children of mother-away families as being delinquents. However, she has demonstrated through her research that social adjustment does occur in families where mothers maintain regular communication with their children and where fathers play a larger role in

nurturing their families. She discusses the necessity to stop looking at these mothers as having abandoned their children and to begin looking at the situation in the context of the socio-economic forces that bring these women where they are. She calls on host nations to recognize and support the special situations of these working women.

*Filipino Families in the Canadian context*

Canada, with its Live-in Caregiver Program, is a major participant in the world-wide phenomenon of transnational Filipino families. The live-in component of this domestic work program forces the separation of mothers from their children for at least the mandatory 24-month period. Research conducted by Pratt and the Philippine Women Centre of British Columbia (PWC-BC) has uncovered some of the difficulties that women working under the LCP face with regard to their families back home. They describe their anguish at taking care of other people's children while theirs are left behind to be cared for by another woman. They discuss their feelings of alienation from their children during their visits home. They sometimes feel as though they are strangers to their children, or fictional characters in stories told to them by their other caregivers (Pratt, PWC-BC and UKPC/FCYA, 2006). They try to find satisfaction in the idea that their children are being provided for financially and through receiving private education in the Philippines while they long for the day when they will finally be reunited.

Unfortunately, family reunification does not come easily (Sayo, no date; Makilan, 2007). While the LCP demands the 24 month period of live-in work, family separation often lasts much longer than this. In B.C., the Philippine Women Centre has shown an average separation period of five years among its Filipino domestic worker members. This is partly due to the high costs of applying for permanent residency: it is difficult to save up money when a large portion of a Filipino domestic worker's salary has gone to remittances to her family. The difficulties continue when children arrive to reunite with their mothers in Canada. As the PWC-BC and Geraldine Pratt have discovered, difficulties include the cycle of poverty into which these women have found themselves: by sending a large portion of her salary back home to the Philippines, she has brought herself into poverty but has given her children a decent life back home. Arriving in Canada, these children are not used to having to cram into a small apartment to live. They may feel resentful of their mothers who had left them for so long, and the shock of living in a new country, under less than desirable conditions may further this resentment. The mother, on the other hand, also tends to feel under-appreciated for her toil and sacrifices. Finally, because these families have found themselves in these poverty conditions, mothers must continue to work long hours to support their families who are now here in Canada, and the further deepening sense of alienation between mother and child continues (Pratt, unpublished manuscript).

While Pratt demonstrates that a large part of a mother's sacrifice in these

conditions is to provide for her children, and particularly in terms of giving them a good education, there are indications that educational expectations are not met in the children of women under the LCP. Pratt refers to this phenomenon as the “deskilling of the second generation” (Pratt, unpublished manuscript). Pratt revealed data from the B.C. Ministry of Education indicating that, when tracking children in B.C. high schools, Tagalog speakers had low grade point averages, high dropout rates and were less likely to have an honour flag at high school graduation, compared to speakers of Punjabi, Vietnamese, Chinese and English. Pratt's interviews with Filipino youth in B.C. demonstrated that some of the reasons for dropping out include a lack of recognition of their own high school credits leading to frustration among these children, and the pressure to make money to aid their mothers in supporting their families (Pratt, unpublished manuscript).

In Montreal, Filipino youth organizations such as Kabataang Montreal have begun discussing similar issues, but no studies have yet been published regarding the problems of Filipino immigrant youth in this community. However, statistical data indicate that Filipino youth do not fare well in terms of their educational attainment. Census data from 2001 show that in Montreal, 27.13% of Filipino males and females between the ages of 15-24 were not attending school, third only to Latin Americans of the same age and sex group at 27.63% and South Asians of the same age and sex group at 33.33%. This supports the belief that Filipino youth have the third highest dropout rate in Montreal. If we look more

closely, Filipino males between the ages of 15-24 in Montreal had the highest rate of not attending school: 34.15%, compared to 31.82% of South Asian males and 31.36% of Latin American males (Statistics Canada, 2003).

### *Immigration, Education and Quebec*

When speaking of the integration of adolescent immigrants into Quebec, one must understand this in the context of language of education. Since the inception of the Charte de la Langue Francaise, more commonly known as “Bill 101” in 1977, children whose parents did not attend English school in Canada were required to attend French school in Quebec. This movement comes under Quebec’s policy for a pluralist French society. That is, a society composed of many cultural communities, but functioning within a French milieu (Allen, 2006).

“Francisation” has, indeed, increased among immigrant groups. According to McAndrew, Veltman, Lemire and Rossell (no date), children in schools where there are a large number of immigrants tend to use French as a common language. Yet, as Allen (2004) discusses in her doctoral thesis, an adequate approach towards integrating immigrants into Quebec society may be lacking. In her doctoral study of immigrant adolescents, *Accueil*, or “Welcoming Class”, Allen (2004) found that students' views of themselves were affected by their school experiences upon entry into the Quebec education system. They reported concern about the focus of learning French while not advancing in other subject material. Finally, while Quebec also has a policy of offering Heritage Language classes to

immigrants who need it, these programs tend to be implemented more commonly among second and third generation children of immigrants, and are therefore not being used to effectively aid the integration of immigrant youth (McAndrew, 2002).

School attendance is mandatory between the ages of 6 and 16. Youth have the option of leaving the regular high school system and attending adult education courses if they are 16 years and older and are no longer allowed to attend a regular high school after the age of 18 (Ministère de L'Education, 2004). Adult education courses tend to follow a self-study format, where a student does assignments at his or her own pace, asks the teacher for help when he or she needs it, and completes exams when he or she feels ready. Youth in adult education have the choice of attending courses in English or French.

In Quebec, the option of attending a *College d'Enseignement Générale ou Professionnel* or College of General and Vocational Education, commonly abbreviated as “CEGEP” is available to those who have completed a high school diploma. CEGEPs offer “The two-year general programs for students who wish to continue their education at the university level and, the three-year specialized career programs designed for students who wish to enter the labour force upon graduation.” (Barquin, 2007). Here again, students have the option of attending English or French instruction, regardless of their immigration status.

### *Conclusion*

Immigration and migration policies such as the Live-In Caregiver program

and its predecessor, the Foreign Domestic Movement, have been shaping the Filipino community since the early 1980s. Various community organizations advocating for the children of the women who entered Canada under this program point to the effects of family separation as a source for discontent in the community and difficulties integrating into Canadian society. In Quebec, the added aspect of language policies in education also play a role in how Filipino youth adapt to life in Montreal.

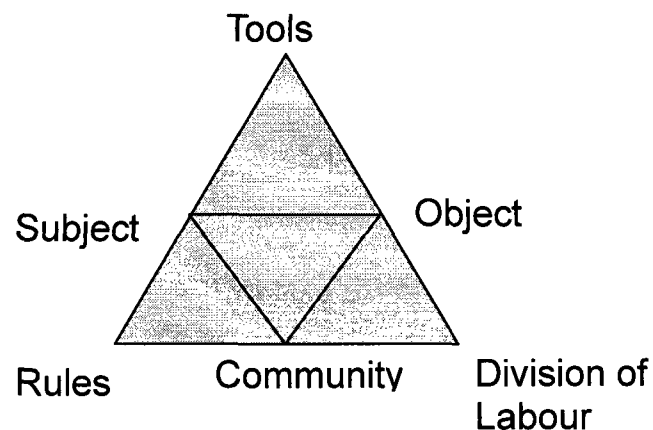
The difficulties and challenges posed on immigrant adolescents in Quebec is very real for those from Filipino backgrounds. While research has shown the difficulties of Filipino adolescents in terms of educational attainment in British Columbia, very little has been published regarding the situation of Filipino Youth in Montreal. It is imperative to understand their motivations and their struggles if they are to fully integrate into Quebec society.



## Rationale and Theoretical Framework

My aim in this research is to understand how Filipino youth in Canada understand and interpret their educational experiences, in the context of having experienced family separation due to their mothers migrating to Canada as temporary workers under the FDM or the LCP. For this, I am drawing on a Vygotskian sociocultural theoretical framework in order to explore what the youth see as the various factors affecting a Filipino youth's ability to succeed academically. This is a theory developed by Leont'ev (1972) and further interpreted by Engestrom (1987). In Engestrom's model, the unit of analysis is an activity system rather than an individual. This activity system has various factors and components that work together, as can be seen in Figure 1. My explanation of the components of Engestrom's model draws heavily from Jonassen's (2002) interpretation of Learning as Activity.

Figure 1. Engestrom's (1991) Activity Model



An activity is dependent on its object. Objects are motives that drive

activity. The subject performs the actions that work towards the object of an activity. For example, Filipino Youth (subjects) perform actions with the object of completing their education. The subjects use tools to obtain the object. These tools can be both material (e.g., money, books) or immaterial (e.g., language, parental support). The subject's ability to attain the object is further mediated by community, the division of labour among the community and the rules of the community. Community is "the individuals and subgroups that focus at least some of their effort on the object. The community functions to distribute cognitive responsibility among participants and artifacts" (Jonassen, 2002, p.49). In my study, community involves the youth themselves, their parents, and their teachers. Division of Labour are the tasks accomplished by the members of the community. In my case, these would be the roles of the teachers to teach, the roles of the youth to learn and act as students, and the roles of the parents to provide emotional and financial support to their children. Finally, the system depends on the rules of the community. Rules are "the explicit regulations, laws, policies and conventions that constrain activity as well as the implicit social norms, standards, and relationships among members of the community" (Jonassen, 2002, p.50). Some examples of rules in my study are the expectations of Filipino youth to be good students, the need to learn French as a requirement to continue schooling in Quebec, and the social norm of respecting ones parents.

Drawing on this model, and taking a critical analytical stance, I will demonstrate that the activity system of obtaining a college diploma is influenced

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by all of these components, in very distinct ways. I will show how long periods of separation of a youth from his or her mother, combined with difficulties learning French and a change in labour expectations of a youth all work together to influence his or her educational outcome.

## Research Questions and Methodology

I set out to investigate the educational experiences of Filipino youth who attended high school in Quebec after having experienced family separation due to the Live-In Caregiver Program (LCP) or its predecessor the Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM). I wanted to understand how factors such as family relationships, socio-economic status, gender, educational experiences and previous schooling in the Philippines influenced their educational outcomes. In order to do this, I went to the youth and asked them to tell me their stories.

In this chapter, I will give a detailed account of my data collection, including my research questions, who my participants were, and where I recruited them, what I asked them and in what setting. I will also give a brief description of the community groups with which I worked in order to gain access to my participants and to enrich my understanding of the individuals I was investigating. Finally, I will describe my method of data analysis and address issues of reliability and validity.

### *Research Questions*

The main questions I set out to answer were the following:

1. What do Filipino Youth feel are the factors that influence their educational experiences?

- What is the role of language?

- What role do parents, teachers, and the youth themselves play?
  - What expectations do Filipino Youth have regarding their educational experiences in Quebec?
2. How do these factors interact in order to influence the educational outcomes of Filipino Youth in Montreal?
  3. What are the implications for immigration and educational policies that would affect the Filipino youth of Montreal?

#### *Methodological approach*

In order to understand the experiences of the Filipino Youth, I decided to take a qualitative research approach, and more specifically phenomenological approach to gathering my data. I wanted to understand how the youth saw themselves within the process of their educational experience and how they interpreted the world around them and the factors that influenced their educational attainment. In Johnson and Christensen's (2004) explanation of the phenomenological approach, they explain that "the purpose of phenomenological research is to obtain a view into your research participants' life-worlds and to understand their personal meanings (i.e., what something means to them) constructed from their lived experiences." (p. 362). So, I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with seven participants, trying to see their educational experiences through their eyes.

### *Participants*

My inclusion criteria were: (1) they must be over 18 years old, (2) they must have gone through some schooling in the Philippines and some secondary-level education in Quebec, (3) they must have immigrated here as children of domestic workers either under the LCP or the FDM.

I interviewed eight youth in total, either in a group or individual setting, but only analysed data for seven of them as one of them turned out to not fit my criteria, which I will explain below. I interviewed three participants individually, and conducted two group interviews: one with two brothers, and another with two sisters and their friend. Of the interview with two sisters and their friend, I only analysed data for the two sisters since their friend, while also a first-generation Filipino immigrant, turned out not to have come here as a child of a woman under the LCP and therefore did not meet criteria. In total, I analysed data for three young men and four young women aged between 21 and 27. I chose to focus on this age group because with them I could discuss their experiences not just in secondary school, but also discuss their educational experiences during and after high school, and talk about their educational outcomes and their future plans. Table 1 is a summary of the participants' demographic details. Their names have been changed for the purpose of protecting their identities.

Table 1

*Participants' details*

Name <sup>1</sup>	Age	Sex	Date of arrival in Canada	Age at arrival in Canada	Number of years of separation
Diego	24	M	1993	10	10
Paolo	23	M	1995	11	10
Ricky	24	M	1995	12	10
Melissa	24	F	1995	12	5
Sandra	21	F	1995	9	5
Louanne	22	F	1999	14	4
Karen	27	F	1994	14	3 or 4

*1. Names have been changed to protect identities*

Participants were recruited through varying means. Some were active members of Kabataang Montreal, a Filipino youth organizations whose members also had some influence in the design of the project itself. Others I met through other connections such as through a relative or by having approached them in a public setting. Please consult "Participants" chapter for a detailed description of recruitment.

I chose to interview youth who were in their early twenties rather than interviewing youth who were currently attending high school. There were several reasons for this. First, my initial contact with Filipino youth was through Kabataang Montreal, and most of the participants in that group were in their early

twenties - youth who had gone through high school experience and were currently either finishing school or were working full-time. More importantly, these youth, in their positions as people who had gone through the experience and had had some time to think about their situations, had a strong retrospective view on their experiences and were now looking towards their future.

### *Setting*

I conducted most of my interviews at the office of the Philippine Women Centre of Quebec, which is located in Côte-des-Neiges. I chose this setting because it was a quiet, comfortable location, and it was accessible to most of the members. Interviews were scheduled according to the needs of the participants, and took place either on a weekend, in the morning of a weekday or after work hours. I conducted one interview in the home of one of the organizers of KM, because the participant requested that we conduct it there. It was a comfortable environment for him.

### *Interview style*

When I first designed my study, I intended to do focus group interviews and then individual follow-up interviews. The focus groups would include five or six people per group, to get multiple views at the same time, and to also raise awareness for the youth participating about their common issues. I wanted to conduct individual follow-up interviews with each participant to get more



individual data. However, because of the challenges involved with scheduling groups of youth who had diverse lifestyles and were often working full time and attending school, I had to modify my methodology slightly. Instead of conducting focus groups and then a second individual interview, I finally conducted two group interviews (one with two brothers, another with two sisters and their friend) and three other individual interviews.

Each interview that I conducted was semi-structured in nature. After signing consent, I asked the participant to think back to when they first arrived in Canada and think about their expectations: what they were excited about, and also what they were afraid of. They wrote down these memories and then shared them with the group. After this, I showed them a topic guide of what I wanted to talk about during the interview. I made it clear that we would also have a chance to talk about issues they felt were important that were not already on the list.

During the interview, I had a question guide in front of me. I followed the question guide to make sure all the topics were covered, but I allowed the flow of the interview to carry itself. Sometimes, the interviewee would address an issue that I wanted to cover later in the interview. I would allow that topic to be covered before returning to the original question. I tried my best to avoid leading questions, following the interview techniques suggested by Patton (2001). The purpose was to discover educational experiences, but questions went beyond to deal with family, social interactions, language beyond classroom, and experiences from the Philippines. At the end of the interview, I made sure to ask if they had

anything to add.

These are the guideline questions that I covered with my participants:

## BACKGROUND

### *Biographical:*

Place of birth

Age

Languages spoken

Siblings

### *Current situation:*

Are you in school?

Are you working?

Do you live with your parents?

What activities are you involved with?

## PARENTS

### *Parental expectations:*

What do Filipino parents expect in terms of their children's education?

What do Filipino parents expect in terms of helping the family economically?

How do parents provide support for their children's education?

### *Separation:*

How old were you when your mother went abroad?

What were your experiences of separation from your mother?

Who took care of you in the Philippines?

What did your father do?

### *Reunification:*

How old were you when you came to Canada?

What was that like?

Do you get along with your mom?

Do you have more family in Canada?

## EDUCATION

### *Language:*

How do you feel about schooling in Quebec?

How was your experience in Welcoming Class?

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Was language of instruction an issue for you when you were at school?  
What language/s do you speak at home?

### *Drop out:*

Do you have friends who have dropped out?  
Why dropping out?  
Have you considered dropping out?  
What are some reasons to stay in school?

### PAST

How was schooling different in the Philippines than here?  
Language of instruction  
Size of classroom  
Teachers' behaviour  
Interactions with peers  
Did you go to public school or private?

### FUTURE

What are your educational aspirations and why?  
What are your career aspirations and why?

Each interview lasted approximately 60 minutes. I recorded the interviews using a digital audio recorder.

### *Data Analysis*

My analysis of my data began as soon as each interview was conducted. I would transfer the audio file onto my mp3 player and listen to each interview several times in order to pull out themes coming from the data. I also began transcribing each interview immediately after it was completed. My transcriptions were quite detailed. As I transcribed, I took notes, continuing to uncover themes emerging from the data.

I later fine tuned my analysis using a more structured approach. I grouped my data according to the major structural codes I was looking for: language issues, family, school experiences and conditions in the Philippines, and future aspirations. I segmented my data by pauses. If there was a clear change in topic within a segment, I re-segmented it into smaller segments in order to facilitate coding. I then coded the segments into categories and subcodes. Categories reflected statements and life events that were common among participants. These codes generally tended to follow the major topic questions I had asked. Some examples of categories were, “family separation”, “reunification” and “views and experiences of learning French in Quebec”. Subcodes reflected themes that were more detailed and specific to individual responses, and could be grouped under one category. For example, “don't know her”, “expecting more” and “no difference” were all subcodes under the category of “reunification”.

Throughout my analysis, I tried to find themes by looking for statements that were common across participants, but also for ideas that were unique but striking. My process of coding used an interim analysis. As I was reviewing my data, I was also reflecting on previously collected data. I would take notes as I reviewed and coded my data as well, writing down my impressions and insights. I often would go back to my initial codes to check to make sure that I would still use the same codes. After coding my data, I grouped my data according to codes and subcodes. From these groupings, I was able to see what issues were commonly shared among participants, and to compare and contrast their

experiences. It also helped me pull out important quotes that illustrate their experiences. A list of codes and subcodes with examples can be found in Appendix B.

Finally, I shared my analysis and findings with the participants in my study. I either emailed them a copy or gave them a paper copy to review and asked them to make sure my report reflected their experiences, and to let me know of any objections or changes they would like to see.

### *Conclusion*

In this chapter, I described the methods I used to answer my research questions. Using a qualitative research method, and a phenomenological approach, I interviewed youth whose mothers left them in the Philippines to work as domestic workers in Canada under the Foreign Domestic Movement – which has since expanded to the Live-In Caregiver Program. I coded their data in order to gather themes and gain understanding into their experiences. I now turn to a deeper look at the participants in my study, including myself and the organizations that helped shape my research.

## Participants and Context

I would like to use this chapter to give an overview of the people who graciously and generously agreed to participate in my study. This chapter is meant to introduce the characters in my thesis: not only the seven Filipino youth I interviewed, but also the Philippine Women Centre of Quebec, and Kabataang Montreal - two organizations with which I worked closely in shaping my research questions, gathering participants and collecting data. I also have included a description of myself and how I fit into this research.

### *The Organizations*

I will begin my discussion of participants by introducing the two organizations with which I worked closely in order to gain access to my participants: Kabataang Montreal and the Philippine Women Centre of Quebec.

*Kabataang Montreal.* Kabataang Montreal (KM), the Filipino Youth Organization of Montreal, was founded in 2001 as a response to the need of Filipino Youth to address issues of gang violence and high school dropout that were seriously affecting this population. The group is dedicated to educating, organizing and mobilizing the Filipino community through campaigns such as their anti-racism campaign, as well as through workshops such as a History of the Philippines workshop and a workshop on patterns of migration to Canada. It is

through these efforts that KM brings together all Filipino youth, whether they be first or second generation, or beyond, to fight for the rights and welfare of all Filipinos. Kabataang Montreal is a member of a network of Filipino Youth organizations across Canada, called the Ugnayan ng Kabataang Pilipino sa Canada / Filipino Canadian Youth Alliance (UKPC/FCYA-National). The group is housed within the Philippine Women Centre of Quebec, which also houses SIKLAB-Quebec (“Advance and Uphold the Rights and Welfare of Filipino Migrant Workers”).

I first met members of KM in November, 2006, when I attended a conference organized in Montreal by the Philippine Women Centre of Quebec, entitled “Making the Filipino Community Count in Quebec” (MFCCQ). It was at this conference that I first heard the youth discussing the effects that Canada’s temporary workers programs have on Filipino youth, especially effects of family separation and difficulties with reunification. Although I had originally been interested mainly in the effects of education and language policies on Filipino youth of today, it was through these groups that I also became aware of how immigration policies have shaped the integration and economic situation of the Filipino population of Canada.

During the next several weeks, I built a relationship with the members of KM and brought forward my intention to document their stories. We had several meetings with the core members to outline and discuss my research interests, my method of data collection and to ask for help with recruiting participants. I also

built a relationship with the group by participating in their activities, including attending educational discussions, community forums and helping on their community radio show. My involvement with KM not only helped me gain contacts, it also gave me invaluable exposure and appreciation for the youth and their realities.

*Philippine Women Centre of Quebec.* I would not have been able to complete my research had it not been for the collaboration of the Philippine Women Centre of Quebec (PWC-Q). The PWC-Q has a mandate to address the needs of Filipino women in Canada, through research, education, advocacy and capacity building. Founded in 2006, it is the fourth Philippine Women Centre in Canada, and part of the National Alliance of Philippine Women in Canada. Among its many campaigns are: stopping the unjust deportations of Filipino migrant working women, their “Scrap the Live-In Caregiver Program” Campaign and the “Purple Rose Campaign” to stop the sexual exploitation of Filipino women and children.

The PWC-Q organized the MFCCQ conference of November 2006. Upon attending this conference, I was immediately drawn to the organization because of its experience with community-based research, its willingness to conduct collaborative research with academic researchers, and its commitment to education, skills-building and empowerment of the Filipino community in Quebec. It was the first time I had encountered an organization run by Filipinos



that researched, analysed and discussed the socio-political situation of Filipinos in Quebec. The PWC-Q became my source for information and other resources, and I also received much guidance on conducting community-based research in a way that would benefit both me and the organization.

My involvement in the PWC is quite strong. I now sit on the Board of Directors and I help with many of their activities, including educational forums and fund-raising activities. The PWC-Q has allowed me to use their resources such as their office space to conduct interviews and do my analysis.

### *Myself*

Like Martha Zurita (2001) in her reflection on herself as a young woman of Mexican descent conducting research on Mexican students in a school setting, I found it would be important to reflect on my own experiences conducting research with participants whose backgrounds were both similar to and strikingly different from mine in various ways. I want to take the time now to reflect on my position as a Canadian-born Filipino youth conducting research on first generation Filipino youth.

Unlike the youth I interviewed, who were born in the Philippines and had been educated there, I was born in Canada and speak mostly English and French. Like many second generation youth, I felt a discrepancy between my background, and the background of the first generation youth who participated in my interviews. Throughout this research experience, I continued to be aware of how I

saw myself in relation to my participants, and how they saw me in relation to them. So, I would like to now take this opportunity to give a brief description of myself.

My parents are originally from a small farming village in the Central Philippines. When my parents decided to immigrate to Canada in 1971, my mother had already been working as a school teacher for several years and my father was studying to become a mechanic. They were both in their mid to late 30's, had four children (not including myself) and were living partly on a farm and partly in the city. My father's sister had come to Canada as a nurse in the 1960's. She sponsored my father and his family. This was during a period when Canada was actively promoting family sponsorship.

My mother's educational attainment was only partially recognized when she arrived in Canada. She worked in a factory for several years while taking courses to regain her teaching accreditation in Quebec. Then, she worked as a teacher for almost 20 years in an English school in Montreal's East End, before taking an early retirement in 1993, at the age of 58. My father worked as a mechanic for a railway corporation, but left that job to work in a factory.

I was born in 1981, in the East End of Montreal, where there were very few other families of Asian origin, let alone Filipinos. Growing up, my interactions with other Filipinos was minimal. I had very few Filipino friends. My parents raised me to speak English only, and I learned French in school. I understood only a few words of my parents' language, Ilonggo, and even less

Tagalog.

My initial involvement in Montreal's Filipino community was through my mother who, after her retirement, became active in several Filipino organizations. I also became active in some church and community organizations where there were many Filipinos, but eventually lost interest in these activities and stopped my involvement.

When I started my Master's degree, I was interested in language attainment for immigrant populations, such as newly arriving Filipinos in Montreal. I had heard discussions of how Filipino youth had alarmingly high dropout rates in Montreal, partly because of Quebec's language policies towards immigrants, and so I decided to investigate this. Unfortunately, this research began as a struggle because my contact with the Filipino community, and especially newly arrived youth, had become quite limited. I felt like an impostor - an English-speaking Canadian posing as a Filipino in order to gain access. However, a non-Filipino friend who knew a member of the PWC-Q encouraged me to attend the MFCCQ conference. At this conference, I learned about the patterns of migration of Filipinos to Canada – from the early days of accepting professionals, to family sponsorship, to the current trend for domestic workers. I was finally able to situate myself and my own family's situation within the context of Canada's labour needs, and came to understand how all Filipinos have a shared history of migration to Canada: the need to survive and support their families, combined with the Philippines' history of colonization and its situation

within the global economy.

My interactions with these organizations and with the participants in my study were surprisingly comfortable and welcoming. The organizations saw that I could give an important contribution to their work by documenting their stories and bringing them out to a wider academic audience. They also saw my willingness to volunteer and help sustain their organizations. The youth who participated in my study were mostly members of Kabataang Montreal and had therefore got to know me through my participation in their activities. The other youth who were not members had known of Kabataang Montreal and therefore trusted me as an associate of Kabataang Montreal.

I faced several challenges as I conducted my research. The first of these challenges was at the beginning - in the recruitment phase. The members of Kabataang Montreal and the PWC-Q are all volunteers. Most of them work full-time jobs, and many of them are full-time students as well. Coordinating focus groups was quite a challenge. Compounded with this was the organizations' own mandates and goals which I would often allow to take precedence over mine. It was difficult to schedule interviews when there were so many other activities going on. Also, while members were more than willing to help me with recruiting participants, this activity was not their priority. I had to learn to be more assertive and directive about getting the research done. Because I was helping out and volunteering with the organization, I found it a challenge to balance helping out the organization while also making sure my own work was completed.

During my interviews, I encountered a second challenge: how to present myself in a way that would be most welcoming and comfortable for the participants. Throughout my interviews, I was constantly aware of my privilege: that my mother's occupation gave me more opportunities, that I was able to complete school and was completing higher education, that I was fluent in English. One thing that helped was the relationship I had built with the members of KM. Some of the interviews I conducted were with people I already knew to some degree, and who were already comfortable with me. There were other interviews I conducted with people who were less familiar with me. In this case, my involvement with KM was an asset because I felt I was able to relate better to them because I could empathize more with their situation. I appreciated the stories and situations of the people who had so generously offered their time and their stories.

Already knowing the participants I was interviewing also posed something of a challenge. I found it difficult to interview people when I already knew a bit of their stories. I tried my best to "play dumb", but I did find, upon reviewing some of my interviews, that there were things I had missed or hadn't delved into deeply enough because I already knew their story. Another challenge in this regard was that during interviews, I would sometimes make assumptions about what my participants were talking about. This is similar to what Bhopal (2000) discusses in the challenges of studying a group of the same ethnicity as oneself:

When the researcher and the researched operate from shared realities, there maybe a tendency to take

too much for granted. Researchers may overlook certain aspects of participant's realities, because of presumed familiarity with those realities. . . Striking an adequate balance between rapport and distance may overcome this (p. 74).

On the other hand, my position as a Filipino woman also gave me access to these groups in a way that might not have been possible for other people. The members saw me as someone who could tell their story. As part of their mandate of leadership training and skills-building for Filipino women, the members of the PWC-Q were also very supportive of my research initiatives and wanted to aid my own development as a young professional.

### *The Youth*

I will continue this chapter by introducing who I believe to be the most important characters in this thesis: the Filipino youth whom I interviewed over the course of four months between May and August of 2007. I interviewed eight youth in total, but analysed data for only seven because one of them turned out not to meet criteria. Two of my interviews were conducted in pairs: an interview with two brothers, and an interview with two sisters and their friend – the friend's data was the one that was dropped from the study. The other three participants were interviewed individually. All interviews were conducted in English. They all took place at the Philippine Women Centre of Quebec, except for one interview which was conducted at the home of one of the members of Kabataang Montreal.

In this section, I will give a brief overview of each participant's demographic details, and how they were recruited to my study. More details on

their educational attainment and their immigration history can be found in the findings section. Participants' names and school names have been changed in this report.

*Diego.* Diego is a 24-year-old male. He lives with his mother in an apartment in the West End of Montreal. He is a member of Kabataang Montreal, and a friend of Paolo and Ricky. I interviewed him in August of 2007, at the house of two of the organizers of KM.

His mother left to work abroad when Diego was 2 years old. He lived with his two sisters in a large city in the Philippines, and was raised by his grandparents. He came to Canada at age 10, after having only met his mother once before. His sisters are still in the Philippines.

When I met Diego, he was working full time at a factory while also attending adult education courses full time. He had been out of school for five years, having quit Adult Education at the age of 19 but is intent on finishing his high school diploma and studying a vocational course. Diego claims to speak only Tagalog, but he is also able to converse in English, and still has some trouble with French.

*Paolo.* Paolo is a 23-year-old male who lives in Côte-des-Neiges where he shares an apartment with his older brother Ricky, who is another participant in my study. Paolo is one of the leaders of Kabataang Montreal, a Filipino youth

organization in Montreal, and it was through this group that I first made contact with him. Paolo was instrumental in connecting me with other participants. I interviewed him in May of 2007 as part of a group interview with Ricky.

Paolo was raised by his father's relatives on a farm in the Philippines. His mother left for Singapore when he was one year old, before going to Canada. He, along with his brother and father, joined her in Canada when Paolo was 10 years old.

When I met Paolo, he was working full-time in the service sector. Paolo's first language is Ilocano, which is a language spoken in his home area. He learned to speak Tagalog, English and French when he came to Montreal.

*Ricky.* Ricky is a 24-year-old male and the older brother of Paolo. He is also an active member of Kabataang Montreal. He participated in the group interview with Paolo, which took place in May of 2007 at the Philippine Women Centre of Quebec.

His mother left when he was two years old, and he joined her again in Canada at the age of 11. He and his brother were raised on a farm in the Philippines by his father's side of the family.

At the time of the interview, Ricky was working full time in a factory. He continues doing community organizing work with Kabataang Montreal. In the future, he would like to return to school and study something related to community organizing. Ricky speaks Ilocano, Tagalog (which he learned here in Canada), English and some French.



*Melissa.* Melissa is a 23-year-old female, and one of the core members of Kabataang Montreal. She lives in the Southwest section of Montreal but lived for several years in Côte-des-Neiges. I interviewed her in early June of 2007 along with her sister Sandra, and another friend of theirs whose data ended up being dropped from the study.

She was approximately seven years old when her mother left to work abroad. She came to Canada at age 12, along with her sister Sandra and their three other siblings.

Melissa was working as a cashier in a local food shop at the time of the interview. She speaks Ilocano and Tagalog, and is fluent in English and French as well.

*Sandra.* Sandra, 21 years old, is the younger sister of Melissa and the youngest of five children. She was an active member of Kabataang Montreal, but is less involved now. She lives with her husband in an apartment in Côte-des-Neiges. I interviewed her at the same time as Melissa.

Sandra was four years old, and the youngest of five children, when her mother left to work abroad. She came to Canada at age nine. At the time of the interview, Sandra was working as a receptionist. She fluently speaks Ilocano, Tagalog, English and French.

*Louanne.* Louanne is a 23-year-old woman whom I met through a relative. She was once involved with Kabataang Montreal, though she is not currently an active member. Louanne lives in the West Island of Montreal with her boyfriend, her sister and her sister's husband. I interviewed her in August of 2007 at the PWC-Q.

Louanne was 10 years old when her mother left to work abroad, first in Singapore and then in Canada. Louanne and her older sister joined their mother in Canada when Louanne was 14 years old.

At the time of the interview, Louanne was working as a nurse in a hospital in downtown Montreal. She speaks fluent English, Tagalog and Ilonggo, and also speaks French, though with less fluency.

*Karen.* Karen, at age 27, was somewhat older than the other participants, who otherwise all fell into the 21 to 24 range. She lives with her partner of seven years and they own a house in the Southwest end of Montreal. I approached Karen at a public festival, where I asked her to participate in the study after learning about her immigration background. I interviewed her at the PWC in August, 2007.

Karen was 10 years old when her mother left to work in Canada. She and her older sister joined their mother in Canada when Karen was 14 years old. She is currently working as a graphic designer. She would like to go to University and complete a degree in computers.

*Conclusion*

In this chapter, I attempted to add more context to my research by presenting the organizations with which I worked closely in order to obtain and analyse my data. I presented myself and my role as researcher in the context of studying Filipino youth from similar but different social and historical backgrounds to myself. I then presented my participants, giving some detailed description of their recruitment process, their history of migration, their educational experiences and their future plans.

## Findings

Understanding how Filipino Youth view their educational outcomes involves a thorough examination of their views on how the various social, historical and economic components of their lives work together to shape their experiences. I begin with a description of their family history, their migration experiences and their lives in Canada. I then examine their collective views of their educational experiences in the Philippines and how they felt those experiences compared to their Canadian experiences. Finally, I examine their views on the factors at the level of Quebec's educational system that influenced their educational outcomes.

### *What is happening at home?*

To really understand the experiences of Filipino youth, it is important to understand their home lives: what it was like for them to migrate to Canada after experiencing family separation because of their mothers working abroad. For some participants, the period of family separation was not significant. For others, the process of migration to Canada reunification played a very strong role in their educational experiences. Let us look more closely at their migration stories.

*Diego.* Diego's mother left to work abroad when Diego was only two years old. He and his two older sisters were left to be raised by their grandparents.

Diego's parents were no longer together - his father was working abroad and had been absent from his life. Diego mentioned that his father had done "bad things" but, but did not want to discuss it further. He attended public school in the Philippines, though he does not remember the experience very well, except to say that the teachers there were much stricter and used physical force more than the teachers in Canada. He also recounts that he was a good student back in the Philippines because the language of instruction was Tagalog. When he was younger, he wanted to be a policeman.

Having left to work abroad when Diego was only two years old, Diego grew up not really knowing his mother. She only came to visit once when he was five years old. He says that he did not recognize her during that visit. The second time she came to visit the Philippines, it was to take him back to Canada with her:

I just remember *dalawang beses lang s'yang umuwi sa Pilipinas* ["she just went home two times to the Philippines"]. Two years *na dalawang beses lang s'yang umuwi sa Pilipinas* ["For two years, she just went home two times to the Philippines"]. I didn't even know my mom when I was five. And then *pini-pick-up nang nanay ko*. ["My mother picked me up"]. That's it. That's the only time. *Umuwi s'ya ng Pilipinas* ["She went home to the Philippines"] for a month and then gonna come back in Canada . . . *Ten ako, kinuha na lang ako sa Pilipinas* ["When I was ten years old, she just took me from the Philippines"]. She just took me from the Philippines. to come here. *Sinundo lang ako. Kaya yon*. ["She just picked me up. Like that."]

Diego's older sisters, who were fifteen and sixteen years old at the time, remained in the Philippines because they got pregnant, in what he describes as an

act of rebellion.

His life in Canada was wrought with disappointment and loneliness. He often lamented the fact that his sisters were left in the Philippines, and wishes that they were in Canada because, “ I don't even have family here. It's only my mom and I.” As though his mother was not his real family. “I was expecting more. I thought *na, magiging close kami, magiging close kami ng nanay ko*. [“I thought that we would be closer, that I would be closer to my mom”]. This was not the case: “ I don't even know my mom. . . . She- I don't- she's, like, who's this person.”

He had been expecting to have more money in Canada, but instead his mother was working two jobs just to be able to support the two of them. He was often left home alone, without anyone to help him with his homework. “How I'm gonna finish school if she don't even speak French? . . . And I'm having a hard time to learn the language.”

His relationship with his mother seemed to be full of tension. She was very strict with him and eventually he began to run away from home. It was at this point that he quit school to work.

She's not always at home, *kaya yon, hindi rin ako umuwi*. [“that's why I don't go home also”] I'm not home also. So she want me to get home around like four o'clock or else she's gonna hit me and everything. So, I start to hanging out with friends.. Bad friends. Influence. Bad influence. *Istokwa, layas ng bahay* [“I stow away, run away from home”]. For a year and a half or so, I didn't go back home. Stayed at my friends' home. I work, I stop school, work, work and- *yon lang, nakikisama lang*

*ako*. [“That's it, I hung out”] just be with my friends.

Diego was expelled from his high school for getting into a gang fight. He went to adult education but eventually dropped out so he could work. His mother was not able to support his education.

I pay for my.. my.. books, my enrolment, my clothes, everything. My clothes and everything, you know? I eat alone. I hate to demand, I work hard for myself. That's one thing I learned in Canada, you have to stand up for yourself.

Diego is now back in school after having taken five years off to work. He is still working full time in a factory while he completes his high school diploma in an adult education facility. He would like to study a vocational program afterwards.

*Paolo and Ricky.* Paolo and Ricky's home life was almost a shared experience, though there is some diversity in their educational experiences. I will tell their stories together, as they came from the same background and had the same mother, and were interviewed at the same time.

Paolo and Ricky's mother left the Philippines when they were one and two years old, respectively. She worked in Singapore before going to Canada to work under the FDM. Paolo and Ricky lived on a farm in the Northern Philippines, and were being raised by relatives on their father's side of the family. Their father was, “you know, moving around. We seldom see him as well,” according to

Paolo.

Because of the money their mother was sending from Canada, they were able to go to private school in the Philippines. Their language of instruction was Ilocano, the language that is spoken in that area of the country. They would not learn Tagalog or English until they would come to Canada. When they were younger, both of them wanted to be baseball players. Later on, Paolo said he wanted to be a doctor or a lawyer.

In the Philippines, their communication with their mother was infrequent. They would go to the town to call her because they did not have a telephone on the farm. The other contact they had with their mother was when, according to Paolo, "She used to send us money for food, whatever. . . . And when we do have our birthday, she would send us twenty dollars." Unlike Diego's experience, Paolo and Ricky always expected that they would one day join their mother:

They were telling us that, you know, ever since we were young, that eventually, you guys are gonna leave this place. . . . So yeah, they were pretty much propagating it to us already that, you know, you guys aren't going to live all your life here. You're gonna go somewhere else. You know, since your mother is out there somewhere.

They would eventually join that woman who was "out there somewhere", along with their father. When Paolo was 10 and Ricky was 11, they came to Canada.

Their arrival in Canada was met with some disappointment and difficulties adjusting to a new life with their mother. According to Ricky:



When we came here I was expecting, uh, a big house and lots of money because that's what I thought of Canada before we came here. . . . The first month or so was hard, actually. 'Cause of course you know, you miss the - I miss the Philippines so much. and my mom and I was like, nah. I mean, there's no- It's like I don't know her! You know? I didn't know her. So, we weren't getting along. . . . That's family separation. That's what it does.

In terms of adjusting to schooling in Quebec, Paolo saw one difficulty in his parents' inability to help them because their schooling was in French. He explains:

It's rare that Filipino parents knows how to speak French, especially in the French province where all the subjects that we were taking were in French. When you get home to do your homework, they cannot really help you. They cannot understand a word! So, even though they wanna help you, they really can't. So they just give you some moral support, say, you know, "You can do it!" Or give you a whip in the butt when you're not doing your homework!

He continues to explain feeling fed up: "But they were pushing us, pushing us, until they pushed us too hard. To a point where, me, personally, I got fed up 'cause, you know, I knew what I was doing already."

Ricky's main concern was the French language of instruction. When I asked Ricky about his parents' expectations for his schooling, he immediately changed the subject to point to the French language and how it was implemented in school, as a major source of difficulties for his educational attainment

I- What were your parents' expectations for you?

R- Well, when I was in the Philippines, when I was in grade school, I was doing really well, actually.

So, of course when we came here they were expecting, you know, I'm gonna be maybe an engineer or a doctor or something. But the problem was, uh, well, first it's the language. Well, I have nothing against the language. I think it's a good language, but thing is, it's the way they teach.

I- Why do you say that?

R- It's kinda like, you know, they- How do you say this? They force you to learn the language. In about two years.

Note that while Welcoming Class is one year mandatory, the youth in my study expressed that they would see youth completing the French intensive program in two years before continuing on to mainstream classes.

Throughout their interview, both Paolo and Ricky brought up feelings of frustration towards having to repeat material they had already learned. The boys also experienced a lot of frustration in their schooling. Paolo explains how he would act up in class because he was learning material he had already covered. To both him and Ricky, the repetitive process was one of the most difficult things to deal with in school.

Paolo's educational path is a complicated one. He says he "did until eighth grade in a French school? Then, you know, they didn't want me- they didn't wanna keep me there, so, uh, and I went to a group home after. And then from the group home, they transitioned me to go to an English school." It is not clear why he was no longer welcome in his high school, but he does discuss the fact that a

social worker labelled him a delinquent – a label that he does not agree with.

Paolo continued his education at the English school, until grade 10, but, “I got kicked out 'cause I was 18 by then and I wasn't at the graduating status.” He continued with school, attempting to complete his high school in adult education. Here again, he experienced frustration at having to repeat subjects he had already learned:

I ended up staying in adult education for a matter of two years. 'Cause in terms of, you know, I finished my, uh, my grade ten, in the English school, but when I was in, uh, you know, in the English school, I had to do French again? and, uh, you know, all the other subjects. Uh, History, this and that. I pretty much had to repeat everything that I finished. And then, you know, I got discouraged. . . . 'Cause you know the thing is, once you learn something, and it's quite common, or it's quite normal, that once you learn something you don't wanna do it again.

Ricky went to a group home as well, and even left Montreal at some point during his teen years to live with a friend in Hamilton and go to high school there. But when he came back to Montreal, he lost his motivation to continue: “When I moved back here, I said okay I'm gonna go back to school so I can finish everything you know, French, this and that. . . . Nah. didn't happen! Heh! I started working.”

In terms of their financial situation, Paolo claims that, “We didn't really have much of financial difficulties. We were having, uh, good allowances. It wasn't enough! Obviously. 'Cause at that age, you want to play arcades and stuff like that.” However, later in the interview, Ricky hinted that some of the

difficulties he experienced growing up in Montreal were related to his parents need to work and support them, and that it was only through his involvement with Kabataang Montreal that he was able to understand his situation better:

When I was in school, I was having a hard time. And, well, first of all, I used to blame my parents everything. "I became like this because of you" and this and that, you know? But, well, KM was - when I got organized by KM, that's when I started to realize, you know, shit they had to work, you know? Just for me to eat, for my allowance, hehe! you know, shelter. Those kind of things. But yeah, I used to blame especially my mom. I hated my mom so much, you know?

Both Ricky and Paolo are now working and thinking about going back to school. Paolo, who was working as a waiter at the time of the interview, had a specific career dream to become a lawyer. But he says, "Maybe in another life. Not this one, 'cause it takes a long time!" Instead, he is planning on studying either political science, or attending vocational school to become a machine technician. For Ricky, he wanted to become an engineer, but is now looking towards studying community and development to continue the work he does with Kabataang Montreal.

*Sandra and Melissa.* Like Paolo and Ricky, I interviewed Sandra and Melissa together. They are sisters who shared similar experiences growing up, so I am presenting their stories together in this section.

In my interview with Sandra and Melissa, they did not speak extensively

about their experiences in the Philippines. I gathered from their interview that their mother had left them to work in Canada under the FDM when they were very young, and that they experienced five years of separation. When they came to Canada, Melissa was 12 and Sandra was nine, so they were approximately seven and four years old when she left. In the Philippines, they attended public school, which they enjoyed very much. They were two of five children, living in a busy city in the northern Philippines. Their main language was Ilocano, though they knew a bit of Tagalog.

Their experience of coming to Canada came with a difficult emotional situation. As Melissa explained, their parents were always fighting and eventually got divorced when they were in Canada. Their father was not present in their lives and they did not feel like they really grew up with their father. Their mother wanted them to have a good future in Canada. Yet, Melissa always felt like she was not getting enough encouragement from her mother:

My mom would always just say that, "Oh yeah you have to go to school, it's important, you have to go to school it's important." And we- we wouldn't- I don't think I've ever heard from her that, "Oh, I think you're doing good in school, how's school?" or something. "Is there something you need?" Anything like that. . . . It's like- It's not important for my mom so why should it be important for me? I thought the same way. That's why I never really get a good grades. heh. I'm passing, That's all. That's all that's important to me.

In this interview, Sandra agreed:

Growing up, education was never important for me.

Because nobody was there to tell you what is the consequences of you not going to school and what is the consequences of you going to school- what's the benefits of going to school. But they didn't really explain to you why we need to go to school and, you know, yeah, like, lack of encouragement from both parents.

Both Sandra and Melissa have their high school diplomas. At the time of the interview, Melissa was still completing some of her courses in a French-instruction adult education facility. She says she has completed her high school diploma in the regular system, but I was unfortunately not able to clarify why she was still taking adult education courses.

Sandra made the choice to leave her regular high school and attend adult education because she felt it would go quicker:

To be really honest, because when I was in secondary four, you're gonna be staying in one school for five years. So, you know, maybe it's also the influence of friends. Like, "oh, I'm going." A lot of them- a lot of my friends, they were going to adult school. I didn't understand why they were going. I thought they were doing that because they wanted to. And some of my friends went to an adult school before we're in secondary four. She already moved to an adult and she told me, "Oh it's a lot faster" and she already graduated. We were supposed to be graduating at the same year! So that's where I was like, "Oh!"

She eventually completed her diploma in adult education, although she was not happy with the amount of work that was self-study work: "It's really tough. It takes a lot of motivation."

At the same time, Sandra also felt that the teachers were "pushy" and

impatient with the immigrant youth in her classrooms. When I asked her how the education system could be improved, she said:

Make the immigrants feel that they're actually welcome and they are actually real, uh, they're really wanting these immigrants to learn that language so to facilitate communication also, you know? but, like, the way they see it, it's just like, "Learn it! learn it, you immigrants!" so. you don't wanna learn it!

One major theme that came out of Sandra and Melissa's home experience was the request from their mother to work and help her with the finances. For both Sandra and Melissa, their relationship with their mother is embedded in economic hardships. Melissa explains how she felt her mother wanted her to give back to the family that she had worked so hard for in the past:

When I was almost finished high school, my mom wouldn't tell me that, "Okay, just go to school, and now that you're almost done high school, you're going to college. Don't worry about it, I'm going to pay for you." She didn't say that. It's like, "Oh you have to work and earn your money so you have to go to college." And then she would start telling us, "Oh it's because, uh, I spend a lot of money on you." . . . It's like, "you owe me this" or, "I work a lot because I have to get you here. I spend a lot of money, I was working all the time."

In Melissa's view, "I think they were like, they were so busy working, really, to actually try to feed the families. So they don't have time to actually sit down and say 'What's going on?' like, 'How are you?' You know? It doesn't work that way. Just, 'What are you doing here? You're supposed to be at work. Work!' heh! you know?"

When asked about why youth drop out of school, Sandra attributes it to “Money. basically. Financial problems”, and she is insistent that her mother is not a “bad parent” – that it is their economic situation that drives the need for the youth to work. She explains the balancing act between the need to work and the consequences this has on ones ability to complete their schooling:

When you work part time, like, let's say when you work part-time at a fast food restaurant. When you buy your bus pass that's - there goes your salary. So it's a bit like that. . . So that's when you're encouraged to work more because you see that money goes so fast. You learn how money works. And then you start to get a full-time job . . . . and then you- you actually get tired at the same time. And then you have to go to school now. Like, I have no money. But if I go to work, I'll have money. And then maybe go to school. So that's your option. Especially when you don't have the parents to actually say, "Look I want you- if you want to work, work. But part-time, but I will still, like, support you if you go to school." You don't- actually, how many parents would want to say that to their kids now? Especially when they're immigrants? Personally, I understand. I don't say that they're bad parents. It's just that it's the financial problems, you know? They really want their children to help them also at home. It's not that they're bad parents.

Adding to this view that financial difficulties were the source of much stress in the household, Sandra also points out her mother's position as a single parent, raising five children:

I always think back and say, if my dad and my mom didn't divorce, like, I would be probably in school now because I would have the- Like, now that I have the motivation maybe it could happen. So, like, lend me a little money. Because I just start



thinking about the single parents, you know? 'Cause they feel- they're single parents, that's another factor, that they really have to send their children to go to work. 'Cause they can't support the family.

For both Sandra and Melissa, their educational experiences were also influenced by a family life where they were expected to work and help the family, particularly for their mom who was raising five children in a single-parent household.. Both of them have completed their high school diploma, but neither has gone further than their high school education. During the time of interview, Melissa was working in a bakery and Sandra was working as a receptionist. Melissa had expressed the desire to become a teacher and Sandra had been thinking of studying biomedical technology. Instead, they are both hoping to return to school to complete a CEGEP program in early childhood education.

*Louanne.* Louanne, ten years old at the time that her mother left to work abroad, was quite a bit older than the other participants at the commencement of her family separation experience. In her life in the Philippines, she was living with her sister who was four years older, and her grandparents, who raised them. They lived in a medium-sized town in the Central Philippines. Her father was working abroad as a machine engineer in Taiwan. Her mother had had a degree in Biology and had been working in laboratories in the Philippines before leaving to work in Canada under the FDM.

Louanne attended private high school where the languages of instruction

were English and Tagalog. Her primary language was Ilonggo – the language spoken in the area of the Central Philippines where she grew up. Her mother would call almost every day, and came to visit almost every year over the four-year period that she was working abroad.

Louanne and her older sister came to Canada when Louanne was 14 years old. For Louanne, her experience of reunification was, “At first, it was pretty awkward, because we grew up with my grandparents.” But the constant communication she held with her mother helped to maintain their relationship:

When we grew up in the Philippines, my mom calls, like, mostly every day. So we speak to her on the phone. Still, my mom tried to have that connection even though just on the phone. So when we got here, it was a little bit of an adjustment. Even my mom, she told us that she - before we came, she tried to have some counselling just to be able to, uh, like, adjust with having kids with her. So maybe that's why she's a good mom.

Sadly, Louanne learned upon arrival that their father would not be joining them in Canada. It was a difficult transition for her, but eventually she accepted that her parents would not be together.

Her mother had high expectations for her education:

Every time, she always tells us, “You go to school every day. You never miss school, you go to school, you can't bring home sixty-five, or, like, below seventies marks. So you have to finish school,” you know? They have really high expectations. So maybe that's the one that really encourage me to finish school: 'cause I don't wanna disappoint my mom.

Louanne's mother supported her schooling. Louanne worked part time at McDonald's, but it was only for pocket money.

Louanne went through a year and a half of Welcoming Class before being placed in the regular system. Her educational experience in high school had its own set of challenges. She had just finished her first year of high school in the Philippines when she came to Canada. After completing a year and a half of Welcoming Class, "they put me in sec four. So it's kinda like I skipped my second and third year." She had a hard time with this transition into the mainstream, which she believes is mainly due to the language of instruction:

It was really hard for me because I wasn't really good in French, and then I had to try to understand what my teacher was telling me, especially in physical science. So I was really struggling, like, struggling so much because of the French. Only because of the language. It's not because of the math or the physical science itself. It's just because of the language. If it was in English, I could have done better. But then it was in French so my marks kind of went down.

Louanne was able to finish high school in the regular system, though she took some courses in adult education so that she could study science in English-language CEGEP. She had been wanting to become a marine biologist, but chose to complete a nursing degree in a CEGEP and is currently working at a hospital in downtown Montreal.

Louanne continues to have a close relationship with her mother, where she is able to tell her anything. She now lives with her boyfriend, and her sister and

brother-in-law in an apartment in the West Island.

*Karen.* Karen grew up in the Eastern Visayas region of the Philippines with a sister who was five years older than her. Her parents separated when she was seven years old, and she experienced having to move back and forth between her mother's and father's houses. When Karen was ten years old, her mother left for Canada to work under the FDM. She then lived with her grandmother on her mother's side. Her sister took over the role of mother, helping her with her education and taking care of the finances when her mother sent money home. While she missed her mother, "but we understand that it's gonna help me and my sister later on."

Whether we stay in the Philippines, or come here. financially, it was better. When she was here, she would send us money, but we didn't realize that it was that hard to get that amount of money, you know? But when we came here we later realized, "oh, we're spending that much money there in the Philippines, and yet she's here working so hard."

With the money her mother was sending home, Karen was able to attend a private, English-language high school and had a lot of spending money. "When I was there, high school, I had enough- enough money to go have lunch at, let's say, McDonald's or Jollybee's you know. It's not normal, but I had enough money to do that. So that was life then. I'm the rich bitch."

Sadly, she didn't know what it was like for her mother to be working in Canada:

I didn't really realize, okay, wow I have all this financial support from my mom, and not thinking, Oh she's working very hard there to send that to me. So when we came here, now- then I realized wow! You know? We just spent all that money there, and while she's here working so hard as a nanny or cleaning the house, the whole day cleaning someone else's house. . . When she calls it's just to say okay, "Are you guys okay?" umm.. but nothing really mentioned about, "Oh.. I work, uh, I wake up when the kid cries at night. It's not the parents who makes the kid, uh, you know, sleep at night, at three o'clock in the morning." Nothing like that, she wouldn't mention that.

Karen and her older sister immigrated to Canada when Karen was 14 years old, four years after their mother had left. Unlike Diego and Ricky's experience, Karen simply, "didn't see any difference" in her relationship with her mother when she came to Canada. Furthermore, when talking about the number of years of separation, she sees it as a small amount of time: "umm, when she came here, I was around 10 or 11. And then she made sure that as soon as she could file the papers, she filed it right away, and three or four years later, we're here."

In terms of Karen's experiences in school in Quebec, she was able to finish high school in the regular high school system, though she was very expressive about the difficulties she faced going to school in French.

All the courses are good except for the French course. I had a hard time with it so I was just in the passing, like, sixty. But the rest of the courses like math, physics, sciences physiques, I didn't have problems with it. So it was mostly, uh, the oral part in the French and the composition. I'm not too good at it, but I managed it. I passed.

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She completed her high school diploma and, like Louanne, continued on to higher education. She attended a CEGEP, but, unable to get into the program she desired, enrolled in a vocational program instead, and studied graphic design. At the time of my study, she had been working as a graphic design artist for several years.

Her sister, unfortunately, had a more difficult time with regards to her education. She was in her third year of a four-year nursing degree when they came to Canada. Although she only had one year left to go in the Philippines, her education was evaluated at being only at a high school level in Canada. As Karen explains:

She was upset because she has to go back to square one: first year nursing. She was so upset, she started working, uh, to a factory. After a year, she's like, "No I'm fed up. I don't wanna do this forever, working in a factory." So she decided to study nursing. She went to CEGEP and she finished and she's a nurse now.

In terms of financial support, Karen's mother supported her and her sister's education:

I always stayed with my mom. I never worked. high school, I never worked. When I went to CEGEP, I never worked. I applied for a bursary and for student loan when I was in CEGEP. I think I spent a year in CEGEP? So I lived off with the bursary and my mom, and the student loan.

So, rather than be expected to pay for her own schooling or to work to help with the family, Karen was able to live at home, not work, and have school loans to pay for her schooling.

Karen was eventually able to complete a vocational program in graphics design, although she views this diploma as, “a cheat. A shortcut.” She eventually would like to return to school and get a university degree. At the time of the interview, she was living with her partner in their own house, and talking about switching to a new better job.

*What happened in their schooling in the Philippines?*

Having just presented the individual stories of each youth, I would like to continue my analysis by exploring the common issues that the youth brought forward in terms of their educational experiences both here in Canada and in the Philippines. Some of these experiences belong to them, and others are experiences that they recounted seeing happen to their peers. These stories together make up part of the communal history of Filipino Youth in Quebec.

When I asked the youth to compare their educational experiences in the Philippines to their experiences in Canada, the message that came across was quite clear: they liked it better in the Philippines. Education seemed to be more valued in the Philippines than in Canada. The teachers were strict and more violent, but they also cared more. The courses were more challenging and the subject matter was more diverse. Overall, it was more enjoyable for everyone.

There was a general sentiment that education had more value placed on it in the Philippines than in Canada. In all of my interviews, the students brought up the teachers higher levels of discipline and the teachers caring more about their

students.

While physical discipline can be seen as something that is negative, it seemed to the youth to be part of the teachers being more invested in their students' education. The youth reported that the teachers in the Philippines cared more about their jobs than the ones in Canada. Karen felt that:

The teachers there [in the Philippines] are more dedicated to what they do. You know? They teach you and they are really serious about what they're doing. You know what I mean? Compared to here [where] it's like, "okay this is- I'm a teacher and this is my course schedule for today and that's it." There, it's more dedicated.

Karen also found the courses in the Philippines more challenging than the ones in Canada.

[In Canada], they practically.. tell you what the exams are or.. I don't know. I found it was- You don't have to study hard here compared to the Philippines. For some reason, they practically give you, uh, the answers to the exams. And I found that, uh, when I was in high school, the English course was a joke. Very much a joke.

As did Paolo:

[In the Philippines], it's pretty much advanced stuff. Even electricity. Like, for example, the series and parallel circuits. Which is- you're not gonna learn that [in Quebec] until you are in secondary three. . . . That's why I was surprised you know that, they're saying that, you know, education abroad is so advanced and I'm like, "Noo.." hehe! You know?

Many of the youth brought up the physical discipline the teachers used on their students. This was remembered with fondness by some of my participants,



such as Diego:

The discipline, yes! the discipline was good there. 'Cause uh.. they're gonna punch you. they're gonna punch you a lot. hehe! They're gonna hit you with sticks. yeah. They put books in your hand for, like, fifteen minutes outside the door. If you don't maintain that. there's also.. yeah. *yon lang* ["and then"] after that I just get punched.

Louanne also found the teachers to be more strict:

I find in Philippines, teachers are more strict than teachers here. Even at school [in Canada], you can see, um, students throwing ball to the teacher. In Philippines, you can't do that. Like, never. Here, you could even talk back to your teacher. . . . You can argue with your teacher. In Philippines, no. And then physical- not physical abuse, like, punishment, but in class. They do that in the Philippines. but here, you're not allowed to do that.

When I asked her if she preferred teachers from the Philippines to teachers here, she said she was "in between". She felt the teachers in Canada were not strict enough, but the teachers in the Philippines were too much. "But then I prefer Philippines from here. heh! I dunno. If I have my kids, I prefer having teachers in the Philippines than teachers here."

Paolo preferred the teachers in the Philippines, too, expressing that the higher discipline in the Philippines is the reason he was doing well there:

Well, also it's because of the discipline that they do give there. . . . Like I said, uh, you know, teachers in the Philippines, they're allowed to hit you whenever they want. . . . The education here, you know, it's loose. Basically. You know, you're pretty much free to do whatever you want. Which is good. But then at the same time, you know, you're so free

that you don't really care after.

Cleanliness and self-presentation was more valued in the Philippines.

Paolo remembers, "Everything has to be clean! When you don't do your homework, when your nails are long, when your uniform is not ironed, you know, uh, the hair cut, it has to be, you know? Something like this. you know, clean cut, no long hair."

Melissa saw the discipline more generally as part of the attitudes in the Philippines that schooling was something to be valued, and it was more fun:

I think there's more discipline in the Philippines. *Kasi*, ["because"] right after school, you clean. They tell you to clean. And they teach you it's important to go to school. And then it's important to be on time to come to school, to be clean. You know? They teach you those things. Even your hair, right? . . . And in our school before, we had exercise in the morning, right after the flag ceremony, Exercise right outside the school. At the same time you're playing with your classmates, you know? it was fun.

Even though we're go to school and we get disciplined, we also learn things that are- while learning, we're having fun. You know? Like, we're able to have fun outside. Like, for example, we have this one class where you learn to cultivate. Right outside the school. At the same time you're playing with your classmates, you know? It was fun.

The idea of schooling in the Philippines being more "fun" came up in several interviews, too. Louanne found her school experience in the Philippines to be more fun. She was disappointed in her schooling experience in Canada:

In Canada it's different. In Philippines, after

school, you have fun. Like, you enjoy uh- Sometimes you stay at school for, like, two or three hours more? And then just chatting, sitting around. But here, everyone's like- the bell rings, everyone's running home. So it's like I dunno. I didn't really enjoy my high school in here. [In the Philippines] there's a lot of activities, but we choose to stay in school just to hang out. And here, it's like, there's nothing to do at school. . . . If you're a varsity or playing basketball or whatever, sports team at school then you stay at school, but we- it wasn't really interesting. In the Philippines, I thought it was fun.

Paolo also remembers the diversity in the courses, and the promotion of cultural activities:

They teach you about you know, like, uh, hiking. You know, so it's 'cause they're teaching us American studies. You know, like, hiking, uh, camping, you know? We used to camp out at elementary. You know? Like, uh, we had that Boy Scout thing. You know, like, uh, when you had to do that knots. And then, we had, uh, subjects like, uh, learn how to plant plants. You know, how to take care of them, you know? And you would actually have a plant on your own, that would be your project for the whole year where you have to take care of it.

Melissa discussed similar views, again demonstrating her belief that education was more valued in the Philippines, whereas in Canada she just felt pressure to work:

And they're actually promoting culture.. see? Even here, because after school, they go straight to work. they have to go to work. . . . Rather than having you do extra-curriculars at school, they'd rather have you work after school. In the Philippines, it's so poor, but they value the school so much that really-

they really believe in education that they really, like, work hard and, as long as they can still feed them at least once a day, they would still let their children stay in school!

In general, the youth I interviewed enjoyed and valued more their experiences of education in the Philippines. They found it to be more challenging, more disciplined and more diverse than their education in Canada. Let us continue by examining their experiences of schooling in Canada.

*What are Filipino youth's experiences of school in Canada?*

In our discussion on adjusting to schooling in Quebec, the major focus of discussion in all of my interviews was the requirement to attend French-language education. The topics revolved around the youths' expectations of schooling in Quebec, their experiences in Welcoming Class, their experiences of educational placement after Welcoming Class, their attempts to complete high school in the regular system or in adult education, and their post-high school experiences. Throughout these discussions, their attitudes towards the French language and towards French language education come through.

When Filipino youth leave their country, they are leaving behind a place that has undergone years of linguistic influence from colonizing Western countries such as Spain and the United States. English is a language of high power and status in the Philippines: it is the language of higher education, business and government (Nical et al, 2004). All the youth in my study had exposure to

English, even if they were not fluent in it. They also often spoke or were familiar with Tagalog. French, however, was not a language that they knew at all, or even knew existed in Quebec. I noticed a tendency to refer to French as, “the language”, in a way that created distance and unfamiliarity between the speaker. It is a distance that still continues today as many of the youth reported not feeling comfortable speaking the language.

I began my interviews by asking the youth to give me their impressions and expectations of being educated in Canada. Their emotional responses demonstrated that their concerns about going to school in French was one of the major issues they were facing at the time. For Diego, “I didn't even know about the education here. I thought that they were only going to speak English and everything. But they're French in Montreal. so it's a big deal for me. 'Cause, I mean, more work for me.”

Melissa and Sandra's mother told them that they would be going to school in French. Still, as Sandra points out, the thought of going to school in a French-speaking province evoked some fear:

I was thinking that I won't be able to catch up. Or, like, get lost. For, like when you're at school, not understanding what the teacher say, or like, even to fail, like, academically. . . . My mom told me that I had to learn the ABC's again, in French. And then you're- you're going to school it's French. And then there's other levels that you get intimidated because some of them already knows. And even if you're all immigrants, there's some of them who could already speak French because in their country, they spoke French. So it's just that I'm scared that I'm the only one who doesn't know the French.

Karen expressed feeling “upset or mad that, uh, I had to go to - I had no choice but to go to a French school. . . . As for the education itself, I wasn't afraid that I wouldn't learn the language. I felt confident to learn it because I know I have to. I have to. I have no choice.”

The method by which French was taught posed another challenge that many of my participants brought up in the discussion of schooling in Quebec. When I asked them about their experiences in Welcoming Class, they often expressed feelings of being saturated with the French language, and feeling frustrated and overwhelmed by the centrality that French played in their first few years of schooling.

As Karen simply puts it: “So, all we did was, uh.. French... French.. French..”

For Louanne:

It was really hard 'cause I never spoke French. Like, I didn't know any word in French before. And then you come to class, your teacher doesn't speak English, you only speak French. Everyone else are speaking different languages. So it's really really hard to communicate, even with your teacher because your teacher doesn't wanna speak to you in English. So you're just trying to understand what he's trying to tell you. And then, time goes by, you're able to communicate with your teacher.. But it was really hard.

Another of the major issues that came up regarding teaching French was the time period over which Welcoming Class took place. While they on the one

hand expressed frustration and feelings of being overwhelmed by the amount of French they were being exposed to, they also felt that “two years” was not enough time to learn a language before being placed into the mainstream system.

However, it is the major thing that one needs before entering into the mainstream.

As Karen explains, “Well, first they evaluate your French. The main thing. And then once they - they talk to you, they give you exams, written or oral exams, - once they feel that you're ready, you would take, uh, I believe that it was based on your math level. And that's how they will place you in the regular class.”

Ricky described the time period like having another language placed into ones head:

When we came here, I only speak one language.  
Well, one dialect: I couldn't speak Tagalog, just Ilocano. We actually learn to speak Tagalog here! . .  
. They really try to, you know, put another language in your head in that amount of time. It's not so easy here.

Sandra, while defending the French language, still describes a similar overwhelmed feeling which she sees as coming from a systemic level:

You know what, there's nothing wrong with French language. 'cause when you come to this country, they speak French. So, it's like a bit of respect. To give them a little bit of respect, we have to learn their language also. But it's just that the way they want us to learn it, it's like stuffing- making someone eat by shoving them all in your mouth. You can't eat like that. right? So.. it's just the system I guess.

In a few of the interviews, the youth insisted that it wasn't the language itself that was the problem, but the implementation, or the way they teach it that

was a source of frustration for them. In my interview with Paolo, he explained the difficulty Filipinos face learning French:

You know, it's a totally different tone, a totally different pronunciation, and it's different words. English alone, it's really tough in the Philippines. But English alone, a lot of Filipinos don't really speak it well. Or, you know, cannot really express themselves in the other languages. And then if you look at French, where they are trying to teach you this language in a matter of two years! I mean, already you're having difficulties in a language [English] that is being promoted in your country, and then you're learning a new one to which is, you know, you've never heard of your entire life! It's a- it's a new concept.

While he praised the beauty of the French language, he also felt frustrated by what he saw as a short time period in which to "push" the learning of French.

You know, a lot of people would say this language is beautiful, you know? It's different accent with the "r" that you really have to pronounce and this and that, heh! You know? But in terms of them teaching it or, you know, for them to motivate the students and really try to learn French isn't, uh, working. It's because if you're trying to push something to students, then automatically he or she's gonna be frustrated in the end because they're not getting anything!

The two year time period frustrated Melissa as well: "If you didn't learn the language in two years, they think you're dumb! and then they think you're no good in school! I mean, like, c'mon! What are we? You think everybody's gonna learn French in two years?" Here, Melissa demonstrates again the centrality that French plays in their educational experience – if a student cannot grasp the language, he or she was made to feel less intelligent than the other students.



While the brevity of the “two year” time period in which they were expected to learn French was one cause for concern, this was a two-headed coin. Upon completion of Welcoming Class, and being placed into the mainstream courses, the youth were now met with the challenge that having completed two years of only French, they were often placed into classrooms where the other students were much younger than them. This was embarrassing for them. As Sandra describes:

The second week when they put me to elementary, I was a bit, like, one or two years older than my classmates. Sometimes, I would be, like, the oldest. When I was in grade six? I'm like, so happy I'm not the, like, you know, 'cause there's also other immigrants, so like, uh, a year older than I. So like two years older than the regular ones? So, that's hard.

In that same interview, Melissa agreed: “Yeah, it's true. 'Cause when I was in secondary five, all my classmates were, like, younger, and I was older. So I was like, 'Oh my god! I'm so late it's so embarrassing!' you know?”

In the case of Karen, she felt lucky to have been placed in a grade corresponding to those of their peers: “I was afraid that I would be behind compared to my friends in the Philippines and I would be late one year, two years. but luckily, I finished the same time as them. So that was fine. I'm happy.”

For those youth who were not placed into the grade level corresponding to their age group, the experience of being older than the other students is often met with a greater concern: the possibility of getting “forced out,” as Karen stated it, of school because of the age limitations placed on the eligibility of being in a

regular high school. They explained that the policy is that a student cannot be older than 18 or 19 to be eligible to attend a regular high school. Often, students will be asked to leave the school if it looks like they are not going to finish high school by the time they are 19.

Paolo was one of the youth who experienced this first-hand. When he was in grade 10, he was already 18 years old so he went to adult education. While none of the other youth experienced this directly, all of them brought it up as an issue that should be addressed within the system.

Diego expresses how in fact common this experience is:

*Kaya yon din yong issue kapag, you know?  
maraming teenager na. [“those are the issues, you  
know? if there's a lot of teenagers.”] Patapos na  
ang secondary five, sa school na ganon, tapos pag  
nalaman nila na mag e-eighteen ka na, aalisin ka  
na, hindi ba? [“When you are about to finish  
secondary five, when they find out you're turning  
eighteen, they're gonna kick you out, isn't that  
right?”]*

Karen was one of the “lucky” ones, as she put it, who was able to complete high school in the regular system. However, she did bring up the experience of her friends:

They did not drop out. they were forced out to go to an adult school. They were over eighteen and at that time most of them switched to James Lyng, which is English Adult Ed. But nobody really dropped out.

Adult education comes with its own set of challenges, particularly the self-study aspect. Ricky, Paolo, Melissa and Sandra all expressed the challenges of

self-study.

Ricky describes the toll that this experience takes on ones motivation to complete their education:

In my experience, I was fourteen at that time when I was doing the two-year welcoming school. And then in École Côte-des-Neiges before, if you're sixteen, and you didn't graduate, you're automatically, you get kicked out. So you have to go to adult school after that! And of course, as everybody knows that adult school, it's a self-study thing. Especially in Mathematics. So, again, there you go! You get discouraged, you know?

Still the youth also express the importance of learning French. As Karen explains,

In Quebec, well, French is very important. so- As I told you before, first shot, I don't wanna go to French school, but you have to go. If you live in Quebec, you have to go. You have to learn French. If not, you're not gonna find a job.

Interestingly, I had started off my research interested in high school drop out and the factors that influence Filipino youth's decision to leave school. However, while conducting my research it became clear that the youth experienced much more than just dropping out. There were many different influences leading to the inability to complete a high school diploma, including being "forced" or "kicked out" for being too old, or for being seen as delinquent. There were youth who chose to leave because they felt pressure to work to support their families. And there were youth who felt "lucky" at being able to finish their schooling on time in the regular system.

*Conclusion*

In this chapter, I described the thoughts and feelings the youth who participated in my study had towards their experiences of migration and economic difficulties, their experiences in school in the Philippines, and their experiences adjusting to the school system in Quebec particularly in light of language policies governing migration. I will continue with my interpretation of how the youth construct their realities in terms of their educational attainment.

## Discussion and Conclusion

Reflecting back to my research questions, I will now attempt to answer them, in light of the Filipino youth's views of the factors influencing their educational experiences in Canada. These questions were:

1. What factors influence the educational experiences of Filipino Youth in Montreal?
  - *What role do parents play and how is this affected by family separation?*
  - *What is the role of language?*
  - *What expectations do Filipino Youth have regarding their educational experiences in Quebec?*
2. How do these factors interact in order to influence the educational outcomes of Filipino Youth in Montreal?
3. What are the implications for immigration and educational policies that would affect the Filipino youth of Montreal?

Reflecting on the experiences of these youth, a pattern begins to emerge

among my participants. Two of the participants, Karen and Louanne, were able to complete a post-secondary education while the others either completed a high school diploma, were in the process of completing a high school diploma, or had dropped out and were intending on returning to school in the future. Karen and Louanne seem to share very similar backgrounds and experiences that make them stand out from the other participants. These experiences provide valuable insight into the factors that affect the educational attainment of Filipino Youth in Quebec.

*Karen and Louanne.* Karen and Louanne share similar histories in terms of their lives in the Philippines and their history of migration to Canada. They both attended English-language instruction in their schools in the Philippines. They were both 10 years old at the time of separation, which is older than the other participants. This allowed each to form a close, emotional relationship with her mother when she was still in the Philippines. They were both separated for a shorter period of time than the other participants: three to four years, compared to five to nine years, over which time they maintained regular communication. They both migrated with their older sibling with whom they have had a close relationship. Neither of them felt a significant change in their relationships with their mothers upon arrival in Canada. They both were supported financially by their mothers, and either did not work, or only worked for pocket money while attending school. They were able to learn French enough that they could finish Welcoming Class and then were placed into the correct age group, thereby

avoiding the educational delay that the other youth faced.

*Diego, Paolo, Ricky, Sandra and Melissa.* The other youth in my study all experienced separation at a young age, and were separated for longer periods of time. Diego, Paolo and Ricky had a difficult time adjusting to living with their mother, who they saw as a stranger. Both Ricky and Diego experienced feeling disappointed or unsatisfied with their relationships with their mothers. Ricky, Diego and Paolo, because of their difficulties at home, were running away from home and got into fights at school. Ricky and Diego also expressed extreme difficulty at learning French, which impeded their ability to further their education in the regular high school setting. For Melissa, Sandra, and Diego, their parents' economic situations led to the need for the youth to work and support themselves. This also posed a challenge to their ability to succeed in school and pursue higher education.

#### *Activity Theory Interpretation*

In light of these revelations, and referring back to Engestrom's model, one can place the factors affecting their education into the various components of the model.

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Subjects:	Object:	Tools:
Filipino Youth who are	educational success	language
children of domestic workers:		money
Community:	Division of labour:	Rules:
teachers	Parents to provide monetary support	Parents and children must have a close
parents	Parents to provide emotional support	emotional connection
friends	Youth to work hard in school	Youth must be good students
	Teachers to teach with dedication and	Students in Quebec must learn and be
	discipline	fluent in French
		Teachers must be dedicated and
		disciplinarian
		Schools must be fun

Generally, the ability for a subject to attain an object is mediated by his or her ability to use tools, the members of his or her community, the rules governing the community and the division of labour among its members.

*Subject: Filipino Youth.* The subjects in question were the Filipino Youth who participated in my study, as well as the friends and family members to whom they referred when discussing the experiences of Filipino Youth. These youth had a common history of having experienced family separation when their mothers



went abroad to work as domestic workers in Canada. They also shared common experiences of having gone to school in the Philippines, and experiences of adjusting to the school system in Quebec.

*Object.* In this activity system, the youth's object was to succeed academically by pursuing their education as far as they would like to go. All of the youth, except for Louanne, expressed desires to return to school and continue their education. Unfortunately, often their dreams were put on hold due to lack of monetary funds to pursue a higher education, and the need to work in order to support themselves in their day to day lives. Furthermore, many of them expressed a plan to pursue education that was not precisely what they had dreamed of doing. In the case of Sandra, she had expressed the desire to become a biomedical technologist but will pursue an early childhood certificate instead.

*Tools.* One of the tools that the youth all brought forward was money, and their access or non-access to monetary funds. Youth whose parents were able to provide more monetary support were able to concentrate more on their school and attain post-secondary education.

Another one of the tools that Filipino youth felt they needed to pursue their education was language. Diego and Ricky both expressed their challenges in learning French as one major reason they did not do well in school. Other youth expressed the importance of learning French in order to function in Quebec, and

the advantages that learning French provided. As Sandra said in her interview, “it's a benefit for us also to learn French. When you go to Toronto, and they know you speak French, like, they will be.. they want you!”

*Community.* The members of this community are many. There are the youth themselves, along with their parents. Their parents have a history of experiencing family separation as they left their children behind in the Philippines to work. Karen's insights into the difficulties her mother faced while working abroad are reflective of the lives of many Filipino women working under the Live-In Caregiver Program (Pratt, 1999).

Teachers also form members of the community. In the youth's views of their teachers, they were nice, although some felt that they were stressed and very focused on teaching French.

*Rules.* There were several rules that came out of the discussions I had with the youth. One of the first rules is to have a close personal relationship with ones mother. From the experiences of Diego and Ricky and their disappointment at their relationship with their mother when they first arrived in Canada, one can see that this rule was violated as a result of the long number of years of separation. A second rule is for the parents to provide for their children. In Melissa's explanation of how youth in the Philippines are not expected to work when they are in school, she demonstrates how this rule was violated for herself and for her

sister when she came to Canada. Again, the financial difficulties her mother faced raising five children as a single-parent led to the violation of this rule. Related to these two rules is that of being a good student who demonstrates exemplary behavior. In their discussions on their parents expectations, Paolo indicated that Filipino parents have high expectations for their children. Louanne was able to follow this rule, under the guidance of her mother. Melissa and Sandra expressed a lack of encouragement on the part of their mother which they felt was due to her financial stress and her need for her children to work and help support the family. Finally, many of the youth felt that the rule of learning French was an important component in their ability to succeed in Quebec schools. They all experienced the desire or need to learn French, and expressed frustration at the “two year” period in which they were expected to learn French because it either meant educational delay for some such as Ricky, Paolo, Sandra and Melissa, or struggles entering the mainstream and having to catch up to the other students, such as in the case of Louanne.

*Division of labour.* In the pursuit of educational success, different players come in to influence the students' educational outcomes. Parents have the role of giving support and encouragement to their children. They also have the role of supporting the youth financially. Meanwhile, the youth have the role of being good students and concentrating on their school work. In the experiences of Louanne and Karen, these roles were followed closely and they were able to

obtain post-secondary education. In other cases, the youth took on the role of financial supporter, which took away from their role of being a good student. This can be connected to long years of family separation which left the mothers having to work two jobs or needed help from their children to support the family.

From the youths discussions of their school experiences in the Philippines, one can see how the youth viewed the role of teacher as both dedicated instructor and disciplinarian. For Ricky, the lack of discipline from the teachers was an impediment to his educational success. Attending self-study classes where the student takes on more of the role of disciplinarian and guide was also problematic for some of the youth, such as in the case of Sandra.

In summary, an activity system shapes and is shaped by an individual in terms of the tools he or she has and his or her interactions with community, the rules of the community and the division of labour within the community. In this case, the object of completing school is impacted by influences from the community in terms of parents encouragement and involvement, and the person's historical experiences of involvement.

It seems the system that leads to success involves more parental support, both financially and emotionally. However, the longtime family separation that the youth experience, particularly for those whose parents left when they were young has a significant impact on their ability to receive emotional support from their parents. Studies conducted by Geraldine Pratt and the Philippine Women Centre of BC demonstrate economic marginalization associated with long-time

work within the domestic realm (Pratt, 1999). Longer periods of separation mean that youth who come to Canada when their mothers have been working as domestic workers for years experience greater levels of economic need. It is clear in this case that the long time separation of the youth from their mothers not only affected the relationships that lead to success, but it also affected them economically so that the youth were then expected to take on more than their role of student. Instead of the youth only taking labour of working hard to complete her studies, she also was expected to work outside of school to support the family.

The educational success of the youth is also contingent on their experiences in school, and particularly their ability to function in French. Difficulties learning French was seen as an impediment for several participants. In general, the youth also expressed a desire to have more gradual integration into the mainstream system and not have as much attention focused on French-learning as a means to continuing on to the mainstream. This is consistent with Dawn Allen's (2004) findings on newly arrived immigrant youth in Montreal.

#### *Recommendations and implications for public policy*

There are several recommendations that I would like to bring forward, that touch different levels of government.

First, at the immigration level, we must reconsider the employment of Filipino women under temporary workers programs. Much of the difficulties reported by the youth in question stemmed from the long periods of separation –

difficulties related to economic issues as well as their parent-child bonds. Several studies have already suggested a continuing economic marginalization of Filipino women working under the Live-In Caregiver Program. The experiences of the youth in my study give further evidence to the stress on the families and the toll on the youth's educational experiences that these programs have.

Temporary workers programs such as the Live-In Caregiver program are detrimental to the lives of Filipino youth. Only two out of my seven participants were able to complete a post-secondary education and work in professional fields. The long-time family separation associated with these programs is a source of stress and relationship difficulties for Filipino Youth, and directly affects their ability to perform and advance in school. As such, these programs should be eliminated, or modified so that the live-in component is removed allowing families to migrate together.

Second, at the level of education, in keeping with Allen's (2004) findings, the implementation of "francisation" of immigrant youth must be restructured. The focus of French fluency as a prerequisite to continuing schooling in a regular mainstream high school system gravely affected the educational outcomes of the youth in my study. By their own suggestions, the ministry of education should provide a more gradual integration into the mainstream system rather than separating the youth for a period of one to two years in which they only learn French before being placed in a regular classroom. This would allow the youth to integrate better into Canadian society, rather than have them simply leave the

system to attend adult education.

Teachers should be more aware of cultural issues such as the impacts that family separation may have on the youth.

For the young men in the study, their lives significantly changed as a result of their being involved in Filipino community organizations such as Kabataang Montreal. If schools cannot provide education and support in terms of immigrant youth understanding their situations better, community organizations should be given more support in order to provide educational discussions and workshops which allow the youth to understand their situations and fully integrate into Canadian society.

#### *Limitations and Directions for Future Research*

Of course, this study is not without its limitations. First, like most qualitative studies, the results are not necessarily generalizable to the entire population of Filipino youth who experience family separation as a result of global migration. I tried my best to get the perspectives of different youth who experienced family separation. I also went to an organization whose members are primarily youth who experienced these events so that the youth I interviewed were able to not only share with me their own experiences but also what they have seen in their interactions with other youth who share similar family histories.

Furthermore, under the limitation of a qualitative study, the interpretations and meanings gathered from the youth were interpreted by myself, hence the

results may be different depending on who is interpreting the data. This is why I also asked the youth involved in the study to read my interpretation and give their approval or suggest changes, so as to attempt to tell a story that is not biased by my own background and perspective.

In this study, I was only able to gather the stories of the youth themselves. This limits the results to their perspective. In future, I would like to conduct similar studies interviewing their parents, and possibly their teachers as well.

My study was also very wide in scope. In this study, I wanted to get a general sense of how family separation affected their ability to attend school in the context of global migration and integration into a francophone pluralist society. To do so, I allowed my interview to cover a broad range of topics. In the future, I would like to focus more on one aspect at a time and go more into depth on each aspect.

Finally, more studies should be conducted on community organizations and how they influence youth for the better.



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APPENDIX A

List of Common Abbreviations

FDM	Foreign Domestic Movement
KM	Kabataang Montreal
LCP	Live-In Caregiver Program
MFCCQ	Making the Filipino Community Count in Quebec
PWC-BC	Philippine Women Centre of British Columbia
PWC-Q	Philippine Women Centre of Quebec
UKPC-FCYA	Ugnayan ng Kabataang Pilipino sa Canada/Filipino- Canadian Youth Alliance

## APPENDIX B

## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 1

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
accreditation issues in Canada		p- and also, the accreditation process is very important. Cuz that's what degrades or demoralizes a lot of students that comes from different countries. I'm not only talking about Philippines, but I'm talking about the whole, or every third world countries around the world. Where, when they come here, automatically... their education is disregarded.
advice to youth to stay in school	for a better future	I- i think it's.. all about.. just looking at your future. like, what you want to see yourself in 10 years from now. like, do you wanna see yourself working in a factory? as a factory worker? or working in a.. uh.. you know? having a good job, a good house, a good fam- so it's just looking at your future. your tomorrow. that's..
advice to youth to stay in school	stay in school	d- stay in school. in my experience, if they don't have any problems at their parents, or their parents with the community and everything... stay in school and finish school.
advice to youth to stay in school	to be financially comfortable	R* cuz if you just work in a factory getting minimum wage and let's say you have two kids, hehe
advice to youth to stay in school	to be somebody	P* and then.. at that age, you know, you don't- you don't see these things, you know? You live with your parents... you know? And you're like "pfff" [frustrated sound] You know, I'm not.. I don't have any responsibility... you know, and stuff like that, and unless, you know, you get that sense of responsibility that, "I have to go school so that way I'm gonna be somebody when I grow old" you know? But, you know, giving advice to other people, obviously, you know? "Don't be a fool. Stay in school." No. heheh!
advice to youth to stay in school	to feel accomplished	P* No, it's just uh... you know, schooling is very important in terms of not only.. not only the, uh, uh, somebody when you grow up, also, you know, it's one of those accomplishments, uh, that you could tell yourself that, you know, I did something in my life. Uhh.. I've accomplished something that, uh, I could be proud of. Or something that I like doing. You know? Rather than, you know, like, uh, saying to yourself ten years after, "Holy shit. I should've went to school." You know?
advice to youth to stay in school	to have a better job	P* well, in terms of schooling, ... cuz right now, you know, like, uh, I dropped out, this and that, you know, and I.. I often say to myself that... if I had stayed in school, I would have a better job, you know?

## APPENDIX B

## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 2

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
attitudes towards repetition of school material		R* Well, first, it was like, um, I got really um.. I got lazy. You know? Cuz why am I doing this again? I did it already.
behaviour in the classroom		P* cuz over there you can- you- you- you could finish a grade in a matter of three months. You know? And since that... that was the thing that they had, that was, you had to do everything again. I had to repeat my level four before I go to level five. So, I, I uh, I got kicked out a lot of times from the- In terms of, you know, in terms of attendance.
being held back in high school	being older than classmates	m- yeah, it's true. Cuz when I was in secondary five, all my classmates were, like, younger, and I was older. so I was like, oh my god! I'm so late it's so embarrassing! you know?
being held back in high school	overcoming educational delay	k- So I took the test and everything, and then... I.. i, uh came up to the same level as my friends in the Philippines. So
being rebellious		P* But anyways, I was still doing the same thing cuz I was being rebellious at that time, you know, when I was in the group home. But yeah. In the secondary school, after that you know, uh... they- they sent me to a group home
challenging circumstances surrounding school attendance	family members can't help with French	I- there's no one else I could communicate with in French
childhood dreams		P* cuz, uh.. you know at uh.. there in the Philippines, uh, I was where? Grade two? Yeah, grade two. And I was training for baseball already. You know, I was a - I was a very athletic person. You know. I used to win a lot of competitions in terms of running. . . you know, this and that. And, uh, yeah, anyways.. So. Grade school I was playing, you know, uh, baseball. . . I used to be a pitcher. And . . . so I wanted to be a baseball player cuz I was getting good at it. Then I came here and like, "Oh. People are going into more diplomatic stuff." You know? "K, now I wanna be a doctor!" hehe

## APPENDIX B

## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 3

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
comment on educational spending		m- I think they.. yeah, i think that they should- instead of, um... they should.. yeah, focus more attention on education, rather than supporting the soldiers because they're going to war. you know? haha!
comments on educational content	academic language in textbooks	m- but then they make it so complicated. hehe! Why do you have to have very hard words to understand?
delinquent identity		p- actually I even went to court. And the social worker called me a delinquent. So I'm like, "I'm not a delinquent!" Heh... you know?
demographics	doesn't live with mom	I- my mom, no. She lives at Pointe-Claire with my step-dad.
demographics	hometown	P* Ilocos Norte
demographics	living situation	I- no. actually, i live with my boyfriend, my sister and her husband.
demographics	work situation	k- cuz i'm going through that right now, switching jobs, you know?
Education: Phils vs. Canada	bigger classes in Phils	I- cuz we even have like maybe 50 uh fifty students in the class
Education: Phils vs. Canada	different values	s- yeah, it's different values.. here? I think in the Philippines, they value a lot knowledge, you know? Uh, education? they think it's like gold. you know, or.. maybe that's hwo it works there because if you- if you don't have education, there's no chance that you'd even get a chance to even have a good job or a job.. but here, they don't really value that- I find that they don't really value that because even if you didn't graduate, you could still work.
Education: Phils vs. Canada	easier here	k- and i found that, uh, when i was in high school, the english course was a joke.
Education: Phils vs. Canada	fewer activities in Canada	I- Canada it's different. in Canada it's different. like, for example, in Philippines, after school, you have fun, like.. you enjoy uh.. sometimes you stay at school for, like, two or three hours more? and then just chatting, sitting around.. but here, everyone's like.. the bell rings, everyone's running home.



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## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 4

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
Education: Phils vs. Canada	less strict in Canada	P* so yeah. And in terms of the education here also, you know, there's not discipline, but there's not much of- well, anyways, in any, in any schools you will always have that competition, uh... thing going on, you know? Who's the smartest in class, and this and that. And... you know, the education here, you know, it's loose. Basically. You know, the... you know, you're pretty much free to do whatever you want? Which is good.
Education: Phils vs. Canada	more fun in Phils	I- in the Philippines, I thought it was fun..
educational path	adult ed	d- i didn't really drop out school. i went to other school..
educational path	cegep	I- yeah that was at [CEGEP]. So I asked- my mom asked was like, "What do you wanna do?" I said, "I don't know" she told me, she was like, "Why don't you try nursing?" I was like, "oh, okay. i'll try nursing" so I tried nursing, and I liked it.
educational path	choosing adult ed	s- because, uh, you won't lose the two years? two years of, uh, the education and then you wait until wherever they place you. that's where you are
educational path	experiences at group home	P* Cuz, uh, even- even there, you know, I was in a group home, and since, you know, the group home was always, you know, checking me where I am, you know, you pretty much don't have freedom and every time I would go to school I would have to sign a paper that I am in school.
educational path	finishing up in adult ed	m- I got my diploma. I just have to pass my science. hehe
educational path	future plans	d- gonna finish school and then, yeah. finish vocational..
educational path	high school years	I- i was supposed to be in second year the year that i came here, but then they gave me the entrance- the entrance exam, i think? like, they give you the math exam, and then they're gonna place you whenever- wherever your grade is.. and then, um..
educational path	placement upon arrival	I- and plus.. when i was in Phil- before I came here i was in first year high school in the Philippines, so I finished my first year high school.
educational path	returning to school	d- i go back to school. after 5 years.
educational path	studying out of town	R* well, when I moved to, uh... to, uh, Hamilton? Ontario?

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## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 5

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
experiences in adult ed	preferred language of instruction	m- ya, I think I understand French better than English! heh!
experiences in adult ed	self-study	s- yeah, it's really tough. it takes a lot of motivation, encouragement.
experiences in English school	french class is easier in English school	P* I finished my French there, actually. Cuz you know in English school, the French is a lot easier!
experiences in English school		I- easier from English to French than- French to English was easier because it was.. English, you know? we were speaking English in Philippines at school
family separation	age at separation	P* well, my mother was here.. all my life..
family separation	communication and visits	I- yeah. when we were in the Philippines she'd come home almost every year every two years.. sometimes every year.. and there was years when she would come every other year, like, the year after.
family separation	don't know her	R* that's, uh, family separation. That's what it does.
family separation	double separation	I- so when I got here, at the beginning it was hard. I was always crying. I always wished that, 'oh, they're gonna get back together' and that, but then after that we learn- I learned to just accept that no, it's not gonna happen.
family separation	father working away	p- My dad was, uh, you know, moving around. We seldom see him as well
family separation	mother is out there	P* uh.. heh.. and ya! so yeah, they were pretty much propagating it to us already that you know, you guys aren't going to live all your life here - you're gonna go somewhere else. you know, since your mother is out there somewhere.
family separation	mother's work in Canada	k- um.. yeah. and uh, and I didn't really realize okay wow I have all this, uh, this financial support from my mom, and not thinking oh she's working very hard there to send that to me. so when we came here, now- then I realized wow.. you know? we just spend all that money there, and while she's here working so hard as a nanny or cleaning the house.. the whole day cleaning someone else's house.
family separation	number of years	P* yeah... no, ten years! Ten years.

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## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 6

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
family separation	other family members	k- umm... we have a lot of relatives there, and uh... it's more... I... I spent a lot more time with my dad's side? the relatives part... than my mom's side.
family separation	primary caregiver(s)	k- heh... cook us food and uh... yeah... it was more my sister that was my support.
family separation	sending money	p* well, my mother would send us money, you know, she would, you know, pay for our tuitions
family separation	singapore first	i- oh, she went to- I think she went to Singapore first before uh, immigrating- because it was easier for her to get here if she went through, uh, Singapore.
family separation	sisters rebellion	d- so they keep running away, running away, my two sisters, until they supposed to come here.
family separation	understanding	k- but uh... but we understand that it's... its uh, it's... it's gonna help me and my sister later on.
family unit	absent father	m- I dunno. I don't feel like I ever even feel like I grew up with my dad! heh.
family unit	close with family	i- it's like my family are here so I don't wanna go further from that
family unit	in the beginning	k- umm... I have... i only have... yeah, in the beginning, there was... I had nobody here, but me, my mom and my sister.
family unit	no family here	d- it's just only my mom and I
family unit	parents separated	k- okay, let's go back to... um, yeah, when I was seven my parents separated
family unit	siblings	k- yes, I do have a sis- older sister. She's five years older than me. and we came here together.
family unit	sisters in the Philippines	d- I have two sisters.
financial situation in Canada	financial independence	d- I pay for my... my... books, my enrollment, my clothes... everything.
financial situation in Canada	financial support increased strictness	m- or some parents would say okay, um, I'm gonna pay for school, but then you have to follow this rule, this rule... they become more strict.

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## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 7

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
financial situation in Canada	school loans	k- and then i decided to, you know what, the hell, i'm not gonna waste my time. i went to delta college and found out it was like fourteen thousand dollars. so ummm... i said okay yeah, i'll take the loan.
financial situation in Canada	support from parent(s)	k- ummm... i always stayed with my mom. i never worked. high school, i never worked. uh, when i went to dawson, i never worked. i applied for a bursary and for student loan when i was at Dawson. i think i spent a year at Dawson? so i lived off with the bursary and my mom, and the student loan.
financial situation in Canada	work for pocket money	i- just for pocket money, hehe!
financial situation in Canada	work to help parents	s- who would- personally, i... i understand. i don't say that they're bad parents. it's just that.. it's the financial problems you know, they really, they really want their children to help them also at home. it's not that they're bad parents.
financial situation in Canada	work vs. school	s- so yeah. and then you.. you actually get tired? at the same time. and then you have to go to school now.. like, i have no money.. but if i go to work i'll have money. and then maybe go to school. so that's your option.
getting kicked out of high school	age limit	d- kaya yon din yong issue kapag, you know? maraming teenager na. [those are the issues, you know? if there's a lot of teenagers.] Patapos na ang secondary five, sa school na ganon, tapos pag nalaman nila na mag e-eighteen ka na, aalisin ka na, hindi ba? [When you are about to finish secondary five, when they find out you're turning eighteen, they're gonna kick you out, isn't that right?]
getting kicked out of high school	behavioural	d- Yon, lumake ng lumake [There, it got bigger and bigger], got bigger and bigger, until.. every- everybody's went to prison and everything.. juvenile..
having Filipino friends	cote-des-neiges connection	s- i think in this.. like, like you said, in this area? It's a bit.. it's a bit.. it's a bit easier for, like, Filipinas- Filipinos actually because dito, here? They're all from different places. So, it's not like, for example, when you go to somewhere that it's concentrated, like, of Quebec- Quebecers, right? And then there's, you see, two or three Asians. That's hard to, like, you know. That's probably a difficulty for them. But here i guess it's okay it's just that.. uh.. we- i believe that we suffer diff- uh, the same- similar, uh, difficulties. Like, for example, language barriers, uh, we experience discrimination and racism, those type. But i
having Filipino friends	language connection	p* anyway, we were more comfortable in talking between ourselves-

## APPENDIX B

## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 8

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
influence of parents	can't help with French	d- at the time, but um... how i'm gonna finish school if she don't even speak French? hehehe...
influence of parents	didn't push	k- my mom, uh, didn't push us to do, uh... to be some... someone or to do something that she wants. i was the one who decided to be in computers. to be a programmer. and also i believe my sister decided by her own to go into nursing.
influence of parents	high expectations	l- they have really high expectations. so maybe that's the one that really encourage me to finish school cuz i don't wanna disappoint my mom.
influence of parents	lack of encouragement	m- it's like... it's not important for my mom so why should it be important for me? i thought the same way. that's why i never really get a good grades. heh. i'm passing, that's all. that's all that's important to me.
influence of parents	no one home	d- cuz uh... wala [not there], she's not always at home,
influence of parents	not strict	k- and, uh... i was pretty independent. she wouldn't check me to say, do you have homework today? do your homework, study... this and that. no.
influence of parents	parents working a lot	R* "i became like this because of you" and this and that, you know? But, well, KM was... when i got organized by KM, that's when i started to realize, you know, shit they had to work, you know?
influence of parents	pushing too hard	P* So... yeah, that was uh... pretty much it in terms of the role of the parents. But they were pushing us, pushing us, until they pushed us too hard
influence of parents	running away from home	P* okay heh... No, actually, uh. i wasn't at home all the time. i used to run away, you know, like
influence of parents	single parenting	s- so... yeah. but i always thought cuz... now my parents - our parents - are divorced? So but, i always thought, like, think back and say, "if, you know, my dad and my mom didn't divorce, like, i would be probably in school. now because i would have the... like, now that i have the motivation maybe it could happen so like lend me a little money..." because i just start thinking about the um single parents, you know?
influence of parents	strict	d- cuz they know that my mom, she's strict?
interview dynamic		d- uh... can i speak Tagalog?

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## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 9

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
language abilities	current	k- I speak, uh.. Tagalog, English, French, and, uh, Bisaya dialect.
language abilities	current English	R* speaking English.. can't even speak English
language abilities	current French	P* for me, like I said, you know, it took me at least, you know, a year or two to learn the language. But until now, you know, I cannot really speak it as fluent as I should be speaking
language abilities	home language(s)	I- it's just pretty mixed at home. there's like, three.. three.. hehe..
language abilities	upon arrival	R* yeah, just Ilocano. We actually I(hh)earn to speak T(h)agalog here!
language abilities		d- when you have school
language acquisition in social setting		P* Well, actually, it's mostly in the streets. You know, speaking English?
life in Phils	farming	R* plant rice.. sev- I was seven. Seven, eight years old when I was there.
life in Phils	fathers' job	I- he was a machine, uh, machine engineer or something.
life in Phils	job prospects	s- you could still work.. like, you could still work at the.. at the fast food restaurant. in the fast food restaurant, like, for ex- I've seen this ad in the Philippines? Ads. it's very specific. you have to be this weight, this height? you have-
life in Phils	parents fighting	I- but it wasn't before that.. i didn't know when i was younger that it wasn't really working.
life in Phils	poverty	d- Manila city/ yeah. poverty is one issue there.
mother's education	elementary education	P* and no she didn't, uh, and ["what" in Tagalog] continue education due to, you know, the poverty that there is in the Philippines
mother's education	university degree	I- I dunno.. she worked in a lot of places. she worked for Coca-Cola in Manila, I think? In the lab.. the laboratory area.?

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## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 10

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
mother's work in Canada	service sector	d- hm? before she was working at the factory, and she was working at home.
motivating factors in French high school	discouraged	P* no, see see, Because you know, at that point, you know, a lot of people, or a lot of, uh, our peers didn't wanna go to school any more cuz they were so discouraged
motivating factors in French high school		P* or the. Uh.. the... you know, that first year, you don't care about this stuff! You know, like at uh.. seventh grader. And, uh, yeah.. that was about it. but, you know, in terms of difficulties or motivation stuff, oh, I guess you know I wasn't motivated enough to stay in school. You know? Cuz I used to skip a lot.
perceived factors influencing drop out	behavioural	d- the problem.. i drop out of school, na hirapan ako sa French, na hirapan ako sa ganito, sa ganito [“I am having a hard time in French, I'm having a hard time with this and that”] and there was a gang fight at school.
perceived factors influencing drop out	french too hard	I- i think it's because of the French. heheh!
perceived factors influencing drop out	fun	d- cuz i had too much happening- i had too much fun in my life, that's why! hehe
perceived factors influencing drop out	lack of accreditation	I- and the old, uh, one thing is that they don't.. they don't.. how do you say it.. they don't um.. for example if you finish university in the Philippines, like, they don't care about your diploma, like, if you graduated as a nurse in the philippines, you have to go back to school.
perceived factors influencing drop out	mix of personality and lack of support	I- emotionally, yeah, from the parents. I think there's a lot of people who plays a role, in that drop out.
perceived factors influencing drop out	money	s- money, basically, financial problems
relationship with parents	anger and resentment	R* no.. Cuz you know, when I was.. it's just like Paolo was saying, when.. When I was in school, I was having a hard time. And.. well, first of all, I used to blame my parents everything.
relationship with parents	bad relationship with mother	d- always pa ring /nag-aaway ng nanay ko/ [“Always, my mom and I would fight”]

## APPENDIX B

## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 11

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
relationship with parents	blame	R* you know, shelter. Those kind of things. But yeah, I used to.. blame... especially my mom.
relationship with parents	close to dad in Phils	I- we still have a really good relationship with my dad, we call every week..
relationship with parents	close with mother	I- we're pretty open. like, we could discuss anything with my mom.
relationship with parents	closer now	k- yeah, so uh... when I was living there.. okay, just normal every day conversations, and sometimes I don't even talk, I just go on my computer but now since I moved, it's even me who calls her to say how are you?
relationship with parents	okay now	R* it's all about, well.. you know, we actually communicate now.
reunification	don't know her	R* I didn't know her. [pause 2 sec] so, uh... we weren't getting along.
reunification	expecting more	d- na.. I thought na.. magiging close kami, magiging close kami ng nanay ko. [I thought that we would be closer, that I would be closer to my mom]
reunification	no difference	k- I didn't see any difference.
reunification	parents fighting	m- but one day, yeah. one day, that my family will be broken because my dad.. and my mom they are always fighting. hehe!
reunification	stressful	d- pero.. sa stress na dinadala n'ya, sahirap ng ginagawa n'ya, ["but with all the stress and all the suffering she's going through"] she keep sending money to my sister for a better education in the Philippines, but look what happened, they got pregnant.
school experience in the Philippines	activities	m- If you wanna do a bunch/ of activities, /there's a treasurer, but they don't have any of that stuff here/
school experience in the Philippines	american culture	P* cuz they're teaching us American studies. You know, like, hiking, uh..
school experience in the Philippines	big classes	m- I remember when I was in school in the Philippines.. in one classroom, there's more than thirty to forty.. that's too much
school experience in the Philippines	dedicated teachers	k- I think the teachers there are- is more dedicated to what they do.



## APPENDIX B

## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 12

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
school experience in the Philippines	discipline	P* well, also it's because of the discipline that they do give there. You know, like, hehe.. Like I said, uh, you know, teachers in the Philippines, they're allowed to hit you whenever they want.
school experience in the Philippines	English instruction	k- uh, in the Philippines? yes. yeah, everything was in english.
school experience in the Philippines	good student	r- well, as for me, cuz when I was in the Philippines, when I was in grade school, I was doing really well, actually.
school experience in the Philippines	language rules	l- no. you're not allowed to speak Ilonggo in school
school experience in the Philippines	leadership training	s- we actually already got a .. a little training of leadership.
school experience in the Philippines	more advanced in Phils	P* That's the that's what.. you know, like, uh, that's why I was surprised you know that, they're saying that you know, education abroad is so advanced and I'm like, "Noo.." hehe! You know?
school experience in the Philippines	other languages	l- no, it's everything... everything's in English? it's only Filipino class and the history that's in Tagalog.
school experience in the Philippines	private school	k- it's private school. it's uh.. well.. it's a.. all girls school,
school experience in the Philippines	public school	m- I used to, well, I, uh, when we used to go to an elementary school in Philippines. Right beside that school, there's a private school. And these kids, like.. they're in this big building and when they're playing, there's.. you know.. cemented..
school experience in the Philippines	Tagalog instruction	d- one until five I think it's Tagalog everything.
social life	activities	l- um.. activities.. usually, every time I have off I go out. like, family outings.. specially in the summer, but sometimes with my friends, too. yeah, I go out with my friends
social life	bad influence of friends	d- /yeah/ so... I start to hanging out with friends.. bad friends.. influence. bad influence.

## APPENDIX B

## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 13

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
the immigration experience	adjusting to Canada	m- getting lost, and adapting to, like, trying to live like a Canadian? Cuz you know, you have to, like, eat Canadian...
the immigration experience	age of arrival	m- I was almost twelve. Twelve, I think
the immigration experience	expectations of Canada	R* me, well, you know, personally when we came here I was expecting uh... a big house
the immigration experience	living arrangements	P* here in Cote-des-Neiges
the immigration experience	missing the philippines	R* cuz of course you know, you miss the... I miss the Philippines so much.
the immigration experience	month of arrival in Canada	s- because we came in March. Month of March. So thats mid-school year.
the immigration experience	no choice	d- um... expectations when I get here.. I don't have any choice to come here.
the immigration experience	paper processing	k- and then she made sure that as soon as she could file the papers, she filed it right away, and three or four years later, we're here.
the immigration experience	sisters rebellion	d- cuz they had uh... like, a revenge to my mom cuz they don't wanna go here
the immigration experience	views of Canada	k- Just stay all day with the ... it doesn't matter. you're still happy wherever. but here in Canada, you have to work hard. ... no matter what.
the immigration experience	with who	P* Uh, okay. Uh, my mother petitioned uh... us. Uhh... She came here first, and uh, me, my dad and, uh, my sibling came here together.
the immigration experience	year of arrival	m- uhh... We first came here in nine- uh... year- year of nineteen ninety five?
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	"not easy"	R* it's not so easy here.
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	"the language"	r- /something/ like that yeah. Buut. But the problem was, uh, well, first it's the, uh, the language.
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	beauty of the language	P* of your entire life you know it's a... it's a new concept. You know, to which is a lot of people would say, you know, this language is beautiful, you know? It's different uh, accent, you know, with the 'r' that you really have to pronounce and this and that..

## APPENDIX B

## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 14

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	beneficial outside quebec	s- it's a benefit for us also to learn French. When you go to Toronto, and they know you speak French, like, they will be.. they want you!
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	challenges of transitioning into regular	l- so it was really hard for me because i wasn't really good in French, and then i had to... try to understand what my teacher was telling me, especially in physical science.
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	choice	k- Umm.. well, first of all, i was, uh.. upset or mad that, uh, i had to go to - i had no choice but to go to a French school.
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	description of Welcoming Class environment	p* but uh.. nm.. In the welcoming class, there was a lot of students. Even before. That was uh.. nineteen ninety-six? Around.. somewhere around there? And there were forty students.. who didn't know how to speak French.. some- some of them did know how to speak French but most of them, uh, spoke English. But the, uh, i'm talking about English that is so hard to understand
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	excitement	m- um.. i was looking forward to learning, like, the language? i was excited about the language.
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	fears	s- and then you're.. you're going to school it's French? and then there's other levels that you get intimidated because some of them already knows? and even if you're all immigrants? there's some of them who could already speak French because it's in their country, they spoke French. so it's just that i'm scared that i'm the only one who doesn't know the French
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	future generations	l- but still if i have kids, i want my kids to learn French. yeah.
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	implementation doesn't work for everybody	m- ya, it wasn't easy. c'mon, learning French language is not easy. Plus, if they- they want you to learn it that way? it doesn't work, maybe? for everybody?
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	interactions with teachers	s- they- they don't.. the language, you could learn. like, if you really have the proper, like, you know, motivation and everything, you can learn, like, how.. where do you get white people speaking French? i mean, speaking Chinese or something, right? i mean, it's so hard.. it's probably because when they go to class in their courses, the Chinese people are actually happy to teach white people, you know? like, "Oh! you're trying to learn!" but here when you get in it's like, "Oh gosh! More immigrants!" you know? it's like they're so angry with us! hehehe
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	mastery of French as central	k- So, all we did was, uh.. French... French... French..

## APPENDIX B

## List of Codes and Subcodes – Page 15

MAJOR CODES	SUBCODES	EXAMPLE UTTERANCE
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	necessary for life in Quebec	s- Cuz when you come to this country, they speak French. So, it's like a bit of respect to give them a little bit of respect. We have to learn their language also.
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	not easy	d- here in Canada, and like that so.. English, it's okay, but French before, anyway. ooh. it's so hard.
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	nothing against french	r- well, I have nothing against the, uh, the language. I think it's a... you know, it's a good language.
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	pressure	R' and they really try to, you know, put another language in your head.
views and experiences on learning French in Quebec schools	two years	P* it's actually very simple, you know, like, in terms of, that. You know, for example, to learn the educational- uh, no, the language system here in Quebec, you know, at least give them more time to learn the language?